This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

- This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.
- A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.
- This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.
- The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.
- When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.
“The taste of the world”

A Re-evaluation of the Publication History and Reception Context of Andrew Lang’s Fairy Book Series, 1889-1910

Sara M Hines

PhD English Literature
The University of Edinburgh
2013
Abstract

This thesis examines Andrew Lang’s Fairy Book series (1889-1910) as a material and cultural commodity, thereby re-evaluating neglected or overlooked aspects of its significance as a printed collection of fairy tales. First, it defines the publishing context for fairy-tale collections printed in Britain prior to the publication of The Blue Fairy Book in 1889. As such, Chapter One addresses pervasive claims that Lang’s series systematically revived a waning interest in fairy tales. The chapter first offers context for Lang’s series by providing a bibliographic history of the classic fairy tales – most of which are included in The Blue Fairy Book – in English from 1691 to 1889. It then focuses specifically on the decade of the 1880s to examine types of fairy-tale collections that were available in print prior to the series’ first volume and suggests that the fairy tale as a publishing phenomenon was more prominent in the late nineteenth century than has been assumed. Chapter Two seeks to establish how the diverse literary, cultural, and intellectual course of Lang’s career made him particularly suitable to edit a collection of fairy tales. His academic interests in literature as well as his ongoing study of fairy tales influenced his editorial strategies for The Blue Fairy Book, which then provided a model for the remainder of the series. Chapter Three examines the phenomenon of the “literary series” through an exploration of paratextual elements, such as Longmans’ production, branding, and marketing strategies as well as Henry J. Ford’s book illustrations and designs. The seasonal context in which the books were published provides a further framework for situating Lang’s series within the history of publishing fairy tales in Britain. Chapter Four considers the series’ printings and sales numbers, along with themes that are present throughout the published reception of the series. While Longmans capitalizes on Lang’s name in their branding strategies, in the popular press Lang’s name became synonymous with fairy-tale narratives. Furthermore, the series’ immediate reception challenges more recent scholarly positions regarding the very significant group of translators who contributed towards the series. Finally, Chapter Five recognizes the colonial context of the period and positions interest in fairy tales within the wider nineteenth-century phenomenon of collecting objects and narratives from across the Empire. It further demonstrates how narratives of race and colonialism influenced both text and illustration in the Fairy Books. The conclusion consists of a brief overview of Fairy Book editions that have been produced from 1910 to the present. Not only did the series achieve immediate popularity during its initial publication, but it has also remained in print for over a century. Through an exploration of the series as a material, publishing phenomenon, and by attending closely to presentational devices, this thesis re-examines the cultural significance of Lang’s Fairy Books.
Acknowledgements to the 2nd edition

In a second gleaning of Andrew Lang’s Fairy Books, some people deserve to be thanked twice. As masters of fairyland and publishing, Sarah Dunnigan and Jonathan Wild have both proven to be inexhaustible mines of patience, insight, and encouragement. A simple ‘thank you’ does not seem adequate; this thesis would most certainly not exist without their inspiration. The support that Joan, Michael, and Elizabeth Hines provided transformed from theoretical to actual in 2009 and it is because of them that the quest was even possible. Although not always able to see it unfold, hopefully they have been entertained by the stories along the way.

I would like to thank the staff at the National Library of Scotland for procuring hundreds of fairy-tale collections as well as the numerous librarians and archivists at the Slade School of Art, National Archives Library, the Blythe House Archive Reading Room, National Art Library, British Library, and, specifically, Audrey Turner at the Bushey Museum for their assistance in accessing records on Andrew Lang and Henry Ford. Peter Freshwater, formerly Deputy Librarian at the University of Edinburgh, offered fascinating conversations about nineteenth-century bookbinding and provided some of his personal research on Ford. A warm thanks to Joseph Marshall, John Scally, and Bill Bell for allowing me to sit in on the Material Cultures MSc classes for a much needed crash course in book history and also to the attendees at the 2011 SHARP conference for offering their own research suggestions and recommendations. Parts of Chapter Five appear in an article published in a special issue of Marvels & Tales (2010), which incorporates papers presented at “The Fairy Tale after Angela Carter” conference at the University of East Anglia in April 2009. Many thanks to Andrew Teverson and Stephen Benson for their editing advice and suggestions on this article.

It is always easy to get lost in the thicket of dissertation research and I am overwhelmingly appreciative of the friends who have continually reminded me of my priorities. First, and foremost, Hillary Cementina is equal parts hero and helper. She, Adria Martinez, Heather Zottoli, Jen Wells, Katrina Eddy, and Jennifer Orbom have all received special gifts from the fairies, for which I am perpetually grateful. Sarah Carpenter has always been tremendously generous with her time and helped translate the research experience into teaching strategies. And, finally, to Matthew Olive for once upon a time saying the exact right thing at the exact right moment, thank you.
Acknowledgements

To say thank you seems an understatement, but I do want to express heartfelt thanks, first to my advisor, Sarah Dunnigan, who kindly responded to an unsolicited email four and a half years ago. Her unwavering encouragement, challenging suggestions, and generosity with both advice and time have made her the ideal advisor in all senses of the word. Thanks, too, to Jonathan Wild, who came in to the picture later, but offered tremendously beneficial thoughts about the paths this project could take. Although very different in their own approaches to the study of literature, Sarah and Jonathan have always allowed me to navigate my own approach and together they have been united in continually pushing me, even when the process felt overwhelming, to strive forwards with confidence.

I am grateful for the knowledge and expertise of several archival librarians, especially Rachel Hart at St Andrews Special Collections, Verity Andrews from the University of Reading Special Collections, Leslie McGrath of the Toronto Public Library, Carolyn Wilson at the National Library of Scotland, Elaine Pordes in the Manuscript Room at the British Library, and Colin Harris from the Special Collections Reading Rooms at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Thanks also to Susan Barrell for her helpful information regarding the use of images.

The post-graduate community in the English department at Edinburgh has, in turn, been generous, challenging, engaging, frustrating, and enormously entertaining; it has been a pleasure to struggle alongside you. Thanks especially to Elsa and Silvia, for the debates, the conversations, the wine, and the crepes; James, for his inexhaustible information on everything from research and teaching to computer programs and MLA guidelines; and finally to Linda, who from the beginning, was always willing to discuss ideas, read a draft, or have a cup of tea.

On a personal note, I want to thank my parents and sister who offered support in a variety of forms too numerous to mention, but most significantly in phone calls, messages, and visits. I could not have lived this adventure without the security of your home.

Finally, I would like to dedicate this thesis to my grandmother, Mildred Peterson (1916-2009), who did not live to see the final product, but, no matter how many times we talked about it, was always excited to hear that I was working on a PhD and living in Scotland.
Table of Contents

Abstract 2
Acknowledgements 3
Table of Contents 5
List of Tables and Figures 6

Introduction: Andrew Lang’s Fairy Books 7

1. Publishing Fairy Books:
   The Print History of Classic Fairy Tales in Britain, 1691-1889 24

2. “That Most Competent Authority”:
   Andrew Lang’s Literary and Fairy-Tale Studies in the 1880s 70

3. Fairy Tales at Christmas:
   Producing and Marketing the Fairy Books, 1889-1910 115

4. “The Master of Fairyland” and “A College of Muses”:
   The Fairy Book Series in Published Reception, 1889-1910 158

5. From Fairy Tale Classics to Fairy Tales of Empire:
   The Fairy Book Series and Printed Fairy-Tale Collections, 1889-1910 204

Conclusion: A “Kaleidoscope” of Fairy Book Editions, 1912-2012 245

Appendix A: Classic Fairy Tales 266
Appendix B: Sources for the Fairy Books 268
Appendix C: Covers of the Fairy Books (1889-1910) 282
Appendix D: Printing Numbers for the Fairy Books (1889-1919) 283
Appendix E: Sales Numbers for the Fairy Books (1896-1912) 284
Appendix F: Samples of Cultural Representation in Ford’s Illustrations 285
Appendix G: Brian Alderson’s Sources for the First Five Fairy Books 286

Works Cited 301
**List of Tables and Figures**

Table 1 Sources for stories in *The Blue Fairy Book* 31  
Table 2 Perrault’s tales in *The Blue Fairy Book* 33  
Table 3 L. B. Lang and Fairy Book translators’ compensation 183

Fig. 1 Front cover of *Indian Fairy Tales* by Mark Thornill (1889) 61  
Fig. 2 Advertisement for *The Violet Fairy Book* 114  
Fig. 3 Color illustration from “The Fairy of the Dawn” 129  
Fig. 4 Spines of *The Yellow, Violet, and Orange Fairy Books* 130  
Fig. 5 Advertisements for *The Blue Fairy Book* 138  
Fig. 6 Advertisement for *The Red Fairy Book* 139  
Fig. 7 Advertisement for *The Grey Fairy Book* 143  
Fig. 8 Advertisement for *The Violet Fairy Book* 145  
Fig. 9 Advertisement for *The Lilac Fairy Book* 146  
Fig. 10 Advertisement for *The Pink Fairy Book* 148  
Fig. 11 Illustration from “Long, Broad, and Quickeye” 152  
Fig. 12 Cover of *The Brown Fairy Book* 156  
Fig. 13 Advertisement for *The Strange Story Book* 185  
Fig. 14 Frontispiece for *Twilight Tales* ([1882]) 198  
Fig. 15 Frontispiece for *Old Deccan Days* ([1868]) 199  
Fig. 16 Frontispiece for *Fairy Tales* (1856) 199  
Fig. 17 Covers of Hutchinson’s Fairy Books (1894-1900) 208  
Fig. 18 Front and back covers of Joseph Jacobs's *English Fairy Tales* (1890) 214  
Fig. 19 Covers of Jacobs's *Indian Fairy Tales* and *Celtic Fairy Tales* (1892) 218  
Fig. 20 Illustrations from “The Red Etin” and “The Cat’s Elopement” 234  
Fig. 21 Illustrations from “Cinderella” and “The Maiden with the Wooden Helmet” 235  
Fig. 22 Illustration from “The Wonderful Sheep” 237  
Fig. 23 Cover of *Sleeping Beauty in the Wood* (1890) 247  
Fig. 24 Covers of *The Red* (1976) and *Yellow Fairy Books* (1980) 253  
Fig. 25 Cover of *The Pink Fairy Book* (1968) 257  
Fig. 26 Covers of the Folio Society Editions 263
Introduction
Andrew Lang’s Fairy Books

Andrew Lang (1844-1912) opens the introduction to the collectors’ edition of his Blue Fairy Book, published by Longmans, Green, and Co. of London, by proclaiming: “The taste of the world, which has veered so often, is constant enough in fairy tales” (xi). His volume of fairy stories did appeal to late nineteenth-century tastes and the book’s popularity instigated a series of Fairy Books that culminated in twelve volumes. Indeed, a review of new Christmas books appeared in the Athenæum on October 26, 1889, announcing that “Mr. Lang deserves a hearty vote of thanks from all good children this winter for his charming gift of ‘The Blue Fairy Book’” (“Christmas Books” Rev. of The Blue Fairy Book). One of many who favorably received Lang’s Blue Fairy Book, the reviewer’s judgment proved prophetic in a number of ways:

Here we find gathered together treasures, new and old, from all lands—fantasies from the ‘Arabian Nights,’ quaint imaginings of old France, Scottish legends, folk-stories from Grimm, weird Norse tales, old English stories from the chapbooks, and even ‘Gulliver,’ beloved of children. We have nothing quite like this delightful medley, which bids fair to be a household book for many a long year. (556)

Lang’s “charming gift” to “good children” did eventually become a “household book”, but not in isolation. Lang and Longmans published new volumes for Christmas for twenty-three more years until 1911, with two published posthumously.

---

1 The Fairy Book series consists of The Blue Fairy Book (1889), The Red Fairy Book (1890), The Green Fairy Book (1892), The Yellow Fairy Book (1894), The Pink Fairy Book (1897), The Grey Fairy Book (1900), The Violet Fairy Book (1901), The Crimson Fairy Book (1903), The Brown Fairy Book (1904), The Orange Fairy Book (1906), The Olive Fairy Book (1907), and The Lilac Fairy Book (1910). Citations and publication dates for all Fairy Book editions appear at the beginning of the Works Cited.
in 1912 and 1913. The phrases and epithets used in this review, such as “new and old”, “treasures”, “beloved”, and “medley”, came to define the whole of the Fairy Book series that, as in its first volume, gathered together tales “from all lands”. By investigating the series’ history in print as well as the immediate publishing context for the books, this study seeks to explain the “taste” for Lang’s Fairy Book series and its function as a material and cultural commodity, thereby proposing explanations for why it achieved immediate and lasting popularity.

The work of Roger Lancelyn Green (1918-1987) has been enormously influential on twentieth- and twenty-first century scholarship regarding Lang. Green’s primary work, Andrew Lang: A Critical Biography with a Short-title Bibliography of the Works of Andrew Lang, was published in 1946 and remains the only comprehensive, scholarly biography on Lang to date. Biographical entries on Lang in The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Donaldson), British Children’s Writers, 1880-1914 (Susina) and Modern British Essayists (Calkins), and Children’s Books and their Creators (Dressang) – tend to rely on Green’s biographies. The only detailed, studies of Lang’s Fairy Books appear in three dissertations. Each of these studies

---

2 Of these twenty-five Christmas Books, thirteen are not Fairy Books, but do inform some of the discussions in this thesis.
3 Eleanor De Selms Langstaff produced a biography on Lang in 1978, but it has a tendency to over-speculate about Lang’s thoughts and opinions and is not critically respected.
4 In addition to his 1946 biography, Green also published the article “Andrew Lang and the Fairy Tale” in 1944, in which he analyzes Lang’s Fairy Books, his original fairy tales, and his scholarly theories of fairy tales. In Tellers of Tales (1946), a book about children’s authors from the nineteenth century, Green includes a chapter on Lang. He later published a second, condensed biography on Lang in 1962. Green donated most of the materials he gathered on Lang to St Andrews University, including his collection of Lang’s books, which remains the most comprehensive archive devoted to Lang’s life and work.
5 These dissertations are Eric Montenyohl’s PhD thesis, “Andrew Lang and the Fairy Tale” (submitted to the Folklore Department at the University of Indiana – Bloomington in 1987); Ann McKinnell’s MA dissertation entitled “Andrew Lang: Anthropologist, Classicist, Folklorist and Victorian Critic”
provides a nuanced analysis of Lang’s Fairy Book series, however, because they remain unpublished, they have had minimal influence on mainstream scholarship about Lang’s books. These three studies contextualize Lang’s series within contemporaneous publications by other members of the Folk Lore Society; compare the Fairy Books to Lang’s publications in other fields, such as folk lore and classical literature; and provide an overview of the history of the fairy tale in England in the nineteenth century, specifically looking at didactic fairy tales.

It is worth observing from the outset that the label ‘fairy tale’ is a contested term. Fairy tales are a relatively recent source of study and the fact that precise definitions of “fairy tale” have continued to elude scholars complicates a survey of published fairy-tale collections. Recent scholarship intentionally evades defining the fairy tale by commenting on its undefinability. In a 2011 introduction to a collection of fairy tales, Sarah Dunnigan writes:

It is worth remembering, too, that (the) fairy tale – although stubbornly elusive of precise or comprehensive definition, as demonstrated by the often frustrated efforts of folklorists, ethnologists, narratologists, cultural

(submitted to the University of Toronto in 1992); and Kyoto Matsumoto’s MSc dissertation “Andrew Lang and the Fairy Tale” (submitted to St. Andrews University in 1984).

6 Marina Warner highlights the ambiguity and transience of fairy tales in From the Beast to the Blonde (1995). She also notes the “metamorphoses” and “instability of appearances” in fairy tales (xii): imagery echoed by Cristina Bacchilega, who refers to the fairy tale as “a ‘borderline’ or transitional genre” (3). See also Hilda Davidson and Anna Chaudhri’s edited collection of essays, A Companion to the Fairy Tale (2003).

7 Although scholarly interest in traditional narratives including historical context and philology started in the nineteenth century, Jack Zipes is generally accepted as initiating the study of fairy tales less than forty years ago with his first major contribution: Breaking the Magic Spell: Radical Theories of Folk and Fairy Tales (1979, reprinted with a new preface and final chapter in 2002). For further reading on Zipes’s contributions to fairy-tale studies, see Donald Haase’s preface to the special issue “Jack Zipes and the Sociohistorical Study of Fairy Tales” in Marvels & Tales (2002). The sociohistorical approach to the study of fairy tales succinctly summarizes Zipes’s rather consistent theoretical approach to the field and has greatly influenced scholarship in this field.
historians, and literary critics among others to pin it down – is a richly transhistorical, transcultural mode of storytelling. (xix)8

Even in dictionaries and reference books, current scholars refrain from offering precise definitions. In *The Oxford Companion to Fairy Tales* (2000), Zipes suggests: “There is no such thing as the fairy tale; however, there are hundreds of thousands of fairy tales. And these fairy tales have been defined in so many different ways that it boggles the mind to think that they can be categorized as a genre” (emphasis in original 1). More recently, Donald Haase’s *Greenwood Encyclopedia of Folktales and Fairy Tales* (2008) entry for ‘fairy tale’ diplomatically states: “Despite its currency and apparent simplicity, the term ‘fairy tale’ resists a universally accepted or universally satisfying definition” (322). It is interesting to note that scholars and reviewers of Lang’s Fairy Books are quick to point out that the 438 stories that appear in Lang’s books – books with fairy in the titles and fairies in the cover illustrations – are not strictly “fairy tales”. Indeed, Lang’s Fairy Books defy precise definitions and the series encompasses a range of stories. Then, as now, the ‘fairy tale’ is an ambiguous, shape-shifting form. But as this study demonstrates, its power as a material commodity and cultural phenomenon was considerable.

Despite the Fairy Book series’ immediate (and subsequent) popularity, scholarship about Lang’s Fairy Books appears relatively limited. The series is briefly mentioned in studies of fairy tales, histories of children’s books, and occasionally in surveys of

---

8 Following this tendency to open discussions of fairy tales by acknowledging the problems with discussing fairy tales, Vanessa Joosen writes: “The discussion of contemporary adaptations of fairy tales has led to a mass, or even a mess, of terms and concepts that often lack clear definitions and distinctions” (9), and Graham Anderson demurs that “Fairytales, as we have come to recognise them, are perhaps easier to illustrate than define” (1).
children’s literature. Although Lang’s books straddle two centuries, defying easy classification as either Victorian or Edwardian, they do fit neatly into a recognized historical period within children’s literature studies: the so-called “The Golden Age of Children’s Literature”. “The Golden Age” – first defined by Roger Lancelyn Green in 1962 – has come to designate a group of “classics” in children’s literature that were written and published in the Victorian and Edwardian periods. Such classics include Lewis Carroll’s *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) and *Through the Looking Glass* (1871), George MacDonald’s *The Princess and the Goblin* (1872), Beatrix Potter’s *Peter Rabbit* (1902), Kenneth Grahame’s *The Wind in the Willows* (1908), and J. M. Barrie’s *Peter Pan* (1904). Despite the breadth of scholarship devoted to this period, Lang and his Fairy Books are conspicuously absent from the discussion. However, recent scholarship, particularly Marah Gubar’s *Artful Dodgers: Reconceiving the Golden Age of Children’s Literature* (2009), has attempted to widen the somewhat restrictive canon of Golden Age literature to include a more diverse range of authors and genres. Following Gubar’s more comprehensive definition, this study suggests that Lang’s collection

---

9 These surveys vary in the degree of influence they ascribed to Lang’s series. Elizabeth Nesbitt, for example, refers to the collection’s “perennial appeal” (Meigs 316). Conversely, Percy Muir only accord’s the series a “passing mention” (107) and Harvey Darton barely refers to the series at all in his seminal study, *Children’s Books in England: Five Centuries of Social Life* (1932).

10 In this article, Green argues that histories of books tend to ignore children’s books. His title is derived from Kenneth Grahame’s *The Golden Age* published by John Lane in 1895. In its immediate context, Grahame’s novel recalls “a well-remembered adventurous childhood” and invokes the sentimentalized nostalgia for the golden age of childhood for late nineteenth-century readers (“Rev. of *The Golden Age*”).

11 As an artificial construction, “The Golden Age of Children’s Literature” does not have clearly defined dates, although it generally ranges from the 1850s until the publication of A. A. Milne’s *Winnie-the-Pooh* in 1926.

12 The genesis of *Peter Pan* is complicated; for further reading on the story’s bibliographic history, see Tatar’s introduction to *The Annotated Peter Pan: The Centennial Edition* (2011).

13 Lang appears in Green’s article, but not in Humphrey Carpenter, Jackie Wullschlärger, or Gubar’s studies, discussed in Chapter Two. Green, however, limits his discussion of Lang to his original fairy tales of Pantouflia – *Prince Prigio* (1889) and *Prince Ricardo* (1893) – and does not mention the Fairy Books.
corresponds with with many of the trends evident in the wider context of “Golden Age” children’s books.

In addition, Lang’s series also exists within a separate, although certainly related, context, which is the ongoing debate regarding popular or traditional narratives that appeared on the pages of journals throughout the nineteenth century. In an 1846 letter to the *Athenæum*, William Thoms, under the pseudonym ‘Ambrose Merton’, proposed the phrase ‘folk-lore’, “a good Anglo-Saxon compound”, as a replacement for the phrase ‘popular antiquities’ that had been common (862). He indicates that folk-lore narratives were at risk of extinction and implores readers to help in “garnering the few ears which are remaining, scattered over that field from which our forefathers might have gathered a goodly crop” (862-863). Thoms’ plea eventually influenced the creation of the Folk-Lore Society in 1878, which specified in its bylaws that the society “has for its object the preservation and publication of Popular Traditions, Legendary Ballads, Local Proverbial Sayings, Superstitions and old Customs” (“Folk Lore Society Rules” viii). The allusions and imagery that Lang uses in his prefaces to the Fairy Books follow many of the nineteenth-century discourses regarding popular and traditional literatures.

---


15 For further reading in regards to the significance of Thoms’ emphasis on extinction, see W. F. H. Nicolaisen’s “A Gleaner’s Vision” (1995).
In documenting the history of the Fairy Books, however, this study focuses primarily on the books that Lang and Longmans produced and explores various print contexts that mediated the series’ reception and popularity. While Lang’s series does incorporate many of the folk-lore discourses from the nineteenth-century, it also capitalizes on the book-production technologies newly available at the end of the nineteenth century. Lang’s series, then, is often represented as collecting the “old” stories, but these stories are produced in “new” packages. This blend of the “old” and “new” is evident in several aspects of the series, ranging from the imagery in Ford’s illustrations to the language and phrases that reviewers use to describe the series in the periodical press, such as the Athenæum review quoted above.

The emphasis, in this thesis, on the print contexts of Lang’s Fairy Books challenges the nineteenth-century perceptions of fairy tales as traditional, oral narratives. In the nineteenth century, of course, the most influential figures in defining the study of fairy tales are also the two scholars who initiated the fashion of searching for and transcribing them into print form: Jakob (1785-1863) and Wilhelm (1786-1859) Grimm.\(^\text{16}\) Ivan Kreilkamp suggests that the binary opposition between oral and print is a peculiarly nineteenth-century phenomenon and argues that “the much-lamented storyteller came into being as a fiction within the very medium that is accused of having killed him off” (2). Indeed, orality is embedded in the title of the first English edition, translated by Edgar Taylor and David Jardine in 1823: *German Popular Stories Translated from the Kinder und Haus Märchen Collected by M. M. Grimm*

\(^\text{16}\) Haase notes: “we cannot ignore the irony that the Grimms collected and published their book of tales because they believed the stories were dying out” (Introduction 1993 10).
from the Oral Tradition (sic). This oral association is repeated throughout prefaces to subsequent English translations. In her “Prefatory Remarks” for the 1855 edition, Matilda Louis Davis reminds readers that prior to the Grimms’ books “Many of the tales, therefore, had not hitherto been committed to writing” (Grimm Home Stories iii) and in her introduction to the 1884 edition, Margaret Hunt explains: “This is how the Brothers Grimm did write them; much that she said was taken down by them word for word and its fidelity is unmistakable” (Grimm Grimm’s Household Tales iv). The phenomenon of writing an oral source for fairy tales into printed books of fairy tales pervade most of the collections published throughout the nineteenth century. Lang’s series likewise capitalizes on this trend and the Fairy Books incorporate allusions to both of these modes of transmission. The prefaces continually refer to fairy tales as orally transmitted narratives, and yet the Fairy Books employ the strategies used in print publications.

In offering a print history of Lang’s Fairy Books, this thesis can be situated within a growing field of research that is concerned with the fairy tale as a print rather than oral medium. In Fairy Godfather: Straparola, Venice and the Fairy Tale Tradition (2002), Ruth Bottigheimer has proposed that the fairy tale is actually a literary phenomenon, transmitted exclusively through print sources. She dates the creation of the fairy-tale form to one person, Giovanni Francesco Straparola (c1480-1558), more specifically to his publication of Le piocevoli notti (1551-1553), usually translated in English as either The Pleasant Nights, The Entertaining Nights, The Facetious

17 The “she” in this quotation refers mostly to Dorothea Viehmann, who was regarded as the main source for the Grimms stories, especially those included in the second volume. For a biographical account of Viehmann, and the problematic way she was represented by the Grimms and others, see Heinz Rölleke’s “The ‘Utterly Hessian’ Fairy Tales by “Old Marie”: The End of a Myth” (1986).
Nights, or The Delectable Nights. Bottigheimer identifies a printed, literary path of influence from Straparola to Giambattista Basile (1575-1632), best known for his *Lo cunto de li cunti overo lo trattenemiento de peccerille* (1643-6), translated into English as *The Tale of Tales, or Entertainment for Little Ones* and also known as the *Pentamerone*. Accordingly, Basile, in turn, then influenced Charles Perrault (1638-1703) and his *Histoires ou contes du temps passé* (1697), often translated as *History of Times Past* or *The Tales of Mother Goose* – a title derived from a wall hanging included in the frontispiece of the French edition. Straparola and Basile are likewise supposed to have influenced Perrault’s contemporaries, such as Marie d’Aulnoy (c.1650-1705), and their overtly literary creations from the popular salon games in late seventeenth-century France. These texts, then, subsequently influenced stories published by Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm in *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (1812-15). Stories that, as Bottigheimer’s argument goes, were far more rooted in French literary history than the German, oral, folk tradition that the brothers claimed.\(^\text{18}\) The present study corresponds with Bottigheimer’s insistance that the print phenomenon not be ignored in fairy-tale studies. Indeed, the label “fairy tale” was appended to a range of books published in the nineteenth century and therefore the selection criteria for the fairy-tale collections discussed in Chapters One and Five have been to examine books that have affinities with Lang’s series. The books\(^\text{19}\) discussed here are collections of stories that contain recognizable motifs from fairy tales and are all identified – either

\(^{18}\) Bottigheimer reiterates this position of textual transmission in *Fairy Tales: A New History* (2009). Neither Straparola’s nor Basile’s versions of fairy tales appear in Lang’s series, although most of Perrault’s tales and a significant portion of the Grimms *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* feature heavily in the early volumes.

\(^{19}\) Fairy tales also appeared in the periodical press. Although outwith the scope of the present study, see Sumpter’s *The Victorian Press and the Fairy Tale* (2008).
in the title or preface – as folk or fairy tales, and, like the Fairy Books, were primarily produced by publishers in London.

Although Green’s 1946 biography is a vital starting point for a study of Lang’s publications, many of the claims that Green makes in this book have been adopted, unchallenged, by later scholars, subsequently influencing perceptions of Lang and his work since the 1940s. This study additionally seeks to distinguish between scholarly perceptions of the series that have developed over the past century and the immediate context in which the series was first published. As discussed in Chapter One, Green credits Lang’s series with reviving a waning interest in fairy tales. The chapter provides a bibliographic history of the classic fairy tales – most of which appear in *The Blue Fairy Book*. It then examines types of fairy-tale collections that were published in the decade of the 1880s to provide an immediate context of the fairy tale in print prior to Lang’s first Fairy Book. Based on the material evidence from these two surveys, the chapter proposes that the fairy tale, as a published, ‘marketable’ commodity, was more prominent in the late nineteenth century than Green’s assertions suggest.

Chapter Two examines a second print context for the Fairy Books; during the course of his career, Lang produced numerous publications about literature, literary criticism, and the study of fairy tales. Moreover, he can be seen to engage in an ongoing conversation in the prefaces to his Fairy and Christmas Books that exhibits

---

20 Individual authored fairy tales, whether novel-length, such as MacDonald’s *The Princess and the Goblin*, or short-story collections, such as *Wymps and Other Fairy Tales* by Evelyn Sharp (1897), are not included here.
21 Peter and Iona Opie, in 1980, and Maria Tatar, in 1999, have each proposed lists of “classic fairy tales” – according to the Western European tradition – that are located in Appendix A.
both his interest in children’s reading habits and in promoting literature that he
believes children will enjoy. The chapter contextualizes Lang’s editorial strategies for
the Fairy Books against this background of his own contemporaneous publications on
fairy-tale studies in which he often engages in debates on definitions of fairy tales and
proposes theories for understanding the genre. In most of his prefaces to the
Fairy Books, he repeatedly refers to fairy tales in general as being told and passed
down orally, but with regard his own books, he acknowledges in his introduction to
*The Blue Fairy Book* that “To begin with, I doubt if any of our tales are absolutely
pure from literary handling, absolutely set down as they drop from the lips of
tradition” (xiv). A long-time member of the Folk-Lore Society, Lang did not
distinguish between folk tales and fairy tales, namely because he regards both as
having oral origins; he simultaneously recognizes, however, that both folk tales and
fairy tales frequently appear in print.

Studies of Lang’s Fairy Books are complicated by the fact that Lang is the editor, not
author, of the collection. When Lang reminds his readers in *The Crimson Fairy Book*:
“And the Editor still avers, in Prefaces, that he did not invent one of the stories; that
nobody knows, as a rule who invented them, or where, or when” (v), he is pointedly
commenting on fairy tales in general. The comment, however, also applies to the
Fairy Books specifically. While Lang repeats throughout the prefaces that the stories
in the books are not authored, but instead were passed through the generations as part
of the collective community, the books themselves are the result of collaboration.

---

22 For nineteenth-century discussions of definitions, Alfred Nutt and George Lawrence Gomme’s
“Folk-Lore Terminology” (1884) and more recently, Elliot Oring’s *Folk Groups and Folklore Genres: An
Introduction* (1986).
between Lang, his wife, the translators, the illustrators, and the publisher, in addition
to the cultural context in which the series was published. In “Notes on Ballad
Origins”, Lang maintains that ballads are not “borrow[ed] from literary sources”
(147), but instead are “the composite work of many persons” (149). In this quotation,
Lang defines popular literature, such as ballads and fairy tales, as collective creations.
It is important to recognize, however, that Lang makes a distinction between oral and
written material that Jerome McGann subsequently refuted in The Textual Condition
(1991). Here, McGann discusses the “socialization of texts” and describes literary
texts as “polyvocal” (75), thereby recognizing the plurality of influences of any given
text. McGann further identifies a connection between literary texts and traditional
narratives, stating: “I should also make it clear that this case is just an extreme
instance of something one discovers repeatedly in literary studies. Traditional ballads
and songs typically descend to us through wildly heterodox lines of textual
transmission” (75). McGann, therefore, uses allusions to traditional narratives as a
metaphor for understanding books. Scholars of presumably oral narratives often
lament that printing stabilizes them. In “Fairy Tales from a Folklorist Perspective”,
for example, Alan Dundes argues:

> Once a fairy tale or any other type of folktale, for that matter, is
> reduced to written language, one does not have a true fairy tale but
> instead only a pale and inadequate reflection of what was originally
> an oral performance complete with raconteur and audience. From
> this folkloristic perspective, one cannot possibly read fairy tales;
> one can only properly hear them told. (259)

McGann’s position, however, dismisses such claims, and asserts that like oral
transmission, textual transmission is also fluid and is influenced by a number of
contributing “voices”. Whether or not the source material for Lang’s series is oral or
written, the printed series is a composite work and this study considers the various
contributors and contextual influences that impacted the series’ creation and development. As this study seeks to demonstrate, McGann’s position is particularly relevant to Lang’s series because it was not pre-planned; instead it developed over time and was continually shaped and reshaped by influences that varied for each book.

Chapters Three and Four offer further print contexts for the Fairy Books: book production, newspaper advertisements, and published reception. The methodology for these chapters employs a range of approaches to book history that have been developed over the past thirty years. In his article, “What is the History of Books?” (1982), Darnton proposed his “Communication Circuit” as a means to study the publishing cycle (68). In 1993, Thomas Adams and Nicolas Barker offered an alternative chart: “The Whole Socio-Economic Conjuncture” in “A New Model for the Study of the Book” (14). Whereas Darnton prioritizes the professional book industry, represented by individuals – author, publisher, bookseller, reader – Adams and Barker prioritize book production – manufacture, distribution, reception, survival – as well as noting additional socio-economic factors such as politics, commercial pressures, behavior, and taste. Darnton’s chart is useful for precisely the same reason that Adams and Barker challenge it: “The Communication Circuit” accentuates the human agency behind book production.23 D. F. McKenzie likewise argues that studies in bibliography can “show the human presence in any recorded text” (29). Such a position emphasizes human agency in book production and this study follows Darnton and McKenzie by examining some of the most influential contributors to the

---

23 For a concise discussion of the relative merits of both Darnton’s circuit and Adams and Barker’s charts, see Squires (51-54).
Fairy Books: Andrew Lang, Henry Justice Ford (1860-1941), and Lang’s wife, Leonora Blanche Alleyne Lang (1851-1933). Such a focused approach, however, as Adams and Barker explain, “ignores the sheer randomness, the speculative uncertainty of the book trade” (12). There are influencing factors that cannot be traced to any individual and Adams and Barker attempt to propose a system of study that “encompass[es] all the topics that would properly be included in the history of the book” while appreciating the “vast and sprawling mass of source material” (39). This study additionally discusses topics that cannot be individualized, for example, marketing, production technology, seasonal context, and the publication history of fairy-tale collections in the nineteenth century.

The Fairy Books were published at a time when books could be mass-produced and different volumes of books could made uniform with each other, thus encouraging the public to purchase and collect entire series. Longmans capitalized on the phenomenon of the series in their marketing strategies for the Fairy Books. Furthermore, the time of year in which the Fairy Books were printed conforms to an ongoing tradition of publishing fairy books during the Christmas book-buying season: a tradition that started much earlier in the nineteenth century. Chapter Three examines the phenomenon of the “literary series”, as defined by Richard Altick, and structures the discussion around Gérard Genette’s definitions of “peritext” and “epitext”. The chapter first examines the phenomenon of “peritexts” in relationship to the Fairy Books, by examining factors such as production and design, which correspond with Altick’s definition of “package psychology”. It then proceeds to
examine “epitexts”, such as Longmans’ print advertisements, in conjunction with
Altick’s notion of “brand name psychology”.

Chapter Four further adopts two of Adams and Barker’s categories of “reception” –
“popularity” and “direct documentation” – and analyzes the printing and sales
numbers for the Fairy Books. The printing numbers indicate Longman’s forecasts for
the series and the sale numbers identify some of the purchasing trends that vary
across the twelve books. The chapter then assesses the immediate reception of the
Fairy Books to challenge two pervasive assumptions about the series: first, that Lang
single-handedly brought the fairy tale back into fashion and second, that he
intentionally rendered invisible the mostly female group of translators who
contributed to the Fairy Books project. The immediate reception of the series clearly
recognizes the translators’s contributions in reviews. Furthermore, reviewers often
repeat similar themes in their descriptions of the series, but the most dominant
theme is remarking on Lang’s “inexhaustible” access to fairy tales and representing
him as the “master of fairyland”.

Like Chapter One, Chapter Five situates Lang’s series within the print context of the
fairy-tale book market. This chapter focuses on Adams and Barker’s third category of
reception – influence – by providing a survey of fairy-tale books published
concurrently with Lang’s series. This survey identifies trends that emerge across
these publications and that use many of the same packaging and branding strategies
discussed in Chapter Four. Although the Athenæum reviewer, quoted at the beginning
of this introduction, considered the stories in The Blue Fairy Book to be “from many
lands”, the geographical sources for the Fairy Books become increasingly diverse as the series progresses. Because this diversity is evident in other fairy-tale collections and series published concurrently, this final chapter argues that the historical context of colonization, in which Lang’s Fairy Books were published, was instrumental in influencing the shape and popularity of the series. This chapter further examines the series in its relationship to the phenomenon of collection, as defined by Susan Stewart, that was prominent in the late nineteenth century. While the Fairy Book collection begins with one volume of “classic fairy tales”, it concludes as a vast exhibition of narratives and illustrations from international and “exotic” cultures, imported for purchase and display in the British household. Within this colonial context, representations of Lang as the “master of fairyland” take on additional connotations.

Finally, the conclusion provides a brief overview of subsequent Fairy Book editions. These publications, including an edition currently being printed by the Folio Society, offer glimpses into how Lang's Fairy Books have been modified over the past century to correspond with shifts in the cultural climate. They further demonstrate that Lang's series has continued to have a pervasive influence for over 100 years and has retained a lasting popularity since the series ended in 1910.

This study systematically examines Lang's Fairy Books along with the various contexts in which they were first published. In the early nineteenth century, there was a scramble to transcribe fairy tales before, as was feared, such stories were lost. These endeavors meant that fairy tales, far from being lost, repeatedly appeared on
the printed page. At the end of the nineteenth century, these stories appeared once again, and this time – due to significant advances in book-production technologies in vibrant packages – the stories were extensively illustrated and ornately bound. The Fairy Books, in their multi-colored dresses, are ideally situated to demonstrate the dominant trends that exist in fairy-tale publications in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and, as this thesis suggests, the series has significantly contributed towards shaping the history of the fairy tale in print.
Chapter One

Publishing Fairy Books:
The Print History of Classic Fairy Tales in Britain, 1691-1889

Scholars have offered numerous claims about Lang’s Fairy Book series. Glenn Burne, for example, insists that “There have been only a few individual books that have changed the course of literary tradition. Andrew Lang’s *The Blue Fairy Book* was one of them—at least in the realm of children’s literature . . .” (140). Muir states: “Andrew Lang earns a high place in the revival of the fairy-tale, less for those he wrote himself . . . than for the series of brightly illustrated annual collections that he edited” (107). Moreover, McKinnell contends: “Few today know that it was the work of Lang alone that brought fairy tales into vogue in Victorian England, and that the Grimms had nothing to do with their surge in popularity” (3). In an afterward to an anthology of selections from the series, Michael Hearn provides the following commentary about the pre-history of the Fairy Book Series:

> Initially Lang had absolutely no intention of producing a dozen big books of fairy tales. In 1889, when he agreed apparently with some reluctance to do *The Blue Fairy Book*, he did not expect to follow it with a sequel. At the time, fairy tales had grown out of fashion, but Charles Longman, Lang’s friend and publisher, believed there was a need for a new popular edition of some of the best-known stories and Lang was the obvious choice for editor. (493)\(^\text{24}\)

Hearn, along with most of the critics cited here, does not provide citations for his assertion and it is difficult to verify all of his claims. It is, however, worth examining, as far as possible, these arguments regarding Lang’s collection. Green’s account of the series’ pre-history differs somewhat from Hearn’s. Green instead claims: “the

\[^{24}\text{Reasons why Lang might be an “obvious choice” are discussed at length in Chapter Two.}\]
book was an experiment, and of a kind that must have caused a certain amount of anxiety to Longman, the publisher, even with the great ‘draw’ of Lang’s name. For at that time the fairy-tale had almost ceased to be read in British nurseries” (1946:81). In this way, Green positions *The Blue Fairy Book* as a product of Lang’s life-long interest in fairy lore. Whether the idea for *The Blue Fairy Book* started with Lang, according to Green, or Longmans, according to Hearn, is currently inconclusive.

What Hearn and Green do agree upon, however, is that *The Blue Fairy Book* marks a change in public taste. They both insist that before the publication of *The Blue Fairy Book*, fairy tales were out of favor, but after the publication of *The Blue Fairy Book*, interest in fairy stories was revived and publications of collections of fairy tales were prolific. This assertion is common in reference to Lang’s collection, but in spite of, or perhaps because of, its repeated appearance, it demands careful consideration.

Despite McKinnell’s claims, the Grimms’ collection unquestionably influenced fairy-tale publications printed in Britain in the nineteenth century. Beginning in 1823, the Grimms’ collection, published in a new English translation at least once in every decade,\(^2\) was one of many publications of folk and fairy tale to appear on the market. Two years after Taylor’s translation of the Grimms’ stories, Thomas Crofton Croker published a set of stories collected in Ireland entitled *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*. The *Child’s Fairy Library* issued by Parley-Tegg was released in 1837-8 and includes examples from both the French and British fairy tales.

---

\(^{25}\) Jan Susina echoes Green in his entry on Lang in *British Children’s Writers, 1880-1914* and writes: “Despite Lang’s well-known status, The Blue Fairy Book was a publishing risk for Longmans in that the appeal for fairy tales for children seemed to have peaked” (179). As Susina does not provide evidence for his claim and, given the similarity between the two sentences, it is likely that his entry is paraphrasing Green.

\(^{26}\) See Hines “German Stories/British Illustrations” (forthcoming).
discussed in the following section. The 1840s includes key publications of fairy tales. In the mid 1840s, Henry Cole, under the pseudonym “Felix Summerly” edited a series of children’s books, collectively entitled *Home Treasury*, that, like *The Child’s Fairy Library*, included classic fairy tales. The stories could be bought individually or bound together; the fourth bound volume, *Popular Fairy Tales*, included “Jack the Giant Killer”, “Cinderella”, and “The Sleeping Beauty”. In 1845, William Thoms, who under his pseudonym, “Ambrose Merton”, had proposed the term “folk-lore” also edited a series of stories entitled *Old Story Books of England*. In 1846, three editions of Hans Christian Andersen’s literary fairy tales were published in Britain: *Wonderful Stories for Children* translated by Mary Howitt, *A Danish Story Book* translated by Charles Boner, and *Danish Fairy Tales and Legends* translated by Caroline Peachey. In 1849, Anthony Montalba assembled *Fairy Tales of All Nations*, with illustrations by Richard Doyle that are “some of the best ever done for a children’s book” (Darton 241). This range of publications in the 1840s, from the folk lore of Crofton Croker to the fairy-tales collections of Montalba, demonstrate that interest in folk and fairy tales was well established before the mid-nineteenth century.

