

A CoMPLEX MAN

A Fairy Tale Vision of Masculinity
circa 1900 to 1935

An Investigation of
Portrayals of Masculine Identity in Fairy Tale Illustrations
1900 to 1935

Thesis submitted by:

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Abstract

The folk or fairy tale is a complex combination of elements and functions, and it is these components that have been analysed in order to understand the nuances of the tales, just as Propp did with *Morphology of the Folk Tale* (Propp,1958 :10). Where Propp was interested in a comparison and classification of *plots*, this thesis examines the components of masculinity within the texts and illustrations of fairy tales circa 1900 to 1935. The aim is to create a comparison of masculine portrayals, their relationship to the texts and their visual interpretations. This thesis will identify the visual changes in the fairy tale male that have been dictated by changing social dynamics.

Illustrations often resist a stereotypical depiction of masculine norms. “Research on resistance to masculine norms is nearly non-existent” (Smiler, 2014: 256), so the illustrations provide an opportunity to identify an atypical description of masculinity in an unexpected domain. They challenge not only the physical expectation of a masculine norm, but also the hegemonic expectation of identity. For example, the distinct lack of any queer male identity within the texts is offset by evidence of queer identities within the imagery. Queer images challenge the hegemonic interpretation of what masculinity (or femininity) means. Where there is a definite hegemonic portrayal in the text of characters, illustrations often give them an identity at odds with the textual expectation.

There is no ‘one’ interpretation of a portrayal just as there is no ‘one’ author of a tale. A king may be portrayed in the text as a hegemonic stereotype of patriarchal and masculine dominance, yet the visual interpretation may depict him as a silly, pompous old man in ridiculous attire. Just as storytellers have embellished and altered the tales over time, the visual portrayals are a product of a time, place and artist; evolving with each re-telling and providing a range of perceptions of masculinity.

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Preface

The idea for this thesis developed from the authors experience working in a male prison. During a teaching session it became apparent that the men had not heard of the fairy tale *The Emperor’s New Clothes*, so the author told them the story and they listened intently. Upon reflection later that day, she realised she had told them a tale that did not have one positive male role model in it. As the inmates had often had no positive male influence in their own lives, it seemed incongruous to have told them a moralistic tale that emphasised another negative perception of masculinity.

The author decided to find a tale that depicted males in a positive light to tell the men the following week, and was surprised to learn how difficult that would be. With a background in design and illustration, the author then decided to see if there were positive representations of masculinity within the illustrations instead. It soon became apparent there was not only a surprising range of representation, but that during specific periods of time, there was a change in the masculine identity and the male characters were being depicted as more feminised. This discovery led to the author beginning to explore the visual side of the fairy tale which in turn led to her undertaking several years of research into masculine identities within fairy tale illustration. The result is this thesis.

I hope you take as much pleasure from reading it as I had creating it.

Introduction

A Complex Man Masculine Identity and the Fairy Tale

Fairy tales have long been considered a conduit into self-realisation, historical examination, moral code and cultural impact. They resonate in ways other stories do not. They have given rise to debates on the positive and negative effects of the tales on children and adults, questioned portrayals of family values and child rearing, raised issues of gender, sexuality, patriarchy and feminism and they continue to generate lively discussion in the present day (Zipes, 2012a&b: 137). Developed and translated from oral storytelling these tales have, for hundreds of years entertained, instructed and reflected societal norms. The Brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, Hans Christian Andersen and Charles Perrault, the canonical writers and interpreters of fairy tales — told for centuries before they created versions of them — have become recognised as the source of the fairy tale. Yet there are hundreds of versions of the tales originating and evolving continually

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from all over the world. As far back as 1893, the folklorist Marion Roalf Cox identified 345 versions of Cinderella alone (Warner, 2018: ep 2). In Italy, Giovanni Straparola, thought to be the first to commit the fairy tale to print in forms that are recognisable today (Bottigheimer: 2012: 7), and Giambattista Basile were writing their fairy tales in the early 1500 and 1600s (Canepa, 2007:1). In France, Perrault was doing the same in the latter part of the 1600s and versions of all these tales found their way into the collections of every other author, including the Grimm Brothers in Germany, Andersen in Denmark and Alexander Afanasev in Russia in the 1800s. That some of these stories have now proved to be out of step with modern thinking and awareness is hardly surprising bearing in mind many are well over two hundred years old.

The belief that the stories have the power to lead by example and shape character especially gender, to engineer social citizens and inculcate values and ideologies has been widely held and is still accepted (Warner, 2018: ep 6).

Huge volumes of research have been undertaken on fairy tales by luminaries such as Vladimir Propp, Jack Zipes, Alan Dundes, Maria Tatar, Nancy Canepa and Marina Warner, amongst others and with the feminist movement becoming more emphatic in the 1970s a new area of research was taken up and the tales were considered from a feminist perspective. Angela Carter was one of the forerunners in this exploration and her work has been examined and expanded upon by many academics and storytellers. Carter's journals, held in the British Library catalogues, give an insight into the incredible passion she held for the genre and how she clearly engaged with the underlying moral codes, but especially delighted in tales where women triumph. In "Vasilisa," the Russian tale by Alexander Afanasev Carter writes,

Vasilisa The Priests Daughter. This is pure self-indulgence for me, I just like it so much, especially the ending (Carter Manuscript notes, British Library).

The ending she refers to is one in which Vasilisa is victorious having overcome all obstacles before her. Carter would later create her own tales in which her female characters also triumphed. Her version of “Red Riding Hood” handed power and autonomy back to Red Riding Hood herself, and not to the wolf or huntsman. Her version of Perrault’s “Bluebeard” entitled “The Bloody Chamber,” saw the female character triumph over the male, changing the tales to suit her own interpretation and giving them the ending she wanted to read. *The Bloody Chamber* is often — wrongly — described as a group of traditional fairy tales given a subversive feminist twist. As Carter made clear,

My intention was not to do “versions” or, as the American edition of the book said, horribly, “adult” fairy tales, but to extract the latent content from the traditional stories and use it as the beginnings of new stories (Carter, 2006: vii).

Although Carter did not intend her stories to become feminist re-tellings of the tales, it cannot be ignored that they do indeed create a strong female identity and have been associated with the feminist movement since their creation (Carter [Simpson], 2006: viii). Her comment on the “latent content” within the tales will be addressed in later sections but points to an understanding that there was hidden or concealed content that she was able to extract and build on, suggesting the hypothesis of ‘another voice’ within the tales and one that will be explored within this thesis.

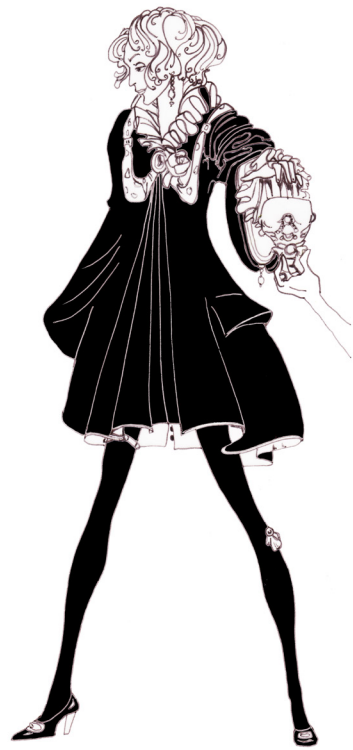
In order to further develop and build on the wealth of study that has been undertaken on the fairy tale, it is nec-

essary to explore uncharted waters, just as Carter did with her stories. Male characters have been largely ignored in academic circles, in fact Zipes commented, in his 2014 edition of *The Brothers Grimm, From Enchanted Forests to Modern World*, how “there has curiously been little research on male heroes, stereotypes and role expectations” (Zipes, 1988: 63).

In response, this thesis will explore and document the huge variety of portrayals of the fairy tale *male* and examine him as he appears in the text, but just as importantly, how he is interpreted in the visual representations found in almost all fairy tale publications since the mid 1800s. By focussing primarily on the period from 1900 to 1935 in order to engage with some of the biggest social changes in recent history — the social, political and artistic movements that categorised the beginning of the 20th century — the representation of the imagery and its links to these historical contexts will be documented.

Societies were adapting to a new way of life during these tumultuous eras and they also witnessed the rise of the ‘Golden Age’ of fairy tale illustration. Although not formally recognised as an art movement in its own right, the ‘Golden Age’ of illustration between 1900 and 1920 was a time in which the mass production of illustrations became cheaper. Improved production techniques and the price and availability of paper and printing led to the cost of books diminishing and making them available to the masses. The innovation of improved publishing techniques meant superior representations of art works could be created for books, and the increase in literacy, due to an emphasis on better education, encouraged this growth in publishing. A growing transportation system meant books were able to be distributed quickly and further afield,

Print grew and shaped itself to fit every need of a public clamouring for stories and images (Menges, 2017: xii).



1. Kay Nielsen: The Twelve Dancing Princesses, 1922

1. Kay Nielsen's portrayals of masculinity are some of the most gender fluid of any during the early 1900s. His influences included art movements such as Art Nouveau and artists such as Beardsley and Harry Clarke. His distinctive feminised princes with their long shapely limbs, painted faces and tiny waists were regularly adorned in the most beautiful fabrics and frills. Their feminised gestures and expressions portrayed a masculinity that not only challenged the social norms, but reflected a changing social acceptance of a different type of masculinity.

Illustrators found there was more work than they could handle, and publications were clamouring for more. There was a wave of interest in print based material and the best illustrators became revered (Menges, 2017).

The work from the 'Golden Age' became the benchmark of great illustration in fairy tales and a century later is still recognised as a time of significant creativity and mastery of the medium. It enabled a generation of illustrators to communicate with their audience in numbers that exceeded previous generations, "the public's appetite for artwork had been whetted" (Waldrep, 2010: v), and illustrators were kept busy fulfilling demands. At this time a group of prolific artists influenced by the social and art movements of the day such as Kay Nielsen, Arthur Rackham, Harry Clarke and many more, produced most of the illustrations for fairy tales that are still being published one hundred years later.

From this period of illustrative excellence, through the First World War, and up until the 1930s, there were distinguishable changes in the illustrative portrayals of masculinity in fairy tales produced predominantly by male illustrators. Female illustrators of the time, such as Margaret Evans Price, Margaret Tarrant and Mabel Lucie Attwell, created illustrations that predominantly featured children and often neglected to include a male character at all. The First World War saw a societal change in perception of sexuality and gender, and this was reflected in many of the illustrations. Kay Nielsen's male characters, amongst others, epitomised this change with long limbed princes sporting tiny waists and high heeled shoes. They embraced a gender ambiguity that challenged societal norms and these perceptions are explored in Chapter 1 and again in Chapter 3.¹

Although falling outside the parameters of this study, it is important to note that continued adaptations of the fairy

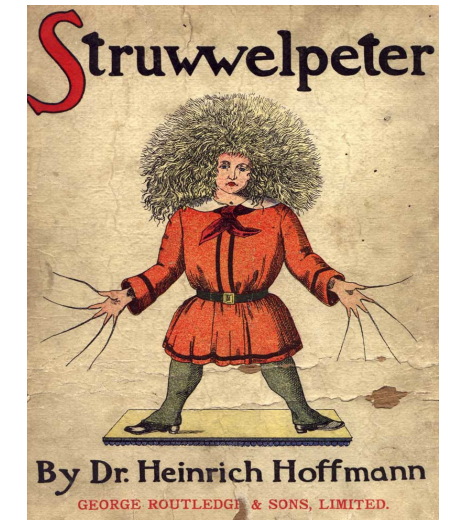
tale continued beyond the end of World War 1 into World War 2 and after. The Nazis commandeered tales that fit their ideologies and used them to promote their propaganda, placing the uniformed Nazi into the role of the hero. There are many *descriptions* of these stories and fairy tale themed films created by Nazi Germany, yet few, if any, have survived as after the war the Grimm's fairy tales were banned in German schools due to their association with the Nazis, and many of these books and films were destroyed (Warner, 2018: ep 6).

Whilst the Nazis were using the tales to promote 'family values' and act as the saviour of German children from perilous situations and people, (predominantly casting Jews in villains roles) the rest of Europe was seeing Hitler and the Nazis ridiculed in cartoons or depicted as a satirised version of the character of *Struwwelpeter*.²

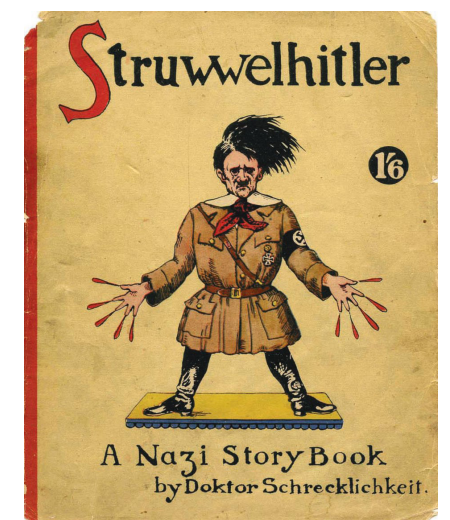
From the mid 1940s changes in fairy tales and their illustrations reflected a simplification for a younger audience (Tatar, 1992). Illustrations became more childlike, appealing to this new audience of youngsters for whom the fairy tale had become a staple. Although earlier illustrations portrayed children or young adults in the roles of the protagonists such as those created by Attwell³ or Florence May Anderson,⁴ the simplified, less sophisticated illustrations became more prevalent.^{5,5a,5b.}



3. Mabel Lucie Attwell: The Shepherdess and the Chimney Sweeper, 1914



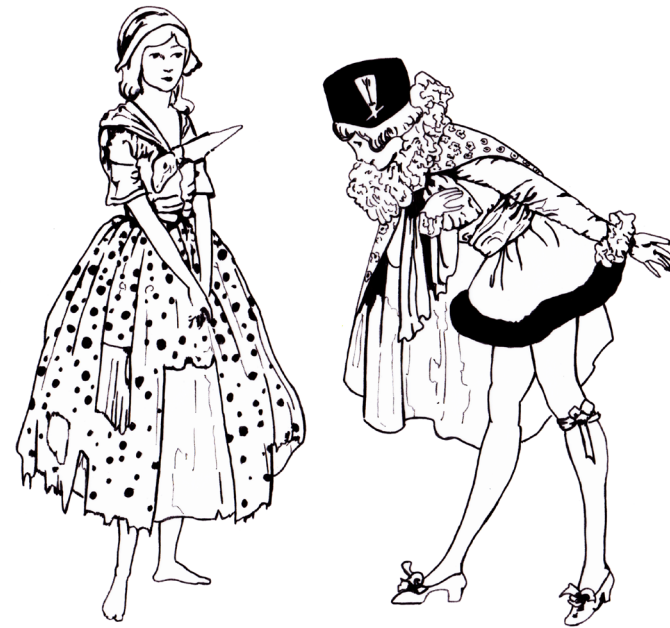
2a. Dr Heinrich Hoffmann: Struwwelpeter, 1845



2b. Robert and Philip Spence: Struwwelhitler, 1941

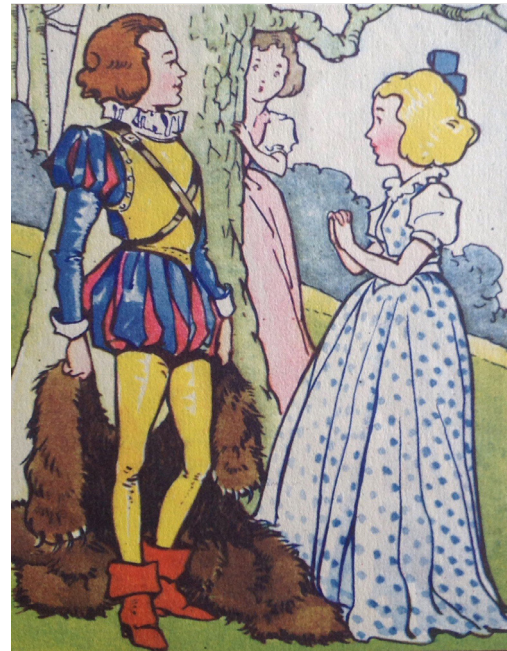
2a. *Struwwelpeter*, a book created by Heinrich Hoffmann in 1845 to amuse his three year old son, was a series of moral fairy tale style rhymes and stories featuring an evil boy. Translated into many languages it was reinterpreted during World War II as *Struwwelhitler* 2b. by an author using the pseudonym "Dr Schrecklichkeit" or "Dr Horror. (British Library, 2020).

4. Florence May Anderson's portrayal of a prince and princess from 1916 not only depicts both characters as children but the prince, bowing before a barefoot maid resembles a young girl. The short tunic displaying long legs would have been inappropriately short for a girl at the time, but with the facial features, hairstyle and tiny waist accentuated by a full skirt on the tunic, the resemblance to a female is unmistakable. This prince portrays no masculine identifying characteristics.



4. Florence May Anderson:
The Black Princess and Other Tales, 1916

5. The 1940s saw the start of a more simplistic and childlike interpretation of characters. The fairy tale illustration had undergone transformations throughout a period of social unrest and emerged in a less artistic or nuanced form. This image is one of a series of four in which "Bearskin" is depicted shedding the disguise he was cursed to wear by the devil. The characters are young, childlike and drawn in a distinctive 1940s style. The bow and the hairstyle on the young girl translate into a stereotypically historical representation of a 1940s child and the prince has the frame of a youth not a man. Illustrations continued to streamline throughout the 50s and 60s, creating more light-hearted and cartoon like images than had been seen previously.



5. Anon: Bearskin, 1940



5a. Gustav Hjortlund: The Emperors New
Clothes, 1958



HANSEL AND GRETEL

5b. Anon: Hansel and Gretel. The Hanky Pank
Players Record Sleeve, 1960

All these changes occur at certain points in time and as Alan Dundes noted in "Earth-Diver: Creation of the Mythopoeic Male" from his book, *The Meaning of Folklore: The Analytical Essays of Alan Dundes*,

Changes in myth do occur and a careful examination of a number of variants of a particular myth may show that these changes tend to cluster around certain points in time or space. Even if such changes are comparatively minor in contrast to the over-all structural stability of a myth, they may well serve as meaningful signals of definite cultural changes (Dundes & Bronner, 2007: 329).

The objective of this thesis is to analyse and catalogue these aggregated changes — with particular reference to male characters and illustrations of them between 1900 and 1935 — taking into account the social and political atmosphere in which they were created. It will investigate the differing voices within the fairy tale and examine some of the feminine elements that often overwhelm the tales. The aim is to determine the illustration's relationship with the text, their depictions of masculinity, and examine how they adapted to, challenged or reflected, societal norms, art movements and political change.

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Literature Review

Very little attention has been given to the picture book as a special kind of illustrated text (Lewis, 1994:8).

From Propp to Zipes, Tatar to Canepa, the examination and research of the fairy tale has engaged and provoked scholars for years. Yet within the many books, papers and published articles about the fairy tale or their societal influences, there are few instances of the examination of their male characters and their masculine identity — in fact, this is an understudied area in general.

The historical role of women was in part acknowledged, but men continued to be seen as entirely ungendered persons. That kind of myopia is all too typical of syntheses of modern British history (Tosh, 2005: 330).

Not only is an examination of the male character overdue but is necessary if an understanding of the role of masculinity in fairy tales is to be defined. Whether he is a hero or protagonist, a villain or suitor, an exploration of his masculinity and what it signifies is intrinsic to fully appreciating the fairy tale genre.

This thesis discusses the hypothesis that an underlying feminine construct within the tales began to shape the discourse of the male character into a negative stereotype of patriarchal masculinity. A stereotype perpetuated through subsequent re-writings and visualisations of the tales and one that has created a negative perception of masculine representation. The hypothesis of a perceived negative portrayal of masculinity, highlights a gap in the knowledge of fairy tale study, in that the documenting of masculinity or masculine stereotypes, roles, identities and perceptions has not been undertaken or defined on any scale.

Visual representations within the tales have proliferated for over 200 years during which time they have portrayed a range of identities that reflect the social, political and artistic influences of the time periods in which they were created. The texts of the fairy tales, although going through some changes, provided the basis of a consistent narrative from which artists were able to draw inspiration and to create their visual interpretations. As visuals can be ‘read’ by an audience of any age, they are an important interpretive element of the tales and the combination of narrative and visuals have therefore, determined a large range of masculine identities. By analysing representations of masculinity and their supporting visual characterisations throughout the tales, the intention of this thesis is to determine what the overarching depiction of masculinity encompasses. The objective being to create an understanding of the impact this has on perceptions of masculine identity within the fairy tale.

These identities, and the perceptions they create have, as stated, been largely ignored by previous studies and this research aims to discover and document the changing identities that have occurred in the fairy tale male between 1900 and 1935. To identify and begin to understand the role of the male and how his perception and identity is created through the text and illustration, it is essential to engage with a range of studies that help define masculinity, feminism, queer identity, and the tales themselves. It is also important to understand how imagery speaks to an audience and builds an identity that conveys not only the textual, but also the societal and cultural references which are translated by artists. These elements work together to create insights into the fairy tale male.

1. Masculinity

Manhood is difficult to achieve and easy to lose
(Heesacker and Snowden, 2013; Vandello Bosson Cohen, Burnaford & Weaver, 2008).

There is much confusion over the definition of masculinity and the difference between sex and gender. Sex is a biological sign, a set of biological indicators that define a human body as either male or female (Stoller, 1994: 9). Gender relates more to upbringing and nurture, therefore the sex of a person may not relate to their gender or the one they identify with. A female can identify with masculine traits or gender without being male, or of that biological category. Just as a male may identify with feminine traits or gender.

Unless we subside into defining masculinity as equivalent to men, we must acknowledge that sometimes masculine conduct or masculine identity goes together with a female body (Connell, 2000:16).

Hence defining masculinity can be problematic, not only in the fairy tale, but in general. The sexual identity of a male is intertwined with his perception of his masculinity and within masculinity there are many variations and levels.

Research has proven that perceptions of masculinity are complex and dependant on a range of factors such as upbringing, relationships, society, and sexuality (Connell, 2000: 17-23; Levant, 2011: 765-776), and they are determined by cultural and societal beliefs on how men are expected to behave. (Levant et al, 2013: 488-489) Within these factors there is a defined range of perceived masculine norms which in turn, lead to a hierarchy of conformity¹ (Levant et al, 2013: 488-501).

The idea of a hierarchy of masculinity was formed over 30 years ago in a study by Kessler of social inequality of high school boys in Australia (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 830).

1. The MRNI-SF states the 7 forms are Restrictive Emotionality, Self-reliance through Mechanical Skills, Negativity toward Sexual Minorities, Avoidance of Femininity, Importance of Sex, Dominance and Toughness and traditional masculinity ideology. (Levant and Hall 2015; Levant et al, 2013: Journal of Counselling Psychology Vol. 60, No. 2, 488 –501)

Stoneall, Kessler & McKenna (1979), Carrigan, Connell, and Lee (1985), and Edley & Wetherell (1997), determined there were multiple categories of masculinity and between them challenged the perceived ideas of how masculinity had previously been defined.

The high school project provided empirical evidence of multiple hierarchies — in gender as well as class terms — interwoven with active projects of gender construction (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 830).

The definition or discovery of multiple hierarchies and gender construction has subsequently become the received theory of masculinity and set the tone for further debate both academically and socially.

1.a. Hegemonic Masculinity

The term hegemony was first applied to a class system by Gramsci (1891-1937), and cultural empowerment by Michel Foucault (1926-84), as opposed to masculinity alone. But over time hegemony became associated with discussion and exploration of the male gender (Connell, 1977), and has also become a definition of the representation of masculinity within the fairy tale. Hegemony also helped define the hierarchies within male gender and highlighted the difference between genders. Exploration of the male gender role was initially linked to oppressive behaviour — as is often commented upon in relation to the tales — as opposed to the variety of differences research has now defined.

During the 1970's there was an explosion of writing about the male role, sharply criticising role norms as the source of oppressive behaviour by men (Brannon, 1976; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005: 831).

Initially, the core concepts of masculinity focused purely on power, dominance, and oppression by men over women. It did not address the variance of masculine traits within the gender such as sexual identity and how this formed itself into levels of masculinity within the gender. There was also little investigation as to the way these differences created prejudice and violence by men towards other men. From 1977 to 1980, social and empirical research was beginning to be documented by writers and theorists such as Connell, in schools, workplaces and communities. These studies identified

the “plurality of masculinities and the complexities of gender construction for men” (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005: 832).

It was becoming evident that the construct of masculinity was a far more complex and deep-seated issue than had previously been accepted. There were many factors that generated a range of gender norms. Masculinity was being defined as having a hierarchy of norms and traits, complex in its nature and formation (Levant et al, 2018: 325-326). This research began to define the hegemonic male as atypical. He was identified as being the rarest representation of the heterosexual male with the most negative portrayal of masculine traits. Power, aggression, dominance, and threat. Traits that are often identified with male characters within fairy tales or assigned to the fairy tale male with little analysis of actual representation, particularly with regard to illustrations.

Hegemonic masculinity was not considered to be normal in the statistical sense; only a minority of men might enact it (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005: 832).

The patriarchal gender system is an intrinsic element of the hegemonic male and is evident in the fairy tale. Societies working on a social structure of patriarchy and male inheritance, determine that inheritance is carried from one generation to the next via the first born son or if the first born is a female, subsequent sons, (primogeniture). Inheritance of title, money, status, and property ensured females could not become dominant. It kept them locked into subservience by their fathers, brothers, husbands and even sons.

Hegemonic masculinity was understood as the pattern of practice (i.e., things done, not just a set of role expectations or and identity) that allowed men’s dominance over women to continue (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005: 832).

This dominance is demonstrated in historical, political, and social studies, in literature, the arts and in academia. Within the fairy tale for example, there is a good deal of evidence of patrimony, control, and dominance of men over women, (Rumpelstiltskin being a good example (Ch 2.5: 212). Over time a rising awareness of this inequitable patriarchal construct began to force a change in societal responses. Many European monarchies changed the rules

of male primogeniture to allow females to inherit. Sweden was the first to do so in 1980, followed by Norway, Netherlands, and Belgium (Corcos, 2012). Most recently the United Kingdom has followed suit, announcing in 2011 that the monarchy would no longer adhere to the male primogeniture hereditary structure. (Dunn, 2021)

Hegemony, however, was and still is, the “normative” way masculinity is perceived. It influences perceptions of masculinity between men and women but also between men and men. All men “position” themselves in relation to it (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). In hegemony there is a patriarchal structure that displays dominance over women, but also over other men and the hierarchy of masculinity then conforms to a hegemonic structure (Sabo & Gordon, 1995; Bosson et al, 2005; Heesacker & Snowden, 2013).

Hegemonic traits are defined as behaviours that distinguish a male within the masculine hierarchy such as aggression, dominance, control, power, violence, sexual drive, drinking culture and sport (Liu, 2016: 1). Sport is a way of showing the hegemonic trait of masculinity, combined with the aggression required to compete and win particularly in team sports. Sport is also used as a way of communicating to men through advertising (Litosseliti & Sunderland, 2002). It is used to pull men together, to change their perceptions of themselves in relation to other men and to create bonds between men, whether as a part of their immediate in-group or across cultural divides (Connell, 2000; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005: 833).

1.b. Masculine Hierarchy

Masculine norms inform a male’s self-perception of his own masculinity. Wetherell and Edley (2014), ascertain that masculinity is “not as an essence to be revealed,” more it is a range of practices or norms that are “actively developed and negotiated in relation to other forms of identity in particular cultural contexts” (2014: 355).

Such practices take many different forms and involve a wide range of activities, such as the disciplining of bodies to match currently ideal physiques, choices of clothes and fashion, leisure pursuits, gendered hierarchies in workplaces, and so on (Wetherell & Edley, 2014: 355).

Within masculinity there is a hierarchy that adheres to the hegemonic perceptions of what it means to be male, how to express masculinity, and how others perceive masculinity. The hegemonic male sits at the top of the hierarchical ladder and exhibits the stereotypical masculine traits associated with being “manly.” As already mentioned, these may take the extreme form of aggression, dominance, violence, and sport. A strong muscular physique, conspicuous success with women and the consumption of alcohol, are indicators of intrinsic hegemonic masculinity (Wetherell & Edley, 2014: 355). Many of these traits are evident within the fairy tale. Kings, lords, and princes sit at the top of the hierarchical ladder. They are often described as superior to other characters and the texts describe behaviours that are indicative of a hierarchical dominance.

To be relegated down the masculinity hierarchy, a man must be suspected of, accused of, or have had, homosexual relations and is therefore perceived as subordinate to the hegemonic, heterosexual male or “counter-hegemonic” (Carrigan, Connell & Lee, 1985). Men should reject anything feminine (Brannon, 1976), gay (Pascoe, 2011), or un-masculine including any feminine roles, acts or feelings (Bosson, Prewitt-Freilino & Taylor, 2005), or their masculine “credit” will decline. This introduces another constituent element of hegemony, that of homophobia. Foucault examined the history of homosexuality in his three volume work *The History of Sexuality* (1981). He examined how homosexuality, common place and unremarkable in classical Greece, was, over time, determined to be a deviation from the norm (of heterosexuality) by Christian values and beliefs. A perception that still exists. Heterosexuality and homophobia are at the core of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, Carrigan & Lee, 1985).

Weakness is associated with femininity, and by extension, homosexuality. This anxiety, one of the chief defining characteristics of dominant hegemonic masculinity, is reflected in the manipulation of gaze and image within various kinds of media (Litosseliti & Sunderland, 2002: 160).

Males who consider themselves to be hegemonic may not display *all* of the above behaviours, but by displaying *some* of them they can earn enough “credit” to be considered a heterosexual hegemonic male, but if they display

signs of homosexuality their credit is severely reduced. According to some scholars, even with a few perceived feminine qualities or traits men can still achieve hegemonic status if they display enough hegemonic traits. The existence of these predominantly masculine traits will, “inoculate against failure in a given domain of masculinity” (Ravenhill & de Visser, 2017: 322; de Visser & McDonnell, 2013).

Men are not expected to embody all of the principals of hegemonic masculinity in order to be considered masculine: they can even display stereotypically feminine behaviours while maintaining their masculine identity (de Visser & McDonnell, 2013: 5-14).

There is however, some debate about this between Anderson (2010), and de Visser & McDonnell (2013). Where deVisser and McDonnell state the above, Anderson states,

Men who display feminine behaviours or who fail in a given domain of masculinity, irrespective of their sexual identity risk being symbolically relegated down the masculine hierarchy by suspicions and accusations of homosexuality ([Anderson, 2010]: Ravenhill & de Visser, 2017: 322).

Anderson also argues that there is not a hierarchical arrangement of masculinity but rather a horizontal one. An arrangement that is inclusive of homosexuality and claims not all heterosexual men want or need to prove themselves against homosexuals. Rather they seek an equality that is defined by being male, regardless of sexuality ([Anderson, 2010]: Ravenhill and de Visser, 2017: 322). This may explain why so many male artists of the fairy tale created images of men that did not conform to the “norms”. They gave them enough masculine traits to retain their status but played with perceptions that might relegate that status, depending on who the character was.

There are merits in both arguments. There are indeed males who are not threatened by either the hegemonic or the homosexual male and would therefore sit comfortably in Anderson’s horizontal structure. Alternatively, although the hegemonic male is also heterosexual, he fits within Connell, de Visser & McDonnell’s description of the hierarchical structure of masculinity, as he seeks to control and dominate other men (and women). Therefore,

it can be deduced that there is an element of horizontal structure within the hierarchical structure of masculinity. It is the combination of masculine traits or behaviour that defines where a male sits within the hierarchy.

The extent to which a man is perceived as masculine depends on the combination of behaviours he enacts or traits he embodies, each weighed differently in terms of the masculine “credit” it affords (de Visser & McDonnell, 2013; Ravenhill & de Visser, 2017: 1).

It can therefore be surmised that some feminine traits may be dismissed if other masculine traits are strong enough. This too explains why it has become more acceptable to display overtly feminine traits such as grooming, whilst still retaining the hegemonic or heterosexual male identity and thus remaining in the upper echelons of the masculinity scale.

1.c. Homosexuality and the Hegemonic male

Sexuality is seen as the topmost masculine trait, therefore heterosexual males are considered to be at the top of the masculinity scale due to their sexuality, unlike the homosexual male whose sexual behaviours place him under all heterosexual males.

...they do not contribute to the realisation of the principals (*and are*) considered inherently non-masculine at best, feminised at worst (Ravenhill and de Visser, 2017: 321).

Males who have sex with other men are a threat to the patriarchal system that feeds hegemonic masculinity and thus are regarded as inferior or less masculine. Any males perceived as less masculine are lower on the masculine scale and therefore are expected to defer to the hegemonic male.

Homosexual men objectively share the same sex category as heterosexual men but at the same time they blatantly violate the definition of masculinity. Consequently, homosexuality represents a threat to the gender identity that is likely to motivate heterosexual men to reject gay men and, at the same time, to reaffirm their own masculine identity (Carnaghi et al, 2011: 1656).

As stated earlier, it is not essential that men display overtly masculine behaviours to be considered a part of a social and stereotypical masculine

identity, they may display feminised behaviour, but their sexuality is the key factor in proving their masculine credentials. Sexuality is paramount in ensuring they maintain their hegemonic status. A homosexual on the other hand, will never be considered a hegemonic male by another hegemonic male. He will always be perceived as less masculine simply because of his sexual inclinations. To sleep with another male is a feminine trait that cannot be overcome by demonstrating other masculine traits. The sexuality of the male is “all important” (Carnaghi et al, 2011:1662).

The emotional and physical conflicts of the hegemonic male towards perceived feminine traits and their place within the masculine structure, makes it impossible for a homosexual male to ever be considered on a par with a hegemonic heterosexual male and therefore gay men (and women) face more stigma (Herek, Gillis & Cogan, 2009).

The hegemonic masculinity discourse deployed across all groups of participants constructed homosexuality as incommensurate with traditional, orthodox masculinity (Ravenhill & de Visser, 2017: 321-330).

Another element of perceived masculinity is the male voice. This is an area in which the hegemonic male will identify or reject a male based on perception of a feminine trait. The feminised voice of some homosexual males is an obvious and outward clue as to their sexual identity. “A higher pitched voice with a soft tone was an important identifying characteristic of gay men” (Ravenhill & de Visser, 2017: 324).

A strong, successful, athletic male may not be perceived as gay, unless he has feminised vocal traits. This immediately categorises him, as far as the hegemonic in-group is concerned, as “less masculine”, therefore a non-prototypical member of the in-group and a target for anti-gay bias, prejudice, and rejection.

A masculine voice can therefore be seen as an important component of masculinity for any man: and its absence one of the key threats to overall masculine capital for a gay man (Ravenhill & de Visser, 2017: 324).

The hegemonic male's perception of how masculine a gay man can be, or what his "viable masculine identity" is (Ravenhill & de Visser, 2017), will be dictated by his physicality, profession, or athleticism but if he displays outward signs of femininity, such as a feminine voice, his accrued masculine capital will decline.

Heterosexual identity is important to the hegemonic male. To have their identity challenged results in distancing themselves from the source of the challenge or, reinstating their hegemonic status by stressing their masculinity to include physical or sexual aggression in order to "repair," their masculine identity (Fowler & Geers, 2017; Maass et al, 2003; Babl, 1979). This repair may result in violence towards the homosexual threat, or towards women in a bid to recapture the hegemonic masculine status.

Heterosexual men are likely to deduce their self value from the dominant status of their in-group in society (Carnaghi et al, 2011: 1656).

Bethan Benwell's essay *Is There Anything "New" About These Lads?: The Textual and Visual Construction of Masculinity in Men's Magazines*, points out that both Connell and Talbot make reference to the continued stability of the hegemonic masculine identity in society. It is protected by those who defend it as a heterosexual ideal. There is an "active defence of hegemonic masculinity" (Connell, 1995: 216). Although it must shift and twist in order to remain relevant, it none-the-less remains a powerful concept. "The stability of hegemonic masculinity might well lie in its very flexibility (Talbot, 1997: 186)" (Litosseliti & Sunderland (ed), Benwell, 2002: 152). This flexibility is evident within the early fairy tales. As male authors began to re-write the tales they reinstated much of the hegemony that female authors had undermined with strong female characters, thus perpetuating a perception of hegemony that could easily have been lost had it not adapted.

Homosexual men have found ways to own their hegemonic potential. The male body has a large, strong physique — a physique often displayed within the fairy tale illustrations — due to the amount of testosterone being released at puberty. On release of testosterone there is massive muscle growth, skeletal growth, and development of physical masculine signifiers. This toned and muscular physique is indicative of hegemonic masculinity, and many gay men regularly pursue this body type by continuing to develop their bodies and add to the natural physique associated with superior masculinity (Ravenhill and de Visser, 2017: 322).

The physique is a clear visual signifier of hegemonic traits and credentials.

A physique which conveys physical strength is one way that heterosexual hegemonic masculinity may be embodied: Muscular bodies may therefore afford gay men a masculinity that is valued within heteronormative culture (Ravenhill and de Visser, 2017: 322).

The homosexual male who uses his physical masculinity (i.e. his body and development of an overtly masculine physique) is provoking and challenging the hegemonic perceptions of masculinity in a physical and sexualised way (Vescio, Schlenker & Lenes, 2010) — whilst also attempting to conform to the socially accepted view of what masculinity is. They are portraying their own masculinity by enhancing traits of hegemonic masculine identity, even though they are still rejected by the hegemonic, heterosexual male.

Gay men negotiate their masculine identities in response to the pressure imposed on them by a heterosexist culture where heterosexual masculinities are most valued (Eguchi, 2009; Ravenhill and de Visser, 2017: 322).

The gay community and masculinities within it, also adhere to a hierarchical scale. Homosexual males, even though regularly subjected to undermining by hegemonic heterosexual males, will accentuate masculine (hegemonic) traits. They do this not only to conform or find a place within the hetero-normative hierarchy, but also to reassert their masculinity within their own in-group. This leads to an entire hierarchy within the gay in-group (Carnaghi et al, 2011: 1657).

Within the hierarchy of the gay community, there is also a hierarchy of those with perceived "less masculine" or feminine traits. The sexual roles between men had strong gender connotations. Sex between men is a domain where gay men have possibilities for accruing and trading masculine capital (Ravenhill & de Visser, 2017: 321-322).

Gay sexual delineations of "top" and "bottom" are representative of heterosexual sexual practice and in effect portray one participant as "male" whilst the other is perceived as "female." The research undertaken by Ravenhill & de Visser (2017: 325), indicates that the "top" is seen as being a more dominant role, whilst the "bottom" is the subordinate role. However, in order

to counterbalance this perception within an all-male group, often the males who accentuate their muscularity are the ones who identify as the “bottom” in their relationships, but use their muscularity to “prove” their masculinity.

Rivera & Dasgupta’s 2018 paper, published in the journal *The Psychology of Men and Masculinity*, determined when affirming or threatening the heterosexual males physical and emotional traits, the results were the same. There was prejudice and anti-gay bias from heterosexual men toward homosexual men, determined by their sexual preferences. However, paradoxically, in a *professional* capacity the heterosexual male, is not threatened by the homosexual male.

...professional ambition is unrelated to stereotypes about gay men, (Keiller, 2010) thus, we predicted that affirming heterosexual men by highlighting their physical and emotional toughness would increase anti-gay prejudice whereas affirming masculinity by highlighting their drive to be ambitious and successful would have no effect on anti-gay prejudice (Rivera & Dasgupta, 2018: 107).

This shows the hegemonic male increases their need to prove their masculinity if threatened emotionally or physically, but professionally does not feel the same threat, therefore has no need to “prove” himself.

Although being “out” may reduce perceptions of masculinity, this may not translate into reductions in performance appraisal (Merritt et al, 2013).

1.d. In-groups

An in-group” is any group who have fundamental similarities that make them socially acceptable to one another. In the case of hegemonic masculinity, it is “a social process, something that is accomplished in social action” (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005: 837). In-groups find associations with other members of their group that enable them to feel comfortable and accepting of one another. An in-group is regarded as the socially acceptable face of its members and to deviate from its norms is to find oneself outside the group identity and possibly rejected, judged, or vilified.

A non-prototypical member of the group would be ostracised. For example, “A profound interest in style and fashion is seen to be both feminine and

gay” (Litosseliti & Sunderland, 2002: 159), and would therefore negate a position within an in-group of hegemonic males. Group identity is linked to self-esteem and this is a hugely important element of hegemony. To deviate from it is a threat to the distinctiveness of the group as a whole. Research undertaken by Rivera & Dasgupta in 2018, regarding the in-group functions of masculinities states that,

Perceivers tend to distance themselves from non prototypical in-group members who do not fit in-group norms because these members are viewed as undermining positive group distinctiveness. Non-prototypical in-group members tend to be disliked compared with prototypical in-group members (Rivera & Dasgupta, 2018: 102).

He also states that the reason heterosexual men devalue the masculinity of gay men is due to the divergence of this non-adherence to the masculine in-group “norms.”

He deviates from the very in-group attributes that are important sources of positive group distinctiveness. (Rivera & Dasgupta, 2018:103)

1.e. Masculinity in Crisis

Changes in cultural, social and political agendas have, for many years, been creating what has become identified as a “masculine crisis.” A term employed to describe how the traditional roles of men have slowly been eroded, creating a crisis of identity in recognising their role in society. Not only have some of their roles seemingly become obsolete (such as being the only provider within a family), but with the rise of movements recognising the rights of women and of gay men — and with research into feminism — heteronormative male identity has struggled to maintain a focus on its place within a changing, and challenging, social structure (Roberts, 2014). Just as feminists pushed against their own prescriptive roles, so too have some men begun to push against theirs, and the resulting turmoil has become the focus of many theorists and their studies (Kimmel, 1984 & 2008: Connell, 2000: Roberts, 2014). The crisis is also thought to have contributed to a decline in the emotional and mental health of men.

The crisis of masculinity theory suggests that men today, more than ever, are confused about what it means to be a man, and are progres-

sively attempting to push beyond the rigid role prescriptions of the traditional concepts of masculinity that constrain male behaviour (Kimmel 1987: 121- 122).

1.f. The Male as Spectacle

The male as spectacle has been discussed by theorists and researchers such as Mulvey (1975), Ellis (1982), Neale (1983), Doty (1997), Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996) and Szymanski, (2011). Although mainly theorised by Mulvey, Ellis and Neale from the perspective of film, the premise is the same when regarding illustration. Research has focused on the connection between the view of the spectator (or reader of the illustration) and that of the spectacle (in this thesis, the male in the illustration) and how the male (or female) is perceived by the spectator.

Neale argues, based on Ellis' research, that the identification of masculinity within an image is not simply a trade of men identifying with a male hero (or women with a female heroine). He states that the 'observation' or 'gaze' of the spectator may come from a place of desire, position, role or identity and because identity is fluid, the spectator may identify with the male spectacle in a myriad of ways.

...identification involves both the recognition of self with the various positions that are involved in the fictional narration: those of hero and heroine, villain, bit part player, active and passive character. Identification is therefore multiple and fractured. (Ellis, 1982: 43; Neale, 1983: 11).

The male as spectacle is a transition from a heteronormative or patriarchal preconception of identity, and a truer representation of how masculinity may be perceived by any spectator.

2. Gender, Sexual Identity & Queer Theory

In homophobic ideology the boundary between straight and gay is blurred with the boundary between masculine and feminine (Connell, 1995:40; Litosseliti & Sunderland, 2002: 159).

Although the study of sexuality and gender is often perceived as a relatively modern subject, it has been a topic of conversation amongst scholars since the middle of the 1800s when research into sexuality began to be studied in earnest by sexologists, psychiatrists and academics (Bristow, 2011: 12-56).

Sexual scandal, deviancy and homosexuality had been documented since the Marquis de Sade put pen to paper in the mid 1700s. His writings influenced many of the scholars and authors who subsequently studied and wrote about sexuality, authors such as Baudelaire (1821-1867), and Flaubert (1821-1880), and more contemporarily, Foucault (1972, 1981), Connell (2000, 2017), Mulvey (1975), Barthes (1990, 2009), Weeks (1995), Butler (1990, 2004), Neale (1983), and Bristow (1995, 2011).

The Marquise de Sade's work also influenced authors such as Marguerite Vallette-Eymery, or as she was better known, Rachilde, in *La Marquise de Sade* (1887), Angela Carter in "The Sadeian Woman" (1979), and Susan Sontag in "The Pornographic Imagination." (1967). Carter and Sontag believed Sade created a "space for women" in the sexual debate and should not be silenced or censored.

Artists such as Man Ray (1890-1976) and the Surrealists (1920-1950) also admired Sade, alongside many poets, authors, and film makers. Theorists such as Judith Butler (1990), Adrienne Rich (2003), and Eve Sedgwick (1990), were influenced by academics who had in turn been influenced by Sade. These proponents of sexuality and gender began the long history of sexual identity that has morphed into a wide range of studies including homosexuality, lesbianism, feminism, masculinity, and queer theory.

The progression of the study of sexuality, queerness and gender owes debt to those who instigated initial writings on sexuality, including the authors of fairy tales such as "Little Red Riding Hood", originally a tale about the sexual awakening of a girl and the perils awaiting her from adult men. One of the earlier versions, written by Perrault in 1697, pre-dates the writings of Sade and the influence of these two diverse authors is evidenced in Carter's writings. In her draft text for "The Sadeian Woman" in 1978 she writes,

The annihilation of the self and the resurrection of the body, to die in pain and to painfully # return from death, is the sacred drama of the Sadeian orgasm. In this drama, flesh is used instrumentally, to provoke these ##### spasmodic visitations of ## dreadful pleasure. In this flesh, nothing human remains; it aspires to the condition of the sacramental meal. # It is never the instrument of love (Bl.uk, 2020: 7; Carter, 1978: 150).

Her version of “Red Riding Hood”, “The Company of Wolves” first published in 1979, coalesces this cogitation on desire and sexuality.

The Wolf is carnivore incarnate... only immaculate flesh appeases him...when he was finished with her, he licked his chops and quickly dressed himself again...She will lay his fearful head on her lap and she will pick out the lice from his pelt and perhaps she will put the lice into her mouth and eat them, as he will bid her, as she would do in a savage marriage ceremony...sweet and sound she sleeps in granny’s bed, between the paws of the tender wolf (Carter, 2006 [1979]: 136-139).

Luminaries such as Foucault (1972, 1981), Connell (2000, 2017), Mulvey (1975), Weeks (1991), Neal (1993), Doty (1997), Bristow (1995, 2011), Halberstam (2005, 2011, 2019), Butler (1990, 2004), Spargo (2000) and Sontag (2018), built upon the emerging definitions of gender and sexuality and began theorising and researching feminism, masculinity, gender, and queer identity. Their approaches have varied from discourse and language to film and text.

Queer theory investigates and theorises on deviations from expected sexual norms. It questions if hetero-normativity should in fact be considered a “norm” or if sexual behaviours influenced by history, culture and society should instead be considered normal even as they deviate from the socially expected “norm.” Queer theory focuses on traits that are not as identifiable or easily labelled such as gay or lesbian yet are an intrinsic part of the spectrum of sexual and gender identity. Judith Butler states that queer theory should be thought of as a collection of contested theories, and that no one definition should be apportioned to the range of sexual and gender differences.

I would suggest that more important than any presupposition about the plasticity of identity or indeed its retrograde status is queer theory’s claim to be opposed to the unwanted legislation of identity... Sexuality is not easily summarized or unified through categorisation (Butler, 2004: 7).

That gender or sexual identity could be a fluctuating and ambiguous state, meant scholars had to renegotiate preconceived ideas on what normative identity might encompass. Predictably, it was inevitable that even these oscillating states be labelled, thus the term Queer was adopted and has become the received “identity.”

The term “queer” gained currency precisely to address such moments of productive undecidability, but we have not yet seen a psychoanalytic attempt to take account of these cultural formations in which certain vacillating notions of sexual orientation are constitutive (Butler, 2004: 142).

Exploration into queer representations and visual/popular culture was discussed in 2012 by Janes in his essay on Frederick Rolf. Rolf an ecclesiastical man, hid his queerness behind his Christian beliefs. The discovery of his personal diary and a collection of Christmas cards within it, led Janes (amongst others such as Halberstam Rouleau and Danbolt) to explore the concept of queer identity through visual culture.

Frederick Rolfe appears, from the evidence of his scrapbook (as indeed he also does via his thinly fictionalized appearances in his novels), as a master of the construction of queerness through the practice of arranging, and perhaps thereby subverting, the products of late Victorian popular culture (Janes, 2012: 105-124).

Rolf was reading visual signifiers and fabricating his own narrative, using them to explore his sexuality at a time when it was socially unacceptable to be outwardly queer, especially within a religious context. Judith Halberstam has described evidence of queer representations in children’s animated films (Halberstam, 2011), and his exploration of queer identity in the visual is explored further in *Jump Cut: A Review of Contemporary Media* (Rouleau & Halberstam, 2021) where she turns to popular visual culture of film and television to explore the visual identities of queer and trans representation.

The visual medium is in so many ways a very difficult medium for the representation of all kinds of trans experiences (Rouleau & Halberstam, 2021:2).

An interest in examining archival material exploring the history of queer agency or identity was the focus of an exhibition of art, poetry, writing and objects in Copenhagen in 2009 (Danbolt et al, 2009). Contributors selected

art works that expressed their view of queer identity in popular culture yet the fairy tale artwork, that has wonderful expressions of queer identity as this thesis will show, were not considered. This thesis aims to explore the material that would otherwise be overlooked in regard not only to masculine identity, but to queer and homosexual identity also.

In order for the archive to function, it requires users, interpreters, and cultural historians to wade through the material and piece together the jigsaw puzzle of queer history in the making. (Halberstam, 2005: 170).

3. Art and Social Movements

In the early 1900s, cultural, artistic, social, and political variables further changed perceptions of gender and sexual identity and also led to the creation of artwork that explored and challenged representations of how those identities manifested themselves. Fin de Siècle, Decadence and La Belle Époque, were three of the most influential periods or movements of the late 1800s into the 1900s followed by the first World War in 1914. These all had a huge impact on social changes and on the artists and writers of the day.

The historical context of this thesis ranges from early 1900 to 1935. It encompasses the movements that impacted how sexuality and gender were perceived and how they were reflected in the illustrations of the fairy tale, as well as in the fairy tale texts created during this period.

The history of Homosexuality only makes sense if same-sex behaviour, beliefs and identities are put firmly in their proper historical context. Sexual activities in other words, are always contextual and relational. They do not have a fixed or absolute meaning beyond time or place, which does not of course, make them any less important. (Weeks, 1991: 4-5).

The artists creating illustrations during these tumultuous times often engaged in the social and artistic movements and demonstrated techniques, styles and portrayals of characters that reflected societal influences. They began to challenge the preconceived notions of visual identity according to their own beliefs or influences. Artists such as Beardsley (1872-1898), who created very few illustrations for the fairy tale himself, had an enormous

impact on artists who did, and his style was often emulated. The pen and ink drawings he created were revered by many illustrators and combined with the changing social perceptions of gender, identity, masculinity, and sexuality, a new fairy tale style emerged that was to become known as the Golden Age of illustration (Kosik, 2018). The fairy tale illustration at this time was able to sustain a freer exploration of gender and sexuality than might have been acceptable in other genres.

(The fairy tale) could give freer rein to formal and rhetorical experimentation, as well as to social criticism that would not always have been tolerated in more canonical genres (Canepa, 1999: 18).

Decadence and Symbolism were populated by influential writers such as Oscar Wilde, Rachilde, Mendes, Schwob and Jean Lorrain (Schultz & Seifert, 2019). These authors embraced and flaunted sexuality and gender in their writings, and in their personal lives (Hoffman, 1981). The Decadent authors who were reacting against the modernisation of society and the changes this wrought, were also in fact, proponents of a sexual revolution. Decadence embraced the grotesque, liberal and perverse elements of sex, they partook in many sexual exploits of their own, yet they were also rallying against progression within society where women were beginning to have a stronger feminist voice and technological and scientific advancement were creating a modern world. The Decadent's saw this progress as a decline (Schultz & Seifert, 2019: xxi), (Hoffman, 1981; Zipes, 2012a&b).

Rachilde clearly stated she did not think of herself as a feminist. In fact, she wrote a piece on gender identity called "Why I am not a Feminist" in 1928. Although her work was thought to be autobiographical with regards to sexuality and gender, she stated that she "always acted as an individual" as opposed to someone intent on creating a new social movement or seeking to undermine the social norms of the time. Unsurprisingly Rachilde, amongst other proponents of Decadence, embraced the fairy tale. The tales were ripe for interpretation and adaptation by the Decadents and as Rachilde herself declared that her family tree included a werewolf, it is not hard to make the connection to a fascination with the fairy tale (Hawthorne, 2002).

Illustrators such as Kay Nielsen, Harry Clarke, Henry Ford, Helen Stratton, Jessie King, John Bauer and Virginia Sterrett amongst others, although

not always involved in the artistic or social movements themselves, were profoundly influenced by them and their artwork reflected these influences for many years. How their interpretations came to be construed was in part down to the viewer — as Barthes concludes in “Death of the Author” (Barthes, 1990), when the author is removed from the text what is left is what the reader interprets - but also in part, by the authors, protagonists and influences of the day be they social, political, or artistic, that the illustrator connected with.

Women writers of the Fin de Siècle and La Belle Époque were prolific (Mesch, 2006), and much has been written about their forays into gender, sexuality, desire, and perversion (Lokis-Adkins & Firm, 2013), and feminism (Holmes & Tarr, 2007). During this period, artists interpretations provide evidence that the gender of fairy tale characters were questioned, altered, or subverted. The artists demonstrated a realisation and understanding of the societal influences that were taking place and they reflected this in the artwork they created.

4. The Fairy Tale

The fairy tale has been a source of traditional entertainment and instruction since the first tale was “delivered by a storyteller to an audience” (Chaudhri & Davidson, 2006: 1). Since then, the written tale has consumed audiences and scholars alike with versions of tales appearing all over the world and authored by the likes of Straparola and Basile, Perrault, Hans Christian Andersen, and the Grimm Brothers (Zipes, 2001: xii).

Zipes, one of the most well respected and prolific of fairy tale scholars is an Emeritus Professor of German at Minnesota University. His authorship of countless books, journal articles, teachings and discussions on the fairy tale have provided a wealth of literature, invaluable in the continuing study of the genre. His wide and varied analysis of the tales includes topics such as their evolution and social relevance, their discourse throughout history and their cultural and social influences. Yet even Zipes admonishes himself on the fact that little or no examination of the fairy tale male has been properly undertaken (Zipes, 1988: 63).

Fairy tales continue to pervade if not invade our lives throughout the world. They play an intricate role in acculturation, that is, forming and reflecting the tastes, manners, and ideologies of members of a particular society. They have a powerful effect on how young and old behave and relate to their daily activities (Zipes, 2012a: ix).

Alongside Zipes and with a huge range of research into the genre, are scholars such as Maria Tatar, a Professor at Harvard University who chairs the Degree Program in Folklore and Mythology and Nancy Canepa, an Associate Professor at Dartmouth University. There are many other scholars who contribute to the wealth of information on the fairy tale. Scholars such as Brewer, who has examined the interpretation of the tales, Ruth Bottigheimer, who has documented the oral transmission of the tales and Graham Anderson, who has written on the sourcing of the first fairy tales (Chaudhri & Davison, 2006). These and a wealth of others continue to examine and delve into the complexities of the tales social and cultural impact on the societies of which they were and still are, a part.

It is widely accepted amongst all scholars of the fairy tale that they undoubtedly have an enormous impact on society and have done over hundreds of years (Zipes, 2012b). This impact has not always resonated well with audiences. As society and culture shifted in an evolution of awareness, custom, religion, politics, art, technology and war, the reception of the tales ebbed and flowed in popularity. New tales were created and discarded as public perception and consciousness developed as briefly mentioned earlier. During the late 1800s and early 1900s, the literary and art movement of Decadence influenced the creation of hundreds of new tales (Schultz & Seifert, 2019: xvii), many of which were retellings of the traditional tales penned several hundred years earlier.

Tales such as “Bluebeard”, “Cinderella”, “Red Riding Hood” and “Prince Charming” were rewritten as warnings of the changing role of women in society and how these changes “could only result in the downfall of men”. Ironically, many of these authors ignored the origins of the tales and their female authors (Schultz & Seifert, 2019: xxiii). Through the lens and enlightenment of feminism, many of these tales could now, be reinterpreted as feminist iterations. The changing attitudes and awareness within society of the female role, means the original meanings have altered with modern thinking, providing evidence that the social and historical context of the fairy tale has been a constant shifting paradigm. Zipes, amongst others, undertakes many examinations of the historical and social impact of the fairy tale (Zipes, 2012a&b; Buttsworth & Abbenhuis, 2017).

The effectiveness of fairy tales and other forms of fantastic literature depends on the innovative manner in which we make the information

of the tales relevant for the listeners and receivers of the tales (Zipes, 2010: preface).

Nancy Canepa, responsible for the most exhaustive and meticulous translation of Basile's "Le Cunto" or "Pentamerone" states that,

Basile's re-elaboration of what must be considered a new genre also serves to offer a complex portrait of the sociohistorical and cultural contexts in which it was created, and this engagement of Lo Cunto with various "realities" – literary traditions and social institutions, above all – is the focus of my book (Canepa, 1999: 12).

By the time the world was at war in 1914, the fairy tale had adapted again to include brave and heroic tales that inspired young men and women to support and admire those who were fighting to save them and their homes. The fairy tale became part of a propaganda war (Hayward, 2005: x; Buttsworth & Abbenhuis, 2017). *The Bowmen and Other Legends of the War* (Machen, 1915), written by a reporter who dabbled in "Gothic and Fantastical Fiction" (Hayward, 2005: 51), became one of the most popular war tales of its time. Alongside these new tales, older, traditional tales were commandeered by the forces and published as compilations with forewords that dedicated and likened the tales of fairy tale heroes, to the real heroes fighting on the front. The tales made the war more palatable by equating them with childhood tales, whilst at the same time, instilling patriotic and sympathetic investment with political turmoil. Sarah Buttsworth and Abbenhuis in *War, Myths and Fairy Tales* (2017), have collected a range of essays which determine that War has always been an intrinsic element of the fairy tale. These essays penned by a range of scholars such as Joanne Conrad, Ruth Bottinger, Lindsay Thistle, and Giacomo Lichtner explore the many ways in which the fairy tale and war have been intrinsically linked.

The hybridisation of the war story within a well-known fairy tale form distances the reader from coming face to face with, and taking responsibility for, human-inflicted horror, by displacing it onto the realm of fantasy. In other words, aestheticizing and genericising real war obscures the particular political context and distances or protects the reader from it (Buttsworth, Abbenhuis & Conrad, 2017: 118).

Equally important is the acknowledgement of how masculinity was impacted by the First World War. Crouthamel (2011), has written at length about

perceptions of masculinity during and after WWI. He detailed and evidenced how a new generation of men who had lived through the hedonistic Belle Époque were no longer as secretive about their sexuality. Although still illegal and "underground" they were silently tolerated. They had lived through a time of change and took this change with them as they headed off to war. These changes in masculine identity were explored again with vigour after the war had ended and only the onset of World War II saw a transformation that forced masculinity to adhere once again to a hegemonic stereotype. Of course, queer identity still existed, but it would take the freedom of the 1960s and 70s to really make a change in how LGBTQ+ identity was to be recognised.

4.a. The Texts

Like all great art, fairy tales both delight and instruct; their special genius is that they do so in terms which speak directly to children
(Bettelheim, 1991: 53).

The fairy tale texts are much examined and have formed the basis for a good deal of psychological study such as Bettelheim undertakes in *The Uses of Enchantment* (1991). A psychologist who worked with emotionally disturbed children, he revered the fairy tale as having the ability to enrich, stimulate, recognise difficulties, provide solutions, and relate to individual personalities.

In all these and many other respects, of the entire "children's literature — with rare exceptions — nothing can be as enriching and satisfying to child and adult alike as the folk fairy tale (Bettelheim, 1991: 5).

He claims that morality is not necessarily the main point of the fairy tale, more that a child might identify with a character. As the fairy tale characters are often flawed and meek, yet still prevail, this provides opportunity to prove that "one can succeed" (1991:10). The fairy tale texts contain a wealth of diversity, characterisation and social commentary which is not only useful in enabling the child to find representations of themselves, but to better understand social implications and interactions. Yet an analysis of the masculine representation for a child or adult to identify with is still understudied.

By the early 1900s, there was a growing desire to define, classify and catalogue the tales. This began in earnest with the ATU. The Arne-Thompson-Uther Index is the most well-known and original of the classification systems (Uther et al, 2004). Originally created by Antti Aarne in 1910, Stith Thompson revised his work twice in 1928 and 1961. Uther then built on Thompson's work and the index, although not without flaws, is considered to be the seminal classification system for the folk and fairy tale (Dundes, 1997: 195-202). Vladimir Propp in *Morphology of the Folk Tale* (1928), sought to categorise the tales and created a complex formula to describe their structure. He stated that,

Since the folktale is exceptionally diverse, and obviously cannot be studied at once in its full extent, the material must be divided into sections.(Propp, 1997 [1958]:4).

This division of content is an underlying premise of the investigation of this thesis. To document the masculine identity within the tales and illustrations, they are deconstructed, and the elements presented in isolation before considering the tale as a whole.

Classifiers do not always describe folktales in detail, but instead, study only some of their aspects (Wundt). If an investigator is interested in both approaches, then classification does not follow after description, but description is made within the framework of the preconceived classification (Propp, 1997 [1958]: 11).

4.b. The Meanings Within

Through the centuries (if not millennia) during which, in their retelling, fairy tales became ever more refined, they came to convey at the same time overt and covert meanings (Bettelheim, 1991: 5).

The overt and covert meanings of the tales is often explored by academics and scholars such as Zipes (2012), Warner (1996), Canepa (1999), Tatar (2015), and Bettelheim (1991).

Where this approach departs from others commonly used in reading fairy tales — principally, the structuralist, the folklorist, and the psychoanalytic — is in its refusal to embrace any sort of universal-

isation, and its affirmation of the need to move beyond a consideration of the fairy tale as a monolithic genre to the recognitions that it is a vital, changing form, firmly entrenched in cultural history (Canepa, 1999: 12).

Zipes (1988, 2011, 2012), Warner (1996, 1999), Canepa (1999), Tatar (1992), and Schultz & Seifert (2019), write at length about the culture in which fairy tales have been produced and the effect this had on the construction of new tales and the adaptation of old tales. Fairy tale illustrations whilst also a cultural reference, have not been as universally explored. They too define a cultural identity and reference that defies written language and are identifiable with a wider audience than those defined by language or age. The cultural identity explored by illustrators is a direct response to the culture of their time, as are the tales.

The effervescent and often racy tales of Lo Cunto thrill the reader with their dizzying playfulness but engage equally intensely with a series of social and literary concerns pertaining to the culture in which they were produced (Canepa, 1999: 17).

Many academics, political activists and folklorists have also sought to claim the folk or fairy tale as the domain of the bourgeoisie. Hoffman-Krayer (1981), and Gramsci (Gramsci & Buttigieg 201), believed in the superiority not only of the bourgeoisie who by adapting and recording the tales secured them as “noble” in origin and therefore of higher cultural importance, but of the hegemonic status afforded to the male writers of the tales (Tatar, 2015: 23).

If folklore was noble in its origins, it too was theirs to collect, to edit, to interpret, to publish and to read — their symbolic capital (Tatar, 2015: 23).

Female authors of the tales were, according to Hoffman-Krayer in 1903, relegated to “reproducers of tales as opposed to creators.” That women were some of the main influencers, relaters and constructors of the tales had, by the early 1900s been largely ignored. Zipes and Warner amongst others have sought to redress these assumptions giving autonomy back to the female originators (Zipes, 1988: 1-28; Warner, 1994).

4.c. Feminism in the Fairy Tale

The female of the fairy tale has long been seen as oppressed and persecuted. Tales of rape, murder and abuse of women scatter the older collections and over time writers such as Angela Carter (1979), Marina Warner (1996), Munsch and Martchenko (1997), Babette Cole (2005), and Donna Jo Napoli (1999), have explored and sometimes rewritten or subverted fairy tales to reflect stronger female archetypes. More recently Disney has also explored the dominance of the female character and created ideological feminine roles.

There is also the Disney retelling in the film *Tangled* (Grena and Howard, 2010), with a much more proactive female character. These recent adaptations of this story reflect the growing sense of gender equality in Western society, where traditional expectations about the sexes are being challenged and subverted (Smith, 2014: 427).

Women authors have always been prolific in their creation of tales. Madame d'Aulnoy (1650-1705), was one of the original female authors of “Cinderella”, “The Yellow Dwarf” and “Graciosa and Percinet”. Others such as Marie-Jeanne Lheritier (1664-1734), and Henriette-Julie de Murat (1670-1716), also created tales but their names have faded from the public domain and their tales have become synonymous with, or acknowledged as, the Grimm Brothers or Disney (Zipes, 2001: xii). Yet even these authors were not creating tales out of thin air. Basile’s versions of the tales published posthumously in 1633-36, contained representations of strong women and were the inspiration for many of the female authors of the late 1600s (Warner, 1998: 304).

(*they*) borrowed from other literary tales, and thus their narratives can be regarded as retellings that adapt the motifs, themes, and characters to fit their tastes and the expectations of the audiences for which they were writing (Zipes, 2001: xi).

These women were, however, instrumental in establishing the role of a powerful, cunning female in the fairy tale. Alongside those listed above were Charlotte de Caumont de La Force (1654–1724), Gabrielle-Suzanne Barbot de Villeneuve (1685-1755), Jeanne-Marie Leprince de Beaumont (1711-

1780), and later, authors such as the French folklorist Nannette Levesque, (1803-80), the English writer Rachel Busk (1831-1907), the Czech author Bozena Nemcova (1820-62), and the Swiss translator and author Laura Gosenbach (1842-78). These women, by recording the oral tales of other women and using the inspiration from their peers, created feminist tales that perpetuated the forceful impressive and influential female as protagonist (Zipes, 2012b: 95-102). That many of these tales then disappeared with the proliferation of tales adapted by the likes of Perrault, Andersen and the Grimm’s should not negate the fact that these tales existed and “challenged the oppression they experienced in their daily lives” (Zipes, 2012b: 102).

Charles Perrault has become the most famous pioneer teller of fairy tales. But he was greatly outnumbered, and in some instances also preceded, by women aficionados of *contes de fée*’s whose work has now faded from view (Warner, 1996: xvi).

The early tales created by these women told of hardships, trials, persecution and abuse, conditions they no doubt faced on a regular basis, yet they constructed tales that imbued female characters with temerity and daring in the face of adversity.

Even if Perrault, the Grimm’s, and Andersen do at times deal with abuse, incest, murder and the persecution of innocent heroines, they do not depict them with such candour, nor indicate how cunning and resilient the heroines are (Zipes, 2012b: 95).

Zipes along with others (Arne and Thompson, 1987; Cocchiara, 1981; Carter, 1994, 2006; Bottigheimer, 2012; Levorato, 2003; & Smith, 2014), have sought to acquaint the researcher and reader with female authors and orators of tales whose female characters are resilient and determined. Traits that feminist authors from the 1960s and 1970s onwards sought to depict in their retelling of the tales. Canepa (1999), highlights the role women played in the construct of the early tales. (She also reflects on the strong female characteristics Straporola and Basile imbued their heroines with).

The great majority of these first French tales were by women and were frequently used as vehicles for social critique and utopian musings (Canepa, 1999: 18).

Feminist writers and scholars of the fairy tale such as Angela Carter (1940-1992), and Marina Warner (1946-), have long explored the tales from a feminist perspective. Angela Carter became a feminist having fought against prejudice and conformity to pursue her own lifestyle and passion for writing. Her fairy tales in *The Bloody Chamber* (1979), although now hailed as feminist retellings of tales such as “Red Riding Hood”, “Bluebeard” and “Beauty and the Beast”, were in fact an exciting exploration of her sexuality and passion for writing. Carter herself denied she was trying to “rewrite” the tales, yet in her exploration of what feminism meant to her, she became a bastion of feminist thought and expression. Her tales becoming a source of feminist teaching and inspiration.

The wonder tale that everyone knows, the common heritage of narrative, is there to be reshaped for each generation by the teller, but its potential is so rich that many seek to control it in their interests (Warner, 1994: kindle).

Marina Warner, only six years Carters junior, has created some of the most influential scholarly writings on feminism in the fairy tale. In her book *From the Beast to the Blonde* she writes of how the fairy tale can be shaped by the author and restructured to control its message and she explores in depth the roles women have played in the telling of tales as well as being the protagonists, transgressors, or persecuted players within them (Warner, 1994).

Although the texts have been expertly explored from a feminist perspective rarely are the illustrations featured in any exploration. In 2014, Angela Smith undertook a study of two retellings of Rapunzel from a feminist perspective which did include illustrative references, but these are few and far between and still relate to a feminist perspective.

The male characters in these two retellings of “Rapunzel” are also interesting in the shifts that have occurred in their representation. Whilst both versions show the emasculated man losing his child in exchange for some food, this is more marked in the 1993 version with Aitchison’s illustration showing a gawky, shrunken version of the character in contrast to Winter’s more virtuous, upright man. The male has therefore been belittled, if not emasculated, in the face of the new, empowered woman (Smith, 2014: 436).

5. Text and Visual Communication/language

(There is) overwhelming evidence of the importance of visual communication, and the staggering inability on all our parts to talk and think in any way seriously about what is actually communicated by means of images and visual design (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996:16).

Communication has been explored throughout the 1960s and 70s by scholars of semiotics (Gombrich, 1960; Barthes, 1990, 2009; Berger, 2008; Eco, 1979; Panofsky, 1970; Schapiro, 1983). Their focus on semiotics or the study of sign systems included text and image but predominantly explored the meanings, use and perception of textual content and its relationship with culture and society. Roland Barthes was the first semotician to really explore the semiotic relationship with image. He initially focused on photography, exploring the methods of translation between author and audience. In ‘The Rhetoric of the Image’ (1964) Barthes distinguishes between three types of image: linguistic (the text), denoted (the literal message of an image) and connoted image (its symbolic message). Advertisements, for example, typically include some sort of linguistic message; a ‘pure’ image or representation; and this image, when analysed, can be shown to contain encoded messages. Modern scholars, influenced by Barthes, used his work to focus on visual content further, and have continued to define the relationship and importance, between the image, text, and audience (Barthes, 1990; Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996; Nodelman, 1988; Hunt, 2005; Kennedy, 1974; Evans et al, 1998).

Yetta Goodman commented in the foreword for *What’s in the Picture?* (1998), that teachers are often so focused on teaching the art of reading to children that they forget about the visual content of stories.

They forget that the visual display that illustrators construct is significant to the communication between artists, authors and readers/viewers (Evans et al, 1998: xi).

There is some debate over how imagery is translated. Kennedy (1974), who explored the *Psychology of Picture Perception* asked, “Do children need careful tutoring before they can appreciate any pictures?” (1974: 2). He theorised that images, despite their often-abstract nature, were able to be understood from a young age. He explained that many spoken words

are abstract, yet understood in early childhood, therefore, comprehension of abstract imagery is translatable by the young without the need for any specific skills (Kennedy, 1974: 67). Yet Nodelman (1988), who studied the narrative art of children's picture books, determined that it required a series of interconnected skills before children were able to read the narrative of illustrations (1988: 187).

In 1996 Kress and Van Leeuwen produced the seminal study *Reading Images* which established the validity of exploring visual communication in its own right. Whereas Barthes and his contemporaries saw images in relation to text and sought to convey their meaning in this way, or claimed that their validity relied on text, Kress and Leeuwen sought to prove that the text and image could be interpreted as separate entities.

The visual component of a text is an independently organised and structured message – connected with the verbal text, but in no way dependent on it: and similarly, the other way round (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996: 17).

Kennedy (1974), noted, “Hochberg and Brooks (1962), showed that an untutored child can identify pictures at the age of two years” (79), and went on to explain that other species such as monkeys and birds can in fact identify and relate to and with, images. He theorised that the information contained within an image is transferable and immediately translatable, “As coins are to economics, pictures are to communication” (Kennedy, 1974: 1), and the concept of text and image being intrinsically linked could be dispelled if non-readers were able to disseminate and understand information within an image, with the exclusion of text (Kennedy, 1974).

Stuart Marriott, 1998 (Evans et al, 1998: 4) asserts that the reading of a book is a creative process in which the child must engage in a translation of words and images and the disparity between the two. “They interpret the work in their own way according to what they bring to the text” (Evans, 1998: xv). In effect, an audience must decode what the illustration has coded, and the translation will depend on the previous knowledge and experience of the audience (Bettelheim, 1991: 49; Novitz, 1977).

It is the use of beautifully imaginative, thought provoking and yet sometimes destabilising illustrations that has really seen the advent of many truly polysemic picture books: texts that can be read and un-

derstood by readers of all ages from 4 year olds to 94 year olds. It is the multifaceted, multi-layered nature of such literature that draws on a readers previous world experience and knowledge of books (Evans et al, 1998: xv).

All viewpoints have merit. “Words and pictures interact so as to construct (and defer) meanings, rather than simply reflecting or illustrating each other (Hunt, 2005:141). Without the text, fairy tale illustrations for example, would not exist, nor would many childrens-book illustrations as they respond directly to and with the text. That is not to say that illustrations *cannot* be read or created independently of the text. This is possible, particularly when created by skilled artists whose interpretations are influenced by many outside factors including culture, politics, social constructs, and art movements. Judith Graham (1998), claims the restriction the text imbues, may be detrimental, a frustration or hindrance to some illustrators (Evans et al, 1998: 28).

5.a. Communicating with an Audience

How an image communicates with an audience is not a passive process. Often an image speaks directly with its audience and conveys meanings beyond the text.

(*Images can*) encompass questions of wider social and political interest such as race and gender, the environment and conservation, social and community conflict, war and peace, and even global interdependence (Marriott (ed), Evans, 1998: 5-7).

Images, including film, propaganda, or illustrations, and particularly ones that contain human subjects, can and do create a direct visual relationship with the viewer (Mulvey, 1975; Neale, 1983; Novitz, 1977). This relationship can be explored and interpreted by the viewer in any way. Just as Barthes stated in “The Death of an Author,” “a text’s unity lies not in its origin but in its destination” (Barthes, 1977: 148), this too is true of the illustration. Its “unity” or interpretation lies with the viewer and their relationship to and with the image.

Kress and Van Leeuwen’s (1996), comprehensive study of how visual language communicates not only explored the semiotic language of images and how they speak to an audience, but how “the gaze” or as they phrase it “the

demand image” (1996: 122), establishes relationships within and outside an image. A gaze that is aimed at the recipient of an image, or the viewer can be interpreted as one of ownership, demand, or desire (1996: 122-123). It creates a relationship with the viewer. (see also the Male as Spectacle pg 42)

Laura Mulvey’s article on feminism and masculinity in film entitled “Visual pleasure and narrative cinema” (1975), popularised the term “the male gaze” a concept originally defined in 1972 by Berger in “Ways of Seeing” (Berger, 2008: 45-64). She explored how cinema in particular, emphasised how women were perceived by men in a sexual or erotic manner. In 2002 Litosseliti & Sunderland examined the male gaze from a masculine and queer perspective in men’s magazines and advertising.

The gaze that meets the readers may imply that the reader himself is an object of desire — that a direct interaction is taking place (Litosseliti & Sunderland, 2002: 161).

Their claim positions itself alongside Steve Neale (1983), who questions Mulvey’s 1975 assertion that women are the sole erotic subject of the “male gaze”. He claims the viewers gaze is fluid and that any subject can be seen as erotic “not merely the “ideal ego” that Mulvey claims” (Litosseliti & Sunderland, 2002: 160). Yet the connections or messages being communicated via images are not necessarily those of sexuality, eroticism, threat, or dominance.

Non-verbal acts of communication, from greetings to warnings, can be accomplished in visual contexts (Abdel-Raheem, 2020; Novitz 1977).

The non-verbal aspect of illustration leaves it open to interpretation from a fluid audience with a range of variation in translation and the impact of visual content has wide reaching effects. Children observing images for the first time are inexperienced. Their views of the world are formed by their immediate surroundings, family, school, friends. The illustration or image “teaches” them about their world or their views. It gives them another “truth” to engage with. It helps them form opinions and attitudes (Nodelman, 2017: 4).

5.b. Illustration and the Fairy Tale

Literary scholars of the fairy tale predominantly focus on the written and oral content of the stories. The illustrated content (of which there is a huge quantity), tends to be overlooked or there is only a cursory attempt at analysis. Maria Tatar has perhaps the most extensive examination of illustration in her *Annotated Classic Fairy Tales* (Tatar, 2002). In this volume she includes a wide range of illustrations for each tale and has a small element of analysis per image. Although much of the analysis is descriptive, it includes a wide range of artists and there are some intriguing insights into Cruickshank and Crane’s work at the end of the volume. In *Annotated Hans Christian Andersen* (Tatar, 2008), she again includes a range of images throughout, and a glossary of illustrators at the rear of the volume. The glossary is predominantly a biography of illustrators as opposed to an exploration of their work but gives a comprehensive overview of notable fairy tale artists such as Mabel Lucie Attwell, Harry Clarke, Edmund Dulac, Kay Nielsen, and Arthur Rackham.

Zipes is another of the few scholars who approaches the subject of visual representation in the fairy tale. His focus is predominantly on the creation of modern depictions (from 1960 to 2012), and the often-feminist approach in creating dystopian or “otherworldly, bizarre and lush” depictions of familiar fairy tale characters (Zipes, 2012b: 137). His examination on the re-creation of popular characters from tales such as “Cinderella”, “Bluebeard”, “Little Red Riding Hood”, “Beauty and the Beast”, and “Hansel and Grethel”, is in part, an interest in how these predominantly sexist tales have tended to create images that challenge the viewer to review what they know about the tales (Zipes, 2012b: 137).

It is certainly true that many modern interpretations of the illustrative content of tales are often more graphic and seek to create a perspective that detracts from the rose tinted, saccharine, Disney version of happiness.

(they seek to) delude viewers about the meaning of happiness (and) have at the same time endowed the fairy tale with a more profound meaning through the creation of dystopian, grotesque, macabre and comic configurations (Zipes, 2012b: 136).

Yet with all the literature and scholarly examination of images, few have examined in detail the relationship between the fairy tale and its illustrative impact on and with masculinity and societal perceptions of gender. In fact, masculinity is often neglected in favour of the study of feminism within imagery and text.

There has, however, been relatively little research published on actual textual representations of masculinity in popular culture (Craig 1992 (1998); Easthope 1986 (1990) and Simpson 1992 are exceptions, but even these do not look closely or systematically at language or image) (Litosseliti & Sunderland, 2002: 154).

Fairy tale illustrations between 1900 and 1935 were created alongside the texts and, over time these illustrations have become synonymous with the tales. These images continue to be translatable through the audience's familiarity with the texts and with the images themselves. The fairy tale has become such an intrinsic part of popular culture that they are imitated, emulated, and understood through a wide range of platforms, such as advertising, film, comics, books, and social media. The illustrations, particularly those of the Golden Era of Illustration (1900-1920), have become a part of the modern Zeitgeist and are so recognisable they can often be identified without their accompanying texts. That they have not been investigated and analysed with respect to the masculine identity within them is an area this thesis seeks to explore and document.

Summary

The areas of research for this thesis are wide and varied. Betsy Gould Hearne commented in *Beauty and The Beast: Visions and Revisions of an Old Tale* (Hearne & Devries, 1989), that researchers of the fairy tale must be experts in such a wide and diverse range of disciplines that it is difficult to even begin researching the tales themselves. That illustration has become entwined not only with fairy tales, but children's literature in general and has a massive influence on the perception and translation of information, means the examination of what images depict must surely become of interest to all scholars of education, semiotics, and the fairy tales.

The history of the fairy tale, thoroughly explored and documented by many brilliant scholars, is of course an intrinsic element of this thesis, but in order to document its continually changing depictions of masculinity, there is a need to explore the social, political, and artistic changes that influenced perceptions of masculine identity. The development of artistic movements, influenced by social and political upheavals played an undeniable role in changing perceptions of gender, identity, and translation of the male integrant. The continually shifting and fluid nature of the fairy tale enabled these changes to be absorbed and documented, not only within the tales themselves, but in the illustrative translations of them. The narrative and the visual narrative of the tales engage in a collaborative dance in which the participants are able to improvise alongside one another yet maintain their synergy.

Yet there is also the changing perception of masculinity itself to consider. That it has been studied only as a result of feminist study means that much was initially related to these studies. It is only more recently that scholars have begun to pull apart what masculinity means and how it functions within society. The exploration of masculine identity feeds into the interpretation of image for this thesis. Without an understanding of masculine identity, it would be impossible to understand how and why it changed over the defined time period. Understanding how men see and react and relate to one another enables the analysis of the imagery to define and communicate a changing narrative for male identity.

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Methodology

1. Research Focus

In order to keep the focus of such a huge subject field manageable and relevant, this thesis focuses on three specific areas with a chapter pertaining to each area. The material examined was predominantly taken from European published editions of fairy tales.

Chapter one focuses on the history of the tales and illustrations. It identifies the authors and artists who contributed to the creation and development of masculine and feminine identity and the characterisations that evolved from these identities.

Chapter two focuses specifically on the male and the contiguity between the text and the image that creates a representation of masculinity. This chapter examines a collection of male characters from a selected range of tales with case studies on specific characters.

Chapter three focuses on the changes of masculine portrayals that take place between c1900 and the end of the first World War. This time frame is particularly apposite as the social and political upheaval throughout this time had a direct influence on the creation of a new visual identity for the male.

2. Relevance

To ensure the research is relevant and meaningful for a Ph.D. study, the specific focus is on the areas documented as under-researched, that being, male characters, roles and perceptions of masculinity (Zipes, 1988: 63). Rarely have the illustrative descriptions of characters, let alone male characters been explored. This thesis aims to provide an examination of the male and the collections of illustrations that have evolved, adapted and transformed perceptions of him over a short, but significant period of time.

As the masculinity of male fairy tale characters has been under researched the focus is twofold. The first is to examine how the male is represented in the text of the fairy tale. In order to establish how depictions formed it is necessary to understand the context in which the tales were created and how this impacted on the development of the characters. This is undertaken by an examination of authorship, development of the tales and the times in which they were created or adapted.

The second focus is on the role and the perception of the male character in the illustrations of published editions of the fairy tale to discover if there are patterns that emerge in the creation of visual identity. The combination of these focus areas creates a representation of masculine portrayals and how they change over the specified time frame.

3. Methodology

Even when the overall research strategy has been decided, a research question can, in almost all cases, be attacked by more than one method (Robson, 1995: 289).

The overall aim of this research is to create a chronological observation of changing perceptions of masculinity identified in the fairy tale from c1900 to c1935. It is an examination of the range of masculine identities that emerged from the data collected that evidenced the effects of social, political, and artistic influences occurring over this time period, and their impact on the creation of an illustrative masculine identity.

The results are based as clearly as possible on semiotic, cultural, and sub-cultural interpretation. The sub-cultural identities addressed are those of masculinity, LGBTQ+, feminism and social and political influences. The illustrations or “data” are reference points throughout the examined time frame and provide the evidence the analysis is based on. Although these texts (illustrations) are not considered to be scientific or historical documents they are, as defined by Hartley “literally forensic evidence” (Hartley, 2003: 29; McKee, 2003:15), of cultural and sociological changes within the examined time frame.

The methods of textual analysis drawing on semiotic approaches are used for two reasons. Firstly, they complement one another to ensure the most effective analysis of the data is documented. Secondly, they address any variances in validity that could have arisen from using only one method.

3.a. Textual Analysis

The ‘text’ is anything written, visual, or spoken that serves as a medium for communication (Neuman, 1997: 272–273).

Text is not simply a piece of writing on a page. It is also a series of encoded messages that communicate with an audience, such as an image or illustration. These coded messages are interpreted by the viewer, and a meaning is extracted from them (Sim & Van Loon, 2012: 23). In the late 1800s Georgi Plekhanov commented that he considered art to be a recorder of social development, “by examining the art of a given period, we could pin down that period’s ideological character also” (Sim & Van Loon, 2012: 27). The illustrations chosen as data in this thesis are the visual indicators of a changing masculine identity and they also provide evidence of social and political changes throughout the examined time frame. Berger described textual analysis as a research technique that measured the amount of something such as, “violence or negative portrayals” that was collected from a “representative sampling of some mass-mediated popular form of art” (Berger 1999: p. 25).

Textual Analysis (McKee, 2003: 127), is utilised in this thesis, as a way of analysing themes, concepts, or identities within a range of data. As it is a technique used to gather and analyse content such as symbols, images, themes, ideas or anything that communicates with an audience, it enabled the researcher to identify and analyse meanings, interpretations, and rela-

tionships within the texts, by utilising other factors such as culture, politics, audience and time-frames.

The flow of symbols is a part of the flow of events, and the communication process is an aspect of the historical process... it is a technique which aims at describing, with optimum objectivity, precision and generality, what is said on a given subject in a given place at a given time (Lasswell, Lerner & Pool, 1952: 34-41).

Textual analysis was used in order to identify meaning as opposed to how often a variable might occur. This analysis engaged the researcher in choosing appropriate texts — images from published fairy tales — and determining what element within the image to analyse (the male character). Categories were then determined, coded and catalogued before analysis was undertaken. As the primary analysis was textual, it allowed analysis to be thorough and rigorous (Frey, Botan, Kreps, 2000: 3).

3.b. Text

A text is something we can make meaning from (McKee, 2003:4).

Texts in this thesis were interpreted from the viewpoint of western culture, and perceptions based on this cultural understanding. Within diverse cultures there are differing perceptions that impact interpretation. This difference is ably demonstrated by an experiment using the Muller-Lyer optical illusion of two lines which are the same length but have inward and outward facing arrows on each end. When different cultures were tested, the European cultures predominantly thought the top line, with inward facing arrows was shorter but non-European cultures were less likely to see a difference in the line length, thus creating a variance in the visual perception and translation of image (Cormack, Coren & Girgus 1979:140; Robinson, 1972:109; McKee, 2003: 9).

People from different sense-making systems can literally see the world differently (Cormack, Coren & Girgus 1979:141; McKee, 2003: 9).

It is acknowledged and appreciated that were this analysis to be undertaken by a researcher from a non-western culture, they may have differing opinions and may reach different conclusions (Cormack, Coren & Girgus 1979: 14; McKee, 2003: 9).

3.c. Semiotic Interpretation

Reality may be in the eye of the beholder, but the eye has a cultural training and is located in a social setting and a history (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996: 163).

Semiotic interpretation of texts has been debated between academics since the beginning of the 20th century. It is a complex subject and often focuses on written language. In 1996, Kress and Van Leeuwen sought to define visual semiotics in their book *Reading Images*.

Just as grammars of language describe how words combine in clauses, sentences and texts, so our visual ‘grammar’ will describe the way in which depicted people, places and things combine in visual ‘statements’ of greater or lesser complexity and extension (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996: 1).

For the purposes of this thesis, visual semiotic translation was employed as a methodology. Ferdinand de Saussure originally defined semiotics as having an Addresser: the author, or the artist, and an Addressee: the recipient or the intended audience or observer — in this case the reader/viewer — and how they interpret a text using signs, signifiers and signified (Frey, Botan & Kreps, 2000). He defines the sign as “the unified whole” and the signifier and signified are interdependent, like two sides of a piece of paper (Chandler, 2017:13).

Although the signifier and signified can be distinguished for analytical purposes Saussure defines them as wholly interdependent, neither pre-existing the other (Chandler, 2017:13).

This premise was later to be challenged by semiotic scholars such as Lacan, who claimed they were in fact, developed through “chains of association.” Simply put, a sign is an object. A signifier is anything that gives meaning to that object, be it a word, sound, touch, image or symbol. The signified is what is conjured up in the recipient’s brain when the signifier is expressed, or the implied meaning that the recipient or addressee interprets from it (Eco 1979, Barthes, 1990, Panofsky 1993, Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996). These signified elements, in turn, imply the sign.

Lacan, when analysing semiotics in relation to language, determined that signification was a process developed through, “chains of association” (Ruddell, 2014: 47, [Lacan 2001: 170]), therefore the signified were learned through exposure and experience. He debated Saussure’s assumption that the signified and signifier were intrinsically linked and worked in conjunction with one another. Using Lacan’s interpretation — and with the development of these theories by Barthes, who then applied them to visual semiotics (Barthes 1990) — the recipient learns to identify and combine associations with the signifiers, (Lacan determines these are created through metaphors and metonymy) creating relationships between them, thus enabling images to be “read” (Ruddell, 2014: 47).

The production of meaning, which Lacan calls “signification”, is only made possible by metaphor. Metaphor is thus the passage of the signifier into the signified, the creation of a new signified’ (1996: 112) and, in metonymy, a new signification is not produced as the ‘resistance of signification is maintained’ (1996: 114) (Ruddell, 2014: 47).

In the analysis for this thesis, the sign is the male character. He has been isolated within the re-drawing of the images, so the semiotic interpretation is (most often) limited to him alone. His expression, action, depiction, clothing or stance combined with the textual/content analysis, creates a definition of the male character that identifies his changing characteristics over time. The sign of ‘the male’ is determined by the signifiers that define him. There are a range of signifiers that communicate the signified to the recipient. The ‘chains’ between the signified create the definition or the reading of that specific male character, meaning each sign is interpreted differently for every image (Kress & Van Leewen, 1996; Ruddell, 2014:47). The depiction of the male changes because the signifiers dictate that it does so.

For Lacan (drawing from Saussure), meaning is created through chains of signification which is more of a process than a series of relationships between signifiers and signifieds (Ruddell, 2014: 47).

There are identifying characteristics, or signifiers in all the illustrations that recipients relate to or identify with as they become entwined in the fantasy of a fairy tale. These signifiers also resonate with modern or popular culture

through the links of signification formed over time and exposure, therefore the illustrations remain equally relateable to a modern audience even if the meanings alter slightly with changing interpretation and education.

The ‘fiction’ of stable meaning is created through ‘anchoring points’ (points de capiton) and ultimately socially driven conventions which explain why meaning is subject to shifts and changes (Ruddell, 2014:47).

Semiotic interpretation includes expression, motion, activity and body language which all have specific semantic relations (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996: 44). Visual structuring as defined by Kress and Van Leeuwen is not necessarily about reproducing ‘reality,’ more it creates a reality “derived from the social institutions in which the pictures are produced, circulated and read. Pictorial structures are never merely formal: they have a deeply important semantic dimension” (1996:45). Illustrations are used in books because they are an effective way of transferring information. Where written text is unable to be deciphered, by a pre-reader for example, or when it is in a foreign language, the visual elements become more accessible.

There is a learned and cultural interpretation that gives a certain uniformity or common translation of an image. The semiotic translation of an image can differ depending on who is analysing it, but as there is a fundamental consensus or understanding on representation and interpretation, it precludes a purely personal interpretation.

Both language and visual communication express meanings belonging to and structured by cultures in the one society, and this results in a considerable degree of congruence between the two (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996: 17).

To mitigate elements of personal definition, semiotic interpretation was employed to inform the analysis of the images. By using this approach, personal judgement, expectation, or prejudice was minimised. Along with the textual analysis described above, the deeper structures of the text are defined – thus reducing, as much as possible, the researcher’s personal interpretation.

An example of semiotic interpretation in relation to the methodology employed for this thesis is evidenced in an illustration by Walter Crane in

which the wolf is shown leaning on his cane and talking to Red Riding Hood. In her book *The Besieged Ego*, Ruddell describes how identity is confirmed through the costume changes of a split personality.

Hyde wears a black hat signifying his villainous status, and he also carries a black cane (as does the devil in *Angel Heart*); in instances where doppelgänger’s have exactly the same appearance as the protagonist, costume signifiers are often used to denote which of the two is on-screen (Ruddell, 2014: 59).

Although Ruddell is describing characters in film, her reference to the semiotic denotation of “evil” or “villain” being defined by the costume is evidenced in the depiction of the wolf in this illustration. He too wears a hat and carries a cane. The semiotic reference of a villainous character. A reference carried into and from other genres such as film, television, the stage or other printed material, creating the ‘chain’ or the metaphor for the signifier of villain.



1. Little Red Riding Hood. Walter Crane: 1875

3.d. Imagery

Visual ‘languages’ work like any other language. To the extent that visual languages may fool us by appearing to be natural, it is crucial to crack the codes, interpret them and release their social meanings (Turner, 2003 :74)

The illustrations (data) were primarily taken from western published editions of fairy tales between 1850 and 1960. The dates were extended to ensure comparisons could be made with those in the specified time parameters.

The “sampling distribution” (Brewer & Hunter, 1990:111) of illustrations were chosen from as wide a range of publications as possible, and selection was made on the basis that the image had to contain a male character.

[using] sampling distribution, we can assert that most of the time our sample will reflect the “true” characteristic of the population as a whole (Brewer & Hunter, 1990:111).

Access to these publications was through online databases such as The British Library, The Internet Archive and The Mary Evans Picture Library. Primary research was undertaken in the British Library, The Bodleian Library, The Reading University Special Collections, The Weimar Library, second-hand bookstores and rare bookstores. Due to the limitations of access to primary research during covid, some illustrations were taken from the internet, and these were documented in the same manner.

Documentation consisted of the creation of an Excel database, recording for each illustration: Year created, Artist, Title of Tale, Character, Ethnicity, Queer/Not, Character Name, Action in Image, Book, Publisher, Page Number, Any additional information or description and a Code. This database was constructed as a way of managing the 700 illustrations collected over the research period and to identify as much information about an illustration as possible, ensuring each illustration could be found again, if necessary, in its original format and location.

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
24	1944 Arthur Rackham	The Golden Bird	om	k + pss + ym + mn x 5	Prince	White	Child	Le Kowest	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
25	1862 Schreyer Link	The Golden Bird	om	x + pss + ym + mn x 5	Prince	White	Child	Le Kowest	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
26	1909 Arthur Rackham	The Old Man and his Grandson	om	mn x 4	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
27	1914 David Street Walker	The Red Shoes	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
28	1911 Arthur Rackham	How O My Thumb	om	x + d x 7	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
29	1911 Edward Cole	The Snow Queen	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
30	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
31	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
32	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
33	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
34	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
35	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
36	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
37	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
38	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
39	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
40	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
41	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
42	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
43	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
44	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
45	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
46	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
47	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
48	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
49	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
50	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
51	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
52	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
53	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
54	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
55	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
56	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
57	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
58	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
59	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
60	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
61	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
62	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
63	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
64	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
65	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
66	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
67	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
68	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
69	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
70	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
71	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
72	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
73	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
74	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
75	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
76	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
77	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
78	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
79	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
80	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
81	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
82	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
83	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
84	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
85	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
86	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week
87	1911 Louis Rhead	The Water of Life	om	mn	Old man	White	Man	Standing	Waller	The Fairy Tale		17. Princess waiting for her waiting week

2. Section of Exel Database

41	1949 Folkard	Donkey Wort	adn + mn	Beast		White		Donkey	Eating
42	1961 Shepherd	Little Idas Flowers	om	Old man		White		Old Man	Stamping foot
43	1978 Michael Foreman	King Throstlebeard	k + ps	Prince and King		White		King Throstlebeard	Standing
44	1922 Harry Clarke	Puss in Boots	k + pss + act	King		White	Queer	King	Standing
45	1896 Beardsley	Abbe Under the Hill	mn	Prince		White	Queer	Prince	Standing
46	1916 Harry Clarke	The Travelling Companion	k/m + pss	Ogre		White	Queer	Ogre	Standing
47	1920 Virginia Frances Sterrett	Old Old French Fairy Tales	ps + pss	Prince		White	Queer	Prince	Standing
48	1920 Elenore Abbott	12 dancing Princesses	pss x 9	Princess		White	Queer	Princess	Standing
49	1913 Harry Clarke	The Rape of the Lock	mn, fi + w	Man and girl		White	Queer	Sylph	In Bed
50	Beardsley		w x 3 + lm	Man and girl		White	Queer	Woman	Farting women
51	1916 Harry Clarke	Fairy Tale	mn	Man		White	Queer	Man	Standing
52	1906 Herbert Cole	Mr Fox	mn x 4	Man		White		Mr Fox	Attacking men
53	1903 H J Ford	The Dragon and the Prince	ps + pss	Prince		White		Fighting Dragon	
54	1984 H J Ford	The Little Green Frog	ps + pss	Prince		White	Queer	Prince	Looking in Moror
55	1922 Kay Neilson	The Blue Belt	k + ps	King		White		King	Pointing
56	1922 Kay Neilson	The Blue Belt	k + ps	Prince		White	Queer	Prince	Standing
57	1922 Kay Neilson	ThLad who Went to the North Wind	ym	Young Man		White	Queer	Lad	Standing
58	1915 Margaret Tarrant	Bluebeard	k,om + mn	Man		White	Eastern	Bluebeard	Knelling
59	1914 Johnny Gruelle	Rapunzel	ps + pss	Prince		White		Prince	Standing
60	1922 R Emmett Owen	Rapunzel	ps + gl	Prince and Princess		White	Queer	Prince and Rapunzel	Climbing
61	1904 Jessie M King	Rapunzel	ps,slid	Prince		White	Queer	Prince	Standing
62	1894 Gordon Browne	Rumplestitskin	lm,dw	Old man		White		Rumplestitskin	Angry holding broken l
63	1922 R Emmett Owen	Rumplestitskin	lm,dw	Old man		White		Rumplestitskin	Stamping foot
64	1905 Willard Bonte	Rumplestitskin	lm,dw	Old man		White		Rumplestitskin	Arguing
65	1917 Louis Rhead	Rumplestitskin	lm,dw	Old man		White		Rumplestitskin	Dancing round fire
66	1927 A H Watson	Rumplestitskin	lm,dw	Old man		White		Rumplestitskin	Hands on hips
67	1936 Anne Anderson	Rumplestitskin	lm,dw	Old man		White		Rumplestitskin	Dancing round fire
68	1899 R Andre	Rumplestitskin	lm,dw	Old man		White		Rumplestitskin	Dancing round fire
69	1812 J Monsel	Rumplestitskin	lm,dw	Old man		White		Rumplestitskin	Dancing round fire
70	1916 Harry Clarke	The Little Mermaid	m + wt	Mermaid		White	Queer		In Water
71	1894 Henry J Ford	Little Claus and Big Claus	mn + by x 5	Man		White		Big Claus	Pushing horse on bam
72	1874 Walter Crane	The Frog Prince	ps + pss + s x 4 + ahs x 6	Prince		White	Queer	Prince and Heinrich	Prince in Carriage
73	1874 Walter Crane	The Frog Prince	ps + pss + s	Prince		White	Queer	Prince and Heinrich	Prince in Carriage

3. Enlarged section of Exel Database

aides = ai	fairy = fi	servant = s
animal = a,	father = fr	sister = ss
bird = bd	fool = f	soldier = sld
dog = dg	giant = g	queen = q
cat = ct	girl = gl	young man = ym
wolf = wf	goblin = gb	witch = wt
frog = fr	hero = h	woman = w
goat = gt	king/emperor = k	
horse = hs	little man = lm	
monkey = mk	man = mn	
beast = b	mermaid = m	
beggar = bg	mother = mt	
boy = by	step mother = smt	
brother = br	ogre = o	
child = c	old man = om	
dwarf = dw	prince = ps	
daughter = d	princess = pss	
elf = el	robber/thief = r	

4. Codes for Illustrations

The code system was developed as a quick way to identify all the characters within an image. Although this function was deemed unnecessary early on, it could be developed further to use as a comparison for how often characters might appear within a book, a series of books, or over a selected period of time.

After selection, the illustration was scanned, and the male character within the image enlarged and reprinted. This image was then re-created as an A4 line drawing in black ink. It was scanned back into a digital format at 300dpi. This ensured clarity of the illustration at any size required for representation within the thesis. 700 of these line drawings were created, which enabled detailed examination and comparison of masculine elements, characteristics, dress and/or body language, semiotic references, and symbols.



ps,sld + pss x 3 + a,mk
5. Kay Nielsen: In Powder & Crinoline, 1913

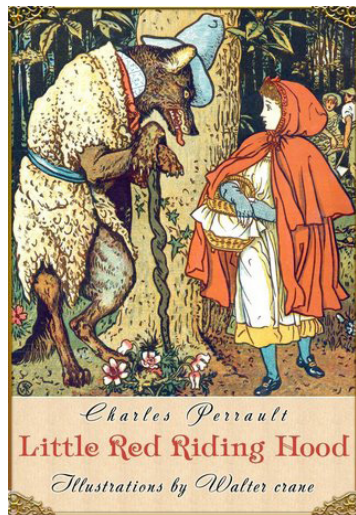


6. The seven files of illustrations drawn for inclusion in the thesis. Each file contains 100 drawings

This clarification of the illustration was undertaken for several reasons. One was to ensure a high-quality representation of the image, and another was to focus solely on the male, to examine him in detail and to give attention to what the artist and the male character was communicating to an audience. By taking him out of context, it was possible to determine the changes in the masculine identity without the surrounding semiotic references. It highlighted how the images altered over time with the influence of society, art, and political movements and how these changes were also depicted solely within the image of the male character.

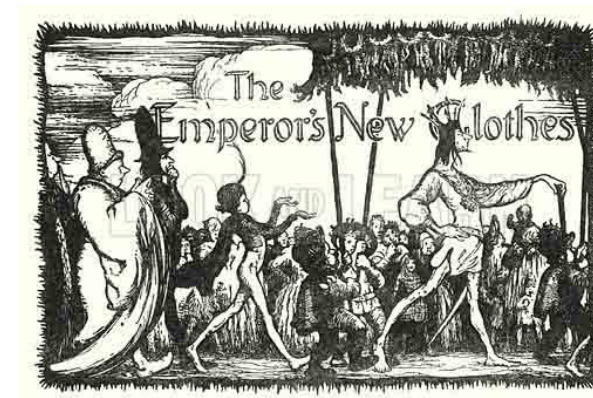
It was discovered that detail was often lost within illustrations, particularly if they were small, badly reproduced, deteriorated or if the male was not the primary focus. It was these small details that gave additional meaning, structure or interpretation, and the re-drawn images were able to demonstrate and clarify these details. It also enabled uniformity, giving each illustration the same visual weight. This process identified any patterns that emerged and focused on the masculine elements without surplus information being a detracting force. If, however, it was integral to include other elements of

the image, such as colour, another character or composition, these elements were included in the drawing, or the original illustration was used. The process of creating the drawings focussed so much attention on detail that often discoveries were made that may have been unnoticed by simple observation of the original. An example of this is demonstrated in Walter Cranes illustration of the Wolf in Red Riding Hood.

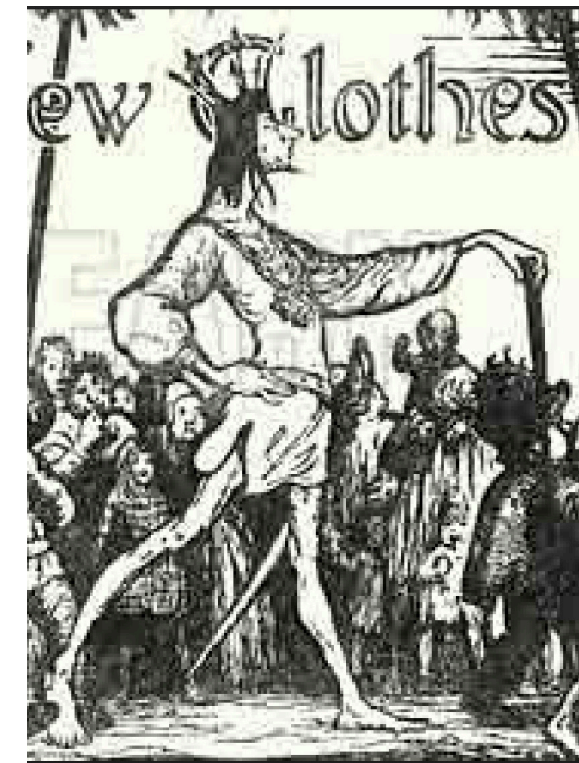


7. Little Red Riding Hood. Walter Crane: 1875

7. The wolf leans on his cane, dressed in a large coat and cravat. The cravat, on closer inspection, is decorated with tiny skulls and crossbones that became more obvious when the illustration was redrawn. The small details are deliberate choices made by the artist and are therefore relevant in the analysis of the illustration



8. In this 1932 original illustration from "The Emperor's New Clothes" by Honor Appleton, clarity of the subject is problematic. The text from the next page bleeds through to the illustration, the image is small and lacks definition and detail is blurred. The title of the tale is written behind the character and creates a dissonance with the face of the emperor.

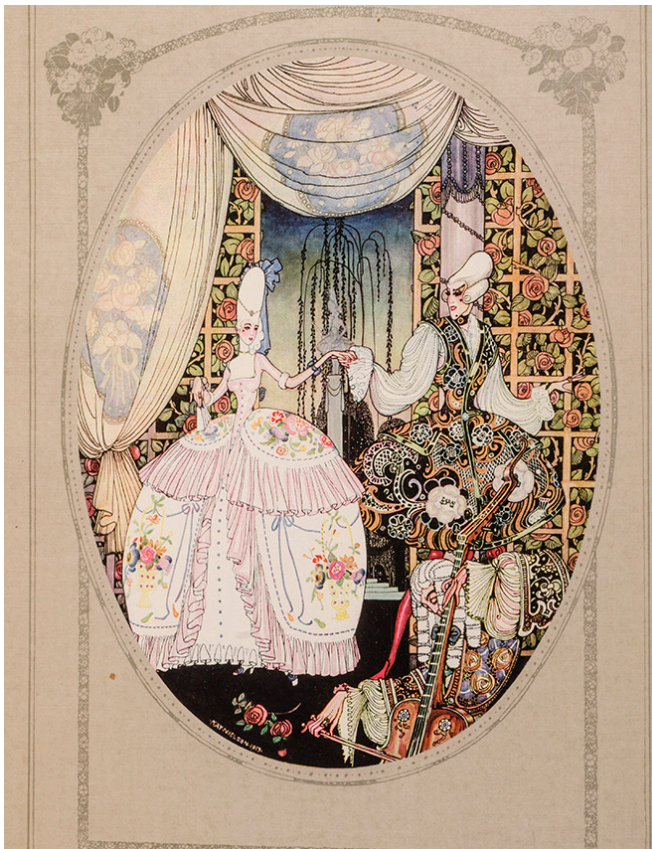


8. The Emperor's New Clothes: Nora Fry & Honor Appleton: 1932

The image pixelates as it is enlarged and loses more definition and clarity. Detail is pixelated and blurred to the point where the image begins to lose essential elements of character.

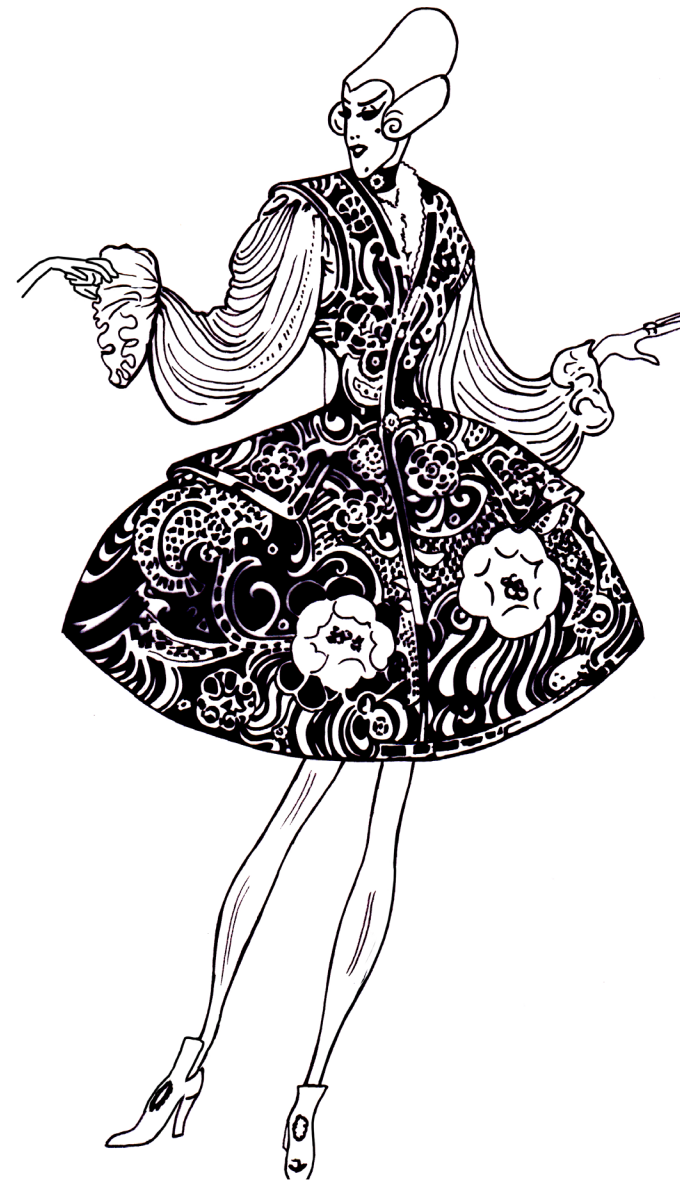


The redrawn image creates clarity and detail. It was scanned at a high-resolution, highlighting characteristics that in the smaller or less defined version were lost. The supercilious expression on his face becomes evident and the sword hanging from his belt becomes more obvious.



9. Kay Nielsen: *In Powder and Crinoline*, 1913

9. Kay Nielson's Prince is almost indistinguishable amongst the highly decorative background, yet when isolated he is clearly identifiable in his beautifully patterned frock coat and dainty heels and stockings. His queer identity is accentuated in his stance and gestures which are less clear in the original illustration.

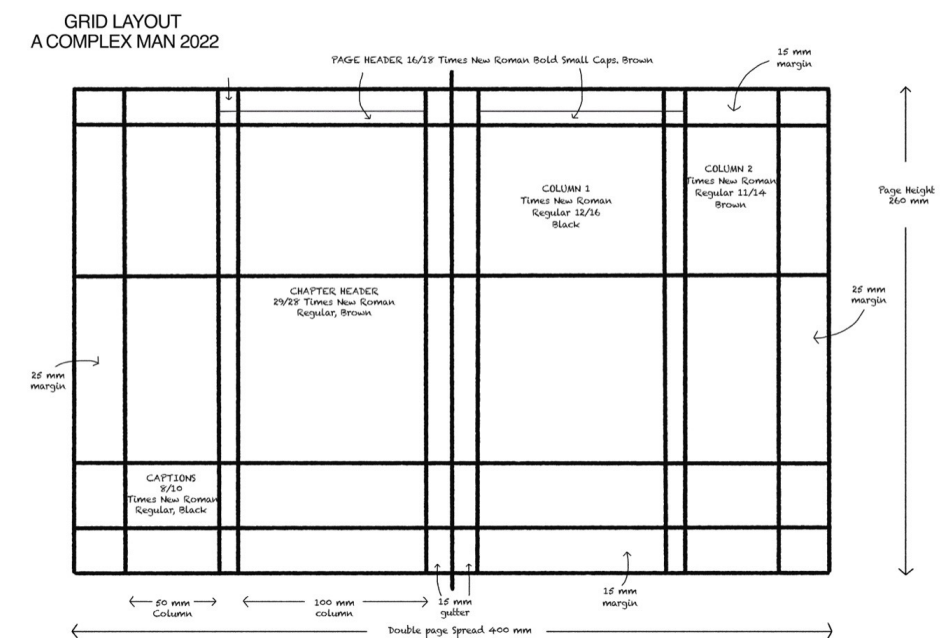


3.e. Gridding

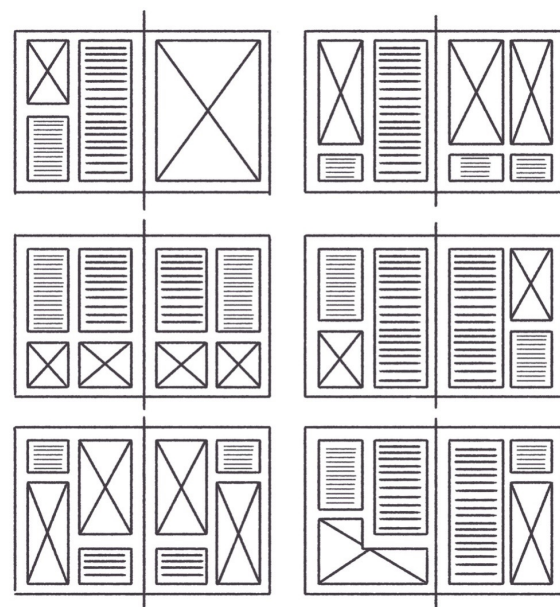
The final point to address is that of page layout. This had to be considered due to the structure of the thesis. There are approximately 300 images incorporated into the thesis and they form an essential part of the content. It was therefore necessary that these could be viewed alongside the body of the text, whilst also having space for their own analysis. Placing the imagery within a one column body of text, meant the text became disjointed and difficult to read. Switching between multiple papers or files in order to view the illustrations was not conducive to continuity, so it was essential in order to increase comprehension, to design a system that enabled a continuous flow of text inclusive of illustration.

To overcome these issues, a grid was developed over a double page spread using InDesign. The vertical grid is two column, with differing dimensions for each column. The combination of a horizontal grid on top of the vertical grid allows for images to be placed anywhere within the page in a variety of sizes (subject to the delineation of the grid pattern).

If the single column goes right across the page, you are severely restricted as to where you can place any illustrations (Pipes, 2009:140).



10. Grid Layout: A Complex Man. 2022



11. Page Layout ideas: A Complex Man. 2022

This structure was flexible and allowed illustrations to be the main focus on the page, should that be required (Swann, 1991: 76). The outside column of the grid structure predominantly contains imagery and notation or commentary about the imagery. The body of the text is always placed in the main, central column so it can be read independently of the imagery and analysis, and to allow the flow and narrative of the text to remain undisturbed.

A common mistake when first designing is to try and fill space rather than to use it meaningfully (Baines & Haslam, 2002: 118).

The text is set in Times New Roman (regular), chosen for its accessibility, familiarity and ease of reading (Jaspert, Berry and Johnson, 2001: 220; Garfield, 2010: 259-260). The hierarchy of the textual information is visually emphasised between the two columns using point size, line spacing and colour (12/16, body; 11/14, column). The typeface itself has a medium x height, enabling clarity of text even when using a small point size.

Text types (often regarded as being less than 14pt) should generally be rather ‘self-effacing’: the idea is to read the words rather than notice the typeface (Baines & Haslam, 2002: 105).

If the thesis were to be printed in colour, the outside column is set in a brown hue to further distinguish the two textual elements that comprise the whole of the thesis. It also differentiates the hierarchy of the content.

The obvious issue with this format is that it differs from the expected format of a Ph.D. thesis of double line spaced, specified point size and typeface. As this thesis is part ‘art’ based, it was decided that this format would be an appropriate way to display all the information in a creative, yet user friendly and accessible format. It can also be printed as book format.

Summary

The methodologies utilised for this thesis were selected so the most accurate and least biased analysis of the data could be obtained. The textual and semiotic methodologies are symbiotic, they rely on one another and work in unison. The treatment of the illustrations also worked alongside the methodologies for analysis. By creating images that carried the same visual weight of information, patterns were established and became visible as evidence.

Looking for patterns in the ‘text’ means an identity emerges “the common themes become apparent” (McKee 2003: 2).

As the researcher is a non-denominational, cis gender female, she assumed the role of an external researcher. By using the knowledge gained from the research undertaken and applying this to the data, the researcher was able to remain as unbiased and uninvolved personally with the data as possible. This means the potential bias is lessened and the interpretation of the data is undertaken by a researcher who uses ideas and theories from a wide range of sources with an objective view, as opposed to being an active participant in any area of the study.

The layout was equally important in enabling the dissemination of the knowledge gained and the results of the data, to work alongside one another. To separate text and image would have created an obtrusive break in the flow of the narrative and made the findings less comprehensive. The results obtained by using these methodologies in combination, were more informative, detailed, and unbiased and also created a thesis that is able to be read with the same fluidity as an illustrated book.

If the study were to be repeated it may be useful to describe more of the illustrations as opposed to use them in the work, purely in order that there is more opportunity for the work to be published. With the huge range of illustrations throughout, it makes it very difficult for any publisher to work with the material in its current form as the amount of copyright is overwhelming and only specialised publishers would attempt to obtain the amount of copyright required.

Citation Bibliography: Methodology

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Chapter One

Once Upon a Time Identity and definition

(1) They are also characters Disney has adapted to suit their own interpretation of female characterisation, and over time have become the standard by which these characters are defined. This thesis will not investigate Disney's visual interpretations as they have become a whole genre of their own and their visual representations are dictated and enforced by Disney with no allowance for variation.

"A certain view of fairy tales is being naturalized by companies like Disney, and then domesticated by publishers like Ladybird Books, who have now struck a deal with Disney so that all the illustrations are based on the films' graphics and storyline". (Warner: 1999:8007)

Studies of the depictions of female characters in fairy tales are, these days, clearly defined, acknowledged and documented due to being the most translated and analysed of all the characters, (1) yet studies of the depictions of male characters is sadly lacking. Not only is an examination of the male character overdue, but is necessary if an understanding of the role of masculinity in fairy tales is to be defined. Whether he is a hero or protagonist, a villain or suitor, an examination of his masculinity and what it signifies is intrinsic to fully appreciating the fairy tale genre. A result of the analysis undertaken on female roles, has led to a certain amount of stereotyping of male characters, and as feminist studies focus primarily on the patriarchal construct of a tale, the resulting investigations have necessarily focused solely on the female character.

To begin to understand the portrayal of the male character, it is essential to start at the beginning and reflect on where and how the fairy tale originated. From these original voices the development of fairy tale characters emerged and by reviewing the tales with an understanding of the origins and original authors, a definite female voice and construct emerges. A construct that advances an alternative interpretation and therefore character development. Has there in fact, always been an underlying feminine construct determined by female authors? A construct that directed the course of the fairy tale and in so doing, did it push the discourse of the male character into a stereotype of masculinity from which he has been unable to escape?

In the 1970s Bettelheim identified that the fairy tale contained both overt and covert meanings developed over time through their many re-tellings (Bettelheim, 1991: 5), and in Marina Warner's study of the female history of the tale, *From the Beast to the Blonde*, she identifies a host of female authors who influenced the development of the fairy tale.

At this point it must be clarified that this thesis is not trying to identify one specific author of the fairy tale. As Roland Barthes states in his essay "Death of the Author,"

To give text an author is to impose a limit on that text, to furnish it with a final signified, to close the writing. Such a conception suits criticism very well, the latter then allotting itself the important task of discovering the author: when the author has been found, the text is explained – Victory to the critic" (Barthes, 1990: 147).

For the fairy tale, there is no one author to find and it has long proved difficult to trace *one* source. The tales originated over a lengthy period of time, with a wide range of contributors, so almost all that remains is to look for traces of those authors and determine how they may have left their voices within the texts. Even the Grimm Brothers did

not recognise themselves as authors of their tales. They “presented themselves as collectors and editors” (Tatar, 2015: 13). Jacob Grimm noted himself in 1815, that the tales should be,

Taken down without elaboration and addition with the greatest fidelity and authenticity from the mouths of the narrators, and, whenever possible, in and with their own words in the most accurate and comprehensive manner (Tatar, 2015: 13).

Yet there was a certain ‘interference’ in the editing and translation of the tales. Through many iterations, editing and re-writing, the translators of the tales *did* alter and embellish, and the tales have subsequently meandered their way through centuries of change. From the works of Straparola to Disney, alterations to the text and images have reflected the social and political eras they passed through and resulted in the wide range of versions that now make up the genre (Tatar, 2015: 13-16). It is some of these changes that will be explored throughout this thesis.

The female author, more of whom later, has been an integral part of the creation of the tales although they are not often remembered as such. Toril Moi’s *Sexual/Textual Politics* (1995), references ‘Gilbert and Gubar’s’ observations of female writers in *The Madwoman in the Attic*. She notes,

Their critical approach postulates a real woman hidden behind the patriarchal textual façade and the feminist critic’s task is to uncover her truth (Moi, 1995: 60).

How then, might the female voice still have an impact on the tales despite a long tradition of patriarchal alteration, and how might it have become a subtle force within them, from the origin of the tales, through to the feminist re-interpretations?

1.1 Long Ago: Origins of tales and illustrations.

In the eyes of posterity, Charles Perrault (1628–1703) has become the most famous pioneer teller of fairy tales. But he was greatly outnumbered, and in some instances also preceded, by women aficionados of contes de fées whose work has now faded from view (Warner, 1996: 128).

Although French fairy tales were subsequently adapted by Charles Perrault (amongst others), many were created by Madame D’Aulnoy and her acquaintances. Madame D’Aulnoy (1650-1705), defined the term “*contes de fées*” or “fairy tale” and wrote new versions of many of the tales now considered to be wholly constructed from a patriarchal voice (Stephens: 2000: 75). “Cunning Cinders,” an early version of “Cinderella,” and “Graciosa and Percinet” (Lang, 2020: 108), an early version of both “Rapunzel” and “Snow White” were written by Madame D’Aulnoy and were re-inventions or re-tellings of even older tales —Basile’s “Cinderella Cat” is one of the earliest European versions of the tale and contains a strong and decisive ‘Cinderella’ called ‘Zezolla’ (Tatar, 2015: 150). ^{1,1a.}

Madame D’Aulnoy’s stories, or versions of them, tended to come to a close with strict morals and a “happy ever after” involving marriage (Zipes, 2001; Warner 1996), yet she was linked to a good deal of scandal of her own making, including adultery, so the moral hypocrisy is all the more intriguing. Perhaps creating tales of how a young woman should behave may have been easier with a personal knowledge of the ramifications of not doing so one-self.

Another creator of the early fairy tale was Rose de Caumont de la Force (1654–1724), who authored “Persinete” based on the older Basile tale of “Petrosinella” and eventually re-written by the Grimms as “Rapunzel” (Stephens,



1. George Cruickshank: Cinderella, 1865

1. One of the first artists to illustrate the fairy tale, Cruickshank’s detailed etchings depicted many of the first visualisations of characters popularised by the women in their salons one hundred years earlier. These early interpretations were the starting point that fired the imaginations of future artists, and the elements of the tales he chose to illustrate became familiar tropes within illustrations from that time. **1a.** The prince climbing Rapunzel’s hair has been a consistently recurring trope since these early depictions were created.



1a. George Cruickshank: Petrosinella, 1860

2000: 75). That De la Force chose to translate this particular tale is noteworthy in that Basile's tales are some of the most matriarchal and strongly feminised of the original tales, and were often the first ones to be re-written or translated by women (Tatar, 2015: 160).

One of the most moralistic of the female writers of this time was Jean-Marie Leprince de Beaumont (1711-1780), who wrote the most well known version of "Beauty and the Beast" published in 1756, (although it was originally penned by Gabrielle-Suzanne Barbot de Villeneuve in 1740). De Beaumont had a difficult life, and her marriage to her first husband ended in divorce due to his infidelities (Stephens, 2000: 76).

These women, with their difficult relationships in a time of patriarchal dominance, engaged with the fairy tale and cleverly subverted portrayals of the male character, disguising their own discontentment with their relationships and men in general, to construct outcomes that challenged their position in society. Indeed, Helen Taylor comments on this in her book *Why Women Read Fiction: The Stories of Our Lives*. She states that female authors enthusiastically took up writing during this time, partly as a way of challenging their social status.

Women took to it as a way of learning about other lives, fantasising about their own relationships and narratives that allowed them to challenge their own subordinate position to men (Taylor, 2020: 85).

Additionally, most *original* sources of fairy tales came from women who were invited to tell their stories to the 'authors'. The Grimm Brothers invited ladies to come to their home and recite tales to them as they wrote them down and these women had heard the tales from their own female maids, governesses or servants.

Most of the storytellers during this period were educated young women from the middle class or aristocracy (Zipes, 1988: 10).

Andersen collected his tales when working as a young apprentice. He would sit and listen as the old women spun yarn and told him stories that introduced him to a "world as rich as that of a thousand and one nights" (Tatar, 2015: 14). He then put the stories to paper and claimed they were of his own invention or that his translations and embellishments were what made them such clever tales. (2)

Regardless of what they may have claimed, 'authors' from Straparola and Perrault to the Grimm Brothers and Andersen, all translated and embellished stories or changed them to reflect the society, values and religious doctrine they adhered to (as was to later happen with artists and their illustrations). Their versions of the tales are the ones audiences have become acquainted with over time but many of these tales did, in fact, originate from the female voice.

A key turning point in the history of the fairy tale came in French royal court circles towards the end of the 17th century, when some brilliant ladies conducted salons where the telling of what are well known fairy tales became fashionable. (Chaudhri & Davidson, 2006: 16)

It was these women who gave female characters the central and dominant positions they often enjoy, but perhaps positions that were necessary to disguise or hide within a patriarchal construct. They imbued male characters with their own sense of what was considered proper or moral conduct, or simply perhaps, how they *wished* men would behave. Many of these portrayals contradict or undermine the perceived patriarchal dominance of masculinity in society at the time they were written. However, by casting the male as a character nominally in charge, i.e. giving him the title of king or prince but imbuing no actual power, the feminine voice could be hidden behind a *pretence* of patriarchal dominance and they often imbued *these* characters with less than admirable qualities, creating figures of fun or cantankerous old men.

2. It is quite possible that through these ladies the idea for the Emperor's New Clothes came about. The old ladies who spun yarn would certainly have known of 'Dhaka Muslin' one of the finest and most delicate fabrics in the world, and although produced exclusively in Dhaka, it was popular the world over. It was the most expensive fabric in the world due to the intensive process of production and had been produced for over 2000 years. Officially introduced into the UK in 1851, it was already a firm favourite from the mid 1700s in Europe, with Marie Antoinette and Josephine Bonaparte, and in England, with Jane Austen. What was unusual about this fabric was its transparency. It was such a fine fabric that the Roman author Petronius wrote of it "Thy bride might as well clothe herself with a garment of the wind as stand forth publicly naked under her clouds of muslin".

In Zaria Gorvett's piece for the BBC entitled "The Ancient Fabric that No One Knows How to Make" (Gorvette, 2021: BBC) she writes, "The Emperor Aurangzeb scolded his daughter for appearing in public naked, when she was, in fact, ensconced in seven layers of it".

Although unable to be proven, this may well have been the inspiration for Andersen's invisible cloth the Emperor wore in this tale. As Andersen himself admitted, these ladies who spun yarn and who told him tales of rich worlds, did inspire his writing.

Some of these feminine creations of masculinity readily fell in love and had qualities women *could* admire and respect. Evidence of this appears in tales such as Grimm's "Jorinder and Joringel" (Grimm, 1972: 339). Joringel, is betrothed to Joringer, and is deeply in love with her. He spends the whole story desperate to release her from the enchantment she was subjected to at the hands of a witch in order that she may love him back. He eventually succeeds and they "lived together in happiness for a long, long time" (Tatar, 2002: 313). This character, is consumed with love from the outset and nothing will make him happier than reuniting with his betrothed. This perception of undying love and the perfect relationship is documented throughout fairy tales and alleviated fears of bad relationships for women. As Maria Tatar states in *The Annotated Classic Fairy Tales*, a love story such as "Beauty and the Beast,"

...is also a plot rich in opportunities for expressing a woman's anxieties about marriage, and it may at one time have circulated as a story that steadied the fears of young women facing arranged marriages to older men. (Tatar, 2002: 58)

This seems likely, particularly considering how unhappy many of these women were with the husband's they had chosen or had inflicted upon them. Even if subsequently re-written by males, female voices are evident and were the basis on which many of these functions and motifs were originally based. The male translators meanwhile, (who shall also be referred to as 'authors') reconstructed the tales, often focussing on the male character and seeing him from a societal surety of dominance, therefore overlooking the heteroglossia, or the narrative of the female author (Bakhtin, 2017 [1934]), created in the original tales and the many meanings these differing voices imbued in the texts (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996: 27).

Their surface meanings are clear, but they have further depths of meaning, and valid interpretations are numerous (Chaudhri & Davidson, 2006: 16).

When analysing the tales from the perspective of the first feminine construct, evidence emerges of the female voice remaining present even *after* the patriarchal interpretation. Propp notices in his examination of the tales that,

The creator of a folk-tale rarely invents. He receives his material from his surroundings or from current realities and adopts them for a folk-tale (Propp, 1997 [1958]: 102).

If Grimm and Andersen et al, adopted the structure and functions of the tales told to them, and merely adapted them to suit their own societal influences, a female construct would easily be left intact. It would also explain how masculine dominance is an 'interpretation' of the tales relevant to the time and cultural impact on the authors, and not a fundamental core of the tales. Dundes noted that,

Myths and tales re-collected from the same culture show considerable similarity in structural pattern and detail despite the fact that the myths and tales are from different informants (Dundes & Bronner, 2007: 328).

As mentioned, there is no one distinct author of the tales but knowing that many of them originated from the female voice begins to indicate a long-standing feminised frame within the structure. Zipes notes in his book *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion* that,

The matriarchal world-view and motifs of the original folk-tales underwent successive stages of "patriarchisation". That is, by the time the oral folk-tales, originally stamped somewhat by a matriarchal mythology, circulated in the middle ages, they had been transformed in different ways. (Zipes, 2012a: 7)

Yet in spite of the patriarchal translations that should have secured the male character's dominance, there is much evidence of a host of negative or subservient portrayals of masculinity throughout the tales, and these often remain unchanged from generation to generation. With this in mind, there is justification in pulling apart preconceived ideas of masculinity within the fairy tale in order to examine the visibility of the feminine construct and the impact it had on the masculine portrayal and the changing perception of masculine identity.

As Propp states in *Morphology of the Folk Tale*, it is essential to go back to the material to examine these perceptions,

The majority of researchers begin with classification, imposing it upon the material from without and not extracting it from the material itself (Propp, 2015: 5).

To see — when hidden under a veneer of patriarchy and perhaps due to a patriarchal blindness on the part of the male translator — evidence of the strength, cunning or control of the female over male characters, or a denigration of the male by the female, it is essential to go to the material itself and extract information from the text and from the illustrations. In doing so, numerous examples of females having a strong, influential and often dominant role begin to appear.

The step-mother in “Cinderella” dictates and over-rules her husband, The Queen in “Snow White” also over-rules Snow White's father. Snow White herself is a strong and resilient character who against the odds survives in the wild (albeit by becoming the live-in domestic help to seven little men, the irony is not lost here). In “Fitcher's Bird” — the Grimm's version of “Bluebeard” — the last sister taken hostage is the one who saves her other sisters and is the undoing of Fitcher (Grimm, 1972: 216). In “Mollie

Whuppie” (1890), she tricks an ogre into murdering his own children, (3) and in “Sweetheart Roland,” (Grimm) the beautiful girl outsmarts her step-mother to escape with her sweetheart.

Often the “helper” (a character type identified by Propp, 2015) or the character with the power and magic to assist the protagonist, is also woman. A witch, a fairy or a princess who helps advance the hero or heroine on their journey or aids them in some other way. Illustrations provide ample evidence of these women. In Gustav Dore's illustration from “Cinderella,” the fairy godmother, perhaps the most well known of all the female helpers, is depicted creating the pumpkin carriage that will take Cinderella to the ball.² In the illustration of “The Little Mermaid,” by Jiří Trnka, the Czech illustrator and puppeteer, the Little Mermaid saves the prince from a watery grave.³ Rackham's illustration for the tale of “Sweetheart Roland,” shows the beautiful, spirited yet tormented step-daughter and sister, who succeeds in evading her own murder by her step-mother, and continues to outwit her throughout the remainder of the tale.⁴ These kindly and helpful females are often depicted as beautiful or “motherly”.



2. Gustave Dore: Cinderella, 1866

3. Interestingly, this tale is identified as (ATU) type 327B, the small boy defeats the ogre, yet it is a girl. The ATU doesn't have a classification for a girl in this role.

2. Dore's Fairy Godmother is portrayed as a motherly old woman. (In some of the versions of “Cinderella” the fairy godmother is a reincarnation of her Mother) . Here she carves out the insides of the pumpkin in order to create the carriage. Although there is magic afoot, there is also hard work to be done in order to achieve it. Wizen and lined, she has a kindly expression, peering over her round spectacles balanced on the end of her nose, less magical more human and relateable. Lit only by the light of Cinderella's candle, they hide away in the bowels of the house, plotting the rise of the heroine from lowly maidservant to princess. This matriarchal character helps Cinderella with the strength and determination she needs to follow her heart's desire.



3. Jiří Trnka: The Little Mermaid, 1967

3. Emerging from the depths of the ocean, arms outstretched, the Little Mermaid swims to the aid of the drowning prince who is slowly sinking through the stormy waters in a posture of submission. The green and blue-black hues add to the threat the wild sea imposes yet the mermaid radiates a pale green and yellow, reminiscent of phosphorescence, as she moves through

the water. Her tiny waist mimicked by the prince's equally tiny waist. The shape of her hips, reflected in his, are accentuated as they morph into her fish tail whereas his legs spread out defining his two limbs as opposed to her one. Her green eyes are focused on the prince whose eyes are closed. He is close to drowning and his salvation lies

in this strong female saviour. The mermaid is a beautiful vision as she rushes to the surface to save her prince, her modesty preserved as her back faces the viewer, she twists through the water with ease.