Collections of fairy tales remain steadily available for the second half of the century and the next influx of translated tales comes in the late 1850s. In 1858 James

27 Cole did not claim to write the stories in his books. He also carefully selected highly regarded illustrators to contribute to the volumes, including J. C. Horsely, R.A., C. A. Cope, R.A., T. Webster, R.A., and Mulready.
28 Andersen’s stories, although containing minor elements of traditional tale types, are unapologetically literary creations written for children. Dulken comments on Andersen’s “powers of invention” (*Fairy Tales* v) and, according to Bain, “His tales appealed directly to the childish fancy, they accommodated themselves absolutely to the child’s point of view” (*The Little Mermaid* xv).
29 All quotations from Darton’s book are taken from the third edition, revised and edited by Brian Alderson, published in 1982.
Robinson Planché, a dramatist, issued *Four and Twenty Fairy Tales* (primarily from France) and Sir George Dasent’s translation of Asbjörnsen and Moe’s *Popular Tales from the Norse* appeared in 1859. According to Darton, by the end of the 1850s, “we had most of the tongues of Europe speaking to our children” (241). John Francis Campbell, like Croker in Ireland, collected Gaelic ballads and stories in Scotland, culminating in the publication of *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* in four volumes (1860-2). The 1850s also witnessed an equally prolific contribution of individually authored fairy tales and by that time “The fairy-tale had at last come into its own” (Darton 240). As Eaton explains: “fairy tales became, in the 1840’s and ’50’s, a recognized part of children’s reading. Many fairy tales, some traditional, some original inventions, were either translated for the first time or assembled from earlier collections” (Meigs 206). Examples of original inventions include: John Ruskin’s *King of the Golden River* (1851), Diana Murlock Craik’s *Alice Learmont* (1852) and *The Little Lychetts* (1855) a variation of the Cinderella story, W. M. Thackeray’s *The Rose and the Ring: or The History of Prince Giglio and Prince Bulbo, A Fireside Pantomime for Great and Small Children by Mr. M. A. Titmarsh* (1855), and Frances Browne’s *Granny’s Wonderful Chair and its Tales of Fairy Times* (1857).

Publications of individually created fairy tales continued in the 1860s and 1870s, producing some of the most recognized literary fairy tales from the nineteenth century. Charles Kingsley’s *The Water-Babies: A Fairy Tale for a Land-Baby* was published serially in *Macmillan’s Magazine* in 1862 and published in one volume in 1863. Craik also published *The Fairy Book* in 1863. Perhaps not strictly a fairy tale,
literary or otherwise, but enormously influential on the development of children’s literature, Lewis Carroll’s *Alice in Wonderland* was published in 1865 followed by *Through the Looking Glass* in 1871, both illustrated by John Tenniel. Also published in 1865 was *An Old Fairy Tale Told Anew*, wherein Planché wrote “Sleeping Beauty” as a long poem, which was illustrated by Doyle. In Scotland, George MacDonald’s contributions to the literary fairy tale include *Dealings with the Fairies* (1867), *At the Back of the North Wind* (1871), and *The Princess and Curdie* (1883), all illustrated by Arthur Hughes. Certainly the overall market of children’s books increased in volume the nineteenth century, but the books mentioned here reflect the continued popularity of the fairy-tale genre, evident in numerous collections of short stories and in longer adaptations of fairy tales.

Publications of fairy tales, in both collections and literary forms, continued to thrive throughout the nineteenth century. Hearn and Green, however, make assertions to the contrary that demand careful consideration. As mentioned, Hearn provides little documentation for his claim that “fairy tales had grown out of fashion”. Green, however, cites Mrs. E. M. Field’s history of children’s books, *The Child and His Book*, published in 1891. According to Field, “At the present moment, the fairy tale seems to have given way entirely in popularity to the child’s story of real life, the novel of childhood, in which no effort is spared to make children appear as they are by the pictorial art of fiction, the drawing of every light and shade of the character” (235-236). However, the end of the same chapter contains the following: “Note.—Since the above was written, eighteen months ago, the tide of popularity would seem to have set strongly in the direction of the old fairy stories” (242). Although Field
does not directly name Lang or his series, the dates do correspond with the publication of *The Blue Fairy Book*. The prefatory note in Field’s text is dated February 1891. Assuming that date coincides with the additional note on fairy tales, eighteen months prior would be August 1889 the same month in which *The Blue Fairy Book* was first published. In the interim eighteen months, *The Blue Fairy Book* had gone through four re-printings, appeared in three different editions, and Longmans had issued a sequel, *The Red Fairy Book*, which, by February 1891, was already in its second printing. The conclusions Green draws from Field’s note claiming that “It would probably be no exaggeration to say that Lang was entirely responsible for this change in public taste” (1946 82) are therefore not entirely unfounded, but even so, further investigation is required.

This study investigates two repeated claims made about fairy tales and Lang’s series. First, Field insists that the early 1890s mark a shift in public taste regarding fairy tales, thereby raising questions about what sort of evidence exists to indicate that fairy tales were, in fact, out of fashion immediately prior to 1889. The mid-nineteenth century had witnessed a surge of fantasy writing and interest in the fairy-tale genre. Had this interest abated by the end of the century, and, if so, why? Second, Green attributes this shift in public taste directly to Lang’s series. Assuming there was a change in public taste, is it possible to trace such a change directly to one person? The remainder of this chapter focuses primarily on Field’s claims and examines the publication history of fairy tales in Britain during the nineteenth century to ascertain whether or not the fairy tale had actually lost its popularity by 1889. Chapter Four

30 Overviews of these subsequent editions appear in the conclusion to this study.
will then return to this debate and consider Green’s claims within the wider publishing context from 1889 to 1910 to determine whether it can be proven that Lang’s series was indeed responsible for such a change.

**The Blue Fairy Book: Sources, or, “Familiar Friends”**

Although the Fairy Books are often perceived now as one unified collection, the series progressed through developmental stages, as discussed at length in Chapter Three. *The Blue Fairy Book*, initially intended to be only the one volume, eventually became the template on which later volumes were modeled. Moreover, this volume’s popularity is the catalyst for the creation of the series. The volume, therefore, deserves detailed analysis, which can then facilitate formulating answers that might explain its popularity. *The Blue Fairy Book* contains thirty-seven stories, which are derived from fourteen different sources and represent the European fairy tales best known to nineteenth-century audiences. The sources of these stories are listed in Table 1. When grouped by language, there are four main geographical regions: France, Germany, Norway, and Britain.\(^{31}\) *The Blue Fairy Book* is heavily biased towards France. Eight stories, including the Grimm stories and one contribution from Kreutzwald, are from Germany. Norway is represented solely by Asbjörnsen and Moe with four of their stories, and the five stories from Britain range from English chapbooks and Scottish tales, to an adaptation of Jonathan Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels*.

---

\(^{31}\) The one exception, a Greek myth, will be discussed in Chapter Two.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source (number of stories in <em>The Blue Fairy Book</em>)</th>
<th>Story titles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charles Perrault (7)</td>
<td>“Little Red Riding Hood”, “The Sleeping Beauty in the Wood”, “Cinderella; or, the Little Glass Slipper”, “The Master Cat; or, Puss in Boots”, “Little Thumb”, “Toads and Diamonds”, and “Blue Beard”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Asbjörnsen and Jørgen Moe (4)</td>
<td>“East of the Sun and West of the Moon”, “The Master Maid”, “Why the Sea is Salt”, and “The Princess on the Glass Hill”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from chapbooks (2)</td>
<td>“The History of Whittington” and “The History of Jack the Giant-Killer”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Chambers (2)</td>
<td>“The Black Bull of Norroway” and “The Red Etin”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeanne Marie le Prince de Beaumont (1)</td>
<td>“Prince Hyacinth and the Dear Little Princess”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susanne Barbot de Gallon de Villeneuve (1)</td>
<td>“Beauty and the Beast”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carnoy and Nicolaides (1)</td>
<td>“The Bronze Ring”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from <em>Cabinet des Fées</em> (1)</td>
<td>“Prince Darling”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan Swift (1)</td>
<td>“A Voyage to Lilliput”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“from the Greek” (1)</td>
<td>“The Terrible Head”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Surveys of each of these four geographical regions reveal that most of the stories included in *The Blue Fairy Book* had been widely available in print in English throughout the nineteenth century and in some cases were published immediately before or simultaneously with *The Blue Fairy Book*. Furthermore, when compiling this volume, Lang specifically drew upon “favorite” fairy tales. In the introduction to the collectors’ edition, he indicates: “We may alter now and again the arrangement of incidents, but these always remain essentially the same, and of all the combinations into which they can be fitted, the oldest combinations are still the favourites” (xi). Whether or not fairy tales were out of fashion, as Field claims, they were widely known and familiar by 1889.

*The French Tradition: Contes de Fées*

Of the thirty-seven stories included in *The Blue Fairy Book*, nineteen stories are derived from French sources. This partiality towards France is not surprising. Lang has an extensive history of studying French literature. He translated the French ballad *Aucassin and Nicolette* into English in 1887 and published fiction and non-fiction on Joan of Arc.32 While there is no direct explanation as to why the first volume of the Fairy Book series is titled *The Blue Fairy Book*, it is not unreasonable to note the association between the title and the Bibliothèque bleue, French chapbooks printed in blue covers. Whether or not this connection was indeed intended, *The Blue Fairy Book* does include most of the best-known French tales, including stories from

32 Lang’s published books include *The Story of Joan of Arc* (1906) and *Maid of France* (1908).
Charles Perrault, Catherine d’Aulnoy, Susanne Barbot de Gallon de Villeneuve,
Jeanne Marie le Prince de Beaumont, and Antoine Galland.\textsuperscript{33}

Charles Perrault’s \textit{Histoires ou Contes du Temps Passé; avec des Moralités}, first
published in Paris in 1697, includes eight stories, seven of which are reproduced in
\textit{The Blue Fairy Book}. Perrault’s tales, their usual English equivalents, and the titles
Lang uses are included in Table 2. Lang does not specify why “Riquet with the Tuft”
is not included in \textit{The Blue Fairy Book} and it does not appear in any of the later
volumes. However, in his introduction to Perrault’s tales, published the year before,

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
French & English & \textit{Blue Fairy Book} \\
\hline
& (incorrectly) & \\
\hline
“La Petit Chaperon Rouge” & “Red Riding Hood” & “Little Red Riding Hood” \\
\hline
“La Barbe Bleuë” & “Bluebeard” & “Blue Beard” \\
\hline
“Le Maistre Chat, ou le Chat Botté” & “Puss-in-Boots” & “The Master Cat; or, Puss in Boots” \\
“Les Fées” & “Diamonds and Toads” or “The Fairies” & “Toads and Diamonds” \\
\hline
“Cendrillon, ou la petite Pantoufle de Verre” & “Cinderella, or the Glass Slipper” & “Cinderella, or the Little Glass Slipper” \\
“Riquet à la Houppe” & “Riquet with the Tuft” & not included \\
“Le Petit Poucet” & “Hop o’ my Thumb” & “Little Thumb” \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Perrault’s Tales in \textit{The Blue Fairy Book}\textsuperscript{a}}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{33} For extensive bibliographic information about French fairy tales, including recent scholarship in this area, see Le Marchand (2005). Seifert provides a comprehensive discussion of the social, cultural, and political climate in which these fairy tales first appeared (1996).
\textsuperscript{a} The French and English titles appear in Darton’s \textit{Children’s Books in England} (87).
Lang claims that of all Perrault’s tales it is the least popular: “Compared with the stories of Madlle. L’Heritier or of the Comtesse de Murat even *Riquet* is short and simple. But it could hardly be told by a nurse, and it would not greatly interest a child” (cii-ciii). Lang further indicates that “We want to know what became of the plain but lively sister, and she drops out of the narrative unnoticed” (ciii). Finally, he summarizes the story succinctly when stating: “The strange husbands or wives are enchanted into an evil shape, till they meet a lover who will not disdain them. Moral, don’t disdain anybody” (ciii). It is likely due to these unfavorable opinions of this story that Lang does not include it in his *Blue Fairy Book*.

Whether the stories were transcribed by Perrault or his son, Pierre Darmacour, has been continually debated. Darton simply states that the tales are “said to be by Perrault’s son” (87) and Thwaite acknowledges that the collection “was understood to be the work of M. Charles Perrault (1628-1703), a notable Academician, and Comptroller of the Royal Buildings, although from the book itself it appeared to be written by his son . . . . Scholars disagree as to whether Perrault *père or fils* (or both) was the true author . . . .” (33). Muir takes a much stronger stance and states: “Perrault never repeated his success. Indeed, the son, to whose sponsorship I unhesitatingly clinging, died in 1700, three years after the publication of his little book” (40), whereas Meigs addresses the controversy as such:

It has puzzled many commentators to see that the dedication and, by implication, the book itself are by P. d’Arma-Court, who was Perrault’s young son. There are certain turns of phrase and of thought that a young boy could not have compassed; the courtly flattery of the dedication itself is the voice of a mature and sophisticated person. One might think of the boy’s share as something like that of Christopher Robin in *When We Were Very Young*, supplying the taste and impulse
through which the father turned back to the fancies and interests of a child. (112)\(^{34}\)

More recent scholarship has concluded, however, that Charles Perrault, and not his son, wrote these stories (Lathey 52). The ongoing debate is interesting simply because the scholarly controversy surrounding the collection coincides with some of the controversies regarding Lang’s collection. In his own introduction to Perrault’s tales (1888), Lang indicates: “Critics have often declared that Perrault merely used the boy’s name as a cover for his own, because it did not become an Academician to publish fairy-tales, above all in prose” (xxvii) and proceeds to explain: “But it had occurred to me, before discovering the similar opinion of M. Paul Lacroix, that P. Darmancour really was the author of the *Contes*, or at least the *collaborateur*” (xxviii). Although Lang provides no further evidence as to why he believes Perrault’s son to be the author or collaborator, he practices the same distancing from his own stories when he repeatedly iterates that he is not the author of the stories in the Fairy Books. Perhaps Lang did personally believe that “it did not become and Academician to publish fairy-tales” (xxvii). Others insist that the stories did not originate with either Perrault or his son, but actually belonged to the family nurse. According to Muir, “Whether it was the son or his father, as many people think, who took down the stories and published them, it was from the old woman depicted in the frontispiece, their governess, that they originally heard them . . .” (39) and Darton states: “They were said to have been told to the alleged young author by his peasant nurse; and there is no reason to suppose that untrue” (88). In the introduction to *The Blue Fairy Book*, Lang states that Perrault often uses “the very words of his boy’s

\(^{34}\) For further reading about this debate on authorship, see also Betts’ 2009 translation of Perrault’s tales, *The Complete Fairy Tales* (xv).
nurse” (xix). The ambiguity of authorship, as well as the inclusion of the unnamed female narrator, is a recurring factor in the history of the fairy tale and exists plainly in Lang’s series, as will be demonstrated throughout this section and explored at length in Chapter Four.

Perrault’s collection is believed to have first been translated into English in 1729 by Robert Samber as Histories, or Tales of Past Times. Told by Mother Goose.35 Lang explains in his introduction to The Blue Fairy Book:

I have given his tales of Mother Goose in the words of the oldest English translation I can procure. Though published in 1697, Perrault’s Contes de ma Mère l’Oye do not seem to have been Englished until 1729. A version is advertised in a newspaper of that year, but no copy exists in the British Museum. The text we print from is a very pretty little edition of 1763, which I purchased in Paris. (xix)

The phrase “Mother Goose” does not appear in the original French title, but is instead derived from the frontispiece, which depicts an older woman telling stories to a child audience. On the wall behind her hangs a plate with the inscription “Conte’s de Ma Mere L’Oye” (Tales of Mother Goose).36 According to Thwaite, “Very soon separate stories were taken over by the chapbook makers and it is probable that it was in these cheap little productions that they first became known to children in this country” (34-35). Darton similarly comments that due to Samber’s translation the stories became “naturalized citizens of the British nursery” (88). There appear, however, to be very few gift book editions published of the collection until towards the end of the century. Lang’s 1888 edition, in which he provides a lengthy introduction to the

35 Regarding the debate over the first English translation, see Muir (49-5), Thwaite (34-35), and Lathey (52-53).
36 John Newbery (1713-1767), understood to be the first person to intentionally publish children’s books in England, borrowed the phrase for his book of ancient rhymes, Mother Goose Medley (c.1765). For further reading on “Mother Goose”, see Peter and Iona Opie in The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes (33-35).
collection and a scholarly, folkloric investigation and critique of the stories, is one of
the few gift editions available. Ellis explains:

There were numerous editions for 19th-century children of Aesop’s *Fables* and *The Arabian Nights*, particularly after 1800. For most of the period, however, there was not a satisfactory edition of Perrault, whose stories appeared only in general selections of fairy tales. Unfortunately no edition was issued in the Victorian era of Sir Richard Phillips’ *Popular Fairy Tales*, which included all of Perrault’s tales; and J. R. Planché’s *Popular Fairy Tales* was not reissued after the edition of 1862. The first separate retelling of Perrault was that of Andrew Lang in 1888. In each decade of the 19th century, publication took place of numerous editions of fairy tales of Andersen and Grimm. (70-71)

Sir Richard Philips’ *Popular Fairy Tales* is an 1818 collection “collected and edited by Benjamin Tabart”, which also included “Beauty and the Beast”, “Aladdin”, “Tom Thumb”, the two chief Jacks, and many others “without a trace of novelty, invention, or research – just what every right-minded child in England should have expected in those pre-Grimm and pre-invention days” (Darton 214). Lang’s collection of Perrault’s stories, however, like the 1897 gift edition, *Fairy Tales by Master Perrault*, issued by C. J. Clay and Sons, does not offer a translation of the tales, but rather leaves the stories in the original French. It is interesting that Lang published two books of Perrault’s stories so close together and with such distinctive purposes. The 1888 version contains a lengthy introduction, but no illustrations, and it is unlikely that this volume was intended for a child audience. Indeed, according to Lang’s introduction, the stories are offered as examples of folk lore to be studied by interested adults and Lang conducts a lengthy investigation and analysis of each story. In *The Blue Fairy Book*, the same stories are refashioned for a child audience, illustrated, and offered as entertainment, rather than specimens of study.
Lang explains that *The Blue Fairy Book*, “made for the pleasure of children, and without scientific purpose, includes nursery tales which have a purely literary origin. Many of these were the work of ladies in the age when fairy tales were in vogue at the Court of France. It by no means followed that the courtiers had the hearts of children” (xvii). Marie Catherine d’Aulnoy (c. 1650-1705) was the most prolific of these experimental fairy-tale writers. In her 1892 introduction to *The Fairy Tales of Madame d’Aulnoy*, Anne Thackeray Ritchie provides biographical history of d’Aulnoy and her circle of writers (d’Aulnoy ix-xxi). Ritchie describes the fairy tales produced in the late seventeenth-century salon culture and explains that d’Aulnoy’s stories have fallen out of circulation, since the days when the French ladies and gentlemen all read fairy tales together, and the order of the Terrace was instituted for little Louis XV. The Knights of the Order were to play at games on the Terraces at Versailles with his youthful majesty, and then assemble together (specially on their feast day, the day of St. Bartholomew) and spell out fairy stories for the rest of the afternoon. It was not only children who liked fairy tales in those days; there was a general fashion for them. (ix)

According to Zipes, d’Aulnoy instigated the fashion of writing fairy tales in France, when she included “L’île de la Félicité” (“The Island of Happiness”) in her 1690 novel *Histoire d’Hippolyte, comte de Duglas* (*Beauties* 7). Charles Meyer published *Le Cabinet des Fées* (Amsterdam, Paris and Geneva) between 1785-9, which included stories produced by d’Aulnoy and others during the earlier salon games; by the time *Le Cabinet* finished publication, it totaled 41 volumes. Darton dismisses much of the collection and claims that it included “a great deal of rubbish which is hardly fairy-lore at all” (89). Recently, Jacques Barchilon has responded to criticisms, such as Darton’s, that have been directed towards d’Aulnoy’s stories. In his article “Adaptations of Folktales and Motifs in Madame d’Aulnoy’s Contes: A Brief Survey
of Influence and Diffusion”, Barchilon counters that “Madame d’Aulnoy’s stories are engaging because of her whimsical imagination combined, paradoxically, with touches of realism and dream-life evocations” (359). Although not every story in Le Cabinet des Fées was written by d’Aulnoy, she was a significant contributor and her name is most associated with the collection.

Madame d’Aulnoy’s stories have a longer history in English than Perrault’s collection of stories. According to Thwaite, “Madame d’Aulnoy’s stories must have been among the earliest to be published here, for a translation of some of them came out in 1699 (36), but Barchilon places the first translation earlier and states:

Only one year after d’Aulnoy’s first tale, “L’île de la Félicité” (1690), was published, an English translation appeared in print. An initial publication of four other stories was available in English translation as early as 1699, with numerous subsequent editions and translations during the eighteenth century, bringing the genre and the very term “fairy tale” to the English world. (355)37

A three volume collection of d’Aulnoy’s tales appeared in 1721 (reprinted in 1728 and 1737), and selections of her stories were published in other editions, including The Court of Queen Mab (1752), published by Mrs. Cooper, an enterprising publisher who rivaled John Newbery, and The Court of Oberon; or, the Temple of the Fairies (1823), published by John Harris, successor to Newbery. In 1856, John R. Planché issued an edition of d’Aulnoy’s stories. Planché was already well known for his

---

staged productions of fairy tales, including several of d’Aulnoy’s tales.\textsuperscript{38} Planché censures previous translations and explains:

Now, it will scarcely be believed that, although the collectors introduced the novels which link the second series of her Fairy Tales together, after the fashion of the old Italian novelists, they not only omitted the whole of the first series, but also several of the best of the second; substituting, in the place of the latter, tales by the Countess de Murat, and the Countess d’Anneuil, without distinction or explanation, changing the titles where they occurred in the intermediate narrative, and altering or wholly omitting the remarks made upon them by the personages for whose entertainment they are supposed to be related, so that the reader could not suspect the imposition that was practised upon him, for what reason it is difficult to imagine.

Nor was the injustice to the author limited to this singular caprice. The tales, instead of being faithfully translated, were recklessly abridged and loosely paraphrased; while the incidental couplets occasionally, and the versified morals invariably, were dispensed with altogether. (ix-x)

Planché’s collection includes translations of “The Yellow Dwarf”, “The White Cat”, “The Fair with the Golden Hair” and “The Ram”, all of which appear in \textit{The Blue Fairy Book}, although the latter two under the alternate titles “Story of Pretty Goldilocks” and “The Wonderful Sheep” respectively.\textsuperscript{39} Previously, “The Yellow Dwarf” and “Miranda and the Royal Ram” had both been included in \textit{Mother Bunch’s Fairy Tales} (1795), while “The White Cat” and “The Fair One with Golden Locks” were in \textit{Fairy Tales or Court of Oberon} (1824). Planché’s edition, however, demonstrates that these stories were available for nineteenth-century English readers and, because his book was reissued in 1888, alternative translations of d’Aulnoy’s tales were in print at the same time as \textit{The Blue Fairy Book}.

\textsuperscript{38} For information on Planché’s dramatized versions of d’Aulnoy’s tales and his translated edition, see Buczkowski’s “J. R. Planché, Frederick Robson and the Fairy Extravaganza” (2001).

\textsuperscript{39} According to Ritchie, “The prettiest of Madame d’Aulnoy’s stories are also the best known, such as \textit{L’oiseau Blue, The White Cat, Le Prince Lutin}, and a good many others. \textit{Le Nain Juane, Fortunée, La Biche au Bois} are also very charmingly told” (d’Aulnoy \textit{The Fairy Tales of Madame D’Aulnoy} xxi).
In addition to the selections from Perrault and d’Aulnoy there are three more stories included in *The Blue Fairy Book* derived directly from French sources. Susanne Barbot de Gallon de Villeneuve (1695-1755) and Mme Jeanne Marie le Prince de Beaumont (1711-1780) are each credited with one story. Interestingly Lang names de Villeneuve as the source for “Beauty and the Beast”, which is accurate. Villeneuve, was a participant in the salon culture of writing fairy tales that d’Aulnoy initiated, and her version of “Beauty and the Beast” (1740) is “one of the true immortals” and is “hidden in the vast” *Les Cabinet des Fées* (Darton 89). Her version, however, is often overlooked in favor of de Beaumont’s later revision, first published in French in London – where de Beaumont was a governess – in the educational magazine *Magasin des Enfans; ou, dialogues entre une sage gouvernante et plusieurs de ses élèves de la première distinction* (1756, translated into English in 1757).\(^{40}\) Lang’s attribution of the story to de Villeneuve and not de Beaumont is significant because it demonstrates his own familiarity with *Le Cabinet des Fées*, which he later references in the preface to *The Olive Fairy Book*. “Beauty and the Beast” is certainly not limited to these two versions and it appears in numerous English publications throughout the nineteenth century. One worth mentioning is an edition generally attributed to Charles Lamb, although the exact author of this version is unknown. Lang, as discussed further in the following chapter, contributed a lengthy introduction to an 1887 reprint, which, like his introduction to Perrault’s tales, provides an extensive comparative study. The story that Lang does attribute to de Villeneuve offers a compelling and engaging examination of de Villeneuve’s version in her article; she concedes that de Villeneuve’s version “is indeed an odd mixture of extravagant descriptions, fairy-tale conventions, innovative dream sequences, and rational argument” but proceeds to demonstrate that the story’s “peculiarly hybrid form, which is now perceived as a fatal flaw, nonetheless opens a window into the transitional period in which it was created” (197). Beaumont, according to Talairach-Vielmas, “manifestly changed the fairy tale into a moral lesson intended for a young, mainly female audience” (“Beautiful Maidens” 274).
Beaumont in *The Blue Fairy Book* is “Prince Hyacinth and the Dear Little Princess” and one final story in the volume is from *Le Cabinets des Fées* is “Prince Darling”, but Lang provides no author.\(^{41}\)

Four more stories included in *The Blue Fairy Book* are not French in origin, but were introduced into England by way of France. The first story in *The Blue Fairy Book*, “The Bronze Ring”, provides an example of a translation practice that is common in later volumes of the Fairy Book series. The source for the story is listed as *Traditions Populaires de l’Asie Mineure* by Émile Henry Carnoy and Jean Nicolaïdès (1889). The story is, therefore, not a French story, but is translated from a French source. Several stories in later volumes are also attributed to certain countries, but are translated from French and German sources as opposed to the originating languages of the stated sources. The version in Lang’s book appears to be the first English translation of the story, making it one of only three stories new to English readers in this volume.\(^{42}\)

Three final French stories in *The Blue Fairy Book* are derived from Antoine Galland’s version of *The Arabian Nights*: “Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp”, “The Forty Thieves” and “The Story of Prince Ahmed and the Fairy Paribanou”. Galland’s lengthy introduction to the collectors’ edition of *The Blue Fairy Book*, wherein he offers a brief history of most of the sources for the stories, he provides no information on “Prince Hyacinth” or “Prince Darling” and no further information has been located. They are not mentioned in general scholarship and neither story is included in Stanton and Siefert’s *Enchanted Eloquence: Fairy Tales by Seventeenth-Century French Women Writers* (2010) or Zipes’s *Beauties, Beasts and Enchantment: Classic French Fairy Tales* (2009), both of which are anthologies of seventeenth century French salon fairy tales. Alderson does not provide any additional information about this story in his extensive research included in his re-edited version of *The Blue Fairy Book*, published in 1975.\(^{43}\)

“The Water Lily”, one of the stories translated from German, is discussed below, and “The Terrible Head”, Lang’s one original contribution to *The Blue Fairy Book*, is examined at length in Chapter Two.

\(^{41}\) In Lang’s lengthy introduction to the collectors’ edition of *The Blue Fairy Book*, wherein he offers a brief history of most of the sources for the stories, he provides no information on “Prince Hyacinth” or “Prince Darling” and no further information has been located. They are not mentioned in general scholarship and neither story is included in Stanton and Siefert’s *Enchanted Eloquence: Fairy Tales by Seventeenth-Century French Women Writers* (2010) or Zipes’s *Beauties, Beasts and Enchantment: Classic French Fairy Tales* (2009), both of which are anthologies of seventeenth century French salon fairy tales. Alderson does not provide any additional information about this story in his extensive research included in his re-edited version of *The Blue Fairy Book*, published in 1975.

\(^{42}\) “The Water Lily”, one of the stories translated from German, is discussed below, and “The Terrible Head”, Lang’s one original contribution to *The Blue Fairy Book*, is examined at length in Chapter Two.
(c.1646-1715) produced the first translation of the *Arabian Nights* stories in any European language, when he published *Mille et une nuits: Contes arabes* in twelve volumes (1704-17). The stories that appear in Galland’s translation are derived from a variety of sources. Lathey provides a brief synopsis and indicates that Galland translated

a fourteenth-century Syrian manuscript, augmented by tales from Baghdad and Cairo; he then added a number of other tales, including the Sindbad sequence that he had translated some time earlier from a separate manuscript. Stories of Aladdin and Ali Baba and the forty thieves were also additions, both of them probably stories told to Galland by a Syrian Christian visiting France (Mack, 1995; Dobie, 2008). It would appear, then, that three of the stories most popular with children were not in fact part of the original Arabian Nights cycle at all. Galland’s adaptation of the tales so that they were ‘deliberately pruned of anything that might have been considered lewd or bawdy’ (Mack, 2005: 471) also made them more suitable for young readers . . . . To some extent, then, the structure and content of the Arabian Nights as it is known in the western world was the creation of a French scholar, traveller, and translator whose influence continues to reverberate across the literary world. (44-45)

In English, the collection of tales is often known as *One Thousand and One Nights* or *Arabian Nights Entertainments*. According to Darton, “The first English translation, from such of Galland’s edition as had appeared, came out between 1705-8; no perfect copy seems to be known” and Lathey explains: “The translator of the Arabian Nights from Galland’s French into English is one of the many untraceable benefactors of English literature for both adults and children” (emphasis in original 91; 45).

Although the first English edition and translator are unknown, this version was repeatedly reprinted; indeed, by 1793, “the English Galland had reached its eighteenth ‘edition’. During the next forty years, the rate of publication (whether

---

43 For further reading, see Warner's *Stranger Magic: Charmed States and the Arabian Nights* (2011). Warner’s recent contribution to this text offers an extensive analysis of the collection and its history, in which she explores many of the narrative motifs and the extent of the stories' cultural heritage.
reprint or new translation) was to double” (Caracciolo Introduction 6). Translations of *Arabian Nights*, however, are not limited to Galland’s. Although incomplete, Caracciolo regards Henry Torren’s version (1838-9), as “the best English translation as far as it goes” (Introduction 21). Edward Lane issued his translation of the *Nights* in 1838-41; this version is significant because it is the first English translation to be made directly from Arabic. Richard Burton (1821-90) produced a more complete translation of the *Nights* in four volumes (1885-8) thereby issuing his translation just a few years before the arrival of *The Blue Fairy Book*. Burton, however, clearly envisions a very different readership than Lang does. An insert added to front of Burton’s book contains the following Memorandum:

In issuing this first volume of “The Nights,” Captain Burton begs to remind all who have honoured him by subscribing to it, that the work is intended only for those that wish to study the peculiarities of Moslem life and Arabo-Egyptian manners, customs and language. It is emphatically a book for men and students; and nothing could be more repugnant to the translator’s feelings than the idea of these pages being placed in any other hands than the class for whose especial use it has been prepared. In this essential matter the writer trusts confidently to the good faith of his subscribers. (n.pag.)

Other translations of the *Nights* were readily available to children throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Alderson goes so far as to argue not only that “from their earliest appearance among the polite readers of Europe, the *Nights* have been acknowledged as attractive fare for children”, but also that “it may perhaps be hazarded that almost everyone today who ‘knows’ the *Nights* does so, or began to do so, through the medium of children’s books” (“Scheherazade” 82; 92). Notable publications of the stories for children are *The Oriental Moralist; or, the Beauties of the Arabian Nights Entertainments. Translated from the Original and accompanied with Suitable Reflection Adapted to Each Story* published by Elizabeth Newbery (c.
1790), Oriental Tales: Being Moral Selections from The Arabian Nights Entertainments; Calculated Both to Amuse and Improve the Minds of Youth (1829), Fairy Tales and More Fairy Tales from the Arabian Nights, edited and arranged by E. Dixon (1893 and 1895), and Andrew Lang’s Arabian Nights Entertainments (1898), which was included as one of Longmans' twenty-five Christmas volumes, although it is not part of the Fairy Book series.

“Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp” and “The Forty Thieves” are among the most famous stories from Arabian Nights. However, the third story included is not “Sindbad the Sailor”, as might be expected, but rather, “The Story of Prince Ahmed”. Reasons for this unusual selection are unknown. As mentioned, in 1898, Lang produced a larger selection of Arabian Nights stories. Thwaite notes that, “when Andrew Lang published his selection he went back to Galland’s version, translating it afresh, and this edition by Lang still endures as one of the best of all for boys and girls today” (37). Alderson characterizes Lang’s language for this book as veering “between an eighteenth-century formality and a more colloquial nineteenth-century tone” (“Scheherazade” 87). In opposition to Burton’s translation, for his 1898 Arabian Nights, Lang specifically edits the stories for children, indicating in the preface: “In this book the stories are shortened here and there, and omissions are made of pieces only suitable for Arabs and old gentlemen” (vii). Given Lang’s knowledge of French, it is not surprising that Lang turned to Galland rather than utilizing previous English translations; nevertheless the extent of Lang’s influence

---

44 “Sindbad” had been included in the publisher Benjamin Tabat’s series of “Popular Stories for the Nursery”. Similarly the three stories appear together in Miss Braddon’s 1880 edition, illustrated by Gustave Doré. See previous quotation from Lathey, who reiterates that these three stories are Galland’s additions to The Arabian Nights.
over the French translations of “Aladdin”, “The Forty Thieves” and “Prince Ahmed” in *The Blue Fairy Book* is unknown. In the introduction to *The Blue Fairy Book*, he attributes the translation of the *Arabian Nights* stories to Violet Hunt and indicates that in her versions, “the tastes of children are more carefully studied, and the true and literary forms of the tales have thus dwindled down into something probably more like the *Märchen* which must have been their sources” (xv). Furthermore, Lang indicates that Minnie Wright “has reduced the novels of the *Cabinet des Fées* from the original to the proportion of nursery tales” (xvii). As stated previously, the Perrault tales were adapted from a 1763 edition, which, as Lang indicates, included both French and English versions of the stories. Lang specifically identifies all of the translators’ works in his introduction, but when discussing the Perrault translations, writes in the first person: “I have given his tales . . .” (xix). The nineteen French tales in *The Blue Fairy Book*, therefore, are the contributions of Hunt, Wright, and Lang. Lang’s own partiality towards French culture and knowledge of French literature most likely influenced *The Blue Fairy Book*’s bias towards the French tradition.

**German Märchen and Norwegian Eventyr**

According to Lang’s introduction to the collectors’ edition of *The Blue Fairy Book*, “The stories from Grimm are among the best in the world, and are probably familiar to most children who may be presented with the *Blue Fairy Book* (xxi). Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm published their first collection of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* in 1812. The volume included eighty-six stories. A second volume was published in 1815 with seventy stories and another two-volume edition was published in 1819.

---

45 This reference to the stories as “dwindled down” is especially interesting in comparison to Lang’s version of “The Terrible Head”, discussed in Chapter Two.
with a third volume of notes added in 1822. The third (1837), fourth (1840), fifth
(1843), sixth (1850) and the seventh (1857) editions were published during the
brothers’ lifetimes. Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm are often represented as having
obtained their stories “for the most part . . . from the mouths of German peasants”
(Gammer Gretel 1839 iii) or “collected from the nurseries and firesides of
Germany” (Household Tales 1906 vii). In recent years, scholars have approached the
collection from a different perspective and focused more on the literary quality,
rather than the supposed oral sources of the tales. Alderson, for example, notes:

we can see that the Grimms made considerable alterations in tidying
up their stories for the printer, and although they insisted in their
preface to the first edition that their aim was to reproduce the tales in
as uncorrupted a form as possible it is clear that they were less than
eager to preserve verbatim the casual abruptness and the artlessness
(not always endearing) of their discoveries. (“Grimm Tales” 3)47

Herein lies the paradox regarding the collection of stories published under their
names; the stories are both heralded as the communal property of the German people,
but are also critically regarded as edited, revised, and in many cases re-written
products of one individual.48 Furthermore, regardless of the brothers’ intended
readership in Germany, when the stories were first translated and published in
English (1823-6), the intended audience is undeniably children.

---

46 For a detailed investigation of the German editions of the Grimms’ collection, see Tatar’s The Hard Facts of the Grimms’ Fairy Tales (2003).
47 Rudolf Schenda states: “Nothing is more false than imagining the Grimms or their disciples in
hiking boots and Loden coats with notebooks and pencils in the field” (78) and numerous scholars
have challenged the conception of the Grimms as gathering their stories directly from the “mouths of
peasants”. For further reading about the Grimms’ practices, see David Blamires’s “A Workshop of
Editorial Practice: The Grimms’ Kinder- und Hausmärchen” (2003), Bottigheimer’s Grimm’s Bad
Girls and Bold Boys (1987), and Heinz Rölleke’s “The ‘Utterly Hessian’ Fairy Tales by ‘Old Marie’: The End of a Myth” (1986).
48 The edits made to the collection are mostly attributed to Wilhelm. See Blamires’s “The Early
C. Baldwyn of London published an anonymous translation by Edgar Taylor (1793-1839) and David Jardine in 1823, entitled *German Popular Stories. Translated from the Kinder und Haus Marchen, collected by M. M. Grimm, from Oral Tradition* (sic). A second volume was published by Robbins & Co. (1826) and translated solely by Taylor. The two volumes contain thirty-one and twenty-four stories respectively. These volumes achieved immediate success due in no small part to the inclusion of illustrations drawn by George Cruikshank (1792-1878). Taylor’s translations of the Grimms’ stories were reissued in 1839 under the title *Gammer Grethel, or German Fairy Tales, and Popular Stories* and arranged in such a way that they could be read over the twelve nights of the Christmas season. According to Lathey, “The role of Taylor’s translation in moving the tales closer to a child readership in both English-speaking countries and indeed in their native Germany is significant” (86). A majority of subsequent translations follow Taylor’s lead and identify a child audience through prefaces, translation styles, book design, price, and emphasis on illustration. The best-known editions are likely the ones illustrated by Walter Crane (*Household Stories* 1882, translated by Lucy Crane) and Arthur Rackham (*Fairy Tales* 1900, reissued with additional illustrations 1909, translated by Mrs. Edgar Lucas).

Nevertheless, other editions appeared throughout the nineteenth-century, including, but not limited to, *Household Stories* translated by Matilda L. Davis (1855) and *Grimms’ Goblins* (1861) illustrated by Hablot K. Browne (‘Phiz’) and printed by Edmund Evans. Taylor’s *German Popular Stories* was reissued with an introduction by John Ruskin in 1869 and Mrs. H. B. Paull offered a new translation in *Grimm’s Fairy Tales* in 1872. *Grimm’s Household Tales*, translated by Alfonzo Gardiner, was published in 1889, the same year as *The Blue Fairy Book*. It should be noted that
some of these editions take certain liberties and not all of the stories included in these editions are derived from the Grimms’ German collections. For example, English editions of “Grimms’ Fairy Tales” frequently include Perrault’s “Cinderella” complete with fairy godmother and pumpkin coach, rather than the Grimms’ “Aschenputtel” who receives assistance from a bird. Alderson notes:

> From the 1840s onwards the momentum of Grimm-fairy-tale publishing in Great Britain began to increase. By this time the title was indeed beginning to become a ‘household’ one, while a freer climate of opinion about what constituted wholesome reading for children, coupled with an enthusiasm for Things Germanic, encouraged publishers to begin exploiting what they regarded as the uncopyrighted, public fund of folktales. (“Grimm Tales” 4)

These editions listed here are generally intended for a child audience; however, in 1884, George Bell and Sons published a two-volume edition translated by Margaret Hunt (Grimm’s Household Tales). Hunt’s edition is unique because it includes: translations of all 210 stories from the 1812 and 1815 volumes, the first English translations of the Jakob and Wilhelm’s accompanying notes, and a lengthy introduction to the study of folk and fairy tales written by Andrew Lang.49 Furthermore, Hunt’s edition does not contain illustrations. All of these factors establish this particular edition as intended for an adult audience, likely a specific set of adults interested in the study of folk lore, rather than a child audience. No other full translation of the Grimms’ two-volume first edition was attempted in England in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt, due to the volume of editions published throughout the nineteenth century, including re-issues of the more popular editions, that the stories from Kinder- und Hausmärchen were well known throughout Britain prior to the release of Lang’s Blue Fairy Book. Although Lang

---

49 Margaret Hunt’s contributions to the Fairy Book series are discussed further in Chapter Four.
contributed a lengthy introduction to Hunt’s translation in 1884, he did not include her translations in *The Blue Fairy Book*. Instead, the versions that appear in this volume are original renderings by May Sellar.

Like “The Bronze Ring” mentioned in the section of French sources, there is one story in the book that is a translation of a German translation. The source for “The Water Lily. The Gold Spinners” is *Ehstnische Märchen. Aufgezeichnet von F. K. Aus dem Ehstnischen übersetzt von F. Löwe. Nebst einem Norwort von A. Schiefer und Anmerkungen von R. Köhler, etc.* by Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald (1869). Kreutzwald (1803-1882) is regarded as “a prominent figure in the cultural movement of the 19th century and the founder of Estonian national literature” (Niil 350). Kreutzwald’s *Easti rahva ennemuistsed jutud* (*Old Estonian Fairy Tales*) first appeared in Estonian in 1866 and was translated into German by Ferdinand Löwe in 1869. Niil notes that through this German translation “Kreutzwald’s fairy tales were introduced to the world . . .” (353), and the translation of “The Water Lily” for *The Blue Fairy Book* comes from Löwe’s German translation rather than Kreutzwald’s Estonian version. Other collections of Estonian folk tales appeared in English later in the 1890s. William Forsell Kirby compiled *The Hero of Esthonia and Other Studies in the Romantic Literature of that Country* (sic) in 1895 and F. Ethel Hynam edited *Secrets of the Night and Other Esthonian Tales* for the European Folk-Tale Series in 1899. “The Water Lily” appears as “The Gold Spinners” in Kirby’s edition but does not appear in Hynam’s collection. Lang provides no explanation as to why this story was selected; however, if one of Lang’s agendas for *The Blue Fairy Book* was to exhibit different versions of familiar stories, “The Water Lily” contains numerous
familiar motifs from other tales: three sisters spin golden yarn (“Rumplestiltzkin”); the prince must endure tests to restore his bride (“East of the Sun, West of the Moon”); the prince transforms from man to animal and back again (“Snow White and Rose Red), and the prince forgets to fulfill his promise (“The Master Maid”). Furthermore the prince and his bride possess the ability to understand and speak the language of birds, a motif that appears in many stories included in later volumes of the Fairy Books.

Peter Christian Asbjörnsen (1812-1855), a zoologist by training, and Jørgen Engebretsen Moe (1813-1882), a clergyman, met as children and shared a passion for folklore. Asbjörnsen and Moe are best known for their collection of Norwegian stories and “did for Norway what Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm did for Germany: compiled and published its first and greatest collection of native folk tales” (Frey and Griffiths 61). Their volume Norske folkeeventyr first appeared in 1837, but expanded editions were continually reissued throughout the 1840s. The final collection published during their lifetimes was published in 1852, which included notes and scholarly commentary. In English, the works of Asbjörnsen and Moe are virtually inseparable from their first translator, George Webbe Dasent (1817-1896). Dasent published his translation in 1859, complete with an extensive essay entitled “Origin and Diffusion of Popular Tales”. He did not overtly attempt to edit the material and states in his introduction:

     The translator is sorry that he has not been able to comply with the suggestion of some friends upon whose good-will he sets all store,

50 For further information on Asbjörnsen and Moe, see Schackner’s National Dreams (2003) and Terry Gunnell’s “Daisies Rise to Become Oaks” (2010). Edmund Gosse also provides extensive biographies of both men in Brækstad’s translation Round the Yule Log (Asbjörnsen 1881).
who wished him to change and soften some features in these tales, which they thought likely to shock English feeling. He has, however, felt it to be out of his power to meet their wishes, for the merit of an undertaking of this kind rests entirely on its faithfulness and truth; and the man who, in such a work, wilfully changes or softens, is as guilty as he ‘who puts bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter’. (Asbjörnsen and Moe ix-x)

Dasent’s book was intended for scholars of folk tales rather than children, but Lang presumes that his audiences are already familiar with Dasent’s translations (xx). Nevertheless, he offers new versions of four stories by Asbjörnsen and Moe: “East of the Sun, West of the Moon”, “The Master Maid”, “Why the Sea is Salt”, and “Princess on the Glass Hill”; which are all included in Dasent’s previous translation. “East of the Sun and West of the Moon” also appeared in Asjbörnsen’s Round the Yule Log: Norwegian Folk & Fairy Tales (1881) translated by H. L. Brækstad.

English Chapbooks, Scottish Popular Tales, and Irish Literature

While surveying the numerous translations of European fairy tales into English, Darton asks, “But what was England herself doing about her fairies, her native pucks and elves and sprites?” (92). The Blue Fairy Book, while primarily composed of European fairy tales, does also contain five British contributions: two from chap books, two from Robert Chambers’ Popular Rhymes of Scotland, and one adaptation of Jonathan Swift’s Gulliver’s Travels (1726).

Although the introduction to The Blue Fairy Book is not the only occasion in which Lang laments the state of English fairy tales, in his introduction to the collectors’

51 See Lang’s column “At the Sign of the Ship” quoted in Chapter Five, and his article “Cinderella and the Diffusion of Tales” (1893), in which he states: “To have lost them if they really are lost, is, in my
edition he writes: “The English tales are so scanty, and have been so flattened and 
stupefied, and crammed with gross rural jests, in the chap books, that we can only 
give a decent if a dull version of ‘Jack the Giant Killer’ and ‘Dick Whittington’” 
(xxii). The sources for “The History of Jack the Giant-Killer” and “The History of 
Whittingdon” and are listed as “chapbook” or “old chapbook”. By 1889 “Jack the 
Giant-Killer” was well over 180 years old. Darton dates the story to the chapbook 
*Jack and the Giants* issued by J. White, a publisher in Newcastle-on-Tyne (1711, if 
not earlier) (72); whereas Barchilon identifies the first documented Jack tale in 
England from the chapbook *Jack and the Gyants* published in 1708, but also 
mentions a French version from ten years before (358). Jack plays a minor role in 
As Darton explains, Newbery’s book contained a letter from Jack the Giant-Killer on 
the proper us of the ball and pincushion – sold with the book for boys and girls 
respectively (1). Although “the moralists of the preceding ages had banished Jack 
from the nursery,” Jack also functions as a teller of tales in Newbery’s book; “he is 
introduced as the author of the rhymed morals” also attached to the book “Thus all 
trace of the brutal and licentious gianticide is whitewashed” (3). That the character of 
“Jack”, without his accompanying story, exists in Newbery’s book demonstrates that 
Jack was a familiar character to young readers. A retelling of “Jack” was illustrated 
by Richard Doyle in 1842 and was also included in Henry Cole’s *Home Treasury 
both as a stand alone, and bound with “Cinderella” and “Sleeping Beauty” in the 
volume *Popular Fairy Tales* (c.1843).

opinion, a characteristic misfortune of the English people. To have kept them, is a characteristic good 
fortune of the Scotch people” (429).

52 Zipes’s *Companion* also lists the first known date as 1708 (266).
Like “Jack” stories, histories of “Dick Whittington” were ubiquitous in the printed publications in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Darton writes the following about the story’s history:

Richard Whittington was undoubtedly a real person, a prosperous merchant, four times (last in 1419) ‘Lord’ Mayor of London, and high in the favour of Richard II. Moreover, he did marry Alice Fitzwarren. He died in 1423. . . . As for the valuable pussy-cat, she belongs to half the world: the folk-lore specialists have traced her among many nations. No one knows how or when she was tacked on to the romantic record of Whittington’s successful business career. It is suspected that she got there out of an old ballad in the time of Elizabeth, in whose reign the first printed version of the tale may have appeared. But that occasion is not now known to exist. It is The History of Sir Richard Whittington, licensed to Thomas Pavier in 1605, when a play on the subject was also licensed. There are allusions to the story from about 1600 onwards. (93)

Thwaite includes a citation for The Vertuous Life and Memorable Death of Sir Richard Whittington, presumed to be written by John Wright according to the Register of the Stationers’ Company, 16 July 1605 (256) and identifies this citation as the story’s first printing (185). The story was included as a stand alone in Henry Cole’s series, but not included in any of the four bound volumes of stories. Both “Jack” and “Whittington” stories were popular in chapbooks.53

Alderson traces the versions of “Jack the Giant Killer” and “Dick Whittington” in The Blue Fairy Book to Chap-books and Folk-Lore Tracts (Volume 5 1885) by G. Laurence Gomme and Henry B. Wheatley and English Fairy and Other Folk Tales (1890) edited by Sidney Hartland, respectively. Lang, Gomme, and Hartland knew each other from the Folk-Lore Society and it is quite possible that Lang had access to

53 See also Thwaite (37-51) and Dugaw’s “Chapbook Publishing and the Lore of the Folks” in The Other Print Tradition (1995).
Hartland’s book before it was published. However, if Lang’s version was indeed taken from *English Fairy and Other Folk Tales*, then it was substantially revised. The first paragraph in Hartland’s version is as follows:

In the reign of King Arthur, there lived in the country of Cornwall, near the Land’s End of England, a wealthy farmer who had one only son called Jack. He was brisk and of a ready lively wit, so that whatever he could not perform by force and strength he completed by ingenious wit and policy. Never was any person heard of that could worst him and he very often even baffled the learned by his sharp and ready invention. (3)\(^\text{54}\)

Whereas Lang’s version opens with the following paragraph:

In the reign of the famous King Arthur there lived in Cornwall a lad named Jack, who was a boy of a bold temper, and took delight in hearing or reading of conjurers, giants, and fairies; and used to listen eagerly to the deeds of the knights of King Arthur’s Round Table. (374)

Lang’s version deletes excess words and characters and simplifies some of the concepts. Hartland’s “there lived in the country of Cornwall, near the Land’s End of England, a wealthy farmer who had one only son called Jack” is streamlined into “there lived in Cornwall a lad named Jack”. The discrepancy is likely due to the intended audience. Hartland was more interested in representing an authentic voice from eighteenth-century chapbooks, whereas Lang’s *Blue Fairy Book* was marketed for children. The comparison, however, demonstrates that Lang edited the stories more heavily than perhaps acknowledged and calls into question his insistence that “I did not write the stories out of my own head” as he indicates in the preface to *The Lilac Fairy Book* (emphasis in original vii).

\(^{54}\) According to Hartland, this tale was “Collated from sundry Chap-books. (Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1711-1835)” (3).
In the introduction to *The Blue Fairy Book*, Lang states: “The Scotch stories are placed at the end for Scotch children” (xxi).\(^{55}\) The two Scottish stories included in this volume are “The Black Bull of Norroway” and “The Red Etin”. The source for both stories is listed as “*Popular Traditions of Scotland* by Chambers”, which is incorrect; Robert Chambers (1802-1871) first published *Popular Rhymes of Scotland* in 1826. In the introduction, Chambers states:

> In the compilation of the following sheets, it having been my only aim to form AN EMINENTLY CURIOUS BOOK,—the whimsicality of the design, the oddness of the materials, and the native Scottish humour which pervades a considerable part, are the humble and sole qualities upon which it can found any claim to public notice. (v)

The section titled “Superstition” contains a brief note about the red-etin as a supernatural creature, rather than a story of that name. Chambers writes:

> The red-etin is a monstrous personage, supposed by the common people to be so named on account of his insatiable penchant for red or raw flesh. He was the bug-bear of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and, in particular, of King James V, whose infancy was lulled by Lindsay, as we are told in the prologue to his Dream, with ‘tales of the red-etin and gyr-carlin.’ He is still a popular character in Scotland, and is supposed to go about searching for what he may devour, and constantly exclaiming, as in the story of Jack and the Bean Stack (sic) ‘Snouk Butt, Snouk Ben, I find the smell of earthly men’. (281-282)

A story of “The Red-Etin” appears in the 1841 edition of *Popular Rhymes*. In this edition Chambers revised the chapter titles and the order of the rhymes, as well as provided new material. This edition has a new chapter titled “Fireside Nursery Stories” which contains a small selection of prose stories. “The Red-Etin” is included, along with the note from the 1826 edition. No mention of “The Black Bull of Norroway”, as either a supernatural creature or as a story, is made in either of these two editions; a reference, however, appears in the 1858 edition. This edition

---

\(^{55}\) One of the illustrations for “The Red Etin” does appear on the book’s spine.
contains minimal changes in structure, although the size and formats of the physical book are different than the 1842 edition. Both “The Red Etin” and “The Black Bull of Norroway” can be found in the chapter entitled “Fireside Nursery Stories”, which is towards the end of the book. In the 1870 edition, the structure of the text is drastically modified although the text itself appears to have changed very little. The chapters covering rhymes for children have been moved to the beginning. The allusions to the nursery in the first five chapters, the additional ornamentation added to the cover, and the new illustration included on the title page emphasize a shift in focus for this final edition. While the 1826 edition is primarily directed towards readers who are interested in popular antiquities, the 1870 edition appears to be intended for children, if not for child readers themselves, then for adults who might want a selection of stories to read to children. Perhaps this later edition is responding to an appropriation of the book by child readers, as is the case in the next and final British story included in *The Blue Fairy Book*.

One of the criticisms continuously levied at Lang’s *Blue Fairy Book* is that it includes stories that are not strictly fairy tales. Indeed, the collection includes one story that, even with the most widely-encompassing definition of ‘fairy tale’ is not a fairy tale at all: “A Voyage to Lilliput”, which has been abridged and adapted from Jonathan Swift’s eighteenth-century novel, *Gulliver’s Travels*. McKinnell and Montenyohl have both offered explanations for why Lang might have chosen to include this particular story and are discussed in Chapter Two. For the present discussion, however, the inclusion is noteworthy, if for no other reason, in that it acknowledges

---

56 These chapter titles are “Rhymes of the Nursery”, “Fireside Nursery Stories”, “Nursery Riddles” “Rhymes Appropriate to Children’s Amusements” and “Miscellaneous Puerile Rhymes”.

57
an extremely significant text in the history of children’s literature. Although *Gulliver’s Travels* was not written expressly for children, it has been appropriated by child readers. Gulliver’s Travels was enormously popular throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For Lang to include a selection from it in *The Blue Fairy Book* highlights one very important point: *The Blue Fairy Book* is primarily comprised of some of the most popular stories available to children in the nineteenth century. Of the thirty-seven stories in this book, thirty-four were previously available in English and were arguably overwhelmingly popular given that they were available in numerous publications throughout the century.

In *The Blue Fairy Book*, Lang effectively created an anthology of the best-loved fairy tales and stories for children. Muir states:

> There has been little addition to the true fairy canon since Andersen, and the best modern collections rely largely on the old favorites, Perrault, Grimm, and Andersen, with one favourite from Mme de Beaumont—”Beauty and the Beast”—and a sprinkling of English traditional tales like “Jack-the-giant-killer”, and “Dick Whittington”.

This is a rather broad and sweeping statement, but it is substantially true, if it is considered in the light of what has retained favor among children. (106)

This statement is broad, but it certainly holds true for *The Blue Fairy Book*, which does include all the stories Muir lists – other than Andersen, whose stories appear in later volumes.

*The Blue Fairy Book* introduces very little new material into English children’s books and instead is an anthology of the most popular material for children available in print in the nineteenth century. Although each of the thirty-four stories had entered the English print tradition at different points, they all remain in print after

---

57 This phenomenon has been noted by Darton (106-7), Muir (40-44), Meigs (53-57), and Thwaite (40-41).
58 The sources of each story that appear in all twelve volumes are listed in Appendix B.
their initial introduction. In addition, most of the stories were currently available in other print publications when *The Blue Fairy Book* appeared in 1889.

**Fairy Tale Collections in the 1880s**

This section shifts the investigation from a history of individual fairy tales, which make up *The Blue Fairy Book*, to a more general history of fairy-tale collections in print prior to 1889. Rather than providing an overview of the entire nineteenth century, the discussion here is limited to collections published during the 1880s.\(^{59}\) This section limits the focus to collections of folk and fairy tales and does not include publications of a single story, either books of one classic fairy tale, for example “Cinderella”, or full-length novels of original fairy tales, for example, *The Princess and the Goblin*. Attempts are made to limit examples to books that are comparable to the conceptualization of *The Blue Fairy Book*: collections of stories that are recognized as, or labeled as, fairy tales. In order to fully understand the significance and impact of *The Blue Fairy Book* it is necessary to consider the wider context and examine the market it entered.

\(^{59}\) In addition to providing an immediate context for the market in which *The Blue Fairy Book* entered in 1889, focusing on the 1880s also serves the purpose of exploring a decade often overlooked in children’s and illustrated book histories. The 1860s tend to dominate discussions on illustrated book history due to the marked advancements in technology and the prolific contributions by Walter Crane, Randolph Caldecott, and Kate Greenaway all of whom worked closely with the printer Edmund Evans. Crane, of course, illustrated numerous fairy tales and his illustrations, like Cruikshank’s, continue to be reproduced. The 1890s and 1900s also witnessed significant technological changes in the illustrated process and surveys often focus on illustrations by Aubrey Beardsley, Arthur Rackham, Edmund Dulac. Between these two periods, however, a significant number of illustrated texts were produced and the secondary purpose of this section is to draw attention to a group of books that have been repeatedly overlooked.
There are well over fifty publications between 1880-1889 that can be classified as folk-tale or fairy-tale collections, between twelve and fifteen of which are collections specific to Grimm, Andersen, the French tradition, or the *Arabian Nights*. In addition to collections of these classic stories, two types of fairy-tale collections appear in the 1880s, exemplified by books published in 1889. First, *Sixty Folk-Tales From Exclusively Slavonic Sources* translated, with a brief introduction and notes, by A. H. Wratislaw, M. A., adheres to a trend of publishing international, but culturally specific, folk tales in England. Wratislaw states:

> So much interest has lately been awakened in, and centered round, Folk-lore, that it needs no apology to lay before the British reader additional information upon the subject. Interesting enough in itself, it has been rendered doubly interesting by the rise and progress of the new science of Comparative Mythology, which has already yielded considerable results, and promises to yield results of still greater magnitude, when all the data requisite for a full and complete induction have been brought under the ken of the inquirer. The stories of most European races have been laid under contribution, but those of the Slavonians have, as yet, been only partially examined. (iii)

The tone and content of this preface immediately categorize the book as a treatise of scientific inquiry. This book offers Slavic stories as specimens for the study of comparative folklore. There are no illustrations or ornamentations, which might then classify this book as a gift-book; instead the intended readership is adults who possess knowledge of other national, folk-tale collections.

Alternatively, Mark Thornhill published stories from India in *Indian Fairy Tales* in the same year. Although this collection of stories “were taken down by me, at various times, when in India, from oral narration of natives” (n.pag.) the book does not have the same overt scholarly intentions that *Sixty Folk-Tales* does. Thornhill’s book is
illustrated by Edith Scannell, contains an ornamented cover design, and appears to be a source for reading entertainment rather than of material for study. Likewise, The

![Fig. 1 Front cover of Indian Fairy Tales by Mark Thornill (1889)](image)

*Old Old Fairy Tales*, collected and edited by Mrs. Valentine in 1889, includes some of the classic French stories and is most certainly intended for entertainment, as identified in the preface, which explains the purpose of this volume:

> The tales contained in this volume have been the delight of many generations of children, and can, in fact, claim a very distant origin, though they were retold in their present form as late as the age of Louis XIV. They are generally supposed to have come from the East, for they are to be found in varied forms in all the countries of Europe that sent forth Crusaders. . . .

> As children always like stories to be retold to them in the same words as far as possible, these tales have not been rewritten (except in two cases); the original translations in their quaint simplicity have been collected, and merely corrected so far as to meet the modern ideas of the kind of tale to be given to children; the old ones being occasionally a little coarse. (v-vi)

Bound in dark green cloth, the front cover and spine of this book are heavily illustrated and the volume contains “Original Coloured Illustrations and Numerous Woodcuts”. Certainly the preface clearly indicates that this book is meant to be read by or to children and the packaging confirms this intended audience. While Wratislaw’s book is offered as a specimen for comparative study, Thornhill and Valentine both intend for their collections to be enjoyed and Valentine specifically markets her book for young readers. These two types of collections – first, stories
collected for the purpose of augmenting the study of folk tales and second, stories compiled for enjoyment, whether by children or adult – were published throughout the 1880s.

Collections of folk tales published in Britain in the 1880s represent a wide range of geographical areas. While not an exhaustive list, contributions include: Indian Fairy Tales collected and translated by Maive Stokes (1880); Tuscan Fairy Tales (Taken from the mouths of the people), with sixteen illustrations by J. Stanley, and engraved by Edmund Evans ([1880]); Old Deccan Days; or, Hindoo Fairy Legends Current in Southern India “collected from oral tradition” by M. Frere with and introduction and notes by Sir Bartle Frere (first edition 1868, second edition 1881, third edition 1889); Kaffir Folk-Lore: or A Selection from the Traditional Tales Current Among the People Living on the Eastern Border of the Cape Colony by George McCall Theal (first edition [1882], second edition 1886); Folk-Tales of Bengal by the Rev. Lal Behari Day (1883); Japanese Fairy World: Stories from the Wonder-Lore of Japan by William Elliot Griffis (1887); Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry edited and selected by W. B. Yeats (1888); and Folk-Tales of Kashmir by the Rev. J. Hinton Knowles (1888). While some of these collections are illustrated and some are text only, most of them offer specimens for comparative study. Attributed to a country, nation, or community of peoples – as evident in the titles – these stories are pointedly defined as being collected from other cultures and not authored by the person whose name is attached to the text. An extreme, but rather unique, example is Tuscan Fairy Tales, in which the collector’s name does not appear at all, either on the title page, or

---

60 Chapter Five includes a more comprehensive discussion of the increased interest in international fairy tale collections that occurred towards the end of the nineteenth century.
in the preface, although the preface is written in the first person. The focus on the communal Tuscan source of these stories clearly takes precedence over the anonymous collector, who states: “I have selected ten of the most striking of those I have heard, without altering any point of the narration, adhering as far as is possible to the expressions used by the rustic narrators . . .” (8). Other collectors, whose names are usually included on the title page, frequently make similar claims in their prefaces and reference nameless communal sources. A small number of the editors provide specific biographical information about their individual sources. In Old Deccan Days, Frere includes a portrait of Anna Liberata de Souza, the narrator. Likewise Stokes, in her preface to Indian Fairy Tales indicates that “The first twenty-five stories in this book were told me at Calcutta and Simla by two Ayahs, Dunkini and Múniyá, and by Karím, a Khidmatgar. The last five were told Mother by Múniyá” (v). The writing style in Stokes’s preface suggests that she is a young writer. She offers one or two sentences about each of her sources and, interestingly, establishes her own personal relationship to them.

Lang’s Fairy Book series is frequently recognized for its international scope, a concept discussed at length in Chapter Five, but from the evidence provided by these sources, it is apparent that collections of stories from a range of international sources were readily available in Britain prior to the publication of Lang’s series. Furthermore, Lang and Longmans did not produce the first international series of fairy tales; Sonnenschein & Co. published a series of books throughout the 1880s under the series-title Illustrated Library of Fairy Tales. Titles from this series

---

61 This image is included in Chapter Four, Fig. 15
include, but are not limited to: Hauff’s *Long Nose the Dwarf and Other Tales* ([1881]) from Germany, Stephens and Cavallius’s *Old Norse Fairy Tales: Gathered from the Swedish Folk* ([1882]), a new edition of Croker’s *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, selected and edited by T. Wright, Esq. ([1882]), Caballero’s *The Bird of Truth and other Fairy Tales* ([1883]) from Spain, Fryer’s *Book of English Fairy Tales from the North Country* ([1884]), and Coelho’s *Tales of Old Lusitania* (1885). Sonnenschein & Co produced two related series of stories. According to an advertisement for the series, located at the beginning of *The Bird of Truth*:

Under this general title the Publishers intend to bring out a collection of volumes of Fairy Tales, which shall eventually embrace all the more important peoples of the world. Each nation will, in most cases, have two volumes devoted to its Fairy literature, the one dealing with the most esteemed and representative Fairy Tales arising wholly or in part from the fancy of native writers of more recent times, and the other containing a selection of genuine Folk-Tales, that is, the tales of the people derived from their own mouth, tales which have been handed down from father to son for generation after generation, until their very origin has been lost in myth. In a large number of cases one nation has comparatively so recently broken away from its parent or brother-nation—though now forming distinct countries—that the popular tales of the two bear only a superficial variance: in these cases selections will be made of the most characteristic tales of each in such manner that repetitions in the series are as far as possible avoided.

Series I. will comprise the Original Tales by native authors, Series II. the Folk-Tales proper; each series will have a distinctive binding.

This series utilizes many of the packaging techniques discussed in Chapter Three: the volumes appear uniform and there is a similarity in layout and organization.

---

62 *Tales of Old Lusitania* does not follow the same physical format as the remainder of the series, but it is listed as part of the series in an advertisement that appears in *Irish Fairy Legends*.
63 It will be clear from the titles, however, that this series focuses primarily on Europe.
64 This imagery echoes prefaces to the Grimms’ stories quoted previously.
65 Compare this reference of father-to-son transmission to Lang’s prefaces, where he mentions “grannies” and alludes to a female transmission. See Chapter Four for a further discussion on fairy tales and gender.
W. W. Gibbings likewise released an eight volume series of books under the heading *Folk-Lore and Legends* towards the end of the 1880s. According to the anonymous editor in the first volume, “It is proposed that this shall be the first of a series of little volumes in which shall be presented in a handy form selections from the Folklore and legends of various countries” (v). This series also primarily consists of European contributions (Germany, Scotland, Ireland, England, Scandinavia, Russia, and Poland) but also includes one volume of tales from the “North American Indians” (*Folk-Lore and Legends*). Both the Sonnenschein and Gibbings series utilize conventions for series – most of which are also used by Lang and Longmans as discussed in Chapter Three – including uniform cover designs and lettering for spine, consistent size, and similarly organized text within the books. These two series, like Lang’s, are designed to be collected, and when complete, encompass folk and fairy tales from all over the world. Most striking, however, is that, unlike Lang’s books, both publishers planned the series and define the intentions and parameters of the series in the initial volumes.

Two years before the publication of *The Blue Fairy Book*, Edouard Laboulaye produced a collection of tales *Laboulaye’s Fairy Tales* ([1887]) with Icelandic, Bohemian, Servian (sic), and Turkish stories and as early as 1849, Anthony R. Montalba, who produced *Fairy Tales from All Nations*. This book includes Arabic, Hebrew, German, Russian, Danish, Hungarian, French, and Italian stories, some of which appear in later volumes of Lang’s editions.66 While the list of fairy tale

---

66 Chapter Five discusses the significance of internationalism in fairy tale collections.
collections offered here is by no means comprehensive, it demonstrates one very key factor that is often ignored or overlooked by scholarship on Lang’s Fairy Books: a substantial market of books containing international folk and fairy tales existed in the 1880s. Indeed, in the decade leading up to *The Blue Fairy Book*, British publishers released a large number of collections of stories ranging from the classic fairy tales of seventeenth-century France and early nineteenth-century stories by the Grimms, to folk-tale collections from across Europe, Africa, and Asia. *The Blue Fairy Book* did not initiate a new market, but instead capitalized on the popularity and success of a market that was already firmly in place. Regardless, *The Blue Fairy Book* did manage to draw public attention, attention that was largely positive and complimentary, as evident in the published reception of *The Blue Fairy Book*.

**Conclusion: “Old Favorites” and a “Delightful Medley”**

The continuous publications of fairy tales throughout the nineteenth century and the number of folk and fairy tale books published in the 1880s demonstrate that fairy tales were readily available in print and directly contradicts Field’s claim that by 1890 the fairy tale had gone out of fashion. Furthermore, reviews of *The Blue Fairy Book* also offer counter evidence for her claim. An 1889 review in the *Standard* states: “Every year sees the publication of a fresh volume of fairy tales, the old, old stories that have delighted children for generations ever reappearing with but slight variation” (“Christmas Books” 2). The review comments that Lang’s book “is neither better nor worse than its predecessors” and references the Grimms’ works as well as Madame d’Aulnoy’s stories as if they would be familiar to the general public (2).
this review makes evident, the book market was not devoid of fairy tales prior to *The Blue Fairy Book* and instead the reviewer indicates that fairy tales continued to delight children as they had done for several generations. An analysis of the immediate reception of *The Blue Fairy Book* offers further evidence that fairy tales were not considered to be out of fashion in 1889 and that *The Blue Fairy Book*, rather than being a novelty, was received as a collection of familiar, old favorites.

One negative review even expresses disappointment in *The Blue Fairy Book* because, “it is merely a collection of stories, mostly rather older than the hills, and to be found in volumes which rest on the shelves or on the table of every properly conducted nursery” (“Fairy Tales Old and New” 3). Descriptions of the stories in Lang’s book as “old favorites” are a repeated refrain in published reviews.67 Despite the familiarity with the stories, reviews do highlight the quality of translations and versions that appear in Lang’s book and reviewers acknowledge that the stories are translated “afresh” (“Christmas Books.—IX” 7). The *Saturday Review* offers some insight into this question of the popularity of fairy tales with the following commentary:

> There must have been Fairy-Books in the course of the last thirty years—indeed, we have seen some. But the last that you could really recommend to a friend was published some time (we think) in the forties, and was very fat, very square, and rather small in size. We have not seen it for many years . . . . (Rev. of *Blue Fairy Book* 467)

In addition, the review summarizes the paradox present throughout the published reception of *The Blue Fairy Book* and states: “Perhaps the best thing we can say is that, though hardly a page in the book is new to us, it has given us two evenings’

---

67 A review in *The Pall Mall Gazette* likewise notes the familiarity of the stories in *The Blue Fairy Book* “in which reappear most of the old favorites of the nursery” (“Christmas Books.—IX” 7).
readings of the most satisfactory character”. It becomes clear, both through an investigation of fairy tale books published before *The Blue Fairy Book* and through the immediate reception of the book, that the stories were familiar, available, and popular; nevertheless, familiarity is not the driving factor in this volume’s success.

*The Blue Fairy Book* succeeds in setting itself apart from other collections of fairy tales. A review in *The Derby Mercury* describes the book as “a handsome collection of the old fairy tales which have pleased so many generations” (“Literature” 6). “The book”, according to the review, “is edited by that most competent authority, Mr. Andrew Lang, and it is capitably illustrated by H. J. Ford and G. P. Jacomb Hood”.

*The Blue Fairy Book* is more than just an anthology of familiar favorites. Due to the quality of its translations, illustrations, and editorial strategies, of all the collections of fairy tales in print, *The Blue Fairy Book* quickly became classified by reviewers as the best on the market.

In the introduction, Lang laments that *The Blue Fairy Book* cannot be comprehensive. He writes:

> As in all collections, many critics will miss many of their favourites. Space has its limits, and one is reluctantly obliged to leave out a tale or two from the *Mabinogian*, several from Islay’s stories of the West Highlands, and many from modern Greek, Japanese, Hindoo [Hindu], Red Indian, Berber, Egyptian, and, above all, Finnish and Slavonic sources. (xxi)

Such a statement, reiterates that *The Blue Fairy Book* was clearly intended to be a single volume and was not perceived by Lang as the beginning of a lengthy series. This comment also indicates Lang’s familiarity with international fairy tales prior to the publication of *The Blue Fairy Book*. All of these cultures and countries listed in
this quotation appear in later volumes of the Fairy Books and perhaps it is Lang’s allusion to his further store of fairy tales that generated interested in what else he had to offer. Announcements for *The Red Fairy Book* began in the summer of 1890 and the *Saturday Review* emphatically declares: “The moral order of the universe would have become subject to doubt if Mr. Andrew Lang had not followed up his delightful *Blue Fairy Book* of last year with another which is the *Red* ("Two Fairy Books" 594). The enthusiasm in this review is not solely for the promise of more fairy tales, but for another volume edited by Andrew Lang.
Chapter Two

“That Most Competent Authority”: Andrew Lang’s Literary and Fairy-Tale Studies in the 1880s

In May 1888 the Archeological Review published a review of Perrault’s Popular Tales, which included an introductory essay by Andrew Lang. The reviewer, commenting on Lang’s introduction, states: “To the students of Folktales this dissertation is of course the chief value of the work; and we may say at once that it displays every grace of exposition and all the learning and acumen of which Mr. Lang is so great a master” (“Review” 235). This review highlights several key points about Lang’s reputation in the years prior to the publication of The Blue Fairy Book. First, the reviewer asserts that to students of folktales, Lang’s discussion of Perrault’s tales is more valuable than the tales themselves. The Folk-Lore Society had offered a space for discourse among students of folktales since 1878 and anyone among its members would be familiar with Lang’s numerous publications on the topic. The reviewer acknowledges Lang’s influence on and importance to this particular area of study. Second, the reviewer addresses the quality of Lang’s scholarship, mentioning his grace and mastery of the subject. Not only were Lang’s theories of folktales widely known in the 1880s, but also they were also highly respected. Finally, the reviewer touches on the extensive knowledge that Lang possessed in this area. The introduction in question does adequately exhibit much of Lang’s knowledge as Lang moves freely from Perrault’s French fairy tales, to tales and scholarship from across Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, and North America. In 1888, Lang had already garnered a substantial reputation as a scholar of fairy tales, a qualification that, as this chapter suggests, made him particularly suited to edit the series. Lang possessed two
further “qualifications”: a respected literary reputation and an interest in children’s reading habits. This chapter continues the close examination of the 1880s and explains first that Lang was active in public discourses related to these topics and second that his name was highly respected among his many readers in the decade leading up to the publication of The Blue Fairy Book. These three qualifications not only influenced Lang’s editorial strategies for the Fairy Book series, but also affected the public’s response to the series.

Lang’s writing was, of course, by no means limited to fairy tales. He was a journalist and wrote extensively on a wide variety of topics including literature, history, anthropology, cricket, and angling. Furthermore, he published academic treatises, poetry, novels, and non-fiction covering history, classics, and literary criticism. To the question, “Are you writing anything at present” Lang was known to answer among his friends, “As if I ever did anything else” (Stewart and Stewart 163). Lang was a literary reviewer for the Academy, Monthly Review, and the Literary Chronicle among other periodicals and his favorable – or not – opinion of contemporary literature held tremendous weight. In many ways, Lang was a social commentator, especially in the literary arena, and his knowledge of the field was immense. George Saintsbury (1845-1933), a fellow journalist later appointed to the Regius Professorship of Rhetoric and English Literature at the University of Edinburgh, offers the following somewhat hyperbolic description of Lang:

Indeed my doubt would be audacious enough to extend itself further, and question whether anybody, undergraduate or don, Oxonian or Cantab, about the year 1869 possessed knowledge of ancient and modern literature as literature, coupled with power to make use of that knowledge in a literary way, to a greater extent than Lang. (81)
The first section of this chapter, “Literature and the ‘Catawampus’: Lang as Literary Critic”, further explores Lang’s literary reputation at the end of the nineteenth century and suggests that his knowledge of and ongoing participation in public literary discussions influenced his editorial approach to the fairy-tale narratives included in *The Blue Fairy Book*.

It is important to note that by the end of the 1880s Lang was not simply familiar with fairy tales as source material, he had conducted ongoing and extensive research on the significance and meaning of these stories. In addition to his introduction to Perrault’s tales, in the decade preceding the publication of *The Blue Fairy Book* Lang wrote introductions for Margaret Hunt’s translation of the Grimms’ *Kinder- und Häusmarchen* (“Household Tales” 1884), *Beauty and the Beast* (1887) and a new edition of William Adlington’s 1566 translation of Apuleius’ “Cupid and Psyche” (1887). These books, all produced by different publishing houses, reveal Lang’s extensive knowledge of, and engagement with, fairy-tale scholarship as it stood in the 1880s. These collections also supply nearly half of the source material eventually included in *The Blue Fairy Book*. Furthermore, Lang translated *Johnny Nut and the Golden Goose* from the French of Charles Deulin (1827–1877) in 1887. None of Deulin’s stories are included in *The Blue Fairy Book*, but it is his version of “The Twelve Dancing Princesses” from *Contes du Roi Cabrinus* (1874), rather than the Grimms’ “The Shoes that Were Danced to Pieces”, that Lang uses as the opening...

---

68 In 1913 Jacobs expresses a hope that Lang’s introductions and prefaces to various collections will be “collected together in a volume, and made more easily accessible to the students of folk-lore. This would be a worthy monument of perhaps his more important contribution to folk-lore” (371). To date no such volume exists.
story for *The Red Fairy Book*. The introduction to *Johnny Nut* is rather brief, but Lang takes the opportunity to point out similarities with this version of the fairy tale and with “a Tongon legend, with several ancient French *fabliaux*, with a Zulu story, and the Grimm’s *Golden Goose*” (n. pag.), thereby highlighting the similarities of fairy tales across cultures that form the basis for many of his theories about fairy tales, discussed in the second section of this chapter. In addition, he also published three of his own original stories: *Princess Nobody* (1884), *The Gold of Fairnilee* (1888), and *Prince Prigio* (1889). *Princess Nobody* is written in verse and was created around a series of sketches and paintings by Richard Doyle first issued in *In Fairyland: A Series of Pictures from the Elf-World* (1870). Intertextual references to fairy tales permeate *Prince Prigio*, ranging from “Cinderella”, “Puss in Boots”, and “Sleeping Beauty” (3) to *The Arabian Nights* (58) and *The Rose and the Ring* (73). Moreover, the story contains allusions to many of the incidents from folk and fairy tales that Lang analyzes in the introductions written in the 1880s, including objects such as the seven-league boots, and motifs of three brothers, only the third (but in this story, not the youngest) of whom succeeds on the quest. *The Gold of Fairnilee* draws upon Scottish legends, including “Thomas the Rhymer” and “Tam Lin”. Lang dedicated the book to his niece and he reminisces about his childhood in the Scottish borders. Due to his ongoing interest in anthropology and the study of

---

69 Paul Delarue’s *Le Conte Populaire Français* (1957), indicates that Deulin adapted his version partially from the Grimm’s, to which he added parts from Baslie’s “Cendrillon” and his own imaginative modifications (170).

70 The publisher Arrowsmith later reprinted *The Gold of Fairnilee* and *Prince Prigio*, along with *Prince Ricardo of Pantouflia* (1893), in *My Own Fairy Book* (1895).

71 For further analysis of Lang’s version, see Susina “Like the Fragments of Coloured Glass in a Kaleidoscope: Andrew Lang Mixes up Richard Doyle’s *In Fairyland*”.

72 For a more extensive analysis of these stories see Green *Andrew Lang* (1946, 97-108) and Montenyohl “Andrew Lang” (96-197).

73 On Lang and Scotland, see Hines “Narrating Scotland”.

---

73
folklore and fairy tales, throughout the 1880s Lang published numerous articles and books on religion, mythology, customs, and popular tales. By drawing on such a vast reserve of knowledge he is able to contextualize the stories within the contemporary scholarship on folk and fairy tales. Section two of this chapter further investigates the connection between Lang’s publications on the study of fairy tales and the Fairy Books to suggest that his theories of fairy tales also influenced his editorial strategies for the series.

Finally, although Longmans’ series of twenty-five Christmas Books comprise a majority of Lang’s publications for children, he retained a reputation for connecting to child readers, a reputation he promotes throughout the prefaces to the Fairy Books and the Christmas Books. Lang, according to his own words, and the opinions of others, knew what children wanted to read and provided it for them. Green describes Lang as more comfortable in the presence of children than adults (1962 42). His shyness in the company of other adults is frequently noted. In addition, Hutchinson refers to Lang as “more like a supernaturally brilliant child than a grown man” (216). Lang maintained an ongoing interest in and respect for children and was able to produce books that recognized the needs of the dual audiences. His prefaces to the Fairy Book series address both adults – who would recognize his name and reputation – and children, for whom he compiled the stories. Often capitalizing on his own childhood interest in stories of heroes and fairy tales, his Christmas Books are replete with adventurous stories intended to engage a child’s interest. While representations of a children’s author as “child-like” are not unusual and indeed have

74 For contemporaries' recollections of Lang, see Stewart and Stewart (161, 163) and Gosse (207).
become pervasive, particularly when discussing authors from the Golden Age, the imagery used to describe Lang is particularly noteworthy. Gosse, for example, exploits rather unique imagery and describes Lang as “fairy-like; quick and keen and blithe” (207). As demonstrated in section three of this chapter, in the immediate reception of the Fairy Books, Lang is not simply referred to as “child-like”; instead, he is repeatedly represented as “fairy-like”.

According to Katherine Briggs, “What Andrew Lang did not know about fairy-tales was not worth knowing” (205) and it is constructive to study his collection of fairy tales within the context of his publications about fairy tales. Acknowledging this background, therefore, elucidates Lang’s expertise regarding folk and fairy tales as well as his suitability to edit a collection of such stories. These three components – Lang’s literary interests, his anthropological knowledge, and his awareness of child readers – frame the discussions in this chapter. Lang’s possession of these three qualifications explain why a reviewer in the Athenæum insisted that The Blue Fairy Book “will do a great good by raising the standard of books for the nursery and the school-room” (“Christmas Books” Rev. of The Blue Fairy Book). Lang’s interests significantly shaped the structure of The Blue Fairy Book, which then became a model for the remainder of the series. This chapter further contends that the three “qualifications” outlined here mediated public response to the Fairy Books and that Lang’s personal reputation was as influential in the reception of the series as the response to the books themselves.
Literature and the “Catawampus”: Lang as Literary Critic

During most of his career, Lang was closely connected with the publishing house of Longmans, Green and Co.; he met Frederick William Longman while at Oxford and was later introduced to the then editor Charles Longman, who became a life-long friend and colleague. Lang wrote a monthly column for Longman’s Magazine under the heading “At the Sign of the Ship” (January 1886-October 1905), which later became a weekly column at the Illustrated London News under the heading “At the Sign of St. Pauls” (November 1905-July 1912) when Longman’s Magazine ceased publication. In a 1930 letter, Robert Longman describes Lang as “the intimate of my father’s generation” (1) and it is primarily during his long-term collaboration with Longmans that Lang developed his reputation as a literary critic thus solidifying his influence in London’s publishing scene. Gordon calls him “the greatest bookman of our age” and Gosse remarks that Lang’s preparation during his student years was suited “for a life to be devoted, as no other life in our time has been, to the stimulation of other people’s observation and talk and reading” (149; 201). Current scholars continue to represent Lang in this same way; Penny Fielding comments: “Lang’s influence as a reviewer and cultural arbiter was considerable, and his good opinion of a text was a valuable marketing asset” (137-38). Lang’s appreciation of literature is evident in the number of books he published on the subject such as

Letters to Dead Authors and Books and Bookmen (both 1886), How to Fail in

75 Gross states that “in its day ‘At the Sign of the Ship’ was the most widely admired and talked-about feature of its kind” (137). For further reading on Lang and Longmans, see Maurer “Andrew Lang and Longman’s Magazine (1882-1905)” (1955); Ried “Andrew Lang and ‘Longman’s’” (1938); W. M. Parker “Lang and ‘Longman’s’” (1944); and Dorson “Andrew Lang’s Folklore Interests as Revealed in ‘At the Sign of the Ship’” (1952).

76 Not all perceptions of Lang are positive; W. M. Parker, for example, calls him “a literary dictator” (452), but such a statement still recognizes Lang’s influence.
Literature (1890), and Adventures Among Books (1905). His knowledge of literature is further documented in the number of articles he wrote on literature in general and on individual authors. In his introduction to Joseph Shaylor’s The Pleasures of Bookland (1898), Lang referred to himself as “one of a small race of abnormal creatures, known to science as bookworms” (xviii). Elwin, however, after Lang’s death, suggested instead that Lang “was a bookman without the mustiness of the bookworm” (183). Anecdotal evidence regarding Lang’s literariness is extensive, but Lang’s own articles offer substantive evidence of his prevailing, and rather eclectic, interests in literature as well as for his role as a cultural commentator and literary critic.

As a critic, Lang had very specific opinions about what constituted good literature and his tastes tended towards works with high entertainment value. As Hutchinson describes, “He loved the classics, such as Homer, because they tell stories of heroes, and he loved them even better than the Sagas, because they are heroic stories told with art, while the Sagas are absolutely artless” (212). Likewise, Green explains that Lang “held that a novel should be a work of art, but that it sinned against that art if it required a dictionary and a grammar to understand it, if, in fact, it could not be read for ‘human pleasure,’ which he considered to be the object of a work of fiction” (1946 158). Lang preferred the adventure stories of Robert Louis Stevenson and

77 See “The Art of Mark Twain” (14 February 1891), “Was Byron a Great Poet?” (21 November 1891), “Mr. R. L. Stevenson” (5 January 1895) all in the Illustrated London News; “Emile Zola” (April 1892) and “Charles Dickens” (December 1898) both in the Fortnightly Review; “Alfred Lord Tennyson” Longman’s Magazine (November 1897); “The Poetry of William Morris” (August 1882) and “Robert Browning” (July 1891) both in the Contemporary Review; “Charlotte Brontë” Good Words (April 1889); and “Alexandre Dumas” (September 1889), “Moliër” (June 1891), and “Letter to Samuel Pepys” (September 1893) all in Scribner’s (Green 1946, 250-259).
Rudyard Kipling to the realism of Thomas Hardy or Émile Zola. His article “Realism and Romance”, from the *Contemporary Review* (1887), is often cited as a polemical attempt to cast Lang as the staunch defender of romantic and adventure stories. Adams, for example, continually refers to Lang as “the most vigorous popularizer of romance” and “that indefatigable apologist for romance” in *A History of Victorian Literature* (2009) (365, 418). Similarly Brantlinger describes Lang as “The most enthusiastic defender of the new fashion of romance” (231). Certainly, his oft-quoted final sentence from “Realism and Romance” lends the association: “But if there is to be no *modus vivendi*, if the battle between the crocodile of Realism and the catawampus of Romance is to be fought out to the bitter end—why, in that Ragnarök, I am on the side of the catawampus” (693). It is likely because of this hyperbolic statement that Gross claims of Lang: “No one did more than this fastidious scholar to promote the turn-of-the-century vogue for Romance” and Maurer insists: “as a champion of romance he set his face resolutely against realism, naturalism [and] psychological analysis” (135; 170). Nevertheless, such one-sided interpretations fail to recognize that Lang’s actual position was much more pragmatic. In “Realism and Romance” he states clearly: “It seems a pity, when we chance to have two good

---

78 Elwin provides a succinct overview this late nineteenth-century debate about literature and Lang’s published comments on the topic of romance and realism (190-196). Kenneth Graham, in his chapter “The Question of Realism” (19-70) from *English Criticism of the Novel, 1865-1900* (1967), discusses many key nineteenth-century articles on realism including Henry James’s “The Art of Fiction” (1884) as well as some of the responses, including two of Stevenson’s articles, “A Gossip on Romance” (1882) and “A Humble Remonstrance” (1884), along with Lang’s “Realism and Romance”. Patrick Brantlinger stresses the connection between romance and Empire in *Rule of Darkness* (1988), especially in the chapter on Imperial Gothic, a connection also demonstrated in Joseph Bristow’s *Empire Boys* (1991, 115-117). For further reading on the connection between Empire and Romance, see Gerald Monsman’s *Colonial Voices: The Anglo-African Romance of Empire* (2010), which offers criticism of H. Rider Haggard’s works and acknowledges Lang’s occasional influences on them. Because of Lang’s article, along with contributions by Saintsbury and Haggard, Graham casts 1887 as “the year of recognition for the new romance” (66).