4. Arthur Rackham: Sweetheart Roland, 1909

4. The girl in “Sweetheart Roland” portrayed by Arthur Rackham shows a determined, strong and stunningly beautiful woman. Carefully holding the decapitated head of her step-sister at arms length in one hand, and holding what resembles a cigarette holder in the other — an accessory sported by many a self respecting femme fatale from the 1910s until the 1970s — which is in fact a

magic wand. She is in the process of dripping blood from the severed head onto the floor in order to fool her stepmother the witch into thinking her daughter is still alive. Her long flowing black hair and black and white striped dress with a corseted bodice and full sleeved gypsy blouse make her a wild and romantic looking woman, with a strong and determined persona.

The female ‘helper’ may also be present in some illustrations as a voice of honesty. In “The Emperors New Clothes,” the lone voice amongst a crowd of spectators with the strength and determination to defend the truth when no one else will, is in Arthur Rackham’s 1932 illustration, a young girl.⁵

5. Explored further in Chapter 2, this illustration depicts a young girl as the only voice willing to call out the obvious lie. The emperor and the con-men are surrounded by adults, predominantly men, yet *she* is a female voice of innocence and logic, prepared to speak up in an otherwise overtly male dominated tale.



5. Arthur Rackham: The Emperors New Clothes, 1932

In contrast, to the beautiful, strong and determined female portrayed in the illustrations, cruel or evil female characters such as witches, are often portrayed with heavy masculine features and as these characters are associated with wickedness and negativity, so too is their masculine identity.⁶ Judith Halberstam, in his book *Female Masculinity*, determined that “only rarely... is the category of female ugliness explicitly connected to female masculinity” (Halberstam, 2019: 3), so although these portrayals have clear masculine features and create an ugly representation of the female, there is no implication that this female is queer or representing a female *form* of masculinity. The implication is that she has been given male characteristics in order to accentuate her evil character. (see also Ch 1.3:142⁵).

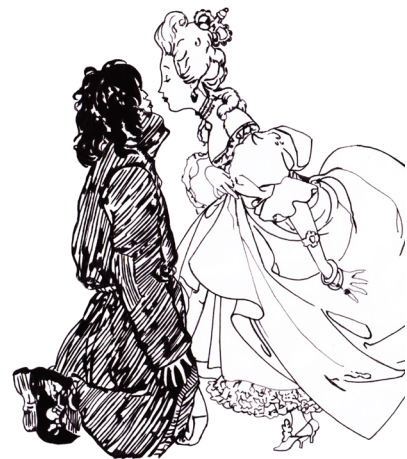


6. Kay Nielsen: Rapunzel, 1925

6. Kay Nielsen’s (1886-1957) Witch or Enchantress from Rapunzel is cutting off Rapunzel’s hair. With muscular biceps and large hands and feet, her dress resembles a tunic or armour with a cape flowing behind. She has been given masculine facial features with a large nose a heavy brow and a square jaw. Her eyes are almost hidden under her scowling eyebrow and her mouth is set in a grimace showing a few jagged teeth.

Contrast this with the overtly feminine portrayal of “Rapunzel,” depicted in a gossamer thin floral dress which clings to her body, accentuating a slim outline and emphasising her femininity.

Her arms are raised in a submissive gesture as the masculinised evil persona of the witch pulls at her hair from behind. The caged bird above her head echoes Rapunzel’s imprisonment. The rope hanging from the cage, which if pulled would release it could also symbolise Rapunzel’s long hair that she hangs from the tower in order that her lover may climb to her and save her.



7. Heinrich Lefler; The Swineherd, 1895



8. Arthur Rackham: Sleeping Beauty, 1933.

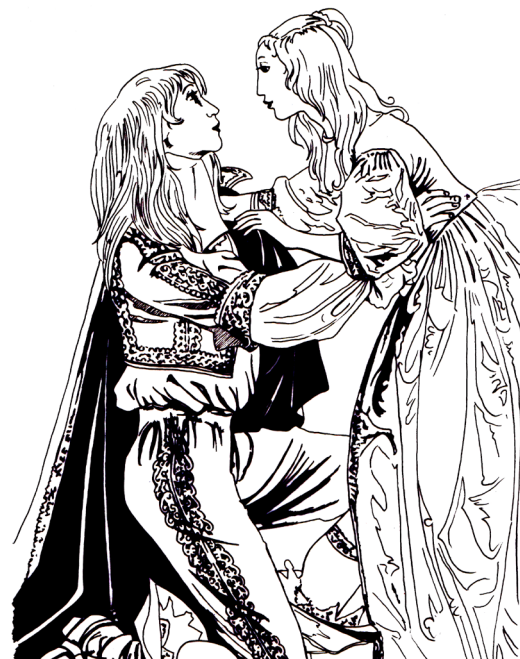


9. Anon: Cinderella, 1940

Male characters such as sons, brothers, fathers or princes are often undermined, dominated or outmanoeuvred by powerful women. They may even be relegated to ‘bit-part-players’ in her story, such as the king and prince in “Cinderella”. Neither of these characters are depicted as heroes or villains, but merely seekers of Cinderella.⁽⁴⁾ In “Snow White,” her father doesn’t appear at all. These supporting characters feature very little in the tale and even less in the imagery.

The Queen’s husband and Snow White’s father ... never actually appears in the story at all, a fact that emphasizes the almost stifling intensity with which the tale concentrates on the conflict in the mirror between mother and daughter, woman and woman, self and self (Gilbert & Gubar, 2006: 293).

A prince might only appear in the very last images within a book and is often shown in a deferential position to the female. He is regularly depicted kneeling as in Leflers illustration of the “Swineherd,”⁷ in which he kneels to receive the princess’s kiss.



10. Janet and Anne Grahame Johnstone: Beauty and the Beast, 1977

In Arthur Rackham’s “Sleeping Beauty,”⁸ the prince kneels before the sleeping princess, praying for her to wake, and many illustrations from “Cinderella” show the prince kneeling at her feet whilst he fits her slipper onto her foot.⁹ In the Grahame Johnstone sister’s illustration for “Beauty and the Beast,” the newly transformed beast kneels before his bride, looking imploringly at her whilst she leans into him.¹⁰ All these male characters show a level of subservience to the female character.

A male may also be an evil character in a tale often populated with good or kindly females. “Bluebeard,”¹¹ is a rich, cruel and sometimes handsome, murdering monster of a man who seduces the innocent females who appear in the tale. Alternatively, the male may be depicted as a fool, laughed at and merely tolerated by the rest of the cast, such as the “Emperor” in Andersen’s, “The Emperor’s New Clothes” (Tatar, 2008: 3).¹² These negative representations of masculinity are echoed in illustrations and continue to be so, in the present day. Only during the period of 1900 to 1922 are the representations of male characters, given a more sympathetic treatment by artists, when audiences were introduced to an unfamiliar interpretation of a gender neutral man, discussed further in section 1.5



11. Harry Clarke: Bluebeard, 1922

11. Harry Clarke’s stylised pen and ink drawing of Bluebeard depicts the murderous man himself alongside the other characters that appear in the tale. This image depicts six beautiful wives cascading from his shoulders his menacing, but attractive face staring straight out of the image, daring the viewer to challenge him. This depiction of a handsome monster emerges in the early 1900s and challenges the earlier versions where evil was represented as ugly. Only one of the women is also engaged with the viewer. Her half smile, acknowledging what the reader may already know, that she alone will survive. The other women look away or hide within the tumbling hair. The symbolism of these bodiless heads emphasising Bluebeard’s method of dispatch. The other males in the image look away or look at Bluebeard himself. They do not challenge him, nor do they engage with the viewer. There is a disconnect and an implication that they have knowingly turned away from the deeds of this wealthy and influential protagonist.

4. ‘Seekers’ being terminology defined by Propp in *The Morphology of the Folktale*, 1958

12. In contrast, the egotistical Emperor in Shepherd's illustration, depicts a foolish man, humiliated and wearing only his underwear in public, (some illustrations have him completely naked). His grim faced courtiers and soldiers resigned to going along with the farce keep their thoughts to themselves and do not engage with the viewer. The young page to the Emperors left, looks out of the image, engaging with the viewer and pulling them into the joke, smirking in the acknowledgement of a fool whose vanity and ego will not let him see the truth.



12. Shepherd: The Emperor's New Clothes, 1961

Searching for evidence of where the female voice might still be present or where male characters are portrayed with an undermining negativity, produced a large range of material, not least within the visual interpretations. Illustrations created by artists from the written texts, which had themselves undergone many iterations, created a further move away from the original sources. Yet rather than seeing an initial *positive* depiction of masculinity that might be expected after a patriarchal translation of the text, a great many illustrators portrayed the male in a negative manner.

Visual portrayals have various stages of translation. They are determined first by the text, then by the artist, their influences and “the environment of all the other modes of communication which surround them” (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996: 33).

The way illustrations relay information from text to audience lies predominantly in the hands of the artist and their own interpretation of the texts. This makes the comparison of text *and* image necessary in order to identify if illustrations were reflecting the depiction of characters as defined in the text, or if and when, they deviated and created something new.

Unlike the initial creation of the fairy tale, illustrations did not begin to be widely translated or ‘visually interpreted’ by women until approximately 1885 when Kate Greenaway began to create a small number of fairy tale images, but male illustrators were far more prolific and accounted for a good deal of the illustrations from the late 1800s. In these original visual translations, artists were interpreting the texts from within a patriarchal environment, so did the visual interpretations echo the female voices in the texts, or did they translate a more masculine patriarchal interpretation and was there a difference in the interpretations by women and men?



13. George Cruickshank: Hop-o-my-Thumb. 1853



14. Gustav Dore: Hop-o-my-Thumb, 1862



16. George Cruickshank: Rumpelstiltskin, 1853

Certainly in Cruickshank's and Dore's illustrations the male characters personify a hegemonic and dominant masculinity. The Ogre in both Cruickshank's ¹³ and Dore's ¹⁴ "Hop-o-my-Thumb," portray the dominant, frightening male depicted in the text.

George Cruickshank was one of the first fairy tale illustrators producing images for the Edgar Taylor editions of the *Grimm's Tales* in 1823 and *The Pentamerone* or *Lo Cunto de li Cunti*, in 1848, and he tempered the tales through his illustrations according to his own beliefs (Canepa, 2007: xiii). Cruickshank's characterisations helped to tackle *his* perceived dangers of the tales by creating genial characters and often making light of the nastier or scarier elements. In his illustration of "Beauty and the Beast" in 1818, his depiction of a monstrous male is negated somewhat by the Beast's gaze as he nestles into Beauty's neck. Yet at the same time Cruickshank created a vulnerability in Beauty with her semi naked pose, subverting any perceived dominance she may have had, and portraying her in an ungarded moment. ¹⁵

His characterisation of "Rumpelstiltskin" mocks the little man as he stamps his foot through the floor in anger and the attending courtiers bend forward laughing, leaning on their staffs in mirth. ¹⁶ Cruickshank was criticised by Charles Dickens — for whom he created many illustrations — who denounced him, claiming that the illustrations should preserve the stories as they were, not change them to suit his own agenda (Warner, 2018: ep 5). Yet this is what most illustrators (and authors) do. It is their interpretations that often become synonymous with the tales.

Dore's characterisations also demonstrated a hegemonic portrayal of the male character in the texts, yet he did nothing to challenge the scarier elements and produced dark images that conveyed a brooding and evil masculine presence. ^{17, 17a}



15. Cruickshank: Beauty and the Beast, 1818

¹⁵. In Cruickshank's "Beauty and the Beast," Beauty has her arm proprietorially around the beast's shoulder, yet the potential dominance this may have given her has been undermined by the illustrator. She appears sound asleep with her breasts uncovered, blissfully unaware of the vulnerability created by the artist who is allowing the voyeuristic viewer to observe this private scene. The 'gurning' face of the Beast could be interpreted several ways. As an idolising gaze, a smug mocking smile complicit with the viewer in exposing her semi nudity or, as his right arm is clearly under the cover, and the rise and folds in the cover imply his arm is across her body, perhaps she is not asleep and they are sharing an intimate moment. This might explain the high flush on their cheeks. It is certainly a far more risqué image than is usually created for this tale.



17. Gustav Dore: Little Red Riding Hood, 1867

^{17, 17a}. Gustav Dore's illustrations depicted expressive and detailed characters. Their faces and gestures translating the fear from the page into a palpable visualisation of terror. There was no suppression of the anxiety or fear created by the tales, in fact his imagery enhanced it. Who could not have identified the horror and dread in the eyes of the child Red Riding Hood, as she realises her fate, or the terrifying eyes of

Bluebeard as he chastises his wife, her down-turned head and expression showing a subservience to him as she avoids meeting his bulging eyes.



17a. Gustav Dore: Bluebeard, 1862

18. Red Riding Hood is one of the most illustrated tales and one of the earliest females to illustrate her was Kate Greenaway. Her sweet young girl in a little pinafore and red cape gave an innocence to the character. Her Red Riding Hood is depicted walking into the woods with no sense of the threats to come. A butterfly flutters at her feet and the blue sky glows behind the trees.

18a. Created earlier in her career, for Perrault's *Diamonds and Toads*, the two girls are beautifully dressed in fine gowns. The blonde girl is a kind and sweet girl and the dark haired girl is rude and feisty. The use of hair colour is often used to differentiate between good and bad, or evil women and girls.



18. Kate Greenaway: Little Red Riding Hood, 1909



18a. Kate Greenaway: Diamonds and Toads, 1871

Kate Greenaway¹⁸ and Helen Stratton were two of the first female illustrators of the fairy tale to create illustrations for publication. Their interpretations differed from the men's not just stylistically, but they had a more vibrant lightness to them.

Kate Greenaway eventually became well known for her illustrations depicting children, yet the few fairy tale images she produced, depicted young women as opposed to the bonneted little girls she went on to create. Her illustrations for Perrault's "Diamonds and Toads"^{18a} were colourful depictions of a tale about two sisters. One kind and the other angry and rude, and she portrays both as beautiful women, with fine dresses and hats. Of the six images she produced for this tale, only one featured a male.

Helen Stratton's early work, like that of Dore's, was generated using wood block but her free flowing lines and movement managed to create a very different mood. The

heavy, sombre and solid atmosphere of Dore, is replaced with a lightness and motion absent in Dore's work. Her female characters are young, with loose flowing hair and although there is less detail in their expression, they still manage to convey emotions relevant to the situations in which they are depicted. These female characters are far more beautiful and fluid than those of Dore or Cruickshank and the artistic influence of the Pre-Raphaelites and Art Nouveau, far more apparent in Stratton's illustrations than that of her predecessors.¹⁹

These interpretations of the texts and illustrations cannot be determined by one factor alone (Lit Rev: 56). They are a result of many factors negotiating and struggling with one another, to form a language which is translated by the artist and the audience.

The use of the visual mode is not the same now as it was even fifty years ago in Western societies; it is not the same from one society to another; and it is not the same from one social group or institution to another (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996: 33).

The semiotic landscape in which the artists created their illustrations and the influences they were under, be it art movements, political, social or personal, are all accumulating factors that lead to the diverse interpretations of texts and images reflected throughout the last one hundred years of the fairy tale. These images allow a rare glimpse into a form of communication that reflected these relationships and now enable audiences a glimpse into the world and lives of a different era.



19. Helen Stratton: The Red Shoes, 1899

1.2 Who's in Charge? Feminist voices and masculine perceptions.

Masculinity and what it meant to be male became more visible when research identifying patriarchy and misogyny was undertaken by feminists from the 1960s. Prior to this, studies were based on humanity as a whole, focussing on behaviour of both males and females but from a male perspective. "Feminist scholars challenged this male-centric viewpoint, making the case for a gender-specific approach" (Levant, 2011: 765). Feminist research then gave rise to more specific research on masculinity from luminaries such as Connell, who introduced the concept of the 'hegemonic' male.

During the 1970s there was an explosion of writing about the male role, sharply criticising role norms as the source of oppressive behaviour by men (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 831).

Seen alongside the feminist exploration, and highlighted by it, the emergence of masculinity and the discovery of a hierarchy within it became evident (Connell, 2000: 3). A new framework for a psychological approach to men and masculinity was developed (Levant, 2011: 765). Much feminist research undertaken since the 1970s focussed on the disadvantages of women (Connell, 2000:35), critiquing and shaming men as opposed to evidencing their positive characteristics (Liu, 2016: 2), and the fairy tale certainly provided much fuel for this. Illustrations within fairy tales also reinforced these concepts, and the portrayals, although varied, often focused on negative rather than positive elements of masculinity.

Research of the fairy tale illustration for this thesis has highlighted in the first instance, how many illustrations

focus on the female character to the exclusion of the male. There are far more depictions of "Cinderella" for example, than there are of any assortment of princes. The British Library contains a huge range of fairy tale illustrations in its databases, yet these are predominantly of female characters, and of these, the majority are princesses (British Library Archives).

As feminist issues had long been ignored and as many of the tales were written or re-written during a period of time where society was wholly patriarchal, it was only fitting that feminist issues were highlighted and debated for modern times. Angela Carter felt many of the tales should be re-written to create a female-centric narrative, yet she did not need to look too hard to find the beginnings of the narrative she wanted to explore. As she stated herself, she would "extract the latent content from the traditional stories" (Simpson, 2017: vii). Carter was hugely influential in overturning the 'male dominated tale' and introducing her own feminised tales. However, a "male dominated" tale does not mean a *positive* representation of masculinity. In fact it is often the reverse.

In her version of "Bluebeard" in *The Bloody Chamber*, Carter turns the female into the protagonist heroine.

Carter's women are much more dynamic and resourceful. In the original story of 'Bluebeard' the last in the succession of brides survives when her brothers rescue her. In 'The Bloody Chamber' salvation comes not in the form of dashing brothers, and nor does it come in the form of a heroic father or a handsome prince. Here, salvation comes in the shape of the heroine's mother, riding to the rescue and toting a pistol (The British Library & Buzzwell, 2019).

She succeeded not only in creating a strong female character but overturned the patriarchal construct to that of a

matriarchal one, when Bluebeard's own mother-in-law is the instigator of his demise, but this reversal did not create a positive male role in the process.

Between Perrault's 17th century fairy tale and Angela Carter's late 20th century variation the men have found themselves out-manoeuvred, and the stereotypes of dominant male, fey heroine and rescuing prince have all been overturned (The British Library, Angela Carter, 2016).

Evidence that the intention of the original female authors was to create a feminist tale in the first place has already been highlighted, and although there are many factors in the creation of the tales over time that have altered or hidden these original constructs, the continued occurrence of a negative portrayal of masculinity gives pause for thought. Is the reinvention of strong female characters creating tales that recreate the initial construct of the fairy tale created by women? A construct that already had at its core a female voice and a female viewpoint that undermined masculine identity. Or does it address the balance that had been written out of the tales by the patriarchal rewriting undertaken by a succession of male authors? Does this in turn erase or transpose gender balance created through centuries of adaptation?

The representation of women as sexualised and objectified characters exemplified in many early translations, contributed to the research and re-writing of the tales by feminists (Warner, 1999: 5386). Yet research into masculinity acknowledges that the sexualising of women is a masculine way of creating dominance over a woman they feel threatened by,

Men's sexualisation of women reduces women's power and elevates men's based on a particular ideology, and thus represents a form of ideological dominance (Dahl et al, 2015:245).

If women in the tales were perceived as powerful, male translators could vitiate their power by creating a more sexualised identity for them, but this did not change the premise of the tales or alter the achievements of the female character. By feminists subsequently re-writing the tales, enabling the female to step back out of these constricted social stereotypes, and resume more positive and dynamic representations, the *male* power was altered. The male became less dominant but did not in turn gain a new appreciation or change in character or function. Simply turning the tables does not resolve issues of gender representation for male characters.

Feminist studies of the fairy tale did expose the societal injustices that women experienced for years, predicated by men, but this did not inversely mean that *all* males are by their nature 'toxic' controlling, hegemonic and patriarchal stereotypes.

Studies of masculinity have identified a gamut of masculine identities and, as explained in the literature review and in chapter 2, these range from the hegemonic, heterosexual male, to the effeminate, transsexual or transvestite male, all identities that come under the umbrella of masculinity and certainly not all negative, scheming, cruel or "toxic". In fact the hegemonic male is the least normal of masculine identities (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Hegemonic masculinity was not considered to be normal in the statistical sense; only a minority of men might enact it (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005: 832).

The texts of the tales may not address all these identities, but the visual expressions of masculinity within the fairy tale illustrations do include a far wider range of masculine identities. Even with less representation of men overall.

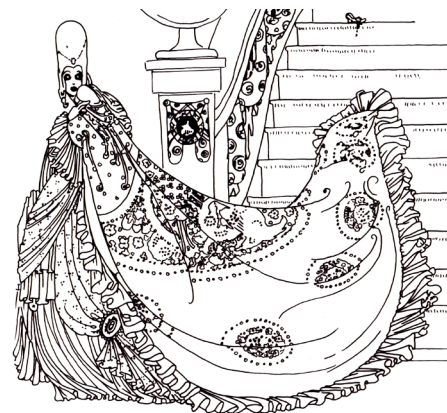
Feminine identities, such as "Cinderella," although prolific, focus on a consistent and predictable one dimensional representation.¹

1. Cinderella is one of the most popular fairy tales of all time, partly due to Disney and their popular iterations of the tale. There are thousands of illustrations depicting Cinderella but, like many illustrations in fairy tales, most depict a narrow array of tropes. Cinderella is regularly depicted in rags in the kitchen, being dressed magically in her gown by her fairy godmother and in the coach on her way to the ball. By far the most depictions however, are of her running down the stairs at midnight. There may be a prince following close behind or she may be on her own, but the trope of the lost slipper is always present. This image has an unending cycle of repetition, barely changing in design or structure. The wedding day is another trope that often features, as the "happily ever after" trope is synonymous with the tale. In Rene Cloke's wedding scenario the princess looks affectionately at her new husband as he leads her towards her new life.



1. Rene Cloke: Cinderella, 1937

1a. Kay Nielsen's Cinderella is beautifully adorned in a colourful gown and cloak covered in flowers and trailing behind her as she flees down the stairs. Her heavily made up eyes glance behind, over her exposed shoulder, at the slipper but she has no time to go back. She is still adorned in her ball finery and not yet returned to the rags she will inevitably be wearing within minutes. *1b.* By 1920, Trube has depicted the exact same trope but now Cinderella has only a dress and no cloak. Her skirts are shorter exposing her stockinged foot as again she glances back at the slipper on the stairs. *1c.* Jennie Harbour's creation has no staircase, but the prince, who is following along behind is literally crawling along the ground in his haste to catch her. Her robes flow and billow giving a sense of the speed she is running, and she clutches her cloak to her glancing over her shoulder as she goes. *1d.* A year later, Carl Ewald depicts a far less rushed Cinderella. She almost seems to be slipping away rather than running, and lifts her skirts to move gracefully down the stairs. She is wearing a wrap around her shoulder and her slipper looks rustic compared to the beautiful glass or gold it usually is. She appears as though she is from a different era to the others due to the style, the clothes and hairstyle the artist has given her.



1a. Kay Nielsen: Cinderella, 1913



1b. Maude Trube: Cinderella, 1920



1c. Jennie Harbour: Cinderella, 1921



1d. Carl Ewald: Cinderella, 1922

Being one of the more visually represented of the fairy tale characters "Cinderella" is almost always depicted in the same way. Dressed in her rags in the kitchen, dressed in her ball gown, or running down stairs having lost her shoe. This trope is the most frequently repeated and Cinderella is always depicted as beautiful, slightly alarmed or demure and rarely engages with the viewer, rather she is always looking behind her.^{1a-h} In all of the images the dress generally has the biggest role. It is certainly the star of the piece.



1e. Anne Anderson: Cinderella, 1925



1f. Joyce Mercer: Cinderella, 1927



1g. Rene Cloke: Cinderella, 1937



1h. Gustav Tenggren: Cinderella, 1942

1e. By 1925 Anne Anderson's Cinderella is already wearing her rags as she begins to transform back into 'Cinders'. This water colour has a far looser, freer look to it with her dress moving and swirling around her legs. Cinderella looks childlike, more a girl than a woman. Her hair flowing behind in a long plait as she runs away from the prince and his manservants (who are giving chase at the top of the stairs). Andersen achieves a real sense of movement in this image similar to Harbour's 1921 image, and in comparison to the relatively static images of many other similar illustrations. *1f.* Joyce Mercer creates a Cinderella who resembles a paper cut out doll. Her rigid, art nouveau inspired dress resembles a piece of china as she runs down the remaining few steps still carrying her open fan, the only indication of movement coming from her head dress. Her slipper is given more detail than in other illustrations, showing a bejewelled shoe, similar in style to a lady's shoe from 1900s. *1g.* Rene Cloke manages to combine movement within the skirts of the dress and the necklace that flies over her shoulder. Cinderella is again looking back in dismay as she runs, leaving the slipper behind. *1h.* Another solid immovable dress is depicted in Teggren's 1942 version. Cinderella wears an Elizabethan creation as she again glances back over her shoulder at the elusive slipper.



2. Harry Clarke: Donkeyskin, 1922

2 & 3. The hegemonic male can range from old, fierce and cruel men, such as Clarke's king in "Donkeyskin," to the robust, bearded bulk of the terrifying and dominant "Bluebeard". These men signify the patriarchal dominance of the evil and manipulative male but they are a small proportion of the males that inhabit the fairy tale community.



3. Heath Robinson: Bluebeard, 1921

There are many representations of the hegemonic male in fairy tale images, from kings and fathers² to characters such as "Bluebeard,"³ but equally there are many examples of subservient males. Princes who kneel before princesses,⁴ or those tasked with placing shoes upon their feet.⁵ Those who bow and show deference⁶ and those who plead.⁷ There are some who are harassed and beaten by their wives⁸ or who beg at the feet of rich ladies.⁹ Gender fluid or gender neutral males are also represented^{10,10a} and occasionally, a kind or empathetic male is portrayed.^{11, 11a} Older men in particular, are portrayed as foolish, weak, ineffectual or stupid, be they kings, fathers or beggars.^{12, 12a,b} Princes and young men may be cruel, brave or queer.^{13,13a} Servants or tricksters are mocking or cunning.^{14,14a} These portrayals have an impact on perceptions of masculinity within the tales themselves and this thesis' exploration of the male character demonstrates not only how many of these examples exist within the samples taken, but also identifies a broader range of masculine depictions than the text might indicate. As research is generally undertaken on the texts, the inclusion of illustrations gives another perspective to the masculine identity within the tales.

Some of the most popular and therefore the most examined fairy tales are, amongst others, "Beauty and the Beast," "Cinderella," "Snow White," "Bluebeard," and "Hansel and Gretel" (Warner, 1999: 4038). These tales tend to be the ones on which discussion is most focussed, due to the exploration and comment on the feminist issues they raise. They are a tiny proportion of all the tales but have unfortunately become the standard by which all fairy tales are judged. They are also the ones where masculinity is not portrayed in a positive light.

Tom Shippey, in analysing the feminist contribution to the study of the fairy tale points out that a very small core group of tales has come to form an unofficial canon (Chaudhri & Davidson, 2006: 5).



4. Warwick Goble: Prince Darling, The Blue Fairy Book 1913



5. Harry Clarke: Cinderella, 1922



6. Arthur Rackham: Cinderella, 1925



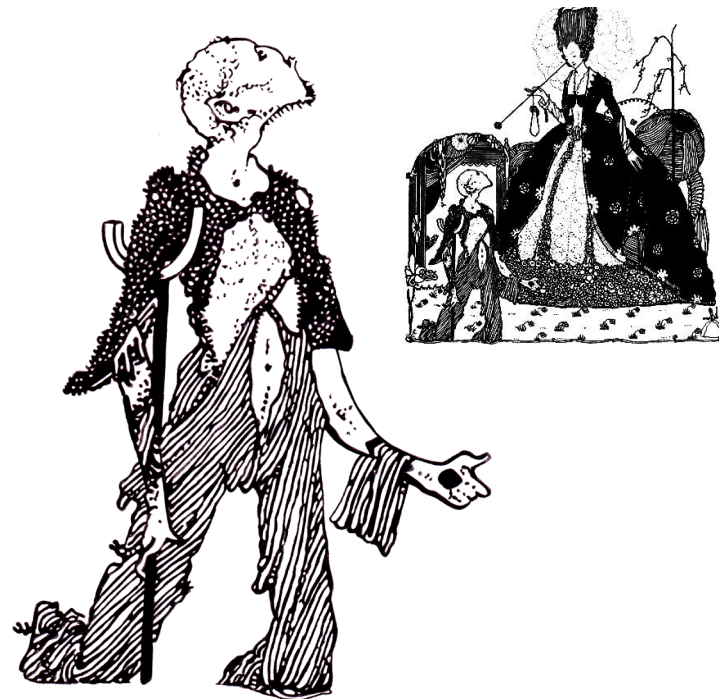
7. Ulrik Schramm: Jorinder and Jorindel, 1962

8. Herbert Cole's harassed husband raises his hands to cover his head as his wife follows along behind, ready to rain blows down upon him. Her fists are clenched and her masculine forearms and large hands belie her feminine attire. The old man glances behind him, mouth open as he clearly understands the wrath of his wife and the beating he is about to be given. He is wearing a tunic implying he is of a lowly status and the wife wears 'pattens' on her feet implying they spend time in muddy or waste strewn streets or fields. These overshoes were designed to raise the wearer above the muck and they were difficult to walk in which makes her ire all the more intense as she would have had to be working twice as hard to keep up with him wearing these.



8. Herbert Cole: Fairy Gold, 1906

9. Clarke's beggar is a pitiful creature. His clothes torn and ill fitting hang from his emaciated frame. He kneels before the wealthy woman, holding his hand out for a coin or two. The shortened crutch under his arm implies he cannot stand any taller or has no legs below the knee. His stubby chin is turned and twisted back in order to look up at the woman who stands back, her walking cane raised as she holds her purse and stares down at him. The beautiful embellished fabric of her gown contrasting with the rags the beggar wears.



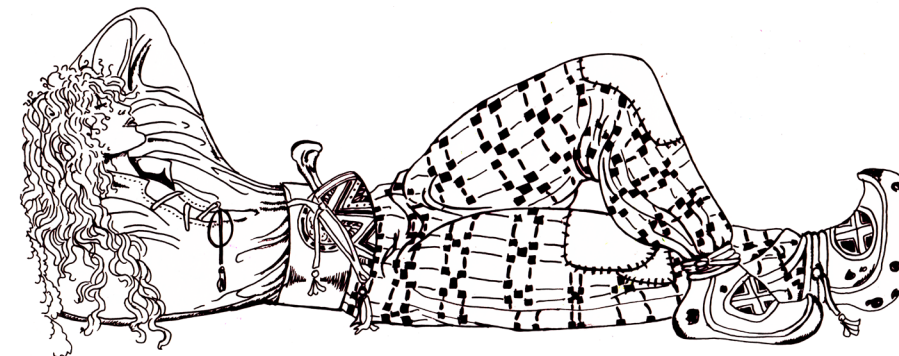
9. Harry Clarke: Donkeyskin, 1922



10. Harry Clarke. Prince The fairy tales of Charles Perrault, 1922

10. Harry Clarke's 1922 prince resembles a woman. The facial features and posture imply femininity and the hat resembles a bonnet. The delicate hands and slim arms gesture towards an old man as the prince engages with him (out of sight). His overcoat looks like a gown, although shorter, made with a highly decorated, floral, high fashion fabric. The coat buttons up across his chest to the right, and his sword is within easy reach of his right hand should he need to withdraw it, both signifiers that although of feminine appearance, this is a male, as males attire buttons to the right in order not to catch on the sword if it has to be drawn quickly.

10a. Nielsen's man from "The Widow's Son" has long flowing locks and a beauty that defies a hegemonic portrayal of masculinity. Reclining with his arms supporting his head, his long legs cross over one another and his shirt, loosely tied, falls slightly open. Although he has masculine qualities, he has a femininity that could as easily be a heterosexual, dominant male, as a gay or queer male. It is the context of the tale that gives him a sexual definition but the imagery leaves it open to interpretation.



10a. Kay Nielsen: The Widow's Son, 1922

11 Although Austen's prince is feminised, he is a regal and genteel man. He takes a rose to the awakened Sleeping Beauty as a sign of his affection and maintains a dignified and respectful distance from her.

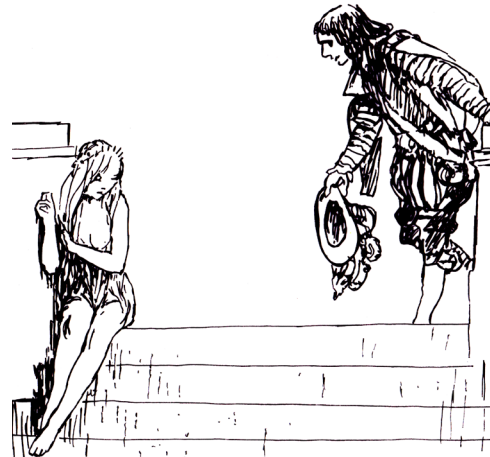
11a. In Shepherd's Little Mermaid, the prince is keeping his distance whilst asking after the vulnerable young woman he has found. He is bowing and has removed his hat as a mark of respect. His free arm stays behind him, he is not reaching out or making unwanted movements towards her as she seems so uncertain of him.

12. Dore's king or ogre in "Puss in Boots" is a fat, bearded and fierce old man. With his drooping belly and ample thighs, his legs spread in a hegemonic exhibition of masculine dominance, his arm rests on a table full of food comprising of a dismembered cow and a bowl of infants. The Tudor costume increases the appearance of his bulk and he glares at the cat with a heavy, furrowed brow and down-turned mouth. A cascade of unruly curls fall from under a tiny hat perched atop his head, making him appear even larger and slightly ridiculous.

12a In contrast, Joyce Mercer's king is a cartoonish character. With a hooked nose and stupid expression, he sits with one hand on his hip and the other on his chin, curious about the invisible cloth being woven before him.



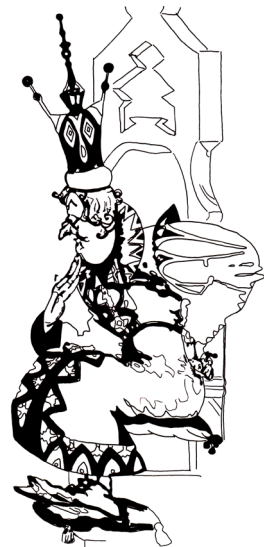
11. John Austen: Sleeping Beauty, 1922



11a. E.H Shepard: The Little Mermaid, 1961



12. Gustav Dore: Puss in Boots, 1880



12a. Joyce Mercer: The Emperor's New Clothes, 1935



12b. Gustav Hjortlund: Simple Simon, 1958



13. Ivan Bilibin: Maria Morvena, 1901



13a. Harry Clarke: The Emperor's New Clothes, 1916



14. Walter Crane: The Frog Prince, 1874



14a. Edmund Dulac: The Emperor's New Clothes, 1911

12b. Hjortlund's Mayor, wearing the regalia of a man in a high position, is depicted as a foolish old man. With wild hair, buckled knees and skinny little legs, his enormous feet clad in 'down at heel' shoes. His face is contorted into a grimace and his outstretched arms imply he has been startled or surprised.

13. Bilibin's soldier has transformed from a hawk into a handsome man before a group of sisters. His strong upright posture, with shoulders back and his regimental outfit gives the impression of a brave, upstanding and honest man.

13a. Harry Clarke's depiction of a young emperor however, is the polar opposite of Bilibin's soldier. His effeminate stance and supercilious expression with a monocle placed in one eye, displays the vanity of the pompous young man. Dressed only in his under shirt and gartered socks, he is a ridiculous figure, mocked by his subjects.

14. Walter Crane's servant stands at the back of the image, hidden behind the table and main characters. He can be seen sniggering at the unfolding scenario of the frog sitting at the dining table and demanding to be fed by a deeply disgruntled princess.

14a. Dulac's con-men watch on as the foolish aide stares at the empty loom. The man behind the aide takes a conspiratorial sideways glance at his friend, a knowing look indicating they see what a fool this man is, but they have no remorse about deceiving him.

Studies undertaken on many of these fairy tales and the changes in perception of gender that resulted from them, created an impression that *all* tales, were at their core, misogynistic and patriarchal and created negative perceptions of masculinity and a suppressed, objectified portrayal of femininity. This was evidenced in many of the texts as Zipe's in *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion* commented on when describing how the patriarchal re-defining of stories portrayed women,

The woman must be constantly chastised for her curiosity, unreliability and whimsy. True beauty depends on prudence and discretion, which are figuratively depicted by the heroine either sacrificing herself to a male beast or submitting to his commands (Zipes, 2012 [a]: 52).

Examples of misogyny and patriarchy are certainly repeated frequently. The tale of "Little Red Riding Hood" finding her way through the sexual minefield of the forest and the attentions of the predatory wolf, or Basile's tale of "The Flea" (Canepa: 2007: 76), where the king holds a competition for his daughters hand and allows her to be taken away by an ogre, are just two examples. Women are often depicted in perilous situations, originally designed to give warning and to instruct them in their behaviour and they were given no power or autonomy over their own destiny.¹⁵

These situations were created by authors to reflect and educate on the social expectations of women in the first half of the nineteenth century, "as moral magnets picking up bits and pieces, if never entire blocks, of a value system" (Tatar, 1992: 157), however, the fairy tale was also used as an example to boys, a way to shape them into men.

The underlying anxiety of making boys into men has shaped the way the Grimm's stories have been



15. Warwick Goble: Little Red Riding Hood, 1900

selected for books and for movies and the softer ones discarded in favour of the tougher, harder kind (Warner, 2018: ep 6).

Whilst research focussed on repressed females and created an impression of a toxic or unflattering representation of masculinity, it created a negativity around the male character, and masculinity itself was depicted either in very dark terms or as foolish or ignoble.

To avoid endowing male protagonists with heroic traits, their strengths are rarely described in much detail (Tatar, 2019: 96).

Yet these negative depictions of masculinity were part of the canon of tales that were thought to be appropriate for boys, in order to shape them into men. They were full of wicked and cruel masculine characters, such as the wolf in "Red Riding Hood," "Bluebeard," Fitcher in "Fitcher's

15. Gobel's illustration of Red Riding Hood from 1900, depicts a scene in which the wolf has backed Red Riding Hood into a tree. With a hunched back, craning neck and feet planted firmly he appears as though he could spring and attack at any moment. Red Riding Hood looks fearfully at the wolf, her perilous situation dawning on her as she glances sidelong at him. However, when looking closely at the wolf's eyes, it is clear that the illustrator has made this character look like a friendly dog. Any sinister intentions are well hidden by his facial expression. With his tail down and his tongue lolling out he looks more like he is waiting for her to throw a ball or pat him on the head, than attack her. The fear comes from Red Riding Hood in this image, as opposed to a threatening wolf. The wolf may well be hiding his true intent behind a facade of 'friendly puppy', but his size in relation to hers, and his stance, belie the dopey expression on his face.

Bird,” or a variety of kings who abuse, seduce and exploit the female character such as the king in Perrault’s “Donkeyskin”. The characters were (and still are) a warning for girls of the sexual predatory nature of men and they presented a particularly hegemonic or toxic representation of them.

In these stories, and others like them, the male is portrayed as a frightening evil presence and there is often no real representation of a kind, caring, loving or intelligent man to create any balance. An exception to this is the huntsman in “Red Riding Hood,” (Although he is not part of the original tale. He was an addition, created by the Grimm Brothers in 1857, quite possibly to address this very issue). Yet tales containing a ‘toxic’ female, such as a witch, are often balanced by a heroine or kindly female character. The tale of “Snow White” contains this balance of a good and evil female character in the step-mother, and Snow White herself.

Male characters generally hold the role of the toxic protagonist, the antagonist or enemy, and the female is a nurturer, friend or compassionate carer (Zipes, 2012[a]:7).

The tales certainly do not address the range of masculine traits that have now been identified by academics such as Connell et al. These negative masculine portrayals in the text give rise to a perception of masculinity that has become an accepted depiction, and has so far not been challenged. There are few discussions on how these biased depictions present to the reader, particularly the young male reader and as Warner identified, these are the tales “shaping boys into men”. There is even less debate on how illustrations might feed into these perceptions and the impact *they* have on the reader.

For the young male, in the process of developing and forming his own ideas on who he is and what masculinity means to him, the depictions of undesirable or emascu-

lated masculine portrayals would not appear to be a productive way to encourage a sense of ease with his own identity.

What is read in a person’s “formative years” — with certain sociocultural norms plays a particularly vital role (Tatar, 1992: 235).

Determining male identity by portraying subordinated or ineffective examples of masculinity (such as the old man, king or fool) encourages many males to increase a desire to *prove* their own masculinity, particularly when threatened emotionally or physically, demonstrating undesirable traits of hegemonic masculinity to compensate. This creates a vicious cycle that perpetuates the behaviour most despised (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005: 829).

In Maria Tatar’s 1992 book *Off With Their Heads* (1992) she states,

..although children’s books and films have become the “new matrix” for generating fairy tales, we still give very little thought to the effect those stories might have on our children, accepting more or less what the market has to offer by way of reinterpretation (Tatar, 1992: 229).

The studies and reflection of the representation of girls and feminism in fairy tales and the reinterpretation of tales to take account of these studies, are well defined. Issues raised by these studies have become a canon of fairy tale discussion and analysis, yet these studies too, have neglected the representations of boys and masculinity and what messages these representations may pass on to them. Tatar goes on to say,

This failure to question or to take the measure of what we pass on to children is particularly surprising if we consider that fairy tales do not merely encode social arrangements from the past, but also participate in their creation for the present and future... As we tell these stories, we simultane-

ously evoke the cultural experience of the past and reproduce it in a way that will shape and structure the experience of the children to whom we speak (Tatar, 1992: 230).

In order to introduce or create a more culturally appropriate society within the fairy tale to present to new readers, there must first be an engagement with the representations of all characters. With the benefit of an increased understanding of masculine identity, it seems incongruous to remain fixated with an increasingly challenged social expectation of masculinity and patriarchy. It is perhaps time to find a way to create a more positive and encompassing interpretation to improve the experience of the new reader.

If unhealthy-negative masculinities are root contributors to problems, then healthy- adaptive masculinities may be important protective factors that could be harnessed to reduce or prevent such negative outcomes (McDermott et al, 2019:12).

The creation or popularising of tales that incorporate positive masculine identities is perhaps a way of developing a sense of equality within the tales themselves and then to use these classic resources to tackle some of our “modern day societal issues”. Zipes states in his essay, *Speaking the Truth with Folk and Fairy Tales: The Power of the Powerless*, that we can use the power of storytelling and the fairy tale to recreate a positive and respectful tolerance of everyone in society.

[The fairy tale can] contribute to alternative ways of relating to one another with dignity and compassion that reflect a truthful and high regard for humanity. It simply means, in the particular case of folk and fairy tales, that we must read to find truths and act upon them” (Zipes, 2019, 244).



1. Henry J Ford: The Dragon of the North, 1894

1. Henry J Ford's depiction of the witch maiden is of a stunningly beautiful young woman, with flowing hair and dressed in a gown that clings to her body. It is gently falling off her shoulders giving a glimpse of an undefined nakedness. The prince gazes at her as she returns from her ablutions, disarmed by her beauty, his weapon discarded on the ground beside him. As is often the way in illustrations of women, the viewer sees her from the same perspective as the prince, or the perspective of the "male gaze" (Mulvey, 1975). The prince is turned away from the viewer and faces the woman so the artist can portray her in all her beauty for both the prince and viewer to admire.

1.3. Feisty Females: Spirited girls subdue the boys

The preconceived notion that the Grimm Brothers and Perrault, et al were the *creators* of fairy tales has been proven not to be the case. Tales most often originated from female writers and orators, and the authors whose work has become synonymous with the fairy tale (such as the Grimm's and Perrault), merely translated and adapted them. The feminine voices remained, impacting the structure of the tales and giving female characters a strength and spirit often overlooked. A male author who did portray strong women was the Italian author Basile in *Lo Cunto de li Cunti*. He created many of his tales with a clear matriarchal dominance and with strong and influential female characters.

Tales in which young girls are exactly the opposite of the Grimm's' female meek prototype. Basile's heroines are often feisty and astute, and in most tales they do not need a prince to help them out of a difficult situation (Tatar, 2015: 160).

It is obvious when reading Basile's tales that he treated the relationships between the male and female characters very differently to those of Grimm or Perrault, yet it must be acknowledge that he also heavily influenced these two authors. His writing inspired them to create tales such as "Cinderella," but both Grimm and Perrault toned down "Zezolla's (Cinderella's) forceful character" (Tatar, 2015: 156).

Female protagonists take control of situations throughout a huge canon of the tales, not just in Basile's. They continually make decisions and set challenges in tales such as "An Impossible Enchantment" (Lang, 2020: 20), where

the fairy 'Placida' takes charge of not only bringing the obnoxious "Mutinosa" under control, but takes charge of her daughter and raises her to be a kind and virtuous girl. In "The Dragon of the North" (Lang, 2020: 15),¹ the witch maiden determines the fate of the prince and seeks revenge on him when he deceives her. In the "Death of the Sun Hero" (Lang: 2020: 269), the woman in black gives the prince an opportunity to prove himself and when he fails, she has him killed as she decides he is unworthy of his title. Women are also in dominant roles in more familiar tales such as Grimm's "Little Brother, Little Sister" (Grimm, 1974: 67), where the sister cares for her brother after he is enchanted by their step-mother, a witch. The battle between the two women continues throughout the tale and the sister eventually wins. In Basile's "Green Meadow" (Canepa, 2007: 152), in which Nella enjoys the nightly 'company' of a prince, when he is injured by her jealous sisters, she finds a remedy and heals him. In Andersen's "The Wild Swans"² Maria Tatar sums up the heroine perfectly.

The "Wild Swans," like its many folkloric cousins, is the stuff of dreams, but its heroine accomplishes her task with unwavering resolve, and the bond between her and the brothers remains tender, strong and dissoluble (Tatar, 2008: 169).

All these tales have a strong female voice with a female heroine at their heart, and the visual portrayals depict beautiful women, dressed in fine robes who dominate the illustrations.

Familiar tropes, motifs and functions abound in all fairy tales and have been thoroughly examined and documented by authors such as Propp, Aarne, Thompson and Uther. Propp's research, along with Aarne's and Thompson's and later Uther's created classifications of the fairy tale.



2. Warwick Goble: The Wild Swans, 1913

2. Goble's princess from the Wild Swans (or the Six Swans) is a dark haired beauty. The drop waisted dress similar in style to Ford's maiden, is an art nouveau inspired gown of splendour. A deep blue with jewelled bodice and waist and with an ornately decorated hem, she holds the folds of fabric that constrict her legs in order to move more freely. She reaches up to her brothers who are still under an enchantment. Her long dark plaits entwined with jewels, frame her beautiful face and her status is determined by the crown on her head. The veil streams behind her mimicking the wings of her brothers.

Aarne's classification became a well-recognised indicator of the types of fairy tale and was built upon by Thompson in 1928, and German folklorist Uther in 2004, creating what is now known as the Aarne-Thompson-Uther Index or the ATU (Ashliman, 1987). Propp, on the other hand created a "morphology" of the tale:

The description of the folk-tale according to its component parts and the relationship of these components to each other and to the whole (Propp, 2015: 18).

In *Morphology of the Folk-tale*, Propp, following in the footsteps of Veselovskij and Bedier who began the process of defining the folk or fairy tales, documented and categorised everything from functions, tropes, motivations and motifs to dispatchers, villains, heroes and helpers. He determined, amongst other things, that motifs (or themes) were more important than plots and that functions repeat themselves within the tales (Propp, 2015: 22).

Functions serve as stable, constant elements in folk-tales, independent of who performs them, and how they are fulfilled by the dramatic personae. They constitute the components of a folk tale (Propp, 2015: 20).

One of these functions, determined by Propp, is the challenge or task and these are mainly undertaken by male characters. Interestingly, these challenges are set by a 'dispatcher' (Propp, 2015: 69), who is often a spirited female. She uses this function to press male characters into proving themselves worthy in one way or another, placing the male in a position of deference to her and her request to submit to her demands. Examples of this occur in tales such as Grimms "The Six Servants," where males are required by the queen to undertake tasks in order to win the hand of the princess, "whosoever wished to have her daughter, must first perform a task, or die." Upon com-

pletion of the tasks set by the Queen however, the daughter then also requests yet another is undertaken for her (Grimm, 1972: 600).

In "The Fisherman and his Wife" (Grimm, 1972: 103), the wife tasks her husband with asking for more and more riches from a magic fish, against his better judgement, which ultimately does not end well.^{3,a-c}

The fisherman's masculinity is continually undermined by his domineering and greedy wife. Having saved the enchanted fish his wife feels he, or she actually, is owed something in return. The Fisherman is a simple man and wants a simple life, yet his wife is not content and demands he do her bidding by asking the fish for status and riches. She remains unsatisfied after every wish is fulfilled and continues to harass her husband who weakly gives in to her demands. The visual portrayals of the fisherman show wretched men, downtrodden, exhausted and old before their time, or they depict him as a fool, harassed and demeaned by a domineering wife.



3a. Charles Folkard: The Fisherman and his wife, 1949

3. In Kay Nielsen's depiction of the fisherman from 1924, he is standing on a rock by the sea in a howling gale, asking the fish for another favour as he clutches his hat to his breast and gestures towards his home. His partially bald head, clean shaven face showing no signs of a masculine beard, and loose baggy clothes depicting an old, thin and harried man.



3. Kay Nielsen: The Fisherman and his Wife, 1922

3a. By 1949 Folkard's fisherman resembles a gnome with a long flowing white beard and large, gnarled hands. He is gesturing to the fish whilst again standing in a wild wind as he grabs at his hat to keep it on his head. His bent knees and wizened face with dark rings around his eyes give him the haunted look of a frail old man. One can envisage him hobbling his way to the rocks yet again, to speak with an increasingly angry fish.

3b. Schramm's 1962 depiction shows a fool. His protruding bottom lip and questioning body language creating a character who is clearly not in charge. His clogs have been replaced by Wellington boots and his weak and thin body now has a protruding belly. His finger, pointing towards the sea clearly asking his wife, "You want me to go back?"



3b. Ulrik Schramm: The Fisherman and his Wife, 1962

3c. By the 1970s Foreman has him dressed as a fisherman with his hat, apron and long pipe hanging out of his mouth. It is not often a character is seen smoking in a fairy tale illustration. With his hands stuck deep into his pockets his mouth hangs open as he wearily looks at his wife who is directing him to go and do as she asks. These portrayals, although created at very different times, all portray the fisherman as a disillusioned, emasculated man.



3c. Michael Foreman: The Fisherman and his Wife, 1978

This portrayal of a weak and controlled man undermines any sense of a hegemonic depiction of masculinity. This weakness of character, visually emphasised, demeans him. He is not a bad character, he is certainly not dominant and he has no authority or autonomy. He is emasculated by his haridan of a wife.

In further examples of challenges set by women, Grimm's "Little Hamster from the Water" has a princess who challenges her suitors to "hide so well, she cannot find them," in order to claim her hand. If they fail they are beheaded. 99 out of 100 suitors fail and suffer the consequences. In the tale of the "Little Humpbacked Horse," by Yershov, the tsar-maiden dictates the challenge.

Finally, when the brutal tsar demands to wed the young tsar-maiden, she sets a condition: he must become young again by jumping into three different cauldrons filled with boiling water, milk, and cold water (Zipes, 2019: 252).

This excerpt also evidences the tsar maidens desire for the tsar to become "young again," before she will marry him.

Recurrent functions determining if a male is worthy of the love of a female are abundant within the fairy tale. A prince or other male character in search of a wife must preferably be handsome and rich, usually at the behest of the female. To become handsome often occurs through 'transfiguration' (Propp, 2015: 56), where a transformation or change in appearance transpires either via magic, a helper, clothing or deception. The end result being the male changes into a handsome man and therefore becomes a more 'acceptable' proposition for the female character.

In Basile's "Peruonto" the princess 'Vastolla' (Peruonto's wife), only falls in love once he has obtained wealth. She then wishes he become handsome too.

5. Although in many illustrations, Nielsen, Clarke or Austen for example, he is depicted as a very handsome man.

To seal all of her good fortune she only had to ask Peruonto to obtain the grace of becoming handsome and well-groomed so that they could enjoy everything together (Canepa, 2007: 68).

Although forced to marry him, as punishment for her cruel behaviour towards him, Vastolla dislikes Peruonto, yet once he proves he can become wealthy and handsome, she falls in love with him. In “The Frog Prince,” the prince is transformed from an ugly frog into a prince with “kind and beautiful eyes,” and a kingdom of his own. Only then does the princess agree to marry him (Grimm, 1949: 20). In “Rapunzel,” the prince asks her to marry him and “she saw that he was young and handsome,” so she agrees (Grimm, 1949: 75). In “Bearskin” (not to be confused with “Donkeyskin”), the devil has to clean the soldier before he meets his potential bride and “after this he looked like a brave soldier and was much handsomer than he had ever been before” (Grimm, 1949: 471). In Andersen’s “The Little Mermaid,” upon seeing the prince at a ball thinks, “he is the handsomest person there, with big dark eyes... How handsome the young prince looked” (Tatar, 2008: 132-133). In “Riquet with the Tuft” (Perrault, 1697), a deformed prince is transformed into a handsome man by the end of the tale, and of course in “Beauty and the Beast” (Tatar, 2002: 60), where the transformation, as with the frog in “The Frog Prince,” is from animal to man, the Beast becomes a “handsome prince”. Maria Tatar asks in *The Annotated Classic Fairy Tales*,

Why does the story (Beauty and the Beast) end by subverting its own terms when it turns both marriage partners into figures of physical perfection? (Tatar, 2002: 60).

The answer to this can be found in her own commentary where she states that the tale by Beaumont, may have been created to “steady the fears of young women facing arranged marriages to older men” and “was for publica-

tion in a magazine designed for girls and young women” (Tatar, 2002: 58). This tale was designed to appeal to young women, so it can be determined, that this transformation was to please or reassure in some way, particularly if a prospective husband may be a great deal older, and not at all handsome in their eyes. A strong desire for any girl would be to somehow create a handsome version of the “monster”.

A handsome male character is often associated with faithfulness, kindness and love, but the opposite is true of an ugly or stupid male character (unless he transforms). “Bluebeard” is wealthy, but ugly (Tatar, 2002: 147), (5) the inference being ugly is evil, or in the case of Basile’s “Vardiello,” ugly and stupid (Canepa, 2007: 70).

The female characters are certainly imbued with expectations and requirements in regards to love and marriage, and the male characters generally conform. Illustrations demonstrate this change in appreciation of a new handsome version of the male character in the expression on the females when a transformation occurs. Disdain or despair changes to one of love or interest, after the transformation. ^{4, 4a}



4a. Walter Crane: The Frog Prince, 1874



4. Walter Crane: The Frog Prince, 1874

4. In Walter Cranes illustrations for “The Frog Prince” the princess is not at all pleased with the new companion she is forced to spend time with. The frog pursues her into the palace, feeds from her table and sits on her bed. She cannot bear the sight of him, yet when she finally snaps and throws him against the wall, Crane depicts his transformation from a repellent frog into a handsome prince.

4a. Once this change has taken place, Crane’s princess coquettishly peeks at the transformed handsome prince before her whilst he bows, tips his hat and averts his gaze. He is given a very different demeanour as the prince, than the one he has as a frog. He is far more respectful and subservient than the demanding and persistent frog and the princess is now rather taken with him.

5. Harry Carter's mermaid is a serene, slender and beautiful young girl. She has a graceful, boy-like figure with no waist, long slim arms and jutting shoulders. With her long hair flowing around her, sea creatures glide by or stop to admire her. The black background creates a claustrophobic world she no longer wants to be a part of and as she gazes out of the image she appears lost in her own thoughts. The tiniest look of determination is crossing her face which contradicts the vulnerability of her slender naked torso. Her beautifully detailed and decorative tail creates a delicate femininity contrasted by the masculine appearance of the witch above her.

The witch is a brooding presence, a frightening figure whose hair, extended by the eels, creates a barrier between the surface of the ocean and the world beneath. Serpents drape and slide their way around the witch, coiling themselves about her and between what appears to be her tail, ironically split to resemble the legs the Little Mermaid desires. One serpent has forced its head through them, creating a phallic symbol that questions the gender of the witch.

The magic potion is suspended in front of the little mermaid and she has yet to take a sip and make that final decision that will change her life.



5. Harry Carter: The Little Mermaid, 1916

Masculinity and masculine norms associated with expectations of love, differ from the construct of love offered in the fairy tale. A fairy tale depicts male characters conforming to a more feminine ideal of love and relationships.

Pressures on heterosexual men to behave in ways that conflict with various aspects of traditional masculine norms have never been greater. These pressures to commit to relationships, communicate one's innermost feelings, nurture children, share equally in housework, integrate sexuality with love, and curb aggression and violence — have shaken the traditional masculine norms to such an extent that a masculinity crisis began in the mid-1990s and continues today (Levant, 1997: 439-444).

If, as in "The Little Mermaid" (Tatar, 2008: 120), he fails to fulfil the female expectations of fidelity and love, he engenders a sense of betrayal. The mermaid has after all, sacrificed so much for him. The fact she does so willingly, in the hope that he may love her back — even though he never claims to be in love with her — leaves the sense that a terrible wrong has befallen her and she garners huge amounts of sympathy and empathy.

It is indeed, a sorry tale with a tragic end for her, but also consider that it is partially of her own making. "The Little Mermaid" is a particularly good example of a spirited female, in that she makes her own decisions and goes against her father's wishes, "she is more adventurous, spirited and curious than most fairy tale heroines" (Tatar, 2008: 147), but unfortunately, her decisions don't lead to the happy ending she had hoped for. Illustrations of the Little Mermaid rarely depict her as a spirited girl/mermaid. More often they show her as vulnerable and exposed. There is rarely evidence in these images of the strength and determination of her character.^{5, 5a}

5a. Edmund Dulac's version of the mermaid is of a younger more vulnerable naked girl. Clutching her hair about her to cover herself and sitting on cold stone steps, her new feet trail in the ocean, a reminder of where she has come from. The prince, fully dressed in oriental robes, leans on the pillar to speak to her. His dominant stance looking down at her forcing her to twist her head and look slightly behind. This mermaid shows no signs of the spirited and decisive young woman she really is, but a defenceless, exposed girl, now at the mercy of a world of which she has no experience.



5a. Edmund Dulac: The Little Mermaid, 1911



6. R. Anning Bell: Hans In Luck, 1912



7. W.H Robinson: Hans Clodhopper, 1899

6. Apart from the 1300s where a 'foolish woman' was also a term for a prostitute

As the spirited female in many of Basile's fairy tales, and in versions of Perrault's and Grimm's demonstrate, the female character, although perhaps considered weak, is often very much in control of her own destiny, she leads the story or dictates outcomes. When Angela Carter noted in her manuscript,

All these stories have in common a weak person – a child, a fool, a woman – outwitting a strong powerful one – a tsar, a devil, a king. Wish fulfilment here (The British Library & Carter 2016).

She mentions only *male* characters being 'outwitted,' a tsar, a devil and a king. Her statement is correct when considering the fairy tale from a perspective of overcoming the odds, or a weak character overcoming the power of a stronger character, but it also shows that, perhaps without realising it, she has portrayed only the male in the negative or 'powerful' role, which, as has been demonstrated, is not always the case and as she herself documented in her journals when she observed "Vasilisa's triumph". Yet these negative statements become part of the received wisdom on the construct of the fairy tale.

Carter also states the weak characters are that of "a child, fool or a woman". The term 'fool' is generally associated in the fairy tale with a male. 'Jack', in "Jack and the Beanstalk" is a foolish boy, "Vardiello" and "Peruonto" are fools in Basile's *Lo Cunto de li Cunti* (Canepa, 2007: 64&75). "Clever Hans" and "Hans in Luck"⁶ (Grimm, 1972:166 & 381), or "Blockhead Hans"⁷ (Lang, 2020: 392), are perhaps some of the most foolish of male characters and entire tales revolve around his stupidity. The western semiotic association with the word 'fool' is masculine. In fact, throughout history the etymological association with the word is masculine.⁽⁶⁾ The implication in Carter's statement, is that any notion of weakness in a *male* is perceived as foolish or stupid, yet at the same time, he is also condemned for being powerful or dominant.

Even though much commentary of the fairy tale encourages a perception of weak female characters, there is ample evidence to confirm they are strong, spirited, feisty and dominant. Whereas male characters are regularly flawed, weak, undermined, outwitted and controlled by these spirited and determined women. In "The Yellow Dwarf" Bel-lissima certainly has the men just where she wants them.

...every one of the princes wished to marry her, but no one dared say so. How could they when they knew that any of them might have cut off his head five or six times a day just to please her (Lang, 2003: 31).

Women, and mothers in particular, are immensely powerful fairy tale characters.

As second wave feminist Dorothy Dinnerstein wrote in the 1976 book *The Mermaid and the Minotaur*, the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world. What she meant by this is that we all have to negotiate with the power of mothers, of women (Orbach, 2018a).

In Grimm's "The Juniper Tree," it is the step-mother who murders the son and serves him up in a stew to an unsuspecting and unquestioning father.⁸ In "Cinderella," the stepmother determines that she should live a life of drudgery with the full knowledge and approbation of her own father, who does not challenge his feisty wife⁹. In Basile's, *Lo Cunto de li Cunti*, "Part 1 The First Day," it is a succession of women who determine the outcome of the tale. "Viola" is the heroine and it is she who "used her wits to construct such a fine destiny" (Canepa, 2007:163).

Feminist analytical voices have rightly identified the injustices of the female depiction, of which there is ample evidence, and in some cases attempted to reverse them. But these examinations must not become the basis of all



8. Moritz Von Schwind: The Juniper Tree, 1871



9. Anon: Cinderella, 1910

theoretical examination. If the male character becomes vilified within a feminist rhetoric, he is not only being done as grave an injustice as has been done to the female previously, but because of the perception of his own masculinity, it reinforces the dominant ideologies it is trying to negate (Dahl et al, 2015: 243). Many fairy tales with strong female characters are in fact perpetuating an ongoing masculine identity crisis within them. Dominant or controlling masculinity cannot be explained or nullified by reversing it or giving it to the female, and without further discussion and analysis of these subordinated masculine roles, there can be no realisation of their impact on the reader. This is equally true of the illustrations. There are many illustrations that depict the subjugated, bullied, oppressed or emasculated male and these reinforce a masculine identity at odds with a healthy masculine self identity (Dahl et al, 2015).



1. Gordon Brown: The Little Mermaid, 1906

1. The Little Mermaid tenderly pulls the prince to the surface in this 1906 illustration by Gordon Brown. The prince is quite helpless, his arms floating out in submission to his fate as the last traces of air escape him in the form of rising bubbles, he is unconscious and unaware of who his rescuer is. This mermaid is modestly attired in a sleeved top and the prince's head is cradled into her chest as she gazes at his face. Her hands support his head as she raises him to the surface of the sea. His tunic has a series of hearts around the hem, hinting at the element of love within the tale. This gentle rescue, unencumbered by rolling waves and stormy seas is a more tranquil, peaceful scene than some of the other rescue depictions.

1.4. One True Love: Attachment dilemma

An area in which the male character often comes across poorly, is in romantic situations. The male may be portrayed as cruel or hurtful, even if they have been quite honest in their dealings with their potential love interest. As mentioned earlier, in “The Little Mermaid,” the prince's behaviour may be perceived as selfish or cruel because the Little Mermaid sacrifices so much for him and he marries another woman. However, in Andersen's tale the prince has no idea of what this young girl has sacrificed for him, nor can she tell him as she's had her tongue removed by a witch, who granted her wish to become human. He does love her, but he refers to her as “his child” or “foundling” implying a fatherly or brotherly relationship as opposed to a romantic one (Tatar, 2002: 302). In the imagery he is rarely portrayed at all, unless the image is of the mermaid rescuing him.^{1 & 2}

That the Little Mermaid ultimately sacrifices herself for the prince and his happiness shows a strength of character on her part, but hers must not be judged at the expense of the prince's character. He is always clear with her about where, and with whom, his affections lie. At only one point does he give her a glimmer of hope when he says, “If I were forced to choose a bride, I would rather choose you my dear mute foundling” (Tatar 2002: 325). The implication being she would be a choice only if he were being forced to marry someone he disliked. He is not in love with her, no matter how hard she may wish it to be so. She knows the woman he professes to love is herself, but he does not recognise her as this ‘elusive love’ and does not acknowledge her as such. It is she who continues to pursue this unacknowledged and unreciprocated love. Unlike in “Cinderella,” the Little Mermaids' recreation of herself

does not render her recognisable to her prince and there is no marker, such as Cinderella's slipper, with which he can identify her. Ultimately he does fall in love with and marry another and this destroys her.

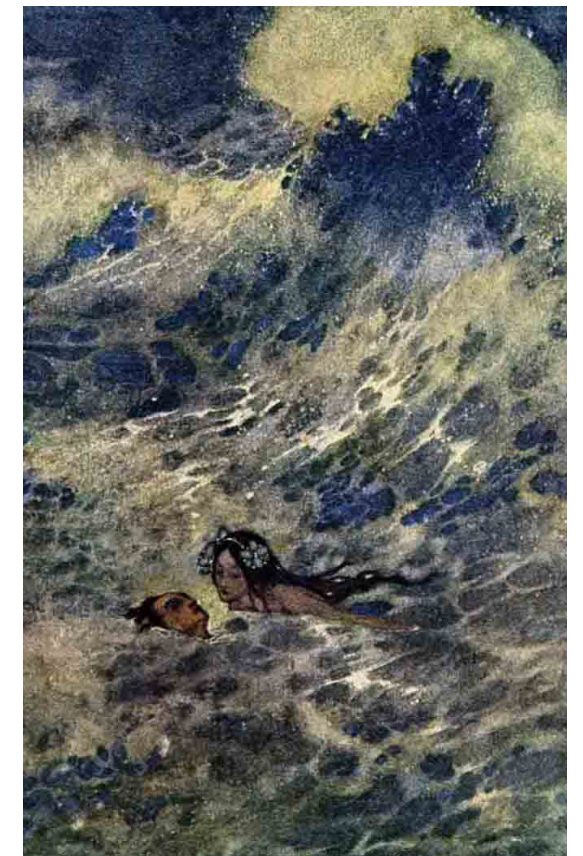
It should also be acknowledged that these characters, particularly the females, are very young. The Little Mermaid is supposedly fifteen and the prince only a year older. “What is commonly overlooked is the fact that the central characters are usually young and inexperienced” (Davidson & Chaudhri 2006: 5). In Madame D'Aulnoy's, “The Yellow Dwarf”, Bellissima is also only fifteen (Lang, 2003: 31).