80 See also Stocking (52) and Michalski “Towards a Popular Culture: Andrew Lang’s Anthropological and Literary Criticism” (1995).
things, to be always setting one off against the other, and fighting about their relative merits” (690). Lang’s true love of literature, as he mentions, grew from “the masterpieces of the past” as opposed to any one particular genre (683). His personal taste leaned towards romance, but “all his work was . . . saturated with knowledge of literature ancient and modern” (Saintsbury 88). According to his own words – often overlooked by critics – Lang readily recognizes the respective merits of both romance and realism, considering them both to be “good things”. It is inaccurate, then, to insist that his knowledge was singularly limited to contemporary literatures that were romances.

This late-nineteenth century debate between Romance and Realism recasts an earlier mid-century discussion of fairy tales and children’s literature. Henry Cole issued his Home Treasury series in the 1840s as a direct response to the didactic and rather “dry” Peter Parley books (Avery 122).81 Cole’s fairy-tale books are offered for entertainment, as opposed to the moralized versions currently in print. In his introduction to Beauty and the Beast (1843), Cole writes:

The modern English versions of Beauty and the Beast, adapted ‘to the manners of the present period,’ are filled with moralisings on education, marriage, &; futile attempts to grind every thing as much as possible into dull logical probability; and the main incidents of the tale are buried among tedious details of Beauty’s sisters and their husbands. I have thought it no sin to get rid of all this, without regard to Mrs. Affable, and attempt to re-write the legend more as a fairy tale than a lecture. (iii–iv)

---

81 For further reading on Cole’s series, see Thwaite, who discusses Cole’s “Anti-Peter Parleyism” (99-100), Meigs (245), Darton (233-235), Avery (Nineteenth 42 and 121-122), and Susanna Avery-Quash’s thesis “‘Creating a Taste for Beauty’: Henry Cole’s Book Ventures” (1997).
The ongoing debates regarding the function of children’s literature raged throughout the nineteenth century and affected a wider range of texts, not just fairy tales, although fairy tales remained a particularly fertile battle-ground. Angela Bull argues:

In the nineteenth century there was prevalent a strong element of distrust towards fairy tales. Moralists, educationalist and those concerned with the religious teaching of children found it hard to reconcile their consciences to offering such fictious enormities as two-headed giants, seven-league boots and all the stock-in-trade of fantasy to innocent boys and girls. (Avery 41)

Cole’s crusade for fairy tales, and especially his attempt to rescue them from the moralists, was taken up by Anthony Montalba in *Fairy Tales of All Nations* (1849), wherein he writes: “The time has been, but happily exists no longer, when it would have been necessary to offer an apology for such a book as this” and later continues “But now we have cast off that pedantic folly, let us hope for ever. We now acknowledge that innocent amusement is good for its own sake . . .” (n. pag.). Such books were influential in transitioning the fairy tale from the didactic form in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to the source of entertainment, especially in the nursery, that it was by the time Lang edited *The Blue Fairy Book*.

Lang was predominately interested in literature as entertainment. As further demonstrated in section three of this chapter, Lang continually recommended works

---

82 See Matsumoto for an overview of nineteenth-century didacticism and the fairy tale specifically. On nineteenth-century didacticism and children’s literature more generally, see Thwaite, who provides an historical overview in Chapter Two and then a summary of nineteenth-century trends in Chapter Four, as well as Darton’s *Children’s Books in England*, especially chapters ten through thirteen.

83 Gillian Avery credits Bull in the acknowledgements with writing the two chapters on fairy tales.

84 Dickens also joined the discussion with his article “Frauds against the Fairies” (1853), which is directed towards George Cruikshank’s transition from delightful illustrator of Edgar Tylor’s *German Popular Stories* to writer of teetotalling fairy tales in *Cruikshank’s Fairy Library* (1853). See Bull’s chapters, “Fairy Tales for a Purpose” and “Fairy Tales for Pleasure” in Avery’s *Nineteenth Century Children* for an overview of significant contributions to both moralizing and entertaining fairy tale publications in the nineteenth century.
of literature to his own readers. Green further explains that “Lang in his essays wrote as a popularizer and an interpreter: he wrote for readers of average intelligence, and when he dealt with the great works of the past, he attempted to impart his own enthusiasm, attempted to provoke interest, to invite reading” (1946 158), and Elwin credits Lang with “wielding a dominant influence beyond that of any individual critic before or since” (183). Ultimately, while he readily acknowledges differences of taste – “Some of us will be better pleased by one kind, some by another” – Lang appreciated quality – “there will always be room for all kinds of fiction, so long as they are good” (“Realism and Romance” 693; emphasis in original 692). His desire for “good” literature – stories that are entertaining, enjoyable to read, and memorable – is evident throughout the stories he selected for the Fairy Book series. Lang falls within a trajectory of children’s writers who privilege enjoyment and entertainment, from Victorian writers such as John Ruskin, William Thackeray, Lewis Carroll, and Edward Lear to Edwardian writers like Kenneth Grahame, J. M. Barrie, and Edith Nesbit, many of whom utilize the fairy tale genre in their writings.

Reviews of the Fairy Books continually comment on their quality. The Derby Mercury, for example, considers the series “invariably good” (“Literature” Rev. of The Yellow Fairy Book). Nevertheless, reviewers rarely indicate what makes Lang’s series “good” other than in vague terms that describe the stories as “excellently told” (“Christmas Books” 556 Rev. of The Blue Fairy Book) or “picturesque and beautiful”

---

85 Thackeray, Ruskin, Carroll, Graham, Barrie are mentioned in the Introduction and Chapter One to this study. Edward Lear (1812-1888) is known for his ‘nonsense’ style as demonstrated in The Book of Nonsense (1846) and Nonsense Songs, Stories, Botany and Alphabets. (1871). Edith Nesbit (1858-1924) wrote a number of children’s books including The Story of the Treasure Seekers: Being the Adventures of the Bastable Children in Search of a Fortune (1899).
While it is impossible to know how often reviewers simply circulated previous statements rather than actually reading the books and offering their own informed opinion about the individual volumes, it is apparent that reviewers depend on Lang’s reputation as a producer of quality literature. Lang indicates that good literature should be a pleasure to read and a review from the Bookman congratulates Lang for a series that “has brought, and continues to bring, delight and pleasure to so many” (Rev. of The Lilac Fairy Book 97). As such, Lang’s literary reputation arguably influenced the overall reception of the Fairy Book. The recognition that Lang valued literary quality very quickly converts to the assumption that any book with Lang’s name on the title page must itself possess literary quality.

“The Terrible Head” and a “Kaleidoscope” of Incidents: Lang as Fairy Tale Scholar

In 1913 Joseph Jacobs wrote an article memorializing Lang entitled “Andrew Lang as Man of Letters and Folk-lorist”. According to Jacobs, “Andrew Lang was a born man

86 A review of The Red Fairy Book indicates, “One cannot easily have too many fairy tales, and one cannot easily have a better editor of them than Mr. Lang” (“Two Fairy Books” 595). This opinion does not change as the series progresses and it remains consistent across reviews; “Every year now we look forward to a new book issued under his ægis, and never are we disappointed in its quality” (“Gift Literature” Rev. of The True Story Book 663). Regarding The Pink Fairy Book, a Bookman review indicates: “the average of the tales is as high here as in the earlier collections” (Rev. of The Pink Fairy Book). Furthermore, according to the Saturday Review, “to most children this Pink Book will seem the best book of fairy lore they have ever read—unless they are possessed of the Blue, the Red, and the Yellow” (“Beasts, Fairies and Pictures” 645). A review of The Grey Fairy Book remarks that “Mr. Andrew Lang . . . continue[s] to publish annual gift-books of exceptional quality and attractiveness” (“Literary Arrivals” Rev. of The Grey Fairy Book) and The Olive Fairy Book is “the latest comer of a delectable series, and as fascinating as those that have gone before” (“Our Library Table” Rev. of The Olive Fairy Book). The final volume, The Lilac Fairy Book, is “in every respect worthy of its many and many-hued predecessors” (Rev. of The Lilac Fairy Book Bookman 96).
The article however also recognizes another aspect of Lang’s life: his interest in folklore. Jacobs further explains: “He could illustrate his criticisms by his anthropology; he could illuminate his folk-lore by his literature” (367). This section examines Lang’s published works on folk and fairy tales to further demonstrate that this combination of the literary critic and the folklorist influenced many of Lang’s editing strategies for The Blue Fairy Book, but also made him particularly suited to edit Longmans’ Fairy Book series.

Like other late nineteenth century folklorists, Lang’s theories on folk and fairy tales are recognized as “evolutionary” and are derived from Edward Burnett Tylor’s (1832-1917) publications, especially Primitive Culture (1871). Because of Tylor’s works, the 1880s witnessed a transition from mythological interpretations of folklore to evolution-based theories. Although Lang never held an academic position in anthropology, he published extensively on folk tales and mythology and his contributions to the discipline should not be underestimated. The well-known anthropologist R. R. Marett (1866-1943), a contemporary of Lang’s, states that

87 In addition to Jacobs, Gosse (210), Gordon (149), and Stocking (After Tylor 51) all use the moniker “man of letters”.

88 Other contemporaneous publications influenced by Tylor include George Laurence Gomme’s (1853-1916) Primitive Folk-Moots: or, Open-Air Assemblies in Britain (1880) and Ethnology in Folk-Lore (1892). Alfred Nutt (1856-1912), a Celtic scholar, published a collection of his articles in 1888 entitled Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail, with Especial Reference to the Hypothesis of its Celtic Origin. Edwin Sidney Hartland’s (1848-1927) most significant contribution was not published until the following decade, but, like many of Lang’s works, The Science of Fairy Tales (1891) draws heavily on Tylor’s theories of survivals.

Lang’s understanding and use of the word anthropology differs considerably from current definitions. As Green explains, ‘anthropology’ in Lang’s day, “covered the widest possible field in the study of early man and included mythology, folklore, fairy tales and (to Lang at least) psychic phenomena and superstitions” (1962 39-40). Stocking, furthermore, recognizes that “Lang came at anthropology from the study of folklore and mythology, which in the later nineteenth century were closely allied studies” (52). It is this broad understanding of the term that is implied in the present discussion.
Lang’s “services to anthropology had been immense” (*Jerseyman* 169). This sentiment correlates with a tribute to Lang published in *Folklore* in 1912, where Marett indicates that “British anthropology and folklore owe a great debt to Andrew Lang for his ceaseless activity as a critic” (“Andrew Lang” 365). In the same article, W. H. R. Rivers (1864-1922), also a respected anthropologist, states: “No one has done more than [Lang] to stimulate general interest” in the subjects of anthropology and folklore (369). Regarding Lang’s anthropological texts, Green argues: “no real expert is either uninfluenced by them (even if only at second hand) or denies their importance” (1962, 41). Not everyone agrees with this appreciation of Lang’s contributions; Langham, for example, questions Lang’s technical ability and mentions his “general ineptitude” (45). Nevertheless, George Stocking, a reputed scholar of Victorian anthropology, acknowledges: “If little is known to anthropologists today, [Lang’s publications] were not without considerable influence in their own time” (52). Indeed, Lang’s contributions to anthropology have been obscured in the past century; however, it is worth examining his published works here, because many of the theories he develops are evident in and supported by the Fairy Book series.

*The Blue Fairy Book* includes one story that is, arguably, the only original contribution to the volume. As Chapter One discusses, of the thirty-seven stories contained within *The Blue Fairy Book*, thirty-six were currently in print when *The Blue Fairy Book* was first published. Furthermore, Lang repeatedly disavowed authorship of the stories contained in the Fairy Book series. Nevertheless, one

---

90 For Lang’s quotations regarding authorship of the Fairy Books, see the last section of this chapter.
sentence in the preface to *The Blue Fairy Book* specifically notes that “‘The Terrible Head’ is adapted from Apollodorus, Simonides, and Pindar by the Editor” (emphasis added n. pag.). “The Terrible Head,” buried in the middle of the book, deserves careful consideration primarily because it is the only story in *The Blue Fairy Book* that can be directly attributed to Lang. Although adapted – and not written – by him, this story exemplifies key components of Lang’s theories regarding fairy tales. Furthermore, his editing strategies, as evident in his prefaces and selection of stories for the Fairy Books, also comply with his theories. These strategies are immediately apparent in *The Blue Fairy Book*, specifically due to the inclusion of “The Terrible Head”, and this first book functions as a model for the subsequent volumes.

Lang published extensively on anthropology and his five major books in this area are *Custom and Myth* (1884), *Modern Mythology* (1897), *The Making of Religion* (1898), *Myth, Ritual and Religion* (1887 2 vols., revised and reprinted in 1899), and *Magic and Religion* (1901); influential articles include “Mythology and Fairy Tales” (1873), “Anthropology and the Vedas” (1883) and “Australian Gods: A Reply”(1899). While Lang meticulously demonstrates his theories of folklore at length in these books and articles, some of his most engaging and accessible writing is found in the introductions to fairy-tale books that he wrote in the 1880s. In his introductory essay to Hunt’s Grimm edition, entitled “Household Tales: Their Origin, Diffusion, and Relations to the Higher Myths”, Lang identifies three core points in the study of fairy tales. First, he asserts the similarity of folk and fairy tales across cultures, or the

---

91 Bradley, who reviewed Hunt’s *Household Tales* in 1884, regards it as a “more cautious and intelligible statement of the author’s theories” than *Custom and Myth*, also published in the same year (75). While Bradley’s review is mostly positive, he does criticize Lang on a few points. Lang responds point by point to Bradley in “Myths and Household Tales”.
universalism of popular tales. Interestingly, the introduction contains an earlier version of one of Lang’s quotations often quoted from *The Grey Fairy Book* and he explains: “It is also manifest that the tales consist of but few incidents, grouped together in a kaleidoscopic variety of arrangements” (xii). Second, he acknowledges the “monstrous, irrational, and unnatural character” of folk and fairy tales (xii). Third, he argues that many of the stories in the Grimms’ collection “have their counterparts in the higher mythologies of the ancient civilized races, in mediaeval romance and saintly legend” (xii). These three points, according to Lang, “introduce us to the three-fold problem of ‘storyology’ of the science of nursery tales” (xiii). Lang poses the following questions: “How are we to explain the Diffusion of Household Tales?”, “What, in fact, is the Origin of Household Tales?”, and finally, he considers “the Relations between märchen and the higher mythologies” (emphasis in original xiii). He devotes the remainder of the introduction to articulating his theoretical position on each of these core ideas.

Lang continued the discussion in his introduction to *Beauty and the Beast* (1887), attributed to Charles Lamb (1775-1834). Lang allocates most of his introduction to an analysis of the tale itself and provides a comparative history of the motifs present in this story, therein questioning: “Whence came the idea that (granting the possibility of metamorphosis) the kiss or kindness of a girl could turn a beast into a man?” (x). In tracing the history of the story, Lang begins with a version “very

---

92 Lang articulates the reasons for associating this version with Lamb, but nevertheless acknowledges that “There is no testimony on the subject at present before the world which deserves the name of convincing evidence” (ii). He also provides an overview of the bibliographic history of the book used for this edition, which was printed by the Juvenile Library in 1811, but cautions that editions of books for children are rare and difficult to trace.
popular among the Kaffirs, who, like all savages, think magic and metamorphosis every day affairs” (x). He later turns “from the low Kaffir form of Beauty and the Beast” to “the classical forms of the legend” such as Apuleius’s “Cupid and Psyche” (xiii). Choosing to structure his history in such a way echoes his own theories on folk and fairy tales; he uses an evolutionary approach, tracing “Beauty and the Beast” from its “low” form, to a more complicated myth found in Greek literature, and eventually to the version found in French literary fairy tales of the eighteenth century. Once again, Lang draws on the kaleidoscope imagery used in the introduction to Hunt’s translation of the Grimms’ stories and writes: “The incidents of folk tales are, like the specks of glass in a kaleidoscope, capable of infinite combinations” (emphasis in original xv-xvi), and in the remainder of this introduction, Lang investigates the structure and some of the incidents of this particular tale. Incidentally, in the same year, Lang also contributed an introduction to a reissue of William Adlington’s 1566 translation of Apuleius’ “Cupid and Psyche”, widely recognized as one of the earliest western retellings of the animal bridegroom story, which represents the mythology stage between “fairy tale” and “literature” that Lang identifies in the introduction to Beauty and the Beast. This book includes several poems about the tale including one of Lang’s. His poem exemplifies his ironic commentary on his own and his contemporaries’ interest in the study of fairy tales:

The Mythologist and Psyche

Oh Butterfly of Fable, flown
From what strange chrysalis unknown,
Across the empires overthrown,
Thou flittest with thy fairy wings
Above the strifes of creeds and kings,
Above the wrecks of mortal things.
Thou, in thine air of endless peace
Has seen the nations rise and cease,
Egypt and India, Rome and Greece,

And now hast come within the scope
Of those that peep, and pry, and grope:
Thou art beneath the microscope!

Art fixed within a little room
That looks on London's glare and gloom,
Yet Science cannot smirch thy bloom.

But thou wilt spread thy wings on high
A floating flower 'twist earth and sky—
No man may break this Butterfly! (ix-x)

Such allusions to someone prying at myths under a microscope in the third stanza recalls the trend of collecting and examining narrative specimens that had been growing throughout the nineteenth century. In addition to a bibliographic account of Adlington’s translation, Lang contributes an essay, the purpose of which “is to trace the various forms and fortunes of the popular tales which, among various Aryan and non-Aryan peoples, correspond more or less closely to the fable of Cupid and Psyche” (xviii-xix). This book – unlike Beauty and the Beast, which is heavily illustrated and described in a review as “very nice and fit for healthy-minded children” (Rev. of Beauty and the Beast 899) – includes only four plates and is arguably intended for an adult readership and scholars of folk tales.

Finally, in 1888, Lang produced his own edited collection of Charles Perrault’s eight tales, to which he also contributed an introduction. Although Lang’s introduction is written in English, the stories are not translated and he attempts to “restore the original [French] text of 1697” (v). The preface, which includes a bibliographic summary of the editions Lang used, clarifies that the research conducted for this
volume is founded on available French sources, further demonstrating not only Lang’s familiarity with the stories, but his extensive knowledge of French scholarship regarding Perrault. The introduction is nearly as long as the remainder of the book and once again identifies this particular volume as primarily intended for adults interested in the study of folk and fairy tales, rather than as a book for readers of fairy tales. Lang explains:

The Introduction contains a brief sketch of Perrault, and of the circumstances in which his tales were composed and published. Each prose story has also been made the subject of a special comparative research; its wanderings and changes of form have been observed, and it is hoped that this part of the work may be serviceable to the students of Folk Lore and Mythology. (vi)

Lang provides extensive notes on the various incidents gathered and combined to create the fairy tales in Perrault’s collection. The range of sources he refers to and quotes from exhibit his vast reading and research. In his comparative analysis, he discusses stories from Perrault and other French sources, the Grimms, Laura Gozenbach’s Italian tales, narratives from Greek, Roman, and Indian classical literature, Callaway’s Zulu Nursery Tales, Ralston’s Russian Fairy Tales, Dasent’s Popular Tales from the Norse, Dr. Steere’s Swahili Tales, as told by Natives of Zanzibar, Cieza de Leon Chronicles of the Yncas, Bleek’s Bushman Folk Lore, Grey’s Polynesian Mythology, Frere’s Old Deccan Days, and Theal’s Kaffir Folk Lore.  

93 Many of the books listed in Lang’s Perrault introduction eventually supplied a number of stories to later volumes of the Fairy Books. See Appendix B.
In his comparative analysis of Perrault’s tales, Lang refutes two theories about folklore: the so-called Aryan and Indian theories. At the end of the introduction, Lang writes:

Neither of these theories, neither the Aryan nor the Indian, is quite satisfactory. The former depends on a doctrine about the ‘disease of language’ not universally accepted. . . . The second, or Indian theory, correctly states that many stories were introduced into Europe, Asia, and Africa from India, in the middle ages, but brings no proof that contes could only have been invented in India. (cxiii)

The Aryan theory, also known as Comparative Mythology or Solar Mythology, often associated with Max Müller (1823-1900), used philology and linguistics to determine the origins of myths. Müller proposed that myths originated as solar myths – stories about the daily cycles of the sun – that were subsequently distorted over time as generations retained the story but forgot the meaning. The article “Mythology and Fairy Tales”, published in the Fortnightly Review in 1873, is generally regarded as Lang’s first contribution to the field of mythography and the beginning of his debate with Müller. The Indian theory, explained by M. Cosquin in Contes de Lorraine, proposes that India was the origin or birthplace of popular tales, which were then transmitted to other cultures. In the Perrault introduction, Lang is more interested in refuting the two theories than providing one of his own and reiterates that “we are unable to give any general answer to the sphinx of popular tales” (cxv). Nevertheless, this introduction, like his others, endorses an evolutionary

---

94 Lang’s expertise in Classical Greek literature is discussed below. Müller was a Sanskrit scholar from Germany and initially moved to England to translate the Rig Veda into English. In their published works, Lang and Müller tend to address Greek and Indian sources respectively.
95 Müller’s publications on this topic include four volumes of Chips from a German Workshop (1867-1878). His later Selected Essays on Language, Mythology, and Religion (1881) contains a selection of lectures and other essays from Chips. For biographical material on Müller, see Lourens van den Bosch’s Friedrich Max Müller: A Life Devoted to the Humanities (2002), Connor’s “Myth and Metamyth in Max Müller and Walter Pater” (1989), and Amigoni’s “Proliferation and its Discontents: Max Müller, Leslie Stephen, George Eliot and The Origin of Species as Representation” (1995).
96 For further reading on Lang and Müller’s debates, see Dorson’s “Eclipse of Solar Mythology” (
approach to the study of folktales, and proposes that the ubiquitousness of fairy tale narratives across cultures demonstrate universalism: “The ideas and situations of popular tales are all afloat, everywhere, in the imaginations of early and of pre-scientific men. Who can tell how often they might causally unite in similar wholes, independently combined?” (emphasis in original cxv). Evolution, therefore, is a foundational component of Lang’s theories on folk and fairy tales.97

Lang uses “The Terrible Head” in *The Blue Fairy Book* specifically to exemplify the evolutionary approach. “The Terrible Head” is a rewriting of the Perseus myth98 in a fairy-tale style. It relies on stock incidents and ideas; no character is named and no environmental descriptions are provided that would connect the story to any particular location. The story begins: “Once upon a time there was a king whose only child was a girl. Now the king had been very anxious to have a son, or at least a grandson, to come after him . . .” (182). The story utilizes fairy tale language: “Their hair was as white as the snow, and their flesh of an icy blue . . .” (186). The cast of characters includes a king, a princess, a boy, and a lady; the Fates become “the Three Grey Sisters” and Medusa is simply “the Dreadful Woman”. Drawing from vestiges of the classic story and stock fairy-tale elements, the boy is aided by a “Cap of

97 In a letter to Sayce, dated October 22, 1875, Lang writes: “I have been reading Mr. Müller’s new Chips, and the more I read him the more I feel a Darwinian in my heart” (“Letter to Sayce” d. 62 Fol. 209). Such direct confession is uncharacteristic of Lang, even in his private letters, and in this instance is particularly revealing.

98 Lang’s choice of a Greek myth for his adaptation is unsurprising. While at Balliol College at Oxford, Lang had taken a First Class in Classical Moderations in 1866, and in 1868 he had followed this with a First in ‘Greats’. He was then awarded the Fellowship at Merton College, a position that he held until 1875. Four years later, in 1879, Lang, in collaboration with S. H. Butcher, published a translation of *The Odyssey*, which was followed up in 1883 with a translation of *The Iliad*, a collaborative project with Walter Leaf and Earnest Myers. Lang was very interested in the question of authorship of the two epics and continued to publish scholarly works on Homer, including *Homer and the Epic* (1893), *Homer Hymns* (1899), which includes translations and essays, *Homer and His Age* (1906), and *The World of Homer* (1910).
Darkness”, a “Sword of Sharpness”, and the “Shoes of Swiftness”. According to McKinnell, by including this story, Lang proves that distinctions between fairy tales and mythology are arbitrary. She argues:

The sagas and epics of Greece were no more than collections of many individual fairy tales, essentially no different from those collected by the Grimms. Here is simply a prince who must prove himself in the undertaking of an impossible task in which he succeeds with the aid of magic, and who is eventually rewarded for his bravery by winning the hand of a beautiful Princess. (80)

Such an interpretation of this story is corroborated by the preface to The Lilac Fairy Book, where Lang explains: “Homer knew the stories and made up the ‘Odyssey’ out of half a dozen of them. All the history of Greece till about 800 B.C. is a string of the fairy tales, all about Theseus and Heracles and Oedipus and Mino and Perseus is a Cabinet des Fées, a collection of fairy tales” (vii). According to Lang’s theories, mythology, and for that matter ballads and legends, are merely localized versions of earlier, generic folk and fairy tales.

In “Household Tales” Lang questions:

Are children’s märchen the detritus, the last worn relics of the higher myths, as these reached the peasant class, and passed through the fancy of nurses and grandmothers? Or do the Household Tales rather represent the oldest forms of the Romantic myths, and are the heroic legends of Greece, India, Finland, Scandinavia, Wales, merely the old nursery stories elaborated and adorned by the arts of minstrels and priests? (xl)

---

99 These and other fairy-tale objects feature in Prince Prigio, published the same year.
100 See Lang’s entry for “Ballads” in the eleventh edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica.
Lang subscribes to the latter and uses the term “Somebody”\textsuperscript{101} to illustrate that the tales tell of an unnamed person and that these stories were not authored as a whole – meaning that plot and character were not created simultaneously and indeed were unlikely to have been ‘authored’ at all. The stories, in Lang’s view, exist well before the character names and the names come into being as stories become localized. The story, therefore, might have been pervasive, but the character names arise from a specific location and reflect that location’s culture. This explains why, in Lang’s opinion, “the incidents of the Jason legend are familiar where no Greek word was ever spoken” (Custom and Myth 5). If the events in a story are derived separately from the characters within that same story, then there cannot be one original version. This assertion defines one of the fundamental arguments that Lang returns to throughout his publications: popular tales are collectively generated and are creations of people, many people, or collectively of ‘the folk’.\textsuperscript{102} It is only in later stages that stories are localized into literature by adding names and locations.\textsuperscript{103} Lang, however, reverses this narrative trajectory in “The Terrible Head”.

Perhaps by demonstrating how a complex and localized story can be devolved to a simple fairy tale, Lang undermines his own theories, but he is rarely careless. Instead

\textsuperscript{101} See quotation from Custom and Myth in which Lang proposes that, “In stories the names may well be, and often demonstrably are, the latest, not the original feature. Tales, at first told of ‘Somebody,’ get new names attached to them, and obtain a new local habitation, wherever they wander” (4).

\textsuperscript{102} Refer to the quotation from “Notes on Ballads” cited in the introduction. Joseph Jacobs asserts the exact opposite: “The folk-tale, in its way, is a work of art, and a work of art must arise in a single man’s mind” (“Andrew Lang” 372).

\textsuperscript{103} For a comprehensive explanation of these three stages, see the entry “Tale” that Lang contributed to the Encyclopedia Britannica.
he offers an interpretation of his adaptation in the extended introduction to the collectors’ edition of *The Blue Fairy Book*:104

But literature, again, descends occasionally among the people, as Oriental stories found their way into mediæval sermons, and so fragments of epic, or novel, or even of history, become Märchen once more. To take another example, the Perseus epic legend is a tissue of fairy tales, though Pindar made it into an ode and Simonides furnished Danae with a song. In this volume, (‘The Terrible Head’) *I have tried to reconstruct the original nursery tale*, chiefly by dropping the local and personal names, which, doubtless, were added to an old impersonal and unlocated story by the Greeks in Arogs and Seriphos. The action of the gods, too, was probably an addition. (emphasis added xvi)

By including “The Terrible Head” in *The Blue Fairy Book*, Lang attempts to illustrate his position that specific names and locations are later additions to generic fairy tales. Therefore once stripped of the specifics, these myths contain the same stock characters, incidents, and motifs present in fairy tales. The plot of the story remains unchanged, but without the specifics, the story devolves from myth to fairy tale. The narrative foundations are the same for both genres, and myths are fairy tales with added names and cultural associations. Lang continues to highlight the similarity between the myth and fairy tales by comparing Perseus to “Jack the Giant-Killer”, whose story is also included in *The Blue Fairy Book*. “The Terrible Head” is less of a ‘re-writing’ and more a case of stripping the story of specifically identifiable names, locations, or objects, thereby rendering the story more sharply in its ‘earlier’ fairy-tale style. By devolving the story from myth to fairy tale, Lang attempts to demonstrate how fairy tales have evolved into myths and legends.

104 Readers of the first edition of *The Blue Fairy Book* would not, of course, have had the benefit of Lang’s explanation, but it is presumed that these readers are also less interested in theories on folk tales than purchases of the collectors’ edition. Furthermore, Lang is clear in this quotation that although his theories are primarily evolutionary, narratives can ascend and descend between literature and popular tales. Even without Lang’s explanation, and if the immediate similarities were not obvious, readers of this version would have the benefit of Ford’s illustrations, which draw on Greek imagery.
The Grey Fairy Book contains Lang’s oft-quoted comment that in fairy tales “A certain number of incidents are shaken into many varying combinations, like the fragments of coloured glass in the kaleidoscope” and the Fairy Book series serves as an ideal example (n. pag). This repetition of incidents and characters touches on another key aspect of Lang’s theories about fairy tales, namely that these stories are universal and as such they exemplify the similarities of human nature across culture and time. Lang uses “The Terrible Head” to display similarities between the supernatural incidents found in both mythology and fairy tales. When raising questions about why people tell stories with supernatural elements, Lang does not often differentiate between these genres. In his entry on “Mythology,” in the Encyclopædia Britannica, Lang explains: “The myths of civilized peoples, as of Greek and the Aryans of India, contain two elements, the rational and what to modern minds seem irrational. . . . It is this irrational and unnatural element . . . that makes mythology the puzzle which men have so long found it” (128) and in his entry for “Tale”, in the same edition of the encyclopedia, Lang states: “So understood, popular tales are a subject in mythology, and indeed in the general study of the development of man . . .” (369). As McKinnell explains, “The fairy books demonstrate Lang’s belief that the popular tales of the world ought not to be treated separately and that to do so would only exaggerate their differences and distort or pervert the reader’s understanding of the real likenesses in the primitive imagination which gave them their earliest shapes” (79). Indeed, the question for Lang was not so much how mythology and fairy tales differ, but, instead, which of the two came first, and what the answer to such a question might reveal about humanity. Lang repeatedly
attempted to dismantle Eurocentric theories of folklore by comparing European traditions and narratives with cultures from Australia, Africa, Asia, and indigenous North America – all of which are represented in the Fairy Book series.

_The Blue Fairy Book_ is primarily comprised of fairy tales, but it also includes stories that defy this classification, such as “The Terrible Head” and “A Voyage to Lilliput”. Critics have censured Lang for placing myths and overtly literary stories alongside fairy tales. One of the earliest condemnations came from Lang’s colleague at the Folk-Lore Society: G. Laurence Gomme (1853-1916). In his 1894 Presidential Address to the Folk-Lore Society, Gomme directly censures Lang’s collection:

I confess the folk-tale loses much of its old charm now that it has become the sport of literature. Maimed, altered, and distorted in one direction; clothed in red, blue, and green in another direction—of course, those who cannot see that these are not the doings of folk-lore will never give the folk-tale all the credit it really deserves as an element of the anthropology of the civilised races. They will always remember its literary rough handling, and they will rather scorn its traditional faithfulness. . . . Folk-tales, when they are reduced to the level of literature, will never really teach children literature, nor morals, nor manners; because all their charm is in the unconscious—the unconscious—beauty and poetry of their incidents and characters. (emphasis in original 63)

Gomme addresses several concerns in this speech. First, he intentionally makes a sharp distinction between folk lore and literature. Not only does he interpret them separately, but elevates folk lore as a science – through its association with anthropology – in contrast to literature, which in his estimation is “sport” or “rough”. Accordingly, folk lore is a high science and literature – especially literature for children – a low art. When the two are mixed it becomes impossible to achieve either the goals of science, as an introduction to the “anthropology of the civilised races” or

---

105 See the introduction to this study for a survey of recent definitions of this rather elusive genre.
the purposes of literature, such as teaching “morals” or “manners”. Second, he identifies specific examples of hybrid folk lore/literature and pointedly denounces them. Mention of folk tales “clothed in red, blue, and green” is a direct reference to Lang’s Fairy Books. At the time only three volumes – *The Blue Fairy Book*, *The Red Fairy Book*, and *The Green Fairy Book* – had been published. Gomme explicitly states that not only are literary versions of folk tales debasing the study of folk lore, but also that Lang’s collection is specifically guilty of promoting this troublesome trend.

Lang’s own defense is discussed further in the following section, but it is precisely this conflation of genres that exemplifies Lang’s dismissal of arbitrary categorization. According to McKinnell, Lang
took issue with the distinctions men set up among different genres or classes of tales. Lang did not believe that they were always useful or necessary. At the very least, he wanted his readers to see beyond them to the whole of which these were merely a part. Ballads, sagas, myths and fairy tales share a common store of incidents and themes. . . . It is in *The Blue Fairy Book* that Lang succeeds in emphasizing this continuity, by pushing aside literary conventions to include saga and satire. . . . Yet despite what might be called its experimental nature, it is the most interesting of all Lang’s collections for what it reveals about the workings of his mind. (emphasis in original 79)

Lang’s introductions published in the 1880s offer further elucidation of his theories on the subject. His theories affected his editorial strategies of the Fairy Books and the Fairy Books, in turn, promote his theories. Furthermore, there is a consistency in Lang’s approach to editing the Fairy Books. Although the series was not anticipated during the compilation of *The Blue Fairy Book*, much of the direction that the series takes is rooted within that first volume. The connection between the Fairy Book series and Lang’s theoretical understanding of fairy tales demonstrates Lang’s close
connection to the ongoing project. Lang charted the initial direction of the series and it does not deviate from that original path. By continually returning to the best-loved plots and motifs, even when dressed in different titles and sourced from more “exotic” locations in later volumes, the series reinforces both the popularity of such stories as well as Lang’s theories about the universality of human imagination and that all fairy tales are derived from a handful of incidents recombined over and over again.

“A Jury of Children”: Lang and Children’s Books

Lang defended his Fairy Books against Gomme’s criticisms that the Fairy Books include “maimed, altered, and distorted” versions of fairy tales in his preface to The Yellow Fairy Book. In this defense he capitalizes on the underlying objection in Gomme’s speech and addresses the problem of ‘truth’ or ‘authenticity’:

The Editor thinks that children will readily forgive him for publishing another Fairy Book. We have had the Blue, the Red, the Green, and here is the Yellow. If children are pleased, and they are so kind as to say that they are pleased, the Editor does not care very much for what other people may say. Now, there is one gentleman who seems to think that it is not quite right to print so many fairy tales, with picture, and to publish them in red and blue covers. He is named Mr. G. Laurence Gomme, and he is president of a learned body called the Folk Lore Society. Once a year he makes his address to his subjects, of whom the Editor is one, and Mr. Joseph Jacobs (who has published many delightful fairy tales with pretty pictures) is another. Fancy, then, the dismay of Mr. Jacobs, and of the Editor, when they heard their president say that he did not think it very nice in them to publish fairy books, above all, red, green, and blue fairy books! They said that they did not see any harm in it, and they were ready to ‘put themselves on their country,’ and be tried by a jury of children. . . . The Folk Lore Society, or its president, say that their tales are not so true as the rest, and should not be published with the rest. But we say that all the stories which are pleasant to read are quite true enough for us; so here they are, with the pictures by Mr. Ford, and we do not think that either
the pictures or the stories are likely to mislead children (emphasis in original ix-x)

In this quotation, Lang only tangentially deals with Gomme’s primary concerns. Instead, for his defense, he substantiates Gomme’s fears and appeals to the child reader as well as the series’ popularity. This appeal to a “jury of children” is significant for two reasons. First, Lang constructs an ongoing, albeit one-sided, conversation with the child reader throughout the prefaces of the Fairy Books and the Christmas Books. He continually establishes himself as knowing, unlike other adults, what children want to read. Second, representations of Lang as on the side of the children, or sometimes even child-like himself, permeate published reception of the series and impressions of Lang that have persisted long after his lifetime. This final section attempts to demonstrate that Lang, in addition to his literary expertise and his scholarly research on fairy tales, was a particularly appropriate editor for the Fairy Book series because of his interest in providing stories that children would enjoy.106

Lang edited thirteen other books that were published by Longmans intermittently with the Fairy Books during the Christmas seasons (1891-1913). These thirteen books are as follows: The Blue Poetry Book (1891), The True Story Book (1893), Red True Story Book (1895), The Animal Story Book (1896), Arabian Nights Entertainments (1898), The Red Book of Animal Stories (1899), Book of Romance (1902), The Red Book of Romance (1905), Book of Princes and Princesses (1908), The Red Book of Heroes (1909), All Sorts of Stories Book (1911), Book of Saints and

106 Extensive scholarship exists regarding the concept of the child reader, frequently arguing, rightly, that the child reader is not a singular unit (Rose 7) and that children’s literature often “engages childhood as remembered and imagined by adults (Natov 3). It is outside the scope of this discussion to engage at length with this question; however, Lang often writes for his childhood self and assumes that his own readers to be “white” (The Brown Fairy Book viii), “British” (The Crimson Fairy Book v) children.
Heroes (1912), and The Strange Story Book (1913). Materially similar to the Fairy Books, these books, other than the first one, are collections of stories. The subject matter of these Christmas Books coincides with Lang’s literary interests, encompassing topics such as poetry, history, romance, and animal stories. The Christmas Books are included in this section, and in the following chapter, to fully assess the discourses that permeate Lang’s prefaces and to explain some of the developmental aspects of the Fairy Books.

There is a great deal of interesting material in these entirely neglected works, but most relevant to the present discussion is how Lang uses the prefaces to the Christmas Books, along with the prefaces of the Fairy Books, to construct an ongoing conversation with the child reader. Lang is ambivalent about whether he believes that children actually read his prefaces or if the prefaces are simply a chance to expound on his own ruminations. In the preface to The Book of Romance, he muses: “It is to be supposed that children do not read Prefaces; these are Bluebeard’s rooms, which they are not curious to unlock” (v). He is more direct in this assumption in The Orange Fairy Book, where he states: “The children who read fairy books, or have fairy books read to them, do not read prefaces . . .” (v). Nonetheless, the preface to The Red Book of Romance is addressed “To Children and Others”. These prefaces often utilize a conversational style and it is assumed that, if nothing else, Lang did not attempt to alienate children should they choose to read the prefaces. He does, however, make references, allusions, and ironic comments that are likely for the benefit of the adult purchaser rather than the child reader. In The All Sorts of Stories Book, for example, Lang includes a comment that is indicative of his ability to
engage with a dual audience: “People at the Zoological Gardens may tell you that
there are no Boojums, and certainly they have none there. But this is a foolish
argument, for, while many people have seen Boojums, of course they cannot describe
these creatures, for they themselves vanish away, and are not able to speak or write”
(emphasis in original viii-ix). This quotation, through the conversational use of the
second person “you”, is overtly aimed towards a younger reader. It privileges the
believing child over the rational adult and – through the allusion to the Zoological
Gardens – seemingly dismisses any adult who is blinded by scientific reasoning and
cannot see fantastic creatures. The subtle joke in this quotation, however, is not there
for the amusement of children but a wink to adults regarding childlike credulity.107
Throughout the prefaces to all twenty-five of the Lang and Longmans books, Lang
continually returns to two themes: ‘what children like’ (the subjects children enjoy
reading about) and the distinction between reading for pleasure and education. Both
of these themes influence his editorial strategies, through which he often represents
himself as interceding on the child’s behalf or editing according to children’s
interests.108

When discussing children’s interests, Lang often casts back to his own childhood. In

*The Blue Poetry Book*, for example, he states:

> The purpose of this Collection is to put before children, and young
> people, poems which are good in themselves, and especially fitted to
> live, as Theocritus says, ‘on the lips of the young.’ The Editor has

107 For an alternative interpretation, see Lathey, who indicates that Lang’s prefaces reflect “an
uncertain relationship with his professed child audience” (109).
108 Rose goes so far as to argue that most authors of children’s literature write in this way and states:
“It will not be an issue here of what the child wants, but of what the adult desires – desires in the very
act of construing the child as the object of speech” (2). Whether Rose is correct in her estimation is left
to other scholars, but her assessment is a reminder that Lang’s practice is not unique.
been guided to a great extent, in making his choice, by recollections of what particularly pleased himself in youth. (vii)

He later defends this practice in the same preface by commenting:

everyone who attempts to make such a collection must inevitably be guided by his own recollections of childhood, of his childish likings, and the development of the love of poetry in himself. We have really no other criterion, for children are such kind and good-natured critics that they will take pleasure in whatever is given or read to them, and it is hard for us to discern where the pleasure is keenest and most natural. (xii)

Reviewers of his books, and other contemporaries of Lang, often refer to him as “boyish,” note his “youth”, or indicate that he lived in a “child’s world,” a general perception of Golden Age authors that has continued into the twentieth century. In their respective studies on Golden Age authors, both Carpenter and Wullschlager attempt to pathologize children’s writers. Carpenter repeatedly refers to them as “child like”. Furthermore, male authors, such as Kingsley, MacDonald, Carroll, and Lewis, are feminized, and the female authors – Louisa May Alcott and Beatrix Potter especially – are masculinized to indicate that these writers did not conform to societal norms of gender or adulthood. “Certainly,” Carpenter writes, “most of them were in some respect psychological curiosities, people whose personal difficulties in the real world had driven them inwards and helped to develop the childlike side of their imagination” (ix). Wullschlager follows this position and offers “the story of five writers who could not grow up” (1). She describes Carroll, Grahame, Lear, Barrie, and Milne as all sharing “a reluctance to engage in conventional behaviour and relationships” and further insists: “they were loners, in some sense social misfits,

---

109 For further examples of this type of representation of Lang, see Elwin (186 and 201), Gordon (148), and Hutchinson (216).
110 Carpenter, for example, describes E. Nesbit as “gay and careless as a child” (127), having “a child’s detachment” (130), and a “childlike fashion” (130) and refers to Barrie as “quite literally [the] boy who couldn’t grow up” (173).
who found in fantasy an escape and an outlet to express their rage against a
constricting adult society” (5). Such readings and interpretations have pervaded
scholarship and studies of individual authors of the time period. 111

Towards the end of the twentieth century, however, scholars have begun to propose a
fundamental reconception of Golden Age literature. In an introduction to the special
issue of The Children’s Literature Association Quarterly dedicated to the Golden
Age (2001), Joel Chaston explains that the issue articles reiterate “Alison Lurie’s
contention in Don’t Tell the Grown-ups (Little, Brown 1990) that many of the well-
known texts of the Golden Age are subversive” (3). In 2009 Marah Gubar challenged
the longstanding tradition of infantilizing children’s authors from this period and
contends that “Golden Age children’s authors were far more skeptical about
Romantic primitivism” than previously thought (4). 112 She suggests that Golden Age
writers intentionally subverted social structures and did so through critical
engagement with literature rather than through practicing pathological escapism into
fantasy worlds. Although Gubar does not include Lang in her discussion, her
conclusions are applicable to him. His prefaces employ a range of styles, sometimes
humorous and sly, sometimes serious and informative. As argued in the previous two
sections, however, Lang is not haphazard in his writing and this range conveys his
systematic use of various styles. His tone is not confused, but moves from scholarly

111 These types of descriptions are pronounced in studies of Hans Christian Andersen, who is also
frequently represented as “child-like”, for examples see Bloom (x) and especially Wullschläger, who
claims that “like many children’s writers he was perhaps too childlike to understand or even to
genuinely want an adult sexual relationship” (Andersen Fairy Tales xxix).