Typically, the leading characters are only children when they leave home. Snow White is 7; Hans My Hedgehog is 8; Rapunzel is 12; Strong Hans is 13 and Briar Rose is 15...Even if the age is not given, tradition implies that fairy tale heroes and heroines are not far removed from childhood as their adventures begin (Ashliman, 2004: 42).

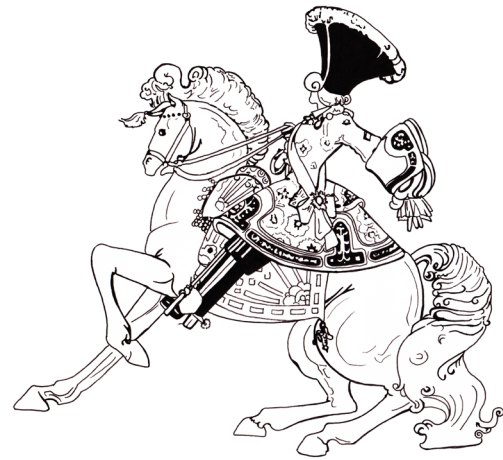
An idealised notion of love is more understandable when experienced by naïve characters whose first understanding of this emotion comes about often after a long sleep, or time spent caring for others whilst they grow up. They enter the tales as children and experience love as very young adults (or sometimes still as children). Even if they don't spend time growing up in the tale, they are still young and naïve when embarking on their romantic journeys, particularly female characters. Alongside this romantic ideal is a sense of duty to family and forging alliances which would have played a huge role in expectations of relationships at the time the tales were written.

By 1880...many western nations had established an age of consent for the first time, typically of 12 or 13 years. By 1920, when the influence of reform

2. Edmund Dulac's illustration depicts the prince and mermaid in frothing, churning waves that tower over them both. This time her modesty is preserved by the sea and only the prince's face is visible as he floats, already half drowned and about to be overcome by another wave rising behind them. This stormy representation is loud and cold in comparison to the other. The mermaid, not yet rescuing the prince, but observing him closely as if deciding if and when to save him.



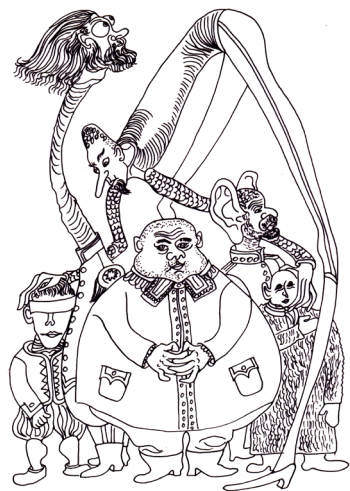
2. Edmund Dulac, The Little Mermaid, 1911



3. Kay Nielsen: Sleeping Beauty, 1913

3. Kay Nielsen's prince from "Sleeping Beauty" doesn't engage with the audience at all in the illustration. His focus is entirely on his goal of reaching the princess.

4. In the six servants, Scharl focuses on the men who undertake the tasks as they have far more interesting depictions within the text than the prince does.



4. Joseph Scharl: The Six Servants, 1948

campaigns that established a new link between the age of consent and prostitution had run its course, most had revised their age upward, to 14 or 15 in European nations, and 16 in the Anglo-American world (Robertson, 2021: #230).

When the tales were originally written, the age of consent for girls was even younger, reportedly as young as 10, and was not raised to the age of 12 until the late 1800s. It would not have raised eyebrows at the time to portray these children as having emotional attachments, relationships and desires disproportionate to their actual age.

It must also be recognised that it is quite normal in the forming of relationships, that a male in particular, will have a number of romances before settling down. Sexual prowess with women is one way to prove his masculinity and the more he engages, the more masculine he feels (Connell, 2000: 76-85). Yet in fairy tales men and boys are portrayed as being helplessly in love with the first woman they meet. Even the Little Mermaid's prince is besotted after one glance, just not with her. The fairy tale male often has eyes for no other and will sometimes go to the ends of the earth to have the girl they love, love them in return.

In "Sleeping Beauty"³ the prince fights his way through the brambles surrounding the palace to reach her, in "The Six Servants,"⁴ the servants help the prince undertake tasks to help him win the princess' hand, and in "Rapunzel,"⁵ the prince climbs her hair each day in order to spend time with her. Even having been blinded when thrown into the thorns below the tower by the witch, he continues to seek Rapunzel, eventually finding her and having his eyesight restored by her. Finally in "Cinderella," the prince relentlessly pursues the object of his affection.⁶

Previous relationships or dalliances are never referred to unless it is in the context of the death of a previous marital

partner. The tales depict men and boys as having the same attitudes as females towards a desire to marry and find romantic love, whereas in reality males often prioritise their career, building of wealth or sport and hobbies over relationships (Connell, 2000: 69-74). As described in the 'Origins of the Fairy Tale' (section 1), many tales were originally created or told by women, so it is entirely possible that these moral and romantic expectations of male characters was a feminine construct designed to assuage an oppressive power and dominance of men over women.

The question remains therefore, were the women authors of the original tales subtly rebelling? Were they creating situations in which to voice a *right* to love, romance and friendship before duty, and in so doing, were they dictating moral codes by which they expected or wished men to behave? Or, perhaps the male authors were in fact more sensitive to the female reader's expectations of romance between the pages than has previously been assumed.

According to Summers' research paper on reading preferences, love and romance are "appeal factors" for the female reader (Summers, 2013: 3), who will generally identify with the female character and because these are fairy tales their true love is a male. This in no way implies that the male reader is not influenced by these "appeal factors" but they are not the primary factors for him. Disney's version of "The Little Mermaid," although deviating from the original Hans Christian Andersen tale, still ensures these "appeal factors" for girls remain constant for a modern audience too.

The issue of female desire dominates the film and may account for its tremendous popularity among little girls (Warner, 1998 & Tatar, 2008: 403).

Although there is a good deal of love and romance, there is a distinct lack of sexual context in the fairy tale and



5. R Emmett Owen: Rapunzel, 1922

5. Rapunzel's prince endures many hardships to ultimately secure his bride. Almost all illustrations depict him climbing her hair. This trope is found throughout all publications and instantly identifies the tale. He is also often depicted gazing adoringly into the eyes of his beloved.

6. The Cinderella trope of the prince in pursuit of her is one of the most familiar. He is rarely pictured in the foreground. Usually he is a tiny figure in the distance and Cinderella looms in the foreground.



6. Anne Anderson: Cinderella, 1935

more current research indicates that love, friendship and romance resonate more with the female reader than the male. In Summers' 2013 study she found a higher percentage of female readers chose to read romance and relationship stories, than males.

The most frequently chosen genres by females were romance (68 percent), realistic fiction dealing with relationships (65 percent), mystery (59 percent), realistic fiction dealing with problems (57 percent) and humour (51 percent) (Summers, 2013: 3).

Taylor (2020), also stated that a desire to read, and share reading experiences with other women, was a long standing activity of bonding and intellectual passion for women,

It is something women undoubtedly do automatically in ways that are inter-generational, gregarious and collegiate (Taylor, 2020: 84).

So, whilst there is no explicit sexual expectation within a fairy tale; romance and relationships do abound. In fact, the only indication of any sexual activity bar kissing, is the birth of a child which is sanitised in as much as a child simply appears.

The twins born to Rapunzel materialise in magical fashion when they appear between the covers of books for children – not once are they connected with the heroines daily romps with the prince in her isolated tower (Tatar, 1992: 40).

Sometimes a pregnancy has no father at all such as in the Russian tale “Little Rolling Pea”. This conception could be inspired by the Virgin Mary, in that a woman claims her pregnancy to be a gift from God. Her husband does not question the pregnancy, simply accepts it and the child.

All at once she saw a pea rolling along. She thought to herself: ‘This is the gift of God.’ She took it up and ate it, and in course of time became the mother of a baby boy, who grew not by years, but by hours (Wratislaw, 1889: 133).

Masculine expectations of a relationship, or the elements that make a relationship exciting for a male, such as sexual prowess or sexual tension, are simply missing or have been written out, possibly to make the tales more appropriate for children.

In original versions of “Little Red Riding Hood” there was a frisson between the Wolf and Red Riding Hood, that she uses to her advantage and would have appealed more to the male reader. She clearly understood her sexual power over the wolf in this version and uses it to escape the dangerous situation.

Little Red Riding Hood started out as a ribald story with a heroine who spends a good part of the narrative undressing while provocatively asking the wolf what to do with her bodice, her petticoat and her stockings, and who then tricks the wolf into freeing her by asking if she can go outdoors to relieve herself (Tatar, 1992: 3).

So, Carter was not so much re-inventing the tale by giving her Red Riding Hood sexual autonomy in “A Company of Wolves” from *The Bloody Chamber*, merely reverting it. There is much evidence to show that sexual antics were originally a part of the fairy tale, yet the adaptation into print and a focus on the fairy tale for a younger audience, saw this element disappear (Tatar: 1992: 3). Over time, the heterosexual relationships in fairy tales became more emotional and affectionate, a change that appealed more to the female reader.

This romance is evidenced when a male character ‘steals a kiss’ from a sleeping princess but, there is a caveat. This kiss must come from their “one true love”. This is not a



7. Frederick Spurgin: Sleeping Beauty, 1930

7. Spurgin's prince holds back a curtain on the bed that hides a still sleeping, beauty. He gazes at her with the beginnings of a smile on his lips. Leaning forward as if he is about to kiss her, he has removed his hat and stoops towards her. He is not depicted actually kissing her.

8 Winter's fairy tale wedding in Cinderella shows a radiant bride and groom whose arms are entwined as he escorts his new bride out of the castle



8. Eric Winter, Cinderella, 1964

depiction of a male, happening upon a lone incapacitated female and taking full advantage (although it has been interpreted in this light), but more it is a portrayal of a romantic gesture from a prince (of course), in love (of course), with a princess... in a fairy tale. It can be reasoned that the princess has not given her permission to be kissed, yet the only way she can be released from her curse is by her '*true love's kiss*.' To translate this as a form of attack imbues these situations with an interpretation of a sexual threat that is either not there or has been removed from the tales over many re-workings of them.

Rarely does an illustration show the prince actually kissing the princess. They do depict him standing over her and admiring her as she sleeps (Sleeping Beauty),⁷ or holding her hand (Cinderella).⁸ The tale that actually depicts the most kissing in the imagery, is that of "The Swineherd" where the princess kisses the swineherd, unaware he is a prince. (This particular kissing trope is another that is repeated frequently in the illustrations of the tale⁹). The lack of any sexual references within these tales means they retain an innocence and romance that perhaps should not be reinterpreted as something more sinister.

Of course it can also be argued that the line must be drawn somewhere. When looked at through the prism of #metoo or other women's movements, these episodes can certainly be construed as the male taking advantage of the female, but to do so ignores not just the romantic idealised construct of the tale, but also the social constructs of the era and age in which the tales were created. It also ignores an underlying premise of love and care. In fact, these scenes in particular *could* appeal to certain masculine traits, not because they are taking advantage of the princess, but because a male would feel as though he is saving her. A normative heroic action for a man, (although still a form of control) (Dahl et al, 2015:252).

Positive masculine role norms may also represent men's sense of duty, responsibility, desire to protect others, perseverance, justice orientation, generativity, loyalty, or resilience (McDermott et al, 2019: 14).

What must also be noted that originally Snow White was not awakened by a kiss at all. The 1812 version has the prince come across her in a glass coffin in the forest and he decides to take her back to his castle for her protection and safety. In the process of transporting her she is jolted, and the piece of apple is dislodged from her throat and this is when she awakens. This version is revised again in 1816 where her coffin is carried around all day by servants at the prince's castle. In irritation with the task, the servant thumps her on the back and the apple is dislodged (Grimm, 1972: 256). If the story is traced back even further to the origin of "Cupid and Psyche," when Cupid finds Psyche, he draws the sleep from her face, and replaces it in a box. He does not kiss her. The kiss is an idea developed by Disney and borrowed from "Sleeping Beauty" (Tatar, 1992: 235).



9. Rex Whistler: The Swineherd, 1937

9. Much of the kissing that is depicted in illustrations is in "The Swineherd". An emperor's daughter rejects gifts from a poor prince because they are too 'natural' and she desires artificial toys. She then trades 10 kisses with the now disguised prince, for a musical toy. This increases to 100 kisses for another toy. Her female attendants watch on in various degrees of horror and disgust, gasping at the scene before them and hiding their embarrassment behind their fans. Ultimately the princess pays the price for her materialism and is not only rejected by the swineherd for being so shallow, but by her father too, for kissing a farm hand.

1.5 A Queer Tale: Queer identity and the fairy tale.

Queer identity is a difficult term to describe succinctly. Imagine an area between the binary premise of normative sexuality and gender, and inclusive of homosexuality and lesbianism, yet not assimilating it. With male gender and sexuality on one hand and female gender and sexuality on the other, there is an area that separates, yet joins them, and this area is where queer identity sits in the context of this thesis. It ranges across this spectrum and creates a fluidity of gender, sexual perception or difference, between the binary. A ‘queer’ perspective,

The term ‘queer’ opens opportunities to show that sexual identity, as it is commonly perceived, has so many dimensions that it is impossible to organise them into a seamless and univocal whole (Sedgwick, 1993: 8).

Hetero-normative identity does not bookend gender or sexuality, but these two states are generally easier to determine, and therefore it is easier for the layman to conceive of alternative states existing between or within them. With the increasing exploration of identities that lie outside the societal diktat of what is regarded as normative, the stereotypical assumption of gender and sexuality is challenged. “Queer’ has become effectively used as an additional or alternative identity category” (Spargo, 2000: 39-40). This thesis uses the term as an academic interpretation relating to portrayals of gender and sexuality within the text and imagery of the fairy tale.

Some people who found ‘gay’ and ‘lesbian’ inadequate or restrictive identities found in ‘queer’ a position with which they could identify. In popular culture, queer meant sexier, more transgressive, a deliberate show of difference which didn’t want to be assimilated or tolerated (Spargo, 2000:38).



Kay Nielsen: The Twelve Dancing Princesses, 1913



1. Kay Nielsen: In Powder and Crinoline, 1922

1. Although his made-up face and beauty spot does not on its own indicate a queer identity, his body language and gesture, in which he appears to embrace and recoil from the advances of the women at the same time, indicate a nonconformity to the hegemonic reaction to the situation he finds himself in, that of being surrounded by adoring women. His eyes do not engage with either the participants in the image, nor with the viewer of the image. He turns away and appears to be engulfed by the situation. Yet he still retains a dominant position. Placed in the middle of the image and towering over the women, in part due to the large hat, he still has masculine presence and one which the women clearly admire.

It would be ignominious to suggest that characters in fairy tales were deliberately depicted in the texts as ‘queer’. Written in the mid 1800s, society would not have accepted them as such anyway. Nevertheless, queer representations of characters *are* evident, predominantly in descriptions of behaviour and, particularly for masculine characters, in the visual representations. As Doty quotes in *Making Things Perfectly Queer*, “you can’t eliminate queerness,... or screen it out. It’s everywhere. There’s no place to hide” (Doty, 1997: xiii). Perceiving all depictions of characters as solely binary due to a patriarchal and societal construct and interpretation, ignores evidence to the contrary. There is a good deal of evidence that reveals non-binary character traits, and the “revolution and transformation that deviate from normative expectations of identity and linearity” (Halberstam, 2011: 47).

It is undeniable that fairy tales have been — and continue to be — used to enshrine normative heterosexual love. But this is precisely the reason we need queer fairy-tale studies (Seifert, 2015: 18).

Queer representation is often thought of as a modern discovery, but in the 1860s and 70s Ulrich’s, a Hanoverian legal official, spent years campaigning “the naturalness of sexual relations between men” (Bristow 2011: 19). He identified what he called “a third sex” which he called “Urnings,” “not fully men or women” (Bristow, 2011: 21). His work became a forerunner to the queer identification acknowledged today, (although it required a good deal of reanalysis and categorisation) and it was the beginning and recognition of another or ‘other’ gender identity.

Depictions of what we now categorise as ‘queer’ characters, have been appearing in fairy tale illustrations since the early 1900s, at the same time as much of Ulrich’s work was being published and discussed. Some of these characterisations could justifiably be interpreted as ‘gay’, yet this is perhaps too simplistic a translation and ignores the signifiers or, “signs of opposing gender” (Spargo: 2000: 62).

There is a contradiction in many of the portrayals of male characters at this time, where they appear ‘camp’ or ‘gay’, but also possess a heterosexual identity, in that they are actively seeking, or in, dominant relationships with the opposite sex (a prince with a princess for example). They show signifiers of feminised gestures, expressions, sexuality or gender, at cross purposes with their expected position of power within the patriarchal masculine identity.

Masculinity in this society inevitably conjures up notions of power, legitimacy and privilege (Halberstam: 1998:2).

These ‘queer’ or “camp” characters eschew the hierarchical dominance of masculinity and portray elements of a masculine identity at odds with the hetero-normative understanding of what constitutes dominant behaviour.

Received perceptions of power, such as a prince or king, are undermined by a visual perception of a character with feminine attributes. Kay Nielsen’s depiction of a prince surrounded by adoring women juxtaposes this masculine hetero-normative identity, with a feminised coy and highly coiffured prince dressed in feminised attire.¹ This interpretation confuses the binary sexual precept of superiority, and questions the representation of another form of gender or sexuality.

It is through the stylised repetition of particular bodily acts, gestures, and movements that the effect of gender is created as ‘social temporality.’ We do not behave in certain ways because of our gender identity, we attain that identity through those behavioural patterns, which sustain gender norms (Butler, 2004: 56).

These illustrations provide evidence of a feminised version of masculinity through gesture and appearance that sit outside normative perceptions and move into a queer representation. It is the illustrative evidence where the strongest and most identifiable perceptions of this identity are found.² Interestingly it was predominantly men who



2. Kay Nielsen: The Brave Little Tailor, 1913

2. The Brave little Tailor in Kay Nielsen’s depiction is an effeminate little man. There is no indication of a strong hegemonic male in his demeanour. He is, in the text, a little man with no special skill or bravery, and Nielsen has translated this by using effeminate body language that fits with the hegemonic perception of a weak man. His hand gestures and raised leg indicate an effete demeanour that disguise his innate ability to trick people—including giants and ogres—into believing he is a great warrior. The implication of Nielsen’s illustration however, is that an effete male can also possess hegemonic traits.



3. Harry Clarke: The Snow Queen, 1916

3. Coded language—discussed further in chapter 3—is evident in this image by Harry Clarke from 1916, in that it contains signifiers of queer codes. The image, from the “Snow Queen,” in her posture, dress and facial features projects a masculine identity, within a female form. The ruffs escaping from the sleeves of the cloak resemble those of a male’s shirt and the heavy features of the face imply this is a man, even though the tale tells us it is a woman. The overall effect is what may now be described as ‘drag,’ where a man dresses in such a way as to emulate a form of femininity, without trying to look like an actual woman. The colours of the cloak are also codes that imply this is a ‘queer’ character and that it is not a straightforward interpretation of a woman.

created these gender fluid interpretations of the ‘queer’ masculine fairy tale character.

These illustrations contain signifiers that imply or sustain a perception of gender or sexuality to a queer community and are outside the hetero-normative interpretation. These communities have their own ways of identifying like-minded individuals or those from their own circle.

We soon learn what to look for to identify things, places, and people as gay. Our subtle ways of identifying one another are what link us together as a network, support system, and community (Moxon, 1985: 3).

Coded language, symbolism, gesture and even types of clothing enable a form of communication understood by those looking to relate to, and communicate with, a queer audience. These codes have been documented by many academics including the LGBTQ+ historian Justin Bengry, who states that the use of queer coded language has always been “critically important” for LGBTQ+ and whilst not referring to a fairy tale, but to a magazine intended for a heterosexual audience but frequently read by a homosexual audience, he states that,

Both textual and visual references to subcultural codes, practices, and homoerotically charged situations all reinforced potential readings of the magazine that would be understood by a queer audience (Bengry, 2017: 122).

The fairy tale image of masculinity, particularly in the period from 1910, saw an increasing number of illustrations displaying a growing range of references to the codes and practices of a homosexual identity. Although explored further in chapter 3 as to why this imagery may have emerged when it did, and what those codes are, it is useful to examine some of this evidence here.³

In studying imagery that accompanies the texts, examples of characters such as same sex couples or images of feminised male characters or gay male characters emerge. There are also instances of *females* portraying male characters. In Catherine Barnes “Cinderella” (1961), a female is portrayed as the prince in expression, hairstyle, gesture and physicality.⁴

Evidence of the portrayal of the male character becoming more feminised and portrayals of homosexual or non-gender specific males increases from the 1900s. In these visual depictions the male character often becomes feminised to a point where he isn’t instantly recognisable as a male.^{5,5a} These representations remove the aggressive or hegemonic identity of the male and give him a softer, unapologetically ‘queer’ persona.



5. Kay Nielsen: In Powder and Crinoline, 1922

5a. John Austen: Cinderella, 1922



4. Catherine Barnes: Cinderella, 1961

4. Catherine Barnes depiction of two women dancing together from 1961 is a great example of how illustrations can create a queer representation within the guise of a traditional tale. The prince in this image is definitely an example of ‘feminine masculinity’ (Halberstam: 1998) described later in this chapter. With a waist and hips the body shape is feminine and the hairstyle, although differing from Cinderella’s flowing locks, is a depiction of a 1960s woman’s bob. The full lips and made-up eyes give the prince a strong, but feminised face and the intense gaze has an element of sexual intent. The long legs with a daintily pointed toe, implying a heeled shoe perhaps, which add to the feminine perception.

Queer tales themselves were allegedly ‘edited out’ of the canon of fairy tales. Artist and illustrator Jamie Wareham, claimed in his article *Why this Charming Gay Fairytale has been lost for 200 Years* (Wareham, 2020), that Thompson, of Aarne-Thompson Index fame, was so homophobic that he intentionally removed any tales that made reference to homosexuality and it is certainly true that there is no reference in the index to homosexual categorisation. During research for his Masters degree, Wareham came across a tale called “The Sailor and the Dog,” which he translated into English, illustrated and published as a ‘gay’ fairy tale. These forgotten or erased LGBTQ+ tales are not a discussion for this thesis, as the main focus here is illustrated published editions of European and US fairy tales, yet it is interesting to note that these tales did exist.

It wasn’t until the Disney fairy tale “Frozen,” was released that the conversation of a lesbian or queer female fairy tale character was raised in the public domain. This social debate — entered into by academics such as the philosopher and gender theorist Judith Butler, the professor of gender and sexuality Judith/Jack Halberstam, and Dr Angel Daniel Matos, a professor of queer studies and screen cultures — was fuelled by the princess Elsa having no boyfriend or any male in her life of a romantic interest, nor does she marry at the end of the tale. These seemingly “masculine” traits make her appear different to any other portrayal or expected portrayal of a fairy tale female. Judith Halberstam refers to these traits as “female masculinity” in his book of the same name (Halberstam, 1998).

To focus on a more considered representation of what female masculinity means, or what being a lesbian or queer woman means, we can look to Adrienne Rich’s argument that lesbianism is not just about the sexual elements of a female relationship. She claims that “Lesbianism is thus about the realisation of the male-free potential of women” (Weeks, 1991: 81), therefore Elsa, and many other female

fairy tale characters fit into this description of a lesbian or queer woman. Jeffrey Weeks, in his book *Against Nature*, commented that critics of Rich’s work claimed her view of women as “weakened and oppressed” due to an oppressive masculinity, implied the only way a woman could be autonomous was to be “male-free”,

The view that attributes all women’s oppression to “compulsory heterosexuality” suggests that somehow women are always socially controlled by men. Women are in consequence, inevitably presented as sufferers and victims, beyond the possibility of resistance (Weeks, 1991: 82).

Yet there is clear evidence, that *many* female characters in the fairy tale defy social control, that they are in essence ‘male free’ throughout their journey and not always victims, but protagonists and determiners of their own destiny. They defy stereotypical representations of the socially controlled victim, even if ultimately there is an element of conforming when they marry. Marriage itself is often relegated to the last sentences of a female protagonist’s tale and is not always overtly expressed as marriage, merely implied. “They lived happily ever after,” does not mention marriage per se. It is presumed, but not stated, (however the imagery does generally portray a wedding with a princess invariably dressed in a beautiful gown). Marriage often holds no significant relevance to the rest of the narrative except to,

demonstrate the way in which a few quick strokes can reorientate a story to produce a message consonant with an audience’s need to correct everyday life (Tatar, 1992: 100).

As though it is a nod to the social doctrine of the time in which the tales were written, and a clever way to submit to a patriarchal outcome, without interfering with the true meaning within the rest of the tale.

6. In 1961, Barnes' created an illustration for Cinderella that seemingly depicts a marriage between two women. (Although it may not be an actual marriage, as Cinderella clearly still has only one shoe, but as this is the cover of the book this may simply be a marker of the tale.) It could be argued that the character of the prince is male, however, the demeanour, expression and body shape challenge this. These two characters are dressed in the style of Tudor nobility (c1550) yet the Tudor dress for a man was designed to make him look bulkier than he was. This characters doublet gives the impression of a nipped in waist and signs of a bust. As a Tudor, he would also have had a beard to increase the perception of his masculinity and although men did wear very short upper hose, they would have extended further down his thighs than these do. The duck billed or horned toe shoes would have been flat across the toe with no indication of a heel unlike the wedged heels this character is wearing. (Vam. ac.uk. 2019) The face and expression Barnes has created is feminine and the gaze of both, is from under slightly lowered eyelids with long lashes. The overall impression is that of two women and the one on the left, with short, black, tightly curled hair, also implies a woman of colour. A rarity in a fairy tale illustration.

Occasionally however, some of the imagery of weddings portrays two *females*, as depicted by the couple in this image from "Cinderella" by Barnes' in 1961. There is also an indication that this marriage is inter-racial.⁶



6. Catherine Barnes: Cinderella, 1961

Many of the women in fairy tales have strong bonds with other women, and it may be hypothesised that this bond is what constitutes a relationship of a different kind. It is distinct in its divergent approach to relationships than the stereotypical one of men and women, which Rich refers to as "compulsory heterosexuality". Jeffrey Weeks concludes in his interpretation of Rich that,

Women who identify themselves as lesbians generally do not view lesbianism as a sexual phenomenon first and foremost. It is instead a relationship in which two women's strongest emotions and affection are directed towards one another (Weeks, 1991: 80).

This is not to say that lesbian or queer women are not physically or sexually attracted to one another, but is used

here to highlight that elements of attraction fall beyond an assumption that attraction is purely or foremost, sexual. These strong bonds of friendship between women, evident in fairy tales such as those between sisters as in "Snow White and Rose Red" (Grimm), or "The Twelve Dancing Princesses" (Grimm), or between mothers, daughters, fairies and witches, does not mean these women are lesbians in the stereotypical masculine definition of them (Rich, 1980). It indicates instead, a masculine female, as identified by Halberstam in her 1998 book *Female Masculinity*.

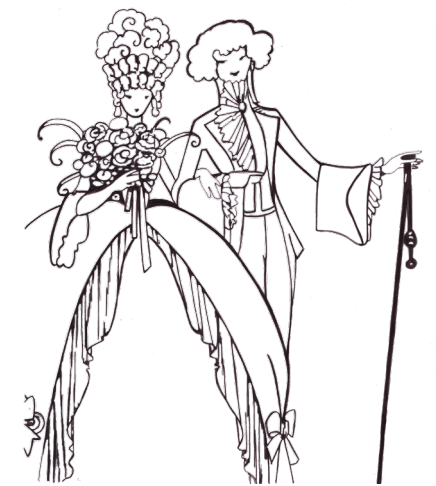
Female masculinity is not some bad imitation of virility, but a lively and dramatic staging of hybrid and minority genders (Halberstam, 1998).

While "Rose Red and Snow White" are one example of a strong *sisterly* love and bond, the Bohemian tale "The Wood Lady" (1880), implies a more intense relationship between two unrelated women. Betty is infatuated with a beautiful maiden who appears beside her in the woods and asks her to dance.

Betty's cheeks flamed, her eyes glittered, she forgot her task and her goats, and only gazed at her partner, who twirled before and round her with the most charming movements (Wratislaw, 1889: 41).

It transpires that the woman is a magical wood lady and later Betty's mother, upon realising who she has been spending her days with and is entranced by, remarks "it is lucky that you are not a boy, or you wouldn't have come out of her arms alive" (Wratislaw, 1889: 45), implying a male may not have had the where-with-all to survive a relationship as intense as the one Betty has with her.

Adrienne Rich in *Compulsory Sexuality* (1980), describes how women have fought hard for many years to resist domination by men. They have had to do this within a patriarchal society and have fought against the oppression



6a. John Austen: Cinderella, 1922

6a. John Austen's depiction of Cinderella's wedding shows the prince with a typical 1920s woman's hairstyle and the gesture with his left arm, resting on his walking cane, is not only reminiscent of Harry Clarke or Kay Nielsen's work, but also an affected effeminate gesture. The overall impression is that these are two women.

and stereotypical female role of child-bearing, rearing, nurturing and marriage. Although the fairy tale still proposes child-bearing and marriage as the ‘happy ever after,’ the strength, determination and independence of many female characters within fairy tales, sits comfortably with Rich’s argument. They fight against and contradict the perceived perception of who and what a fairy tale female is expected to be.

The fairy tale shows many examples of the determination of women *not* to conform to the patriarchal expectations of their gender and to show a strength that defies this stereotypical presupposition. It gives them an identity beyond a relationship with a man. The “male-free potential” Rich describes. For example, in Basile’s “The Myrtle,” the prince is continually undermined by a strong willed and determined fairy. In Grimm’s “Little Brother, Little Sister,” the sister is resilient and brave and necessarily in control of the brother whom she also protects. In Grimm’s “Clever Gretel,” Gretel cleverly tricks the man of the house in order to keep herself out of trouble and in Andersen’s “The Wild Swans,” Elise brings about the release of her brothers from their spell by being determined, clever and resourceful. None of these women rely on a man to help them.

...this cliché about fairy tale heroines (being passive) overlooks the many clever and resourceful girls and women who are able to liberate themselves from danger. Anthologies by Kathleen Ragan, Angela Carter, Alison Laurie and Ethel Johnstone Phelps have resurrected older stories about strong, courageous, and resilient heroines who rescue themselves and others, thus providing weighty evidence that not all Princesses wait passively for Prince Charming” (Tatar, 2002: 96).

Therefore an empowered female character or in turn a feminised male character, reverses or transforms what is

perceived as the stereotypical binary characterisation of both the male and female and enters into a grey area of a queer representation. Here the expectation is not that the character behave in an expected normative fashion but that they stay true to their own version of who they are. This transformation of a stereotypical depiction is evidenced in the tale, and the 1920 illustration, of “The Twelve Dancing Princesses” by Eleanor Abbott.⁷ These princesses, fully aware that any man sent to spy on them and who fails, will be put to death — or enchanted, depending on the version of the tale — happily get him drunk in order that he fall asleep and fail in his task. They show no remorse and are content to continue with their nightly excursions, they remain true to themselves and continue to enjoy the freedom the night gives them, away from the expected and subjugated traditional roles dictated by their father.

These definitions and variations of the female character are not replicated to the same degree in descriptions of the male within the text. The characterisation of the fairy tale male is generally far more hegemonic and determinedly masculine, yet as has already been evidenced there *are* areas in the fairy tale in which these notions of masculinity change, where the male does demonstrate a softer or more “feminine” trait within the text and within the imagery.

Examples of this in the text are expressed in the expectation and perception of love (Ch.1.4:148), and as already discussed this ‘feminised’ trait negates the males powerful and privileged masculine position as he often struggles in order to achieve success in this arena. However, the imagery contains many indications that there are other interpretations of love for a man, and that the love he seeks may not always be that of a female. Although not always explicitly addressed, indicators are often in evidence. In Walter Crane’s illustrations for “The Frog Prince” a signi-



7. Elenore Abbott: Twelve Dancing Princesses, 1920

7. Not only do the princesses not want to conform to the behaviour expected of them by men, they actively disobey the rules. In this illustration Abbott portrays a princess looking at her sister in a particularly dominant manner. This could be interpreted as desire or even anger but there is a certain frisson between the two, and while one sister is standing with her arms folded staring intently, the other is dancing seductively for her audience of one.



8. Walter Crane: The Frog Prince, 1874

8. The gaze between the prince and his man-servant in Walter Crane's "The Frog Prince" is unmistakably heartfelt. The new bride in the carriage can only look on in confusion. The pertinence of this image lies with the golden heart pendant.

The prince had been under a spell, forcing him to live as a frog. His manservant, upon hearing the fate of his master had bound his heart in gold bands to prevent it from breaking. Upon his masters release from the spell and on the journey back to his kingdom, the now married prince hears the man-servant's bands snap off his heart with joy. The gaze between the two

is unmistakable in its affection. In a previous image of the prince, the gold pendant hung over his heart as he bowed before the princess, but in this subsequent image it has fallen across his sleeve. The heart is reflected on the sleeve of his man-servant. They are literally 'wearing their hearts on their sleeves'—a saying that originated from a woman tying a favour to her lover's sleeve announcing their attachment. (Merriam-Webster 2018) This image reveals a secret announcement between the prince and his man-servant. An indication of an altogether different attachment to one another than that depicted in the text.



8. Walter Crane: The Frog Prince, 1874

fier of the prince's 'love' for his manservant is evidenced in a subtle detail within the illustration. A heart pendant gives an indication of a tenderness between the prince and manservant that offers another meaning to their relationship and is another explanation for the breaking of the bands the manservant had put around his heart when the prince was enchanted.⁸

Identification with characters is an important element in relating to stories. In Kate Summers' study she noted that, "It is typically assumed that females prefer characters they can identify with, but 43 percent of males also reported the need to identify with characters" (Summers, 2013: 3), yet there is no indication that these must be hetero-normative identities. If the depiction of a character influences or represents an identity a reader can relate to, then representations of queer characters, or those who do not reflect the dominant norm, are an encouraging sign, and an enlightening social comment on the times in which they were created.

Visual representations are quicker to read and disseminate than those that may be hidden within texts. It is also easier to display signifiers that communicate to an audience who connect with an identity outside the hetero-normative. Evidence of imagery that portrays queer characters is not *abundant* throughout the tales, but it is certainly present, and considering the era in which the majority of them were created, they are an interesting comment on a changing perception of sexuality.

Summary

From the origins of the fairy tale and throughout many of the subsequent translations, a feminine construct within them has become evident. The assumption that portrayals of female characters conform to a stereotypical depiction of femininity in a patriarchal context, although the staple of much academic commentary, often denies the existence of competent and determined females. Females who don't conform to the expected stereotype of their gender and determine their own paths through the tales.

These female characters often exert control over their male counterparts and dominate and subjugate them, yet these spirited and feisty girls have little representation within the illustrations. Given that there are far more illustrations of female characters than there are of males; in fact there are publications where *only* the female characters are depicted at all, it seems a shame that these strong female identities are ignored in favour of repetitive representations of beauty, delicacy or passivity. A princess in a beautiful, ornate gown or on the arms of a man seems to be preferred over that of a feisty and atypical female who is prevalent within the texts. During the 1920s artists occasionally gave her an identity as striking as her tenacity, and very occasionally a queer representation, but more often than not, she is simply portrayed as beautiful, docile and demure.

Examination and commentary of the masculine portrayal in the fairy tale text also tends to stick to a rigid stereotype of a hegemonic character. Although he may show signs of feminine qualities with regards say, to love; he is thought of in general as dominant, aggressive or controlling.

However, upon further investigation it becomes clear that the text *does* allow for a range of subjugated, emasculated or characterless males, foolish, cruel, silly or harassed, and the idea of a genre solely populated by hegemonic, dominant males soon disappears. Depictions of a queer masculinity are rare within the text and the less hegemonic male character is often derided, insulted or undermined, yet some of the imagery defies these depictions too, and creates a far more interesting and wider range of masculine identities than the text allows. They give him a fuller range of identity, sexuality and gender fluidity, and from 1900 to 1925, he becomes a wonderfully colourful, queer and certainly more inspirational invention.

From the creation of the tales to the re-invention of them, the male has been subjected to a harsh representation and stereotype, and examining these depictions alongside the imagery, identifies definitions of new or changing identities. Recognition that allows the male character is more complex and interesting than the text dictates, and that he is more than a construct of patriarchal, toxic, hegemony. Within the imagery, he is often a more relateable character for both males and females and the need to discover more about him, and the roles he plays, is essential if the fairy tale wants to remain relevant to a new, more enlightened generation.

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Chapter Two

There was a Man A Spectrum of Male Identity

As Propp discovered, and scholars of the fairy tale have commented upon, the folk or fairy tale is a complex combination of many factors and functions and made up of a range of parts. As such, it is these components that must be analysed in order to understand the nuances of the tales. As Propp states in *Morphology of the Folk Tale*,

Study according to small component parts is the correct method of investigation...and classification is one of the first and most important steps of study (Propp, 1997 [1958] :10).

Therefore, in order to classify and categorise masculinity in the fairy tale, it too must be broken into smaller constituent parts to enable a more comprehensive understanding of roles and portrayals. A morphology of masculinity if you will, as defined by Propp.

A description of the folk-tale according to its component parts and the relationship of the components to each other and to the whole (Propp, 1997 [1958]: 18).

Where Propp was interested in a comparison and classification of the *plots*, this chapter aims to create a comparison of masculine portrayals and how they relate to the texts and their visual interpretations. His examination identified the sequencing of plots and functions within all the tales and likewise, this chapter's study of the masculine portrayal will aid in the identification of sequences within this thesis, dictated by changing social dynamics and time periods.

There is no 'one' interpretation of a portrayal just as there is no 'one' author of a tale (Ch 1.1: 97). A king may be portrayed in the text as a hegemonic stereotype of patriarchal and masculine dominance, yet the visual interpretation depicts him as a silly, pompous old man, ridiculously attired. He might be a proud, strong man or a rotund, fatherly figure of fun or even a terrifying monster. Just as storytellers have embellished and altered the tales over time, these visual portrayals are a product of a time, place, artist and imagination, evolving with each re-telling and providing a range of perceptions that sit within a specific time-frame, creating a spectrum of masculine identities.

Throughout the ages, storytellers have embroidered the narratives passed on to them with the cultural values as well as with the facts of their own milieu (Tatar, 2019: 105).

Finding evidence of masculine portrayals begins with the text. It provides the initial source that an artist works from and as these sources have changed and adapted, so too have the visual interpretations. There is a good deal of evidence within the texts of dominant or superior mascu-



1. Harry Clarke: Big Klaus and Little Klaus, 1916

1. Harry Clarke's depiction of queer characters as Big Klaus and Little Klaus are at odds with the general depiction of these two. They are flamboyantly dressed and hold themselves in a manner unrepresentative of the masculine portrayal derived from the text. They appear cunning and wealthy, dressed in ornate, flamboyant clothes they epitomise two gay characters as opposed to the warring fools that the tale describes. These two have a wit and vibrancy about them and appear to like one another, as opposed to the dislike they have for each other in the tale. Big Klaus certainly does not look capable of the brutal murder of an old lady sleeping in her bed.

line portrayals which sit comfortably with the hegemonic male author and reader, yet the *visual* representations of these males is often in opposition to their textual representations. The distinct lack of queer male identity within the texts for example, is offset by evidence of queer identities within the imagery. These queer images challenge the hegemonic interpretation of what masculinity (or femininity) means. Where there is a definite hegemonic portrayal in the text of "Big Klaus and Little Klaus," for example, "I'll see to your horses!" said Big Klaus and seizing an iron bar, he struck little Klaus's one horse such a blow on the head that it fell down and died on the spot" (Lang, 2020: 284). Harry Clarke's queer illustration gives them an identity at odds with the textual expectation that distinguishes a non-stereotypical representation of what these characters might look like.¹

These illustrations acknowledge the non-hegemonic male and resist a stereotypical depiction of masculine norms. "Research on resistance to masculine norms is nearly non-existent" (Smiler, 2014: 256), so these illustrations provide an opportunity to identify an atypical description of masculinity in an unexpected domain. This depiction challenges not only the physical expectation of a masculine norm, but also hegemonic expectations of identity and how they are presented to the reader. These queer visual depictions indicated that illustrators were often pioneering in challenging a societal expectation of what masculinity meant.

The development of an identity of a male character, particularly a prince, is often absent in the text altogether. This is evidenced in tales where a female is rescued by a prince such as "Snow White" or "Rapunzel," "Cinderella" or "Sleeping Beauty". These princes generally have no name or description in the text aside from 'handsome' and little more is learned about them.

Male protagonists are exceptionally unmemorable in name, if not in deed (Tatar: 2019: 85).

They enter into the tales almost as tokens to 'rescue' the female protagonist, although their presence is not always required even then, as often the female character is "able to engineer her own rescue" (Tatar, 2012: 207). These males may have an otherwise unimportant role within the rest of the story and there is often no description of them aside from "the prince". Their arrival simply expedites the narrative or function of the female. Yet visual translations of *these* male characters does not align with the text either, and they are given a far more detailed interpretation and therefore identity, than the text indicates.²

A positive male character can be difficult to find within the texts of the fairy tale, creating a schism between a relatable masculine identity and engagement for a male reader (Summers, 2013: 3). Yet dark or negative portrayals of masculinity are abundant and become omnipresent. Unfortunately it is these portrayals that have determined much of the way masculinity is perceived. Tales such as "Bluebeard," "The Robber Bridegroom," "Little Red Riding Hood," "Donkeyskin" and "Rumpelstiltskin" all portray masculinity as a negative force. More often than not these negative portrayals *are* echoed in the visual interpretations, emphasising wickedness or immoral behaviour.

Male characters are also regularly portrayed as simpletons, fools or untalented. Occasionally they are humble, kind, compassionate or heroic figures, but rarely are any of them clever. They may succeed in completing tasks but this usually occurs because they are so naive or simple that dangers or obstacles are not seen as problems to be solved, merely muddled through, and more by fortuitous good luck, than by good judgement, do they succeed. The tailor in Grimm's, "The Brave Little Tailor," relies on his bravado and stupidity see him through the trials he faces rather than any bravery or cleverness on his part.



2. Henry J Ford: The Little Green Frog, 1894

2. Depictions of prince's in the tales is limited, often only referring to them by their title. The visual interpretations however, have created an identity for these one dimensional characters. Although generally illustrating all princes in the same attire, that of 17th century royalty, they are given characteristics that imply not only the era they are from, but their age, deportment, physicality and an inkling of a personality evidenced by facial expression, tenderness in their approach or treatment of the princess or in physical acts of fighting, violence or even dancing.

A hero's stupidity can take such extreme forms that it utterly disarms his antagonists (Tatar, 2019: 96).

Most frequently however, they are given help to achieve their goals.

For every task that requires wisdom, courage, endurance, strength or simply an appetite and a thirst of gargantuan proportions, there is a helper — or a group of helpers — possessing the required attributes. And ultimately the achievements of the helper rebound to the hero, for he is credited with having drained the lake, built the castle and consumed the bread (Tatar, 2019: 90).

The role of a hero does not actually encompass many 'heroic' tasks, in fact humility is the most important trait for a fairy tale male, and this means any male, regardless of status, is eligible for the role of hero (Tatar, 2019: 92). In fact the word 'hero,' "a person who is admired for their courage, outstanding achievements or noble qualities" (OED, 2020), is a misnomer for the fairy tale male, as he rarely displays any of these traits (Tatar, 2019: 86).

It becomes apparent that there is a confusing dichotomy that runs throughout the tales between expected masculine behaviour and identity and evidence of it,

It is clear that certain oppositions (humble/noble, naive/cunning, timid/courageous, compassionate/ruthless) are encoded on virtually every fairy tale with a male hero (Tatar, 2019: 100).

Visual evidence is therefore an expeditious and comprehensive way to not only help classify and identify these masculine portrayals, but also to provide a comparison as to how they manifest themselves from the text. The investigation of both textual *and* visual portrayals provides evidence of a more comprehensive range of masculine identities and traits than expected. It removes the focus

from the predominantly hegemonic interpretation within the texts, and creates an awareness of a wider reaching masculine identity.

Many researchers have stated there has been a reluctance to examine the role of the male in the fairy tale due to a lack of understanding of how males are supposed to be perceived (Warner, 2018: ep 6).

What does society expect of young boys and men?
No one wants to look at and challenge this (Boland and Orbach, 2018).

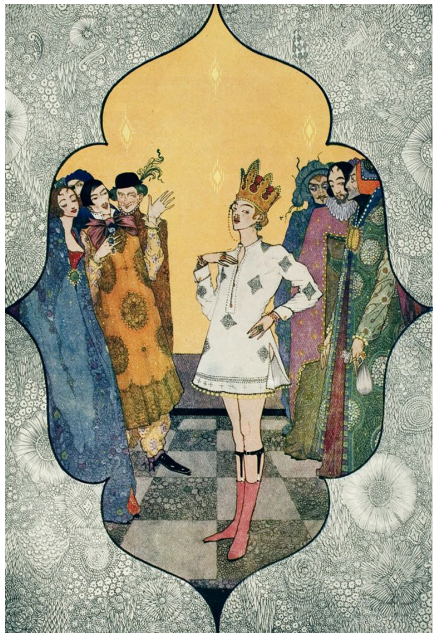
This thesis does not undertake an empirical study of the reception of the tales amongst male readers, but aims to document masculinity, stereotypes and roles, in order to begin creating an understanding of how boys and men have been depicted. From Zipes to Carter and Tatar there is a wealth of research that defines the patriarchal construct of the tales and addresses feminist issues but, as mentioned earlier, Zipes commented that there has not been enough research into the male character and his role. A sentiment that is echoed in research into masculine identity and mental health.

It is possible that young adult men may be increasingly questioning their traditional gender roles (McDermott & Schwartz, 2013). More research is needed to understand emerging masculine roles and their relationship to well-being (Kaya, et al, 2019: 145).

As visual representations are able to be 'read' by an audience of any age, these become an important resource and an indication of how the male character is defined and presented. By creating an analysis of the types of masculinity throughout the tales and their supporting visual characterisations, the intention is to determine if there is an overwhelming *negative* portrayal of the male character as it at first seems, or if there is an acceptable balance that

incorporates all forms of masculinity. This information could then aid further analysis, expectations and perceptions of masculinity and masculine norms and their roles within the tales.

This chapter will examine the distinct masculine roles identified above and in some cases, create case studies of a character defined by their role. The textual reference and the visual reference are compared, contrasted and commented upon in an attempt to chronicle the overall identity of the male protagonists. From the fool or the lover, the king or the boy, to the hero or villain, these masculine identities are the basis for many of the tales and define masculine perception within them.



1. Harry Clarke: The Emperor's New Clothes, 1916

1. Harry Clarke's Emperor in his red socks and garters stands before his courtiers wearing only his under-shirt with a glimpse of a bare bottom indicating he wears nothing else. A tiny, neatly trimmed moustache and perfectly groomed arched eyebrows stare haughtily at his own reflection, a monocle perched daintily in one eye. His bejewelled wrists sit on his hip and drape onto his chest in an effete manner, whilst his eyes make contact with the viewer through the frame of the mirror, inviting admiration. His courtiers look on regarding this pompous fool, with disdain written clearly on their faces. One courtier however, gushes admiration, throwing his hand out in an exclamatory manner. Clarke's Emperor neatly portrays the vanity and superiority of this pompous man.

2.1 A King: The Emperor's New Clothes

That a fairy tale can, in just one tale, depict *all* male characters as negative is evidenced in "The Emperor's New Clothes," a tale in which there are no female characters. Although using an example of a tale where the female has been made invisible altogether is in itself a misogynistic exercise, what it does demonstrate is a situation where masculinity is depicted in a negative manner even when the emphasis is not focused on a patriarchal dominance of men over women.

In "The Emperor's New Clothes" by Hans Christian Andersen, the Emperor is egotistical and vain yet his hegemonic masculine status is assured by his title and dominance. However, his obsession with clothes and dressing stylishly is a trait that places him out of the 'hegemonic' 'in-group' of masculinity, due to a perception of this obsession being a feminine trait.¹

Men should repudiate and distance from all that is feminine (e.g. no 'sissy' stuff. Brannon, 1976), (Dahl et al, 2015: 243).

In this tale, two con-men come into town proclaiming to be weavers who challenge the Emperor's perception of his own superiority by telling him,

The cloth made from their fabric also had the amazing ability of becoming invisible to those who were unfit for their posts or just hopelessly stupid (Tatar, 2008: 6).

This Emperor's fallibility and vanity means he will never admit he is unable to see the rich fabric they are weaving. He is too conceited to confess he sees nothing, as to do so would imply he is not worthy of his status. He therefore misses an opportunity to gain the respect and admiration he so craves, by denouncing the con-men as liars. These hegemonic traits are identifiable in real world situations

and there is a distinct parallel in this tale to political figures of recent times. These figures are allegories of the Emperor and of the arrogance of hegemonic behaviour. Another reason to identify and examine these historical masculine traits as emphasised by Zipes,

Indeed, this is why, I believe, we should try to make folk and fairy tales of the past, usable history and to study them in light of their relevant sociopolitical context and truth value (Zipes, 2019: 255).

None of the courtiers in this tale are brave enough to challenge the Emperor, lest they also be perceived as stupid or unfit. Ultimately the Emperor parades naked through the city. It takes the lone voice of "an innocent child" to call out and observe the truth, that the Emperor is in fact naked. The only positive voice to pierce through the collusion, declaring "the Emperor has nothing on at all" (Tatar, 2012: 13).

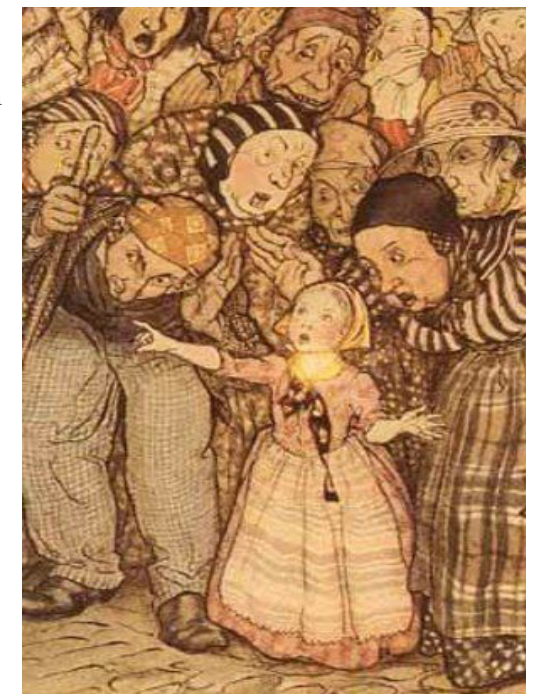
This child is not described as either male or female within the text and this is a prime example of how an illustration becomes an important element of interpretation. In Helen Stratton's illustration from 1900 and Arthur Rackham's 1932 illustration, the child is depicted as a female. The illustrator has removed the ambiguity of the voice of reason and truth, and assigned it to a female.^{2,2a}



2. Helen Stratton: The Emperor's New Clothes, 1900

2. Helen Stratton's illustration depicts a feisty girl turning to speak with the adults in the crowd. Two small boys watch her. The smaller with his head tilted to one side, a questioning expression on his face as the crowd listen intently to the child speaking the truth.

2a. The child Rackham portrays is an innocent figure amongst the adults. Her clothing, a pale pink and her face, illuminated by an aura of light emanating from her yellow scarf, accentuates her innocence and honesty. Surrounding her are images of men, Their heads disproportionately large emphasizing expressions of shock, disbelief and confusion, bystanders lacking the courage to confront the Emperor and content to let a little girl speak the truth on their behalf.



2a. Arthur Rackham: The Emperor's New Clothes, 1932



3. H.J Ford: The Emperor's New Clothes, 1894

3. Ford's depiction of the Emperor shows an old man, resplendent in fine robes of heavy, highly decorated fabrics. His crown, perched atop his head, sits on a thatch of long hair and he peers through a 'lorgnette', a set of spectacles on a handle popular as an alternative to spectacles worn on the face. Lorgnettes were not considered a fashion item for another 30 or so years, when ladies began to use them as highly decorated accessories, so Ford's use of them in this illustration is perhaps another comment on the Emperor's vanity. Ford's Emperor also has a long beard, unusual in images of the Emperor when he is more often than not, clean shaven.



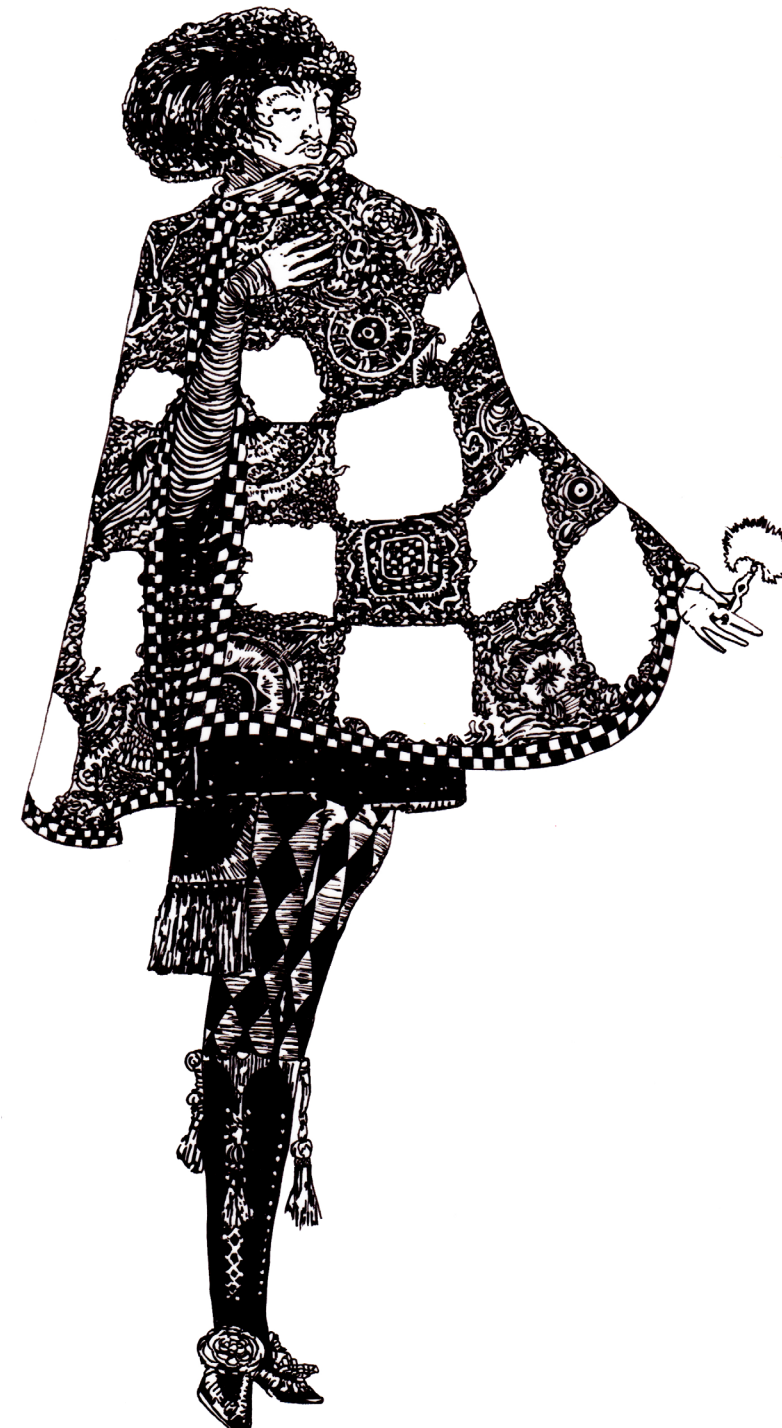
4. Helen Stratton: The Emperors New Clothes, 1899

In these versions of the tale, between text and imagery, *any* potential positive portrayal of masculinity has been removed by giving the voice of reason to a girl.

From the conceited and foolish Emperor, his courtiers — who play along with the lie in order to protect themselves and their positions — to the con-men, who are prepared to make money by cheating and scheming, all are vain, calculating, foolish, proud, arrogant, untruthful or acquiescent males. These worthless characters are spread throughout the story and imagery.

In imagery from 1894 through to the 1950s, the Emperor goes through a transformative visual process. From a middle aged or old man in the late 1800s,³ he becomes a younger version of himself at the start of the 1900s⁴ and begins to age again around 1930. As he progresses into the 1950s he ages further still, this time sporting a rather more portly figure.

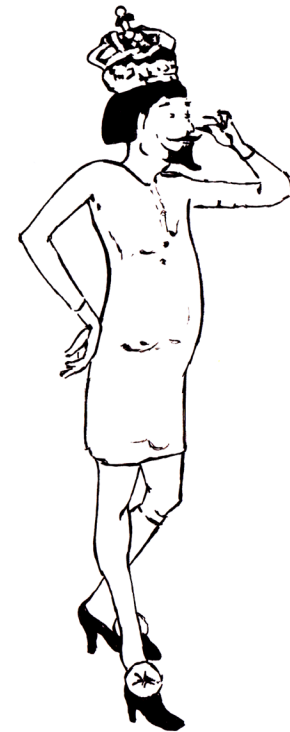
4. Helen Stratton had no compunction in depicting the younger Emperor totally naked, riding his horse through the crowds. His modesty protected only by the rise of the front of the saddle. He also has bare feet. Although he is rarely shown without shoes, perhaps in this instance it is because he is astride his horse and not walking that means he can dispense with them. The tale does not mention that the con-men will make shoes as part of his outfit, so it seems more probable that he would have worn shoes. It also implies there must be a level of comprehension that he is naked, or why would he not wear shoes?



5. Harry Clarke: The Emperor's New Clothes, 1916

5. Harry Clarke's depiction of the Emperor shows a flamboyant, long limbed and effete young man with tiny feet encased in long ornate heeled boots. His Emperor is one of the younger portrayals, a fashionista sporting a highly patterned cape. His hand gesture is similar to many of the illustrations of the Emperor, with effeminate posturing as he gazes at his reflection in a mirror held by one of his tailors. In his left hand he holds what appears to be a powder puff and one can imagine him dusting himself with a perfumed cloud of 'pulvilio', the perfumed powder used on wigs and skin from the late 1700s (OED). With a flattened nose, long eyes, full lips and a tiny moustache he has a distinctly oriental look, a decidedly unusual representation for this character in any era and perhaps tapping into a stereotype of the perception of 'Oriental' at the time. As Said commented in his book *Orientalism*, that writings on orientals at this time created an impression of inferiority to people and things of the West, (Said, 1978: 38-41) thus assigning this character an oriental look may have been to emphasise the masculine inferiority, or 'otherness' of this character.

5a. Virginia Sterrett depicted the Emperor in his under-shirt, again looking at himself in the mirror. With one hand on his hip, he too has a distinctly effeminate manner and appears to be twisting or tweaking his moustache as he admires himself. He wears a heeled shoe, adorned with a rosette, and stockings on his legs. He is very well covered considering he is in his underwear. A slim younger man, typical of the portrayals of this period of time, he does have a slight belly perhaps indicating he is heading towards his middle age.



5a. Virginia Sterrett: The Emperor's New Clothes, 1921

5b. Honor Appleton's Emperor is a slim, proud man, again he has one hand on his hip with the other resting on a walking stick. These sticks were a sign of wealth and status by the early 1700s and royalty would have highly ornate sticks, often with hidden compartments. This stick looks rather functional as opposed to decorative, however the fact he has one at all indicates his power and wealth. They were also regarded as a representation or replacement for the sword.



5b. Honor Appleton: The Emperor's New Clothes, 1932

This Emperor has no shoes or stockings, aside from his under-shirt, to preserve his modesty, he does sport a belt around his waist and jewels around his neck. Items often missing from his outfit although the crown or head dress is almost always present.

He is generally quite a slim reedy character in illustrations throughout the 1910s and 20s. ^{5, 5a&b}

However, from 1930 he develops a larger belly and begins to wear a wig.⁶ The 'Peruke,' or powdered wig, was an item worn by wealthy individuals, including royals, from the mid 1600s. Initially worn as a vanity item to cover the shame of a bald head associated with syphilis, the wig became a fashion item and the larger the wig the more wealthy the owner (hence the term "Bigwig") (V&A Museum).

By the late 1800s however, wigs were out of fashion and shorter, natural hair was in vogue. The illustrations during this period, reflected the change in fashion with the Emperor portrayed with natural hair. However from the 1930s on, the illustrations adopted the wig and attire of the 1700s and this look has stuck with him, placing the Emperor in



6. Rex Whistler: The Emperor's New Clothes, 1935

6. By 1935 the 'Peruke' is a more common addition to the Emperor's attire. In Whistler's version the curls from the wig cascade over his shoulders and his crown perches on top. His peruke gives his head a far larger dimension whilst also making him appear taller. Whistler portrays him as a slightly older man with a large belly, chunky thighs and a double chin. His shoes have a modest heel, more appropriate to the style of the time he is evoking with the image (circa 1700) and he too carries a cane or walking stick, adorned with a bow with tassels. Much like Hjortlund's version of him in 1958, (9) he wears a herald on his under-shirt, a sign of his noble birth and/or of his coronation (V&A). Even in his underwear he wishes to retain some semblance of authority and status.



7. Ruth Koser Michaels: The Emperor's New Clothes, 1938

7. Ruth Koser Michaels' depiction is a wonderfully frilly and overly embellished older gentleman. Bedecked in bows, flounces and geegaws, this Emperor has left no inch of his person undecorated. He not only carries an ornate walking cane, but also a sword hidden amongst all the frippery. He examines the invisible cloth through an eyeglass or magnifying glass and, as in many other depictions of him, he has a tiny well managed moustache. He wears a peruke with curls atop that drop down and frame his face. Standing feet slightly apart for balance and in flat shoes, adorned with enormous bows, he looks like the foolish old man the tale depicts.

this earlier period in history and the association with vanity and the wig, now a part of his ongoing identity.

Within almost all of the imagery, regardless of the period in which it was created, the masculinity of the Emperor is challenged by his posture, particularly with his arms. As mentioned, the feminine traits of grooming and a love of fashion already indicated a reduced perception of masculinity, but by placing one hand on the hip and the other either hanging limp-wristed or resting on a walking cane, the illustrators had him mimic poses semiotically associated with a feminised male. This further implied that this man was less masculine than his status might indicate.

In general, illustrations of the Emperor either depict him fully dressed in all his frippery and finery,⁷ or wearing his underwear out in public. Occasionally he is depicted naked,⁸ (however, his modesty is always preserved with a well placed object obscuring any hint of impropriety on the illustrators part). These depictions seek to humiliate him further. Often attended by his courtiers or being measured up for garments by the perpetrators of his demise, he remains blissfully ignorant of how his humiliation will eventually manifest itself.⁹

The Emperor is himself one of the more complex male characters depicted in a fairy tale. He has authority and power combined with a huge ego, yet ultimately he is humiliated and mocked in front of all his subjects.

As Paul Willemen notes in his article of 1981, "Looking at the Male," the gaze *at* the male, which is what the Emperor seeks, "is an integral part of the process of male identification" (Willemen, 1981: 16). Yet the passive, feminine position of being the *object* of the gaze as opposed to the *bearer* of the gaze, further undermines the Emperors masculinity (Neal, 1983:2-17), to the point where the phrase "The Emperor's New Clothes" has become synonymous with male vanity. It has garnered an authoritative, descriptive power that symbolises pretentiousness and pomposity (Tatar, 2008: 3).



8. Barbara Freeman: The Emperor's New Clothes, 1950

8. Freeman's illustration changes the physique of the Emperor, he has a more youthful body but still represents an older man. Clearly this man has looked after his body as part of his image and he has muscular arms and pecs. Rarely is the Emperor given such a youthful and well maintained body. However, he still wears the peruke, giving him a full head of flowing curls that flow over his shoulders. He too carries a walking cane although his is bejewelled and dazzling. His modesty is preserved by the positioning of his courtier in front of him. He also carried an 'orb', a hint at his religion as the orb has been a Christian symbol of authority since the middle ages.



9. Gustav Hjortlund: The Emperor's New Clothes, 1958

9. Gustav Hjortlund's Emperor looks very like the Emperor created by Whistler 13 years earlier. (6) He may have been influenced by Whistler's illustration as this appears to be the same man, sans wig. This Emperor is in his dressing room, being fitted for his new outfit and stands, arms aloft, as the tailors tweak, pull and measure with pins in their mouths and invisible tape, adjusting the non existent fabric around his bulky frame. He is again an older man, typical of illustrations from this era. No longer the more youthful version of the early 1900s and without his wig, he resembles a rather more comical bourgeois figure inviting amusement, much like the characters in the television sitcom "Dad's Army", created a mere 10 years later.



1. Anon: French illustration Red Riding Hood, 1913



2. Anon: Little Red Riding Hood, c1880

2.2 A Villain & Saviour: Red Riding Hood

“Little Red Riding Hood” is perhaps one of the most consistently analysed tales and has become widely associated with feminist commentary. It depicts two examples of masculinity in the wolf, ¹A negative hegemonic male character who represents the threatening behaviour of men towards women, and the huntsman, (or woodcutter) ² a positive, caring male, depicted as a hero and saviour of women.

The male...is all important. Split into two opposite forms: the dangerous seducer who if given in to, turns into the destroyer of the good grandmother and the girl; and the hunter, the responsible strong and rescuing father figure (Bettelheim, 1991: 172).

The wolf in “Little Red Riding Hood” is one of the more foreboding characters within the fairy tale genre and represents a dark masculine presence. The wolf, or werewolf; a man who masquerades as a wolf, has a long historical association with masculinity. From Greek and Roman literature to 7th century Western literature, the werewolf appears in male form and he is regularly referred to as,

“The beast within” and was considered to be any thing from the work of the Devil, to a form of madness or melancholy (Bourgault, 2006: 12-14).