112 For further reading on Romanticism and children’s literature, see two collections of essays edited
and Literature and the Child: Romantic Continuations, Postmodern Contestations (1999). The former
collection contains a number of essays on the fairy tale genre and how it was used by writers from
Coleridge and Wordsworth to Carroll and Nesbit.
to conversational as appropriate for the subject matter. Furthermore, he may address child readers, but he does not attempt to represent himself as child-like. While Lang appeals to his own childhood memories and recollections, he distances himself from his childhood and observes it as an adult. In the dedicatory poem to *The True Story Book*, he writes:

You like the things I used to like,  
the things I’m fond of still,  
The sound of fairy wands that strike  
Men into beasts at will; (n. pag.)

In this opening stanza, Lang retrospectively glances back at his childhood. Although his interests have not wavered and he shares them with the child, the poem retrospective and is written from adult to child, not child to peer. Green argues:

His escape into Fairyland was not that of a boy who never grew up, it was of a boy who wished he had never grown up: he was the full adult, as well as the great scholar and the best-read man of his period, who went back—and so could write of what he found there with an authority that is well-nigh unique . . . . (1962 76)

Likewise, Tolkien recognizes that “His collections are largely a by-product of his adult study of mythology and folk-lore; but they were made into and presented as books for children” (36). Indeed, Lang continually draws on his personal interests from childhood for the Christmas Books. As a child, for example, Lang enjoyed poetry and *The Blue Poetry Book* functions as his offering to the current generation of children. He is very specific, however, to select poems that he appreciated as a child and not poems about children: “It does not appear to the Editor that poems about children, or especially intended for children, are those which a child likes best” (x). Moreover, as discussed previously, Lang was a proponent of romance and adventure and his assumption that other children feel the same is a clear motivation in his editorial strategies for *The Red Book of Romance*: “Now, in this book, we have made
the old romances much shorter, keeping the liveliest parts, in which curious things
happen” (viii). Elwin notes Lang’s “boyish inclination to read for enjoyment” or for
“reading what he liked” (186; 201) and Lang strives for the stories in these books to
be entertaining and enjoyable, a priority he establishes by focusing on their opposite
and continually asserting that his books are not educational.

Lang pointedly indicates that his books are not meant to be educational in The True
Story Book (1893), because the stories included in this volume border on ‘history’ and
are far closer in proximity to what children might be taught in school than the stories
in the previous three Fairy Books. “Still,” he writes, “it cannot be denied that true
stories are not so good as fairy tales. They do not always end happily, and, what is
worse, they do remind a young student of lessons and schoolrooms. A child may fear
that he is being taught . . .” (ix). Lang attempts to alleviate any such fears by assuring
that "the editor vows that he does not mean to teach anybody, and he has tried to mix
the stories up so much that no clear and consecutive views of history can possibly be
obtained from them . . ." (ix-x).\footnote{This dismissal of history should be read in context as Lang also published on this subject; relevant publications include History of Scotland from the Roman Occupation to the Suppression of the Last Jacobite Rising (1900-7), Mystery of Mary Stuart (1901), John Knox and the Reformation (1905). He also wrote historical biographies such as The King over the Water (1907) on James Stuart, co-written with Alice Shield; and Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh (1909). In addition, he provided the Encyclopædia Britannica entry for Scotland: History (1911).} It is interesting to note that Lang is so wary of the
possibility that any reader, child or adult, might misinterpret his intentions that he
returns to the topic a third time in this same preface. To leave his readership in no
doubt of the intention of his book, he concludes the preface with the following
reminder:
Here, the editor leaves *The True Story Book* to the indulgence of children, explaining, once more, that his respect for their judgment is very great, and that he would not dream of imposing *lessons on them*, in the shape of a Christmas book. No, lessons are one thing, and stories are another. But though fiction is undeniably stranger and more attractive than truth, yet true stories are also rather attractive and strange, now and then. (emphasis in original xiv)

Despite repeatedly returning to the distinction between his stories and lessons,114 Lang echoes his role as literary commentator and often uses his prefaces as platforms for positing ideas about genre and recommending literature to his young readers.

Lang explicitly differentiates between stories that inform and stories that entertain; the Christmas series includes twelve fairy books alongside true story books and Lang does not hesitate from questioning what exactly makes something true or from challenging distinctions between fiction and non-fiction. As demonstrated in the preface to *The Yellow Fairy Book*, quoted earlier, Lang generally prioritizes enjoyment: “But we say that all the stories which are pleasant to read are quite true enough for us”. Furthermore, as in the quotation about the Boojum, cited above, Lang playfully challenges the increasingly scientific world-view that permeated the late nineteenth century. In *The Book of Princes and Princesses*, he states:

> There are some children who make life difficult by saying, first that stories about fairies are true, and that they like fairies; and next that they do not like true stories about real people, who lived long ago. I am quite ready to grant that there really are such things as fairies, because, though I never saw a fairy, any more than I have seen the little animals which lecturers call *molecules* and *ions*, still I have seen people who have seen fairies—truthful people. (vii)

Again conflating belief in science with belief in the supernatural, in *The Red Book of Animal Stories*, he comments: “For my part, I do not disbelieve that there may be

---

114 See prefaces to *The Red Book of Romance* (v-vi) and *Book of Princes and Princesses* (vii-viii).
plenty of strange animals which scientific men have not yet dissected and named by long names. Some of the last of these may have been remembered and called Dragons. For, if there were never any Dragons, why did all sorts of nations tell stories about them?” (x). His question is interesting because he places literary, or fictional, evidence alongside physical, or scientific, evidence. Lang not only engages in verbal games with his readers, but he also encourages his readers to challenge the categories and classifications of the world around them. He advocates the value of ‘narrative’ as a framework for understanding their world. Dragons are in fact ‘real’ precisely because they exist in stories. In this way, he sometimes uses the prefaces to encourage his readers towards further investigation and discovery.

As a literary critic, he is quick to offer suggestions for further reading. He recommends Alexandre Dumas as “the greatest of all story-tellers (The All Sorts of Stories Book xi)\textsuperscript{115} and Walter Scott’s Ivanhoe, which, according to his estimation, is “the best romance in the world” (The Red Book of Romance viii). He mentions Mrs. Sherwood’s The Fairchild Family (The All Sorts of Stories Book v), Cervantes’ Don Quixote (The Red Book of Romance viii), Blake, Wordsworth and Shakespeare (The Blue Poetry Book), Katherine Langloh Parker’s Legendary Australian Tales (The Violet Fairy Book vii), and advises his readers to read Thackeray’s The Rose and the Ring, a book he considers “quite indispensable in every child’s library” (The Yellow Fairy Book xi). It should be noted that Lang’s recommendations tend towards fantasy and adventure – a bias probably anticipated given his position on romance and realism in literature – but also demonstrative once again that he has an exceptional

\textsuperscript{115} Dumas is also mentioned in The Red Book of Animal Stories.
platform to promote his own opinions and he uses the prefaces accordingly. In his *Arabian Nights Entertainments*, for example, Lang explains that historically much has been added to the *Nights* and “a great deal that is very dull and stupid was put in, and plenty of verses. Neither the verses nor the dull pieces are given in this book” (x-xi). Lang is not above editing out material that he considers boring or tedious and therefore undesirable to child readers.

Lang’s prefaces and editorial strategies demonstrate the critical approach Lang took towards the Christmas Books. Although he engages with child readers, he does so at a distance. Nevertheless, portrayals of him as child-like correspond to representations of other children’s authors at the same time. Lang, however, acquired another description that was a bit unusual. In *Adventures Among Books*, Lang writes of himself: “a love of books was the gift given to me by the fairies” (4). This association between Lang and the fairies has not been lost on others. Elwin mentions that Lang’s early reading choices were fairy tales and chapbooks (185). Hutchinson takes the association further and remarks: “The world in which his spirit really lived was a kind of fairy-land” (211). The Stewarts remember Lang’s “puckish, elfish humour” (157), and Gosse depicts Lang as “the fairy in our midst, the wonder-working, incorporeal, and tricksy fay of letters” (208). These renderings of Lang as “puckish” and “fairy-like” are extraordinarily intriguing. As discussed further in Chapter Four, reviewers of the Fairy Books often represent Lang as possessing special access to fairyland, but his companions and peers portray Lang as actually living there. In these accounts, Lang is less a traveler to the world of fairies, but more a permanent

---

116 For further discussion of Lang’s reading habits, see also Green (1948 8; 1962 11-12) and Gordon (152).
resident. Recognizably, many of these descriptions were published after Lang’s death and so his association with the Fairy Books was firmly entrenched; however, it is difficult to determine which came first. Certainly Lang’s editorship of the Fairy Books could have fueled declarations of him as the ‘master of fairy land’, but perhaps it was his perennial interest in fairy lore and the unique quality of not seeming “altogether like an ordinary mortal” (Gosse 207) that qualified Lang as an ideal editor of a collection of fairy tales.

Lang’s opinion of these designations and titles is unknown; however, he frequently protested against assumptions that he was the author of the Fairy Books and repeatedly defined himself instead as the editor. He states: “The Editor takes this opportunity to repeat what he has often said before, that he is not the author of the stories in the Fairy Books; that he did not invent them ‘out of his own head’” (The Violet Fairy Book vii); “A sense of literary honesty compels the Editor to keep repeating that he is the Editor, and not the author of the Fairy Tales”; “Though these explanations are not attended to by the Editor’s customers, he makes them once more, for the relief of his conscience” (The Crimson Fairy Book v; vi); and finally, “I do not write the stories out of my own head. The reputation of having written all the fairy books . . . is ‘the burden of an honour unto which I was not born.’ It weighs upon and is killing me . . .” (emphasis in original The Lilac Fairy Book vii). It is likely statements like these that inspired Susina to comment on Lang’s “progressively more crotchety prefaces”, further suggesting: “Lang had become trapped by his own success and had grown weary of the project” (“Andrew Lang” 183). Conversely, Green maintains that “it is for the Fairy Books that Lang is best remembered, and
rightly so. Whoever did most of the actual writing, the volumes of many colours were completely his, and without his knowledge and love for fairy tales they would never have come into being (1962 51). When scholars such as Susina use the quotations from Lang’s prefaces cited here to suggest that Lang wanted to distance himself from the Fairy Book series, they fail to take Lang’s larger body of work into consideration. Certainly without having access to his own thoughts on the matter, it is impossible to prove Susina wrong in his assessment, but for Lang to assume authorship of the fairy tales included in his collection, would directly contradict his theoretical understanding of the fundamental nature of fairy tales. His published works repeatedly argue that fairy tales are generated by the unnamed folk, that they are collective narratives, and that they are not individually created or imagined. In one of his “At the Sign of the Ship” articles, he states: “To put a man’s name on a book which he did not write seems rather worse than an error in taste, and borders on the peccadillo of forgery” (July 1890, 348). His collection is filled with stories that were in print prior to his series, can be located in a variety of other sources, and many of which can be directly attributed to another writer (The Yellow Fairy Book is mostly comprised of stories by Hans Christen Andersen). To accept the title of “Author” would serve to undermine his entire theoretical understanding of how fairy tales have evolved and would violate his own principles of authorship.

Lang is, however, undeniably established as the editor of the Fairy Book series. Editors, as Lang would well have been aware, are not entirely absent in the publication process and while this study does not attempt to dispute Lang’s disavowal of authorship, it does consider the significance of editorship, given Lang’s varied
interests and his literary expertise. It is the position of this study that Lang’s
continuance to write prefaces for even the later volumes demonstrates his ongoing
involvement with the project, although it is also recognized that Lang did not
necessarily consider the Fairy Books to be his most significant contribution to
literature. That Lang did not invent the tales included in the collection is readily
accepted, but the prefaces to the Fairy Books contain conflicting information about
the extent to which the stories were edited. Although Lang repeatedly asserts that he
is not the author of the stories, he also readily admits to editing and revising the
stories. *The Orange Fairy Book* contains the following comment:

> The stories are not literal, or word by word translations, but have been altered in many ways to make them suitable for children. Much has been left out in places, and the narrative has been broken up into conversations, the characters telling how matters stand, and speaking for themselves, as children, and some older people, prefer them to do. (vi)

The precise details about in what ways the stories were “altered”, how the stories
were “adapted to the needs of British children”, and which tales “needed a good deal
of editing . . .” (vii) are not known, but Montenyohl suggests that the series’ success
was largely due to “Lang’s own aesthetics and editing practices” (199). Furthermore,
Lang specifically identifies that the language in his stories has been toned and made
suitable for children and states that the stories were altered, adapted, and edited for
this market.117 His name appears as the editor of Longmans’ Christmas Books and the
editorial strategies he put into place in *The Blue Fairy Book* were followed for the
remainder of the series. It is therefore suggested here that details such as the
arrangement of stories, final approval of translations and illustrations, along with the

---

117 See the comparison between Lang’s “Jack the Giant-Killer” and Hartland’s version in the previous chapter.
consistency in presentation, formatting, and structure fall within his editorial jurisdiction.

According to the Standard, Lang “has the knack of telling his stories in exactly the style that children most appreciate” (“Christmas Books” Rev. of The Yellow Fairy Book 2). As demonstrated, he challenges children to think critically about their environment and encourages them to read and expand their knowledge. He does so by pushing them to investigate further, not by simply handing them information. He articulates this position best in The Blue Poetry Book, in which he states: “We make a mistake when we ‘write down’ to children; still more do we err when we tell a child not to read this or that because he cannot understand it. He understands far more than we give him credit for . . . (xi-xii). It is this respect for children coupled with his ability to recognize the type of entertaining material children want to read that allowed Lang to edit books that continued to appeal to child readers.

Conclusion: “Two generations of lovers of fairy tales”

Two Christmas books were released after Lang died in 1912: The Book of Saints and Heroes (1912) and The Strange Story Book (1913). Both books are listed under Leonora Lang’s name along with the phrase “Edited by Andrew Lang’, which was used in the previous the Christmas Books. However, these books are slightly larger than the previous twenty-three books, and this physical distinction is a reminder that these two books are different. The Book of Saints and Heroes, having already been in progress, included a preface written by Lang and The Strange Story Book contains a
tribute to Lang by his wife. When *The Blue Fairy Book* was first published in 1889, it was not expected to be the first in a series, but the release of *The Strange Story Book* is undoubtedly recognized as the end. According to the preface:

> And now the time has come to say good-bye; and good-byes are always so sad that it is much better when we do not know that we have got to say them. It is so long since Beauty and the Beast and Cinderella and Little Red Riding Hood came out to greet you in the ‘Blue Fairy Book,’ that some of you who wore pigtailed or sailor suits in those days have little boys and girls of your own to read the stories to now . . . .

> Now as this is the very last book of all this series that began in the long long ago, perhaps you may like to hear something of the man who thought over every one of the twenty-five, for fear lest a story should creep in which he did not wish his little boys and girls to read.

(vii)

Recognition of the series’ completion appeared in published reception. A review in the *Bookman* states: “This is the last of the twenty-five children’s books with which Andrew Lang has delighted two generations of lovers of fairy tales and adventure stories” (Rev. of *The Strange Story Book* 193). Longmans did begin another series of books for children, but one vastly different from the Fairy Books. According to a review in the *Athenaeum*, “Messers. Longmans announce that in succession to ‘The Fairy Book Series’ edited by the late Andrew Lang, and published by them every Christmas season for the last twenty-five years, they have arrange with Mr. Henry Newbolt, the author of ‘Admirals All,’ to write for them a book entitled ‘The Book of the Blue Sea’ (“Literary Gossip” 120). The book is completely distinct and cannot in any way be regarded as a continuation of Lang’s series. The importance of the connection between Lang and the series is, therefore, best recognized by the fact that, regardless of Leonora Lang’s contributions, Longmans did not attempt to publish further volumes without him.
Lang continually researched and published his theories on fairy tales, their origins, and what they reveal about humanity. Finally, he meticulously selected stories that he thought would be interesting to child readers. He drew on both his professional background and his personal interests for his editorial strategies in *The Blue Fairy Book*, strategies that were then implemented for the remainder of the series. Not only did his background influence his editorial strategies, but it also affected public reception of the series. Although it is difficult to determine Lang’s exact involvement in the series, especially towards the end, there is no doubt that his name is a significant factor in the overall marketing scheme of the series. Advertisements, like the example in Fig. 2, clearly places Lang’s name alongside the Fairy Book series. The two are found on the same line, in one phrase, and in the same font size, inextricably linking Mr. Lang to the Fairy Books.

![Fig. 2 Advertisement for *The Violet Fairy Book* in *Pall Mall Magazine* December 1901](image-url)
Chapter Three
Fairy Tales at Christmas:
Producing and Marketing the Fairy Books, 1889-1910

In addition to his editorial contributions, Andrew Lang continued to retain significant influence over the production and marketing of the Fairy Books, if not by intent or even direct involvement, then certainly through the attachment of his name to the series. In a discussion of the phenomenon of book series as it developed from 1830 to 1906, Richard Altick identifies three merchandising premises of series: “package psychology”, “brand name psychology” and, “snob appeal” (11-12). The first two premises provide a structural frame for this chapter, which focuses on the material aspects of the Fairy Book series and places the series within its historical and publishing context. Section one examines the production techniques used to manufacture and package the books, while section two focuses on the printed marketing and branding strategies used by Longmans to create public awareness of the series. Both sections suggest that although it is unknown how extensively Lang himself influenced these components of the books’ life cycle and Lang’s name is integral to the packaging and branding of the series.118 As Alexis Weedon argues in her study of nineteenth-century publishing, “the link between the author and the economic system within which he or she operates is a vital one” (1). Lang’s personal interests and scholarly background influenced his editorial strategies, as discussed in

---

118 Reading University Special Collections holds the Longmans’ archive, which contains minimal correspondence between Lang and the publishing house. As the company employed Lang directly, it is likely that most correspondence was conducted in person. Furthermore, Lang dictated that all of his personal letters be destroyed upon his death. Green’s biography states, “In obedience to his wish, no life of Lang was written, nor was any collection of his letters made. Lang’s widow obeyed her husband’s behest with heart-rending completeness, and it is said that she used to complain that her wrists ached for weeks and weeks after tearing up Andrew’s papers . . .” (1946 ix). Leonora Lang confirms that she did continue to burn her husband’s letters (“Letter to William Mathie Parker” 1916).
the previous chapter, but widespread and general changes in the late nineteenth century, such as technological developments in both book production and advertising, directly factor into the Fairy Books’ popularity as much as they do in the creation of the Fairy Books as material objects.

The materials studied in this chapter correlate with categories that Gérard Genette formulates in his book *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (1987, translated 1997). Here, Genette argues that a literary work, or text, “is rarely presented in an unadorned state, unreinforced and unaccompanied by a certain number of verbal or other productions, such as an author’s name, a title, a preface, illustrations” (1), and suggests the label “paratexts” for these “verbal or other productions”. Within this designation, he further identifies two types of paratexts: peritexts and epitexts. According to Genette, “A paratextual element, at least if it consists of a message that has taken on material form, necessarily has a *location* that can be situated in relation to the location of the text itself: around the text and either within the same volume or at a more respectful (or more prudent) distance” (emphasis in original 4). Genette refers to the former – paratexts located around the text and within the same volume – as peritexts. The latter – paratexts located at a distance – are epitexts. Peritexts, therefore, include, but are not limited to textual elements, such as titles, publication information, chapter headings, and physical elements, such as the material make-up of the binding, page layout, the type of material the text is printed on, or the size and shape of the object. Epitexts, alternatively, include, but are not limited to, elements external to the physical form of the book, such as press releases, advertisements, and author interviews. Genette offers the following concise formula: “*paratext = peritext*”
Thus far, the present study has generally been interested in paratextual elements related to the Fairy Books such as the publication of fairy-tale collections in the nineteenth century or in Lang’s editorial role. This chapter makes more specific use of Genette’s designations and analyzes materials that are directly related to the Fairy Books such as book production, packaging, design, and illustrations (peritext) as well as branding through marketing and advertising strategies (epitext).

The present discussion returns to Mrs. E. M. Field’s suggestion that by the early 1890s “the tide of popularity would seem to have set strongly in the direction of the old fairy stories”. Despite twentieth-century claims about Lang’s influence on resurrecting interest in the fairy-tale genre, Chapter One argues that fairy stories had consistently been in print throughout the nineteenth century and immediately prior to the publication of The Blue Fairy Book in 1889. Nevertheless, Field was accurate in her use of the “tide” imagery, because Lang’s series emerged during a period when it could be mass-produced and extensively advertised. Although the quality of the series, as discussed in Chapter Two, undoubtedly shaped reviews and its reception in the periodical press, this chapter suggests that Altick’s definitions of series cannot, and should not, be ignored or underestimated. Indeed, the mechanisms used to produce and market the series are argued to be vital to the shaping of the Fairy Books’ immediate and lasting popularity.

119 Quoted in Chapter One.
Late-Nineteenth Century Production: Packaging, Design and Illustration

The number of books that publishers produced increased exponentially during the nineteenth century and scholars have offered a number of explanations for this phenomenon.\textsuperscript{120} Occurrences such as population increase (Weedon 31), the introduction of compulsory universal education (Jefferys 282), “legal and other institutional developments that contributed to the rapid growth of literacy among the young” (Denisoff 18), and expanding reading habits (Altick 8), all explain the increasing demand for books. Conversely, technological advancements and improvements led to the “unprecedented growth in output” (Weedon 31). Dooley refers to the technological “revolution” and explains that it “touched every aspect of book production, from initial typesetting through reprinted editions, and the technological changes were powerful enough to affect both the writing of Victorian literature and our reading of it” (1).\textsuperscript{121} In less than 100 years, the book changed from being a primarily hand-made object in 1830 to wholly machine-manufactured object in 1914.\textsuperscript{122}

The Fairy Books appeared towards the end of this period and their production utilizes all of the latest available technology. The historical timing of the books is significant for two reasons. First, technological advancements permitted each individual volume

\textsuperscript{120} For book production quantities in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Weedon (54-57) and Simon Eliot (7-25).
\textsuperscript{121} Dooley’s book \textit{Author and Printer in Victorian England} (1992) focuses on the years between 1840 and 1890, but provides an immediate context for the start of the Fairy Book series and offers a useful technological overview of nineteenth century book production including composition, proofing, printing, and reprinting.
\textsuperscript{122} For further reading on general production changes in book publishing, see McKitterick’s “Changes in the Look of the Book”.

118
to be produced in large quantities. The sheer quantity of Fairy Books transform
Field’s “tide” into a swell as the market became saturated with not only Lang’s Fairy
Books but also a number of other fairy-tale collections as discussed in Chapter Five.
Second, mechanization allowed for physical uniformity across the twelve books.
Physical uniformity, or “packaging psychology”, is integral, according to Altick, in
“selling a frequently miscellaneous list of books under a generic title” (11). Eleven
subsequent volumes followed *The Blue Fairy Book* thus generating a series, which is
critical in determining how the twelve books should be understood. Subsuming the
books within a series creates links and forces them to be critiqued not as isolated
volumes but as connected to a larger collective.

In a special addendum to the Winter 1897/8 edition of *The Studio*, Gleeson White
provided an essay that surveyed the history of “Children’s Books and Their
Illustrators”.

According to Thwaite, White’s article “reveals that pictures and
design had achieved a new status, and that the role of the artist now often rivaled that
of the author in children’s book production” (105). White does mention the Fairy
Books in his article and offers a brief analysis of Henry Justice Ford (1860-1941) and
his illustrations. Ford, discussed at length below, was the primary illustrator of the
Fairy Books and remained connected with the series for its duration. Although White
does not dedicate much of his survey to the Fairy Book series, what he does write
about it is revealing: “Mr. H. J. Ford’s work occupies so much space in the library of
a modern child, that it seems less necessary to discuss it at length here . . .” (46). It is
regrettable that White does not provide further context for Ford’s illustrations, but the

---

123 Thwaite identifies this article as the third major contributor to the study of Children’s Literature,
after Edward Salmon’s *Juvenile Literature as it is* and E. M. Field’s *The Child and his Book.*
assumptions he makes about the popularity and status of Ford’s work are indicative of the series’ reception and reputation.

White’s description of the Fairy Books includes two concepts that are worth considering: the amount of space that the Fairy Books would take up on the nursery shelves and the allusion to the modern child. By the 1880s there was potential for all book production to be mechanized; technical descriptions and illustrations of various types of these machines are available in George Stephen’s Commercial Bookbinding: A Description of the Processes and the Various Machines Used (1910). Print runs for Fairy Books ranged from 5,000 to 10,000. These numbers signify more than simply the series’ popularity, they also address another important component: the vast changes in book production technologies, such as paper manufacturing, printing, binding, and reproducing images that made such quantities possible. Furthermore changing technologies affected the look and feel of books, and the Fairy Book series were modern books for modern children.

A. Dykes Spicer provides a comprehensive and technological summary of the paper-making industry in The Paper Trade; his account is current up to 1905 and therefore offers immediate context for the state of the industry during the time the Fairy Books were being printed. Most of the technological advances in the trade started in the 1830s. Longmans had close ties to the paper industry and bought all of their paper from John Dickinson and Co, a company with whom they had a history of business and family connections (Briggs History of Longmans 15). John Dickinson (1782-

---

124 For an overview of machines available for book production at the end of the nineteenth century, see Gaskell (237).
1869) established his business in 1799 and was admitted to the livery of the Stationers’ Company in 1804. He directly influenced the mechanization of book production by developing a patent process for machine-made paper in 1809. While not necessarily the highest quality paper available, the paper used for the Fairy Books was not the cheap, disposable paper used for newspapers or other ephemeral publications. The paper quality attests to the series status as gift-books; the series was meant to be collected and preserved, as discussed further in Chapter Five.

In addition to paper manufacturing, printing technologies also increased dramatically in the nineteenth century. All of Lang’s Fairy Books and Christmas Books are identified as being “Printed by Spottiswoode & Co. of New-Street. London” in the colophon. Advances in linotype and stereotype occurred during the 1880s and large-scale production began in the 1890s, bringing “entirely new speeds of work into the composing room” (Gaskell 278). Longmans and Spottiswoode had a long-standing business partnership and Spottiswoode continued to handle jobs for Longmans throughout the nineteenth century, including the printing of Longman’s Magazine.

According to Spicer, one of the most significant effects that changes in the paper-making industry had was economic. He explains that the cost of paper in 1902 was a third of the cost from 1860 (90). Gaskell further explains: “The general use of casting

---

125 For further reading on Dickinson’s inventions, see Evans’s The Endless Web (30-44).
126 Their imprint changed to Printed by Spottiswoode & Co. Ltd., New-Street Square London in 1900, and again to Printed by Spottiswoode & Co., London Colchester and Eton in 1908.
127 William Strahan, founder of Spottiswoode in 1739, printed for Thomas Longman early in his career and there were occasional marriage connections between the two families; see Austen-Leigh’s The Story of a Printing House (1912) and Briggs A History of Longmans (15).
machinery from around 1860 lowered the price of type . . .” (283). The various book-making processes – binding, sewing, printing illustrations – all benefited from mechanization and mechanization also had a direct impact on print sizes. Weedon explains:

Comparing the value of the market with the quantity of books manufactured (output) shows that, while output increases from the 1860s to the 1880s and into the 1890s, the total retail value does not. This suggests that publishers are using the economies of scale in the manufacturing of books to cater for a rise in demand and this can only be sustained if factor costs – printing, typesetting and paper – are falling sufficiently to allowed them a reasonable profit margin . . . . (54)

The cheaper price of paper, the lower cost of type, and the price per unit for larger print runs, could offset or balance the overall production costs:

In the hand-press period it had been uneconomic to print editions of ordinary books in quantities of more than about 2,000 copies, since unit costs then began to increase with quantity. With the introduction of powered printing machinery, however, the unit cost not only of composition but also of machining varied inversely with edition quantity up to about 10,000 copies—the more that were printed the lower the price of each . . . . (Gaskell 304)

It is because of these technological advances, which allowed materials to be produced at a lower cost as well as the final product to be mass-produced, that the Fairy Books could be printed in such large quantities. Ultimately it is the quantities of the Fairy Books that, according to Gleeson White, that allowed them to “occupy so much space in the library of a modern child”.

The price of the books remains consistent across the whole series, and each book sold for 6s. Simon Eliot has established eleven price bands in his 1994 survey entitled Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing, 1800-1919 (60). The Fairy Books fall exactly in the middle of Eliot’s “mid” range, approximately the same price as a
one-volume novel. At this price point, the Fairy Books were unaffordable for most children to purchase themselves, but were suitable as gifts from middle-class parents and relatives. Weedon indicates that by the mid-1890s “the mid-price category was failing” as the demand for cheaper books forced prices lower (107). It is significant, therefore, that the price of the Fairy Books did not change at all over the twenty years that they were published. The price band also reinforces the significance derived from the paper quality discussed above. At 6s, the Fairy Books were meant to be kept and collected, rather than read and disposed.

In the children’s book market, the visual components of a book are as crucial as the text. Technologies for both illustration and binding (including cover design) changed as rapidly as did those for printing type and manufacturing paper. The manufacturing processes for Fairy Books utilized recent technologies in both binding and illustration, which are discussed together in this section. Weedon establishes the connection between the two, claiming: “The quality and expense of illustration was . . . often reflected in the quality of the binding as they all served the same function in the market-place” (81). Quality here is equally applicable to design as it is to materials. Due to the development of stereotype and linotype, from the 1880s onwards, text could be easily transformed and reprinted in a number of different editions, priced to appeal to a range of markets. The material quality of the paper was an influential factor in distinguishing cheap or de luxe editions and such editions were further distinguishable through the level of quality of their visual components. In the Fairy Books, Ford was the artist for both the binding design and the illustrations. According to the Dictionary of British Book Illustrators: The Twentieth
Century (1983), “When invited by Andrew Lang to illustrate *The Blue Fairy Book* (1889), [George Percy Jacomb-Hood] introduced H.J. Ford as his collaborator, and it was Ford who continued as illustrator of the rest of the series” (“Jacomb-Hood” 160). How Lang knew Jacomb-Hood (1857-1929) is unknown, but Jacomb-Hood and Ford likely met at the Slade School of Fine Art in London, with which they were both affiliated in the early 1880s. Jacomb-Hood only contributed illustrations to the first volume of the series. Ford then collaborated with Lancelot Speed (1860-1931) for the second volume. Speed was a friend of Ford’s from Cambridge University, but had no formal art training. Ford was the sole illustrator for the remaining ten volumes of *Fairy Books*.

Records of Lang and Ford’s collaboration are not known to have survived. Like Lang, Ford studied the Classics, although at Clare College, Cambridge, not Oxford. There he took a first class in Classics tripos in 1882. Ford studied art under Alphose Legros (1837-1911) at the Slade School of Art (founded in 1871), where he was a student during the 1883-4 academic year (Signing in books). He then studied under Sir Hubert von Herkomer (1849-1914) at the Herkomer School of Art (founded in

---

128 Jacomb-Hood’s and Speed’s contributions to the Fairy Book series are noted when applicable, but this chapter primarily focuses on Ford. For brief biographical information on Jacomb-Hood, Speed, and Ford, see *Benezit Dictionary of Artists* (2006), Simon Houfe’s *The Dictionary of 19th Century British Book Illustrators* (1996), and Brigid Peppin and Mucy Michlethwait’s *Dictionary of British Book Illustrators: The Twentieth Century* (1983). Archival materials relating to Ford are minimal, but materials available include the Slade Signing-in Books, Bushey Museum archives, and the National Art Library catalogue. Outside of these sources, there appears to be no published scholarship on Ford. Clare College does not hold any archival information on Ford; he is not listed in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*: and no scholarly biographies or monographs on Ford’s work have been located. Peter Freshwater, formerly Deputy Librarian at the University of Edinburgh Library, kindly provided some of his personal research on Ford, which he conducted through the UK Census Records available via the National Archives. These records indicate that Ford was born into a wealthy family and never married. Nevertheless, many questions about Ford’s life remain unanswered.

129 Although Ford registered at the Slade for the 1883-1884 academic year, according to the records currently in the Slade’s archives, his signature only appears in the signing-in books from March 26 to June 26, 1884.
1883), starting in October of its second year. The Herkomer School was not a formal educational institute, but rather a community where artists congregated to work with a master. In *The Herkomer Art School 1883-1900*, Grant Longman writes: “The Herkomer Art School at Bushey, in Hertfordshire, was started in 1883 and was unique in that it was the first school of art and artists’ colony of any significance founded in a rural village. The school lasted until 1904, when it ceased because of financial troubles” (1). Ford is frequently associated with the Pre-Raphaelite artist Edward Burne-Jones (1833-1898), whose influence is evident in some of Ford’s illustrations. In addition to illustrating Lang’s Fairy Books, Ford also contributed drawings to Lang’s other Christmas Books, excluding *The Red Book of Heroes*, which was illustrated by A Wallis Mills. Ford also illustrated titles for other publishing houses and a list of illustrated works includes *Æsop’s Fables* (Aesop 1888), *When Mother was Little* (Yorke 1890), *A Lost God* (Bourdillon 1891), *Early Italian Love Stories* (Taylor 1899), *Kenilworth* (Scott 1907), *The Army of God: Being the Story of the Church During the First Six Centuries Written for Children* (Macy 1912), *Old Testament Legends* (James 1913), *Pilot and Other Stories* (Greene 1916), *David Blaize and the Blue Door* (Benson 1918), *A Short History of the Great World War* (Bridge 1919) and *The Pilgrim’s Progress* (Bunyan 1921). Along with Hugh Lofting, he contributed illustrations to *The Treasure Ship* (Asquith c. 1926). He exhibited illustrations from *The Yellow Fairy Book* at The Fine Art Society in May 1895 and was also a painter and pastelist, who exhibited landscapes and mythological subjects, and held a number of exhibitions. He died aged 81 in 1941.

---

130 The Bushey Museum, founded in 1993, currently holds archival information on the school and files on former students, including Ford. Most of the information in Ford’s files covers recent sales of his work and does not offer much insight into Ford’s time at the school. A. L. Baldry’s book on Herkomer’s art, *Hubert von Herkomer* (1901), contains a chapter about the school and Herkomer’s pedagogical theories (89-101).
Ford’s contributions to the Fairy Books series appear internally and externally. The bindings for the series are cloth case, publishers’ bindings: a nineteenth-century invention. Cloth case binding is an industrial process contingent on mechanical techniques. Although the exact date is unknown, first use of cloth for binding is generally agreed to have occurred between 1825 and 1830. Carter argues that “The first wholesale application of cloth to the binding of books was . . . one of the most important and fruitful events in the whole history of book-structure and publishing practice” (*Binding* 11). Gold blocking on cloth was introduced in 1832, and, according to Gaskell “took cloth binding into a new dimension” (246). Although the basic technology to decorate books in gold stamp was invented in the first half of the century, it was only in the second half that the technology possessed the capacity for complex illustration. Ball emphasizes that in the 1850s one of the key factors in design is symmetry, about the vertical axis and often biaxially (53). In the 1870s, however, presses and experience had improved enough to render symmetry unnecessary (57). By the 1890s technologies and approaches to design had altered drastically enough to cause what Ball terms a “revolutionary change”, wherein there emerged an “emphasis on the artistic as distinct from the decorative” (60). According to McLean, “The revival of book design which took place in Britain in the ‘nineties did not neglect bindings” (224). It is within this climate that the Fairy Books emerged.

---

131 For a comprehensive discussion of nineteenth-century inventions and techniques in cloth binding, see Douglas Ball’s *Victorian Publishers’ Bindings* (1985), Tanselle’s “The Bibliographic Description of Patterns” (1970), Carter’s *Publisher’s Cloth* (1970), and Sadleir’s *The Evolution of Publishers Binding Styles* (1930).
In the Fairy Book series each case color corresponds to the individual volume’s color title; therefore, the cloth for *The Blue Fairy Book* is blue, the cloth for *The Lilac Fairy Book* is lilac, and all of the intermediary books follow suit.\(^{132}\) Longmans does not appear to have used remaining cloth from other books, but purchased cloth specifically for the production of each individual Fairy Book. Although the cloth grain is not consistent across the series,\(^{133}\) the color schemes of the bindings appear to be uniform as are the illustrations that appear on the covers for all subsequent reprinted editions issued before 1910. Ford’s initials first appear on the cover of *The Yellow Fairy Book*, but do not reappear until *The Violet Fairy Book*, after which they recur for the remainder of the series, except on the final volume, *The Lilac Fairy Book*. Although not all cover illustrations are signed, style and visual themes are consistent across the twelve volumes.

The illustrations included on the covers are rarely derived from illustrations within the books.\(^{134}\) Only once in the preface does Lang provide any critical commentary on any of the illustrations present within the Fairy Books\(^{135}\) and the extent of Lang’s influence over which stories were accompanied by illustrations, the scenes chosen, and the artistic style that Ford uses is unknown. Regardless, it is presumed that the

\(^{132}\) Images of the twelve Fairy Book covers are located in Appendix C. For a more detailed investigation on bindings, see Tanselle’s “A System of Color Identification for Bibliographic Description” (1967).

\(^{133}\) The cloth cases include: calico or “smooth”, “calico-texture cloth, not embossed” and “diagonal fine rib”. For further reading on labeling binding patterns, see Carter’s *Binding Variants* (xviii) and Gaskell (240).

\(^{134}\) The exceptions are the cover illustration from *The Red Fairy Book*, which is a duplication of the giant chasing Jack, from “Jack and the Bean Stalk” (141) and the spine of *The Blue Fairy Book*.

\(^{135}\) In the introduction to the collectors’ edition, Lang comments: “Finally, the editor must thank the authors who have helped him, and the artists who have lent their fancy to the book. His friend Mr. Jacomb-Hood will pardon him for mentioning (in the sacred interests of science) that Monsieur de la Barbe Blue was not a Turk! One of the ladies' brothers was a Dragoon, the other a Mousquetaire, of M. d'Artagnan's company perhaps. They were all French folk and Christians; had he been a Turk, Blue Beard need not have been wedded to but one wife at a time” (emphasis in original xxii).
narratives were written first and illustrated second, indicating that Ford would be somewhat restricted by the text. The covers, however, are representative of Ford’s own artistic creation. Interestingly, he chooses to represent fairyland in general and not specific fairy-tale narratives from the books. Ford’s visual representations coincide with familiar visual motifs that predominated in the nineteenth century. An exhibition of nineteenth-century paintings of fairyland at the Royal Academy of Arts in London demonstrates the range in which fairyland was represented across the century. Imagery, which depicts fairies in the natural world and representing fairies, large or small, as having wings, is repeated throughout many of the paintings included in the exhibit. Ford’s illustrations draw on these motifs and he places his fairies in environments replete with animals, celestial images, and musical allusions.136

*The Violet Fairy Book* appeared in 1901 and contains a number of significant aesthetic changes that distinguish it from the previous six books. The most obvious is that it is the first volume to contain color illustrations, which had only recently become commercial viable. Color illustrations are printed on glossy paper, which means that it is also the first volume to include a tactile change. Pages in this volume would have felt different from the pages of its predecessors.137 The use of color

136 For further reading on nineteenth-century fantasy in illustration and art, see Brigid Peppins’s *Fantasy Book Illustration, 1860-1920* (1975), Diana Johnson’s *Fantastic Illustration and Design in Britain, 1850-1930* (1979), and Nicola Bown’s *Fairies in Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature* (2001).

137 Photomechanical reproduction required the use of higher quality, glossy, art papers. Art papers could be made from papers of the general basic ingredients – cloth, esparto, and wood – which were then “coated mechanically with a mixture of water china clay, and glue” (McKetterick “Changes” 96). Art papers not only feel different from text paper, but they are considerably heavier. Spicer explains: “One-tenth of the weight of the coating usually consists of adhesive matters, and the rest is calcium-sulphate or clay, the total sometimes amounting to 50 per cent. of the whole weight of the paper” (85).
illustrations in this volume was a significant selling point, discussed in the next section, but it also calls attention to Ford’s contributions. With the production of *The Violet Fairy Book*, the color Fairy Books are finally colorful.

**Fig. 3 Color Illustration from “The Fairy of the Dawn” in *The Violet Fairy Book* (1901, opposite 188)**

The novelty, in 1901, of Ford’s color illustrations is designed into the book’s binding design (Fig. 4). In the previous volumes, the spine contains a hierarchical structure: at the top is the title of the book, underneath is Lang’s name, and underneath that is Ford’s illustration, followed by the publisher’s name. In *The Violet Fairy Book*, Ford’s illustration literally shoots up and overtakes Lang’s name. The flowers in the illustration grow through Lang’s name, placing part of the illustration between the title and the author. For the remaining volumes in the series, Ford’s illustrations keep to the bottom third of the spine, but commencing with *The Crimson Fairy Book*, the next volume after *The Violet Fairy Book*, Ford’s name is added to the spine, under

---

The inclusion of color illustrations in the second half of the series changed not only the look of the books, but also their weight and tactile nature.
Lang’s name. When discussing the author’s name as part of a branding strategy, Squires explains: “the privileging of the author name through either its greater size or visibility, or both, on the cover of a book becomes an indication of the importance of the author brand to the book’s marketing” (87). Lang’s significance is evident from the start as his name is placed prominently at the top of the spine of *The Blue Fairy Book*. Ford’s significance is different; it develops over time as the series continues. Nevertheless, the increasing regard for his contributions to the series is probably best demonstrated by the migration of his name from inside on the title page to outside on the spine.