The werewolf is a transformational beast. He changes from man to wolf and back again and although the wolf does not go through this transformation within “Little Red Riding Hood,” his depiction of a “wolf man” certainly fits with a transformation trope. The werewolf and wolf also have a particularly long association with masculine dominance and as Bourgault de Choudry states in her study of the werewolf,

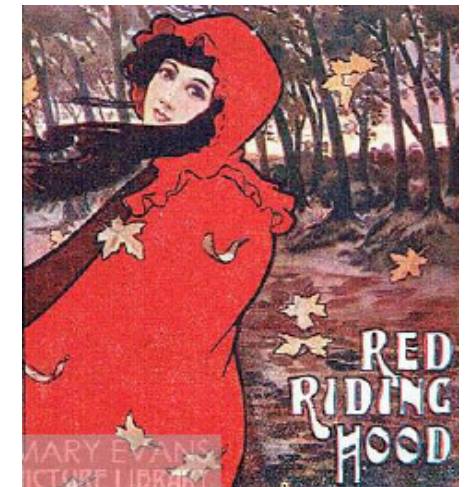
Using Freud’s case of the wolf man as a starting point, it demonstrates how imagery of the ‘beast within’ has been perpetuated and strengthened by psychiatric discourse, and has come to express a dominant way of thinking about masculinity (Bourgault, 2006: 7).

In versions of this tale the wolf not only stalks the girl but consumes the grandmother in an act of total domination and violation. It is as if he cannot delay gratification of his dominance of Red Riding Hood and in his haste and desperation to ‘consume’ her, he defiles an extension of her in anticipation, thus also disposing of the obstacle that stands in his way in the process. The dominant deviant male, stopping at nothing to achieve his ultimate goal.

...if you are not orderly and moral then you will be swallowed by the wolf; that is, the devil or sexually starved males (Zipes, 2010: 64).

Many versions of “Red Riding Hood” started out as racy adult themed tales told at gatherings after children had been sent to bed (Tatar, 2019: 23,) and depicted the heroine as a sexually aware young woman, ³ the inverse of the representations that followed. Once the Grimm’s in particular, had altered the tale to represent their own more sanitised version, the girl became far more innocent and vulnerable.⁴ This naive representation of her is echoed in the illustrations.

The predatory and threatening wolf remains ever present in the imagery, but the portrayal of Red Riding Hood herself has gone through many changes. She is most often portrayed as a very young girl and occasionally a toddler, with the innocence that necessarily accompanies these depictions of her.⁵



3. Anon, Postcard Red Riding Hood, 1900

3. It is rare to see Red riding Hood portrayed as a woman as opposed to a little girl in books, yet advertisers and movie makers regularly portray her a “red hot femme fatale” (Tatar, 2007: 146). Although this story started out as a bawdy tale, the subsequent restructuring by a succession of authors has seen Red Riding Hood emerge in the text and illustrations, as a younger child. 4.



4. Jessie Wilcox Smith: Little Red Riding Hood, 1911



5. Linda Edgerton: Red Riding Hood, 1918

5. Edgerton's toddler Red Riding Hood wears a short, striped dress, reminiscent of a baby's outfit. She is not more than 2 or 3 years old in her little ankle socks and Mary-Jane shoes. Her angelic face and rosebud lips make for a disturbingly young version of this character. Imagery in books more often than not depicts Red Riding Hood as a very young child, this may be due to a changing audience who have become younger over time, and fairy tale books are now almost exclusively produced for this younger reader.

6. Walter Crane's lascivious wolf eyes a cautious Red Riding Hood who backs away from his overbearing invasion of her personal space. His relaxed stance speaks of a confidence in his ability to charm and his lolling tongue an indication of his unhealthy appetite for young ladies. Dressed in a coat that re-

These visual representations are a strange accompaniment to a tale that has been widely researched and commented upon as a sexual warning for young women. The significance of the wolf and the sexual threat he represents is well documented (Bettelheim, 1991:169), yet illustrators continue to portray Red Riding Hood as a young child.

This then raises the notion of paedophilia. If in fact the tale does represent the sexual threat to young women, as many academics have claimed, and the red cape a representation of her crossing the threshold into womanhood, what place does the representation of this female as a *young child* have in the tale, and why do illustrators persist in portraying her as such? Greenhill and Kohm also discuss this issue in their paper on representations of Red Rising Hood in film.

Surprisingly few interpretations focus on the fact that Red is a child upon whom adult sexual intentions are imposed (Greenhill & Kohm, 2010: 39).

Some academics such as Tatar, claim the tale is certainly about the "conflict between a weak, vulnerable protagonist and a large powerful antagonist" (Tatar, 2002:147), but she



6. Walter Crane: Red Riding Hood, 1875

questions the analogies to rape or female development. What *is* certainly evident however, is the threat from the male adult to the female child.

Many illustrations portray the wolf as a beast in men's clothing.^{6, a, b} He stands on two legs and wears a hat or carries a cane. He is clearly an *adult* male and it's made clear these 'men' are intrinsically bad and not to be trusted. The added threat when the girl is portrayed as a very young child is even more unsettling.

Imagery can not only enhance threat, but can also diminish and soften the impact for a younger audience and



6a. Anon: Red Riding Hood, c1910-30



6b. Doris Stolberg: Red Riding Hood, 1945

sembles his own fur, he leans on a cane, perhaps to enable himself to stand upright on his hind legs and crosses his front legs in a relaxed human gesture. The neckerchief he has tied around his neck is patterned with skulls and crossbones, the artists indication that this is not a trustworthy beast. He is a pirate of the woods and of a girl's virtue.

6a. This illustration depicts the wolf dressed in dungarees, his front paws on his knees as he lowers himself to the child's height to talk to her. This posture is recognisable of any older adult who wishes to engage with a child and gets down to their level by adopting this posture. Although a friendly gesture, here it has a menace in its familiarity with an older, respected member of the family such as a grandfather and the deviant character mimicking it.

6b. Stolberg's Wolf is portrayed as a fine gentleman. Rapping on grandmothers door with his walking cane (a sign of wealth as described in 2.1:5b:14) In his top hat and tails, stiffened collar and striped trousers, he cuts a dashing figure and is certainly a far cry from the wild beast who gets about on all fours and hides amongst the trees in the woods as he stalks his prey. This example re-affirms the premise that the tales adapted over time to a younger audience and the illustrations became far more child-like and infantilised as time went on.



7. Margaret Ely Webb: Red Riding Hood, 1909

7. Webb's Red Riding Hood epitomises the portrayal of a very young child as the protagonist. Even in the early 1900s this child would have been rather too young to have been out in the woods alone. 7a. More so Baumgarten's Red Riding Hood who is even younger, perhaps as young as 3 or 4 and certainly too young to be out alone, let alone be of 'interest' to an adult male.



7a. Fritz Baumgarten: Red Riding Hood, 1928

perhaps this is what these illustrators are attempting to do. By decreasing the age of the girl and often portraying the wolf in his 'friendly' or 'dog like' guise, they are perhaps attempting to allay the more sinister elements of the tale. However, since much of the discourse on Red Riding Hood has not taken imagery into account, the sheer proliferation of the child being so young within the imagery, should perhaps have incurred far more inquiry or consideration than it has. 7&7a

The other masculine identity in "Red Riding Hood" is that of the huntsman or the woodcutter, the protector and the hero. 8 In the Grimms' altered ending, the huntsman comes to Red Riding Hood's rescue. This is one of the occasions where a male character is introduced as a "saviour" or a positive representation of masculinity and presents no love interest. However, he has no function other than to save the females. He is usually presented as a father figure or "patriarchal protection for the two women" (Tatar, 2002: 26), and in some editions is depicted carrying a young Red Riding Hood in his arms. 9 He represents a masculine figure that expresses violence as a positive force; his violence resulting in the freeing of two women,

The hunter is a most attractive figure to boys as well as girls because he rescues the good and punishes the bad. In the hunter's action, violence (cutting open the wolf's belly) is made to serve the highest social purpose (rescuing two females) (Bettelheim, 1991: 177).

The masculine propensity for violence is here absolved, because the violence leads to a constructive outcome. Although not all men are violent, in fact the larger proportion of men are not, the perception of violent men is sustained



8. Arpad Schmidhammer: Rotkäppchen, 1910



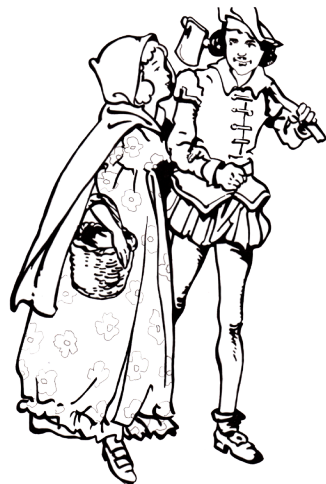
9. Frank Adams: Red Riding Hood, 1938

8. Schmidhammer's huntsman certainly has the hallmarks of the hero. He stands proudly over the slain wolf holding the scissors with which he cut open its stomach in order to save the grandmother and Red Riding Hood. Many of the German illustrations depict the huntsman with scissors, whereas others show the woodcutter with an axe. In the story itself, the character is a huntsman, however, the woodcutter appears in illustrations as early as the 1880s and is regularly portrayed from then on. The German versions tend to stick with a huntsman and his scissors.

9. In Frank Adams' illustration of 1938 the woodcutter carries an adoring Red riding Hood in his arms to safety. His axe hangs at his side and he has scooped the little girl into his arms. This portrayal defines the "patriarchal protection" Tatar mentions in *The Annotated Classic Fairy Tales* (Tatar, 2002: 26) In this image the woodcutter wears a red hat creating a visual link between himself and the child in his arms. His little dog carries her basket in his mouth. A domestic scene where one might assume the woodcutter is in fact Red Riding Hood's father.

10. This German postage stamp from the 1960s depicts the dead wolf and the huntsman with smiling eyes and mouth, implied by the uplifted shape of his bushy moustache. He brandishes his weapon of choice with which he has dispatched the wolf, who is still dressed in the grandmothers cap in case there is any doubt as to the ignoble behaviour of this creature.

11. Rarely is the huntsman or woodcutter depicted as a young man or a love interest for Red Riding Hood. In this illustration from a Juvenile publication of 1940, not only is Red Riding Hood a young woman, but the wood cutter (carrying an axe, not a gun or scissors) is certainly a potential suitor and is clearly looking into her eyes with a smile on his lips. She has taken his arm as he escorts her away, his clenched fist a reminder of his masculinity along with the axe, nonchalantly flung across his shoulder.



11. Anon: The Woodcutter, Red Riding Hood, 1940



10. Anon: German Postage Stamp, 1960

by tales such as these.¹⁰ Connell remarks in his book *The Men and the Boys* that,

Violent masculinities are usually collectively defined and/or institutionally supported (Connell, 2000: 217).

and in these tales, although the huntsman is a 'hero' the fact that he uses violence to achieve his status serves to cement the idea that 'all men are violent' or have the predisposition to be so, when research has determined otherwise (Connell, 2000: 217). Fairy tales regularly depict masculine violence as a normalised trait for a man.

In rare images, the huntsman, or woodcutter, is a younger man and could therefore be a potential love interest for Red Riding Hood. In the image from the 1940s, an older and slightly flirtatious Red Riding Hood is depicted, walking along a path with the woodcutter at her side.¹¹ As mentioned before, this male character is not developed within the text. He is simply waiting to appear to aid the heroine and there is a reliance on the visuals to give a more de-

finer interpretation of him. His age is never mentioned so it is interesting that he is generally portrayed as an older man as opposed to a young man or boy. The implication being, this older masculine identity is more believable in his ability to dispatch the wolf and save the women.

Although in Grimms' version of the tale a man ultimately saves Red Riding Hood, in Perrault's older 1697 version, she is not rescued by anyone. She is killed and eaten by the wolf, thereby creating a far more final tale of consequence and repercussion.

Perrault's fairy tale offers no second chance, no miraculous rescue from the wolf's belly. The heroine pays for her misunderstanding of the wolf's true intentions with her life (Ashliman, 2004: 49).

This lesson of consequence is lost when she is saved from this grisly fate by the huntsman. It also introduces a further element of misogyny implying that the male is the only one capable of saving the girl. Angela Carter addresses this in her re-working of Red Riding Hood, "The Company of Wolves" (Carter, 2006), by turning the apparently kindly huntsman into the predatory wolf, who eats the grandmother and awaits the girl in the grandmothers bed. But she also hands over the decision of how to deal with the situation to Red Riding Hood, who offers herself to the wolf on her own terms.

"The girl burst out laughing; she knew she was nobody's meat" (Carter, 2006 [1979]: 138).



1. W H Robinson: Puss In Boots, 1900

1. Robinson's third son in "Puss in Boots," the foolish one, is here depicted in such a way as to leave no doubt as to his intellect. He looks vacantly over his shoulder, not engaging with the viewer and dangling the cat from his arms. He is stooped over, knees slightly bent wearing shoes stuffed with straw and a smock coat over a rough, slightly damaged shirt. He looks, and is, simple. He displays no signs of heroic or hegemonic traits and the way he holds the cat does not show an affinity with the animal that many male fairy tale characters do.

2.3. A Boy: A Simpleton or a Hero?

Many young male characters are often a laughingstock, fools, cowards or simpletons and might also be ugly or deformed.¹ Ashliman states in *Folk and Fairy Tales, A Handbook*, that

Frequently the male protagonist is a simpleton, although curiously his reputed stupidity mentioned early in the tale rarely shows itself as the story advances (Ashliman, 2004: 45).

I would disagree that the stupidity 'rarely' shows itself as the tale progresses, as there is evidence that the stupid character often remains stupid or cowardly throughout and although he may overcome obstacles — often assisted or in fact *achieved* by a helper — and raise his status to that of a nobleman, his stupidity is never eradicated. The implication being, he remains stupid even if he achieves a superior status or achieves an heroic feat.

Their stories may chronicle perilous adventures, but they often remain both cowardly and passive (Tatar, 2019: 88).

At the end of their journeys, these "heroes" are no wiser, cleverer or heroic than they were when they started out. They may have had a good deal of luck come their way but they remain as they were (Tatar, 2019: 100).

Often tales of simple minded males revolve around an upper-class woman mocking him. His resulting adventures are in part, retribution over this slight. His revenge takes the form of cursing a pregnancy on her, as in Straparola's "Pietro the Fool," Basile's "Peruonto" and Grimm's "Simple Hans," with the ultimate goal of taking the upper class woman in marriage and in the process elevating his own status. As Zipes notes in *The Great Fairy Tale Tradition*,



2. Walter Cruickshank: Peruonto, 1847

Some scholars have argued that the tale reflects a distinct male perspective in which the luckless hero takes revenge for the castrating remarks of an upper class woman and then rises to power (Zipes, 2001: 100).

This would certainly fit with masculine identity and the need to "prove" one's masculinity if challenged, particularly by a female, and especially if that female has a perceived superiority. The need to raise himself to a position of power higher than hers would be very important to him.

Men's power over women is a key aspect of masculinity. Being subordinate to a woman in a masculine domain seems to have threatened men's masculinity (Dahl et al, 2015: 251).

These portrayals of the stupid or simple male are not only evident in the text but also in the illustrations.² In Basile's "Peruonto," the tale of an ugly, stupid farm boy who eventually marries a princess, he is described as,

...the most dismal creature, the greatest yokel, and the most solemn idiot that nature had ever created (Canepa, 2007: 62).

2. Published illustrations of Peruonto are few, yet the ones that were published depict this fool as the ugly and stupid character Basile describes in his texts. Ridiculed and chased by local children, a princess spies him from her window and laughs at the sight of him on the donkey made of straw. Cruickshank captures the look of stupidity on this characters face with the frog like mouth, turned down at the corners, dark ringed eyes and his large face staring behind him. His body hunches up as he clings to the galloping and bucking horse of straw and twigs.



3. Walter Cruickshank: Vardiello, 1847

3. Cruickshank's 'Vardiello' has a large head, with eyebrows drawn in opposition to one another. This gives him a look of bewilderment or confusion. His mouth forming an O also implies he is surprised or confused about what he is viewing (which is two cats running away from him). These features are however, the only real signifiers that he is a simpleton. He has a relatively masculine body, correctly proportioned and he appears to be physically strong, if not mentally.



4. Lettore: Vardiello, 2000

The few illustrations there are of him, certainly cement this image of an idiot. Later in the story, Vastolla, the princess who mocked him in the street after he had been bullied and made to ride donkey made of straw, is now his reluctant wife. She makes demands of Peruonto, which he fulfils via magic and manages to make her "feel like a Queen," yet she still has one further desire, that of course he be handsome too. As already mentioned in chapter one (Ch 1.3: 56), a man must be handsome in order to be loved in the fairy tale, and Vastolla is quite determined on this point.

To seal all of her good fortune she had only to ask Peruonto to obtain the grace of becoming handsome and well groomed. For although the proverb says, 'Better to have a dirty little husband than an emperor for a friend', nonetheless, if he changed his face, she would consider it the greatest fortune in the world (Canepa, 2007: 68).

Although Peruonto eventually becomes accepted by Vastolla's father, the king, as his legitimate son-in-law and the princess claims to be in love with him, it is a hard fought battle for him. Throughout he is continually asked to perform tasks to prove himself physically, yet his intellect is never challenged.

In another of Basile's tales, a simpleton by the name of "Vardiello"³ creates havoc when left alone by his mother. She sends him out to sell cloth in order to pay for the ruin he has caused at home, only for him to try and sell the cloth to a statue. When he returns with nothing, she sends him out again and he again tries to get the statue to respond to him. When it does nothing, he throws a rock at it and cracks it open to reveal a horde of stolen gold coins. He thinks these are beans and runs home with them to his mother. She continues to send him out to collect the 'beans' without informing him of what they are, and ultimately

mately he is sent to an asylum because he is too stupid to understand why he is accused of stealing when the police catch up with him. The story concludes with,

...and so, the ignorance of the son made the Mother rich, and the good judgement of the Mother made up for the son's asininity (Canepa: 2007:74).

There is no redemption for poor "Vardiello". He starts out as a fool and remains a fool until the end. In fact, his fate, being locked away in an asylum having made his mother rich, is tragic and the illustrations for this tale depict him as the fool described.⁴

Jack in "Jack and the Beanstalk" is taken for a simple fool and chastised by his mother when he exchanges their cow for a handful of beans. A typical masculine trait is a desire to be perceived as intelligent, brave or as astute as the next man. It is imperative not to be the only one perceived as vulnerable or stupid, least you are thought of as less masculine, so these depictions of stupid males do not sit comfortably with a masculine audience.

Masculinity is a socially conferred status that requires the acknowledgment of others to achieve (Dahl et al, 2015: 244).

Jack however, does manage to prove his masculinity by performing heroic and brave deeds. Although he is sometimes aided by magic, this time in the form of a harp, most of his deeds are undertaken by himself. Illustrations of Jack almost always depict him as a pleasant looking young lad. He is not given the features of a fool, nor is he depicted as behaving foolishly apart from the initial swap of the cow for the beans. More often than not he has an axe in his hand and is pictured defeating the giant.⁵ These images give a sympathetic portrayal and association with the character and he has thus become more of a 'hero' than the text initially implies.

4. Lettore's modern interpretation of Vardiello is cruel in its severity. His bald, pointed head, crooked teeth and stance give him an awkwardness that befits the description of him in the text. His wide eyed stare and large flattened nose complete an image of this imbecilic man child and a macabre interpretation of this character. His mother in the background, looks on, a slim, elfin like young woman her face displaying her displeasure, quite possibly at the sight of the monstrous creation that is her son.

5. Although Jack is often described as a simple boy, silly enough to swap his cow for some beans, he is generally portrayed in illustrations as a happy, brave and resourceful young man. A complete contrast to the spectacle of Vardiello. This image from the 1960s depicts this jolly young boy with the strength and intellect to defeat the giant He could easily be categorised as hero as opposed a foolish boy.



5. Anon: Jack and the Beanstalk, 1960



6. Walter Crane: The Queen Bee, 1882

6. Walter Crane's depiction of the boy in "Queen Bee" never gets the full colour treatment. Although the text portrays him as the hero of the piece, it is clear that many illustrators focused on the animals that help him achieve his tasks, rather than the boy himself. Here he is depicted talking to the ants that come to his aid. Physically he bears no traits that would signify he is simple, yet the lack of his appearance in many of the earlier illustrations means he is not interesting enough to create an image of at all.

In the Grimm's "Queen Bee" however, the simple third son (it is often the third son who is the simplest of them all) and his two elder brothers go out to seek their way in the world. This simple character does have one noble trait in that he shows a good deal of compassion to animals. This compassion for animals is one of the consistent traits that many males in fairy tales possess. He prevents his brothers from hurting ants, bees and ducks and it is these creatures that come to his aid when he needs help.

This tale is one in which the simpleton may be perceived as 'clever' in as much as he achieves three tasks at which his brothers fail. He is however, given a good deal of help in order to achieve the tasks by the animals he shows compassion to. This character knows he is incapable of undertaking these tasks himself. "He seated himself on a stone and wept" (Grimm, 1972: 318), when faced with the challenges and the animals return to perform the tasks for him. Yet it is *he* who is rewarded with the hand of a princess for completing the tasks. Tatar comments on this,

To be more precise, the ants gather the pearls, the ducks fetch the key, and the bees identify the youngest sister. Yet the simpleton is credited with disenchanting the palace in which the trio of princesses resides (Tatar, 2019: 89).

This is not a masculine trait that would garner any prestige in the hierarchy of masculinity. Crying is a sign of weakness and reliance on others to extricate one from a difficult situation or task, rather than be able to heroically achieve it oneself, undermines masculine and in-group identity. This results in a lowered perception of masculine identity, difficult to re-establish once lost, although getting the best looking girl would certainly go some way towards doing so (Dahl, 2015: 243).

Often these foolish characters have very little representation in the visuals. In "The Queen Bee" Arthur Rackham chooses to visually represent the ducks with the key, or the three sleeping princesses. Walter Crane does portray the simpleton, but he is a black and white line drawing, not worthy of one of his colourful printed plates ⁶.

By 1958 the image of this foolish character has become one of a bright eyed smiling young lad. No hint of foolishness or any indication of a demeanour, appearance or stature that implies a foolish character. These images create a more positive identity from the negative portrayal in the text. They may make gentle fun or paint him as rather characterless, yet there is no overt intention of making him look stupid.

Generally, the imagery created for these tales imagines a sympathetic or more heroic perception of the character that the text allows. It appears that the more modern interpretations are far more likely to portray the 'stupid boy' in a more positive light, another indication that the illustrator can be responsible for a changing perception of the masculine identity. ⁷



7. Anon: The Queen Bee, 1958

7. The cover of this comic book from 1958 depicts a very different character than the one portrayed in the text of "The Queen Bee". He is a bright eyed young lad. With bright white teeth and a dazzling smile, he has an American clean cut image (the illustration is from the USA), clearly winning the admiration of the bee and the rabbit. His affinity with animals is implied though the engagement with them and his physique is that of a strong young man with a triangular torso and strong thighs. Although dressed in traditionally depicted attire for a fairy tale, this is the only indication that this character is from a fairy tale at all. If not for his clothes he could be from any modern story and he typifies the style of illustration from this era particularly in American publications.

2.4 A Real Hero: A Prince and a Pauper

The hero in the fairy tale is often not the character labelled as such. A hero who achieves nothing by his own merit or relies totally on magic is not in the true sense of the word a “hero”. The OED description of a hero is “A person who is admired for their courage, outstanding achievements, or noble qualities” (OED, 2020), but he is also “The chief male character in a book, play, or film, who is typically identified with good qualities, and with whom the reader is expected to sympathize” (OED, 2020).

As has been mentioned, the male character is not always the chief character within a tale, nor is he always identified with good qualities, so the term hero is a misnomer when applied to many of them.

However, there are some male characters within the fairy tale who do perform their own tasks, who do behave altruistically (to a point) and who can be classified as true heroes although not always identified as such. They often have a very limited role such as the huntsman in “Red Riding Hood,” or sometimes a chief role such as Jack, in “Jack and the Beanstalk” as discussed in section 2.3 (200).

The Prince in the Grimm’s version of “Cinderella,” although having a small role, is one male character who may actually be deserving of this title also. He is one of the few males who relies on real footwork to attain his one true love and it is Cinderella in this tale, who relies on magic to attain hers. For all the discussion and debate on Cinderella’s character being a determined girl who takes on the challenges that befall her, she is assisted in everything she achieves, by magic. The prince, however, not only has to work against the magic — by attempting to follow a carriage that disappears without a trace, and having only a slipper as a clue to Cinderella’s identity — but he must literally go door to door to find the woman he has fallen in love with.

In some versions of this tale the prince may send his courtiers out before him, but often it is the prince himself who travels the kingdom seeking the one girl who has captured his heart. He is determined and resolute when met with multitudes of women willing to try anything, including chopping off parts of their feet, to become his wife. He doggedly perseveres and succeeds not only in rescuing Cinderella from her enforced slavery, but also in asking her to be his wife and is willing to provide a home for her step sisters as well.

As his status is assured by his title, he has no need to prove himself through violence and this may be one of the reasons he is not regarded as a hero by many analysts of the tale. His masculine status relies heavily on his birthright. He exhibits none of the hegemonic traits that are usually associated with a male hero, such as bravery, an ability to fight or to dominate, therefore he is often perceived as a “sissy” or a “wimp,” mocked and portrayed as a bit of an idiot, thus assigning him a lower masculine status.¹ As Connell claims in *The Men and the Boys*,

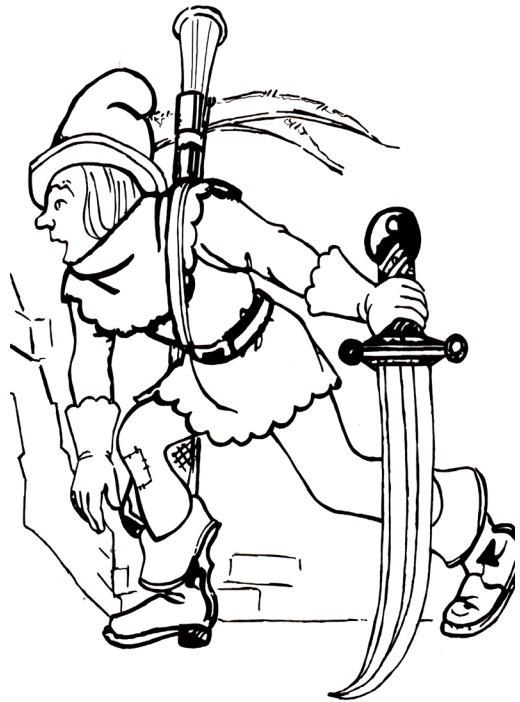
Large numbers of men and boys have a divided, tense or oppositional relationship to hegemonic masculinity. This is an important fact of life though it is often concealed by the enormous attention focussed (e.g. in the media) on hegemonic masculinity. Clear cut alternatives, however, are culturally discredited or despised. Men who practice them are likely to be abused as wimps, cowards, fags (Connell, 2000: 217).

This prince however, *is* a hero in the sense that he satisfies many of the requirements for the title. Although noble by birth, he is also noble in his desire to find the one girl he is in love with. He achieves his goal through his own hard work, he exhibits good personal qualities and is the outstanding male character in the tale. Yet his masculinity



1. Harry Clarke: Cinderella, 1913

1. Harry Clarke’s portrayal of the prince in Cinderella typifies the effeminate interpretation he has become synonymous with. His delicate features and dainty feet clad in heeled boots with a jacket that flares over his womanly hips displays feminine characteristics that belie a masculine identity. From his physicality to his expression, he is neither masculine, nor truly feminine but an odd mixture of the two and would easily fit with a queer identity.



2. Ruth Koser Michaels: Jack the Giant Killer, 1937

2. Jack has an entirely different interpretation to that of the prince in “Cinderella”. He is smaller, as he is still a child, he carries weapons and is portrayed with more hegemonic traits. Here he has large feet clad in boots and is ready to attack his enemy. His drawn sword is huge, almost too large to wield and he carries a musket across his shoulder. The tale does not make mention of a musket so this is an embellishment of the artist, creating a hero with knowledge of all manner of weapons. It must also be noted this illustration was created just prior to WW2, thus introducing a modern reference to warfare.

is challenged not only by academics but by film makers and audiences alike. He is often portrayed as a bit thick, vain, mean or laughable. “Prince Charming” the moniker he has become known by, is a nasty, spoilt Mummy’s boy in the 2001 movie “Shrek”. In the 2014 musical “Into the Woods” he is a vain and effeminate character with homosexual undertones, played for laughs. His masculinity is ridiculed because he does not conform to the expected stereotype of a hegemonic hero; reaffirming Connell’s statement that “clear cut alternatives,” who challenge the hegemonic norm, “are culturally discredited or despised” (Connell, 2000: 217).

“Jack the Giant Killer” a Cornish tale first published around 1760 by John Cotton and Joshua Eddowes, and reprinted in *The Classic Fairy Tales* by Iona and Peter Opie in 1974 (Opie, 1992: 48), tells the tale of a very different sort of hero. One who does not have status to rely on. A pauper who must prove his masculinity and heroism as he journeys through the tale.²

Jack is a young boy who mainly through his own wit and bravery, defeats giants, helps a prince to win the hand of his love, rescues dukes and ladies who have been turned into beasts and birds by a wicked conjurer and eventually marries the daughter of the king.^{3,4} Although Jack does have some magical help in the form of a ‘magic sword, a cap of knowledge, a cloak of invisibility, and shoes of swiftness’ (Opie, 1992: 57), much of what he achieves is of his own volition. He is kind and generous, he admires the good qualities in men, such as the prince who gives the last of his money to an old woman leaving him penniless. He is brave and resourceful and challenges and kills many giants who threaten the lives and livelihoods of the public. He asks for nothing in return, no glory or status, yet has gifts bestowed upon him in thanks for his deeds.



3. Hugh Thompson: Jack the Giant Killer, 1898

3. Thompson’s Jack carries keys and a sword but the sword is sheathed as he is about to free the ladies chained and hanging by their hair. He is portrayed as a young boy, politely bowing to the ladies suspended on hooks. With their feet dangling above the floor, they do not appear to be in pain. The act of suspending them by their hair would have been excruciating, however the illustrator has avoided reality and created an image where the three ladies seem merely a little ‘put-out’ as opposed to being in the agony they most certainly would have been in. This down-playing of the graphic elements within tales is a tool often used by illustrators to soften the content of the text.

4. Rackham confronts the fate of the ladies a little more robustly by creating an illustration that clearly shows the ladies in some discomfort. Jack approaches, sword drawn, about to release them. He too carries a large set of keys and the two images are very similar in composition. This Jack seems less genteel, he is more of a down-to-earth character as he strides forward bravely to rescue the three ladies. In both images the bravery and heroics of Jack are amplified by the distress and vulnerability of the three ladies. Grown women, in a situation where they cannot rescue themselves, with a young man purposefully coming to their aid.



4. Arthur Rackham: Jack the Giant Killer, 1918



5. Edmund Dulac: Cinderella, 1927

5. Dulac's Prince typifies the acquiescent young royal who behaves impeccably towards his guests, particularly Cinderella. He carries himself with an air of authority and poise. Rarely is he portrayed in any other costume than that of the 18th century breeches, frock coat and frills at his neck and cuffs. Although his outfits are not always of the same era as Cinderella's, who may be dressed in all manner of styles, his tend to follow the same construct of this more romantic dress. From the early 1900s through to the 1960s the prince is consistently dressed in the same manner.

Jack's masculinity is built up throughout this tale. His social interactions and his use of violence all combine to create his masculine honour. Connell observes this use of violence to create a masculine identity,

The process of constructing masculinity, rather than the end state, is often the source of violence. We often see men involved in violence in order to prove their masculinity (Connell, 2000: 218).

In this sense, Jack is a more recognisable hero. He fulfils not only the non hegemonic qualities required, but also the masculine hegemonic traits that assure his heroism is admired and confirmed by all.

The illustrations that accompany these tales depict these two quite different types of hero. Jack is regularly portrayed hunting down his prey with weapons drawn or hanging about his person, or rescuing women held captive by a cruel or evil character (see image 2,3,4: 208/209).

The prince in "Cinderella" by contrast, is most often portrayed in flamboyant outfits, befitting of a royal and his attendance at a ball.⁵ He may be depicted dancing with Cinderella or chasing after her as she runs off at midnight.⁶ He carries no weapon but often has an elaborate walking cane. The image created is invariably one of a pampered, prissy or effeminate man,⁷ yet one who does 'get the girl' and one for whom girls have a good deal of affection. The tale is one of the most popular of all, particularly with girls who clearly identify not only with the princess but with a male character who represents a form of romance and masculinity that they admire (Summers, 2013: 3).

Of these two, Jack is potentially more identifiable as a hero for the male reader. The elements that make up his heroic status and masculinity are ones boys would certainly have more affinity with, than those of Cinderella's prince.



6. Anne Anderson: Cinderella, 1935



7. Gordon Laite: Cinderella, 1959

6. Anne Anderson's prince is even more effeminate. His costume is predominantly pink, a colour now associated with femininity although in the 18th century it was perfectly normal for a man to wear it. Valerie Steele, the director of The Museum, at the Fashion Institute of Technology remarks that "In the 18th century, it was perfectly masculine for a man to wear a pink silk suit with floral embroidery," however, when this illustration was created pink was beginning to be seen as a more feminine colour. Colour aside, the style of the art work has a softer, more fluid approach giving a romantic quality to the image. This along with the blousing of the loose fitting jacket and breeches gives an altogether less masculine perception of the prince. He also carries what appears to be a lorgnette, which by the 1930s was a distinctly feminine accessory.

7. By 1959, the prince has barely changed in appearance. Still sporting knee length breeches, heeled shoes and frock coat his elaborately decorated attire almost outshines that of his bride. This prince has a slightly thicker set and a more masculine frame than many of his predecessors yet is still an effeminate interpretation of masculinity.



1. John Moyer Smith: Rumpelstiltskin, 1900

1. Smith depicts a gracious little man, stepping neatly forward, bowing to the young maiden and offering his assistance. This Rumpelstiltskin is dressed in the hose, jerkin and ruff of the Tudor era and wears a feather in his cap. Recent studies undertaken by Rublack at Cambridge University determined there was a connection to gallantry and the wearing of a feather in a hat. Rublack spotted that something unusual started to happen with feathers during the 16th century. In 1500, they were barely worn at all; 100 years later they had become an indispensable accessory for the “Renaissance hipster, set on achieving a ‘gallant’ look. European soldiers saw them as imparting noble passions, bravery and valiant”. (Rublack, 2017)

2.5 A Dwarf: Rumpelstiltskin

Rumpelstiltskin is a character to include in a list of reprehensible males. His tale has many versions but maintains its central theme. A small man, a dwarf or a gnome who comes to the aid of a maiden and helps her with her task of spinning straw into gold for the king, in order to obtain a reward for himself.¹

As a “little man” or dwarf, Rumpelstiltskin fails to fit the ideological physical portrayal of masculinity.

A physique which conveys physical strength is one way that heterosexual hegemonic masculinity may be embodied (Ravenhill and de Visser, 2017: 322).

This puts him lower on the hierarchical ladder of masculinity which automatically garners less standing than he would have, were he to be of a larger stature and thus have the associated hegemonic authority and power (Connell, 2000: 77).

He is single, unlikely to be considered as marriage material due to his unappealing physical appearance and although blessed with skills of alchemy — turning objects into gold — he does not have enough prestige or masculine status to recommend him for a “fairy tale” ending for himself. Therefore, he already represents elements of a negative masculine identity and although he does have some positive traits, they are not sufficient enough to enable him to climb the hierarchical ladder.

As with many fairy tales, the magical element of three is identified in the text. In this instance, a gift or trade of three things. The first of these, in the Grimm’s tale, is a necklace, the second a gold ring but, as is common, demands escalate and ultimately the third request is a trade of the maiden’s first-born child. She accepts the trade and Rumpelstiltskin fulfils his side of the bargain, enabling her

not only to live, but become queen, a dubious result for her as she has in effect been sold to the king by her own father.

When it is her turn to pay the promised fee (her child), she will not. Rumpelstiltskin, uncharacteristically for a seemingly unscrupulous character, gives her another chance to keep her child, by asking her to guess his name. By offering the queen this chance of redemption Rumpelstiltskin actually shows a compassionate side to his personality that is often overlooked (Carruthers, 2015c: 8). Assuming the queen will never guess his name, Rumpelstiltskin gives her an opportunity to get out of the bargain she made.

...Rumpelstiltskin comes off rather well in a world where fathers tell brazen lies about their daughters, marriages are based on greed and young women agree to give up a first-born child. He works hard to hold up his end of the bargain made with the miller’s daughter, shows genuine compassion when the queen regrets the agreement into which she has entered and is prepared to add an escape clause to their contract even though he stands to gain nothing from it (Tatar, 2012: 266).

Rumpelstiltskin is one of the few male characters to even have a name, and there is some debate over the origins of it. The most likely is that it originated in Germany from a game named “*Rumpele stilt oder der Poppart*” which translated meant “noisy goblin with a limp” (Carruthers, 2015c: 6). His name of course has great significance as it becomes the source of his power over the queen. By gaining knowledge of his name, she effectively undermines his masculine power over her (Carruthers, 2015c: 7). An example of the woman taking control of her own fate and subjugating a male in the process.

By the end of the tale Rumpelstiltskin is reduced to an angry, frustrated creature who, upon realising he has been out-smarted, by a woman, becomes foul tempered and

Is the illustrator trying to depict the fashion of the time in which they created their interpretation of Rumpelstiltskin, or is there a deeper meaning, that perhaps the illustrator is implying a gallant and brave man as opposed to the scheming and nasty creature he has come to represent? Perhaps a disguise, hiding his true nature. Whatever the reason, he is very often depicted with a feather in his hat. A result most like explained by the repetition of elements of illustrations being copied from one illustrator to another.

stamps his foot so hard it goes through the floor. Sometimes his leg snaps or breaks off entirely and in one of the Grimm's versions, he gets so angry he actually tears himself in two.

The little man screamed and stamped so ferociously with his right foot that his leg went deep into the ground up to his waist. Then he grabbed the other foot angrily with both hands and ripped himself in two (Zipes, 2001: 628).

Even though he initially seemed kindly in helping the desperate maiden out of a dire situation and giving her a chance to renege on her deal, he becomes a nasty, temperamental little man when she outwits him. This anger typifies a masculine reaction to being outsmarted by a woman. As demonstrated in J. Dahl's 2015 research paper on *Masculinity and Power Over Women*.

Men who were outperformed by a woman in a masculine domain reported more public discomfort and, in turn, more anger (Dahl et al, 2015: 251).

Although one is a fairy story and the other, an experiment in twentieth century social science, they are both pointing to anger elicited by women outperforming men, in western patriarchal cultures. The tale becomes one in which a female character is once again, victorious, although it must be acknowledged she has been exploited by her father and the king, (another example of males, particularly older males routinely portrayed as wicked, cruel or greedy), she manages to exploit Rumpelstiltskin's fragile good nature, vilify him for wanting to make good on a deal that was agreed to, and ultimately outsmarts him and deprives him of his prize.

In a fairy tale, to be childless, a single woman or a barren woman is to fail at the true purpose of womanhood. As

early as the 1920s feminism was beginning to challenge the sexological discourse that motherhood was the ultimate cultural goal (Bristow, 1997: 46). However, in the internal fairy tale hierarchy of the female, bearing a child continues to place her in a highly valued role, (as long as the child results from wedlock). This determines a patriarchal and dominant control of the woman, in that her body is seen as a possession of her husband's.

A woman's body was regarded as a possession of the male and any violation of the a female body was a violation of patriarchal authority. At stake were the legacy and honour of a family (Zipes, 2001: 100).

In the fairy tale, having a child, is a sign of virility and of hereditary importance to continue the family line, "fertility and large families are esteemed in the fairy tale" (Zipes, 2012b: 150). If a woman cannot have a child, (such as a wicked stepmother who often does not have children of her own), they are portrayed as less feminine, unfortunate or to be pitied, and will often turn to magic in order to fulfil that one important duty.

When the maiden in Rumpelstiltskin becomes queen and fulfils her royal and womanly duty of having a child, she not only becomes a much stronger character due to her status as the mother of an heir, she now has authority and support from those around her, and a voice she did not have at the beginning of the tale (Ch 1.3: 134). This voice is strengthened by her maternal status and enables her to challenge Rumpelstiltskin and to use those around her to help defeat him and to ultimately renege on the bargain she struck with him.

The role of the *mother* as primary carer and care-giver are intrinsic and necessary for the healthy development of a child (Bowlby, 1997), (although this may be questioned by



2. Rie Cramer: Rumpelstiltskin, 1927

2. Cramer's little man is clearly angry and stamps his foot in frustration. The stamping of the foot is replicated throughout most of the tales. Rumpelstiltskin may also be depicted with his foot going through the floorboards and occasionally in the process of grabbing his leg and pulling on it, although he is not depicted in two pieces. Generally, the anger is restricted to the stamping of the foot and an angry expression.

some feminists), so for Rumpelstiltskin to challenge this role is not only unacceptable in the tale, but to society as well, and is an additional challenge to the reader's perception of this once amiable and helpful little man. Yet what is never elucidated, is why he requests the child in the first place? As fairy tales do not provide much in the way of back stories — their narrative exists in the present — it is never divulged why a character behaves the way they do, so when not clarified in the text, the implication is certainly open to interpretation.

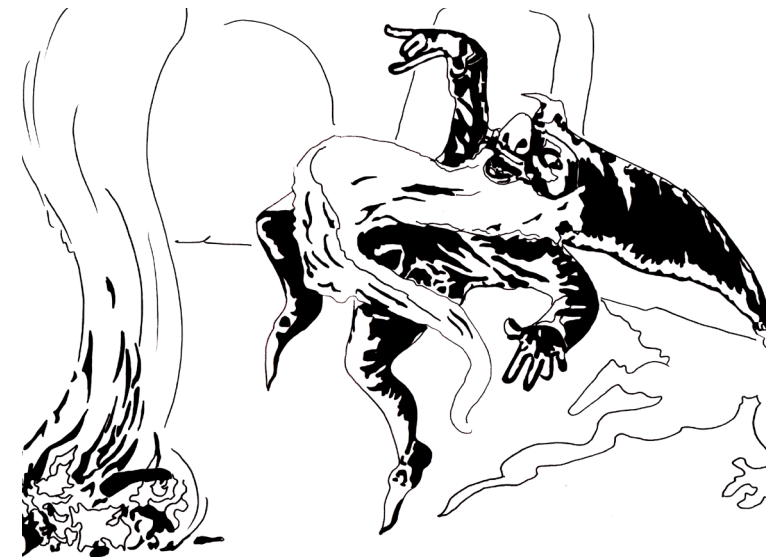
Rumpelstiltskin says he, "prefers a living creature to all the treasures in the world," and Maria Tatar perceives this as a negative.

Rumpelstiltskin's desire for something "living" links him with demonic creatures that make pacts with mortals in order to secure living creatures (Tatar, 2002: 128).

Implying a sinister and diabolical reason for his desire to have a living creature. Alternatively, he may simply want a child to bring up as his own, a real, living creature to care for and to continue his name; which is obviously important to him, and an equally important social signifier.

There is an assumption that the reason relates to some negative trait of his. That as a "demonic creature" he must have an ulterior motive, or a wish to harm or defile a living thing as opposed to care for it. When the witch, "Mother Gothel" (a generic German term for Godmother) trades the herb rapunzel for a child, in the tale "Rapunzel," she wants the child for herself and to raise it as her own. In this instance Tatar describes her as, "the consummate overprotective parent" (Tatar, 2012: 55). A vastly different interpretation of a character undertaking a similar transaction.

Although not absolving or excusing either the male or the female in respect to taking and trading a child, or their intentions in doing so, it should be acknowledged that the



3. Lilian Govey: Rumpelstiltskin, 1912



3a. Italian 15th century plaque depicting a satyr using the symbol of "mano cornuto"

action may not be as deeply sinister as Tatar claims, simply because the protagonist is a male.

Rumpelstiltskin's obvious rage and disappointment at not obtaining the child is one of the most illustrated elements of this tale,² along with him dancing around a camp fire in obvious delight and anticipation of winning his prize.^{3, a} These two markers within the tale identify the two certainties. He clearly wants the child, although it is never determined why, and is distraught when he feels he has been cheated out of it.

3. Govey's Rumpelstiltskin is leaping and dancing around his fire as his long white beard flows about him. His snub nose and open mouth, gleeful as he almost topples backwards in delight. The camp fire dance is repeated illustratively throughout all publications of the tales.

Of particular interest in this image is his right hand which is forming the sign for the 'devil's horns.' This symbol has a range of etymological histories, but seems to have originally been called "mano cornuto" and can be found in Italian images from the 15th century. 3a. The two extended fingers with the thumb tucked underneath represented the devils horns and was a symbolic gesture to put a curse on another, or to ward off the devil or expel a curse. (Robrue, M. and Pongplub, S, 2014: 289-299).

In illustration 3 the question of whether Rumpelstiltskin is in fact warding off the devil, claiming to be the devil or inflicting a curse is ambiguous, but it would appear to be a deliberate action. The illustrator would have had to intentionally draw the hand to represent this gesture indicating the poetic licence they have in defining a character, or creating elements of an illustration that imply a characteristic not evident in the text.

4. Arthur Rackham created one of the most recognised portrayals of Rumpelstiltskin in 1909. His little man exhibits some malice in his expression as he rubs his hands in anticipation. Meanwhile, his coat and hat have been hung up, with his shoes placed neatly alongside in an act of domestic order. A large tea kettle, attached to a pulley system sits in the background. He appears to be heading towards the rope that will hoist the oversized kettle onto the fire. It could be the thought of a nice cup of tea that he is anticipating with excitement. His little cottage with laundry hung out to dry in the breeze gives a peak at a level of domesticity not generally associated with his character and one that alters the perception of him derived from the text.



4. Arthur Rackham: Rumpelstiltskin, 1909

5. Anne Anderson also depicts her strange looking man dancing about before a quaint little cottage in the woods. In the foreground is the fire with a steaming cooking pot, presumably full of a delicious dinner. His long nose and long thin fingers reminiscent of Rackham's imp, his left foot is raised in the familiar impression of dancing, a signifier repeated in almost all depictions of him.



5. Anne Anderson: Rumpelstiltskin, 1935

In many images of Rumpelstiltskin dancing around a fire there is a neat little house in the background. In Rackham's illustration the cottage behind is a cosy little home in the woods ⁴ and in Anne Anderson's illustration his little house paints a picture of domesticity. ⁵ He is often portrayed cooking or making tea on his fire. Domestic images that negate the inference of the 'demonic creature' Tatar identifies from the text, and depict an identity created by the illustrator, of a little man who has made a cosy life for himself.

As already mentioned, he is ugly, small and old and possesses none of the fairy tale prerequisites for marriage so is unlikely to find a wife. ⁶ If he wants a family, the only options he has are magic or trickery. He uses magic to keep the young maiden alive, asking for her child in return, and he uses trickery to try to keep the bargain he makes with her alive. There is no legitimate reason to absolve him of any wrong doing, he is after all trying to trade a child, and although in a seemingly impossible situation, the soon-to-be queen, does agree to the deal and it is she who does not uphold her end of the bargain.

This thesis does not seek to determine the moral implications of right or wrong in these characters, but aims to comment on the portrayal of the masculine identity. In this tale in particular, there is very little evidence of any positive masculine identity within the text. The father is willing to lie and trade his own daughter to the king out of pride. The king is happy to exploit the maiden to make himself rich and to put her to death if she cannot perform the tasks her father has promised. If, however, she does manage to create gold from straw, he will marry her and therefore "own" not only her, but her skills. The "little man" or "Rumpelstiltskin," exploits the situation, bargaining with someone who really has no other option than to accept his terms. Not one male comes out of this tale with a shred of decency.



6. Louis Rhead: Rumpelstiltskin, 1917

⁶ Louis Rhead depicts a decrepit old man with a walking stick to support his bent frame. His sagging knees and wrinkled face portray the long years he has lived and his thin bony fingers point to the young maiden as she kneels, crying amongst the straw. This Rumpelstiltskin seems unlikely to have the energy to dance around a fire or even stamp his foot through the floorboards, let alone tear himself in two. By portraying him as such an old man it becomes more intriguing as to why he wishes to obtain a child. One wonders if he has been doing so, or trying to, for many years an idea that is repeated in image 11. (pg 224)



7. Michael Foreman: Rumpelstiltskin, 1978

7. Foreman has depicted a very strange character in his Rumpelstiltskin. With pin-thin legs and bulging cheeks his attire reminiscent of a Tudor outfit with a modern twist. He has a balding head with tufts of long straggly hair sprouting from the sides. Large bushy eyebrows frame wide hollow eyes and his bulging cheeks resemble those of a hamster with one protruding tooth. Raising his feathered hat, he is about to introduce himself to the maiden. He certainly fits the description given by Tatar of a ‘misshapen gnome’.

Yet often, as shown, the illustrations throw a twist into the tale by implying this protagonist has a domestic and comforting home life, incongruous with the textual references.

To further examine how illustrations build on textual references and determine characterisation, an exploration of Rumpelstiltskin illustrations identifies a chronological changing representation over a period of time. These images demonstrate how visual interpretations come to represent a character and change or fortify the identity from the description in the text. Rumpelstiltskin is not described physically in the Grimm’s text and his portrayal alters over time as illustrators translate the text in their own way. These visual interpretations have become synonymous with him. They have *become* his identity.

Maria Tatar describes him as,

A devilish creature, a misshapen gnome of questionable origins.(Tatar, 2012: 266).

Yet this description can only have come from one of two sources. The first, her own imagination, perhaps made up from a compilation of descriptions from the various re-telling of the texts. The other, from the visual depictions created by illustrators.⁷

It is impossible to say what visual image anyone has in their head, yet if asked to describe or draw Rumpelstiltskin, it is likely he would be drawn with the visual attributes recognised through having observed illustrations of him. That Tatar describes him in such a visual manner indicates how important the visual depiction becomes to the way a character is defined.

As stated, Rumpelstiltskin is not described in the Grimms’ text as ugly or misshapen. He is only given the briefest of introductions. “But all at once the door opened, and in came a little man” (Grimm, 1949: 265). In fact, the most

disparaging comment comes from the servant who spies him in the wood and describes him as “ridiculous”.

In the Swedish Version “The Girl Who Could Spin Gold from Clay and Long Straw” 1844, he is described as, “A little old man”. The 1890 English version of “Tom Tit Tot” describes him as “a small little black thing with a tail”. By 1896 In “Kinkach Martinko” the Slavic version, he is simply “A very odd looking little man” (Carruthers, 2015c: 36,72,86).

The longest description is in the Scottish tale “Whuppty Stoorie” from 1858, where the character is actually an old woman.

She was dressed in green, all but a short white apron and a black velvet hood, and a steeple crowned beaver hat on her head. She had a long walking staff, as long as herself, in her hand (Carruthers, 2015c: 44).

Visually however, Rumpelstiltskin is portrayed as ugly, deformed,⁸ often bearded and wizened.⁹ These visual



9. Arthur Rackham: Rumpelstiltskin, 1918



8. Josef Sharle: Rumpelstiltskin, 1943

8. Sharle’s version depicts a humpbacked, deformed man with pointed ears, a large distorted head and long nose. He wears a small ruff around his neck, a hint at the Tudor ruff and his tiny feet are clad in little slippers as he dances around his fire.

9. Rackham’s silhouette from 1918 depicts a very different creation from his 1909 version. Here he illustrates a character more like “Tom Tit Tot” a “small little black thing with a tail”. He has neatly managed to portray him as black by using a silhouette, without giving him a black identity. His beard hangs in curled strands from his chin and his profile emphasises his large nose and large bushy eyebrows. He is stooped with bent knees implying age, and his dress appears to be a long coat or smoking jacket with stiff, low heeled shoes as opposed to slippers or soft boots.

portrayals change and adapt over time and are informed by previous illustrative representations. They have created an ongoing perception of who the strange little man is, and fuelled the reader's connection to his identity.

As already mentioned, Rumpelstiltskin is predominantly depicted dancing around his fire in glee, happy in the knowledge (albeit mistakenly) that no-one will ever guess his name and he will indeed be able to secure his payment of a child. Arthur Rackham, Folkard, Schramm and Michaels, amongst many others, depict him with the same reference to the text.¹⁰

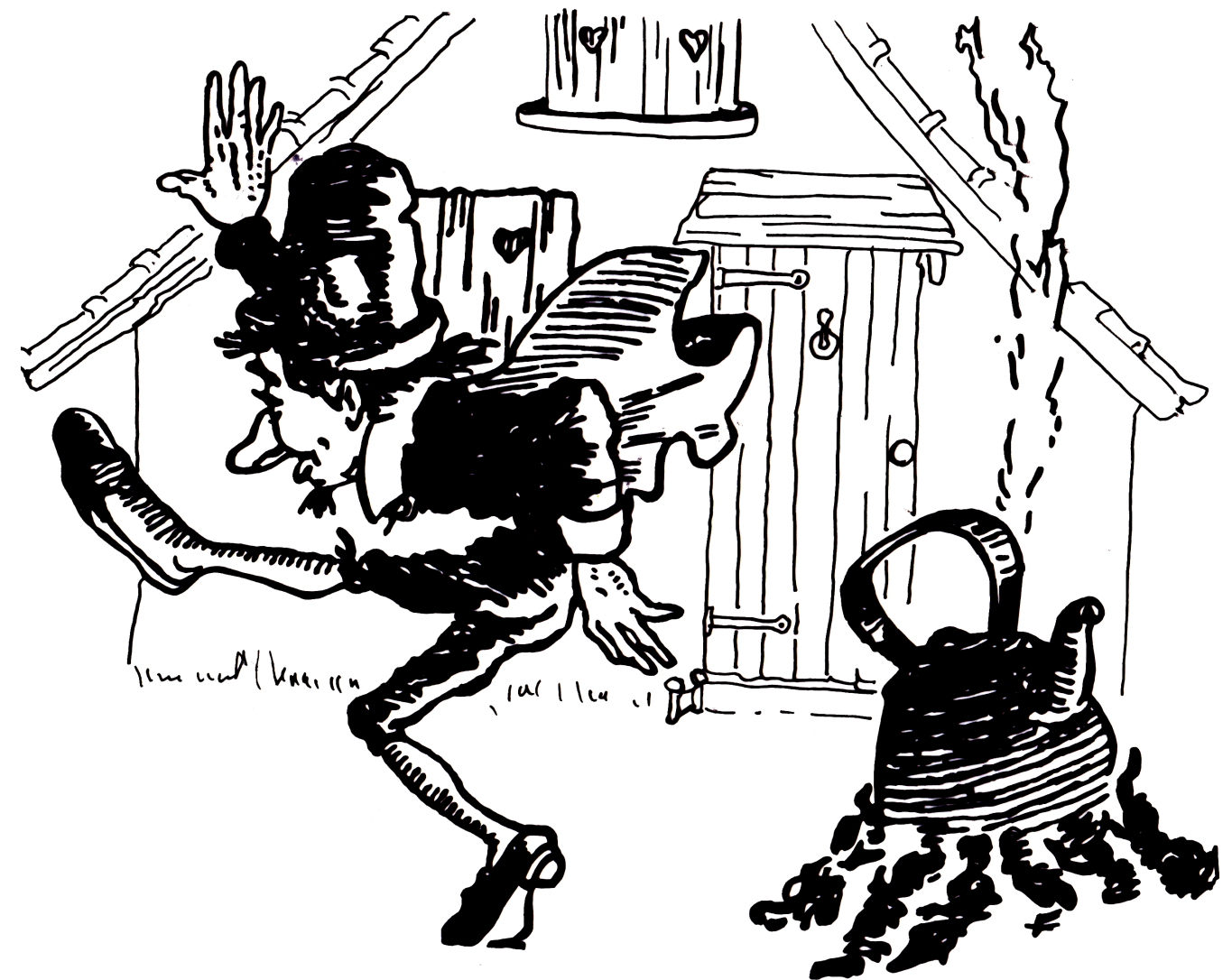
It is common for the same part of a text to be illustrated. However, by choosing the same part, illustrators tend to reinterpret images done by others before them, thus perpetuating a consistent repetitive visual interpretation that cements these images of the tale in the readers imagination.^{11, a-d} This occurrence of illustrations repeating the same image is a constant trope in fairy tale illustrations.

10. Rumpelstiltskin has been depicted dancing around his fire in glee almost since his inception. In this illustration he is dressed very differently from later incarnations. Wearing an outfit reminiscent of the pilgrims, it is a version of the Sunday best they would have worn for important occasions. Incorporating a large white collar, black jacket and black trousers, there is an implication of religious overtones in this outfit. This Irish illustrator was himself a Christian and his grandfather was a reverend which could have influenced his artistic decisions. (Lodge, 1907: 707)

Monsell may have been playing with the audience's perception of Rumpelstiltskin, depicting a religious or pious man (indicating no evil intent with the child), or perhaps creating a diversion of his true intentions, pretending to be something he is not.

Once again, he is portrayed cooking on his fire, his little house in the background with its wooden shutters displaying cut out hearts. The overall impression this image gives of Rumpelstiltskin is at odds with

his assumed identity and personality and with an identity created by other illustrations. Although he has the large nose and hands familiar in other images, here the similarity ends and his depiction is far more man-like than imp, dwarf or devil. Kicking his legs up as he moves around his fire is a visual signifier of him dancing, repeated throughout images created by many different illustrators and emphasising the certainty that each illustration has an influence on subsequent ones.



10. J. Monsell: Rumpelstiltskin, c 1911

11. Andre's version from 1899 of Rumpelstiltskin dancing around his fire, shows one dramatic difference from all the other depictions, in that he has only one leg. His right leg is wooden with a hinged knee and a stump for a foot. His remaining leg has a well defined calf muscle, presumably due to the extra work it must do to compensate. He is still able to dance with this wooden leg which perhaps demonstrates the description sometimes given, that he walked with a slight limp. It may also indicate that he has stamped his foot into the floor and torn it off in the past. That perhaps this is not the first time he has gone through this same performance and had the same result. Once again he is dancing around the fire and wears a tall pointed hat with a feather. He has the long nose and large features of a dwarf like figure. His left hand forms sign language for "I love You" although in 1899 this is likely to have been an attempt at "mano cornuto" as seen in illustration 3.

11a. Rhead's Rumpelstiltskin revisited from illustration 6, is in fact perfectly capable of dancing around his fire. With one foot raised and toes pointed, his old and wizened face, cheery now, as his aged body defies the crooked old man of the earlier illustration. He seems to have developed a spry and agile demeanour as he deftly prances around his fire.



11. R.Andre: Rumpelstiltskin, 1899



11a. Louis Rhead: Rumpelstiltskin, 1917



11c. Ruth Koser Michaels: Rumpelstiltskin, 1937



11d. Ulrik Schramm: Rumpelstiltskin, 1942



11b. Anne Anderson: Rumpelstiltskin, 1936

11b. Anne Anderson's image of 1936 depicts an impish man who is rather stiffly dancing around a fire. Similar to her depiction a year earlier, this Rumpelstiltskin also has a steaming pot.

11c and d. Ruth Koser Michaels' image of 1937 is virtually replicated by Ulrik Schramm in 1942. Both representations depict Rumpelstiltskin dancing around a fire. They both have a square shaped body, left leg raised in dance, the toes of their boots pointing skywards. They wear similar hats, with feathers and Schramm's depiction of the waving arms mirrors Michaels' earlier version. With their round noses, large ruff or cape around their necks and the exact same tunic flap hanging between their legs. Schramm seems to have based his version on this earlier representation. Generally Rumpelstiltskin is drawn side on, but these characterisations both dance about their fires facing forwards. Schramm's Rumpelstiltskin engages directly with the audience whereas Michaels' looks out of the image to the left.



12. Helen Stratton: Rumpelstiltskin, 1905



13. Willard Bonte: Rumpelstiltskin, 1905

By selecting a chronological range of illustrations for Rumpelstiltskin, the similarities and the subtle changes that take place in his physical portrayal over time, become more evident.

When created by Helen Stratton in 1905 Rumpelstiltskin was a beardless man dressed to resemble a court fool or jester. He also looks more like a man, as opposed to a fantasy gnome or dwarf.¹² Also in 1905, a very different image of Rumpelstiltskin was created by Bonte. His figure is black with pointed ears and a large nose, closer to the description from the English tale “Tom Tit Tot,” minus the tail.¹³

In 1909 Arthur Rackham’s famous version of Rumpelstiltskin was an older, scheming imp, his head covered in a bandanna, rubbing his large hands together in anticipation as he dances around his fire.¹⁴ Only a year later in 1910 Folkard depicts him similarly, as a small older man, although slimmer. He is bald apart from a tuft of hair around the base of his head and has a few scant hairs on his chin.¹⁵

By 1923 Goble breaks with the, by now, well recognised version of a small man or dwarf, and creates a taller more refined man. Although ugly, he has a different demeanour than the more recognisable versions of earlier years. He stands upright and has a more commanding figure and stance. As opposed to pleading gestures with his hands, he is demonstrative, pointing (at the baby) and demanding his due. His beard has reached epic proportions and is long and silky, similar to Bonte’s imp of 1905.¹⁶ In 1927 Watson’s Rumpelstiltskin again resembles the more familiar dwarf or little man. He has a very long, scruffy beard, a large nose and large hands echoing Folkard and Rackham’s versions.¹⁷



14. Arthur Rackham: Rumpelstiltskin, 1909



15. Charles Folkard: Rumpelstiltskin, 1910



16. Warwick Goble: Rumpelstiltskin, 1923



17. A H Watson: Rumpelstiltskin, 1927



18. H.G Theaker: Rumpelstiltskin, 1930



19. Joyce Mercer: Rumpelstiltskin, 1934



20. Mervyn Peake: Rumpelstiltskin, 1946



21. Willy Pogany: Rumpelstiltskin, 1947

The 1930s saw Theaker create his version of a small angry man. Once again, he has a large nose and large hands but his beard has shrunk to a tuft and his grisly face is certainly ugly.¹⁸ In 1934 Joyce Mercer's version loses his beard entirely. This version sees him dressed for the first time in a fabulous and highly decorated floral suit instead of his usual attire of stockings, tunics and soft shoes or boots. His hair, or wig, is neatly styled in an 18th century military fashion of plait and bow. His suit, Rococo in style, as are his heeled shoes, give him the appearance of status and wealth. Although never mentioned in the text he is likely to have been particularly wealthy due to his knowledge of alchemy which could explain the nicer cottages depicted in some of the illustrations.¹⁹

In 1946 Mervyn Peake breaks with tradition and creates a Rumpelstiltskin who is fundamentally an animal. He resembles a hog although stands on two legs and is clothed in a tunic, striped stockings and soft boots.²⁰ A year later however, Willy Pogany depicts a colourful, richly dressed fully bearded, impish gnome again, laughing with the now ubiquitous, large nose and feet.²¹

By 1959, Jesus Blanco creates a similar depiction but with a more childlike interpretation.²² Rumpelstiltskin is beginning to lose his sinister elements and looks like a more amiable chap. This friendlier version of him is echoed in 1960, where the illustration on the cover of a children's record sleeve, depicts a silly cartoon version of him. He commands no respect in this image, the queen looks disdainful and bored as the baby sleeps unaware of the fuss.²³

As with many fairy tale illustrations, by the 1950s the images begin to lose much of the fine detail from earlier depictions. These changes create a less threatening and more childish cartoon like character, in keeping with continuing appropriation of the tales for a younger audience.



22. Jesus Blanco: Rumpelstiltskin, 1959



23. Anon: Rumpelstiltskin, 1960

In almost all of the representations of him, Rumpelstiltskin wears or carries a hat. This varies from a pointed cap to a hood or brimmed hat of some description, often with a feather. It is rare that any depiction of him does not include his hat, yet a hat is not once mentioned in the tale itself. These elements are creations of the illustrators imagination and combine to build his identity. These images and their similarities are perpetuated by the repetition of images gone before and in general display the same essential elements. Large hands, nose and feet, clad in pointed shoes, a long beard, a tunic or jacket and stockings on his legs, dancing around a fire and stamping his foot. A repetitious cementing of an identity created by illustrator's, not authors.



1. Arthur Rackham: Fitcher's Bird, 1917

1. Fitcher is an old man and Rackham's 1917 image of him supports this. With a wiry frame, bony hands and feet, a toothless mouth and furrowed brow the old man struggles with the load on his back. Fitcher is disguised as a peasant unwittingly carrying the now revived sisters back to their home and to safety, one of whom can be seen peeking out of the basket. Dressed in rags with no shoes and one foot bandaged, he uses a walking stick to help pull himself along with the heavy load. Sweating and gasping for breath he is a rather pathetic creature, under the dominance of his future wife who now has power over him.

2.6 A Lover: Bluebeard, Fitcher, Father and Groom

2.6.1 Fitcher and Bluebeard

The dark or negative side of a male characters personality is often part of the narrative and function of the fairy tale, justified because negative personality traits have become synonymous with expected behaviours of masculinity. They fit into the classified or structured definitions given to the tales by academics such as Propp and Arne et al.

If a male character isn't being portrayed as stupid, or dim he may instead be portrayed as a threatening or evil presence, cruel and heartless. The darkest of these evil characters are found in Perrault's "Bluebeard" and "Donkeyskin" and in Grimm's "Fitcher's Bird," and "The Robber Bridegroom".

'Fitcher' of "Fitcher's Bird" is a loathsome character, an old wizard or sorcerer who entices three sisters, one at a time, from the home of their parents. Using magic, he only has to touch them and the girls are compelled to go with him. Taking the first sister to his house in the woods he gives her keys and an egg for safekeeping and tells her not to enter a particular room whilst he is away. She disobeys and upon entering the forbidden room sees a scene of carnage. Fitcher has murdered and chopped up the bodies of women and dumped their body parts in a basin. In shock she drops the egg into the basin of butchered remains and it becomes covered in blood which cannot be wiped off. This of course alerts Fitcher to her betrayal and he murders her,

He threw her down, dragged her into the chamber by her hair, chopped her head off on the block, and hacked her into pieces so that her blood ran down all over the floor (Tatar, 2012: 209).

This happens again with the next sister and having murdered two of the three sisters, the third one proves to be a clever girl.

Now he went and fetched the third daughter but she was smart and cunning (Zipes, 2001: 742).

She keeps her wits about her, places the egg away for safe keeping to be able to present it to Fitcher on his return. Upon seeing the chopped up bodies of her sisters, she re-assembles them and they come back to life. As she has seemingly not defied Fitcher as the egg has no blood on it; his power over her is gone and he has to do *her* bidding.

This brutal man has now been emasculated, he has no power and is subservient to the woman. Fitcher is fooled into taking the sisters back to her parent's house in a basket on his back.¹ The third girl then invites his 'awful' friends to his home on the pretext of celebrating their impending marriage and after placing a skull in the top window of his house to fool Fitcher that it is she, awaiting his return, she transforms herself, with the aid of honey and feathers, into an unrecognisable bird of the title.² Disguised, she is able to lock him in the house with his friends and, with help from her brother, (unmentioned prior to this and another example of a male character with no significant role other than to aid the heroine) she burns the house down with Fitcher in it. This awful tale, with an equally awful male, falls into a hyper-hegemonic portrayal of toxic masculinity. It portrays a man who most certainly has traits of a psychopathic serial killer, as does Perrault's "Bluebeard," never-the-less, the girl still out-wits him and is victorious.

Fitcher is only able to "capture" girls through magic and his visual portrayals depict him as a thin and wizened old man. There is no initial willing participant in his plans, unlike the girls who eventually fall for the charms and wealth of Bluebeard.

Perrault's tale of "Bluebeard" which pre-dates "Fitcher's Bird," depicts the same vile male character but with far more sexual allure. Although the text claims he is "ugly" he does have charm and wealth, which eventually entices



2. Arthur Rackham: Fitcher's Bird, 1917

2. In this image of Fitcher, Rackham depicts the old man dressed in his 'finery' on his way home. He cuts a very different figure than the previous image, his feet clad in fine shoes and an ornate brocade coat upon his back, expensive in draped and heavy fabric. A hat sits on his head, held on with a chin strap which succeeds in making him look older. His walking cane now a far more refined object, is still required to help him walk. He is stooped with bent knees, typically used to demonstrate an elderly person in illustrations. His future wife (as he still thinks) has disguised herself as a bird, she symbolically has the freedom to fly from him. With her back to him, she turns to converse with him but appears to continue walking. He has raised his hand to his chin in a questioning manner, he is asking her where she is from and if his bride is well.



3. Henri Thiriet: Bluebeard, 1930

3. Thiriet's Bluebeard is a genteel fellow with social graces. Here he dances with a young woman, his left foot daintily pointed with his left arm secure behind his back. The lady holds her skirts in order that she may dance more freely and mimics his foot work. Their fingers are linked in a formal manner, there is certainly no impropriety in their touch and no implication of the monster this man truly is. His gaze is averted up and away from his partner as hers is demurely directed down, away from his face. His dress defines him as a wealthy man but is not extravagant. Wearing a vest and breeches, possibly 'galligaskins' popular in the 17th century, his legs are clad in stockings with heeled, decorated shoes on his feet and he appears to be a civilised and decent chap.

women to fall for him. Putting a modern interpretation on him, he may well be what is now recognised as a psychopath.

Psychopathy is a personality disorder that is exhibited by people who employ a combination of charm, manipulation, intimidation, and sometimes violence to control others, in order to satisfy their own selfish desires (Bonn, 2014: 92).

Maria Tatar describes Bluebeard as a typical male, who epitomises a stereotype of masculinity in the sex wars. "an enemy and a rapist, who is also irresistibly alluring" (Tatar, 2018).

It could be argued that Bluebeard is *not* a rapist in fact, as there is no indication that he forces himself physically on any women, and they often go willingly to his home bewitched by his charm and money.³ He is however, like Fitcher, a serial murderer of women. The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines the entry for "Bluebeard" as "a man who marries and kills one wife after another" (Merriam-Webster, 2021). The fact he murders his future wives could imply he fits into one of the categorisations of the serial killer, that of needing to eliminate the person he desires.

Criminology professor Dr. Scott Bonn, an expert on serial killers states that,

Such fear of rejection may compel a fledgling serial killer to want to eliminate any objects of his affections...by destroying the person he desires prior to entering into a relationship with them" (Bonn, 2019: 101).

Although this terminology is a modern description, knowledge of a psychopathic killer had been apparent since the late 1800s because of 'Jack the Ripper,' and these artists would have been familiar with his crimes. Their interpretation of a psychopath or 'serial killer' may have, alongside the text, informed these depictions of him.

As is typical of a fairy tale, there is no back story to these characters so there is no way to determine if they might be sociopaths and influenced by their upbringing, or psychopaths with a mental condition, never-the-less, it is interesting to hypothesise that a male 'serial killer' or psychopath was, perhaps unwittingly, identified as far back as the 1600s or earlier, in the form of a fairy tale character.

The testing of loyalty or obedience insisted upon by Bluebeard certainly fits with Bonn's categorisation of an unwillingness to be humiliated or hurt by someone they "love" and although the true psychopath is incapable of genuine love, they are entirely able to imitate it if it serves their purpose (Bonn, 2019), just as Bluebeard does to initially attract his wives.

Psychopath or not, the hegemonic masculine response to being humiliated by a woman or having a lack of control over her, would certainly result in acts of aggression towards her, so Bluebeard fits with a number of 'toxic' masculine traits (Dahl et al, 2015: 251).

These tales have been identified as cautionary tales for women. To instruct, listen, obey and resist curiosity. Yet they are also warnings of the deeply troubled mind of a 'toxic' male and the masculine norms of "Power and Playboy" that are most damaging to the developing mental health of young males (Kaya et al, 2019: 145). Bluebeard and Fitcher certainly define the darkest most sinister traits of masculinity, epitomising males who punish any perceived misdemeanour, particularly by women, with a murderous, psychopathic fury. These characters are quite rightly given the most clearly domineering and hegemonic masculine identities.

Bluebeard is often depicted by illustrators as a Sultan from the Ottoman Empire. Charles Robinson in 1900,⁴ depicts an Eastern version of this masculine character. Although not dressed in the flamboyance or jewels of a Sultan, Robinson has chosen to ignore his reputedly "ugly" description and his Bluebeard is ruggedly handsome. Dulac's



4. Charles Robinson: Bluebeard, 1900

4. Robinson's 1900 version of Bluebeard is less ornate in his dress. Rather than a Sultan he appears to be a commoner. His long beard tumbles to his waist and he locks eyes with the girl. He is pushing his sleeve up his arm with his sword raised in a practical gesture, readying himself to strike, yet not wishing his sleeve to hinder the action. He is depicted as a strong and masculine character with large hands and forearms. His initials are engraved on the scabbard of his sword and he is dressed in a turban and robes, which although patterned are not flamboyant or jewelled.

5. Dulac's Bluebeard of 1910 is a stockier, slightly older figure. His sword drawn, he defiantly stands his ground, feet astride in a challenging masculine posture of superiority. He too is pushing the loose fitting sleeve of his kaftan up his arm, ready to strike. He is an imposing and frightening figure. His huge turban with draping jewels and a feather makes him appear even taller and more imposing whilst his ornate kaftan tightly cinched with a cummerbund, covers his şalvars, a type of men's breeches. He wears pointed, highly decorated curled slippers, called "mojain" or "khussa," predominantly worn in India, and an indication of wealth, status and high fashion. His long beard hangs to his waist over the cummerbund and robes. This depiction of Bluebeard typifies the perception of Orientalism as documented by Said in 1978.



5. Edmund Dulac: Bluebeard, 1910

6. Heath Robinson's Bluebeard, although no less imposing, loses some of his masculine identity with the depiction of lace and frills on the cuffs on his shirt and breeches. This loss however, is redeemed in his dominant oppression of the woman at his feet.

Although with the same large turban, and imposing beard, his dress is a mixture of Eastern and European fashion. Robinson has amalgamated fashions from these two geographical areas and created a Bluebeard with a confused ethnicity.



6. W. Heath Robinson: Bluebeard, 1930

1910 version,⁵ is more in keeping with the ugly depiction in the text and embraces the Sultans dress. W. Heath Robinson's 1930s version⁶ combines an Eastern and European dress and Arthur Rackham's 1933⁷ version depicts him in another version of this historical attire.

Keeping in mind Said's documentation of Orientalism and Western perceptions of the Orient, it should be noted that these representations were influenced by a Western societal perception of the Orient, and reinforced expected cultural stereotypes of their day.

The dramatic immediacy of representation ... obscures the fact that the audience is watching a highly artificial enactment of what a non-Oriental has made into a symbol for the whole Orient (Said, 1978: 29).

The art historian Alastair Sooke also documented how Westerner's perception of Orientalism adapted over time in his BBC Culture piece *How Western Art Learned to Stop Fearing the East*. Ottoman rulers were feared and perceived as fierce and frightening,

In fact, the Ottoman reputation for merciless military discipline grew so great that the Islamic superpower even inspired a new term among cowed Europeans: "danger of the Turk," or *Turkengefahr*, as German-speakers put it. This paranoid state of mind endured for a long time (Sooke, 2015).

They were also however, highly intriguing, and artists, fascinated with their culture from as early as the 15th century, sought to represent it visually. The combination of these impressions documented primarily by Said, came together in the representation of this fairy tale character creating a masculine persona of fear and intrigue.

It is true that after the fall of Constantinople a torrent of European propaganda cast the Ottomans as barbarous infidels. But there is also evidence of



7. Arthur Rackham: Bluebeard, 1933

7. Arthur Rackham has no ambiguity in his depiction of 1933. This angry, Eastern Bluebeard, scowls and points a threatening bony finger. His curling beard froths around his clenched jaw, baring his teeth as he leans over to emphasise his point. He is a short and rotund figure and the style of sketchy line drawing adds a slightly comical effect, reducing the ferocity of the character and denying him some of his masculine presence.

8. Harry Clarke's interpretation of Bluebeard is also explored in chapter 3. This dandy figure represents none of the ferocity of an expected depiction of Bluebeard. His vanity is clear to see as he strokes his slightly phallic blue beard, at odds with his ginger curls peeking from beneath a tricorn hat engulfed in ostrich feathers. His posture implies a queer character as opposed to the hyper masculine, hegemonic male usually depicted. His fitted lilac tailcoat trimmed in an orange-pink with gold buttons, neatly frames his delicate physique, while frilled cuffs and collar puff from underneath. With striped stockings and a square-toed heeled shoe, he epitomises a 'dandy' of staggering self importance. It is difficult to perceive of him swinging an axe and decapitating women, rather, he appears as though he may run squealing from the scene. He gives the impression he may delegate these gruesome tasks to another and wash his hands of such a dirty business.

increasing European fascination with the Ottoman Empire, stimulated by enterprising diplomats and merchants, as well as artists, who travelled to Constantinople and witnessed Turkish culture first hand (Sooke, 2015).

The Ottoman Sultans were also renowned for their harems and the procurement of women, a perception enhanced by the Victorian pornographic book, *The Lustful Turk* (Marcus, 2017). These elements combined, can explain why artists chose to portray Bluebeard in this way. The combination of power, masculinity and intrigue alongside brutality and a murderous reputation certainly fits the character of Bluebeard.

Many artists, however, relied on their own interpretation of the character, and as the descriptions in the texts are brief, they had carte blanche on how they might portray him. Bluebeard's description is straightforward,



8. Harry Clarke: Bluebeard, 1922

This man had the misfortune to have a blue beard, which made him so frightfully ugly, that all the women and girls ran away from him (Carruthers, 2015a: 44).

He is allegedly ugly enough to initially strike fear into the heart of a woman, yet in Harry Clarke's visual depiction from 1922, an asinine and effeminate slim dandy, dressed in pastel clothing and brandishing a handkerchief and a walking stick strikes an unthreatening and queer pose.⁸ He is certainly not frightening, unlike Bertall's 1908 figure about to remove the woman's head from her shoulders.⁹

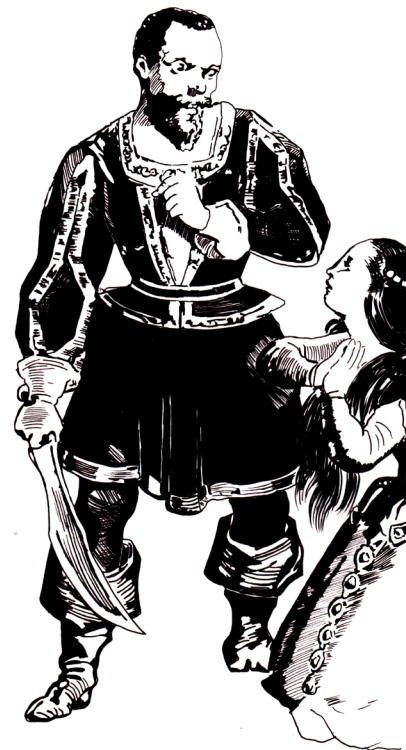


9. Beauge Bertall: Bluebeard, 1908

9. Bertall's illustration is in complete contrast to Clarke's. This brutal beast, about to remove the head of the pitiful woman kneeling before him is a terrifying figure. His face a contortion of anger, he raises his sword above him about to slam it down and cut off her head. This Bluebeard is a solid, strong brute, a hegemonic, hyper masculine figure. With his short cape and jerkin over stockings that accentuate his manhood, there is nothing emasculating about this interpretation. The artist has captured the full fury and terror of this character and created a vision of brutality and callousness befitting the tale.

These contrasting images published 14 years apart, were in fact created 60 years apart. The social and personal influences and artistic methods determined the two artists' interpretations being wildly different. Bertall had died by 1882, 7 years before Clarke was born. Clarke was a key member of art and social movements that challenged societies expected masculine norms, resulting in imagery that reflected these changes. This is explored in more depth in chapter 3.

10. Parquet's 1908 Bluebeard stares at the pleading woman at his feet. With her hands clasped to her chest she kneels before him, begging for forgiveness. Bluebeard has his sword ready in his right hand and his left fist is raised, clenched and indicating he may strike her at any moment. This scene is unsettling in its portrayal of potential physical violence. Although he is not actually harming her, it is obvious what his intentions are. This Bluebeard is a stocky, shorter man. If the woman were to stand, she would be taller than him. For the hegemonic male, this challenge to his physical dominance could provoke a violent reaction from an already violent male.



10. M. M. Parquet: Bluebeard, 1908

10a. Walter Crane's Tudor Bluebeard resembles Henry the VIII, a well know dispatcher of many wives. Many illustrators chose to portray him in Tudor dress, perhaps for this very reason. Crane's woman is kneeling, hands clasped as she begs and pleads with Bluebeard. He has clearly found the bloodied key and is glaring at her, demanding an explanation. His hands also indicate he is questioning her in the way he is presenting the keys to her, his left hand open, palm up and thumb spread as if to say "what is this?" She looks straight in to his eyes, a brave move as he is a fearsome man. His flat shoes, cut to expose a fine fabric beneath and highly fashionable in the Tudor court, resemble claws, an illustrative hint at the animal or beast within.



10a. Walter Crane: Bluebeard, 1911

Visual depictions of "Bluebeard" regularly illustrate the attempted decapitation of the heroine, revelling in the threat and denigration of the woman, and often depicting her kneeling and pleading for her life. *10, a&b*

10b Thiriet creates a scene in which the woman is about to be rescued from her certain fate, as her brothers rush in, swords drawn, to attack the attacker. Bluebeard turns to see the men rushing towards him, his dagger already drawn. He looks irritated, but not shocked. This woman is throwing her arms out in a gesture of desperation as her rescuers reach her just in time.



10b. Henri Thiriet: Bluebeard, 1930

11. Harry Clarke's flamboyant Bluebeard is here engaged in a communication with his bride. Handing her the keys to the house, he is a slim, charming creation, with a neat and heavily embroidered frock coat over a frilled shirt and knee length breeches. His walking cane delicately supports his right hand and he points the toe of his right foot to the side, his knee slightly bent and crossing in front of the other in a rather effete and unthreatening stance. He carries no weapon unlike most portrayals of Bluebeard. His bride has her back to him, but turns her head to glance at the keys. She does not look at him, but towards him. His gaze is intent as he stares at her, holding the keys out for her to take. Although not overtly flirtatious, she appears slightly disdainful of her future husband, perhaps a little mistrusting of him already.

12. John Austen's Bluebeard is a handsome, older and statuesque tower of a man. Arms folded across his chest, he stands, feet apart a figure of dominance and control. His amazing peacock feather stands proudly from the front of his turban, towering above his head and creating a taller and even more imposing figure. He holds the keys to his home in one hand and his sword, held tightly against his body in the other, his hand clasping the handle and able to be drawn without hesitation.

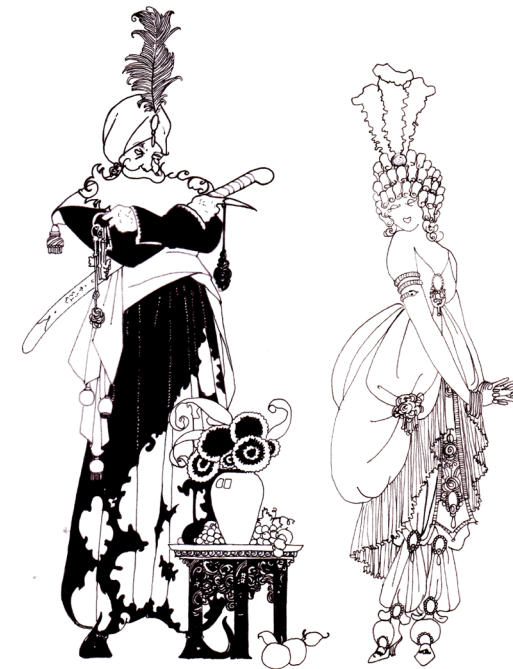
Some illustrators depict "Bluebeard" as a handsome, charming figure with swooning or flirtatious women at their sides.

Harry Clarke's 1922 "Bluebeard,"¹¹ John Austen's older, yet commanding and dominant "Bluebeard" of the same year¹² and Kay Nielsen's 1930s stylised illustration, depict handsome charmers.¹³ These illustrations also ignore the textual reference to his "ugly" appearance, implying that if women are to find him attractive, he *must* be handsome. A viewpoint often documented throughout the fairy tale. (Ch 1.3: 134)

Even though these characters are foreboding, evil and cruel, both "Bluebeard" and "Fitcher" are ultimately undone by females. Girls outsmart them and prove they are characters of strength, intelligence and determination.



11. Harry Clarke: Bluebeard, 1922



12. John Austen: Bluebeard, 1922



13. Kay Nielsen: Bluebeard, 1924

The woman, all curls and flounces, coquettishly admires him as she turns to look over her slightly raised shoulders. Her feet are facing forward, her shoulders at a right angle to her feet and her head turned back. Her body posture is flirtatious, mimicking demure, but fully aware of her sexual allure.

13. Nielsen's 1924 illustration again depicts a demure, but flirtatious woman. Holding her fan to hide her blushes, she turns her head in an act of feigned shyness. Her body is facing his and she turns her shoulders and head away from him. She appears to have only one foot, presumably, the other is raised in a clichéd gesture of attraction. Bluebeard is a dashing and handsome man. Square framed, tall and imposing. He holds his hand out and she lightly places her hand into his. He too has a large feather in his hat, the crown of which creates the illusion of an even taller man. He holds a walking cane in his right hand, as opposed to a sword, yet the sword features prominently on the left of the image, standing taller than both characters and a reminder of the brutality of the tale.



14. Harry Clarke: Donkeyskin, 1922

14. Clarke's king sits on his throne, staring at the princess behind him. He is contemplative. An old man, dressed in fine, highly decorated fabrics. His dainty feet turn to the right, knees together in a feminised sitting position. Women, particularly royalty were (and still are) expected to sit this way in order to preserve their modesty. A hegemonic man will more likely sit with his legs wide, feet planted firmly on the floor, so this interpretation is already challenging his masculinity. His left hand supports his chin, fingers spread in a questioning manner, his right hand however, clasps onto the leg of the throne, he appears to be restraining his jealous self in an effort to prevent him from leaping up and confronting his daughter. who is being wooed by another man.

2.6.2 Donkeyskin

In some of these dark tales, more socially taboo issues are broached, such as in Perrault's "Donkeyskin". In this tale the princess is sought after by her own father the king, who falls in love with her and relentlessly pursues her, thus introducing incest as a trope.

The condition set by the Queen for remarriage suggests that the mother is in part to blame for the advances made by the father... The Queen becomes something of a co-conspirator, though it is still the father who stirs up the trouble in the story (Tatar, 2002: 215).

The incest trope has been a part of story telling since the 11th Century (Zipes, 2001: 26), and became part of the fairy tale when Straparola created "Tebaldo" in 1550. Basile created a version of this tale called "The Bear" in 1634 in his *Lo Cunto de li Cunti*. Perrault adapted these versions (although not significantly different) and created "Donkeyskin" in 1694 and the Grimm's followed suit in 1857 with "All Fur" (Zipes, 2001: 26-50).

In all of these tales the father sees his daughter as the purist replacement of his dead wife, and as he had promised his wife he would marry no one less beautiful than her after her death, (or whose finger would fit her ring) he feels 'obliged' to fulfil his promise.^{14,a} He becomes as obsessed with his daughter as he was with his wife, forcing his daughter to flee, disguised as a bear, or in donkey or animal skins that render her unrecognisable.

Straparola's version has the king track his daughter down and upon realising she has married another, murders her children in revenge, a crime for which his daughter is blamed. She is subjected to the most horrendous torture by her husband, ultimately intended to lead to her death.

The role of her husband is another of the many underdeveloped masculine roles. Initially a 'rescuer' of the female,



14a. Jesus Blasco: Donkeyskin, 1958

14a By 1958, the more childlike interpretation of even this tale, is represented by Jesus Blasco. A cartoonish King smugly takes the hand of his daughter. His pot belly, duck feet and double chin emphasising his age and foolishness, with his peruke covering his presumed baldness. Aside from being her father, he is a most unappealing suitor for a young woman. The princess looks appropriately unhappy, her head lowered she closes her eyes in an act of hopeless submission to her father's invitation to dance.

Dressed in one of the spectacular gowns she hoped he would be unable to acquire for her, her fate seems doomed and her father seems very pleased with himself.



15. H.J Ford: Donkeyskin, 1900

15. Ford depicts the prince who rescues the princess from her donkey skin disguise. He takes her hand as if to kiss it, as she discards the donkeyskin to reveal her true self. This prince, although appearing to admire her, will turn on her when deceived by her father into believing she is responsible for the murder of their children. (in Straparola's version of the tale) Although she forgives him, and they live happily thereafter, he is an equally unpleasant male character, quick to jump to conclusions, believing the word of another man over his wife.

he has no other useful function. However, in Straparola's version he is mentioned again, but only in order to seek revenge on the woman he proclaims to love dearly.¹⁵

As mentioned earlier, a male character often 'distinguishes' himself by being compassionate to animals (Ch 2.3: 200) and in all versions of this tale the husband is particularly kind to the princess when he first meets her, believing her to be an animal and subsequently falls in love with her. His reward is her hand in marriage. Yet these "heroes" who start off with good intentions, have a propensity to kill their loved ones without a moment's hesitation, should any inference of deceit be detected (Tatar, 2019: 90). This "hero" is quick to condemn his wife to a torturous death when convinced, by her jealous father, that she has murdered their children. Upon realising her innocence he does free her and, unbelievably, she simply forgives him. He then readily dispatches her father for the crime instead. This tale ends, incredibly, with "they enjoyed many happy years together" (Zipes, 2001: 33).

This tale of Straparola's has no positive masculine character. The princess escapes from one form of hell with her father to another with a man who condemns her to a gruesome death on the flimsiest of evidence. Other versions of this tale do at least contain a prince who loves and treats the princess well.

Incest has been a part of storytelling for hundreds of years, but rarely condoned within fairy tales. It is treated as a sin, and the perpetrator condemned either by God, other members of the tale or by the storytellers themselves (Zipes, 2001: 27). Freud attempted to justify incest as an attempt to return to an essential, "one androgynous body". Therefore, with Freud's thinking, a relationship with the daughter is simply a means of enabling this king to once again be whole, having lost his wife or the "other" part

of himself (Da Silva, 2007: 1-19). Freud also authored the controversial psychoanalytic theory of the "Oedipus Complex", that proposed children have possessive sexual desires for their opposite-sex parent (Encyclopedia Britannica 2018). However, the structure of this tale denies this construct in the manner in which the daughter, on learning of her father's intentions, goes to great lengths to escape him. Far from a subconscious desire for her father, she demonstrates that she, in no way, has any desire to see or even be present in her father's company again.

Complex interpretations of incest may attempt to academically explain this trope within the fairy tale, just as complicated analytical concepts may explain the deep psychological reasons for the behaviour, but what this chapter is predominantly examining is the *perception* of masculinity these stories create, rather than an in-depth explanation of the cause of a particular trope. Therefore no further examination of the framework of incest need be pursued, but the portrayal of masculine identity that arises from it is of interest.

Incest is highlighted as a dark and unpleasant trait when taken within the context of how society, and therefore the audience perceives the incestuous king. Not only is the masculine element of the father attempting to corrupt innocence and trust, he defies the semiotic associations with "father" and the male role model he represents. Straparola and Basile expel the incestuous father from the sociopolitical order that is re-established in the conclusion of the tale when he is killed or forgotten. In Perrault's version, however, the father is reconciled with his daughter and re-integrated into the sociopolitical order. In other words, rather than being punished, Perrault's father is rehabilitated (Duggan, 2013: 45-46).

16. This depiction of the king in *Donkeyskin* from 1900 shows a particularly lascivious old man. He is clearly looking at the breasts of his daughter as she turns her head away from him, her expression displaying her distaste. Flamboyantly dressed in frills, lace and ruffles, this king in his ornate peruke and his pointed shoes, an elaborate version of “poulaines” worn to imply status and wealth, is clearly a man of standing. His sword is positioned in such a way to symbolically imply an ‘admiration’ of his daughter’s virtues.

In illustrations, although dressed ornately or beautifully, he often looks cruel as in Harry Clarke’s version of him, (image14:244) or has a lascivious look in his eye when gazing at his daughter.¹⁶ Most often, however, he does not appear *visually* in the tales at all. The daughter resplendent in her dresses or animal skins always gets the most illustrative attention.



16. Anon: *Donkeyskin*, 1900

2.6.3 The Robber Bridegroom

“The Robber Bridegroom” by the Grimm Brothers is a tale along the same lines as “Bluebeard” and “Fitcher’s Bird”. A group of murdering, cannibalistic men are, once again, outsmarted by the heroine and a female saviour, but not before they witness the brutal murder and mutilation of another girl. The heroine of this tale is betrothed to a man she dislikes at first sight. Instructed to visit him in his home in the woods she takes lentils and peas to mark her way. As she approaches the house she is warned by a bird, in a cage hanging above the doorway,

Turn back, turn back, my pretty young bride, In a house of murderers you’ve arrived (Tatar, 2012: 195).

An old woman appears and warns her to hide or be murdered and she secrets the girl behind a barrel just as the prospective husband arrives home with his band of robber friends. She witnesses the murder and mutilation of the young girl they have dragged back with them in a particularly graphic and brutal scene.

The men were drunk and they felt no pity when they heard her screams and sobs. They forced her to drink some wine, three glasses full, one white, one red, one yellow, and before long her heart burst in two. The robbers tore off her fine clothes, put her on the table, chopped her beautiful body into pieces and sprinkled them with salt (Tatar, 2012: 197).

The sprinkling of salt onto the pieces of the body is an attempt to preserve the body, their intention being to eat the meat implying cannibalism is yet another of their failings. One of the robbers spies a ring on the finger of the dead girl and chops off her finger (or hand in some versions) in order to obtain it. The finger flies through the air and lands in the lap of the hiding girl.

The old woman (the saviour,) quickly distracts the men with food (apparently a guaranteed method of distracting any man), and spikes their wine with a sleeping potion to enable the two women to slip away. Using the now sprouting peas and lentils to guide them back to the girls home, she tells her father what she has seen.

Regaling this story to her father does not elicit the expected response of cancelling the wedding, in fact it appears the wedding goes ahead and the robber bridegroom duly arrives for the ceremony. As they sit down for a meal that evening, the bridegroom asks his bride to tell a story. She relays what happened in the forest and upon reaching the climax she holds up the severed hand/finger and the guests realise she is telling the truth. As the bridegroom attempts to make his escape the guests stop him and he and his band of men are handed over to the law and summarily executed. In some versions of the tale, justice is served by the brothers and father of the bride rather than the law (Tatar, 2012: 193).

This particularly graphic tale contains few images of masculine identity and tends to depict illustrations of the girl walking to the house, hiding behind the barrel or talking with the old woman. Helen Stratton made an effort to illustrate the masculine identities and actions of the robbers in her 1903 depiction.¹⁷

Stratton’s depiction stops short of a visual representation of the violence wrought on the woman and by ensuring the robbers are more congenial looking characters, she lends a sense of realism to the tale with a warning that the worst male offenders may not look like ogres, wolves, or ugly bad men, but may resemble kindly or fatherly figures. A more realistic example for young ladies and certainly one that might gain more approbation from a feminist’s perspective.

17. Far from resembling murderously, evil males Stratton, managed to create images of rather kindly old men. Only one is slightly more sinister as he clearly restrains the girl, his arms clutching at her chest. The other men appear to be *offering* her wine as opposed to forcing it down her throat.

The girl however, looks suitably horrified as does the old woman and the heroine hiding behind the barrel. This down-playing of the horror via the visual creates a slightly less graphic tale for a wider audience by cleverly eliminating the ghastly elements and skirting around the more gruesome details.



17. Helen Stratton: The Robber Bridegroom, 1903

This tale, along with the others mentioned in this section, was, unsurprisingly, taken up by feminist authors and artists as Maria Tatar explains,

“The Robber Bridegroom” has formed the subject matter of many literary narratives, most notably Eudora Welty’s novel of the same name and Margaret Atwood’s novel Robber Bride, which reverses the tale’s gender terms (Tatar, 2012: 193).

As has been documented, the reversing of gender terms does not create a positive representation of masculinity in place of the negative, so the perpetuation of a negative representation of masculinity continues. Fairy tales are never *reversed* by writers, with *women* assuming the roles of the males. But if women don’t commit these sort of crimes in reality, why would a fairy tale, or any author for that matter, depict them?

Men rarely behave in this way either. Most men are not hegemonic, toxic, alpha males, yet they are always cast in these roles. According to Criminologist, Professor Bonn, women *do* commit gruesome and terrible crimes, in far larger numbers than one might expect, but their crimes are not reported or highlighted to the extent that men’s are.

They don’t hold the same fascination as the crimes committed by men against women (Bonn, 2019).

Witches are generally the only women in the fairy tale genre who commit awful crimes and they will often delegate them to a man to carry out. “The Juniper Tree” being an exception, where a step-mother brutally murders her step-son.

It is noteworthy that a woman created an illustration depicting the scene in which the girl is murdered. Male illustrators tend to avoid any depiction of this scene entirely, yet they readily reflect the violence inflicted on another

man, by other men. In the 1903 illustration by Herbert Cole of “Mr Fox,”¹⁸ the English version of the “Robber Bridegroom,” three men are depicted about to murder the villain.

The portrayals of masculinity in these tales are some of the most egregious in the fairy tale genre. From the cunning and charm of the perpetrators, to the violence they inflict on women or one another, the masculine element is brutal. Just as it may be difficult to look away from a gruesome road accident, so too is it difficult to look away from these tales and the character portrayals they create. The macabre elements creating a horror story that is far removed from the recognised definition or expectation of a fairy tale.

Fairy Tale: noun

A children’s story about magical and imaginary beings and lands; a fairy story.

Something resembling a fairy tale being magical, idealised or extremely happy (OED:2020).



18. Herbert Cole: Mr Fox, 1903

Summary

In Bettelheim’s *The Uses of Enchantment, The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales*, he states that,

In his early years, until age eight or ten, the child can develop only highly personalised concepts about what he experiences (Bettelheim, 1991 [1958]: 49).

His theory focuses on children recognising themselves in fairy tales, enabling them to engage with the notion of the representations being a reflection of their own behaviour or the world around them. He suggests the fairy tale is a safe way for a child to explore the world and find solutions to problems.

(Bettelheim: 1976) who as a psychoanalyst, dealt with many seriously disturbed children during the second world war, declared that the struggles of an apparently weak hero or heroine against odds and their eventual success in the tales enabled children to get a new understanding of themselves and of life (Chaudhri & Davidson, 2006: 5).

Whilst this is a strong advocacy for many of the functions within the fairy tale, he does not determine if these identifiable characters should ideally have positive traits if they are to contribute to creating a more positive view of self.

On the surface, the fairy tale seems to conform to the consensus that male characters adhere to a patriarchal construct; they are dominant and heroic, achieving goals and undertaking tasks in which they prove themselves. A deeper examination of the male character however, indicates there is a distinct lack of heroism or achievement and that far from always dominant, the male character is often subservient or redundant.

When categorising masculine portrayals, traits and charac-

teristics emerge evidencing a range of masculine distinctions that include the expected one dimensional patriarchal stereotype but also depict a wide range of alternative stereotypes. Vain emperors, murderous charmers and simpletons outnumber the genuine heroes and compassionate males in the texts, and it is only through some of the illustrations, that a more colourful and varied identity emerges. It is these visual portrayals that encompass a more comprehensive collection of masculine traits or identities.

There has been a reluctance to examine the role of male characters within the fairy tale unless it is within the context of feminism. This chapter has begun to address this imbalance by analysing and examining a range of masculine characters purely from the perspective of masculinity. It has led to a range of masculine traits and identities emerging which begin to build a more comprehensive overview of the male portrayed within the tales.

What has been highlighted is that many of the tales portray weak men, often bullied by women, such as “Peruonto” in Basile’s tale of the same name, fathers, oblivious to their children’s plights or actively partaking in them, such as in Straparola’s “Donkeyskin,” or male characters who cheat and lie as in Anderson’s “The Emperors New Clothes,” or Grimm’s “The Queen Bee”. They may steal and murder and behave abhorrently as in Grimm’s “The Robber Bridegroom” and “Fitcher’s Bird,” Perrault’s “Bluebeard,” or the wolf in “Red Riding Hood” or they may be one dimensional characters, appearing only to aid a Princess or drive the narrative as in “Snow White,” “Rapunzel” or “Cinderella”.

From the villain to the hero, the boy to the prince, there are certainly a great number of masculine identities, yet they are so often portrayed in an unfavourable light with negative traits or personalities. When there is no positive representation to act as a balance to these negative portrayals, a young male reader in particular is left with no

sense of representational positivity.

The visual representations of these characters often support the text, but occasionally they deviate from it, and a new or different identity emerges from a confusion of cynical and bleak portrayals. Artists such as Harry Clarke, Kay Neilson and John Austen, challenged the visual stereotypical depictions of masculine identity. They created some of the more interesting and varied depictions within the fairy tale genre. These artists were at their most prolific in the 1920s, a time of much change in the perception of masculine norms, and their portrayals certainly reflect this changing dynamic. This is discussed further in Chapter 3.

Research into masculinity, its hierarchy and how males react to indicators of negativity or emasculation, has determined that undermining masculine identity creates a desire to reassert it, therefore instigating undesirable behaviours.

In addition to physical aggression, past research demonstrates that men in masculinity-threatening situations also engage in other types of aggressive behaviours to compensate for, or “repair,” their masculinity (Babl, 1979), such as sexual aggression (Mass et al, 2003), (Dahl et al, 2015: 243).

The plethora of representations of masculine characters incapable of helping themselves, who rely on magic to perform set tasks, or of stupid, weak or frightened characters, perpetuates an ongoing emasculation of the male that will induce a desire to protect or defend it.

Where female characters challenge, out perform or undermine the male character or dictate how they must behave, there will undoubtedly be a negative impact on the male identity and thus on a “relatability” for male audiences,

Superior-performing women threaten masculinity and become targets of men’s ideological dominance

(Dahl et al, 2015: 251).

Far from giving woman more social power, these tales in fact undermine it, as they sustain the desire for ideological dominance of the male over the female and exacerbate the male sexualisation of women. Dahl’s study on *Masculinity and Power Over Women*, confirms this point.

Being subordinate to a superior-performing woman in a masculine domain threatens masculinity. Subsequently, greater anger predicted more sexualization of the woman (Dahl et al, 2015: 250).

The positive masculine representations that do appear within the tales are in fact a vital element in engaging the male in identifying with masculine elements that support rather than challenge his identity. These positive portrayals such as Jack in “Jack and the Bean Stalk” and “Jack the Giant Killer,” represent young men growing and developing in maturity, sensibility, bravery and knowledge. The visual depictions also support a positive identity, portraying young healthy, happy boys often undertaking physical challenges, climbing up beanstalks or chopping them down and rescuing others. Pursuits and achievements that the young male reader can positively identify with.

Many of the princes, such as the prince in “Rapunzel,” “Sleeping Beauty” or “Beauty and the Beast” are often determined, loyal and honourable characters, prepared to sacrifice themselves or their own safety, often for the benefit of others. These princes, although exercising a form of benevolent sexism in “rescuing” the female, still provide the male with a positive representation of masculinity, even if women are generally in disagreement with it.

Men who endorse benevolent sexism may think they are benefiting women by expressing beliefs

that women deserve to be “cherished,” “protected,” and “put on a pedestal.”...men may sincerely think that they are complimenting a woman even as they are functionally subordinating her (Dahl et al, 2015: 252).

These identities provide a way for males to feel comfortable in their masculinity and as the fairy tale challenges so many other areas of masculine identity, perhaps this is one area that, for the time being, should be left ambivalent and a route into discussions on how to appropriately challenge these perceptions.

Visual elements of the fairy tale, by creating images that communicate in a very different way to language, create an interpretation of masculinity that cements itself in the mind of the reader, yet these images too often echo the negative stereotypes. They do however, depict a wider variety of masculine identities than the text allows, and this is highlighted in the period between 1900 and 1920 where the more flamboyant and challenging masculine images emerge.

The departure from dominant masculine representations to effeminate portrayals of male characters reflected changing social attitudes. The subsequent development of the more childlike illustrations, created around the 1940s, reflected the appropriation of the tales for a younger audience and these ever changing illustrations provide a means of altering portrayals of characters far more quickly than the written tale, which remains fairly constant over long periods of time. This ability to create an identity for a male character that can shape a perception of masculinity, indicates the necessary functions illustrations provide and how they could be further utilised to expand the nature and development of a wider range of masculine identities opening further discourse into masculine behaviour and norms.

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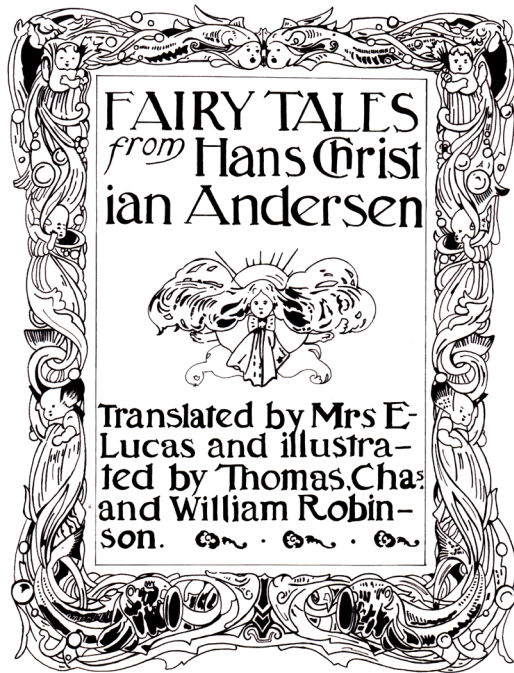
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1. Robinson & Charles: Fairy Tales from Hans Christian Andersen, c1920

1. This highly decorated version of a fairy tale gift book has a border based on the illuminated manuscripts of c1100-c1600, Cherubic children with gills on the sides of their heads sit amongst a cascading underwater seaweed jungle. The twisting flowing leaves entwine themselves around them and culminate in two gaping fish at the bottom of the image. Bubbles float through the art nouveau inspired decorative border whilst the central panel contains a child with outstretched arms, embracing the sun rising behind them. Their hair appears to be floating out implying this child too is a part of the ocean.

Chapter Three

He Went to War A Changing Masculine Identity

The fairy tale has, over the centuries, gone through a range of transformations and iterations.

From the earliest renditions of the tales, through the gamut of social and political upheaval, two world wars and the periods of peace in-between, the fairy tale winds through, and interlocks periods of history with social commentary and visual stimulation. The tales themselves shift within their frames enabling them to integrate and communicate with their audiences and introduce new concepts and ideas that sit within changing social and political viewpoints.

From the sixteenth century to the present, fairy tales have been transmitted in different ways, depending on the relevant information they were intended to communicate or on their function within a given social context or institution (Zipes, 2010: 98).

Fairy tales had originated as entertainment for adults and were recited in courts, performed as charades and parlour

games or “performed as ballets, masques, operas and plays” (Zipes, 2010: 99), and they continued as adult entertainment through the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. Yet the fairy tale was not exclusively for adults, it was also a way in which social norms, manners and expectations were communicated to children. Children had, during this time, enjoyed, listened to and learned a good deal from the fairy tale and during the mid 1700s, fairy tales began to be published specifically for children.

There were different social functions of the literary fairy tale, which was initially not intended for the entertainment or education of children, and yet, children had for centuries listened, remembered and communicated through fairy tales because of their relevance to their lives (Zipes, 2010: 99).

At the end of the 19th century as social and political transformations fed into the public psyche, and art movements began to have an impact on the visual interpretation of the fairy tale, the tales were transformed once again and a raft of adapted and new tales began to emerge. Changes encompassed not only content, but the manner in which they were conveyed to the public, and an older audience began to re-engage with the genre.

Before the onset of WW1, technology meant richly illustrated fairy tale gift books became a sought after luxury item, adored by adults and protected from the sticky fingers of children.¹ The art work within these books — created by artists whose work became inexorably linked to the fairy tale — was exhibited in art galleries and gained a reputation for its superior quality. These fairy tale artists, influenced by the artistic, social and political movements of the day, created what are now regarded as some of the finest and most enduring fairy tale illustrations, and in the process, developed a new masculine identity that has influenced the perception of the fairy tale male ever since.²



2. Harry Clarke: The Old House, 1916

2. Harry Clarke’s effeminate portrayals of males such as this character from “The Old House,” were a staple of the early 1900s. Here he holds a uniformed toy soldier carrying a bayonet over its shoulder. Gigantic bejewelled rings decorate his long thin fingers and his hair gently curls onto his shoulders. In a highly decorated robe, his frilled cuffs poke from beneath accentuating his thin frame. A high floral collar encases his throat and the fullness of the fabric of the tunic gives some definition to his shoulders. With his pretty face, full lips and sculptured brows he has a delicate feminine appearance.



3. Arthur Rackham: The Battle of the Birds, 1916

3. The young prince in “The Battle of the Birds” from *The Allies Fairy Tale Book* of 1916 depicts a young, short haired Scottish boy. With strong shoulders, large biceps and a broad chest, his masculinity is indisputable. The sword and dagger hung about his waist imply a fighter and with his tall, muscular frame he epitomises the perception of what a hegemonic masculine (Scottish) warrior looks like. A stark contrast to the feminised princes and heroes predominantly depicted in tales up to this point.

The visual identity of the male character went through successive adaptations during these changing times.

Textual and visual figurations — that is to say literary texts and illustrations — negotiate, or rework, established notions of gender (Wånggren, 2018: 3).

A queer male emerged at the end of the 19th and into the early 20th century and alongside him, fuelled by WW1 and a desire to build and maintain morale at home and on the battlefield, a young brave, heroic soldier also became an illustrative presence.

From 1914-1920 the fairy tale male reflected the changing perception of a hero during a time in which men were forced to embrace a hegemonic form of masculinity and aggression which had been discouraged as a negative masculine trait since the mid 1800s.

In general the link between masculinity and violence was much weaker in 1914 than it had been in 1800. As Martin Wiener has commented, “at every level of the criminal justice system, men were increasingly expected to exercise a greater degree of control over themselves than ever before” (Tosh, 2005: 334).

Yet aggression was to be embraced again in 1914 and encouraged on the battle field as a brave and heroic undertaking; fighting to protect freedom, country and loved ones. These changing social dynamics were evidenced in the illustrations and content of the fairy tales produced during the War.³ The queer male character gave way to the young, hegemonic male.

From 1914, the fairy tale began to be adopted as war propaganda. The tales were adapted and sometimes newly invented in order to embolden and improve morale. They were also used as a way to bolster interest and enthusi-

asm in helping the war effort.^{4 & 5} This trend was to carry on into the 1930s and the onset of the Second World War when the Nazis engineered the identity of the male hero to play into the control and manipulation of children. They commandeered the tales as anti Semitic weapons, alongside portrayals of Arian masculine dominance. Yet during the period of WW1, the British and their allies were already using the fairy tale to reinforce a patriotic identity of moral superiority.

The fairy tale creates disorder to create order and, at the same time, to give voice to utopian wishes and to ponder instinctual drives and gender, ethnic, family, and social conflicts. In doing so it reflects upon and questions social codes to draw response from readers/listeners. It communicates information (Zipes, 2010: 15).

This chapter explores the changes in social, political and artistic movements that influenced and altered the perception of masculine identity in the fairy tale. By focusing on the end of the 19th century until the end of the first world war and into the 1930s, it demonstrates the chronological changes that took place during a particularly passionate and turbulent period in history.



5. Joseph Morewood Staniforth: Propaganda Poster, 1914

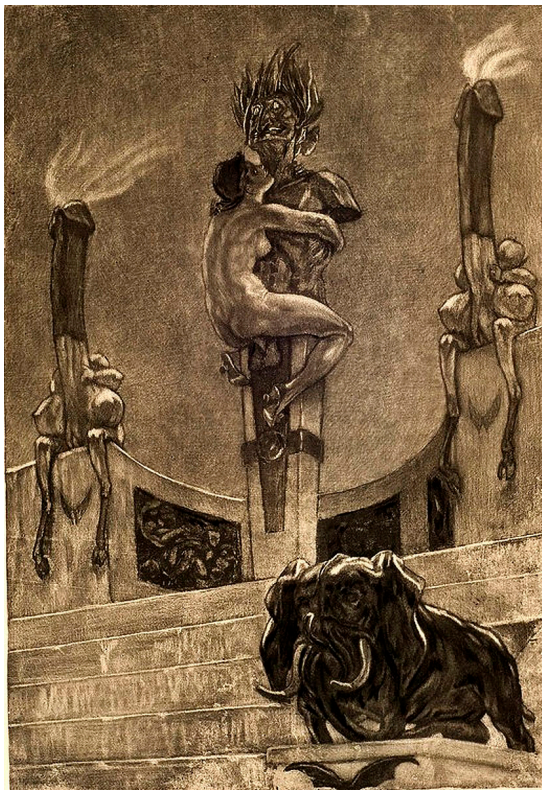
FOLLOW THE PIED PIPER

Join the United States School Garden Army.



4. Anon: Propaganda Poster, 1918

4. When the Americans became engaged in the war they created a multitude of propaganda posters and often used fairy tale characters to encourage children to play their part. The use of the Pied Piper to encourage children to join the School Garden Army seems a strange choice as he is a divisive character who lures children to their fate in the original tale, 5. Yet he is also used in a Welsh propaganda advertisement to encourage men to sign up and fight the “German Menace”



1. Félicien Rops: L'idole, 1882

1. Between 1881 and 1882, Rops' created a series of painting and engravings for an unpublished book called *Les Sataniques*, (The Satanic Ones). Originally conceived as a series of 5 illustrations on sex, death and religion, they were banned as they were thought to be too controversial for society.

His artistic impact however, was to continue to influence many subsequent artists work, their interpretations of society and the changes being wrought through politics, social reform, war and sexuality.

3.1 Influence and Change: Art & Society

From the mid 1800s through to the 1930s several movements challenging relationships between art and industry, and politics and social norms, began to emerge. The fashionable society of the late 1800s was made up of the likes of Oscar Wilde, William Morris, Aubrey Beardsley and Félicien Rops, all of whom were questioning sexual and social constructs of the time, and their work became hugely influential.

In the period towards the end of the 19th-century, described as *Fin de Siècle*, (end of the century), and before the hedonism and excesses of *La Belle Époque* in Europe, there was a brief ten-year period of what is now known as the *Decadent* movement, largely influenced by the work of Edgar Allen Poe, Baudelaire and Gothic novels. Decadence is a controversial and complicated subject and has been written about and discussed by luminaries such as “Nietzsche, Zola, Hardy, Flaubert, Wilde, Moreau, Beardsley, Lombroso and Freud” (Berheimer, 2002: vi). In the context of this thesis, Decadence refers to the description of textual representations in the fairy tale, and their subsequent influences on the perception of social constructs and disturbances of the time,

It is not the referential context of the term that conveys its meaning so much as the dynamics of paradox and ambivalence that it sets in motion (Bernheimer et al, 2002: 5).

The 19th century had seen disruptions in politics and social circumstances through war and technology, and the Decadent movement along with the *Fin de Siècle* — characterised by an apprehension and pessimism about the future and the “New Woman”(1) — saw these upheavals as a threat to established order.

Anxieties caused by these changes, motivated artists to confront and question what they saw as the negative

changes wrought on society. Often focusing on crude humour, perversion and a belief in challenging societal norms of morality and sexual behaviour; they used literature and art, as a form of social commentary¹ (Calinescu, 1987).

Writing can here be seen as a discursive and social practice; literary texts as not simply reflecting but also shaping contemporary opinion (Wänggren, 2018: 3).

Charles Baudelaire, whose work had challenged social expectations for some time, was an instigator of the Decadent movement having used the term in his writings. Subsequent authors influenced by him commandeered the phrase to describe their own work.

Decadent writers regretted the fall of the aristocracy and the rise of the bourgeoisie and working classes, and although threatened by the changes they could see taking place, they were ironically, fascinated by them at the same time, in particular the challenges to sexuality, gender and masculinity. “Characters manifesting non-normative sexual and gender comportment” (Schultz & Seifert, 2016: xxix), seemed to both disgust and fascinate and became frequent characters within Decadent fiction.²

Contemporary trends in such fields as anthropology, psychiatry, and criminology — which were keenly interested in what they viewed as sexual pathologies, chief among them, homosexuality — contributed to the decadent fascination with perversion. Writers of the period regularly peopled their fiction with sexually deviant characters (Schultz & Seifert, 2016: xxix).

During this period many of these authors began to embrace the fairy tale, restructuring and rewriting them to highlight and confront attitudes and scientific and technological changes in contemporary society. The fairy tale had once again become a source of inspiration and many



2. Aubrey Beardsley: Two Athenian Women in Distress, 1896

2. Although Beardsley was one of the most innovative and respected artists of his day, this work was considered too risqué for the public at large and in 1895 his publishers dropped him. Leonard Smithers, who claimed he would “publish the work others would not” commissioned him to create work for the Greek texts. Beardsley's style became one of the most influential and copied of the early 1900s.

“The seemingly obscure and bizarre iconography of the design is in fact explained by reference to Aristophanes' text which describes the comic attempts of the Athenian women to defend the city”. (collections.vam, 2009)

1. Defined by Sarah Grand in 1894 in “The New Aspect of the Woman in Question” as “the woman who is above the man” (Wänggren, 2018: 14)



3. Harry Clarke: The Mad Prince, 1920

3. Although the decadent tales were written up to 30 years earlier than some of these published illustrations, the influence on the artists and their interpretation of male characters was clearly influenced by them. Clarke's version of the Mad Prince could be taken straight from Mendes' "An Unsuitable Guest." His floral outfit, his feminised pose and pale, fragile face and figure epitomise the portrayal of the prince who prefers "violets and sweetbrier" to "politics and soldiering."

proponents of the Decadent movement sought to reintroduce new variants for adult audiences.

In flight from the modern, decadent writers frequently looked back to classic fairy tales, which they recast with deliberately contemporary reinterpretations (Schultz & Seifert, 2016: xxiii).

Although these writers were challenging modern progressions in their new construction of fairy tales, they facetiously also embraced modern ideas of sexuality and gender as evidenced in some of the tales that depicted the "sexual politics of the decadent moment, which was shaped by the post-war crisis of masculinity (Schultz & Seifert, 2016: xxvii). (2)

The writing emphasised a masculinity that eschewed classical stereotypes and introduced a feminised male who was to become synonymous with fairy tale art work created by the artists of La Belle Époque and the Edwardian Era. These literary depictions of young feminised or queer men became common in Decadent tales.

The author Catulle Mendes in "An Unsuitable Guest" (1888) writes of a despairing king whose son "showed the greatest aversion for politics and soldiering," and upon returning from battle with his sword, "garlanded with morning glories and his hands full of violets and sweetbrier," explained, "he had come upon a ravishing vernal forest

2. "At the turn of the century the campaign for women's suffrage prompted from the "anti" camp some of the most extreme statements ever made about the respective natures of men and women. The patently reactive quality of this separatist culture has prompted some recent scholarship to speak of a "crisis" of masculinity at this time. There was certainly a sense of gender crisis run-

ning through some of the most influential texts of the period — from Rider Haggard's early novels in the 1880s to Baden Powell's *Scouting for Boys* in 1908. But for the notion of crisis to hold, much more work will need to be done on the tone of gender relations outside the literary elite." (Tosh, 2005: 337-338) This thesis can add to the research into this subject.

along the way, and that it was much more entertaining to gather flowers than to kill men" (Schultz & Seifert, 2016: 27). The prince is described as being,

As pale and fragile as a young girl and preferred dressing in brightly coloured silks that reflected the daylight to donning knightly armour (Schultz & Seifert, 2016: 28).³

Renee Vivien's portrayal of "Prince Charming" (1904), is an example of a transposition of gender and control for both the male and female protagonists. Béla, the boy in the tale "possessed all the feminine virtues" and his sister Terka "all the masculine vices" (3) (Schultz & Seifert, 2016: 152-156). At the end of this tale however, the sister, Terka, impersonates her brother (Béla or Prince Charming), and marries his sweetheart, Saroltâ (who believes Terka is Béla). Saroltâ cannot understand what it is about 'him', that makes her love 'him' so much and the tale ends with Terka and Saroltâ in love, and living in a Venetian palace where one is left to presume Saroltâ becomes aware of her 'husbands' true sexuality and gender.

And sometimes they are encountered, akin to a vision of ideal tenderness, amorously and chastely intertwined (Schultz & Seifert, 2016: 156).

In "Isolina/Isolin" another of Mendes' tales, the character is transformed from a woman into a man on her wedding day by a jealous fairy. This new prince is described as "charming and proud with sword at side, (he) twirled his moustache with a defiant look." Rachilde's tale "The Mortis" (1900) "presents a prince who loved in equal measure brunette ladies and blonde pages" (Schultz & Seifert, 2016: xxix).⁴

These Decadent writers also altered the stereotypical perception of the female character long before authors such as Angela Carter. Mendes' tale of "Dreaming Beauty" (1885), introduces a princess who upon being awakened



4. Walter Crane: The Frog Prince, 1909

4. Walter Crane's depiction of the Prince from "The Frog Prince" portrays a prince who appears to equally love both "brunette ladies and blonde pages" With a tiny moustache, pencil thin across his top lip, on an otherwise hairless face, he is charming as he dons his cap to the lady in question. Yet subsequent images clearly show him gazing with love and loyalty at his "page" or "servant" (Ch 1.5:84)

3. Note the terminology. "Feminine virtues" and "masculine vices". The assumption of the goodness of women and the evil of men is highlighted in this one sentence. Yet again, the male is depicted in the negative, even though the female in this tale is in fact the duplicitous, negative character.

4. The underlying sexual innuendos in these tales are apparent to a modern audience and it appears that these tales are a subversive account of underlying sexual freedoms; yet these tales were written during the Victorian era where these liaisons were not just frowned upon, but illegal. These tales were in fact, distorting these accounts in order to play into the sense of how destructive sexual “abnormalities” were to family and society and men. In subsequent years however, it cannot be ignored that these tropes become explanations and depictions of the realistic sexual liaisons taking place in society.

after one hundred years by a “handsome prince,” decides she will refuse the prince’s kiss and remain asleep rather than marry him, as her dreams are more satisfying and preferable to any riches he can offer (Schultz & Seifert, 2016: 11-17).

In Willy’s “Fairy Tales for the Disillusioned” (1894), two sisters, Daphnis and Chloe (who are to be married to suitors the next morning), whilst out walking in the woods come across a range of fairy tale characters who give them sage advice. Cinderella tells them,

Such is the destiny of women: to take knocks and keep house while dreaming of adventures that never come...marriage is a sham! (Schultz & Seifert, 2016: 104).

Sleeping Beauty warns them she has been punished for having believed in love, her handsome prince lost interest in her and dreamed of other women, so she left him.

The Wolf from “Red Riding Hood” describes how this young girl tricked him into killing her grandmother and then telephoned the police to report him for murder so she could inherit her grandmothers fortune and marry a “hair-dressers assistant.” These characters succeed in convincing Daphnis and Chloe that marriage is not the happy ever after they may have been led to believe, that all is not always as it seems and marriage is not the only avenue open to them. The girls listen, stay out all night and by the morning “Chloe was no longer what one could call a virgin” (Schultz & Seifert, 2016: 101-107).

In Marcel Schwob’s “The Green She-Devil” (1894), a timid, crying, green girl dressed in leaves, appears in the forest before a kindly girl called Buchette. Buchette takes care of the girl, taking her back to her home and introducing her into the lives of men. The green girl ultimately leads Buchette to *her* freedom just as she is about to be put into service by her parents.

The evening before Buchette’s departure, as her father and mother were sleeping, the green girl caressed her tearful friend’s hair and took her by the hand. She opened the door and extended her arm into the night. And just as Buchette had once guided her towards the houses of men, the green girl led her by the hand to an unknown freedom (Schultz & Seifert, 2016: 92).

“Bluebeard’s Little Wife” (1894), also by Marcel Schwob, tells the tale of two children playing at fairy tales. One, a masochistic, bloodthirsty, sexually precocious, young girl and the other, a boy who is pulled into the girl’s fantasies. The girl is the dominant of the two and the tale is full of sexual insinuations, instigated by her.

I’ll be Sleeping Beauty and you can come wake me in my castle. You’ll have to kiss me really hard. Princes are tremendous kissers, you know (Schultz & Seifert, 2016: 85).

She also wants to pretend to be “Bluebeard’s” wife and ultimately tells the boy he must chop off her head. As she kneels she bares her neck to him.

Slowly, with her eyes closed and lashes fluttering, the corner of her mouth troubled by a nervous smile, she offered the down on her nape, her neck, and her voluptuously tucked shoulders to the cruel blade of Bluebeard’s sabre. “Oh, ooh!” She cried. “This is going to hurt!” (Schultz & Seifert, 2016: 88).

Although these female characters altered the preconceived notion of the “virginal beauties of the classic tales and exposed the romantic myths associated with the genre,” they were not created as a form of feminism, rather they were to warn of the “perversity of modern gender roles and sexuality (Schultz & Seifert, 2016: xxviii). (4)



5. Félicien Rops: Modernité, 1883

5. Rops’ depiction of Modernity is a knowing woman holding aloft a platter bearing the severed head of a male. The image references the character of Salomé from the play by Oscar Wilde and her dress is that of the latest Paris fashion. This visual representation is a combination of femme fatale and modern woman who epitomised the perceived threat of women during this period.



6.. Félicien Rops: La Dame au Pantin, 1885

6. “In tune with end of the 19th century anxieties, the artist set out to illustrate female domination through extremely striking images. This dislocated puppet, devoid of any resistance in the woman’s hands, is one of the best examples. The drawing marks a turning point in Rops’ work because it is scattered with symbolic and mythological motifs, thus placing it in the symbolist sphere of influence. “Rops’ later preoccupation with the human skeleton was more connected with the influence of Baudelaire and their collaboration after Rops had been commissioned to make the frontispiece of *Les Épaves*. ... (he) used it when he wanted to represent woman as the bringer of death” (Hoffman, 1981: 213-214)

They highlighted how Decadent authors saw gender confusion as part of a cultural decline; a concept that continued into the First World War, where women and their infiltration into the masculine world were seen as a threat to men.⁵ In her book *Gender, Technology and the New Woman*, Wånggren notes that,

Gender was the most destabilising category of the cultural politics of the fin de siècle, and it was the force of gender as a site of conflict, which drew such virulent attacks upon the figure of the New Woman” (Wånggren, 2018: 16).

Contemporary women were condemned by authors such as the French novelist Joséphin Péladan, a staunch monarchist and Catholic with a penchant for the occult,

For having usurped male prerogatives and ... that gender confusion is a symptom of cultural decline (Schultz & Seifert, 2016: xxviii).

Baudelaire who authored his own fairy tales, (*Fairies Gifts*, 1869) also authored *The Flowers of Evil* in 1857, a book of poems that influenced the creation of fairy tales such as Jean Lorrain’s “Princess of the Red Lilies” (1902), in which a princess’s destruction of lilies in her garden, results in the death of men on the battlefield, and Rachilde’s “The Mortis” (1900), where a sole survivor of a cholera epidemic that kills off the people of Florence, eats “rosebuds, likened to the heads of women, which intoxicate and then kill him” (Schultz & Seifert, 2016: xxx).

Women were seen as potential instigators of men’s downfall. Their sexual allure in particular, became a source of fear for many men in the early 1900s and their fear was often translated into illustrations by artists influenced by, amongst others, the Decadent movement.⁶

Rops’ death moreover is not just a woman, but a female seducer and bringer of perdition. The perdition, furthermore, is no longer cholera, but venereal disease (Hoffman, 1981: 217).



7. Félicien Rops: Les Épaves, 1866

7. Along with being a proponent of the decadent movement, Rops’ work was also full of symbolism and “Les Paves is an example of how Rops played with combining Gothic and symbolic elements.” (Michaelides, 2014)

In this image he depicts a skeleton as the trunk whose bony fingers reach up to create the branches of an apple tree full of tempting fruit. Images of skeletons themselves, became a recurring theme in much of Rops’ work.

At his feet the seven deadly sins are labelled in amongst the dying flowers and shrubs, along with the skeleton of Pegasus. In the original texts, Pegasus defeats a Chimera, yet the implication here is the opposite, the symbolism of evil triumphing over good. The Chimera, with a black serpents

tail and giant wings, carrying a medallion of Baudelaire, flies to the heavens, surrounded by Cherubs who circle above the tree. They tumble whilst playing a variety of instruments, while Pegasus lies dead at the foot of the image. On the bottom right of the illustration, the plants representing avarice are dismembered talons, clawing at the earth, whilst the ostrich on the plaque in the middle, about to swallow a horseshoe, signifies virtue. The wording around the plaque reads “Virtus Durissima Coquit” which translates as “The spirit softens

Venereal disease was quite an obsession of the Decadents, as noted by Elaine Showalter in her book *Daughters of Decadence* (1993). Baudelaire was himself, incapacitated with syphilis.

Félicien Rops, a prolific illustrator and a proponent of not only Decadence but Symbolism and Surrealism, was a friend of the writer and poet Baudelaire. The books by Baudelaire *The Flowers of Evil* (or *Les Fleurs du Mal*: 1857), and *Les Épaves* (1866) — celebrated by a minority and decried by many a shocked critic who sought to silence him in court — contained illustrations by Rops.

New women and decadent artists were linked together as twin monsters of a degenerate age (Wånggren, 2018: 16).

Offensive and graphic in nature, his illustrations depicted twisted and fantastical interpretations of Baudelaire’s writings. Not afraid to tackle the grotesque, his work encompassed themes of love, sexuality, suffering and death (Olmstead, 2016).⁷

the most tough” (Holtzman, 1978:102-106).

The serpent winding its way up the legs and over the pelvis of the skeleton, is representative of the serpent in the garden of Eden, yet here it also clearly signifies masculinity. Its positioning is not a mistake and as it reaches out for a sunflower, representing pride, its visual representation is one whose meaning can also be interpreted, particularly at this time and by this artist, as the domination and pride of masculinity and masculine identity.

8 & 9 The stylistic similarities between Rops' and Stratton's work are highlighted in these pieces. The macabre content, the skeletons and the bleak atmosphere create a sombre scene. Rops' illustration depicts ravens circling overhead and the faint, gloomy outline of a city below. Stratton also depicts birds circling over a town whilst a peacock peers through the doorway, yet her depiction signifies a more picturesque world outside the cheerless garden.



8. Felician Rops: The Supreme Vice, 1884

The fairy tale, with its often macabre subject matter was a perfect platform to replicate some of the nuances of this illustrative style and many artists began creating illustrations for fairy tales that reflected the decadent, symbolic and surreal influence of Rops.

The impression Rops' imagery made on some of his younger contemporaries was deep (Hoffman, 1981: 218).

The illustration for "The Fellow Traveller," by Helen Stratton (1867-1961), in *The Fairy Tales of Hans Christian Andersen*, published in 1899, shows a stylistic similarity to the work of Rops.^{8 & 9} The tale tells the story of a princess who kills any suitors who cannot perform the three tasks she sets them. "If he could not guess the three things, he was then to be hung, or to have his head struck off." In Helen Stratton's illustration, the king is seen welcoming the next suitor.

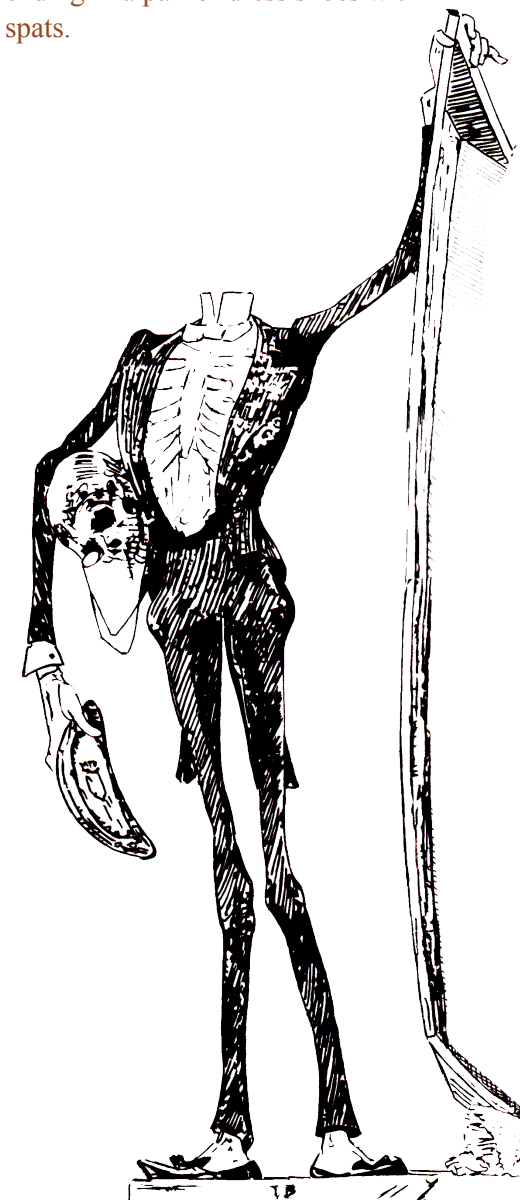
(He) led him into the princess's pleasure-garden, and a frightful sight was there to behold! From every tree hung three or four kings' sons who had wooed the princess, but had been unable to guess her riddles. At every breeze that blew, all these skeletons rattled till the little birds were frightened, and never dared to come into the garden. All the flowers were propped with human bones; and human skulls might be seen grinning in flowerpots. It was an odd garden for a princess (Andersen, 1835).