Fig. 4 Spines for *The Yellow Fairy Book* (1894), *The Violet Fairy Book* (1901), and *The Orange Fairy Book* (1906)
As stated previously, very little study has been made regarding Ford or his illustrations. In “Children’s Books and their Illustrators”, White writes the following about Ford and the Fairy Books:

Certainly his designs have often lost much by their great reduction, for many of the originals were almost large as four of these pages. His work is full of imagination, full of detail; perhaps at times a little overcrowded, to the extent of confusion. But children are not averse from a picture that requires much careful inspection to reveal all its story; and Mr. Ford’s accessories all help to reiterate the main theme. All these eight volumes have an average of 100 pictures in each, and Mr. Ford has designed the majority, it is evident that, although his work is almost entirely confined to one series, it takes a very prominent place in current juvenile literature. That he must by this time have established his position as a prime favourite with the small people goes without saying. (46)

Given that he contributed several hundred illustrations to the Fairy Books alone, notwithstanding his contributions to the other books, there is considerable scope for further investigation. He is generally regarded as an excellent draughtsman, and immediate reception of Ford’s illustrations was favorable. Regarding The Pink Fairy Book, the Standard considers Ford’s illustrations “as excellent as ever” (“Christmas Literature”) and a Leeds Mercury review suggests that “Mr. Ford’s illustrations heighten the charm of a delightful book” (“Literary Arrivals” Rev. of The Grey Fairy Book). A review of The Violet Fairy Book in The Magazine of Art specifically discusses the quality and aesthetics of Ford’s illustrations:

The fourteenth volume of tales from various languages, edited by Mr. Lang, The Violet Fairy Book, illustrated by H. J. Ford (Longmans, Green), is perhaps the prettiest of all. It is profusely illustrated by full-page drawings by Mr. Ford, with all his skill and grace, his daintiness, humour, and fancy. These drawings are conscientious in work and design, and interesting in technique. But the feature of the volume is the series of plates, most skillfully reproduced by Messrs. André and

---

138 The eight volumes that White refers to would include four Fairy Books and four Christmas Books. The fifth Fairy Book, The Pink Fairy Book, was published concurrently.
Sleigh by the three-colour process from the beautiful pictures by Mr. Ford. Not only the colour is charming, but the ‘quality’ is delightful. . . . These illustrations have neither the crudity of the old style, nor the repellent quaintness of the very new. (“Chronicle of Art” 144)

This review positions Ford’s color illustrations in a very interesting way, poised carefully between the old and the new. The reviewer considers Ford’s images to contain the best of both and the worst of neither. Although capitalizing on the latest technological developments, according to this reviewer, the Fairy Book illustrations have managed to achieve modern sophistication without sacrificing old-fashioned quality. This description of the illustrations further reinforces an ongoing representation of the series as both modern and antiquated: “old” and “new”. The books capture the old stories, old friends, and times passed, but overall each volume of the series is newly packaged for the modern child using up-to-date technologies.

Altick’s definition of “package psychology” directly relates to technologies of mass-production that became available during the nineteenth century. As he explains, package psychology “assumes that when a buyer owns a few volumes in a given series (the ‘package’), he is likely to want to acquire the rest” (12). Such a definition, however, is necessitated by uniformity. Each individual volume must mirror other volumes in the series. Book production by the end of the nineteenth century had the capability to maintain uniformity that could span several years and, as Howsam explains, the number of series offered by publishing houses increased significantly in the 1880s and 1890s (5).140 The Blue Fairy Book, as stated in Chapter One, was not

---

139 Ford and Andrew Sleigh met at the Herkomer School in Bushey (Longman Beginning 10).
140 Howsam’s article contains a chart showing the number of series individual publisher’s produced between 1835-1900 (7). The number of series that Longman’s produced increased from seven to
initially conceived of as the first volume of a series, but through a close analysis of Longmans’ advertising campaign, it becomes evident that Longmans recognized the marketing potential for the Fairy Books and harnessed the selling potential of the individual volumes by gathering them into a unified series.

**Branding: Lang, the Fairy Book, and the Christmas Market**

This section analyzes Longman’s Fairy Books advertisements, using Genette’s definition of “epitext”, as defined in the introduction, to elucidate Altick’s second premise of series merchandising: “brand name psychology”. “Brand name psychology”, according to Altick, “assumes that a reader who is already pleased with one or two books belonging to such-and-such a ‘library’ will regard the name of that series as a guarantee of excellence” (12). Although marketing techniques for the Fairy Books change during their twenty-year span, one tactic remains consistent: the use of Lang’s name. As the popularity of the series increases, Ford’s name is often added to the series’ brand, coupling Lang’s text with Ford’s illustrations. The phenomenon of using “Fairy Books” as a branding label emerges rather late in the series’ lifespan, but the label is paired with Lang’s name rather than replacing it.

For the purposes of this study, the epitext of the Fairy Books will encompass Longmans’ print advertisements\(^\text{141}\) and the seasonal context in which each volume of twenty-six during this period and her chart clearly indicates that like many publishers at the time, Longmans recognized the value of series publications.

the series was first released and most heavily marketed. Display advertising had become increasingly pervasive in the 1870s and 1880s as advertisers began to pay more attention to attractive typefaces and layouts (Popp 62; Elliott xv). By the 1890s, the scale of advertising had significantly expanded and it is considered to be “the period when modern advertising began” (Turner 132).

Definitions of advertising and marketing are often general and somewhat ambiguous. Elliot defines advertising as “a channel of expression” and Squires suggests that marketing is “a form of representation and interpretation” (emphasis in original xii; 3). The unifying concept between these two definitions is that advertising and marketing are forms of communication that employ a combination of verbal and non-verbal cues to convey information. Assessing Longmans’ advertising strategies of the Fairy Books not only reveals a change over time, but also exposes how the firm expressed and represented the series to the public, thereby mediating the public’s interpretation of the series.

Longmans released the Fairy Books during the Christmas gift-buying season and by doing so exploited a tradition that had been building during the nineteenth century. The Christmas season functions as one of the non-verbal strategies that Longmans employs to mediate the Fairy Book’s reception. Tara Moore argues, in Victorian Christmas in Print (2009), that the Christmas-book market was enormously influential in the publishing industry. Longmans was clearly aware of this connection in the initial publication of The Blue Fairy Book – first published in August of 1889. Moreover, their advertising strategies increasingly draw upon this tradition, which demonstrates an understanding of the social and cultural association between fairy

142 As Elliott reminds, advertising is not a nineteenth-century phenomenon – the word itself dates from 1666 – and her book concentrates on pre-nineteenth-century advertising (xii).
books and Christmas that had been increasing throughout the nineteenth century. This section suggests that publishing fairy books at Christmas had been a tradition since at least 1823 when the Grimms’ collection was first translated into English. Similarly, “gift books”, “books for presents”, and “New Books for Christmas” were commonly used tag lines in publishers’ advertisements in the late nineteenth century. Longmans’ marketing campaign for the Fairy Books changed over time, but most of these changes were designed to situate the series within an already established tradition of buying fairy books at Christmas.

The increase in print production discussed in the previous section was by no means limited to books and the output of newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals also expanded exponentially in the nineteenth century. Between 1750 and 1850 the number of newspapers published had increased ten-fold (Raven 339; Brake Print 8). Advertisements and periodicals maintain a symbiotic relationship. Advertisements helped subsidize production costs and with the increase in printed materials there was an “explosion of advertising in the nineteenth century” (McKitterick Introduction 51). Moreover, visual changes in advertisements can be attributed to many of the same technologies that impacted book production. Illustrations and pictures began appearing in advertisements in the late 1880s; the first “art” advertisements appeared on posters in 1887; and publishers continued to experiment with advertising strategies, because “new and often costly books required fresh, regular, and persuasive forms of advertisement” (Raven 257). Longmans was no exception. Between 1889 and 1910 the company conducted an extensive advertisement campaign for the Fairy Books: the series was advertised in a range of periodicals such
as the *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, the *Academy, Practical Teacher*, the *Athenæum, Cornhill, Scots Observer, Pall Mall Magazine*, and the *Review of Reviews*. This section does not attempt to provide a comprehensive assessment of Longmans’ strategy, because advertisements, often regarded as ephemera, are not extensively preserved. Nevertheless, Raven considers newspapers to be “crucial as book advertising vehicles” and Brake encourages scholars to “treat advertisements and wrappers as ‘text’” (354; xiii). This section, therefore, assesses advertisements in three literary periodicals: the *Saturday Review* (1855-1938), the *Bookman* (1891-1934), and the *Review of Reviews* (1890-1936) that appear from October 1889 through December 1910. All three periodicals address a largely middle-class readership, focus on literary topics, and contain extensive publisher’s advertisements. Longmans advertised in all three relatively consistently during the twenty years discussed. Occasional references to *Longmans’ Magazine* (1882-1905) are included to demonstrate tactics specific to this in-house periodical. In this periodical, Longmans deliberately exploits this rather unique advertising space, especially as space used to advertise for Longmans’ own catalogue, far exceeds space sold to other publishers.

---

143 Brake indicates: “just as with the electronic media of ‘TV’ and ‘Web’, the elusiveness and unrecoverability of full nineteenth-century part-issue and periodical texts hamper study. Relatively few wrappers and even fewer advertising supplements have survived the stripping, disciplining and institutionalisation of the texts” (29).

144 This selection of periodicals was chosen because of two connections. First, the three volumes target audiences that span the middle class – the *Review of Reviews* had a “special appeal for the lower middle class” and the *Saturday Review* aimed to epitomize the “voice of the educated upper middle class” (Sullivan 352; Brake and Demoor *Dictionary* 558). Second, Lang was a contributor to both *Bookman* and the *Saturday Review* and his articles appeared in *Review of Reviews*. All three periodicals, as well as *Longman’s Magazine* retailed for 6d, although the *Saturday Review* was a weekly while the others were issued monthly.
One of the most conspicuous trends in the advertisements of the Fairy Book series is simply the increase in advertisement space dedicated to the series over its lifetime. The period in which the series was being published coincided with the time in which “bigger and bigger advertising campaigns were mounted” (Turner 134).

Nevertheless, for this particular series, the increase can be traced to two factors: the number of books in the series and the growing popularity of the series. The increase of the number of books in the series is deceptively simple. It seems self-evident that advertisements for one book in 1889 would be smaller than an advertisement in 1900 for six books or one in 1910 for twelve. However, this increase is noteworthy because, as the series develops, books are added to a growing list rather than replacing previous volumes. Advertisements for The Blue Fairy Book simply advertise The Blue Fairy Book; advertisements for The Lilac Fairy Book advertise The Lilac Fairy Book plus all of the volumes that preceded it.

In 1889 The Blue Fairy Book appears on “Mssrs. Longmans & Co.’s List”, with minimal emphasis or identifying features. The advertisements state that the book is “Edited by Andrew Lang” and that it contains illustrations; it then lists the illustrators names, the book size (crown 8vo), price (6s), and describes the books as having gilt edges. This basic formula first appeared in the Saturday Review on October 5, 1889: The Blue Fairy Book is one item of a longer list of books and retains no special identifiers. However, on November 2, a Longmans advertisement sets three books apart from the remainder of the list one of which is The Blue Fairy Book (Fig. 5). For these three books, the font size of the titles is larger than the other titles on the list; the three titles are surrounded by white space; and they each include a reviewer
The success of *The Blue Fairy Book*, as demonstrated by this preferential treatment after only a few months of sales, is further evident the following two years when both *The Red Fairy Book* and *The Blue Poetry Book* are each advertised as “A Companion to The Blue Fairy Book” (*Saturday Review* 1 Nov 1890; 3 Oct. 1891 Fig. 6). Both of these volumes appear on Longmans’ book lists, but *The Red Fairy Book* is set apart from other titles by font style and size. *The Green Fairy Book* follows a similar pattern; it appears throughout October in the *Saturday Review* and includes basic information such as Lang’s and Ford’s names, book size, and price.

Fig. 5 Advertisements for *The Blue Fairy Book* in the *Saturday Review* (5 Oct. 1889 and 2 Nov. 1889)
In 1893, with the publication of *The True Story Book*, Longmans alters the advertisement formula and identifies this volume as one of “Mr. Lang’s Christmas Books” (*Saturday Review* 21 Oct. 1893). In the preface to *The Green Fairy Book*, Lang had previously indicated that a different type of book would appear the following year, and it is perhaps because of this deviance from the “Fairy Book” designation in the title that Longmans clearly demarcates *The True Story Book* as still...
part of Lang’s series. Indeed, advertisements for this book also contain lists of the
earlier volumes with references to their editions (*Blue*, fifth; *Red*, third; *Green,* second; and *Blue Poetry Book, Saturday Review* 21 Oct. 1893). However, this same
designation as “Mr. Lang’s Christmas Book” had not been used for the earlier *Blue Poetry Book*, published when only two of the Fairy Books were available, which implies that there is an internal change in the way Longmans perceives the books.

With the release of the fifth volume, advertisements no longer represent the volumes as individual books, or even as companions. Instead, advertisements represent the new volume as part of a series. It is at this point that Longmans begins to use phrases like “Mr. Lang’s Christmas Book” to brand the volumes as a series and it is here that Altick’s notion of “brand name psychology” becomes most evident. *The True Story Book* derives its status because of its connection to the series and each book evokes the larger brand under Lang’s name. Lang, as discussed in the previous chapter, was building his own reputation as a literary critic and fairy tale-scholar. These strategies of foregrounding Lang’s name and establishing a series title signify Lang’s reputation outweighs the merits of the individual volume. Kimberly Lau argues: “Serialization heightens the sense of desire and anticipation implicit in the acquisition of any commodity” (70). It is less significant that Longmans, as a commercial company, began to capitalize on the profit potential in the commodification of the individual volumes as a series, but that it takes until the fifth volume for this commodification to really commence.

It is this delayed awareness of the potential for these books to become a series of Fairy Books that further exposes the rather accidental creation of the collection.
Moreover, it is notable that this awareness occurs at the point in which Lang has publicly stated in the preface to *The Green Fairy Books* that the fairy books had come to an end. In 1893, Longmans’ marketing strategy directly contradicts Lang’s claims in 1892; a contradiction that subsequently challenges Lang’s preface to *The Yellow Fairy Book* the following year, in which he claims that child readers are clamouring for more Fairy Books. Certainly, the question arises whether it is Longmans or children who want more of Mr. Lang’s Christmas Books.\(^{145}\)

Advertisements for *The Yellow Fairy Book* in 1894 continue to include the heading “Mr. Lang’s Christmas Book” as do advertisements for *The Red True Story Book*, *The Animal Story Book*, and in most advertisements for *The Pink Fairy Book*. In their own magazine, however, Longmans visually situates *The Pink Fairy Book* within the context of the rest of the series on a full-page advertisement showing “Works By Andrew Lang” (*Longman’s Magazine* Aug. 1897). Lang, of course, was a regular contributor to *Longman’s Magazine* and his name would have been well known to readers. With such an approach, Longmans did not allow readers to forget that there are other volumes of the series and implicitly reminds purchasers to ensure that they own a complete set, because “Serialization may in itself be a primary motivation for purchasing the individual volumes (Lau 79). Longmans’ advertisements therefore induced purchasers to buy the latest volume to complete the set, but also encourage them to fill in any gaps. This encouragement must have also been evident in bookshops as well. With the release of each new volume, older volumes were often

---

\(^{145}\) Although the Longmans Archive at Reading University contains ledgers with records of printing numbers, sales figures, and translator fees, no mention of internal editing, production, or marketing discussions and decisions appears in the archive index or any of the ledgers related to the Fairy Books.
reprinted if quantities were low.\textsuperscript{146} It is likely that in 1897 \textit{The Pink Fairy Book} would be on display and physically surrounded by the other volumes from the series, just as the book is surrounded by other titles in the advertisement.

The advertisement strategies for \textit{The Grey Fairy Book} change again and incorporate two new tactics. First, Longmans subdivides their book lists and place the newest Fairy Book volume under the sub-section “New Juvenile Books” (\textit{Saturday Review} 10 Nov. 1900). This sub-section marks the first time that Longmans has separated the series from its adult list thereby unmistakably identifying the target audience. Second, Longmans also adds a new series brand, and advertises \textit{The Grey Fairy Book} under “The ‘Fairy Book’ Series” (\textit{Longman’s Magazine} Apr. 1901).\textsuperscript{147} The conceptualization of a series began with \textit{The True Story Book} in 1893, but in 1900 the series acquires a concrete title and one that continues until the series’ conclusion.

With the addition of the heading “Mr. Lang’s Christmas Book” in 1893, Lang’s name often appears twice in the advertisements: as associated with the series in general, and as the editor of the volumes, whereas Ford’s name is occasionally omitted in advertisements throughout the 1890s. In December of 1900 \textit{Longman’s Magazine} contained a full-page advertisement solely featuring the Fairy Books series, which again lists all the books along with their number of illustrations and prices and the heading “Mr. Lang’s Christmas Book”. In addition, the advertisement places Ford’s name, for the first time, above the volume title and it includes one of Ford’s

\textsuperscript{146} Printing quantities and schedules are discussed in the following chapter, and also appear in Appendix D.

\textsuperscript{147} This new brand title appeared in December 1900 issue of the \textit{Pall Mall Magazine}, but is not widely used until 1901.
illustrations from the latest volume (Fig. 7). White’s article on “Children’s Books and their Illustrators” had appeared the year before, possibly inducing Longman’s to capitalize on Ford’s artistic reputation and add him to the series’ brand.

![Figure 7: Advertisement for The Grey Fairy Book in Longman’s Magazine (Dec. 1900)](image)

The advertisement interweaves references to both Lang and Ford. The title of the volume is placed between Lang and Ford on either side and an illustration from the
book is included. The layout of the entire advertisement repeatedly draws attention to the significance of both the literary components of the books – denoted by Lang’s name and the book titles – and the visual components – symbolized by Ford’s name, the image, and the number of illustrations included in each book. Not all later advertisements follow this trend – an advertisement in the Review of Reviews for The Crimson Fairy Book includes the phrases: “Mr. Lang’s Christmas Book”, “Edited by Andrew Lang”, and “Mr. Lang’s Fairy Book Series”, with no direct mention of Ford’s name, only that the books are “Fully Illustrated”. Nevertheless, Ford’s name does frequently appear in advertisements around the same time that his name starts appearing more prominently on the books themselves.

Most of the advertisement strategies that appeared in the 1900 season continued for the remainder of the series, alternatively employing both “packaging psychology” and “brand name psychology” that Altick identifies. Advertisements for The Violet Fairy Book, for example, mention the addition of the color illustrations, but a Longman’s Magazine advertisement includes a reproduction of the binding rather than any illustration (Fig. 8). This image acknowledges Ford’s contributions to the series, but the further significance of the advertisement might rest with the public’s recognition of the series’ packaging. As Lau argues, “Serialization plays off of [the] desire for repetition and the expectation of similarity by foregrounding the sense of familiarity through the physical and ideological sameness that marks the series” (79). Although the addition of color illustrations would change the books’ internal

---

148 Illustrated advertisements began to appear in print towards the end of the 1890s. Longman’s Magazine contains minimal images or illustrations, so this advertisement for The Grey Fairy Book was unusual.
appearance, the binding for The Violet Fairy Book is uniform with previous volumes. Reproducing images of the binding does not showcase the newness of this volume; instead the advertisement draws attention to the book’s packaging. This advertisement capitalizes on the recognizable and familiar components of the book and, despite textual references to the new color illustrations, visually reminds readers that this volume is part of a series.

![Fig. 8 Advertisement for The Violet Fairy Book in Longman’s Magazine (Dec. 1901)](image)

Alternatively, although advertisements for the remainder of the series often include references to Christmas, from The Grey Fairy Book forward, the collection is most often advertised as “The Fairy Book Series” or “Mr. Lang’s Fairy Book Series”, with this heading in bold, or in another large font type. Such strategies make the series title prominent, repeatedly reminding readers that the latest volume is one part of a larger brand. Furthermore, later volumes are not advertised individually, but are frequently followed by a list of the previous volumes (Fig. 9). Although the advertisement sizes
vary from half-page to full-page, the number of books is extensive and continually
draws readers’ attention to the whole series.\footnote{149} Listing all the books is an indicator
that each new volume is an addition, not a replacement. The volumes are not
interchangeable; they are cumulative. The latest volume is insufficient on its own; it
belongs within a collection.

Fig. 9 Advertisement for The Lilac Fairy Book in the Bookman (Dec. 1910)

\footnote{149} Although these advertisements include all of Lang’s Christmas books, not only the Fairy Books, occasionally the books are split into two lists thereby distinguishing the Fairy Books from the other Christmas books (Bookman Dec. 1910).
The advertisements discussed here primarily appeared between October and December of each year and the significance of Christmas within the marketing strategies should not be ignored. Although Longmans employs a variety of marketing techniques to reach the public, the Fairy Books are continually advertised as presents. Advertising the books as “Mr. Lang’s Christmas Book”, “Books for Presents”, or “Books for Christmas Presents” do convey this connection. If there is any ambiguity, however, a November Review of Reviews advertisement for The Pink Fairy Book makes the association indisputable (Fig. 10). The advertisement shows Santa Claus holding a list of “New Books”, which starts with The Pink Fairy Book, and further down a list of “Books Previously Published”, which includes the first eight volumes. The Fairy Books are inseparable from the Christmas book market, which is itself a nineteenth-century phenomenon.

Moore provides a detailed overview of trends in the Christmas book market and although she does not discuss fairy tale publications generally (or Lang’s books specifically) many of her findings are applicable to this genre. Thomas Hervey’s The Book of Christmas (1836) is one of the earliest books to encourage “the preannual and literary annual gift-giving tradition” (Moore 102). As Mark Connelly argues in Christmas: A Social History (1999), the commercialization of Christmas cannot be solely attributed to Charles Dickens, although it did expand significantly in the 1840s (10). Regarding books and seasonal publishing cycles, Eliot explains that “In terms of the proportion of the annual production, the Christmas season was at its largest

150 For examples, see advertisements for The Orange Fairy Book and The Olive Fairy Book.
between the 1870s and the 1890s, when it never took less than 35.1% of the decade’s recorded output” (Some Patterns 36). Lang and Longmans series capitalized on these wider commercial trends. As demonstrated previously, Lang’s series, as it had become by The True Story Book, was specifically marketed as a Christmas present.

Fig. 10 Advertisement for The Pink Fairy Book in Review of Reviews (Nov. 1897)

The correlation between Lang’s collection and Christmas elucidates two nineteenth-century trends. First, the emergence of the phenomenon of Christmas as an English

---

151 For a comprehensive assessment of the significance of seasonal publishing, see S. Eliot Section B “The Monthly Pattern of Publication 1800-1919” (26-42).
tradition and second the tendency to publish fairy-tale collections during the Christmas season. Connelly challenges the prevailing assumption that Christmas was a Victorian phenomenon, but he does contend that the nationalization of Christmas, specifically the perception of Christmas as an English holiday, developed within the nineteenth century (9-43). Moore focuses specifically on the contributions of print culture to the holiday traditions. She proposes that “the outpouring of Christmas print materials gave further instruction on how to celebrate this new symbol of Englishness, the Victorian Christmas” (1) and suggests that much of what came to be understood as comprising Christmas traditions is rooted in the books about Christmas published each year. Lang’s books do not contain stories specifically about Christmas, but Moore explains that as early as the 1840s “the term ‘Christmas book’ [had become] a marketing slogan rather than an indication of holiday content” (100).

By the end of the nineteenth century the connection between Christmas and book buying was as firmly entrenched as the connection between Christmas and fairy tales.

By 1891 a clear association between fairy-tale publications and Christmas existed, with a reviewer from the Bookworm declaring: “The approach of Christmas invariably synchronizes with the publication of books of Fairy Tales” (“Our Note-Book” 3). That this declaration appears so early in the Fairy Books’ history is a reminder that the connection cannot be entirely attributed to Lang’s series. The tradition started earlier in the century with the first translation of the Grimms’ collection into English. Although dated 1823, Edgar Taylor and David Jardine’s German Popular Stories appeared in advertisements and notices in December of the previous year (German Popular Stories. Advertisement.). Cruikshank’s famous
frontispiece shows a man reading a book to his audience in front of a roaring fire, a staple feature in fairy-tale retellings and Christmas time. Another edition of the collection was published in the following decade with the title *Gammer Grethel; or, German Fairy Tales and Popular Stories*. A December 1839 advertisement in the *Examiner* categorizes the book under “Appropriate Winter Presents” (Rev. of *Gammer Grethel*). Moreover, the book’s preface states:

> Gammer Grethel was an honest good-humoured farmer’s wife, who, a while ago, lived far off in Germany. She knew all the good stories that were told in that country: and every evening about Christmas time, the boys and girls of the neighbourhood gathered round her, to hear her tell them some of her budget of strange stories. (xi)

In this edition, Taylor and Jardine’s translations from the 1823 and 1826 volumes are reorganized and structured according to the twelve nights of Christmas. These volumes pre-date the rise of the Christmas season in the 1830s and 1840s; nevertheless, they demonstrate that the Grimms’ collection, like the Christmas tree, exemplifies the importation of German traditions into British Christmas traditions during the mid-nineteenth century. In the “Prefatory Remarks” to her 1855 Grimm edition, Matilda Davis states:

> Most persons in this country have already learned to connect Germany with some of their enjoyment at this season, for the German or Christmas-tree has becomes so popular, that it promises to be a permanent source of delight among us. . . . In presenting our young readers, therefore, with a new translation of a selection of “Grimm’s Fairy Tales,” we feel assured, that they will welcome as an amusing

---

152 Eliot, for example, notes that “The creation of the Christmas card, the introduction of the Christmas tree and the other traditions associated with Germany (partly through the influence of the Prince Consort), the sequence of Dickens’s Christmas stories and the celebration of the season in such novels as *Pickwick Papers* (1836-37) all had their rise in the 1830s and 1840s” (S. Eliot 32-33).

153 In “*Home Thoughts and Home Scenes*: Packaging Middle-class Childhood for Christmas” (2008), Lorraine Janzen Kooistra identifies the gradual appropriation of German traditions into English Christmases.
and acceptable visitor, this contribution to the pleasures of their Christmas fireside. (iii-iv)\textsuperscript{154}

By 1889 the connection between fairy-tale publications and the Christmas season was entrenched enough in England for a reviewer in the \textit{Saturday Review} to muse that “The scarcity this season of fairy-tales is something remarkable” (“Christmas Books VIII”) and the association between Christmas and fairy tales continually appeared in printed reviews between 1889 and 1910. In 1903 a reviewer ruminates: “From the kitchen at Christmas time comes forth the work of the cook’s hands, the Christmas puddings and the mince pies, and out of the booksellers’ shops by the hands of Santa Clause, come the fairy tales” (“Fairy Tales and Others” 650) and in 1908 the December issue of the \textit{Bookman} included an article entitled “Christmas in Fairyland” (129-132). While the correlation between Christmas and fairy tales certainly was not limited to the book market, Christmas and printed collections of fairy tales were intimately associated.\textsuperscript{155}

In 1890 a reviewer for the \textit{Pall Mall Gazette} declared that “The most satisfactory of the Christmas books are the fairy tales, ancient and modern” (“Some Books of Fairy Tales”) and a review of Christmas books for the \textit{Saturday Review} on 22 December 1900 is entitled “Once Upon A Time” (Dewar). These two reviews demonstrate that both fairy-tale publications and Christmas draw upon nostalgia and evocations of the past. Kuper argues that Christmas is a time of nostalgia and writes:

\begin{quote}
Christmas celebrations in recent times express nostalgia for community and security, lost to us but genuinely expressed in the
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{154} In addition, John Ruskin’s edited edition of Taylor’s \textit{German Popular Stories} (1868), Mrs. H.B. Paull’s \textit{Grimm’s Fairy Tales} (1873) and Walter Crane’s \textit{Household Stories} (1882) were all released in time for the Christmas season.

\textsuperscript{155} For further reading on Christmas and fairy tale pantomimes, see Mark Connelly’s chapter “John Bull and the Christmas Pantomime” in \textit{Christmas: A Social History} (44-60).
Victorian ceremonies. That there is an element of nostalgia can hardly be doubted. Christmas cards often evoke a rural, snow-bound, carriage-driven traditional Christmas, and the Christmas dinner may be celebrated in a style that evokes images of Victorian plenty and order. The greeting ‘Merry Christmas’, with its echoes of ‘Merrie England’, may itself hint at a world we have lost. (161)

Moore, likewise, comments that Christmas in the nineteenth-century came to incorporate associations with the past and that visual representations of “old” or “feudal” times frequently appeared in print (138). Connelly further notes: “Christmas was something played out against the tapestry of courtly romance and the last remnants of a chivalrous age” (18). Fairy tales likewise draw upon the past.

Famously quoting from Chaucer’s “The Wife of Bath”, Stella Beddoe reminds: “The time of the fairies was already set in the distant past as early as the fourteenth century” (23). Lang himself traces the belief in fairies to the “pre-Christian” world (Kirk xxxv). Fairy tales continue to evoke imaginings of the past either through stock fairy-tale phrases such as “Once upon a time” and “they lived happily ever after”. Moreover, although fairies were already considered part of the past in the medieval period, subsequent fairy tales tend to incorporate medieval allusions such a feudal cast of characters – Queen, Princess, miller – and through the imagery that persists in the accompanying illustrations, where heroes and heroines are dressed in medieval garb and landscapes are both absent of industry or mechanical transportation and littered with stone castles and simple machines. Ford, for example, uses a range of medieval motifs in an illustration from “Long, Broad, and Quickeye” (Fig. 11). As Charlotte Gere states, “Fairy mythology fitted well into the Romantic medievalist’s

156 See also fairy tale illustrations from Cruikshank and Crane. For further reading about fairies and the consequences of the Industrial Revolution, see Bown’s chapter entitled “Queen Mab among the steam engines”.
concept of the uncorrupted, pre-industrial innocents . . .” (64). Christmas and fairy tales are not interested in the future; they both insist on a backward gaze.

Fairy tales and Christmas both evoke the past, but they also both conjure associations of childhood. Despite J. R. R. Tolkien’s question of whether there is any “essential connexion between children and fairy-stories” and his further explanation that “the association of children and fairy-stories is an accident of our domestic history” (emphasis in original 34), the bond between the two remains firmly intact. The various editions of the Grimm collection published throughout the nineteenth century occasionally acknowledge an adult readership, but they are predominantly addressed toward a child audience. Although it might seem impossible now to separate
Christmas from childhood, Moore suggests that connection between children’s books and Christmas book market emerges later in the nineteenth century (103-104). She further argues that “The evolving children’s book market coincided with heightened Christmas consumerism and Christmas became the season of children’s books” (106). One reviewer of Christmas books captures this nostalgia and writes: “How enviable is the grown-up person, who, whether under pretense of reviewing, or condescension to childish interests, can spend hours in the lovely world of imagination where only children are supposed to enjoy themselves” (“Fairy Books and Others” viii). The world of imagination is designated for children, but it is adults who discuss it longingly.

The connection between Lang’s Fairy Books and Christmas is not relegated to Longmans’ advertisements, but exists in reviews as well. According to a review in the Bookman, “It would scarcely seem a real Christmas without a Fairy Tale book from Mr. Lang” (Rev. of The Grey Fairy Book). Ridge offers the following narrative:

I know little nephews and nieces who have an appetite for plum pudding that makes me tremble, who look forward to the topical allusions in their drawing-room pantomime with keen and impatient interest, who cling to a belief in Santa Claus despite the agnosticism of ten-year-old brothers, because they know that doubt in existence of the mysterious donor destroys at once his philanthropic intentions; but to whom Christmas would not be really Christmas without a book ‘edited by Andrew Lang.’ (12)

Indeed, according to the Athenæum, The Blue Fairy Book is Lang’s “charming gift” and then the following year The Red Fairy Book is referred to as “Mr. Lang’s latest gift” (“Christmas Books” Rev. of The Blue Fairy Book, “Christmas Books” Rev. of The Red Fairy Book 736). Lang functions as a literary Santa Clause, venturing to fairyland and bringing stories back to Britain in time for Christmas.
Conclusion: “To My Readers”

Christmas as a nineteenth-century tradition; the emergence of the Christmas book market; the role of fairy-tale collections and the Christmas book market in the nineteenth century; fairy tales and Christmas as evocations of the past; the connection of childhood to both fairy tales and Christmas: all of these concepts are implicitly and explicitly present in Longmans’ marketing strategies for the Fairy Books. Kooistra indicates that “The gift book’s connection to Christmas did not reside in any explicit reference to the season that produced it, but rather in its ability to package and sell the cultural associations central to it” (154-155). The recognition that the Fairy Books series is part of both the Christmas market and the children’s market is evident in the advertising strategies discussed here, where the books are subsumed under both headings. The series starts with the “old” favorites in The Blue Fairy Book and although “new” stories and characters are introduced later, through the repetition of motifs and stock characters, stories from the later volumes continually recall stories from earlier ones. Most of all these books contain tales of fairyland, an always-lost land that can be remembered, but never visited. The Fairy Books were covered with allusions of fairyland on the front covers and the spines, thereby visually identifying the books as fairy books whether they are on a shelf or lying on a table. Longmans repeatedly recommends the books as Christmas presents; Lang addresses the preface of The Green Fairy Book “To My Readers” as if addressing a gift tag. The books are covered in colored cloth binding and stamped with gold illustrations and therefore the physical form of the books materially elicits visions of Christmas presents. The cover
of *The Brown Fairy Book* embodies all of these associations (Fig. 12). A child, holding a fairy book, gazes in wonder at the inhabitants of fairyland who have leapt out of the book in her hands.\textsuperscript{157} Purchase this book, shoppers are promised, and give the gift of fairyland for Christmas.

Fig. 12 Cover of *The Brown Fairy Book* (1904)

As discussed in Chapter One, scholars have continually claimed that Lang’s collection brought the fairy tale back into vogue. Such an assertion contains some validity as a reviewer the *Saturday Review* reported in 1894: “Not within our recollection has there been a book season so prolific in fairy lore as the present” (‘Christmas Books” 579). The following chapter examines the reception of Lang’s

\textsuperscript{157} *The All Sorts of Stories Book* and *The Red Book of Animal Stories* also contain images of children reading books. In *The Red Book of Animal Stories*, the book that the girl and boy are reading has a similar cover to *The Red Book of Animal Stories.*
collection to further interrogate Lang’s influence on fairy-tale publications between 1889 and 1910, but the production history of the Fairy Books and the marketing strategies that Longmans employs to advertise the collection provide extensive insight into the Fairy Books’ popularity. Howsam argues: “Books in series exhibit useful evidence not only in the rise of the series as a publishing form, but also of trends in popular tastes and interests” (6). That the Fairy Books comprise a series is vital to interpretation of the books and corresponds with Lau’s supposition that “The series frame adds layers to the already nuanced and involved meanings of the tales themselves while also creating intertextual meanings for the series as a whole” (71). Finally, Altick’s notions of “packaging psychology” and “brand name psychology”, as evident in the paratextual elements, must be recognized as extremely influential to the development of this particular series. As such, perhaps the popularity of the Fairy Books reflects the commodification of the books as a series rather than simply an increasing interest in fairy tales.
Chapter Four
“The Master of Fairyland” and “A College of Muses”:
The Fairy Book Series in Published Reception, 1889-1910

This chapter compares two claims often made about the Fairy Books with the immediate published reception of the series. Green, as discussed in Chapter One, suggested in 1946 that Lang was responsible for bringing the fairy tale back into fashion at the end of the nineteenth century. By offering a bibliographic history of fairy tales and fairy-tale collections throughout the nineteenth century, Chapter One of this thesis suggests that in fact the fairy tale was not out of fashion in the late 1880s. This chapter continues to interrogate Green’s claims by investigating whether there was an increased interest in fairy tales in the 1890s and 1910s and, if so, whether Green is correct in attributing this interest to Lang’s Fairy Books. Second, scholars have often reiterated that Lang was not solely responsible for the Fairy Books. His wife, Leonora Blanche Alleyne Lang (1851-1933), and a number of other people contributed translations and adaptations to the series. Their contributions have not gone unnoticed: Susina indicates that “to think of Lang as the sole or even the primary editor of the color fairy books is a mistake” (‘Andrew Lang’177) and mentions L. B. Lang’s linguistic aptitude. Although the translators’ contributions are acknowledged, scholars, such as Gillian Lathey, in her book, The Role of Translators in Children’s Literature (2010), and Ana Smol, in “The ‘Savage’ and the ‘Civilized’: Andrew Lang’s Representation of the Child and the Translation of Folklore” (1996), tend to lament that Lang intentionally rendered the translators

158 Henceforth Leonora Blanche Lang is referred to as L. B. Lang.
159 Other brief mentions of Leonora Lang or the other translators include Calkins (190), Matsumoto (123), and Warner (Fantastic 199).
invisible, while failing to contribute any further information about the translators.

This chapter investigates the immediate reception of Lang’s series to determine how he and his series were represented in the periodical press from 1889 to 1910, and suggests that pervading representations of the series in recent scholarship are not always rooted in the primary evidence.

In their essay “A New Model for the Study of the Book”, Adams and Barker divide reception of books into four subgroups: popularity, direct documentation, influence, and use. These categories of reception inform the remainder of this study. This chapter examines the popularity and direct documentation of Lang’s Fairy Books, while Chapter Five assesses the series’ influence and the conclusion looks at use. The first section of this chapter examines the Fairy Books’ popularity as evident in the sales and printing numbers available from the Longmans’ archive. Certain trends and anomalies emerge in both the printing quantities and sales numbers that reveal consumer habits. The second and third sections of this chapter analyze the direct documentation by looking closely at published reception of the collection in periodicals such as the Bookman, Athenaeum, Review of Reviews, Saturday Review and selections of regional newspapers. Overall, published reviews of Lang’s Fairy Books are generally positive and many of them repeatedly use the same imagery to describe the series; for example, previous chapters demonstrate that many reviews comment on the series’ quality or commend Ford’s illustrations. As the series develops, however, an interesting concept emerges and reviewers often describe Lang
as “that great student and master of fairy folk-lore” (“Juvenile Literature” 732). Such imagery is noteworthy, because, as explained in Chapter Two, Lang himself was often perceived as “fairy-like”. Finally, the third section of this chapter demonstrates that reception history, through an analysis of direct documentation, can shed light on the frequently ignored role of the translators. Perrault, the Grimms, and numerous other collectors of fairy tales often identify the source for their stories to be a female narrator, but, as discussed in Chapter One and returned to here, this female narrator was often an artificial construction used to authenticate the collection of stories and distance editors from their own collections. Lang also utilizes this distancing technique and denies authorship of the fairy tales contained in his books. Nevertheless, a number of women actually contributed to the Fairy Book project. This section examines the paradox, present in Lang’s series, between the tradition of attaching an imagined female narrator to collections of fairy tales and the historical actuality of L. B. Lang’s contributions to the series. It proposes that scholars, as opposed to Lang, have perpetuated the invisible female narrator, by ignoring Lang’s prefaces and the series’ immediate reception.

### Popularity: Sales and Printings

Adams and Barker indicate that “The popularity of a work can be measured in a number of ways; the most obvious is the number of times it was reprinted and the number of copies printed” (28). Figures for printings and sales of the Fairy Books are

---

160 A reviewer in the *Athenaeum* calls Lang “a master of fairy lore” in a review of *Prince Prigio*, once again reminding that Lang had already achieved this reputation prior to the series’ start (“Christmas Books” 669).
available in ledgers housed by the University of Reading Special Collections and are compiled here for the first time.\textsuperscript{161} The Blue Fairy Book was first published in August of 1889 with an initial print run of 5000. The original format\textsuperscript{162} was reprinted in November with a print-run of 2000 and again in December with an increased print-run of 3000, bringing the total number of copies printed in 1889 to 10,000. Acknowledging the significance of The Blue Fairy Book’s re-printings, a December review in the Pall Mall Gazette comments: “the public has already shown its appreciation by demanding a second edition” (“Christmas Books—IX” 7). The Blue Fairy Book went into its fourth reprinting in September 1890, with a print-run of 5000, a month before The Red Fairy Book was published. Advertisements marked The Red Fairy Book as the “companion” to The Blue Fairy Book and the timing of this reprint demonstrates Longmans’ intent to cross-market the two companion volumes. Furthermore, the rapid succession of reprints indicates The Blue Fairy Book’s immediate popularity.

Although Susina asserts that The Blue Fairy Book was a publishing risk for Longmans (“Andrew Lang” 179), such was certainly not the case for The Red Fairy Book, which had an initial print run of 10,000 in October 1890, followed by a second printing of 5000 in December 1890, bringing both The Blue Fairy Book and The Red Fairy Book to a total of 15,000 copies in circulation by December 1890. The Green Fairy Book likewise had an initial print-run of 10,000 in 1892 at the same time that The Blue Fairy Book went in to its sixth re-printing and all three volumes were once

\textsuperscript{161} For sales and printing charts, see Appendices D and E.
\textsuperscript{162} The Blue Fairy Book appeared in two formats in 1889 and in an edition of seven small volumes in 1890. See the conclusion to this dissertation for further information about these editions.
again reprinted in 1893. Of the twelve volumes in the series, eleven were first printed in August or early September. The one exception is *The Red Fairy Book*, which was not printed until October of 1890. Given this late date, *The Red Fairy Book* is likely a belated response to the popularity and success of the first volume. Had Longmans and Lang initially intended to follow up with a second volume, it is probable that the process would have been started early enough to print the book in August.

*The Pink Fairy Book* had an initial print-run of 12,500 and went into its third re-printing before the end of the series. *The Grey Fairy Book* and *The Violet Fairy Book* each had initial print runs of 10,000. By the end of the series in 1910 *The Grey Fairy Book* had been re-printed twice and *The Violet Fairy Book* three times. *The Crimson Fairy Book* had an initial print-run of 12,500 and was also re-printed three times before 1910. The success of these two particular volumes is possibly due to the color plates. *The Brown Fairy Book* had an initial print-run of 12,500; the print-runs for both *The Orange Fairy Book* and *The Olive Fairy Book* were 10,000, although *The Lilac Fairy Book*’s initial print run was reduced to 7500. The overall consistency in initial printing numbers and the continual reprints of all the earlier volumes both verify that the series remained popular until its conclusion.