This tale also exemplifies one in which the female protagonist has control over the male as previously discussed in chapter one (Ch 1.2: 116).



9. Helen Stratton: The Fellow Traveller, 1899

10. Rops' skeletal man from "The Supreme Vice" has inspired a multitude of similar images. The long limbed gentleman holds his skull under his arm and is dressed in a neat tuxedo. His ribs are clearly visible under his white, high collared shirt and his tail coat hangs half way down his long legs ending in a pair of dress shoes with spats.



Rops's illustrative style and influence had pervaded the art world and was mimicked by many illustrators, not only at the time, but over the following one hundred years. ¹⁰, 10a,b,c,d

10a. Raemaeker's propaganda piece depicts a skeleton dancing with a German woman wearing a crown. This representation of death also wears dress shoes and his long frame bends as he dances the Death Tango with Germany



10b. Jack Pumpkin head, although dressed more casually, has the long limbed skeletal frame of Rops' character, but instead of a skull, his head is a carved pumpkin. With the same hollow eye sockets and gaping triangular hole where a nose should be, this head resembles that of a skull.



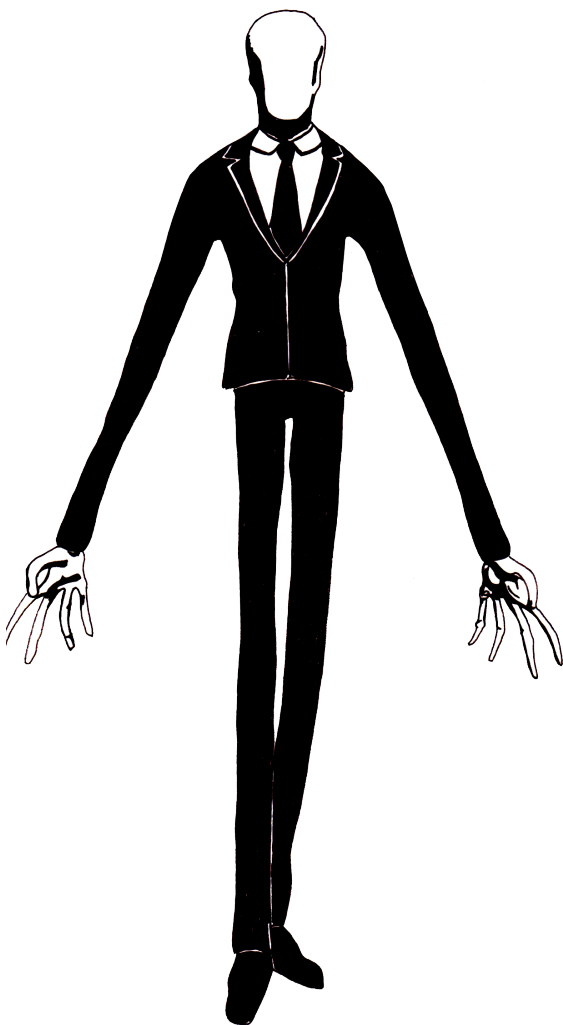
10b John R Neil:
Jack Pumpkin Head and Saw Horse, 1933

10c. Tim Burton's Jack Skellington bears many hall marks of Rops in the long, tall frame, tailored suit and white breast plate of his shirt. The tails of his pinstriped jacket hang half way down his long legs and he carries himself with his shoulders and back "ram-rod" straight. He looks like a gentleman, as does Rops' skeleton. Jack Skellington also carries his head under his arm on occasion.



10c. Tim Burton/Disney:
Jack Skellington, 1993

10d. The most recent version of the skeletal man is the online phenomena of Slender Man. This creation has become a modern folk tale. The illustrative version strongly resembles Jack Skellington and the influence from Rops through to Burton is visible in his dress, stature and form.



10d. Anon: Slenderman,
c2007

With burgeoning research into sexuality, masculinity and homosexuality, the emergence of the New Woman and the rumblings of emancipation of women (leading ultimately to the suffragette movement of 1910 to 1914), fairy tale illustrations began to reflect the societal questioning of sexual identity during a period of time in which there was ongoing discord between social sexual reform, and inherent sexual beliefs and expectations.

However, despite the overt beginnings of the women's movement many illustrators were still portraying women with ugly patriarchal depictions and with moral expectations based on a hegemonic paradigm. These depictions often expressed fear of the female sexual hold and control over men and was particularly prevalent in the work of the Decadent's. Rops' portrayals of women highlighted this supposed hold on men and they were often perceived as associates of the devil, particularly 'immoral' women.

There was a perception amongst many men, particularly in the upper ranks of the military during World War 1, that women were a problem. If men were less able to focus — on fighting in particular — it was due to the sexual distractions created by women.

The New Woman, this fin de Siècle cultural archetype of early feminism became the focal figure for key 19th century debates concerning issues as diverse as gender and sexuality, evolution and degeneration, science, empire and modernity (Wånggren, 2018: 1).

This belief is illustrated by Félicien Rops in “La Parodie Humaine”¹¹ (1878), an image created for the writer Joséphin Péladan, who described Paris as, “A den of corruption, filled with depraved, sexually aberrant characters” (Schultz & Seifert, 2016: xxviii).

These ‘aberrant’ characters were the prostitutes who lured innocent men with their sexuality, and who Rops depict-



11. Félicien Rops: La Parodie Humaine, 1878

ed as death, or the devil, “as the embodiment of evil, as the instrument of Satan” (Wilson, 1985: 738). These characterisations were a continuation of the Decadence movements disdain for the female and how they saw the downfall of society being inextricably linked to sexual misconduct.

Popular culture (did not) subscribe to the convention of the passive and passionless female: as J. S. Bratton has pointed out, music hall song portrayed women as having an equal if not greater sex drive than men (Tosh, 2005: 337).

11. A man approaches a woman on the street. Behind her coquettish mask hides the skull of death. An example of the perception that women were able to distract men with their feminine and sexual allure and lead them into darkness. These misogynistic interpretations implied women were the ‘instrument of the devil’ (Michaelides, 2014). Death in this image (the woman) is a gaunt, angular and literally, skeletal figure, a depiction of the human frame that became quite fashionable in many of the fairy tale illustrations that followed, particularly for male characters.

“Death hiding behind the elegant appearance of a young fashionable woman (a syphilis warning).” (Michaelides, 2014)



12. Hans Henning Otto Harry Baron Von Voigt:
43 Drawings by Alastair, c1914

12. Hans Henning Otto Harry Baron Von Voigt was better known by his nick name Alastair. A self taught artist, he was heavily influenced by the Decadence movement and its artists, but also by Beardsley whose influence is evident in Alastair's pen and ink illustrations reflecting a society he was part of. This illustration of two women engaged in a sexual encounter on a sofa was reflective of the social and sexual changes taking place.

At the same time as Decadence was making its mark, there were political challenges underpinning a desire for societal change. The 1880s saw the birth of Fabianism, a socialist movement that throughout the Fin de Siècle was determined to cultivate the potential for a “Great Society” in the new millennium. The desire for this new utopian society included, amongst other things, challenging the traditional expectations of sexual relationships in an altogether different way than Decadence.

A “new life” implied a transformation of all relationships, not only economic, social and political, but also of gender and sex (Weeks, 1991: 173).

These ideas created much controversy amongst the Fabians themselves let alone other movements, and arguments arose over how these ‘outrageous’ ideas could jeopardise the movement. The ‘sex’ argument was addressed by George Bernard Shaw as,

A question that should be outside issues of political organisation...that Socialism, if it is to gain serious attention nowadays, must come into the field as political science and not as sentimental dogma (Weeks, 1991: 175).

The arguments between the various proponents of Fabianism disguised the fact that many of those calling for a new sexual liberation and freedom, were part of the British bourgeoisie, the class most unlikely to create disruption and scandal (Weeks, 1991: 178). As the debates raged on, illustrators and artists, influenced by the changing social, political and sexual ideals, displayed great aptitude in *actually* exploring these expectations. Where the political ‘would-be scientists of society’ (Weeks, 1991: 178), talked about change, the artists of the day began subtly making those changes and portraying many of the ideas of sexual liberation in their work.¹²

Fairy tale illustrators were no exception, and the books published during this period began to be peppered with images of a new perception of masculinity. Images of princes and servants, kings and aides emerged as queer males.^{13 & 13a}

The creation of this artwork predicated what was to follow. The influences of the imagery alongside the political, social and artistic reforms combined to create a period of illustration that was to become the standard by which all fairy tale illustration is still known and judged. The “Golden Era” of illustration.

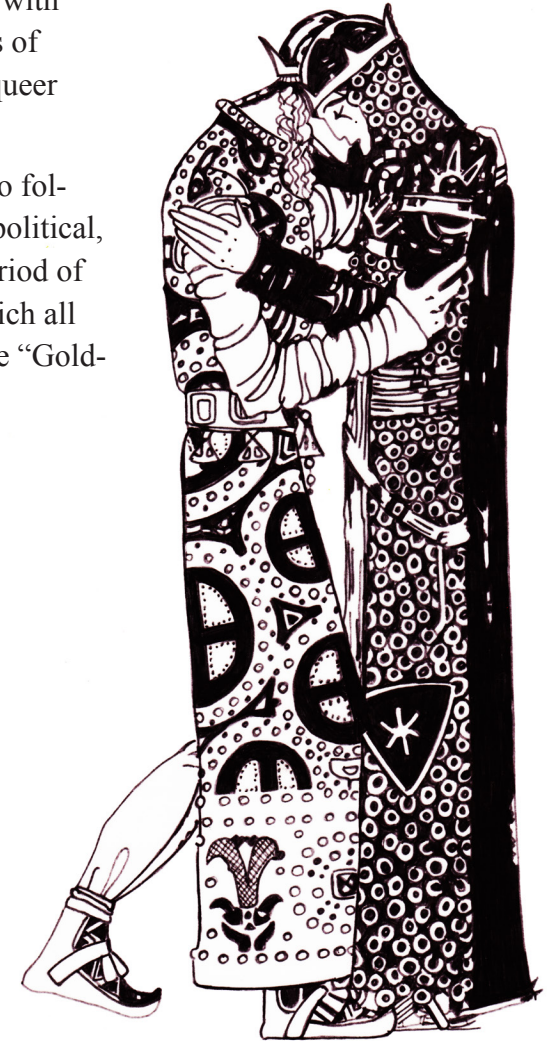


13. Henry. J.Ford: The Magicians Horse, 1900

13. In Henry J Ford's illustration for “The Magicians Horse” (1900), two men look on as the king and queen discover the young hero asleep. One rests his hand affectionately on the shoulder of the other. These small, intimate gestures are indicative of a changing perception of masculine identity throughout this period. Undetected

or commented upon, it is when they are seen as a collective, that the subtle changes become more apparent.

13a. Kay Nielsen's illustrations were to depict masculinity in a many forms. Here, two heroic warriors embrace in a sensitive and gentle manner. Although holding one another around the arms as



13a. Kay Nielsen: The Widow's Son, 1922

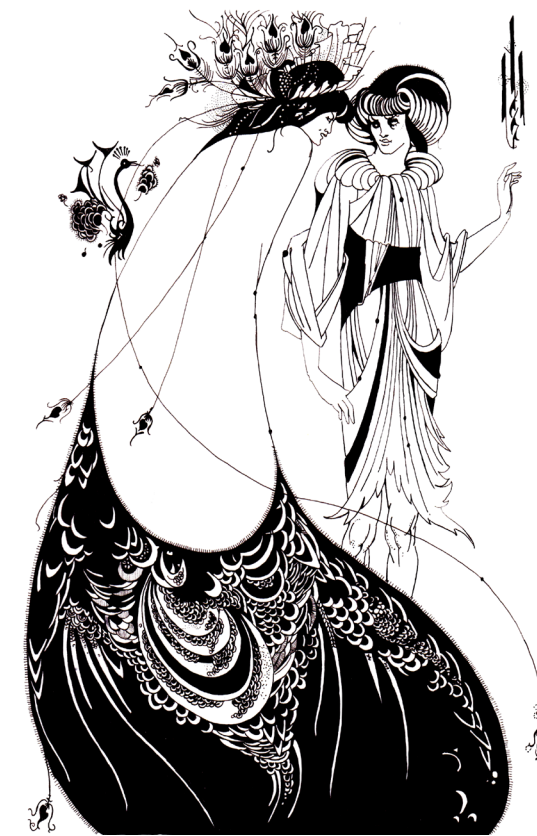
opposed to embracing fully with their bodies, the sensitive manner in which the warrior on the left rests his head into the shoulder of the other implies a closeness and intimacy at odds with the hegemonic portrayal of a warrior. A tacit sign implying acceptability for men to lovingly embrace.

3.2 The Golden Era: How Illustration Defined an Emerging Masculine Identity

Whilst these artistic and social movements were taking shape and creating a social commentary, another artistic movement was also developing. The relatively short-lived Art Nouveau movement from 1890 to 1910-12, saw artists embracing the natural form. The curling sinuous movement of flowers and plants creating a dynamic flow and movement in all art forms including architecture, typography and illustration.

Embraced by the likes of William Morris (1834-1896), the founder of the Art and Crafts movement of 1880 to 1920, and by the art critic and writer, John Ruskin (1819-1900) — both of whom influenced younger artists — the asymmetrical lines and flow of the art form allowed for less rigid or constructed pieces. Illustrators such as Aubrey Beardsley,¹ Helen Stratton² and Kay Nielsen^{2a} adopted these elements which began the creation of softer perceptions of masculinity that fitted with the developing social constructs.

By 1920 Art Nouveau was superseded by Art Deco. Although less fluid and more abstract, Art Deco as an art form echoed many of Art Nouveau's natural forms and lines. It depicted luxury and glamour and celebrated the new social and technological reforms that epitomised the period. These art movements were forming in and around Europe and their influence combined with social move-



1. Aubrey Beardsley: The Peacock Skirt, 1894, (Pub 1907)



2a. Kay Nielsen: The Book of Death, 1910



2. Helen Stratton: The Queen of the Glaciers, 1908

1. Beardsley's famous Peacock Skirt is a perfect example of his Art Nouveau inspired illustrations. The same flowing robes and movement are reflected in Nielsen's illustrations.

2. Helen Stratton also created the same flowing and billowing lines indicative of the Art Nouveau movement also demonstrating the way artists were influencing one another.

2a. Clearly influenced not only by the art movement, but also by Beardsley. Nielsen continued to combine an ambiguous, feminised portrayal of masculinity in the fairy tale illustrations he went on to create.



3. Artus Scheinera: King Mouselet and Prince Youth, 1905

3 & 3a The Art Deco

movement combined elements of Art Nouveau in the decoration and embellishment of the illustrations, but the colours and structure changed creating a distinctive look that differentiated the images created under the umbrella of Deco. Although the two art movements overlapped and were among many other movements being explored at the same time, the fairy tale illustrators adopted the Nouveau and Deco styles which created the iconic images now associated with the Golden Era.



3a. Margaret Evans Price: Once Upon a Time, 1921

ments, created the elaborate and detailed illustrations that became synonymous with the Golden Era of illustration.^{3&3a}

Alongside the newly forming illustrative practices, were technological advances such as the three colour process used for photographic reproductions invented by Carl Hentschel. This superseded the process previously used of building up colour using separate engraved blocks. The block process never truly reproduced colour images as the artist had created them, and Hentschel's process allowed for more accurate representations using Cyan, Magenta, Yellow and Black, (CMYK) (Daniel & White, 2018: 46-49).

Publishers soon recognised the potential of this process and began to develop the "Gift Book". These books, produced predominantly for the Christmas market, contained

opulent colour illustrations and soon artists and illustrators who worked in colour were being sought after. Fairy and folk tale books became ever more popular and artists were commissioned to design illustrations specifically for them.

Often these commissions were accompanied by an exhibition in an art gallery of the original work, and the artwork became as important as the written work. The gift book found a new audience with adults "They were far too good to be handled by children" (Daniel & White, 2018: 48), and engendered a new appreciation of illustration as an art form.

Artists across Europe, with their differing influences and interpretations of fairy tales, began to move to Great Britain in order to capitalise on the publishers and galleries new-found exuberance for the art form, and many of the illustrators whose work is still synonymous with the fairy tale, were discovered during this period (Daniel & White, 2018: 46-49).

The illustrators who worked during this Golden Age informed and shaped generations. What still resonates in these works is the communication of ideas that – even a century later – continue to speak to every viewer who sees them (Menges, 2017:xiii).

These illustrators, by challenging underlying social norms through their work, were communicating new perceptions, beliefs and thoughts to a growing audience who were voraciously absorbing their images. They began to control to a large extent, what the public were viewing.^{3b}

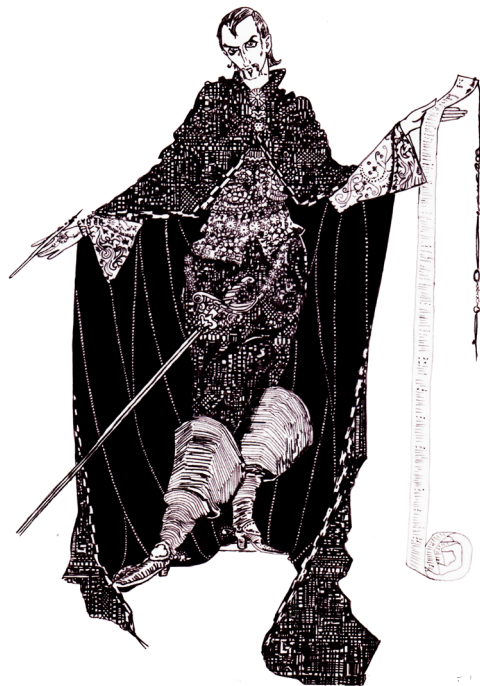
The art world was a small place and most of the writers and illustrators (and political agitators) knew one another — it was through Beardsley's friendship with the



3b. Harry Clarke: The Little Match Girl, 1916

3b. Gender ambiguity was embraced by Nielsen and Clarke and began a period of illustration in the fairy tale that enabled artists to play with identity and gender expectations. The masculine identity became more feminised and the female identity was often masculinised, such as in Clarke's illustration for the "Little Match Girl". These non binary images played into the changing perceptions sexual identity and created a space for a queer identity to flourish within the confines of the fairy tale books.

That they reflected the changing social structures of the day, is often overlooked by academics who tend to analyse texts rather than the accompanying illustrations. The illustrations give a powerful visual conduit into social observation and analysis.



4. Harry Clarke: The Galoshes of Fortune, 1916

4 & 5. Clarke and Nielsen's ambiguous and highly decorative interpretations of masculinity, stylistically reflected the influence of Beardsley and the art movements of the era.



5. Kay Nielsen: 12 Dancing Princesses, 1912

Pre-Raphaelite painter, Edward Burne-Jones for example, that he met Oscar Wilde with whom he became friends and who had a massive influence on his work (Sturgis, 2021).

From 1848 with the influences of the Pre-Raphaelites the Art and Crafts movement, Decadence, Art Nouveau and Art Deco and alongside technological changes, a raft of influential fairy tale illustrators such as Helen Stratton, Walter Crane, Edmund Dulac, Harry Clarke, Kay Nielson, Virginia Sterrett, Arthur Rackham, and Eleanor Abbott emerged. Yet it was the influence of Aubrey Beardsley with his black and white ink drawings, his use of space, his elaborately decorated figures, and his sometimes sexually explicit drawings, who had the most profound effect (Daniel & White, 2018: 46-49).

Clarke⁴ and Nielsen,⁵ two of the more prolific illustrators of fairy tales during this period were heavily influenced by Beardsley and they flamboyantly exaggerated the style he had initiated. Their work, in turn, influenced other illustrators and the exploration of changing attitudes and social constructs continued to develop and grow, although not always without challenges.

Oscar Wilde, as early as the 1890s had the opinion that art should challenge expectations and that artists should follow their own path in creating new and exciting pieces.

Diversity of opinion about a work of art shows that the work is new, complex, and vital. When critics disagree, the artist is in accord with himself (Oscar Wilde, 2008 [1890]).

Jacob Epstein, a prominent sculptor of the 1900s, and an admirer of Oscar Wilde was commissioned to create Wilde's funerary monument. He too was an advocate of exploring and following his own path. His work reflected a sexually provocative form and, as his sculptures were in

the public domain, they bought about a good deal of criticism. Beardsley, also a friend and admirer of Oscar Wilde, created many explicit illustrations too, yet unlike artists such as Epstein, who remained unmoved and unrepentant by the social outcry regarding his work, Beardsley pleaded with his publishers for *his* explicit work to be destroyed. He had become mortified with what he had created, and it went against his new-found catholic beliefs.

Postmark: March 7 1898, Jesus is our Lord and Judge, Dear Friend, I implore you to destroy all copies of Lysistrata and bad drawings ... By all that is holy, all obscene drawings. Aubrey Beardsley, In my death, agony (Mass & Beardsley, 1970).

His publishers ignored his request.

Fairy tale illustrators — although not engaging in sexually explicit illustrations, but who certainly explored gender and sexuality — were able to escape much of the criticism aimed at those artists who were more prominent in the public arena.⁶

Although Beardsley's work often depicted masculinity with hegemonic, dominant portrayals of graphic sexuality, he also challenged these representations when creating art works such as his illustrations for the poem *The Rape of the Lock* (1896).⁷ His experimentation with a more feminised portrayal of the male, dressed in attire influenced by the Rococo and Baroque from the late 17th-century, influenced images that became a staple in fairy tale masculine portrayals throughout the Golden Era. Harry Clarke created his own interpretation of *The Rape of the Lock* 17 years later, with strong similarities to Beardsley's version.^{7,8&9}

Illustrators began not only to interpret texts with this new found courage to challenge societal expectations of



6. Kay Nielsen: In Powder and Crinoline, 1912

6. Although more subtle an interpretation of sexuality, Nielsen's amorous couple from Powder and Crinoline depict the prince with his hand beginning to reach inside the dress of the princess at her breast. As he kisses her neck, she turns her head towards him, eyes closed in a scene of intimacy. The sword in the fairy tale illustration is often used as an indicator or symbolic representation of masculine arousal. In this image it protrudes from the hip of the prince with the handle extending from behind the princess. His highly decorated dress coat and thigh high boots contrast with her delicate frame and simple, draped dress as he swamps her in a pillow of frilled cuffs and puffed sleeves. The male character was often more elaborately decorative: a peacock.



7. Anon: The Rape of the Lock, 1714

Beardsley's famous illustrations for *The Rape of the Lock* have become synonymous with the poem. His visual translation of the characters altered the perception of the work for a modern audience and he injected the characters with a more erotic, sexualised identity than had previously been explored.⁷

"...erotic undertones present in Pope's poem which were to be taken up by its illustrators, and reached an apotheosis in Aubrey Beardsley's work" (Benedict, 2002:79–81).

His style influenced not only how the poem was received but also instigated the creation of an effeminate male, or a "Dandy", who became a recognised staple of the fairy tale male for the following 30 years.



8. Aubrey Beardsley: The Rape of the Lock, 1896

8. Here a sylph (possibly Ariel) stands beside the bed of Belinda, tasked with protecting her from the Baron who aims to possess a lock of her hair. This sylph resembles a cross between a fairy Godmother and Little Bo Peep. Popes' sylphs were reported to contain the spirits

of vain women, which may explain why Beardsley choose to dress this one in skirts of frills, bows, and flowers. Although unmistakably masculine in features, the dress is feminised.



9. Harry Clarke: The Rape of the Lock, 1913

9. Clarke's Sylph, although less feminised in dress, bares a heavily made up face. Long legs and a willowy frame indicative of a feminised male who appears to lasciviously lean across the bed toward a semi clad Belinda. The treatment of the illustrative tech-

niques, the pen and ink line drawings and the elaborate bedding and curtains show the clear influence of Beardsley and Art Nouveau. The Peacock feathered cape a signifier of a queer gendered sylph, (Ch 3.4:302). Both of these illustrations are in complete contrast to those

created earlier where the treatment of the sylph was more childlike with a nondescript gender.

masculinity, but to copy the flamboyant and gender fluid interpretations of male sexuality initiated by the influential artists who had gone before them.^{10, 10 a,b,c}



10. Aubrey Beardsley: The Rape of the Lock, 1896

All of the above images depict a feminised male character wearing an embellished frock coat with large, highly decorative cuffs, covering full sleeved shirt. They represented a change in the perception of masculinity in the late 19th and early 20th century fairy tale illustration. Wearing ornamental wigs and heeled shoes they are more reminiscent of the “Dandy” than the heroic, hegemonic male.

10 Beardsley’s Lord Petre is dressed in a highly ornate frock coat with lace petticoats and skirt, embroidered tights, heeled shoes and a frilled collar. This collar was a part of the



10a. Edmund Dulac: Cinderella, 1910

under-shirt worn by men during the early 1800s and the look was inspired by contemporary Romanticism.

10a Dulac’s interpretation of the prince resembles Beardsley’s “Petre”. A graceful man, he carries himself with poise, delicately balancing on his cane which indicates his authority and status (Ch 2.1: 14). His gestures and manner imply an interpretation of masculinity that appeals to women, but also contains signifiers of a feminised male.



10b. Kay Nielsen: Twelve Dancing Princesses, 1913

10b. Nielsen further exaggerates the feminine in his interpretation of his prince. Running down the stairs in towering heels Nielsen’s prince’s hand gestures and painted face create a queer interpretation. All the prince’s have stockinged legs and shapely hips and ankles but where Dulac, Beardsley and Harbour have given their versions breeches (or a knee length shirt), Nielsen displays the long, shapely legs of his princes to full effect. The daintily frilled sleeves emphasised by Dulac and Beardsley become a poets shirt in Nielsen’s and Harbour’s interpretations.



10c. Jennie Harbour: Cinderella, 1925

10c. Harbour’s prince is the only one carrying a sword a hint at a more hegemonic masculinity, yet he too has stockinged legs (although his are not embroidered), a nipped waist and a feminised stance as he reaches imploringly to his princess.

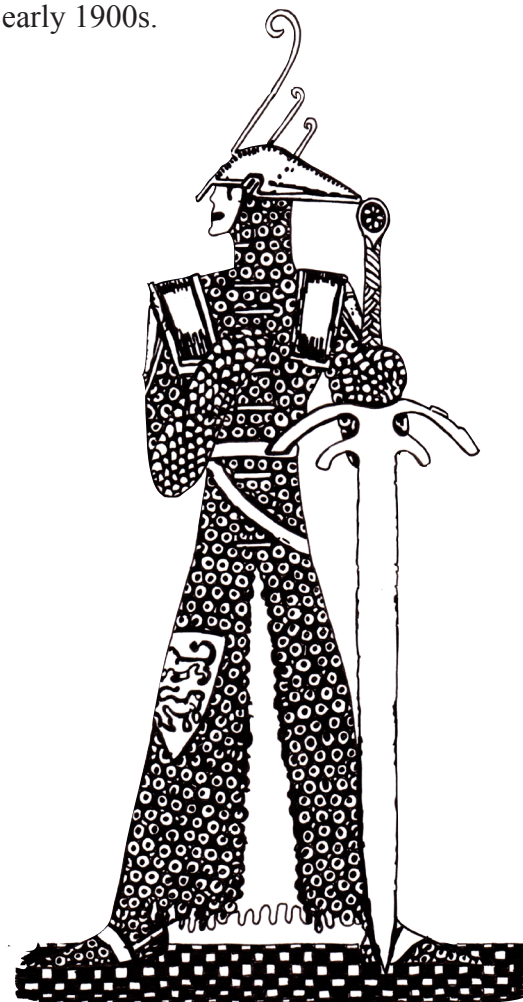
From the early 1900s this style had become synonymous with the fairy tale prince. He is often still depicted this way, and the influences of these early 20th century artists remains in the signifiers of his feminised masculine identity.

This influence of artists on one another extended across Europe into America and illustrators began to display the same techniques, styles and interpretation of fairy tale characters across the western world.

By examining the illustrations of male characters from fairy tales and documenting them in a chronological order, the influences and connections become visually obvious. Knights or soldiers such as Beardsley's knight in *The Lady of the Lake*,¹¹ and Kay Nielsen's prince from "The Blue Belt" in *East of the Sun West of the Moon*,¹² Henry J Ford's king from *The Crimson Fairy Book*,^{12a} and Willy Pogany's king from *Children of Odin*,^{12b} demonstrate how style, process and technique were mimicked or copied throughout the early 1900s.



11. Beardsley: *The Lady of the Lake*, 1893



12. Kay Nielsen: *East of the Sun, West of the Moon*, 1913

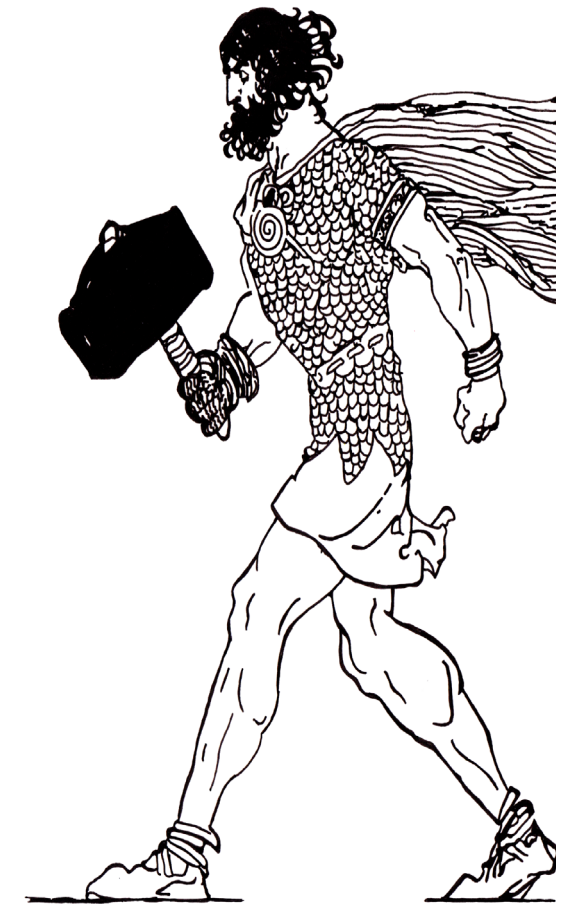
11, 12, 12a & 12b The chain mail in the armour of Beardsley's knight is made up of a series of overlapping circles, this tiny detail is replicated in Nielsen's warrior 20 years later. His chain mail is also made up of a series of circles, only Nielsen has separated them and they cover the entire armour.

(Jessie Kings prince (13:294) bears such a strong resemblance to Beardsley's. It could be assumed she copied it. (As they were good friends, this may well have been the case). The foot of the armour and the flowers are particularly reminiscent of Beardsley's work.)

The stylised faces of the men are simplified yet strong and the highly decorative patterns and the flamboyant embellishments, such as the wings on the armour and the spirals atop the helmet, continued to form part of the interpretation of the male character throughout the rest of the 1900s. Henry J Ford and Willy Pogany were also replicating these techniques and stylistic forms developing and embellishing them.



12a. Henry J Ford: *The Crimson Fairy Book*, 1914

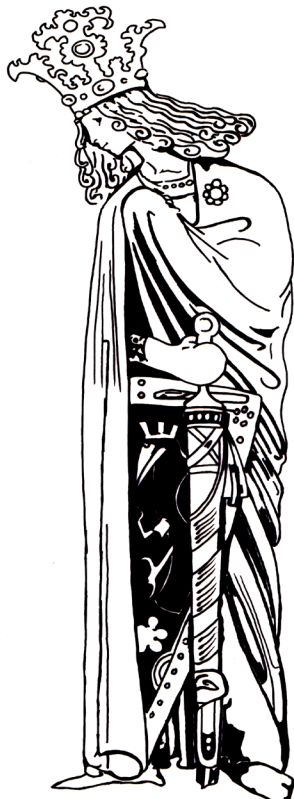


12b. Willy Pogany: *The Children of Odin*, 1917

13-16. These illustrations of princes highlight the influence the art movements and artists had in the way the male characterisation was depicted during first 20 years of the century. The similarities in posture, costume and stature are repeated with the effeminate stylised prince becoming a fixture in the fairy tale.



13. Jessie M King: Rapunzel, 1904



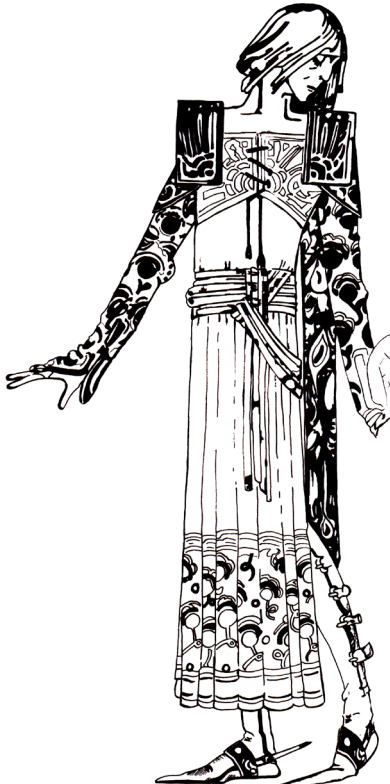
14. John Bauer: Christmas Book, 1909

The fairy tale prince demonstrated a synthesis of these changes. The prince in “Rapunzel” in *The Defence of Guinevere and other Poems*, by Jessie M King in 1904,¹³ John Bauer’s prince from his Christmas book in 1909,¹⁴ Kay Nielson’s prince from “East of the Sun West of the Moon” in 1913,¹⁵ and Virginia Sterrett’s prince from “Princess Rosette,” from *Old French Fairy Tales* in 1920,¹⁶ all displayed signs of the artists influences by art movements and the changing perceptions of masculinity.

The long, thin gaunt figures that typified many fairy tale illustrations throughout the early 1900s often mimicked the stature of death Rops had perpetuated in his work. The floral, draped clothing highlighted the influence of Art Nouveau and Art Deco and the feminised male that emerged, created a masculine identity unlike any that had gone before.

The male as a feminised version of masculinity was to become not only a common visual portrayal of the early 1900s, but was exaggerated over the next century. Illustrators of the early 1900s had created an ethereal and beautiful masculine identity, yet over the next century with a developing awareness of feminism, patriarchy and hegemonic masculinity, writers, illustrators and movie makers of coming generations turned these gentle heroes into vapid, weak or effeminate laughing stocks.

The image of this graceful male once seen as a hero, became a parody as he moved into the 20th and 21st century. As a more hegemonic form of masculinity began to prevail with the onset of the Second World War, so too did the perception that an effeminate male was lower in the hierarchy of masculinity (Lit Review, 1b: 33) and was dismissed or mocked in future incarnations. The prince became a figure of fun and the fragile, graceful beauty created in the Golden Era all but disappeared. (1)



15. Kay Nielson: East of the Sun, West of the Moon, 1913



16. Virginia Sterrett: Princess Rosette, 1920

The actor Chris Pine verbalises the perception of a prince in his comments on the Prince Charming character he plays in *Into The Woods* (Disney, 2014), “He almost doesn’t know how ridiculous he is” (youtube.com, 4.39: 2014). “I love his 2 dimensionality and utter fascination with himself” (dailymotion.com: 2014). “There’s something laughable about him. He’s very gallant, but you just want him to also be, like, a douche.”

Prince Charming in *Shrek* (Dreamworks, 2001), is described by fans on a fandom page as, “a selfish and arrogant mother’s boy. He is also somewhat effeminate, which Shrek pokes fun at, calling him a pretty boy. He is sometimes not very intelligent” (See also Ch 1.5: 156).

3.3 La Belle Époque: Modish Masculinity



1. Arthur Rackham: The Jew in the Brambles, 1909

1 & 1a. Arthur Rackham created several depictions of the Jew for this tale. They all show a wild, unkempt man, furiously stamping his feet, shouting or throwing money. He has a long beard, a large nose and long curling hair. The technique with which Rackham handles this portrayal using pen and ink, to create a scratchy loose style, creates an unrefined appearance unlike many of his other characters whom he treats with a more sympathetic drawing technique.

At the climax of Fin de Siècle, England and France were struggling with legal scandals. In 1895 Oscar Wilde had been sentenced to a spell in Reading jail for his “improprieties with young men,” which is believed to have precipitated his early death in 1900 at the age of 46 (Alberge, 2021). This outward demonstration of discrimination toward homosexuality (which was still illegal), highlighted how much work was still to be done to challenge attitudes towards sexual change.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century a new “social purity” consensus was achieving a precarious hegemony, expressed in new legislation on sexual matters (Weeks, 1991: 173).

In France, Alfred Dreyfus (A Jewish artillery officer), was persecuted and tried for treason for passing secret information to the Germans, of which it was later proved he was completely innocent. An anti-Semitic portion of the population would continue to believe he was guilty despite evidence to the contrary, thus creating a highly divisive period in French history and a discrimination of Jews that was to continue and culminate in the atrocities of World War 2. (Phillipe, 1982) This anti-Semitic attitude was also visually depicted in the fairy tale in such tales as “The Jew in the Brambles” ^{1,1a,1b} and, in WW2, in much of the Nazi propaganda aimed at children.

The nineteenth century had ended badly. Its last decade saw a bitter realization of its own faults (Phillipe, 1982: 6).

From these intense, fluctuating, hypocritical and challenging decades came the era now known as La Belle Époque (1900 – 1914). This was a period of time in European history where,

All passions were permitted, as were daring styles of all kinds (Phillipe, 1982: 6).



1a. Arthur Rackham: The Jew in the Brambles, 1909



1b. Leslie Brookes: The Jew in the Brambles, 1920

1b. The jumping, dancing figure of the Jew stuck in the brambles created by Rackham was echoed later by Brookes in his interpretation of the same illustration. The flailing arms, long beard and purse containing his precious coins a translation of the negative perception of the Jew in these tales.



2. Gerder Wegener: 12 Lascivious Sonnets, 1921

2. Gerder Wegener's tiny pornographic sketches depicted lesbian women in a variety of situations. Risqué and fun, these sketches were a reflection of the sexual appetites of women at a time when they could not be publicly recognised.

3. By 1930, America was gripped in its own fascinating play with gender stereotypes and the Pansy Craze saw a new short lived acceptance of gay culture.



3. Anon: The Pansy Craze, c1930

Coming between Fin de Siècle and the onset of World War 1, La Belle Époque saw Europe, including England, indulging in a period of grandeur, excess and hedonism unlike the gloomy and oppressive preceding era of the Fin de Siècle, and embraced art movements such as Art Nouveau and Art Deco or Modernism.

Once the woman [Queen Victoria] who, somewhat arbitrarily, had represented moral values and adherence to principles in their strictest form had gone, it was permissible to enjoy oneself. Her heir lost no time in doing so, and the English equivalent of La Belle Époque was the Edwardian era. It was considered in bad taste to be indignant: scandal lost its edge (Phillipe, 1982: 10).

La Belle Époque saw a superficial aura of sexual acceptance. Affairs were conducted, lesbianism was tolerated² and — although America was to experience its own version of La Belle Époque in the 1930s, in what is now partly recognised as “The Pansy Craze”³ and which coincided with the end of prohibition — many American’s at this time were escaping the puritanism at home and flooding to Europe. Evidence of this new sense of freedom was revealed in illustrations, and the fairy tale male was often portrayed as a flamboyant, queer man.⁴

The hedonistic and laissez faire attitude towards a society intent on conducting affairs, be it behind closed doors or in the public eye, may have seemed a great escape,⁵ yet homosexuality was still taboo. It of course persisted and was salaciously gossiped about in the salons of the day, but was not outwardly recognised. So alongside this period of excess, indulgence and pleasure-seeking, the stigma of certain sexual proclivities was still considered indecorous (Phillipe, 1982). The fairy tale male however, was to defy the social façades and become the epitome of gender fluidity. He provided a peek at what was happening behind the closed doors of a hypocritical society.

4. Harry Clarke's depictions of males in his fairy tale illustrations are perhaps some of the most flamboyant. His princes are often feminine in appearance, wearing ornately patterned, short robes that show off shapely legs. This prince from “The Swineherd” is an elegant example of one of these creations. His feminised stance, and delicate frame are engulfed by his enormous tunic which he holds out to display all its floral beauty. Upon his head, cocked to one side, he wears a feathered “bonete” and his sculpted brows sit within an angular face that sports a pencil thin moustache. With his neck encased in a polka dot kerchief, probably silk, this “dandy” epitomises a masculine interpretation of the time.



4. Harry Clarke: The Swineherd, 1916



5 Alastair. Peeking servants, c1900

5. Alastair's illustration of the peeking servants highlighted the secretive yet voyeuristic attentions paid towards the infidelities taking place behind closed doors. A visual reminder of the curiosity and amusement of the sexual proclivities of the bourgeoisie.



6. Gerder Wegener: Cinderella, 1918

6. In 1925 Gerder Wegener was hired by the poet and writer Louis Perceau, to paint illustrations for his book *Twelve Lascivious Sonnets*. She created a series of watercolours of lesbian couples engaging in intimacy. (pg 298, 2) Her work was influenced not only by the art movements and artists of Decadence, Nouveau and Deco, but of the heady era of La Belle Époque. It typified the bohemian acceptance of sexuality, but was also kept secret from a society that preferred to keep liaisons hidden.

It was a measure of the embattled quality of hegemonic masculinity that it bore down so heavily on a sexual minority whose tastes were indulged with relative discretion. But as well as introducing troubling ambiguities into the conventional polarization between the sexes, homosexuals also symbolized a rejection of bourgeois masculinity, in seeming to place personal gratification above the demands of work and in undermining the authority of the domestic ideal. Homosexuality had become a powerful metaphor of Decadence and subversion (Tosh, 2005: 338).

Female illustrators became a part of this tacit spirit. Gerder Wegener the wife of the first transgender male Lili Elbe (Einar Wegener), began painting images of her husband dressed as a woman and would later create her pornographic images for Louis Perceau's *Twelve Lascivious Sonnets*. Yet she also created several illustrations for the tale of "Cinderella" depicting the expected representation of the fairy tale female.⁶ Her illustrations, along with others of female characters, contrasted with the depictions of queer male characters that were becoming the staple of the fairy tale illustration at the same time. These female characters conformed to the outward perception and expectation of the princess as a "virginal beauty", while the male characters were queer and beautiful.

Illustrations of masculinity in fairy tales continued to reflect the influences of the changing social, political and art movements. The queer, feminised version of masculinity that began with the writing and art of the Decadent movement and continued through Art Nouveau, Art Deco into La Belle Époque, was embraced by the emerging confidence of illustrators who continued to create challenging and controversial images of masculinity, ignoring and over-riding the hypocrisy of the era.⁷



7. Harry Clarke: The Travelling Companion, 1916

1. Dressed in a full sleeved linen shirt – a fashionable male garment in the late 1700s – falling softly from his shoulders and showing a glimpse of the chest of a young man. A trope often used by Nielsen when depicting one of his feminised males, the lavender dungarees, which in fashion terms date back to the early 1600s, reflect his status as an outdoor worker. By the time this image was in print, dungarees had become synonymous with the women’s land army, a feminine adaptation to a previously masculine garment.

The fabric of the Princess’ dress, with a flowing floral-patterned overdress and tiny flower embellishments adorning the skirts and ribbons, reflect the natural surroundings of the garden. Her slight, willowy frame gives a sense of vulnerability yet is reminiscent of the thin, angular figures of Rops whose women represented a darker perception of femininity. The floral patterns on the boy’s dungarees and stockings reflect the roses on a tree behind,

The angle of the flowing lines create depth and movement and the muted, pastel colours indicate a softness and femininity suffusing every aspect of the illustration. The expression and the trivial fiddling of the princess’s necklace implies a slightly disdainful, yet flirtatious demeanour towards the ‘lowly’ status of the gardener kneeling beside her.

3.4 Codes: Identifying the Feminised Male

Feminised masculinity was, and often still is, equated with the perception that a feminine man epitomised a less masculine male. A gay (or queer) man was one who preferred the company of women and the finer things in life and, although perceptions of sexuality were beginning to change in the early 1900s, the ideation of these changes illustrated the deep seated connection with femininity and homosexuality.

During the eighteenth century, “effeminate” referred to a man who was drawn too much to the company of women, who loved luxury and display, and who neglected his physical and marital accomplishments (Tosh, 2005: 338).

Yet the feminised male characters in the fairy tale also displayed a heterosexual desire for women. Created by



1. Kay Nielsen: The Twelve Dancing Princesses, 1912

Kay Nielsen in 1912, the illustration from “The Twelve Dancing Princesses” demonstrates these contrasting perceptions and provides an example of a feminised portrayal of masculinity entwined with a heterosexual attraction for the female — and the artistic influences of Art Nouveau.¹

The gardener’s expression is a highly flirtatious, sideways gaze at the princess. His apparent innocence belies a sexuality in his seemingly deferential pose, as does the placing of the flower seductively on his lips. In the tale, this character is in love with the princess, yet spies on her for her father. Not only is he duplicitous in character, he also offers up a duplicitous image of his gender and sexuality and the amalgamation of these elements create an identity at odds with the text.

Nielsen’s prince displays a combination of symbols that demonstrate the feminised perception of male gender. With the same, feminine willowy frame as the princess, there is a juxtaposition of a strong jaw line and the flash of a muscular arm. His natural hair with its curls and fullness give a distinctly untamed, feminine appearance and his demeanour implies a queer, or homosexual male, flirting with the princess.

Codes of identification for a queer or homosexual viewer may lie with the male character, but equally, according to the gay author Doty, they might just as easily lie with the female character attracting the *attention* of the male. Doty describes this identification in his book *Making Things Perfectly Queer* (1997).

My pleasure in *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* initially worked itself out through a classic gay process of identifying alternately with Monroe and Russell; thereby experiencing vicarious if temporary empowerment through their use of sexual allure to attract men (Doty, 1997: 8).

This depiction of the queer male, alongside an alluring and beautiful female, combines references and codes that elicit both hetero and homosexual interpretation.

2. This Bluebeard is a dandy, with his frilled cuffs and collar, his slimline tail coat, and his extravagantly feathered hat. Compared with the earlier versions of Bluebeard where he is portrayed as a terrifying hegemonic male the story depicts, this Bluebeard defies the textual references and instead flirts with a queer, homosexual version of the character.



2. Harry Clarke: Bluebeard, 1922

The use of coded language, as previously discussed in (Ch 1.5: 156), has long been recognised with reference to sexuality. Homosexual men during the Victorian era (or Fin de Siècle), used visual codes such as peacock feathers or green carnations in their lapels to indicate their sexuality. The peacock feather, along with other types of feathers including ostrich plumes, were evident in many fairy tale illustrations from the late 1800s through to the 1920s.

Props like peacock feathers and dyed green carnations were worn on jacket lapels, aesthetic signifiers that allowed gay men to identify themselves — and each other — without being caught (Al-Kadhi, 2017).

Harry Clarke's "Bluebeard" from 1922, depicts a highly feminised/homosexual version of Bluebeard^{2&2a} — probably the most despicable of the male fairy tale characters who murders and dismembers women (Ch 2.6: 232) — yet here he is depicted wearing breeches of pale, patterned green with striped stockings and dainty heeled shoes. His hat is overwhelmed with the fluffy semi-plumes of ostrich feathers; plumes that, along with the peacock coverts or quills, that make up its "train" or tail, are displayed in the strutting courtship displays of the male bird. His jacket is lavender, a colour long associated with the gay community.

Lavender, or purple, is a special colour for gay culture. It has often been used as an identification in titles and slogans, such as "The Lavender Menace" (Moxon, 1985: 3).

This Bluebeard is slim, vain and standing in a stereotypically feminised posture with his arm held out, his hand draped to the side and his cane dangling from his little finger. All

these gestures are a long established codes or symbols used to identify the queer character and a way of signalling to members of what is now referred to as the LG-BTQ+ community.

In *Sapphos Speaks*, a gay journal published by the University of California, Moxon writes,

The use of one symbol alone does not reveal much about the wearer. Rather, it is the whole composition of dress, manner, action, and attitude that lets the object carry it's meaning (Moxon, 1985: 3).

Fairy tale illustrators depicted interpretations, influences and messages in their work that either intentionally or unintentionally spoke to a queer audience. The influences of art movements were evident in the natural forms of the fabrics, costumes, architecture and decoration within the illustrations, but so too was the changing reflection of masculinity. The artists were depicting the male in a less traditional role, as something other than the hegemonic aggressor. They began to show him as gender fluid or homosexual, or depicting homo-eroticism and transvestism.

Effective illustration targets and shapes visual information, highlighting for viewers what the artist wants them to see, and removing what they don't (Menges, 2017: xi).

Although most of these illustrators were themselves in socially acceptable heterosexual relationships, through their art they were depicting experimentation and exploration of gender. Their male characters were reflecting what was happening under the surface of a changing social structure and conveying perceptions of homosexuality and male gender which came to the fore during and after WW1.



2a. Harry Clarke: Bluebeard, 1922



3. Harry Clarke: The Snow Queen, 1916

That they may have been perpetuating the stigma that a homosexual man is feminine, or that feminine traits implied homosexuality, was true, yet they were creating and using codes of recognition that spoke to a queer audience (Doty, 1997: 63-79).

In “The Snow Queen” illustration created by Harry Clarke from the tale of the same name, there are several queer indicators.³ The “Queen” is described as wearing a white fur coat in the text, yet here is depicted wearing a purple gown and robe.

Even if no other Gay trait has lasted through the ages of history to identify Gayness, purple alone would be a clear statement of the antiquity of Gay culture (Grahm, 1984: 7).

The purple gown, the masculine features and the feminised gestures are a subtle coded communication to a specific masculine identity.^{3a} In the bottom left hand corner of this illustration, there are also two peacock feathers with their unmistakable eye-pattern evident amongst the flora surrounding her feet. This image, with its homosexual and queer indicators and codes, creates a reference to a different perception of love and sexuality than the text conveys.

Another visual code is the red scarf worn by the young boy Kai.^{3b} This scarf may simply be a garment that keeps him warm, however the significance of a red scarf in the gay community was, and often still is, used to indicate a sexual preference. It is thought to have originated in the 1850s when men were thrown together in situations where there were few or no women. The blue or red scarf would indicate if they were playing a male or female role at a dance for example and the red scarf became synonymous with the male playing a female role. By the 1970s this became a signifier or indicator of homosexuality and sexual preferences (Kacala, 2019). Kai depicted wearing a red

scarf in 1916 would have indicated Kai as having a queer ‘identity’ as opposed to ‘sexual preference’.

Our subtle ways of identifying one another are what link us together as a network, support system, and community (Moxon, 1985: 3).



3a. Harry Clarke: The Snow Queen, 1916



3b. Harry Clarke: The Snow Queen, 1916

In “The Shepherdess and the Chimney Sweep,” Clarke’s illustration veers away from the more common portrayal of these characters as children or “child-like,”⁴ and embraces a queer identity for both of them.^{4a}

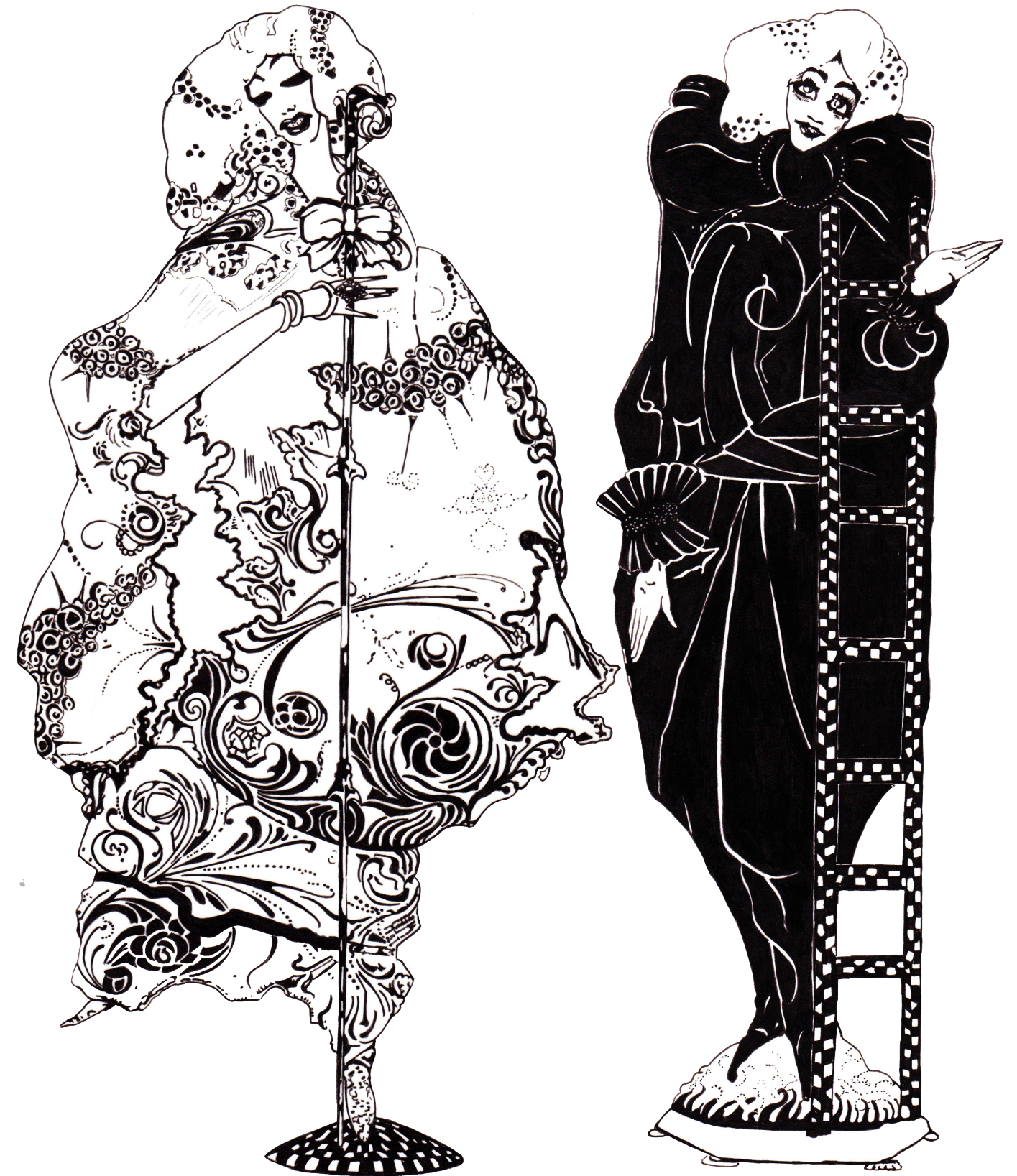
His shepherdess stands on a podium of black and white tiles. Using her crook to balance on one foot, her gown swirls about her giving her a freedom of movement at odds with the static stand she has been anchored to. The gown, reminiscent of the floral, feminine imagery of Art Nouveau implies a female character, yet her face has distinctly masculine characteristics. A strong jawline and heavy features accentuated by what appear to be a set of huge eye lashes with heavily kohled eyes and a large bouffant hairstyle which resembles a wig. These visual codes create a portrayal of a transvestite or what would have been referred to at the time as a “cross dresser” or “Nancy”. The Chimney Sweep has the same heavy makeup, full hair and feminised pose as the Shepherdess. His strong jawline and trousers the only indicator of his masculine identity. These images challenge the concept of what masculinity looks like and the preconceived notions of binary gender.

4. The two characters from the fairy tale love story “The Shepherdess and the Chimney-Sweep” are typically characterised as binary male and female characters as depicted in Helen Stratton’s illustration of 1908.

4a. Clarke however, created an ambiguous characterisation of a queer couple. Identifiable as male and female in attire, their faces create the impression that he was playing with gender identity and happy to deconstruct the expected identities to create an entirely new perception.



4. Helen Stratton: The Shepherdess and the Chimney Sweep, 1908



4a. Harry Clarke: The Shepherdess and the Chimney Sweep, 1916

5. Nielsen's illustration for "The Widow's Son" emphasises "looking for pleasure" or "scopophilic instinct (pleasure in looking at another person as an erotic object) (Mulvey, 1975 :67) The female character gazes at the widows son as he erotically stretches out on the floor.

With his arms behind his head, he openly invites a sexualised gaze from the represented participant within the image (the girl) and from the interactive participant (or viewer). He is aware of being observed, aware of his sexuality and becomes an erotic object for the participants.

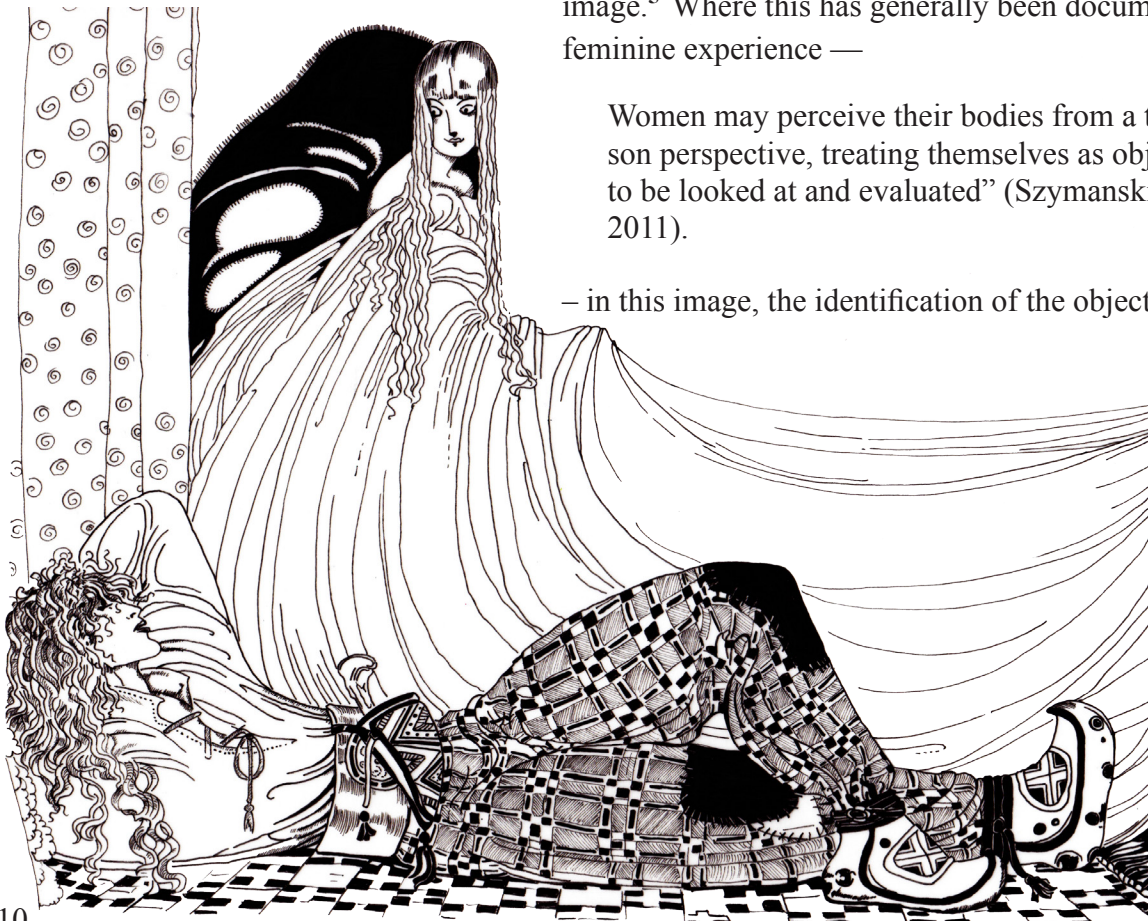
Alongside the visual language of homosexuality and gender, there is also evidence of objectification as theorised in the male as spectacle. Although objectification has been theorised from the female perspective and has been well documented, the male characters in some of these illustrations are objectified in a manner usually reserved for women.

Objectification theory focuses on sexual objectification as a function of objectifying gaze, which is experienced in actual social encounters, media depictions of social encounters, and media depictions that focus on bodies and body parts (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997: 173-206).

Kay Nielsen's prince in "The Widow's Son" is displayed in a way that induces sexual objectification from the viewer within the image, and also the viewer outside the image.⁵ Where this has generally been documented as a feminine experience —

Women may perceive their bodies from a third-person perspective, treating themselves as objects to be looked at and evaluated" (Szymanski et al, 2011).

— in this image, the identification of the object to be looked



5. Kay Nielsen: The Widow's Son, 1916

at and evaluated becomes a masculine contention. The transposing of the gaze from female to male also transposes the objectification of the body and appearance of the male character.

The theory explains that objectifying gaze evokes an objectified state of consciousness which influences self-perceptions... This objectified state of consciousness has consequences such as habitual body and appearance monitoring and requires cognitive effort (Szymanski et al, 2011).

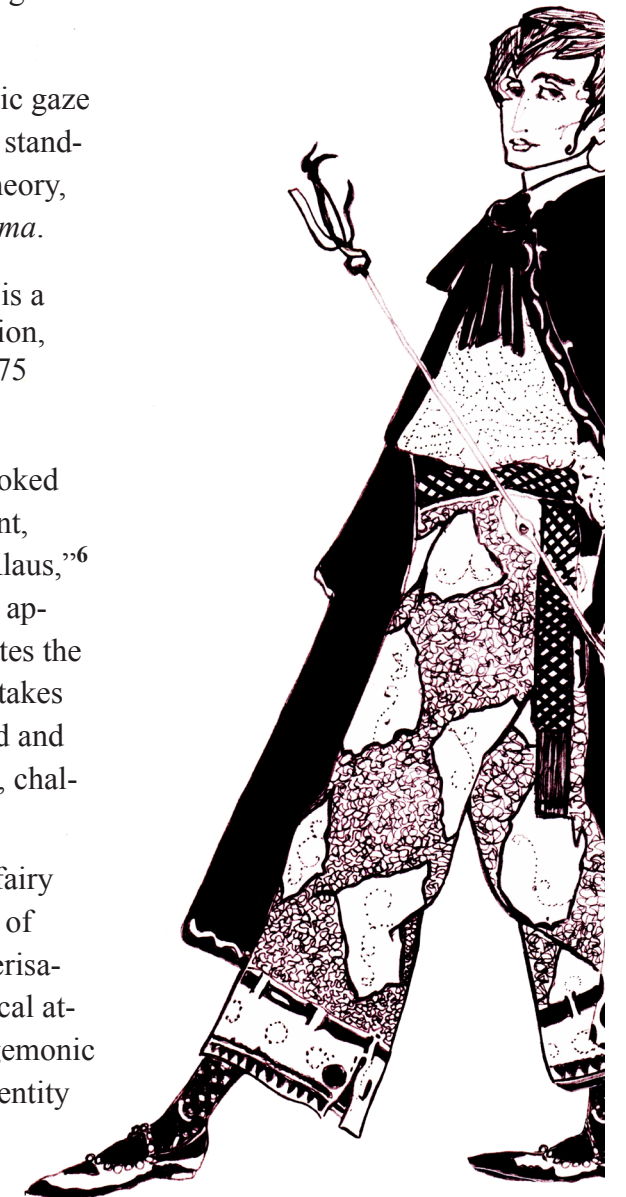
This illustration provides an example of a voyeuristic gaze (the male as spectacle), emphasising the theoretical standpoint of Laura Mulvey's interpretation of Freud's theory, in her paper on *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema*.

There are circumstances in which looking itself is a source of pleasure, just as, in the reverse formation, there is pleasure in being looked at (Mulvey, 1975 :59).

Nielsen's prince certainly appears to enjoy being looked at. An exhibitionist: he appears relaxed and confident, inviting the gaze. In Clarke's depiction of "Little Klaus,"⁶ the gaze moves from within the image. Little Klaus appears to objectify the *viewer* with his gaze, and invites the gaze back at himself. He *wants* to be looked at and takes pleasure in it. With his foot and hip pushing forward and his arm holding aside his cape, he teases the viewer, challenging them to admire him.

These visual portrayals and interactions within the fairy tale illustrations provide evidence of a commentary of changing attitudes and acceptance of queer characterisation. They emphasise the changing social and political atmosphere of the early 1900s by challenging the hegemonic expectations of masculinity, and creating a queer identity that embraced an adapting social acceptance.

6. Clarke often incorporated images of himself in his illustrations and it is interesting to note that it is this image of himself that invites the viewer's gaze. Almost as though he is encouraging the viewer to admire not just his illustrative talent, but also his physical being.



6. Harry Clarke: Little Klaus, 1916



7. Kay Nielsen: Cinderella, 1916

7. Although rare, there *are* depictions of people of colour in the illustrations from this period. Predominantly African and, from children to adults, they are most often portrayed as slaves and servants. Nielsen was one of the few illustrators to incorporate these characters into his work and ensured they were as beautiful and richly portrayed as his other characters.

In 2017, a Tate art exhibition entitled “Queer British Art (1861-1967)” investigated coded visual language used by artists. The curator of the exhibition, Clare Barlow, stated that,

We have been constantly frustrated by the comparative scarcity of material relating to inter-sectional identities: working-class queer lives, queer people of colour, trans and gender queer identities, even queer women artists (Al-Kadhi, 2017).

Yet as this thesis has shown, there is evidence of this material in fairy tale illustrations from as early as 1900. Depictions of ambiguous queer identity and homosexual masculinity are evident in works by Clarke, in his images of the “Snow Queen,” the “Chimney Sweep and the Shepherdess” and “Bluebeard”, amongst others. Nielsen, who depicts these elements in his images of princes, gardeners and flamboyant black servants,⁷ (he also created a gender neutral character in his illustration entitled “A tale from a Garden, No 1, He, She, and That”).⁸ Virginia Sterrett and A H Watson who depicted feminised princes,^{9 & 10} as did John Austen,¹¹ and Rie Cramer.¹²

Evidence of queer representations *are* documented, by these illustrators, but fairy tales as an archive of emotive illustrative material, are often overlooked, and have been largely ignored as a source of social and political visual commentary.

During the period of 1900 to 1935 the male fairy tale character was a mysterious, gender fluid man. A man with the masculine qualities that appealed to females and the feminine qualities that determined a less hegemonic perception, and acceptance, of a different form of masculinity.