Longmans’ sales records are also housed in the Reading Special Collections and likewise remain unpublished. The records available start in 1896; the first seven years appear to have been lost. Sales records provide further evidence for the series’

---

163 *The Red Fairy Book* and *The Green Fairy Book* were also printed in the large, collectors’ editions (113 copies and 150 copies respectively).
popularity and although all twelve volumes retailed for 6s, there are distinct patterns in the sale figures, which offer some evidence for consumer habits. Between 1896 and 1910, the first four volumes of the series sold an average of 1783 books of each color per year. First year sales for the remaining eight volumes range from 9342 (The Pink Fairy Book) to 5386 (The Lilac Fairy Book) indicating that overall Longmans’ forecast for initial printing numbers were accurate and not overly ambitious. Subsequent yearly sales for the last eight volumes are remarkably lower than those for the first four. For example, while the average yearly sales of The Blue Fairy Book between 1896 and 1910 is 2205. The average yearly sales for later editions, such as The Pink Fairy Book between 1899 and 1910 and The Olive Fairy Book between 1909 and 1910 are 641 and 426 respectively. Because of, or in spite of, being the first in the series, sales figures of The Blue Fairy Book remained relatively constant between 1896 and 1910. Conversely, later volumes sell well initially, but sales numbers drop considerably after the first year. While the series as a whole is often congratulated for its international and exhaustive stories, the buying public seemingly preferred the “old favorites”. In 1910 The Blue Fairy Book sold 2457 copies. The Red Fairy Book, The Green Fairy Book, and The Yellow Fairy Book sold 1620, 1562, and 1032 respectively, whereas The Pink Fairy Book, The Grey Fairy Book, The Crimson Fairy Book, The Brown Fairy Book, The Orange Fairy Book, and The Olive Fairy Book all sold less than 500 copies each. From these comparisons, certain conclusions can be made. Although each book sold well in its first year, the subsequent yearly sales for the first four volumes are drastically higher than those for the other eight books. The one exception is The Violet Fairy Book; its subsequent yearly sales are not as high as the first four volumes’ yearly sales, but are notably higher than the
yearly sales of last seven. Although the series is repeatedly perceived as maintaining a certain literary consistency, the novelty of color illustrations in *The Violet Fairy Book* could be a factor in its relative success.

The *Bookman* twice included a column entitled “The Most Popular Books of the Season” in December 1902 and again in December 1905 as “The Best Selling Books”. While it is unfortunate that such a column was not a regular feature of the *Bookman*’s Christmas Number, its two appearances do offer some further contextual evidence for the series’ relative popularity. In 1902, Lang’s name, or direct reference to the Christmas book of that year *The Book of Romance*, was listed as one of the most popular sellers in Juvenile Literature by booksellers in ten out of twenty-three cities across Britain. Two years later, Lang’s books do not fare as well, and only make the list in four out of twenty-nine cities listed. Nevertheless, Lang’s inclusion in such lists is further testament to the series’ success. Longmans’ large print-runs for each volume, the steady sales numbers throughout the series’ continual positive reception, and booksellers lists all coincide to establish the overwhelming popularity of Lang’s Fairy Book series.

“Direct Documentation”: Lang as the “Master of Fairyland”

Direct documentation is another category in Adams and Barker’s discussion of reception; they suggest: “Direct documentation consists of two kinds, published and

---

164 Other listings in this category include: *Peter Rabbit*, Kipling’s *Just So Stories*, Henty’s books, Meade’s Books, and Florence Upton’s *Golliwog’s Air-Ship*.

private responses. The public responses consist primarily of reviews and answers or commentaries which are published” (27). This section is primarily interested in the first category of direct documentation and examines the public responses through printed reviews.\footnote{166} The positive reception of *The Blue Fairy Book* is covered in Chapter One, and, as its companion volume, reception of *The Red Fairy Book* is similarly positive. There are some alterations, however, in the way that reviewers engage with this second book. “Last winter,” one reviewer begins, “Mr. Andrew Lang made many children and not a few adults happy by his ‘Blue Fairy Book.’ This season he presents us with a companion volume, called ‘The Red Fairy Book’ (6s., Longmans) and so called not because of any specifically bloodthirsty elements in the stories, but solely on account of the colour of the cover” (“Book Lover’s Gossip”).

This particular reviewer then declares:

> On the whole, I prefer the red volume to the blue. In the former, the stories were, so to speak ‘old friends with new faces’ – that is to say, we had, the well-known ‘Little Red Riding Hood’ and kindred tales told over again, but acceptable because told with more of literary form than we are usually accustomed to. Here, however are stories, of which I think I may say that the majority of my readers have hitherto been as ignorant as I must confess to have been. (“Book Lover’s Gossip”)

This review touches on an idea that is demonstrated repeatedly in the reception of *The Red Fairy Book*. That is, Lang’s first volume was delightful because it rendered the familiar stories in a literary style not usually seen in these favorite stories, although, as discussed in Chapter Two, reviewers rarely define what “literary” means. The second volume, according to the review, maintains literary consistency,
but also introduces new stories to the reader, which then strengthens the volume.\textsuperscript{167}

*The Red Fairy Book*, however, depends upon the success of preceding volume. Because of the comfort of the familiar material offered by *The Blue Fairy Book*, reviewers, and readers, were more prepared to follow Lang and Longmans into unknown territory, an exploration that becomes more pronounced as the series continues.

The merit of the second volume is evident by repeated proclamations that “It is certain that this volume will be, and deserves to be, a favourite of the season” (“Literature” Rev. of *The Red Fairy Book*). Other reviews are equally fervent in their praise of the volume.\textsuperscript{168} This praise does not diminish in subsequent reviews of *The Green Fairy Book*. A *Leeds Mercury* review indicates: “The approach of Christmas will doubtless bring many beautiful volumes for the young to the shop windows and counters, but we doubt whether any of them will prove more charming or attractive than ‘The Green Fairy Book’” (“Literary Arrivals” 1892). *The Green Fairy Book* retains the same superlatives as *The Red Fairy Book*. Among fairy tale collections, it is “the most interesting” (“Christmas Books for Young People”); it deserves to be “The first to be mentioned” (“Christmas Books (Sixth Notice)”; and according to the *Liverpool Mercury*:

\textsuperscript{167} See also the *Glasgow Herald*, which states: “This collection is altogether a notable one, and perhaps the more interesting that the majority of the tales are not as familiar as those the ‘Blue’ collection” (“Literature” Rev. of *The Red Fairy Book*) and the *Standard*, in which the reviewer comments: “This volume, like its predecessor of last year, is full of the fairy tales of many nations, and is likely to be even more appreciated than the last, inasmuch as the stories, with but few exceptions are new to English readers” (“Christmas Books (Fourth Notice)”).

\textsuperscript{168} According to *Murry’s Magazine*, “No better gift could be devised for children than this collection of fascinating stories” (“Our Library List”). Likewise, the *Standard* declares: “The book can be most warmly recommended as a Christmas present for little ones” (“Christmas Books (Fourth Notice)”).

---

166
Pictures and prose are so well matched here that one need only say that a more beautiful story-book hardly ever came from the press. Nothing more artistically exquisite ever came from the pencil of genius than we have in these woodcuts; as for the stories the aged are to be pitied who cannot share in the joy of the young people in perusing these lively pages. (“Literary Notices” Rev. of The Green Fairy Book)

In the oft-quoted preface to The Green Fairy Book, Lang claims that it is “the third and probably the last, of the Fairy Books” (ix). The preface concludes with the following farewell:

If we have a book for you next year, it shall not be a fairy book. What it is to be is a secret, but we hope that it will not be dull. So good-bye, and when you have read a fairy book, lend it to other children who have none, or tell them the stories in your own way, which is a very pleasant mode of passing the time. (xi)

Reviews of The Green Fairy Book echo this presumed closure of the series, but it is a review of The Red Fairy Book in the Leeds Mercury that proves to be prophetic. The reviewer suggests: “there seems every promise that this admirable series will exhaust the colours of the rainbow before it comes to an end” (“The Week” 1890). It is, interestingly, the secret book that Lang promised that holds the key to Lang’s return to Fairyland.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the book that Lang and Longman’s released in the Christmas season of 1893 was entitled The True Story Book; it was not their first venture into non-fairy tale territory as Longman had published Lang’s Blue Poetry Book in 1891. Nevertheless, around 1893 Longmans began to conceive of the books as part of a larger series, and The True Story was very specifically marketed as the next volume in the collection and not as an individual book. The True Story Book contains stories about historical figures ranging from Bonnie Prince Charlie to
Montezuma, mostly from Europe, North, and South America. Lang readily acknowledged that a book of history lessons is perhaps not what his audience wants or anticipates. He opened the book’s preface with the following:

It is not without diffidence that the editor offers *The True Story Book* to children. We have now given them three fairy books, and their very kind and flattering letters to the editor prove, not only that they like the three fairy books, but that they clamour for more. What disappointment, then, to receive a volume full of adventures which actually happened to real people! (ix)

These letters provide further evidence, albeit circumstantial, of the popularity of Lang’s collection. *The True Story Book* includes three indications that, due to the overwhelming response from readers, Lang and Longmans will publish an additional Fairy Book the following Christmas. The first reference to Lang’s plans for the following book is found at the end of the Dedication, in a poem “To Francis McCunn”. The final verse states:

For Fairyland’s the land of joy,  
And this the world of pain,  
So back to Fairyland, my boy,  
We’ll journey once again! (viii)

The second reference to Lang’s imminent return to fairyland is located at the beginning of the preface in the quotation above. If there was any doubt as to Lang’s meaning or intent for next year’s volume, however, the preface ends with the comment: “And, after all, we may return once more to Fairyland, after this excursion into the actual workaday world” (xiv). In the Christmas season of 1894, Lang and Longmans did indeed return to Fairyland with the publication of *The Yellow Fairy Book*. 
In the preface to *The Yellow Fairy Book*, Lang once again defers to young readers as the cause for this return to Fairyland. In this preface, quoted previously in Chapter Two, states: “The Editor thinks that children will readily forgive him for publishing another Fairy Book. We have had the Blue, the Red, the Green, and here is the Yellow. If children are pleased, and they are so kind as to say that they are pleased, the Editor does not care very much for what other people may say” (ix). If *The Red Fairy Book* was the result of the overwhelming success of *The Blue Fairy Book*, *The Yellow Fairy Book* was the result of the popularity of the emerging series. *The Red Fairy Book* is a response to sales, but *The Yellow Fairy Book* is a response to children’s letters, at least according to Lang’s preface in *The Yellow Fairy Book*. This position is very subtle, though, because it slowly begins Lang’s own distancing of himself from the series. The quotation does not simply highlight the popularity of the series, but it also notes Lang’s reservations about continuing. Accordingly, he claims the return of the series is not his idea, but he is instead complying with demand.

Previous critics emphasize Lang’s increasing frustration with the series as evident in the prefaces,169 whether or not their assessment is correct, it is apparent in this preface that Lang is responding more to the public than his own inclination. In addition, this volume had the largest initial print-run yet at 15,000 copies, thus indicating Longman’s anticipation that there was a strong market for this series. It is with this fourth volume, however, that the drive behind the series appears to shift. A reviewer for *The Red Fairy Book* in 1890 had already put in a request for further volumes: “Let us have a *White Fairy Book*. . . . Then we will sing the Red, White, and Blue with joy, and perhaps put in a plea for a Green one . . . and thereafter for a

---

169 See Susina, who refers to Lang’s “progressively more crotchety prefaces” quoted in Chapter Two.
Yellow . . . and so on, and so on” (“Two Fairy Books” 594-595). Although, *The White Fairy Book* never came to fruition, Lang and Longmans, of course, complied with the *Green* and *Yellow Fairy Books*. The books become a response to consumer demand for more fairy books edited by Lang, a shift that is further evident in the other reviews of *The Yellow Fairy Book*.

While reviews of the first three volumes often mention the literary quality of the text, reviews of *The Yellow Fairy Book* tend to focus on the readers. For example, according to a review in the *Morning Post*:

> The ‘Yellow Fairy Book,’ edited by Mr. Andrew Lang, admirably illustrated by Mr. H. J. Ford, and published by Messers. Longmans and Co., though coming after several volumes of the variously-coloured series to which it belongs, proves by the attractiveness of its contents, and the great variety of the authors whose works have been drawn upon, how vast is the store of delightful old fairy-lore that happily maintains its hold over the young readers of the present day. (Rev. of *Yellow Fairy Book*)

This review recognizes the genesis of the series that Longmans was beginning to incorporate into its advertisements, and it further conveys a similar perspective to that of Lang’s, which is present in the preface to *The Yellow Fairy Book*, and it indicates that readers want fairy tales generally. Certainly reviews on the first three volumes referenced the child reader, but reviews of *The Yellow Fairy Book* emphasize the connection between the child reader and this particular series. A review in *Bookman*, for example, states: “The green, red, and blue fairy books need this one for a neighbour. Possessors of the others will think there is no falling off, and begin to speculate about next year’s colour” (Rev. of *The Yellow Fairy Book*).\(^{170}\) It is not

---

\(^{170}\) See also the *Derby Mercury*, which states: “It needs little prophetic power to be able to say that Mr. Andrew Lang’s ‘Yellow Fairy Book’ (Longmans) will be anxiously looked for by the children”
simply that children like to read fairy tales, but that children want fairy tale
collections edited by Andrew Lang. Lang’s name, which is used heavily in
Longmans’ branding strategy becomes inextricably intertwined with fairy tales. As
discussed in the following chapter, other authors and publishing houses were
producing their own fairy-tale collections at this time, but it is specifically the
contributors and producers of Lang’s book that deserve “a hearty vote of thanks”
(“Literary Notices” Rev. of The Yellow Fairy Book). If The Yellow Fairy Book can be
regarded as Lang’s return to Fairyland, according to reviews of the series, the
remaining eight volumes in the series define Lang as having privileged access to
Fairyland. The series offers unmistakable proof of Lang’s knowledge of fairy stories
and that his research capabilities are inexhaustible: a refrain that echoed throughout
reviews on all the later volumes. Further apparent is the shift from reviewer surprise
and delight at a new release to reviewer expectation that the series will continue.

A review in the Derby Mercury captures both the expectation for the series as well as
remarking on Lang’s unlimited store of tales. The reviewer writes:

Mr. Andrew Lang has returned to the fairies in his search for the
material for the children’s volume which is now annually expected of
him. They have had two true story books and one about animals, and
fairy books blue, red, green, and yellow. This one is pink, “The Pink
Fairy Book” (Longmans), and although in the beginning if we
remember aright, there was some doubt as to whether the supply of
good fairy stories was equal to the demand, we hazard the opinion that
Mr. Lang will be out of colours before he is out of stories. At any rate,
the new pink collection is quite equal to any of its predecessors. . . .
We are quite sure that the “Pink Fairy Book” will prove as fascinating
and absorbing as the most exciting critic could demand. (“Literature”
Rev. of The Pink Fairy Book)

(“Literature” Rev. of The Yellow Fairy Book) and the Standard, which notes that Lang’s “knowledge
of telling his stories in exactly the style that children most appreciate” (“Christmas Books” Rev of The
Yellow Fairy Book).
The classic fairy stories from Perrault, the Grimms, and *Arabian Nights* that appeared in *The Blue Fairy Book* are generally regarded as the familiar, classic fairy tales; however, Lang’s continual publication of fairy stories shows reviewers that fairy tales are not limited to these classics. Although slightly more reserved in its praise, a review in the *Pall Mall Gazette* agrees that the continuance of Lang’s series has caused a surprising realization that fairyland is much more expansive than the reviewer had been aware. The review indicates:

> On the making of variously coloured fairy books there would seem to be practically no end so long as translators and editor sustain their industrious researches among the *märchen* of other lands, with their yearly result of a pleasing *olla podrida* composed of the fruits of their labours. This time it is a “Grey Fairy Book” (Longmans, Green, and Co.), the ninth of its line, that is offered to the youthful public. And, considering how many seasons, each year under a differently hued flag, the fields of faëry have been shorn by the same practised hand, it is, at the first blush, surprising to note the harvest of fairly unfamiliar *contes* Mr. Lang has contrived to gather in this pretty volume. (“Five Fairy Books”)

The refrain of Lang’s inexhaustible knowledge of fairyland continues in *Pall Mall Magazine*: “*The Violet Fairy Book* (Longmans) arrives at a point when Mr. Andrew Lang has nearly exhausted the rainbow, even if he has not exhausted the more gorgeous circle of his own knowledge and memory” (Chesterton 574). The *Saturday Review* claims in 1904: “Mr. Lang finds the resources of cosmopolitan fairydom inexhaustible” and two years later repeats itself by calling Lang’s resources “an inexhaustible mine” (“Fairies and Fancies Old and New” vi; “Children’s Books” viii). These reviews call attention to impressions about the series that have lasted long after the end of its publication and still resonate in scholarship. Lang is regularly represented as having access to stories not available to other people or writers. Most people are aware of the classic tales from Perrault, Grimm, d’Aulnoy, or Andersen,
but Lang, according to reviews, seems to have unlimited access to a secret store of fairy tales. It is not simply that he does research or finds stories that other people could find were they to try – reviewers do not mention his inexhaustible collection of books or trips to the library, even though Lang clearly provides printed sources in his citation notes. Instead the narrative that emerges in these reviews is that Lang somehow has access to “Fairyland”, as if it is a geographical space populated by fairy-tale narratives. Fairyland, however, is selective; not everyone can visit, but Lang, according to the reviews, has brought stories from there to distribute to others.

A reviewer for the *Bookman* emphasizes Lang’s privileged access and writes:

> Mr. Lang will fall short of colour-terms before he falls short of fairy-tales. We offer him a suggestion—let him ask the fairies to tell him of new colours, and then he could come out each Christmas with a shade unknown to us who work all the year round among primary hues” (Rev. of *The Olive Fairy Book*).

Lang is a translator of sorts, but also an importer of goods from another place. He is represented as a mediator, journeying to fairyland, discoursing with the fairies, and then bringing back narrative gifts for the public: gifts they in turn can purchase and give as Christmas presents.

In such representations of Lang, he becomes unique because he can access a place that is inaccessible to others, but these representations also serve to distance him from the stories in the series – a narrative further present in his own prefaces. He does not create the stories: he simply imports them to Britain. That the books are released in time for Christmas becomes doubly poignant. The books are not only gifts from adult to child but also Lang’s gift from Fairyland to Britain. A review in the *Graphic* states: “No Christmas would be complete without a volume from Mr. Andrew Lang,
who seems to have an unrivaled knowledge of the best source whence fairy tales may be obtained” (“The Christmas Bookshelf” 802). Although during the release of *The Crimson Fairy Book* a review in the *Athenæum* indicates that “We are beginning to look forward with regret to the time when the fairy stories will be used up” (“Juvenile Books”), four more volumes were subsequently published. There is no question that future Christmases will bring more books edited by Mr. Lang and book buyers are already anticipating books not yet collected from fairyland or published in Britain.

Eventually the series is regarded as reaching a point where it hardly needs to be reviewed as the public is assumed to be familiar with it. According to the *Athenæum*, “The ‘Fairy Book Series’ due to Mr. Lang’s beneficent intervention has long passed into that happy region of success where critics are of no account, even if they were needed” (“Our Library Table” Rev. of *The Lilac Fairy Book*). A review in the *Saturday Review* states: “One touch of fairydom makes the whole world kin, and to that end Mr. Lang works every year with his now famous colored fairy book” (“Fairies and Fancies Old and New” vi) and according to *Review of Reviews*, “One of the classics of the Christmas literature for the young is the volume of Fairy Tales edited by Andrew Lang, and issued about this time every year by Longmans, Green, and Co. We shall soon be measuring the young lives of our children by that row of crown octavo volumes in various colours on the nursery bookshelves. It is already a

---

171 See also reviews, which state: “Christmas for many favoured children would not be complete without one of Mr. Andrew Lang’s story books” (“New Art Books”). A review in the *Academy Christmas Supplement* notes: “The Violet Fairy Book (Longmans. 6s) is worthy its predecessors. Where the stories come from, and how many there are still to come, are problems which we cannot begin to answer. It is Mr. Lang who can find them if anyone is able (“Books for Children” 552).

172 See also reviews, which refer to the series as “what is now a well-known collection” in *Review of Reviews* (“Old Fairy Tales and New Gift Books” 608) or comment: “We have here another of the well-known and popular series of many colours” (“Christmas Literature” Rev. of *The Pink Fairy Book*).
long row” (“Books of the Month” 539). Certain assumptions permeate these reviews: that Lang and Longmans will continue to publish volumes of fairy tales indefinitely and that consumers will continue to purchase them. These reviews also favour the series over the individual volume, which echoes the marketing strategies that Longmans develops, but also emphasizes purchasing the books over reading them. The Review of Reviews review, for example, accentuates the physical nature of an expansive series over the quality of literary content. New volumes are simply additions to the series; they are to be purchased for the purpose of being placed on the nursery shelves.

The shift in the way reviewers describe The Blue and Red Fairy Books as Lang’s gifts to the public to representing Lang as having access to fairyland in later reviews is striking. The perpetuation of the series, in their eyes, serves to substantiate Lang’s privileged access to fairy tales, but also characterizes the limitless possibilities for the series. As a reviewer of The Olive Fairy Book noted in the Bookman:

We have often fancied, when year after year the fairy-books of many colours have dropped out from Messrs. Longmans’ offices, that Mr. Andrew Lang must be the possessor of a Fairy Casket into which he has only to dip his hand and out come tales by the score. And, truly enough, this year Mr. Lang has breathed to us the secret—he does possess the Fairy Casket, or, in other words, Le Cabinet des Fées, and our hearts grow jubilant at the news, for now we may feel sure that, unless we live to a quite unreasonable age, for us there will always be the annual Fairy-book. (emphasis in original Rev. of The Olive Fairy Book)

There is always the potential for more: more fairy tales, more books, more colors. According to the conceit that develops in the reviews, since Lang draws on a repertoire of stories from fairyland, there is no way of knowing how long the series can continue. There was no obvious or planned conclusion for the series. After
Lang’s preface in *The Green Fairy Book*, which turns out to be incorrect, neither Lang nor Longman’s offer a definitive statement as to how the series will be defined. It continues to grow book by book. The Fairy Book series, like Fairyland itself, becomes seemingly infinite. The series does end, of course, with *The Lilac Fairy Book*. Lang passed away almost exactly two years after its publication, but Longmans did not attempt to continue the series. Although a variety of other people contributed to the production of the Fairy Book series, as discussed in the next section, Lang’s name was so completely intertwined with the series that it ceased to exist without him.

“Mrs. Lang did the rest”: Leonora Lang and the Female Translators

In *The Role of Translators in Children’s Literature* Gillian Lathey includes a small section entitled “Lang’s Invisible Storytellers”, in which she argues: “Ultimately, the result of Lang’s cursory, belated or non-existent accreditation has been an effacement of a group of female translators whose work remains largely unknown” (106). To sustain her argument that Lang fails to acknowledge the contributions of the translators to the Fairy Book series, Lathey situates the female translators, such as Lang’s wife, as neglected and invisible. Lathey’s position is not new, however; much twentieth- and twenty-first-century criticism recognizes that there were translators involved in the Fairy Book project and then proceeds either to mention that more research could be done in this area or to move quickly on to a new topic. Green, in his 1946 biography, briefly states: “The tales themselves were retold, translated or adapted mainly by Mrs. Lang, though in the earlier volumes she had the assistance of
many people, including May Kendall, Florence Sellar and Sir W. A. Craigie” (82). Green does not discuss their contributions further, nor does he consider any of the implications of the role these translators might have played in shaping the series. Montenoyhl similarly mentions the translators, and provides biographical information on one or two of them, but then concludes the discussion by suggesting that “This circle of educated women around Lang remains a fertile area for future research” (237). McKinnell offers material evidence of L. B. Lang’s involvement by referencing letters L. B. Lang wrote to Mrs. Both-Hendricksen, which are housed in the Toronto Public Library. Ana Smol’s 1996 article is one of the few published pieces to specifically focus on the translators, although her discussion of them is also rather limited. Her interpretations coincide with Lathey’s and she also represents the series’ translators as “invisible” (181). Lamentations about the invisibility of the translators in the Fairy Books project, as expressed by Lathey and Smol, however, fail to recognize the full history of the Fairy Books and do not take into account immediate reception of the series. Indeed, as this section suggests, this ongoing representation of the Fairy Book translators as being ignored or invisible is based less in historical accuracy than in a tendency to perpetuate the lament of the imagined, vanishing female storyteller.

In the final volume of the series, The Lilac Fairy Book, Lang uses the preface as a platform to address misconceptions about the collection, provide background for the project, and revisit the question of authorship. As is usual in these prefaces, Lang adopts a conversational style of address:

The object of these confessions is not only that of advertising my own fairy books (which are not ‘out of print’; if your bookseller says so,
the truth is not in him), but of giving credit where credit is due. The fairy books have been almost wholly the work of Mrs. Lang, who has translated and adapted them from the French, German, Portuguese, Italian, Spanish, Catalan, and other languages. (vi-vii)

The credit that Lang confers upon his wife in this final volume is not unique. He recognizes her contributions – as well as the contributions of the group of women who worked with her in translating and adapting fairy tales for the collection – in every other volume. The prefaces of the first six books contain passing references to L. B. Lang, along with other translators. In the preface to the seventh volume, The Violet Fairy Book, Lang acknowledges a few translators and then clearly states: “Mrs. Lang did the rest” (viii). He revisits the issue in subsequent volumes: “With these exceptions . . . all the tales have been done, from various sources, by Mrs. Lang, who has modified, where it seemed desirable, all the narratives” (The Orange Fairy Book vii) and “Mrs. Lang, except in cases mentioned, has translated and adapted to the conditions of young readers the bulk of the collection . . .” (The Olive Fairy Book ix). In the prefaces Lang consciously publicizes his wife’s involvement. Lathey suggests that “Lang’s policy was to give a brief mention to translators and to those who abridged—in his words ‘condensed’—tales in his prefaces, then to cite sources for the tales on the contents page in a rather haphazard manner” (104).

Lathey’s book covers translation in children’s literature across several centuries and so her section on Lang is one small part of a larger study. However, maintaining the argument put forth in Chapter Two, this chapter continues to suggest that Lathey’s position fails to recognize the nuances of Lang’s writing style and how he used his prefaces as platforms to summarize and promote his own theories regarding fairy tales.
First, the prefaces for the Fairy Books are all brief and range from one paragraph to a few pages. While they often correspond to and corroborate his opinions about folk and fairy tales as published elsewhere, the prefaces to the Fairy Books are not the forum that Lang used to fully elaborate and explain his theories. Only the collectors’ editions of *The Blue Fairy Book* and *The Red Fairy Book* contain extensive essays. To chastise Lang for his brief mention of the translators, then, is to ignore the context of the prefaces in general. They are all brief, abridged introductions to the study of fairy tales and to the stories that follow. Conversely, in these introductions, Lang often used the space to reiterate two claims: that he did not invent the stories and that the stories were translated.

Lang actually dedicated a significant amount of space in the prefaces to explanatory notes on the translation process, and the introduction to the collectors’ edition of *The Blue Fairy Book*, in addition to containing an investigation of the source material for each story, also mentions the specific translators for individual stories. Although Smol argues that “The invisibility of Mrs. Lang and her cohorts to most general readers reproduces the invisibility of translators in literary culture generally” (181), her readings do not fully appreciate the extent to which Lang’s prefaces draw attention to the translators. Lang mentioned the translators in *all* of them. Despite Smol’s claims, there is little evidence that either Lang, or Longmans, attempted to make the translators invisible. Conversely, in several volumes, each individual story contains the note “translated from . . .” clearly demarcating that the story was indeed translated. Most individual stories include a footnote or endnote indicating the
original language and/or written source for the story so it becomes possible to connect story to translator. The preface to *The Red Fairy Book*, for example, states:

The tales have been translated, or, in the case of those from Madame d’Aulnoy’s long stories, adapted, by Mrs. Hunt from the Norse, by Miss Minnie Wright from Madame d’Aulnoy, by Mrs. Lang and Miss Bruce from other French sources, by Miss May Sellar, Miss Farquharson, and Miss Blackley from the German, while the story of ‘Sigurd’ is condensed by the Editor from Mr. William Morris’s prose version of the ‘Volsunga Saga.’ (n. pag.)

Within the volume, “Soria Moria Castle” contains the endnote “From P. C. Asbjornsen” (41); Margaret Hunt, therefore, translated this particular story. Any story credited to Madame d’Aulnoy would have been newly translated by Minnie Wright. By comparing the comments in the prefaces to the footnotes and endnotes of each tale, it is possible to ascribe specific translators to many of the stories. Lang does express exasperation for people who inquire whether he has written the Fairy Books, but it does not follow that he attempted to render the translators invisible.¹⁷³ In noting the background of the translations, Lang distinguishes between fairy tales, in a general sense, which are often thought to have been transmitted orally, and the particular tales in the series, which have been translated, edited, and adapted by named individuals.

Based on Lang’s acknowledgement in the prefaces and the payment records located in the Longman ledgers, housed in Reading University Special Collections, the full list of translators is as follows: Miss Minnie Wright, Miss Sylvia Hunt, Miss Violet Hunt, Miss May Sellar, Miss May Kendall, Mrs. Hunt, Messers. Smith and Elder, Miss Farquharson, Miss Blackley, Lady Francis Balfour, Miss Bruce, Miss Alma

¹⁷³ ‘Invisibility,’ of course, is a general concern in translation studies. For further reading in this area, see Lawrence Venuti’s *Translator’s Invisibility: A History of Translation* (1995).
Alleyne, Miss Eleanor Seller, Mr. Craigie, Miss Cheape, Miss Thyra Alleyne, Miss Lang, Mrs. Beveridge, Rev. A.S. Cripps, Mrs. Dent, Mr. Fairbridge, Major Campbell, Mrs. Skavgaard-Pedersen, Miss Harding, Miss Christie, and Mrs. Lang. The total number of contributors to the collection, including Lang, is twenty-eight and, of these, twenty-one are women.

L. B. Lang retains a privileged position in the group of translators and it is worth exploring, as far as it is possible, her influence on the collection. In scholarship she is often mentioned, but rarely is any additional research provided about her or her contributions to the series. Whether her absence is due to lack of interest or lack of available research is unclear. It is difficult to determine her exact contribution, but there are fragments of evidence available for investigation. As stated, two of the thirteen additional Christmas books, *The Book of Saints and Heroes* and *The Strange Story Book* were published after Lang’s death and L. B. Lang oversaw the final stages of publication. The *Nottingham Guardian* contains the following review:

> The series of fairy books, blue red, green and other colours in successive years, edited by Andrew Lang, have come to an end in the sense that Death has stilled for ever the busy pen of that tireless and variously gifted writer. As we have more than once explained to our readers, although it was not realised by everybody, his editing in this instance was limited to a most effective supervision and to furnishing a preface, the principal part of the work of collating and translating

174 Sir William Alexander Craigie (1867-1957), a lexicographer and philologist, also edited his own collections of folk-tales entitled *Scandinavian Folk-Lore* in 1896 (Aitken). He contributed a number of Swedish and Danish stories to the Fairy Books.

175 Arthur Shearley Cripps (1869-1952) was a missionary in Africa (Baker) and contributed stories from Uganda to *The Orange Fairy Book*.

176 Kingsley Ogilvie Fairbridge (1885-1924), an educator (Wylie), contributed stories from Rhodesia to *The Orange Fairy Book*.

177 Major Campbell contributed Indian stories to the *Brown* and *Orange Fairy Books*. No further information is provided, including his first name, however, it is possible that this Campbell is Sir James McNabb Campbell (1846-1903), an ethnologist stationed in Bombay, who collected material on Indian history and folklore (Brown F. H.).
stories from the traditional literature of various countries being done by Mrs. Lang, who had prepared before her husband’s death the accustomed volume for this year under the title of ‘The Book of Saints and Heroes’. (6)

Moreover, letters housed in the Toronto Public Library, provide additional support for her involvement. In one of the letters, L. B. Lang writes:

I do not know if you are aware that every word of the two Romance books, Princes and Princesses, the Red Book of Heroes, the All-Sorts, & the new Saints and Heroes were written by me. I also wrote the bulk of all the Fairy Books after the first four, & edited (& often wrote) those contributions by other people. (I also include the Animal Books & The True Stories.) My husband never saw the stories till they were ready for Press, when he read them through & wrote the Preface. (emphasis in original “Letter to Mrs. Both-Hendricksen” 2-3)\(^{178}\)

The Reading University Special Collections archive includes ledger books, which detail payments made to Lang, the illustrators, and the individual translators. Lang received £100 for *The Blue Fairy Book* and his payment increased over the subsequent three books. Starting with *The Pink Fairy Book*, and for the remainder of the seven books, he received a flat rate of £200. Translators were paid per story and their payments fluctuate. The remuneration L. B. Lang received is particularly revealing. In the table, the first column lists the payments L. B. Lang received for each volume, the second lists the total payments received by other translators, and the third column shows the percentage of the total translators’ fees that L. B. Lang received (Table 3).

Given the marked increase of L. B. Lang’s payments, her progressive involvement in the translations is apparent and her claims for having written a “bulk” of the Fairy Books appears substantiated. While L. B. Lang’s stipend increased, the combined

\(^{178}\) Note the difference, regarding Lang’s contributions, between this letter and her introduction to *The Strange Story Book* quoted in Chapter Two.
payment for the other translators decreased. Based on these figures it is possible to recognize that by the end of the series, she was translating over 75% of the stories in each volume. L. B. Lang’s influence was undoubtedly extensive. It is, however, difficult to determine the exact spheres of influence in this venture. Per his request, most of Lang’s papers were destroyed after he died and there is little other primary documentation to provide evidence for a comprehensive understanding of the division of labor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Blue Fairy Book</th>
<th>Compensation: Leonora Lang’s</th>
<th>Compensation: Other translators*</th>
<th>Leonora Lang’s percentage of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>£0.00</td>
<td>£74.00</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Red Fairy Book</td>
<td>£8.00</td>
<td>£80.90</td>
<td>9.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Green Fairy Book</td>
<td>£15.00</td>
<td>£87.00</td>
<td>14.71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Yellow Fairy Book</td>
<td>£18.00</td>
<td>£137.00</td>
<td>11.61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Pink Fairy Book</td>
<td>£63.00</td>
<td>£87.00</td>
<td>42.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Grey Fairy Book</td>
<td>£87.14</td>
<td>£61.45</td>
<td>58.64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Violet Fairy Book</td>
<td>£113.11</td>
<td>£36.01</td>
<td>75.85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Crimson Fairy Book</td>
<td>£97.00</td>
<td>£21.30</td>
<td>81.99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Brown Fairy Book</td>
<td>£114.50</td>
<td>£35.15</td>
<td>76.51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Orange Fairy Book</td>
<td>£129.10</td>
<td>£18.95</td>
<td>87.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Olive Fairy Book</td>
<td>£87.12</td>
<td>£61.27</td>
<td>58.71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Lilac Fairy Book</td>
<td>£124.15</td>
<td>£24.33</td>
<td>83.61%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* does not include Andrew Lang’s wages

**Table 3 L. B. Lang and Fairy Book Translators’ Compensation**


179 See footnote 118.
indicating the book is “By Mrs. Lang. Edited by Andrew Lang” (Fig 13). Prior to
1908, in the prefaces to these Christmas books, Lang states repeatedly: “All the rest
are by Mrs. Lang” (The Animal Story Book ix): “All the romances are written by Mrs.
Lang, except the story of Grettir the Strong” (Book of Romance ix); and “All of the
stories in this book were done by Mrs. Lang, out of the old romances” (Red Book of
Romance viii). The prefaces to The Book of Princes and Princesses and The All Sorts
of Stories Book likewise both mention L. B. Lang. Such substantial and frequent
mention of L. B. Lang’s name refutes claims that either Lang or Longmans attempted
to render her contributions invisible.

Neither is L. B. Lang invisible in the immediate reception of the Fairy Books or the
other Christmas Books. She often received direct mention by reviewers, who
acknowledge that “Mrs. Lang, as usual, has been the editor’s chief assistant, and she
has modified the narratives where necessary to make them wholly acceptable to the
twentieth-century child” (“Children’s Books”) and “The selection of stories before us
is admirably varied, and most of them are translated or adapted by Mrs. Lang” (“Our
Library Table” Rev. of The Lilac Fairy Book).\textsuperscript{180} In a review for The Lilac Fairy
Book, the Review of Reviews refers to the volume as “now a well-known collection of
folk-lore, edited by Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Lang” (“Old Fairy Tales and New Gift
Books” 608), thus recognizing both husband and wife for their contributions.

Certainly not every review of the Fairy Books mentions L.B. Lang directly, but her
continual presence in reviews indicates that her contributions to the Fairy Books did

\textsuperscript{180} See also reviews in Review of Reviews, which states that “Year by year Mr. Lang, with the aid of
his wife, collects his fairy tales from many lands . . .” (“Books of the Month” 539) or the Saturday
Review, which reminds readers that “Mrs. Lang does the bulk of the work of translation . . .” (“Fairy
Stories and Others” viii).
not go unnoticed and Longmans includes her name in advertisements, although Lang’s name remains in the series brand even after his death.

Interestingly, a review for *The Book of Princes and Princesses* in the *Saturday Review* employs phrasing that is generally reserved for Lang himself. The reviewer
writes: “Mrs. Lang at last comes to the end of her seemingly inexhaustible supply of fairy stories. At least we have no coloured Fairy Book this year . . .” (Rev. of *The Book of Princes and Princesses*). Usually, it is Lang who is often referred to as being the “master of fairyland” or having “inexhaustible” access to fairy stories. In this review, both husband and wife possess privileged access to this territory of fairy tales. *The Book of Princes and Princesses* contains L.B. Lang’s name on the title page, but reviewers do not appear to distinguish this book from the other Fairy Books. According to a review in the *Review of Reviews*, “*The Book of Princes and Princesses* (Longmans. 6s.) is in the direct line of succession to the Blue and the Red and the Yellow Fairy Books which Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Lang have given us in the past” (“New Gift-Book for Christmas” 481). The review implies that Lang and L.B. Lang’s contributions are indistinguishable and it is their joint efforts that have been instrumental in the Fairy Book and Christmas Books series.

Of all the translators, L.B. Lang maintains a privileged position, but the other translators are far from being invisible. Reviewers continually note the role of translators in the Fairy Books series and mention that Lang “has been ably assisted by various translators” (“Literature” Rev. of *The Pink Fairy Book*), was “aided, as before, by a college of muses” (“Two Fairy Books”), or had “sympathetic helpers” (Rev. of *The Brown Fairy Book*). A reviewer in the *Liverpool Mercury* writes: “To the ladies, who have so ably translated from Russian, Icelandic, Hungarian, and other more familiar languages, old and young alike accord a hearty voice of thanks” (“Literary Notices” Rev. of *The Yellow Fairy Book*). These reviews cross the
spectrum of the fairy books; therefore translators are acknowledged by reviewers as early as 1890 and continue to the series’ finale in 1910.

Although these general references to the translators might reinforce Lathey’s claims of invisibility, examples of reviewers who refer to translators by name also exist. The *Morning Post* states that the stories in *The Grey Fairy Book* are “translated or adapted by several ladies, among whom may be mentioned Mrs. Lang and Miss Lang” (“Fairy Tales”). An *Outlook* review lists “Mrs. Dent, Mrs. Lang, Miss Eleanor Sellar, Miss Blackley, and Miss Lang” among the translators (“A First Glance” 444), while the *Academy* singles out Alma Alleyne’s translation of “The Snow Queen” as particularly noteworthy (Rev. of *The Pink Fairy Book* 323). The *Review of Reviews* notes that “Mr. Lang has only edited this book: various hands have aided him in the translation and adaptation of the foreign fairy tales: Mrs. Lang, Miss Bruce, Miss May Sellar, and many others have all helped to produce this charming book . . .” (“A Guide to Christmas Literature” 641), thus calling attention to Lang’s limited influence and highlighting the numerous other contributors. It is a review for the *Glasgow Herald* who prioritizes the translators to such an extent that it calls into question Lang’s own contributions: “The translations have been done in a thoroughly charming manner by Miss Blackley, Miss Alma Alleyne, Miss Eleanor Sellar, Miss May Sellar, Miss Wright, and Mrs Lang. What part Mr Lang has had in them is not revealed, but he contributes a pleasant address ‘To the Friendly Reader’” (“Christmas Books” Rev. of *The Green Fairy Book*). According to this reviewer, Lang’s contributions are limited to the preface and it is the translators, listed by name, who receive accolades for this volume. Many of these reviews are likely copying the list
of translators from the volumes’ prefaces, but by doing so they duplicate awareness of the translators’ contributions so that the translators appear in both the prefaces and the reviews. From the numerous reviews cited, it becomes apparent that in the immediate reception the translators were not invisible, but rather were repeatedly, and publicly, recognized for their contributions to the Fairy Book series.

One of the reasons that the translators for the Fairy Book series have become increasingly invisible in scholarship is due to difficulties in research. Marina Warner writes in her preface to *The Red Fairy Book*:

> Many hands, almost invariably women’s, were involved in the Fairy Books in order to achieve this generic effect of genuine, popular transmission. Lang’s faithful team did not feminise the stories, but their numbers reflect the female tradition of hearthside storytelling and contemporary, sensitive refashioning. Lang’s wife Leonora Alleyne worked on all the volumes, with several others whom Lang thanks but whose names as authors don’t come up in literary companions or library catalogues. Yet their skills at retelling, abridging, and rendering into lively and plain English expression become clear when comparing the ornate original of ‘Princess Rosette’ by Madame d’Aulnoy with Miss Minnie Wright’s succinct version. (Preface xv)

As demonstrated, the translators are acknowledged by name in Lang’s prefaces and in immediate reviews, but minimal further biographical information is provided. It is often ambiguous as to whether the individual women lived in London, had professional writing or translating careers, or whether they worked on the project because they knew the Langs personally. Because their names do not appear in catalogues or compendiums, as Warner acknowledges, it proves difficult to conduct further research on these translators. There is a considerable amount of data about the group that remains to be discovered, but some fragments available offer intriguing insight into the series’ influences.
Montenoyhl explains that “Mrs. Alfred H. Hunt is also the Margaret Hunt who had translated the Grimm tales in 1884 and for whom Lang had written the Introduction to the work” (237). Margaret Hunt (née Margaret Raine 1831-1912) is listed in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* as a novelist, regular contributor to *Longman’s Magazine*, and affiliate with women’s rights petitions. The biographer describes her as “confident and outgoing, with a north country wit as blunt as it was sharp” and mentions her connections to Walter Scott, William and Dorothy Wordsworth, John Ruskin (godfather to one of her daughters), Oscar Wilde, Robert Browning, and Julia Margaret Cameron (Saunders 863-64). Two of her three daughters, Silvia and Violet Hunt, also contributed to the Fairy Book series.