8. Kay Nielsen: A Tale from a Garden, No 1, He She and That, 1916

8. Nielson also flirted with a genderless persona he named “that” in his illustration entitled, “A Tale from a Garden, No. 1, He and She and That,” (The Kendra and Allan Daniel Collection). A

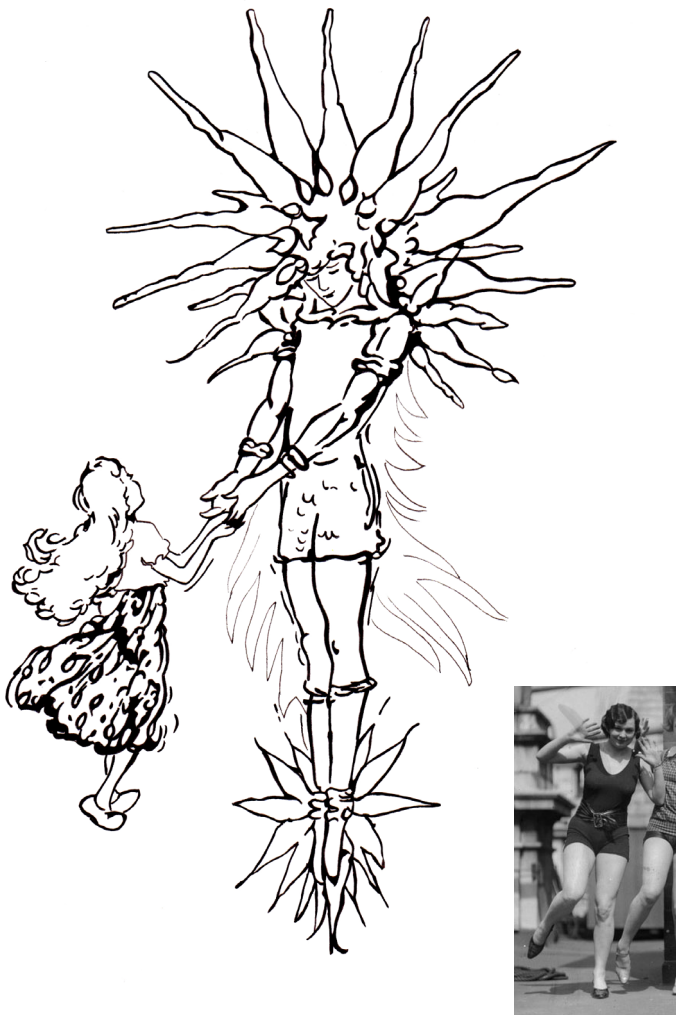
genderless person who the female in the illustration is intrigued by and turns back in surprise to look at. The male walks by either ignoring or not noticing the character kneeling in the bushes.

9. Virginia Sterrett's prince with his bobbed hair and short tunic, dainty arms and slim body are feminine signifiers on a masculine figure. Her prince resembles the figure of a young boy but has a distinct feminine appearance



9. Virginia Frances Sterrett: The Plant of Life, 1920

10. The cover of a Grimm's Fairy Tale book from 1920 depicts a child with a fairy. Although the fairy appears to be male. His shorts are not a garment worn by men in the 1920s, they were an item worn by flapper dancers or were women's sports wear. The elaborate head dress of flaming light is echoed at the feet which are clad in knee high boots or stockings. The muscular arms, shape of his face and flat chest imply masculinity but he is feminised by his dress and gestures.



10. A.H Watson: Grimm's Fairy Tales, 1920

11. John Austen's Prince Charming is one of the more feminine interpretations of this character. With the slim waist, hips and feminine face, it is hard to place this character as male outside the setting of the whole illustration. It is only the context that gives him his identity as a male character.



11. John Austen: Cinderella, 1922

12. Rie Cramer's prince from "Sleeping Beauty" displays a full face of make-up. He leans over the sleeping form of the princess and appears to be gently reaching out to her. His body shape is masculine but his floral robes, Purple tunic and heavily made up face imply a feminised male.



12. Rie Cramer: Sleeping Beauty, 1927



1. Roberto Montenegro: Marchessa Luisa Casati, 1914

1. Marchessa Luisa Casati was a sexual woman who had many lovers. She was often portrayed as an effeminate male in illustrations, paintings and photography. Her bold features and penchant for dressing up and wearing heavy makeup was reminiscent of the illustrations of men in fairy tales at the time.

3.5 The War Years: Sexual Ambiguity and Fluidity

By 1914, as the influences of artistic, social and political movements were ebbing and flowing, the onset of World War 1 was imminent. La Belle Époque came to a dramatic halt and men were thrown into the masculine territory of war. The period of WW1 saw another defining shift in the understanding and tolerance of homosexuality or queer gender for many, and for some, the war became a catalyst for their own sexual liberation by defying underlying hypocrisies and building on the indulgent era of the previous fourteen years (Halladay, 2004).

Crouthamel wrote in his paper, *Historical Sex: the Roaring Twenties – flappers, sex manuals and gay liberation*, that whilst it was true many people still reinforced a hegemonic masculine identity,

The total war experience also led many to subvert, appropriate and distort prevailing norms...allowing them to explore new behaviours or manifest existing, but previously hidden identities” (Crouthamel, 2017).

There were signs that society was beginning to ignore the socially accepted “biological” reason for sexual activity and finally exploring sexuality and gender without societal restraints. They were beginning to excuse themselves from the long-held belief that sexual activity was for procreation alone (Bristow, 2007).

At this time an Italian heiress called Marchessa Luisa Casati epitomised the sexual divergences of the era and as a patron of the arts she became a muse for artists and writers alike. Her likeness was captured by a variety of artists such as the Italian painter Roberto Montenegro in

1914.¹ Her blatant disregard for the outward appearance of social conformity and her determination to have as much liberated sexual fun as possible made her a much sought after character and she had an impact on works created by Beardsley, Alastair,² Nielsen and Clarke.



2. Alastair: The Marchessa Luisa Casati, 1914

2. Alastair chose to illustrate the Marchessa in a heterogeneous manner. The nipped-in waist, accentuated with the full peplum indicates femininity yet her face, broad shoulders and flat chest is masculine. These interpretations of a masculine female diversified into portrayals of the fictional characters with the fairy tale.

3. Harry Clarke's *Ballerina* from "The Steadfast Tin Soldier" reflects the androgynous elements of the Marchessa. The elaborately decorative skirt twirling about a tiny waist are the only signifiers of femininity. With his strong face, sturdy frame and flat chest, this ballerina is distinctly masculine in appearance. Yet this character is depicted as a female in the text, and is generally depicted as a female in the illustrations. Artists of the early 1900s displayed a freedom in their exploration of gender leaving a legacy of artwork that challenges the concept of binary gender. These artists were not afraid to contradict the expected versions of well known fairy tale characters and were also reflecting societal influences and depictions of real people.



3. Harry Clarke: *Ballet Dancer*, *The Steadfast Tin Soldier*: 1916

Depictions of her ambiguous sexuality and gender found their way into fairy tale characters, emphasising how the fairy tale clearly maintained identifiable links with society. This is particularly evident in Clark's version of a ballerina in "The Steadfast Tin Soldier."³

As far back as the 1880s Weeks noted, it was,

A curious fact, a "phenomenon common to all times of great agitation, that the traditional bonds of sexual relations, like all other fetters, are shaken off" (Weeks, 1991: 173).

The war was certainly a time of great agitation and with the preceding 40 years of social, political and sexual challenges, it was unsurprising that the onset of war precipitated another shift in sexual identity. As with all changes, it was a combination of elements, both political and social that precipitated changing attitudes. As D'Emilio states in his essay "Capitalism and Gay Identity," the weakening of the family unit played a part.

Capitalism continually weakens the material foundation of family life making it possible for individuals to live outside the family and for a lesbian and gay male identity to develop (D'Emilio, 1992: 13).

So too did war weaken these same ties, with men and women forced to live outside the traditional family unit. A fundamental change in exploring sexual identities outside the constraints of a hetero-normative family construct was fated. This change in sexual identity was echoed or predicted even, in the fairy tale illustrations being published throughout these turbulent years.

Comparing images by illustrators whose work was created before many of the artistic, social or political movements of the early 19th century got up any momentum and were therefore not as involved with, or influenced by them, to those created by illustrators whose work clearly reflected them, the visual disconnect with the fairy tale text they related to becomes apparent.

4, 5. Ford's Big Klaus has a large nose and a masculine body. He is dressed in peasants clothing and runs through the streets pushing a large barrow in front of him containing a dead horse. Bay too, depicts a dead horse with his versions of Klaus dressed as hard working country folk. Although seemingly better dressed than Ford's characters, they too are working men. The contrast with Clarke's characters is stark.

6. In Clarke's depiction, Great Claus is dressed in fine, expensive garments, decorated with floral patterns. He exudes an air of wealth. A flamboyant shawl is draped about his shoulders, pinned with a jewelled brooch and his hand rests on the shoulder of Little Claus. He wears a sash about his

The interpretation of Hans Christian Andersen's characters "Great Claus and Little Claus" (or Klaus), created by Henry J Ford in 1894, by Walter Bays in 1895, by Harry Clarke in 1916 and Arthur Szyr in 1945, demonstrates the divergence from the text in the interpretation of their visual characteristics.

In Ford's depiction, Great Klaus is an aggressive, slightly imbecilic looking, hegemonic male. There is no ambiguity about his Klaus. Running through the streets pushing a barrow containing a dead horse and dressed in a tunic with long leather boots, dishevelled and grubby, he exudes an air of poverty and is a stereotypical depiction of an unambiguous masculine identity.⁴ Walter Bays likewise, creates characters typical of a depiction of masculinity found in the illustrative interpretations of the time.⁵

By 1916 however Clarke diverges from this stereotype. He depicts a version of masculinity that is at odds not only with the men portrayed by Ford and Bays, but in the textual description of these two characters. The two Claus'

are poor, stupid, tricksters and murdering con-men. Great Claus is forever trying to outwit Little Claus and fails miserably every time as Little Claus is the cleverer of the two. They dislike one another and Little Claus is eventually the cause of Great Claus dying in pursuit of riches he perceives Little Claus to have obtained.

Clarke's two characters, both appear to be wealthy, sly, wily, handsome characters. Although clearly male they carry themselves with an air of femininity. Coded messages associated with homosexuality and homo-eroticism within the image are unmistakable.⁶ By 1945, Szyr's version had altered them again.⁷ Influenced by his experiences in subsequent years (including WW2), he created a version of the two men that conveyed slyness and stupidity in their facial expression, and although dressed as Dandies in their top hats, waistcoats and breeches, they symbolised an hegemonic masculine identity, as opposed to the queer gendering of Clarke's illustration.

waist with a thin sword held within it. Little Claus wears a frilled and fussy bow about his neck, and although he is pointing a thumb at Great Claus, it appears as if he is about to take hold of his hand. Although he is actually looking behind him, he appears to be looking out of the image, connecting with the viewer with a wry smile. His look implies he is fully in control of the older Claus.

7. Szyr's characters have altered again by 1945. With short cropped hair, and dressed in fine country attire, their clothing depicts them as gentlemen but their facial expression shows a smaller sly and scheming character in Little Claus, and a stupid creature with a hat too small for his thick head in Big Claus. The sexual ambiguity has gone, as have the flamboyant clothes, typifying the change in masculine perception after WW2.



4. Henry J Ford: Big Klaus and Little Klaus, 1894



5. Walter Bays: Little Claus and Big Claus, 1895



6. Harry Clarke: Great Claus and Little Claus, 1916



7. Arthur Szyr: Little Claus and Big Claus, 1945

Another cogent comparison is the king from ‘Puss in Boots’ by Otto Speckter in 1844 and Edmund Dulac’s, version of the same character published in 1928. Although both depicting a portly king displaying an air of authority, the similarities end there. Speckter’s king is a stern figure, perched solidly on his throne, he exudes an air of authority. Observing the cat, he stares seemingly unimpressed at the contents of the bag being laid at his feet.⁸ Dulac’s king however, displays clear signifiers of homosexuality or queer identity. His lavender sash and cloak and his hand gestures indicate he is not a heterosexual, hegemonic character. Through his effeminate gestures and posture he appears to be ‘mincing’ through the gardens, gazing upwards vacantly. He is a ‘showy peacock’ with an air of entitlement that comes from his status as king.⁹

A chronological focus of the kings in this tale from 1844 through to 1928, shows the changing interpretation and visual expression of masculinity, and the gradual evolution of the more feminised identity developing into the early 1900s.^{10,a,b,c,d}



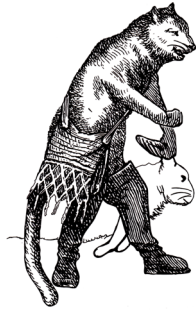
8. Otto Speckter: Puss in Boots, 1844



9. Edmund Dulac: Puss in Boots, 1928



10. The king of 1844 is a portly figure. His stooped shoulders, double chin and pot belly signify this king enjoys his food and probably rarely leaves the throne he governs from. A small jewelled crown sits neatly on his head and his simple heavy robes drape to his feet. He sits with his knees apart as he regards the booted cat bowing before him.



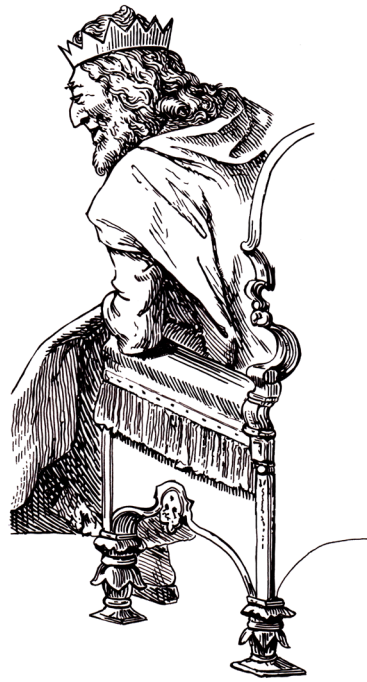
10a. Binzer's 1873 king has a beard and a hooked nose, seen in profile he looks amused and interested by the cat and leans gently forward, resting on one arm, to see the cat's offering. This king also has robes that flow to his feet. A regal looking man with long hair and a simple crown he has an authoritative air



10b. By 1914 the king has begun to look less regal and more of a dandy. The frills on his shirt cascade down his front and spill into his lap, his trousers finish at the knees with more frills at the cuff. Large bows decorate his shoes and he sits with a smugly superior expression as the cat shows him the hare. Knees akimbo, the king relaxes back in his throne, at ease with himself and his authority. He wears no crown



10. Otto Speckter: Puss in Boots, 1844



10a. Carl Von Binzer: Puss in Boots, 1873



10b. Felician Rheinfeld: Puss in Boots, 1914

10c. Clarke's 1922 version sees a continuation of a haughty and vain king. Dressed in an elaborate frock coat with matching knee high boots adorned with feathered pom-poms, this suave, confident gentleman displays the queer characteristics of the 1920s. His hand gestures and posture very different to the characterisations of the king in earlier years. A sword is at his side although only the handle is visible and the crown perched on his head of curls resembles a dainty tiara. Clarke's cat is just as beautifully dressed. He too sports a frock coat, knee high boots and giant cuffs on his jacket.



10c. Harry Clarke: Puss in Boots, 1922



10d. Edmund Dulac: Puss in Boots, 1928

Outside this illustrative world of colour and gender fluidity, the stark and present danger of World War 1 was a grim reality. Authorities were attempting to exert some level of control over sexuality but the separation of men and women and the horror of what they were living through had created an atmosphere where infidelities, prostitution, and homosexuality flourished (Crouthamel, 2014).

The reality was, as described by D’Emilio in 1992, that relieved from the social structures of home, prostitution and sexual experimentation thrived, but it also gave relief from the traumas experienced on the front line.

Crouthamel noted that the distance the war was creating between men and women both emotionally and geographically enabled a sexual liberty. Soldiers were starting to express fantasies about their own gender and sexuality, a release from the “masculine ideal” and also from the stigmatisation of being perceived as “less masculine” were they to indulge in any sort of homoerotic thoughts or behaviours.

The fact that gay men sacrificed themselves alongside heterosexual men, and shared the spiritual bond of ‘comradeship’ gave them the confidence and credibility to ‘come out’ (Crouthamel, 2011: 112).

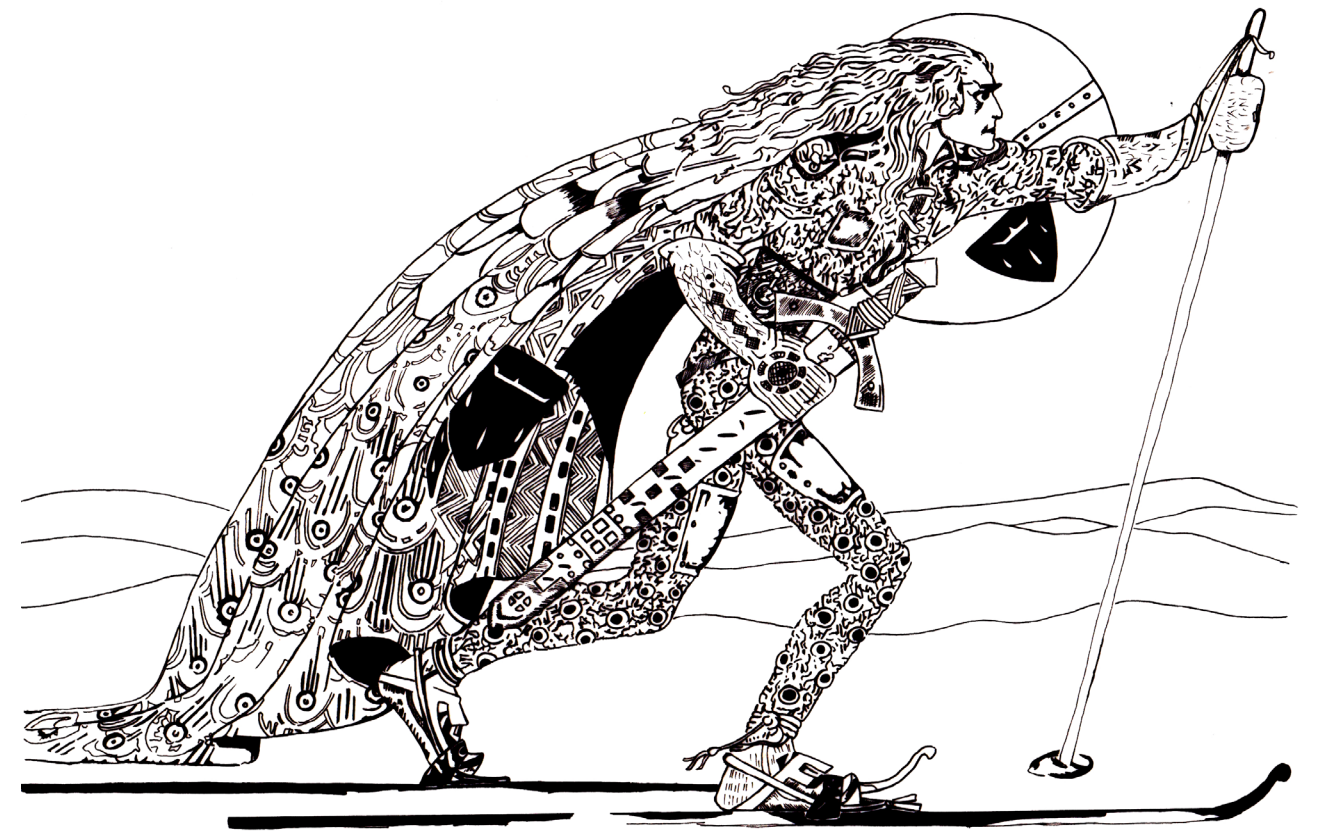
The reality of being engaged in such a masculine activity on the front line, gave them a certain licence to explore other areas of their masculinity with impunity.¹¹

Gender transgression, disillusionment with the emotionally stifling expectations of the masculine ideal, and desires for nurturing and love, even with other men. Men were celebrating the softer side of comradeship, including the bonds of love and friendship (Crouthamel, 2014).

This exploration was reflected in the fairy tale illustrations. Nielsen, Pogany and Rackham’s warriors and princes

11. This warrior, a strong and determined male, sets forth on his quest carrying a huge sword and wearing a full set of ornate armour. His flowing cloak is adorned with peacock quills and his long hair cascades loosely down his back. He has an air of the romantic hero and saviour, striding through adversity to face and conquer the enemy.

His appeal to men and women is a characteristic Nielsen regularly employs. The male audience can identify with the masculine identity of this strong warrior whilst also exploring the desire he evokes. The ornate and highly decorated clothing, the slim delicate frame, the long flowing hair, and his innate beauty, create a dichotomy within his identity. Even without discernible feminine characteristics, his appeal is ambiguously delicious.



11. Kay Nielsen: The Three Princesses of Whiteland, 1922



12. Arthur Rackham: Rhinegold and the Valkyrie, 1910

12. Arthur Rackham's young hero here drives his sword into the belly of a great beast. His semi naked torso is defined by his muscular back and shoulders, and his leg, set behind him as he pushes the weapon home, epitomises a strong and healthy young man. Well developed, wearing nothing but an animal fur he invites admiration from the viewer regardless of their gender or sexual preference.

began to manifest an objectified masculine identity, often displaying their muscular bodies as they fought with the enemy.¹² The combination of a sexualised warrior, both masculine and feminine, with coded homosexual indicators, emphasised the feminised depiction of the male whilst at the same time defining the masculinised warrior. An effeminate masculine identity sat comfortably alongside a heterosexual identity whilst retaining a stereotypical expectation of a hero or prince.¹³

Femininity and female accoutrements were the antithesis of war, and manifestations of femininity amongst the fighting men provided a form of escapism from the burden of their masculinity. The military saw the feminised homosexual, cross-dressing men as "problematic." It was thought these men would "tempt" heterosexual men into homosexuality, thus corrupting them and causing the military problems. However cross-dressing for the purposes of entertainment were deemed acceptable and acted as,

A temporary act of relief from the war
(Crouthamel, 2014).

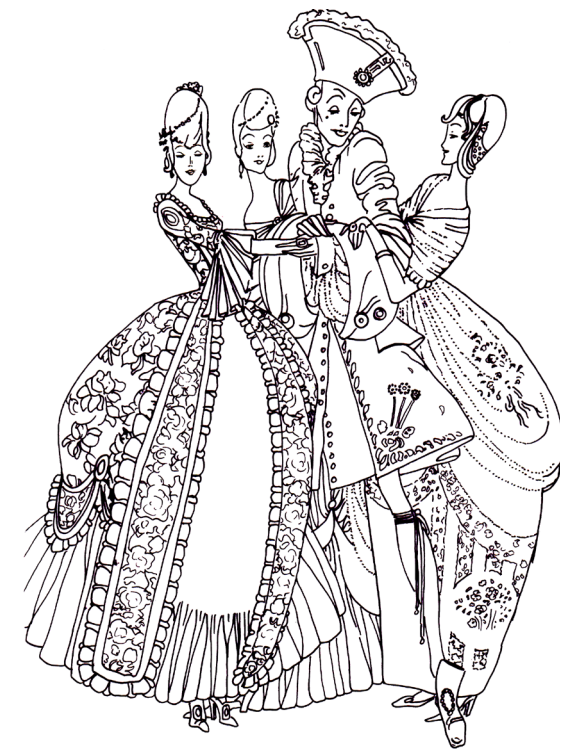
Illustrations, especially those in a fantasy setting and regarded as entertainment, passed by un commented upon, providing a visual way of escaping the pressure or normality of a masculine reality. As such, it is the artists of these tales who were able, albeit perhaps unwittingly, to use this outlet as a way of evidencing and documenting these changing dynamics in masculine identity.¹⁴

Attitudes towards sexual identity were changing. The homosexual identity of the soldier was now being promoted by activists as a "hyper-masculine warrior". Not only could he fight alongside other men...

He could provide emotional support and love too. The war had provided a way to liberate preconceptions of homosexuality, to carve a niche in society

13. The highly effeminate prince in Nielsen's Powder and Crinoline exudes appeal to women. He is depicted surrounded by them, all holding or touching him. Although he flirts coquettishly with them, he appears coy and his hunched shoulders indicate he is not as relaxed or as comfortable as he might be in this situation. It is as if he is holding them at bay.

His effeminate demeanour also belies the 'seeming' interest in the women.



13. Kay Nielsen: In Powder and Crinoline, 1913



14. Kay Nielsen: The North Wind, 1922

14. The North Wind by Kay Nielsen is an example of another beautiful warrior. His strength and masculinity are highlighted in the muscularity of his body. His strong thighs and arms displaying tattoos as he blows with all his might. His angular jaw and naked chest, signifiers of a powerful male and his appearance invites a sexualised gaze.

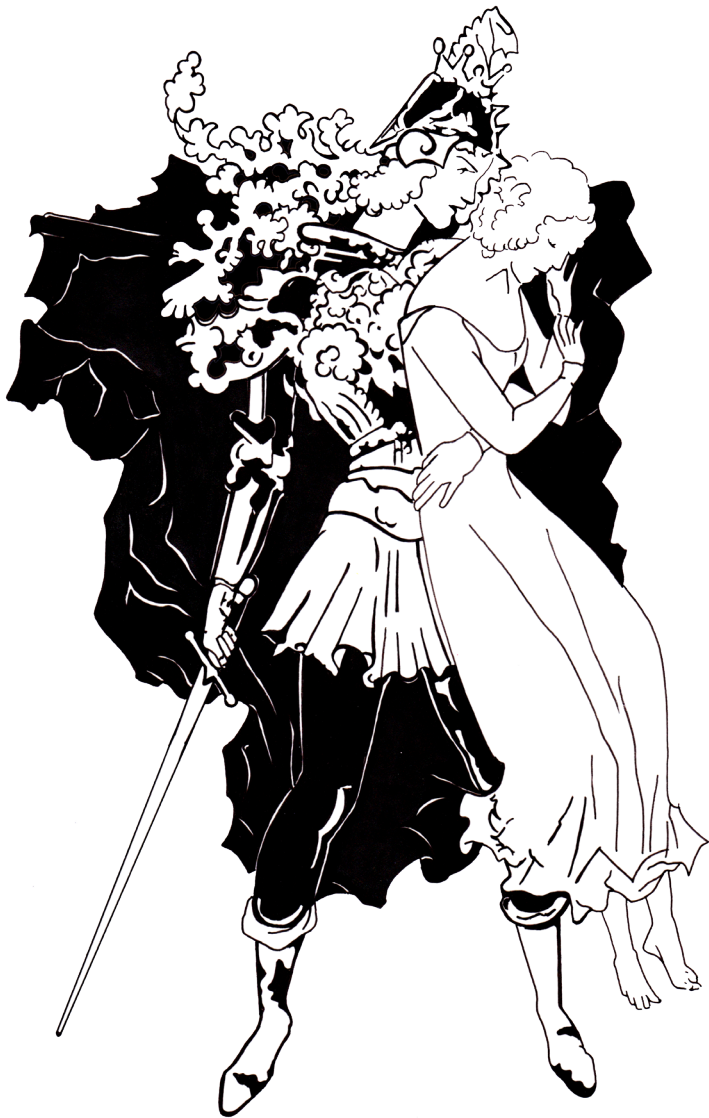
Although this character is not as aware of being observed, the audience is invited to gaze at his magnificence. Another example of the erotic gaze that appeals not only to women, but to men too, and as a warrior he has a connection with men fighting on the front, the warriors of their day.

to create a space in which men could normalise and humanise homo-social and homosexual inclinations (Crouthamel, 2014).

The war had provided a way for homosexual men to not only embrace their identity but to demonstrate to their heterosexual comrades that they were able to perform equally alongside them and “dispel negative stereotypes” (Crouthamel, 2014).¹⁵

Eventually an inevitable backlash developed in the emancipation of homosexual men (and women). There were those who vilified them and determined they were more interested in their own sexual practices than in protecting their country, and there were also those that sought to reintroduce the stability and importance of family in order to re-create a familiar society.

Over the next twenty years, the fairy tale adapted itself once again and became seen as an important element in helping to rebuild the family unit.



15. This hero not only is strong enough to carry the female to safety, but he also has a feminine grace and beauty. With an accentuated waist to hip ratio, reminiscent of a female, this warrior epitomises the dual attraction of these characters. He appeals to both men and women. He could be genderless as his gender is only indicated by the actions he is performing.

15. Willy Pogany: The Faerie Queen, 1930

BRITAIN·NEEDS



YOU·AT·ONCE

1. Anon: Propaganda War Poster, 1914

1. This call to arms is accentuated by using a male character of heroic legend. St George, the patron saint of England is here depicted slaying a huge winged dragon. A strong soldier, warrior and hero, he is used to encourage young men to emulate him in fighting to protect their country. A lone hero destroying the enemy, this knight is no “dandy.” There are no cloaks, loose hair or peacock feathers, more a strong, masculine male, bravely facing danger.

3.6 WW1: Fairy Tale Propaganda

World War 1 officially began on 28th July 1914 and signalled an end to La Belle Époque. One month earlier, Archduke Franz Ferdinand had been assassinated in Sarajevo, precipitating the beginning of a World War that was to last for the next 4 years. This war initially saw the creation of the “Triple Entente” of France, Russia and Britain and the “Triple Alliance” of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy — although many other countries were ultimately pulled into this “Great War,” and some swapped sides during it (Strachan, (Williamson), 1998: 9-25).

The use of propaganda to control and influence public opinion became a tool of manipulation that attempted to justify the war to the masses.¹ The state propaganda machine, alongside private enterprises, created advertising campaigns and propaganda to influence or transform public perception, that the loss of life, home and freedoms, was justified in a war that was a moral crusade. Propaganda was utilised by all sides and the efforts of the state were bolstered by societies who entered into the creation of visual and verbal information to reinforce the state’s messages.

The propaganda messages on both sides stretched from atrocity stories to barbaric caricatures to children’s tales to outright lies. The most powerful propaganda did not come from the centres of power, but rather from within these societies themselves (Strachan, (Winter), 1998: 218).

The fairy tale was not immune to adaptations for propaganda purposes. As the messages from propaganda for children encompassed bravery, victim-hood, enemies and revenge, the fairy tale was a perfect conduit to transmit these lessons to children and to indoctrinate “future soldiers” into the shared culture of war. “Schools and teachers came under pressure to devote their entire teaching to support the war effort” (Cooke, 2014).

Propaganda entered every home. There was a vast array of stirring messages for children (Strachan, (Winter), 1998: 219).

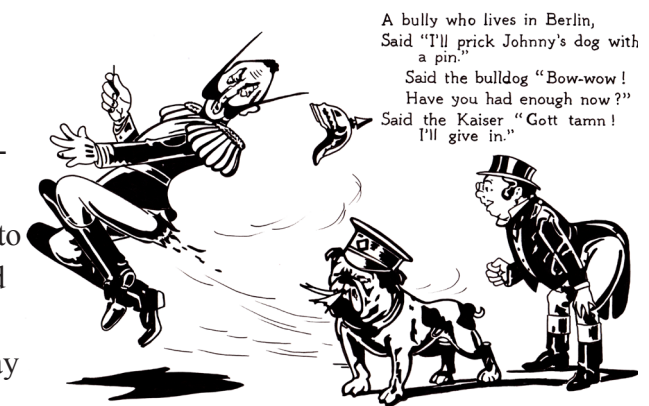
The visual format became a central function of propaganda. The power of the visual to provoke, incite, explain or ridicule was recognised as a powerful tool and was used to create visual stereotypes of the enemy which were placed on posters, in newspapers and in books.² These visual interpretations — often managing to simplify or downplay the atrocities of war — were popular and gave a much needed boost not only to morale, but to line the pockets of enterprising industries or to boost fundraising efforts to support the war. “More central to propaganda was the cultivation of visual forms especially in caricature and in poster art” (Strachan, (Winter), 1998: 220).

Private enterprises stood squarely behind the war effort, reinforced prevalent propaganda messages and, at the same time, benefited through the sale of their goods under such a worth mantle (British Library, 2014).

It is not the purpose of this thesis to enter into the political and moral debate on propaganda or the intricacies of its formation and use throughout the war, but more to introduce it as a relevant part of the development of the portrayal of the male character within the fairy tale at this time. Adaptations of the fairy tale and the imagery that accompanied these were to alter the perception of masculinity in the tales yet again.

In the same way older fairy tales originated by word of mouth, so too did many new fairy tales created or adapted, during the First World War.

In the case of the literary fairy tale we know that it emanated from and evolved within an oral tradition of storytelling (Zipes, 2010: 97).



2. Anon: Propaganda War Poster, 1914

2. Anti German propaganda was often created as cartoons or jokes at the expense of the German’s. The British Bulldog here used as an association with staunch nationalistic identity, is strong, and fearless. He takes a bite out of the seat of the German’s pants, egged on by an English gent, fist clenched in a gesture signifying encouragement and a masculine approval of the dogs actions.



3. Elsie Wright: Cottingley Fairies, 1917

3. Although the term “fairy tale” is often associated with little winged women in gossamer skirts, these were in fact “fay” or a type of fairy. “Fairy” is a term used to describe any manner of enchanted or magical beasts.

“A fairy is, in fact, any supernatural creature of the imagination. It is a being evolved, contrary to the laws of nature, by enchantment. In the correct sense, a hobgoblin or a giant (if large enough) or a mermaid, or even a dragon is a fairy, and there is no evidence whatever, that ballet-skirts are within the recesses of the forests of fairy-land”. (Gosse & Rackham, 1918: x)

Myths and legends sprung up, creating wild and fanciful tales that played into the Zeitgeist of the day and created a way to manage the frightening and atrocious acts of war being played out on the doorsteps of millions. James Hayward describes the formation of these tales in his book *Myths and Legends of the First World War* (2005).

The Myths and Legends spawned during the First World War are legion, and several still manage to excite controversy today. More colourful, if not more numerous, than those of the Second World War, they are fascinating both in their own right and when viewed in their wider historical context (Hayward, 2005: x).

This period saw a heightened hysteria and belief in the fanciful portrayed as reality — it was during this time that Elsie Wright and her cousin Francis Griffiths were photographed playing with fairies at the end of their garden — a belief which endured for over 60 years when both ladies, by then in their 70s and 80s, confessed to creating the images themselves.³

It scarcely seems credible that at the height of a war of rapidly developing technologies ... a sizeable percentage of the population was prepared to believe in the reality of little winged people (Hayward, 2005: x).

Yet such was the desire for explanation, morale boosting or escapism from the realities of war, that these tales and myths expounded. This is where the fairy tale excels, by encapsulating unsettling or disturbing realities and creating a way in which to process and use them as a form of escapism or explanation. The tales had been doing this for hundreds of years, “Beauty and the Beast” for example,

was created to allay the fears of a young bride being married to a much older gentleman (Ch1.1:97).

The flexibility of the fairy tale to absorb new concepts enabled adaptations and transformations, and created an effective way of communicating political ideals with a wider audience. Not only did the general public perpetuate the tales and legends themselves, but politicians created new tales they could use as effective propaganda.

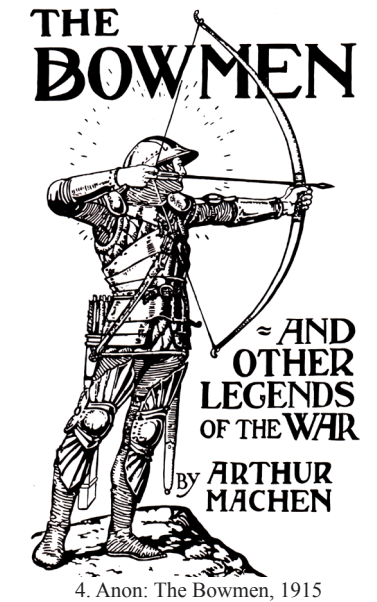
What is important to bear in mind is that neither the institutionalisation of the fairy tale as genre nor the individual tale as text itself, has remained fixed (Zipes, 2010: 97).

The tale of “The Bowmen” (1914), “The Angel of Mons” (1915), and “The Russians in England” (1915), are three such examples of creating tales that helped lift spirits when the allies were not doing well on the battlefields (Hayward 2005). Yet there were also tales that generated hate towards the enemy in creations such as the “German Corpse Factory” (1917).⁴

In the spring of 1917, British and Belgian propagandists, in a concerted action with privately owned media, launched an invented story about “Corpse Factories”, where the Germans allegedly boiled down their own soldier dead to lubricants, fertiliser, pig fodder, and soap (Neander & Marlin, 2010: 79).

This tale has become the focus of many studies as its origins and authenticity were hotly debated, yet the intent behind it was deliberate and created a tale of gory horror that resonated with its intended audience.⁵

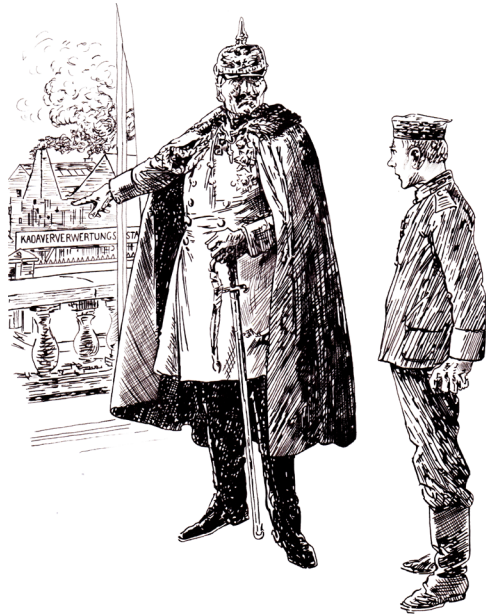
In the course of time, the Corpse factory story became more and more an “urban legend” and



4. *The Bowmen* began as a tale created by Arthur Machen and soon became a war-time legend. The Bowman was said to appear as a vision to the soldiers on the battlefield to direct them and give them the strength and determination to keep going when all seemed lost. A tale of faith, spirit and perseverance.

The Corpse Factory, was the polar opposite. A tale that depicted the barbarity of the “Hun” who, it was claimed, took their own dead and boiled them to extract their body fat to make soap and gelatin. A hate filled narrative that reinforced the loathing and abhorrence felt by the allies towards their enemies.

“The peoples of enemy countries were portrayed as barbarians, who caused such outrages because amorality was an inherent part of their national character.” (Cooke, 2014:BL)



5. Leonard Raven Hill: Punch, 1917

5. It was reported that the Germans had factories in which the dead bodies of their soldiers were treated chemically to produce lubricant oils and food for pigs. Although never proven, this tale became an urban legend during the war and fed into the propaganda utilised by the allies. Many cartoon and illustrations were created around this legend.

THE ALLIES' FAIRY BOOK

WITH AN INTRODUCTION
BY EDMUND GOSSE C.B.
AND ILLUSTRATIONS
BY ARTHUR RACKHAM



6. Arthur Rackham: The Allies' Fairy Tale Book, 1916

developed a life of its own. It was told and retold in the trenches and at home (Neander & Marlin, 2010: 75).

This telling and retelling of a tale that takes on a life of its own is typical of fairy tale origins. That this tale begins as part of war propaganda indicates how the fairy tale can lend itself towards the political whilst entertaining or instilling emotions in the listener. A useful tool when engendering a spirit of hate towards an enemy.

Britain only assumed the darker hue of hate propaganda after the spring of 1915. This followed a run of German “frightfulness” which included the first use of poison gas on April 22nd, the sinking of the Lusitania early in May, and the mythic crucifixion of a Canadian soldier near Ypres (Hayward, 2005: x).

Meanwhile, traditional fairy tales were also being utilised and created a familiar format that encompassed solidarity and pride in the fight for freedom.⁶

There is a domain or module within our brains that enables us to form and conceptualise information according to variable linguistic conventions, and we have developed a strong genetic disposition to forming and cultivating mental and public representations within social and cultural institutions that makes the fairy tale relevant as a literary genre because it is both efficient and ostensive (Zipes, 2010: 95-96).

The Allies' Fairy Book (1918), illustrated by Arthur Rackham with an introduction by Edmund Gosse, a renowned poet and Cambridge Don, was a collection of tales originating from all the countries fighting together to overcome the enemy. British, Russian, Belgian, Irish, Scottish, Italian, French, Flemish, Japanese, Chinese and Serbian

tales were pulled together to create a compendium that contained at their core a message of overcoming obstacles, and an essence and identity particular to the country of origin.

We think that the form in which every story we have chosen is told, although perhaps not the essence of the story itself, is characteristic of each particular country, and all that we need say more is that it has amused us to bring together specimens of the folk-lore of the fighting friends of humanity (Gosse & Rackham, 1918: ix).

What becomes apparent when reading these tales is that they have been chosen with the male in mind. He appears in almost all of the tales and illustrations, and has changed from the ambiguously gendered man into a young heterosexual young man or boy who demonstrates authority, bravery, heroism and kindness.

The tales chosen by Gosse and Rackham in the *Allies' Fairy Book* are populated with characters such as “Jack the Giant Killer” (whom has already been discussed earlier in this thesis. (Ch 2.4: 206), and “Guleesh”⁷ an Irish boy who aids fairies in capturing a beautiful French princess, then saves her from marrying a man she does not love.

These young men become real heroes who single handedly defeat giants, fairies, witches and ogres. They are steadfast and honourable, brave and enterprising and all generate a feeling of dislike, mistrust or hatred toward their enemies.

“Guleesh” is an example of this masculine hero, protecting and defending the life and well-being of his love. When the fairies in the tale realise he will not hand her over to them, but seeks instead to protect her, they curse her with a loss of speech. Guleesh continues to love and protect her by taking her to a Priest's house to be cared for and upon meeting with the fairies once more, and finding the cure for her inability to speak, he tests the cure on himself first in order that he do her no harm.



7. Arthur Rackham: Guleesh, 1916

7. Guleesh is an heroic figure who rescues, protects and eventually marries a princess. His physical portrayal is very different to the princes of Nielsen and Clarke, et al. A young man who displays heroism and maturity beyond his physical years, this character by Rackham is dressed in peasant's clothes. Barefoot he stands with his chest pushed forward, his clenched fists at his side ready to defend the princess. He glares fiercely at the fairy who points a long bony finger threateningly at him. Surrounded by evil fairies, the princess holds her head in despair, no longer able to speak, but Guleesh is ready to defend and protect her.



8. Arthur Rackham: Jack the Giant Killer, 1916

8. Although the character of Jack is a tiny figure in Rackham's illustration, he is depicted as strong and brave. Ready to slay an ogre three times his size, he stands, with no hint of fear, over the captured enemy, ready to dispatch the two headed monster with one fell swoop of his sword. With blood dripping from the ogre, Jack has tied ropes around its neck and has large dray horses ready to pull him towards a long slow strangulation. This is a brutal image but as Jack is the hero and the ogre the enemy, it is an apt allegory of the men fighting the enemy on the front lines.

Upon regaining her speech, the princess declares she must return to her parents and Guleesh, who honours her decision, follows his true love home and ultimately marries her. This character is not outsmarted nor humiliated by any other character. He is honourable, loyal and brave. All prerequisites for a soldier, and the illustrations echoed these traits in their representations of masculine characters.

In the French tale of "Sleeping Beauty" by Mr S R Littlewood from the *The Allies' Fairy Book*, the tale begins where the original ends. There is no kiss that awakens the princess in this version.

Instead of ending with the release of the princess from her enchanted palace, this version goes on to describe what happened after that, in great detail (Gosse & Rackham, 1918: xvi).

The prince has a real mission. As opposed to simply appearing at the end of the tale to assist the princess, (Ch 2.4: 206) he is a fully fledged character, a soldier going off to war to fight. He leaves behind another male character, his servant, who is tasked with taking care of his family while he is away.

The prince marries the princess and brings his mother, who is in fact an ogress, to live with them. As soon as he has departed to fight in the war, the mother requests that one by one the children and the wife be killed and served to her for dinner. The male servant commissioned with the task, instead takes the children and princess to safety and produces goat meat to trick the ogress. Just as she becomes aware of his duplicity and is prepared to kill all of them in retribution, her son the prince, arrives back home from

the war to save them all. The two heroes in the tale are the servant and the prince, both of whom defy the ogress, one with wit and bravery, the other with authority and strength.

The Japanese tale of "The Adventures of Little Peachling" introduces a young handsome man, who upon setting off to take riches from the evil ogres, in order to support his poor parents, meets an assortment of creatures along the way. He is kind and generous to all of them and they follow him and assist with his task. He returns triumphant,

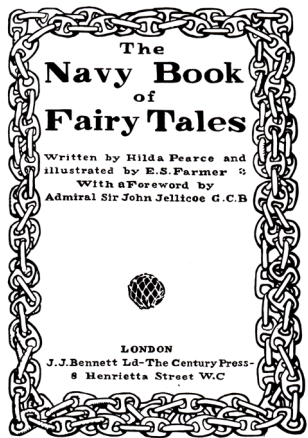
Laden with riches, and maintained his foster-parents in peace and plenty for the remainder of their lives (Gosse & Rackham, 1918: 86).

Arthur Rackham's illustrations of the males in this book depict young men, worthy, brave and identifiable with those currently fighting for their country. This subtle shift in the perception of the "hero" fitted into the new order of society. The male was foremost in the public imagination due to the war, and males and masculinity were being challenged to fulfil the expectation of the hegemonic traits of heroism, bravery, generosity and success.^{8&9}



9. Arthur Rackham: Battle of the Birds, 1916

9. This image again depicts a young man as the hero. Here he confronts a disgruntled giant and with a pointed finger and clenched fist on his hip, he stares at the giant, demanding the release of the princess. Dressed in 17th century Scottish military uniform of a belted plaid kilt, laced boots and a sporran with a small dagger at his side, this hero exudes masculinity and power over a far larger enemy.



10. E.S Farmer: The Navy Book of Fairy Tales, 1916

10 & 11. The Navy Book contained stories and images that depicted young, strong men taking control of situations and overcoming obstacles. The bravery and heroism that was being expounded by the military was reflected in the imagery and tales presented to a new young audience.



11. E.S Farmer: The Student and the Butterfly, 1916

Alongside the *Allies' Fairy Tale Book* published by representatives of the men fighting on the front, the Navy also produced a fairy tale book called *The Navy Book of Fairy Tales* (Pearce, 1916),¹⁰ illustrated by E.S.Farmer. This too contained tales of brave and heroic deeds performed by young men. Unlike many of the more well known fairy tales, women were not the dominant characters in the tales selected for these books either. The purpose of these fairy tales was to perpetuate an identity for the brave and heroic male that had been missing from many of the previous tales¹¹ (Ch 2.4: 206).

There was no reproduction in this book of tales such as “Rumpelstiltskin,” or “The Little Mermaid,” but lesser known tales such as “The Magic Opal”, “The Student and the Butterfly” and “The Prince with the Goblin Heart” Tales that exemplified the tenacity and heroism of the central male character and reinforced a belief in the hero overcoming all obstacles to return triumphant. These messages were important for the morale of the nation and the fairy tale proved to be an effective medium in which to relay them to the public and more importantly, to children, pulling them into the political and social propaganda machine.

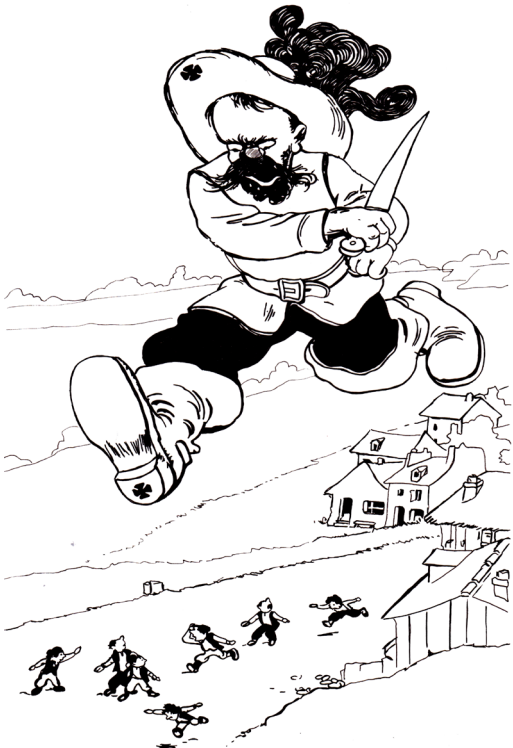
The function of the tales varied, depending on the sociocultural context. For sure, entertainment and instruction were always part of their function, but they were designed to communicate ideas about natural instincts, social relations, normative behaviour, character types, sexual roles and power politics (Zipes, 2010: 99).

Although fairy tales were chosen as a conduit to communicate many of these messages, some tales were conspicuous in their absence. Sourced from a wide range of countries, the most famous of the tales from Germany were neglected — just as they would be again after WW2, after they had been commandeered by the Nazis in order to deliver

propaganda to the children of the Third Reich. Germany were the enemy — the Hun —and children were encouraged to see them as such. British children amongst others, were in fact, encouraged in their hatred of all things German.^{12&13}

One British children’s ditty captured this new mobilisation of children in total war. Accompanying a drawing of a devastated house, a child intoned:

This is the house that Jack built
This is the bomb that fell on the house that Jack built.
This is the Hun who dropped the bomb that fell on the house that Jack built.
This is the gun that killed the Hun who dropped the bomb that fell on the house that Jack built (Strachan, (Winter), 1998: 219).



12. Marcel Cappy: The 28 Kilometre Boots: “The German ogre and French Little Thumbling, 1907

12 & 13. The German Ogre represented in 1907, and identified as “the Hun” in Marcel Cappy’s 1907 illustration is chasing the French villagers with a drawn sword. His large boots and hat sport an iron cross on the rim and on the heel. This cross, originating in 1813 was awarded to members of the German military. Compare this with the English version of the German ogre produced in 1914, where he has become something of a demon. With a mouth full of sharpened teeth he drips blood as he runs toward a barrage of guns. Naked, he wears only boots with a spur and a helmet sporting the black eagle, the symbol of the German Imperial Coat of Arms.

Both versions of this wild man created to frighten and reinforce stereotypes. Cappy’s illustration is from a fairy tale and Ritchie’s propaganda poster adopting one of the most well known phrases from the evil giant in “Jack and the Beanstalk”.

“Fee, Fi, Fo, Fum, I smell the blood of an English man, Be he alive, or be he dead, I’ll grind his bones to make my bread.”



FEE FI FO FUM

13. Alick P F Ritchie: WW1 German Ogre, 1914

The use of the fairy tale to encourage children to embrace a patriotic sense of purpose and support for the armed forces is best summed up by The Chaplin to the Forces in the foreword of *The Navy Book of Fairy Tales*.

The fairies always fought on the side of right and they always won. Not only did they kill all the giants, but they managed these serious affairs so well that there isn't a single case on record of a fairy being himself killed or even hurt. The Bluejackets and Marines who man the British Fleet don't look much like fairies, but they are doing much the same kind of work...they are slowly squeezing the life out of a very big and fierce giant...unless he is killed once and for all, the future peace and happiness of England must die instead (Pearce, 1916 :9).

Illustrators had always been able to bring these “fairies” to life. To give them an identity that resonated with an audience and, at this time in particular, to reinforce the characters as young, heroic men.

The Germans were also creating their own stories for children in WW1 and although the governments of Germany and Austria-Hungary were initially restrained, publishers and authors were less so (bl.uk/collection-items/hurray). Although not a fairy tale, the book *Hurra! A war picture book* by the illustrator Herbert Rikli, demonstrates the attempts to engage very young boys in the war effort and to indoctrinate them with a sense of discrimination against the “evil enemies”.¹⁴ Just as the British were encouraging hatred of all things German, so too the Germans were creating a hatred of all enemies fighting against them (www.bl.uk/collection-items/hurray). The illustrations for this book depict very young boys, dressed in military uniforms, wielding weapons and accompanied by a cute pet dog.



14. Herbert Rikli: A Picture War Book, 1915

14. *Hurra! A war picture-book* is by the magazine illustrator and advertising artist Herbert Rikli. It tells the story of Little Willi and his Austrian friend Franzl. They butcher and kill French, English, Russian and Serbian men, and throw bombs at them.

Meanwhile the British were creating their own version of war books for boys as young as 3 years old.¹⁵ *The Child's ABC of the War* published in 1914 was a primer for the pre-reader. A book that imparted propaganda using rhyme, illustrations and religion in the indoctrination of young boys to hate Britain's enemies.

After WW1 and into the period of time between the first and second world wars, illustrations in fairy tale publications became more childlike, much like the illustrations in *Hurra!* and others.

The fairy tale became almost entirely the domain of the child. Adults who had survived the war would no longer be the main target audience, and the usefulness of the tales to be utilised as social commentary and propaganda had been realised. It was to become their future over the following tumultuous periods of unrest.



N's for the "NO"
that from lips a
roundly parted
Comes when we ask
ourselves "ARE WE
DOWNHEARTED" a

DEDICATION

Little Robin, safe at home a
And not quite four years old,
What's the War to you a
But a funny tale that's told +
And pictures to be looked at +
And words to be explained +
When you've sometimes had to a
stay indoors
Cos Mummy said it rained? a
Fast fly the years for little boys a
And soon will you forget a
The shadowy hours recorded here
In tinkling alphabet a
But keep the book. One day a
your sons
Shall glory to be told a a a
you saw these pictures, heard these
rhymes
When you were three years old. a



O for our Officers
brilliant and a
daring, a
Leading their men
and their dangers a
all sharing a

15. Stanley North: The Child's ABC of the War, 1914

15. The English version of the propaganda book aimed at young children is *The Child's ABC of the War*. The dedication at the beginning of the book leaves the reader in no doubt as to the age and gender of the child this book was seeking to engage with, one who is “Not quite four years old.” This book contains both illustrations and rhyming text to indoctrinate young boys. It uses visuals of soldiers riding dragons, fighting the enemy and references religion throughout.

Summary:

From the austere Fin de Siècle and into the heady delights of La Belle Époque, the illustrators of the early 20th century created representations that challenged the perceptions of masculine identity in a way that altered the fairy tale illustration for many years.

A complicated mix of social, political and technological influences led to a period of illustration that became the gold standard. That they are still held in such esteem and are referred to as the “Golden Era” of illustration is testament to the talent and skill of the illustrators who created them. They generated a social narrative that catalogued challenges and changes formed over the first thirty years of the 20th century.

These changes were not only in the fairy tale illustrations however, but in the tales themselves. A new genre of tale created by decadent writers epitomised the fear of change and its effect on a society that was building towards huge unforeseen difficulties. As the female role in the fairy tale was altered and questioned, so too was the interpretation of masculinity. Objectification of the male and a homoerotic representation, explored and tested sexual inquiry and attitudes.

The legacy of the illustrators of this time is that they have left behind a social commentary, one that is often underutilised or dismissed as fanciful. But to do so is to underestimate the artists who were so influenced by political and social agendas, that they created a huge volume of work — a treasury of examination, interpretation, analysis and opinion. One which must not be relegated to picture libraries or hidden away in dusty books, but must be utilised as a recording of historical importance. The imagery from this period is a direct way of observing how the LGBTQ+

SUMMARY

community has been present in the public domain for far longer than is sometimes recognised (as documented by Foucault in his 1976 work, *The History of Sexuality*), and the portrayals of masculinity, that are often sadly demeaned or ridiculed in modern times, was an influential presence in the changing perception of masculine identity as early as 1900.

The onset of the First World War bought on yet another re-interpretation. With men having to go off and fight in the trenches, a hegemonic form of masculine identity was to become a powerful force and again, was reflected in the fairy tale. Adults and children alike were targeted with tales that propagated a feeling of loyalty, fighting spirit and hatred of the enemy. New tales were constructed or formed, sometimes organically, sometimes originating from gossip and legend and built into tales that became modern folklore. Old tales were recommissioned and illustrations were newly created depicting a younger, hegemonic hero, fighting for the good of home and Country.

The use of the fairy tale in WW1 propaganda, changed the perception of the fairy tale hero. The flamboyant, effeminate male was replaced by a strong, loyal, younger model. No longer a man, but a boy, his endeavours to help rid the world of evil were applauded.

Propaganda has often been credited for shortening the war but this idea has been debunked by war historians such as Strachen who claims,

Its fundamental effects were cultural, not political; they pointed to an even darker future, and to the mobilisation of hatred in an even more terrible war (Strachan, 1998: 226).

Sadly this was to prove true. The hedonistic 1920s and post war 1930s gave way to the onslaught of a far right

machine, ploughing its way through Europe and changing the perception of masculinity once more. The effete ambiguous male that gave way first to a hegemonic portrayal of youth and vigour was then transformed by the Nazis into a representation of an Arian hegemonic ideal. Meanwhile, the fairy tale was also falling firmly into the category of children's literature.

The presence of the male character diminished and he became a laughingstock. The altering moods pervading society no longer accepted a feminised male as a hero. He would become the "butt of the joke," a weak or vain incarnation of a man who did not stand up to scrutiny and was rejected by men and women alike, for his 'feminine' traits.

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Conclusion

A Complex Man Masculine Identity and Fairy Tale Illustrations

The fairy tale male has long been considered the hegemonic, dominant strength within the tales, his presence, a force of patriarchal superiority. This thesis explores the textual and visual identity of the male character through the early 1900s, to determine if, as a male, he is a commanding master of authority and influence, as is often argued (Zipes, 2012[b]: 7,52 & Connell & Messerschmidt 2005: 831), or if he is in fact a foolish, weak, cruel, or lovesick dope with no real purpose or function. By focusing on the time frame circa 1900 to 1935, the aim was to encompass the changing social, political, and artistic period that was instrumental in producing the most striking changes in visual portrayals within the genre. With these movements influencing a band of illustrators and artists, and with the introduction of better production and printing methods that made illustrative books a popular and sought-after commodity, this thesis examines the changes wrought on the male character during this period and how they altered the definition of masculine identity within the fairy tale.

The late 1800s had seen the production of expected visual portrayals of kings, princes, and ogres; hegemonic, dominant often evil characters with

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strong masculine codes of identity that fed into the patriarchal expectations of what maleness meant at the time. However, by the start of the Twentieth Century, attitudes began to change. The austere Fin de Siècle gave way to the hedonistic Belle Époque and the fairy tale male followed suit. Artists and illustrators began translating the textual descriptions of the male characters with poetic licence. Where they had previously conformed to the societal expectation of what a male should represent, they now began to embrace the influences of a changing social and political time, by imbuing him with an ambiguity as to his sexuality, identity, gender, and function within the tales (Ch 1.5:156 & 3.5:316).

In chapter one, the thesis explores how the fairy tale itself has a feminine construct that defies the common perception of the female character as helpless or docile (Zipes, 2012[b]: 95). There is a good deal of evidence of the subjugation of male characters by female characters, especially with regards to strength, commitment, and intelligence. It soon becomes apparent that the female is often the force that drives the tales. She determines her own destiny by being a strong and resilient character, far from the stereotypical perception of a weak and helpless woman (Smith, 2014: 436 & Warner 1994). Rarely however, did early artists depict her with these traits. She was and still is, more often depicted as a pretty, vacuous, or helpless female and the focus on her dress, hair or beauty was emphasised, ignoring her strong character. These visual depictions, that continue to define the female character, missed the construct within the tales that determined how important, powerful, and fierce she could be (Zipes, 2012[b]: 95).

From the 1900s, visual depictions of male characters began to alter and the portrayals of foolish, selfish, or queer men increased. Male characters, although continuing to carry the titles of dominant identity, such as king or prince, were often illustrated with negative masculine characteristics that detracted from his presumed authority and superiority. Unappealing female characters such as witches or cruel stepmothers, were also given strong male codes of characterisation to differentiate them from pretty heroines and kindly women. This masculinised portrayal of an evil female re-emphasised an association of negativity with male characteristics. Male characters were regularly undermined, teased, pitied, exploited, dismissed, or humiliated by female characters within the texts, and this began to be carried through to

the illustrations, further supporting the hypothesis that female domination over the male was in fact an intrinsic element of the fairy tale and had become the predominant visual interpretation of masculinity.

In chapter 2, the thesis focused on specific fairy tale characters such as Rumpelstiltskin, the Wolf from “Red Riding Hood”, and an assortment of heroes, villains, emperors, and kings. These characters are visually diverse, with illustrations of Rumpelstiltskin represented as anything from a playful imp to a deformed monster. Princes and kings are portrayed as simpering fools, deviant father figures or brave heroes. Evidence within these illustrations highlighted the fact that male characters were visually portrayed with a wide variety of identities that recognised the male as more diverse and multifaceted than the text allowed.

When artists first began to explore creating fairy tale illustrations, they interpreted the texts with characterisations defined by their own preferences, influences and convictions. Over time, as other artists followed and built on the body of work, they were in turn impacted by illustrations that had gone before and their own societal influences (Hoffman, 1981: 218). They copied or mimicked elements from older illustrations, creating new ones that contained constituents of the old. This meant that specific traits or codes were often taken from one illustration to another and over time became the received perception of characterisation. Yet in the early 1900s, when artists began exploring a new visual identity at odds with the text and societal expectations of representation, their observations of a changing world altered the work they produced, and the fairy tale male began to develop new characteristics not seen in earlier renditions. This period saw both the continued consistency in some characters’ identities, such as “Rumpelstiltskin”, and the development of a whole new masculine identity in characters such as Prince Charming from “Cinderella” and the Emperor from “The Emperor’s New Clothes”. Amongst the predictable, hegemonic interpretations of presumed gender and sexual identity, appeared another perception of masculinity. The initial portrayals of an expected hegemonic interpretation gave way to a range of masculine identities that were not reflected in the text. These characters became more flamboyant, beautiful, delicate, feminised or foolish and dominated many of the illustrations throughout the early 1900s. The texts themselves did not change, however. The emperor was still a narcissis-

tic fool, the wolf still desired and hunted Red Riding Hood and there was a plethora of ill tempered, cruel or malicious men waiting to attack unsuspecting victims.

Within the tales and illustrations, true heroes also emerged, not necessarily characters expected to bear the title of hero, nor those whose visual representations might identify them as such, but the dogged, faithful and honest men and boys. The princes who determinedly fought to defend and protect the ones they loved with no regard for their own safety. The ones who followed their true love to the ends of the earth and those that departed on travels to discover trinkets and magical baubles demanded by capricious princesses. The texts, alongside societal influences, inspired this redefining of characters and created visual representations that have become some of the most well-known illustrations of the genre.

In chapter 3, the thesis focused on what led to the creation of the changing visual identity of the male characters and the subsequent challenge as to how masculine identity was represented. The burgeoning social and artistic movements, inspired artists to explore and create a style within the fairy tale illustration of a queer, gay or genderless male. These characters not only defied the generic perception that male identity was determinedly heteronormative, but implied and demonstrated that he could be more than one thing. He could be the hero, the villain or the love interest and still represent a homosexual, queer or non-binary character. He began to epitomise the ongoing challenges within a society that was exploring and redefining their own sexual identity, and embraced them with fanciful, beautiful, and conflicting representations. The queer identity that formed throughout this period also fed into the perception that femininity and homosexuality were interlinked, yet still managed to explore a masculine identity that displayed heteronormative traits alongside queer or homosexual codes of identity (Connell, 1995:40 & Litosseliti & Sunderland, 2002: 159).

With the onset of the World War I the identity of the male character was redefined again. The emphasis on a young, strong, brave man was integrated into the visual representations. Books were produced for young people that displayed these characterisations to create a greater identity, understanding and respect for the men fighting on the front lines. Political and social agendas changed with the bleak prospects of war and tales depicting femi-

nised princes and kings, were now populated with young muscular heroes. Fairy tales became a political weapon, used to indoctrinate children and adults into supporting a war that would deprive them of loved ones, security and hope (Ch 3.6:332). Posters, children's books and new or revised versions of fairy tales were created by governments, publishers and those who wanted to garner support at home for the war and the war heroes. The fairy tale was a reliable and well-known genre to appeal to a wide audience and was adopted by allies and enemies alike (Buttsworth, Abbenhuis & Conrad, 2017: 118). Illustrations created a visual narrative that expressed the sentiments of a patriotic public and were able to be read by all. A universal communication device with a ready-made audience bought up with the familiar tales.

However, the queer visual representations never completely disappeared, not only did they become an accepted element of the fairy tale characterisation, but they continued to be created and printed after the war, building on the developing awareness of a changing masculine identity which was only challenged with the onset of the World War II. The illustrations from this period have remained popular and are regularly reprinted in fairy tale compilations.

This thesis has defined a period that embraced and pushed a range of masculine identities previously unexplored within the fairy tale. Identities that delivered a wider understanding of what defined masculinity. Although there were regular depictions of expected representations of hegemonic, muscular, frightening, or fearsome males, there were also representations of a softer side to the presumed hegemonic male. A gentle characterisation, a younger more innocent male, a naïve, or frightened male and often a happy or care-free male. It showed how social, political, and artistic movements influenced perceptions and created visual representations that are now expressly relevant. With society becoming more open-minded and accepting of the possibility of a range of identities (Foucault, 2020; Butler, 2004; Bengry, 2017), the presupposition that the fairy tale male is binary, hegemonic, and heteronormative, can be swiftly challenged with the evidence found within the thesis.

The thesis uses over 300 illustrations from a data base of 700, that catalogue and reference changes over the specified time frame. These illustrations,

recreated in black ink, focus almost solely on the male character, and show the chronological development not only of queer characterisation, but of artistic styles, influences and interpretations. They also demonstrate how the male character is so often depicted as sad, simple, evil or cruel. With no discernible positive character traits, these limited displays of positive characteristics mean there are fewer identities for the reader/viewer to explore or identify with.

The opposing traits of negative portrayals, combined with a positive and intriguing exploration of gender, could be extrapolated to explore the impact on a young male audience and how this might lead to a greater understanding of how to develop positive male role models within children's literature and illustration (McDermott et al, 2019:12 & Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996: 16). Where Bettelheim and Tatar began, others must continue to follow. The psychological impact of children's tales and the illustrations within them deserves further investigation (Tatar, 1992: 230 & Bettelheim, 1991:53). The greats of fairy tale research such as Zipes, Tatar, Canepa and Warner have delved into the exploration of characterisation, but as discussed within the thesis, the male character has sadly been neglected (Zipes, 1988: 63; Tosh, 2005: 330 & Litoseliti & Sunderland, 2002: 154). This thesis has shown he has a remarkable validity and weight within the illustrations and text and deserves more focus. Where the female character has been researched, developed, and redefined for a modern audience (Warner, 1994), so too should the male character be given the same attention. This thesis shows that between 1900 and 1935, the male character in the fairy tale had gone through a rich period of definition and exploration of masculine identities that sit comfortably within a modern societal definition of masculine gender. It confirms the importance of using historical visual references from material such as fairy tales, to identify, define and embrace identities that speak to a new generation of children and adults. Using these resources as a way of aiding a social acceptance and understanding of a masculine identity that does not fit neatly into a hegemonic, dominant stereotype, reinforces the flexibility and shifting nature of gender.

Just as Zipes describes the words and writing of tales as an expression of the authors' dreams and freedom to explore experiences and options for the future (Zipes, 1992: xii), so too does the fairy tale illustrator explore the same channels of expression and creativity. Channels that have led to the abundance and diversity of masculine identities hidden within the fairy tale's vast illustrative archive.

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