Violet Hunt (1862-1942),\(^{181}\) like her mother, was a writer and maintained acquaintances with a recognizable list of nineteenth-century literary figures: H.G. Wells, Rebecca West, Ezra Pound, Joseph Conrad, Wyndham Lewis, D.H. Lawrence, and Henry James.\(^{182}\) Her biographer mentions her series of lovers including a ten-year affair with Ford Maddox Ford, which Belford describes as “one of the saddest stories in literary history: it resulted in scandal, lawsuits, and tabloid headlines” (Belford "Violet Hunt” 875). Lang helped shape Violet’s poetry and was instrumental at getting one of her poems published in *Longman’s Magazine* in 1883 (Belford *Violet* 48). Belford regards Violet Hunt’s novels as “typical examples of the ‘new

---

181 There is no corresponding entry for Silvia Hunt.
182 Schaffer discusses Violet Hunt’s brief relationship with Oscar Wilde in *The Forgotten Female Aesthetes: Literary Culture in Late-Victorian England* 21. Interestingly, scholarship on Margaret and Violet Hunt tends to be limited to mentioning their connections with well-known men from the late-nineteenth century.
woman genre” and mentions that Hunt founded the Women’s Writers Suffrage League.183 “League members,” according to Showalter, “were expected to send frequent letters to newspapers, to contribute to suffrage periodicals, and to write essays, stories, and plays dramatizing the demand for the vote” (219). Showalter identifies Violet Hunt as an “enthusiastic member” and quotes from Hunt’s own memoirs, My Flurried Years (1926). Hunt also published novels, including: The Maiden’s Progress (1894) and A Hard Woman (1895).184 Sutherland’s Longman’s Companion to Victorian Fiction also includes entries on both Margaret and Violet Hunt, although neither provides additional information to augment the Oxford DNB entries. Their involvement in women’s social issues is significant and as writers and social activists, they exemplify the emerging figure of the “New Woman”. Further emphasizing the literary accomplishments of the Fairy Books translators, May Kendall and Lang collaborated on the novel That Very Mab in 1885. Kendall also wrote novels (The White Poppies, 1893) and collections of verse (Songs from Dreamland, 1894). Her poetry appeared in the Saturday Review, National Observer, and Murray’s Magazine. Original stories and poems written by Margaret Hunt, Violet Hunt, and May Kendall also frequently appeared in Longman’s Magazine and were sometimes reproduced in Lang’s monthly column “At the Sign of the Ship”. Finally, in the note to “What the Rose did to the Cypress”, which appears in The Brown Fairy

183 Both the Oxford DNB and The Longman Companion to Victorian Fiction – along with the UK National Register of Archives – credit Violet Hunt as a founder of the WWSL, but other sources, including Elaine Showalter’s A Literature of Their Own, indicate that she was a member and the founders were Cicely Mary Hamilton and Bessie Hatton.

184 A favorable review of The Maiden’s Progress, along with a portrait of Violet Hunt appeared in the October 1894 issue of the Bookman (“Miss Violet Hunt”). See also Barbara Belford Violet: The Story of the Irrepressible Violet Hunt and Her Circle of Lovers and Friends—Ford Maddox Ford, H. G. Wells, Somerset Maugham, and Henry James (1990), which contains a list of published works.
Book, Lang indicates that the story was “Translated from two Persian MSS. in the possession of the British Museum and the India Office, and adapted, with some reservations, by Annette S. Beveridge” (see Appendix B). Annette Susannah Beveridge (1842-1929) was best known for translating Babur's autobiography, the Babur-nama. Scherer indicates that “although this important sixteenth-century classic had previously been translated from Persian into English, [Beveridge] was the first to translate it from the language in which Babur wrote, Chagatai Turkish”. No further information is provided in The Brown Fairy Book about Beveridge’s contributions to this volume, but the reference to her in the note is further reminder of the breadth of linguistic experience the translators possessed.

There are several personal connections to the Langs among the group of translators: Miss Lang is one of Andrew’s nieces; Eleanore and May Sellar are the daughters of his favorite aunt, Florence Sellar; and Alma and Thyra Alleyne were the nieces Leonora. St. Andrews University archives holds a letter written by Thyra Alleyne in 1949 to B Meredith Langstaff, a Harvard researcher interested in Lang. The following letter details several familial relationships present in the project and it is quoted in its entirety:

Dear Sir,
I found your Airletter amongst a pile awaiting me on my return from a 3 weeks’ holiday in Scotland, it is dated Oct. 15th, so I hope there has not been too long a delay in replying to it – I cannot think that the identity of those you enquire about can be of any interest to anyone in the U.S.A., though it thrilled us as a family in the days of our youth when we found our names in print in our Uncle’s publications: but I have no objection to disclosing them to you at your request: Stella Margaret Alleyne is my only Alleyne first cousin – daughter of my aunt, Mrs. Lang’s youngest brother Herbert, who died when she was
very young – she has done much useful public work in her life has a
charming home in Sussex. Alma is my eldest sister, Mrs. Athelstane
Simey, who married in 1911 the Medical Officer of Rugby School for
21 years, who died 4 years ago, long after his retirement & this is her
home now where I am living with her. She was Andrew’s favourite
niece, & often came to stay with him at St. Andrews after my Aunt
returned to open their London house again after their winter stay up
there. She & I were thrilled to be allowed to translate some of the
German fairy stories in the Yellow Fairy Book & she also did some of
the Animal Stories (Alma Margaret Alleyne). I am Thyra, as you will
gather, & as sole executrix of my Aunt, Mrs. Leonora Blanche Lang, I
have succeeded to her office of literary executor to Andrew Lang. It is
tragic that most of his works are now out of print, having been
destroyed in the terrible fire in 1940 when Longmans Green & Co.’s
premises in Paternoster Row were burnt out with the great area
destroyed around St. Paul’s by enemy action. With the shortage of
paper & labour ever since there has been no chance of any reprints of
his writings, except for a limited edition of his own Fairy story ‘Prince
Prigio’, also included in ‘The Gold of Fairmilea’ (sic) – but I was
delighted to hear on a recent visit to Longman’s new premises in
Clifford Street, W.1 that 4 of the Fairy books have so far been reissued
in the U.S.A. with new illustrations, though they will never have the
same appeal to my generation as the original delightful volumes with
the Ford illustrations: – but the modern child may find these more to
taste!

Annabelle was another Alleyne aunt of ours, next to Mrs. Lang in the
family – she would be over 100 if alive still, but she died many years
ago – I have no idea why the ‘Social Origins’ was dedicated to her. I
expect you have read the book on Andrew Lang by Roger Lancelyn
Green, – a young Oxford man, Librarian of Merton College, who has
an extraordinary devotion to Andrew, whom he never saw, of course,
and is collecting everything he can find connected with him in any
way, with a view of presenting it all some day to Merton College,
Oxford, & I have been able to help in a small way from time to time
with things that have turned up of interest to him for this. As you
doubtless know Macmillan & Co. have an edition of Butcher &
Lang’s translations of Homer’s Odyssey selling in the U.S.A., but it
may interest you to know that the Medici Society is about to publish a
new edition of this with the illustrations by the late W. Russell Flint,
R.A. over here, which I hope will appear before long now.

I hope your wife and children enjoyed their trip to England this
Summer – we shall always remember 1949 for its long spell of
beautiful weather!

Yours sincerely,
Thyra B. Alleyne (“Letter to B. Meredith Langstaff”)
The letter confirms that many family members were involved – directly and indirectly – with Lang’s works. Alleyne’s memories of being “thrilled to be allowed” to contribute translations to the collection are also noteworthy.

It is not Lang’s attempt to render the translators invisible that creates complications, but the nature of the research itself. The present study has attempted to accumulate information about the translators to avoid the same conundrum that other scholars have succumb to, namely lamenting the invisibility of the translators while simultaneously failing to offer any further research about them. While this section has argued that the translators were not invisible to the immediate public – they were continually mentioned in reviews and in the Fairy Book prefaces – it recognizes that there is still a tremendous amount of research needed to render these translators more visible for twenty-first-century scholars.

Although this study proposes that Lang did not ignore the translators’ contributions to the Fairy Book project, discussions of “invisible storytellers” are particularly relevant to the fairy-tale genre. According to Smol, “In the Colour Fairy Books . . . the women who translated the stories take on the role of the traditional storytellers, the old wives or the ‘naked savage women’ that Lang identifies as the original tellers (Violet vii)” (181). Smol is accurate in this association and such phrasing does exist very prominently in Lang’s prefaces. Nevertheless, it is not the translators who are invisible, but rather a fictionalized group of women – often the “grannies” in Lang’s

---

185 Chapter Five addresses the cultural implications of the narrator in Lang’s prefaces.
prefaces – who have been added to fill a very prominent position pervasive in the wider context of fairy-tale narratives: that of the ‘original female storyteller’. While Smol conflates the translators with the invisible female storyteller, this study proposes that the two groups are actually treated quite distinctly in Lang’s Fairy Books.

Fairy tales have been a contested space for discussions about whether or not the genre is gendered. Lurie, for example, argues: “For hundreds of years, while written literature was almost exclusively in the hands of men, these tales were being invented and passed on orally by women” (19). Accordingly, storytelling in general, but folk and fairy tales specifically, are the jurisdiction of women and need to be reclaimed from the mostly male, Victorian scribes, who appropriated that feminine tradition. Conversely, Bottigheimer refutes popular representations of the female storyteller: “A virtual mythology has grown up around the notion that women have a special inborn capacity to tell stories” (Grimms’ 10). The Green Fairy Book for example states: “old grannies remembered them, and told them to the little grandchildren: and when they, in their turn, became grannies, they remembered them, and told them also” (ix) and The Orange Fairy Book reiterates that the stories are told “by grannies to grandchildren” (v). This association between fairy tales and women does not reclaim a lost past, but instead, as Bottigheimer, Tatar, and Warner all suggest, subscribes to ideologies in existence in seventeenth century collections by Perrault,

\[186\] Zipes also claims: “The historical re-examination and rediscovery of matriarchal features in folk and fairy tales constitute some of the most important work being conducted in the field” (Introduction 7).
that continue in the Grimm’s collections, and persist through the end of the nineteenth century where they survive, quite plainly, in Lang’s series.

One of the initial challenges in associating women with fairy tales is that the association itself is derived from the same nineteenth-century male collections accused of having stolen the tradition. Tatar notes: “Although virtually all of the national collections of fairy tales compiled in the nineteenth century were the work of men, the tales themselves were ascribed to women narrators” (Classic x).187

Furthermore, the perceived connection between fairy tales and women is reinforced through linguistic associations. Fairy tales, according to Rowe, are understood as extensions of women’s ability to weave, spin, and create tapestries and texts (56).188

Similarly, Warner focuses on the image of the female storyteller from classical mythology through to the seventeenth century and she etymologically intertwines fairy, fate,189 and the female storyteller (Beast 17). She also maintains an ongoing correlation between women and language by reminding: “The connection of old women’s speech and the consolatory, erotic, often fanciful fable appears deeply intertwined in language itself and with women’s speaking roles . . .” (14). She stresses the significance of age and provides evidence, literary and visual, which reinforces the image of the old woman storyteller.190 Lang’s prefaces incorporate all

---

187 Similarly, Kreilkamp argues, the nineteenth century created an imagined storyteller and then attributed an extensive oral tradition to him.

188 For further use of this imagery, see Tatar, who comments on “the art of spinning” (Hard Facts 112) and Warner, who argues in From the Beast to the Blonde: “Spinning a tale, weaving a plot: the metaphors illuminate the relation; while the structure of fairy stories, with their repetitions, reprises, elaboration and minutiae, replicates the thread and fabric of one of women’s principle labours – the making of textiles from the wool or the flax to the finished bolt of cloth” (23).

189 See also Lang’s introduction to Perrault (xxxvi-xxxvii).

190 Warner covers a wide range of material and her references span the classical Sibyls the old Crone, female saints, and Mother Goose (Beast). For an assessment of d’Aulnoy’s appropriation of the female voice in her own fairy tales, see Anne Duggan’s “Female Genealogy” (1998). See also Elizabeth
of these images. Nevertheless this section argues that a distinction should be made between the historical translators, such as L. B. Lang, who actively participated in the project, and the fictionalized “grannies” that Lang writes into the prefaces.

The image of Mother Goose has come to epitomize the concept of the female storyteller. Warner – describing Mother Goose as “an alter ego for Perrault himself which he uses as a cover: he was transmitting the voice of the storyteller, a compound of old woman and child” (Beast 182) – interprets Mother Goose as the female voice used by the male writer to convey a sense of authenticity for the stories. Mother Goose is less a term encompassing the female storytelling collective, but instead is a façade, used to invoke the image of that collective. Mother Goose is not an acknowledgment of real or historical woman, but instead invokes an imagined female. Tatar recognizes that many consider the image of Mother Goose to be nothing more than a collective term for the many elderly peasant women who narrated the kinds of tales gathered by Perrault (Hard Facts 110). Warner stipulates that Mother Goose “may not have been a woman at all, but only a fantasy of nursery, of nurture, of female magic, of woman at the hearth” (Beast 188). Like epics that invoke the Muse to establish legitimacy, fairy tale collections invoke a “Mother Goose”.

Harries’ “Simulating Oralities” (1996) for a discussion of d’Aulnoy and her circle’s tendency to write oral story-telling devices into their written narratives.

191 Perrault doubly displaces authorship in his collection, by placing his son’s name on the title page and the reference to Mother Goose in the frontispiece.

192 For further references on the female narrator, see also Christine Jones, who establishes: “Mother Goose is the most elaborate image of the woman teller because she is a fantastical creature, but she is ultimately not more a construct than other stereotypes of the woman teller such as the spinner and the hag” (61).
The Grimms’ collection exploits a different version of the same female storytelling figure. Rather than giving their stories authenticity through the image of Mother Goose, they attribute their tales to old, German, peasant women. As Warner clarifies, “Like Perrault, who hid himself in the skirts of ma Mère l’Oye, the brothers put on the granny bonnet of Dorthea, icon and voice of the folk” (Beast 193). In English translations, the female storyteller figures most prominently in the 1839 edition of the Grimms tales. *Gammer Grethel, or German Fairy Tales and Popular Stories* contains direct reference to the female storyteller in the title. The preface to this edition then contains an etching of Gammer Grethel along with an explanation of “Who She Was and What She Did”. The preface’s narrator narrates a story of having visited Gammer Grethel “an honest good-humoured farmer’s wife” (xi). Placing himself in the role of the scribe, the narrator explains, “One Christmas, being in that part of the world, I joined the party; and begged her to let me write down what I heard . . .” (xii). That the old, German, peasant woman the Grimms’ invoke was neither old, a peasant, nor German is readily accepted by fairy-tale scholars today.

When Lang writes the “grannies” into his prefaces, he follows a tradition from Perrault, through the Grimms, that is continually repeated in collections of fairy tales published during the nineteenth century. The female storyteller is present in both text and image in other collections published in Britain. *Twilight Tales* ([1882]) contains a

---

193 Many fairy tale scholars write about the Grimms’ collection and for this reason it is not expanded upon here. For further information about their sources and the conflict between the brothers’ representation of the women compared to the historic reality see Alfred and Mary Elizabeth David’s “A Literary Approach to the Brothers Grimm” (1964); Blamires’s “A Workshop of Editorial Practice: The Grimms’ Kinder- und Hausmärchen” (2003); Tatar’s *The Hard Facts of the Grimms’ Fairy Tale; Warner’s From the Beast to the Blonde; Schenda’s “Telling Tales – Spreading Tales” (78); and especially Rölleke’s “The ‘Utterly Hessian’ Fairy Tales by ‘Old Marie’: The End of a Myth”.

194 See also Harries’ *Twice Upon a Time* (30).
frontispiece showing a woman reading fairy tales to the children. According to the preface of *Old Deccan Days* (1868), the stories contained were told to the editor by Anna Liberata de Souza, the Ayah. The book contains a portrait of Anna in the same etched, vignette style used for the portrait of Gammer Grethel that Ludwig Grimm contributed to the second German edition and was repeatedly reproduced in English editions of the collection. Planché’s edition of d’Aulnoy’s *Fairy Tales* (1856) also contains a portrait of Madame d’Aulnoy as the frontispiece.

Fig. 14 Frontispiece for *Twilight Tales* ([1882])
These visual representations of women serve to remind readers that the sources for these written collections are tales narrated orally by women. Lang’s collection does not contain visual representations of the female storyteller, but it, like many other contemporaneous collections incorporate textual allusions. The preface to *Folk-Tales of Bengal* (1883), for example, states:

In my *Peasant Life in Bengal* I make the peasant boy Govinda spend some hours every evening in listening to stories told by an old woman . . . . On reading that passage, Captain R. C. Temple . . . wrote to me to say how interesting it would be to get a collection of those unwritten stories which old women in India recite to little children in evenings . . . . But where was an old story-telling woman to be got? . . . . After a great deal of search I found my Gammer Grethel—though not half so old as the Frau Viehmännin (sic) of Hesse-Cassel— in the person of a Bengali Christian woman, who, when a little girl and living in her
heathen home, had heard many stories from her old grandmother.
(Day vii-ix)

From this preface, it is apparent that the concept that stories must come from women – preferably old women – is so engrained that the editor intently searches for a female storyteller even though “her stock was not large” (ix). References to the female storyteller pervade many of the 1880s publications of fairy tales discussed in Chapter One. The series *Folk Lore and Legends* published by W. W. Gibbings (1889-1890) introduces peasant’s tales as stories “preserved through the lips of old wives” (ix). In *Kaffir Folk-Lore* ([1882]), Theal declares in the preface: “The best narrators are almost invariably ancient dames . . .” (vi). *Fairy Tales Told Again* ([1872]) contains an introduction that narrates a scene of Grandmamma telling stories to the children: “‘Come, my dears, come and listen to me!’ No sooner did Grandmamma say this, than all the little people in the nursery left their pretty little games and swarmed around Grandmamma’s great big chair” (5). The book further reinforces the imagery in frontispiece that illustrates this scene and depicts an older woman reading from a book surrounded by children of various ages, thus echoing the image from *Twilight Tales*. The female storyteller was firmly entrenched in collections of folk and fairy tales in the nineteenth century. Editors invoke her to authenticate their collections and root their publications within a tradition of old wives’ tales.

The prefaces to the Fairy Books comply with this formula and invoke the female storyteller through allusions that “grannies told [stories] to the grandchildren” (*The Lilac Fairy Book* vii). According to these prefaces, stories are told by women, and again specifically, old women. In this way Lang coincides with the tradition of
Perrault and the Grimm Brothers. He distances himself from the collections, claims not to have written the stories himself, and instead insists that the stories belong to “old grannies” or an imagined female storyteller. At the same time, he continually names and acknowledges the group of women, including his wife, who contributed to the Fairy Book project. The prefaces to the Fairy Books, therefore, contain mention of both the imagined female storyteller and the actual female translators, but Lang does not conflate the two and distinguishes between fairy tale narratives in general and his Fairy Books specifically. As Lang insists throughout his studies on fairy tales, it is impossible to know who first told these stories. The ambiguous references to “grannies” in Lang’s prefaces coincide with his insistence that the history of fairy tales eventually becomes lost in ephemeral oral transmission. The translations and adaptations in his books, however, are the concrete results of friends and family who assisted in the project and named in the prefaces. Although the imagined female storyteller remains unknown and invisible in Lang’s books, Mrs. Lang and the translators are fully present and acknowledged.

**Conclusion: Stories from Fairyland to Jutland**

Although Green claims that Lang precipitated a renewed interest in fairy tales, the immediate reception of the Fairy Books does not endorse this position. Instead, reviews represent the collection in a different way and repeatedly promote Lang as having “access to fairyland” and knowledge of an inexhaustible store of tales. The focus, in the direct documentation is not that Lang instigated an interest in the fairy
tale, but that, by possessing knowledge of that inexhaustible mine of stories, he controlled transmission from fairyland to Britain.\textsuperscript{195}

Finally, neither Lang nor Longmans attempted to render L. B. Lang or the other translators invisible. Lang mentions the translators by name in all of his prefaces and their contributions were readily acknowledged in published reception. It is later scholars such as Green, who have tended to disregard L. B. Lang’s contributions to the project, or Smol and Lathey, who lament the invisible female translator, but offer no further research about the translators. A review of The Lilac Fairy Book in the Bookman recognizes the combined efforts involved in the Fairy Book series:

Mr. and Mrs. Lang are to be heartily congratulated on their joint work, which has brought, and continues to bring, delight and pleasure to so many. The stories in the new volume are gathered from all over the world; there are thirty of them, and every one of them a good one, and a fairy story of the right, true sort. (Rev. of The Lilac Fairy Book 97)

This review congratulates Mr. and Mrs. Lang on their “joint work”, but by mentioning that the stories “are gathered from all over the world” it also touches on the increasingly internationalization of the Fairy Books.

Most of the stories in The Blue Fairy Book are the classics that had been transmitted across Europe for several centuries. As the Fairy Books continue, however, the new fairy tales come, not from “fairyland”, but from Asia, Africa, Australia, and South and North America. Following the same pattern of identifying a woman as the source for the stories, The Crimson Fairy Book adds another component to the discourse and states that the stories were told by “peasant or savage grandmothers in many climes”

\textsuperscript{195} The Fairy Books were available outside of Britain. However, because the series was compiled, edited, and produced in England, this study focuses on printed reception published in Britain.
and later that “some savage grandmother told a tale to a savage granddaughter” (v; v-vi). The imagined female storyteller in Lang’s Fairy Books is an imagined indigenous female storyteller. The final chapter in this study examines the increased internationalism of the Fairy Books and argues that the popularity and favorable reception of the series, while certainly attributable to interest in fairy tales, is also related to increasing number of publications about cultures and peoples across the globe. According to a Bookman review, “From Jutland, from Africa, from India, they come, these orange tales; but it make no difference; every man and woman who tells a good tale, and every child who listens, is much the same all the world over. A good tale is a good tale, and we must remember that in this book every one of them came first from fairyland” (Rev. of The Orange Fairy Book 42). The slip from Jutland, Africa, and India to fairyland should not be overlooked and within this context Lang’s designation as the “Master of Fairyland” takes on an entirely new meaning.
Critics in the early 1890s confirm Field’s comments regarding fairy tales and observe a rise in fairy-book publications. A reviewer for the *Academy* in 1890 comments:

> Out of the pile of Christmas books, beneath which our table is at present groaning, fairy tales deserve the place of honour, not only because of their abundance, but because they bear witness to a real revival in literature. The scientific study of folk-lore, after being for some years ridiculed, has at last reached a stage in becoming popular. (“Gift Books”)

Like Field, this reviewer notes the recent shift, but identifies the abundance in fairy tale publications in 1890 that is often overlooked. It is unlikely that *The Blue Fairy Book* could have affected such a rapid change between 1889 and 1890. Furthermore, the review equates abundance of fairy-tale collections with the scientific study of folk lore. The first section of this chapter surveys the wider publishing context of fairy-tale publications from 1889 to 1910 to suggest that Lang’s *Fairy Books* did not single-handedly change the tide of popularity of fairy tales as a number of other collections and series were published concurrently. Such an assertion naturally begs the questions of how or why the popular interest in fairy tales conspicuously emerged at the end of the nineteenth century. The second part of this chapter focuses on a trend visible in both the broad context of fairy-tale publications and specifically in Lang’s collection: the increasingly widening definitions of “fairy tale” to include international stories along with the known European classics.
According to a *Bookman* review of *The Crimson Fairy Book*: “All countries yield their precious fairy-lore to Mr. Andrew Lang that he may make a book for Christmas, and never has he brought together a more thrilling harvest, bound with more gorgeous binding, than this year” (Rev. of *The Crimson Fairy Book* 17). Following Björn Sundmark’s 2005 paper, this study positions the Fairy Books as “part of a colonial discourse” (1) and contextualizes Lang’s series within the larger phenomenon of publishing international collections of fairy tales in England.196 Furthermore, Lathey describes Lang, towards the end of the series, as “Abandoning the objectivity of the anthropologist and assuming the mantle of a representative of the colonial era . . .” (108). Lang’s series, along with other contemporaneous fairy-tale books and series, allowed young readers to collect and display cultural narratives on the nursery shelf.

The Fairy Books were published during the height of the British Empire197 and this chapter examines the Fairy Books’ position within colonial culture between 1889-1910. Sadhana Naithani has significantly expanded the relationship between folk tales and post-colonial theory. In her 1997 article “The Colonizer-Folklorist”, she challenges Richard Dorson’s term “The Overseas Folklorist”, which is a chapter title from his *British Folklorists* (1968).198 The ideological shift between “overseas” and “colonizer” is clear in Naithani’s article:

---

196 As David Spurr explains, the phrase “colonial discourse” can be used to “designate a space within language that exists both as a series of historical instances and as a series of rhetorical functions” (7).
197 In *Orientalism* (1978), Edward Said indicates that “nearly every nineteenth-century writer . . . was extraordinarily well aware of the fact of empire” (14) and Brantlinger identifies the late Victorian and Edwardian periods as the “climax of the British Empire” (227-8).
198 Of “the overseas folklorist” Dorson writes, “In the glorious century of the Pax Britannica, Englishmen traveled, taught, preached, and administered all over the globe” (“Folklore Studies” 309) thus formulating the ideological position that Naithani challenges.
I believe that the relations between political ideology and intellectual pursuits are not only external—that is, not only oriented towards political application—but also fundamentally internal—that is, built into the research methodology itself and expressed in the most ‘genuine’ perceptions and empirical observations about the subject of research. (1)

By rejecting the term “overseas”, or that which is outside the British Isles, Naithani not only challenges the narratives, but how they were/are collected and perceived.

She also problematizes the larger metadiscourse surrounding the field of folkloristics by examining the collectors themselves as agents of colonialism. For example, Naithani clearly situates folk-lore collecting within the framework of the empire and regards it as embodying similar elements of colonial discourse, thereby arguing:

The wealth, richness, and complexity of the folklore was emphasized simultaneously with the ‘poverty of imagination,’ primitiveness, and unculturedness of the narrators and assistants. This contradiction fit into the contemporary logic, justification, and reasoning of the colonial empire. Materially, colonialism had to be profitable for Britain, but spiritually, it was considered to benefit the colonized, who (it was said) needed it. The spiritual need thus justified the material enterprise. (emphasis in original 12)

Similar scholarship is prevalent in the disciplines of anthropology and ethnography, but is surprisingly rare in discussions of folk lore, prior to Naithani’s work, and remains somewhat absent from fairy-tale scholarship.

This chapter assesses Lang’s Fairy Books within the wider colonial context by looking at Adams and Barker’s third category of reception: influence. Influence, they

\[\text{For further reading on post-colonial theory and anthropology, see especially, Fabian’s Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object (1983).}\]

\[\text{The few scholars that have attempted to redress this lack in folk and fairy tales are Naithani in “An Axis Jump: British Colonialism in the Oral Folk Narratives of Nineteenth-Century India” (2001) and “Prefaced Spaces: Tales of the Colonial British Collectors of Indian Folklore” in Giudice and Porter eds. Imagined States (2001).}\]

\[\text{Donald Haase addressed the need for further scholarship in fairy tales in the plenary lecture “Decolonizing Fairy-Tale Studies” at The Fairy Tale after Angela Carter conference at the University of East Anglia, 22 Apr. 2009, which was reprinted in Marvels & Tales 24:1 (2010).}\]
explain, “is the extent to which it can be demonstrated that the publication of a work made a recognizable or measurable difference in what happened after publication” (29). It can be difficult, though, to determine whether the Fairy Books influenced subsequent fairy-tale collections or if the Fairy Books themselves were influenced by prevailing publishing trends. The evidence that Lang’s series was responsible for a change in public taste is not as forthcoming as Green seems to suggest. Only occasionally do authors and editors of fairy-tale collections directly reference Lang or his series. While there are some imitators, especially the two series from Hutchinson & Co. and Raphael Tuck, discussed below, there is minimal conclusive evidence that Lang’s series is solely responsible for change in the public taste for fairy tales.

**Authorial Branding and Packaging in Fairy-Tale Series**

Concurrent with the phenomenon of Longmans’ series, Hutchinson & Co., of London, also produced four books of fairy tales: *The Golden Fairy Book* (Jokai et al. [1894]), *The Silver Fairy Book* (Bernhardt et al. [1895]), *The Diamond Fairy Book* ([Bellerby et al. 1897]), and *The Ruby Fairy Book* (Maitre et al. [1900]). If the imitation of Lang’s series is not immediately obvious in the titles of these books, the size (crown 8vo), binding (cloth case in the title color), and book design reinforce it. The witch on the cover of *The Silver Fairy Book* is almost an exact copy of the one that appears on the cover of *The Blue Fairy Book*. As all four books are packaged in a fashion very similar to the Fairy Books, it would be easy for a purchaser to confuse this series of books with Longmans’ series. Furthermore, like the Fairy Books, Hutchinson’s series was advertised and reviewed during the Christmas season.
One of the crucial differences in the Hutchinson books, however, is that they are not attributed to one editor. The stories within are a conglomeration of stories from mostly European writers. Across the four books, there are stories by Alexander Dumas, Eduard Leboulay, George Sand, Voltaire, Sarah Bernhard, Wilhelm Hauff, Clemens Brentano, and others. The individual stories emphasize the focus on fairy tales. Stories such as “The Prince with the Hand of Gold”, “Drak the Fairy”, “The Golden Spinning-Wheel”, “The Ten Little Fairies”, and “Cinderella’s Daughter”, while not likely to be familiar, allude to tales typical of the fairy-tale genre. Who selected, translated, and edited the stories is not stated in the books either in the prefaces or on the title pages. Nonetheless, there is a unifying presence across the books, which is the illustrator: Harold R. Millar (1869-1940). Reviewers generally received the book favorably, although reviews such as this one in the Saturday Review acknowledge that the Hutchinson books are blatantly imitating Lang’s series: “The title seems to us rather too suggestive of Mr. Andrew Lang’s work” (Rev. of The Silver Fairy Book). The existence of this series demonstrates direct influence and
acknowledges that Lang’s collection must have had some impact on the fairy tale market if the series was able to generate such blatant imitations.202

Copying Hutchinson’s Fairy Tale series, the publishing house of Raphael Tuck published The Ruby Fairy Book ([1901]), along with The Emerald Fairy Book ([1902]) and The Crystal Fairy Book ([1903]), all edited by Edric Vredenburgh. Despite the title structure and use of colors and gems, these books are physically quite different from Longmans’ or Hutchinson’s series. They are picture-book size, cased in paper boards, and the front covers are full color illustrations. The books are comprised of stories, poems, and illustrations, assembled from various authors and illustrators and are aimed at very young children. The series was titled “Father Tuck’s Golden Gift Series” and according to an advertisement located on The Crystal Fairy Book, also included Grimm and Andersen volumes, along with non-fairy tale titles such as Children’s Shakespeare, The Child’s Life of Jesus, and The Child’s Natural History Book. Hutchinson’s and Tuck’s series are the most obvious imitations, but there were a number of other fairy-tale books and series published between 1889-1910 that, whether or not influenced directly by Lang’s series, certainly coincide with the internationalism that emerges in the Fairy Books.

Joseph Jacobs (1854-1916)203 edited five volumes of fairy tales: English Fairy Tales (1890), Celtic Fairy Tales (1892), Indian Fairy Tales (1892), More English Fairy Tales (1895), and Northern Fairy Tales (1897). In addition, Jacobs translated Grimm’s Fairy Tales from Afar (1896) and published a number of international collections including Grundtvig’s Fairy Tales from Afar (1900) and Oriental Fairy Tales by R. C. Armour ([1905]).

---

202 Hutchinson did not limit their fairy tale output to this series. Alfred Miles edited a series of “Fifty-two Stories” books, which include a number of volumes usually divided by gender (e.g. Fifty Two Stories for Boys and Fifty Two Stories for Girls) but the series included one volume of Fifty-Two Fairy Tales. In addition Hutchinson published a number of international collections including Grundtvig’s Fairy Tales from Afar (1900) and Oriental Fairy Tales by R. C. Armour ([1905]).
Tales (1894) and More Celtic Fairy Tales (1894); these appeared at the same time as the Blue, Red, Green, and Yellow Fairy Books. In twentieth-century scholarship, Lang’s and Jacobs’s series have been frequently compared (Thwaite 101). There are some similarities between Lang’s and Jacobs’s series, which allow for their frequent comparison: the books are the same size (crown 8vo), price (6s), and were illustrated by artists who had similar training. John Batten (1860-1932) and Ford both attended the Slade in the spring of 1884 (Signing in books). Like Lang, Jacobs provided extensive prefaces for all five of his books. Neither Lang nor Jacobs should be regarded as influencing the other, but the two men had similar histories and interests, which explains why they independently generated similar series at the same time. Jacobs was born in Sydney and immigrated to Britain in 1854. Eventually he entered St. John’s College at Cambridge and graduated in 1876.

When Gomme censured Lang’s Fairy Books during his presidential speech, he also made allusions to Jacobs’s series as well. Lang’s defense, as discussed in Chapter Two, subsequently appeared in The Yellow Fairy Book, while Jacobs likewise defended his series in the preface to More English Fairy Tales. Quoting directly from Gomme’s speech by addressing critics “who have written from the high and lofty standpoint of folk-lore, or from the lowlier vantage of ‘mere literature,’” Jacobs uses his preface “to soften their ire, or perhaps give them further cause for reviling” (viii).

Surprisingly little critical attention has been paid to Jacobs and his five fairy books, general information about Jacobs and his publications can be found in Dorson The British Folklorists (266-270), Stewig’s “Joseph Jacobs’ English Fairy Tales: A Legacy for Today” (1987), and Anne Kershen’s entry in the Oxford DNB. Donald Haase edited a collection of Jacobs’s English Fairy Tales and More English Fairy Tales in 2002. In the introductory essay that Haase contributed to the collection, he writes: “Despite his importance and productivity in so many areas, scholars representing these fields have been reluctant to lay claim to Jacobs” (xiii).
Public response was clearly more significant than Gomme’s censure and Jacobs’s series remained in print until the early twentieth century.

Like Lang, Jacobs also published articles regularly in *Folklore* and the two men engaged in an ongoing debate about fairy tale transmission. Most of Jacobs’ contributions to *Folklore* at this time focused on this persistent debate, including “The Problem of Diffusion: Rejoinders” (1894). Although Lang generally supported independent invention of folklore, or universalism, and Jacobs favored diffusion theories, Lang’s preface to *The Orange Fairy Book* contains a paragraph that accords more with Jacobs’s position than his own. Lang asks: “The old puzzle remains a puzzle—why do the stories of the remotest people so closely resemble each other?” (vi). He follows this question with a lengthy quotation, which actually supports Jacobs’s migration theory:

> Of course, in the immeasurable past, they have been carried about by conquering races, and learned by conquering races from vanquished peoples. Slaves carried far from home brought their stories with them into captivity. Wanderers, travelers, shipwrecked men, merchants, and wives stolen from alien tribes have diffused the stories; gipsies and Jews have peddled them about; Roman soldiers of many different races, moved here and there about the Empire, have trafficked in them. From the remotest days men have been wanderers, and wherever they went their stories accompanied them. The slave trade might take a Greek to Persia, a Persian to Greece; and Egyptian woman to Phœnicia; a Babylonian to Egypt; a Scandinavian child might be carried with the amber from the Baltic to the Adriatic; or a Sidonian to Ophir, wherever Ophir may have been; while the Portuguese may have borne their tales to South Africa, or to Asia, and thence brought back other tales to Egypt. The stories wandered wherever the Buddhist missionaries went, and the earliest French voyageurs told them to the Red Indians. These facts help to account for the sameness of the stories everywhere; and the uniformity of human fancy in early societies must be the cause of many other resemblances. (vi-vii)

---

204 Lang’s theories of universalism are discussed in Chapter Two.
In a eulogy to Lang, and discreetly referring to this passage, Jacobs wrote that he “had the satisfaction of finding that, in the end, [Lang] had come around to my view, though, naturally enough, he contended that he had been, from the first, inclined towards it” (“Andrew Lang” 372). Like Lang, Jacobs was a man with many interests and, in addition to folklore, he published widely on Jewish history, tradition, and culture, and wrote articles for the Jewish Chronicle and the Jewish Quarterly Review.

Of Lang, Jacobs wrote: “In a way, it is true, he was the last of the generalists, of men who could write with something worth saying on almost all topics in which he was interested. But his interests were, after all, strangely restricted” (368). Certainly, the same has been said of Jacobs. As Kershen notes:

He had perhaps too many interests; and concentration on one theme, one topic or one discipline, might have produced a weightier, more intellectually reputed and acknowledged scholar and elicited greater respect for his Wissenschaft des Judentums. But it would have denied many the joy of his folklore, the benefit of his historical and scientific research and analysis, the urgency of his concerns, and the enthusiasm which he gave to every project.

Jacobs and Lang were both actively interested in the study of folklore at precisely the time that the Folk-Lore Society was in its most active and energetic period. Despite Gomme’s censure, it is unsurprising that the interest in the discipline spread from a select group of enthusiasts into a commercial venture and both Jacobs and Lang were successful in their respective schemes.

Regardless of the similarities between the two, there are some key differences between Jacobs’s and Lang’s series. Lang’s books employ a rather generic title structure. Although the color scheme creates unity among the books, the colors do not offer any information about the stories within. Jacobs’s titles, however,
specifically designate three cultures: English, Celtic, and Indian. The designations clearly identify the stories as belonging to these three cultures. In the preface to *English Fairy Tales*, Jacobs opens with the question “Who says that English folk have no fairy-tales of their own?” (vii). Lang, for one, had decidedly made such statements. In his monthly column for *Longman’s Magazine*, “At the Sign of the Ship”, Lang touched on the issue several times: “Speaking of English fairy tales, one has often marvelled why they are so scarce and so dull, just like the ballads of England” (Mar. 1889 557). Furthermore, when recommending Jacobs’s book to readers, Lang indicates, “Mr. Jacobs is publishing, with Mr. Nutt, the first fairly complete collection of real English nursery tales, faint fragments, for the English were the first people to forget their own popular traditions” (“At the Sign of the Ship” Nov. 1890 107-108). Jacobs asserts, in *English Fairy Tales*: “The present volume contains only a selection out of some 140, of which I have found traces in this country. It is probable that many more exist” (vii). He later proceeded to produce another volume of English fairy tales, in which he insists:

This volume will come, I fancy, as a surprise both to my brother folklorists and to the public in general. It might naturally have been thought that my former volume (*English Fairy Tales*, Nutt, 1889) had almost exhausted the scanty remains of the traditional folk-tales of England. Yet I shall be much disappointed if the present collection is not found to surpass the former in interest and vivacity, while for the most part it goes over hitherto untrodden ground. The majority of the tales in this book have either never appeared before, or have never been brought between the same boards. (vii)

With these two volumes, Jacobs proposes to return to the English reading public their own traditional tales.

---

205 Field likewise notes: “The English imagination had produced no such varied fairy tales as those which came from France, Germany, and Scandinavia, or those which were current in Ireland” (235).
Like Lang, Jacobs addresses the dual readership of fairy tales (adult/child) throughout his five books. According to Haase, in these books Jacobs very deliberately “blurred the boundary between folklore studies and children’s literature” (Introduction 2002 xiii) and uses different components of the books to play light-hearted games with his readers. For example, in *English Fairy Tales*, he designs a game into the book’s cover illustrations. The front cover conveys a locked book, with a knocker, grate, and keyhole. On the spine there appears a bell and observant readers will notice a key with initials “J. J.” on the back cover.

![Fig. 18 Front and back covers of English Fairy Tales by Joseph Jacobs (1890)](image)

Anyone who might have missed these clues is greeted with a poem on the first page, before the frontispiece or title page:
How
TO GET INTO THIS BOOK.
Knock at the Knocker on the Door,
Pull the Bell at the side,
Then, if you are very quiet, you will hear
a teeny tine voice say through the grating
‘Take down the Key. ’This you will find at the
back: you cannot mistake it, for it has J. J.
in the wards. Put the Key in the Keyhole, which
it fits exactly, unlock the door and
WALK IN.

Readers, of course, must have already opened the book to read these instructions, but
Jacobs sets the guidelines for any future readings. Adults can play games of
imagination with young readers, wherein they should ‘knock’ on the door, ‘ring’ the
bell, and ‘listen’ at the grate, before ‘finding’ the key and entering the world of fairy
tales. Regardless of whether children participated in this imaginary diversion, Jacobs
creates a fantasy world and establishes his book as the gateway to another land.

Haase also offers an interpretation of these paratextual elements in his introduction to
Jacobs’s books and argues that through the game on the covers, Jacobs is
intentionally drawing attention “to the physical boards and borders of the book itself
and thus to the literary nature of the tales within” (xvi), once again playing with the
boundaries between folk lore and literature.

Such games and jokes are certainly meant for children, although adults might
appreciate the conceit and encourage it. Nevertheless, Jacobs also includes a section
of notes intended for adult readers, much like Taylor did in German Popular Stories.
This addendum serves as a reminder that Jacobs likewise considered folk lore a
subject of serious study. He continues to play games with his readers, however, and
clearly demarcates this note section as separate from the stories, by including an illustration of a man pronouncing:

Oyez•Oyez•Oyez
The English Fairy Tales
Are Now **Closed**
Little Boys and Girls
Must Not Read Any Further. (228)

This illustration includes a staircase leading to a library, on which stands a sign stating: “For Students Only”. At the top of the stairs, scholars in robes appear pouring over books, presumably about folk and fairy tales. *Celtic Fairy Tales* contains a similar warning prior to the notes, which alludes, of course, to the story of “Sleeping Beauty”:

Man or Woman
Boy or Girl
That reads what
Follows
**3 Times**
Shall Fall Asleep
An Hundred Years. (236)

This image depicts a number of people with books with titles such as “Notes”, “Appendices” and “Remarks”, who have fallen asleep under the literal and metaphorical weight of such texts. While *Indian Fairy Tales* does not contain any such warnings or curses, the same two illustrations reappear in *More English Fairy Tales* and *More Celtic Fairy Tales*. It is not unusual for an editor of fairy tales to include conflicting devices and address dual audiences in various parts of the book, but Jacobs deliberately conflates the scholarly and the entertainment value of his book by inserting these playful devices, warnings, and illustrations.
Batten’s illustrations for all five books are also quite entertaining, as Jacobs acknowledged, when asking, in *More English Fairy Tales*, “what should I or other English children do without him?” (xii). Batten produced a number of full-page illustrations as well as small images that are imbedded in the text. In *Indian Fairy Stories*, Jacobs writes: “I have again to congratulate myself on the co-operation of my friend Mr. J. D. Batten in giving beautiful or amusing form to the creation of the folk fancy of the Hindoos. It is no slight thing to embody, as he has done, the glamour and the humour both of the Celt and of the Hindoo (xii). Such a comparison (Hindu to Celtic) is likely meant to convey the range of Batten’s artistic skills. Even so, Batten’s illustrations are not intended to be authentic representations of Hindu or Celtic art. Indeed, in *Celtic Fairy Tales*, Jacobs indicates, “Yet both [Batten] and I have striven to give Celtic things as they appear to, and attract, the English mind, rather than attempt the hopeless task of representing them as they are to Celts” (xii). As such, Indian and Celtic stories and images are thus rendered in a style that English readers can simultaneously recognize as other and familiar (Fig. 19). In Jacobs’s series, therefore, it appears that English, Celtic, and Indian stories are “packaged” and consciously designed for English readers.

One of the most interesting aspects of Jacobs’ series is the marketing campaign. All five books were published by David Nutt, father of the Alfred Nutt who was a colleague of Jacobs and Lang’s as well as a part of Dorson’s “Great Team”.

*English Fairy Tales*, of course, was marketed individually. *Celtic Fairy Tales* was marketed as a companion volume to *English Fairy Tales* and these advertisements

---

206 Comprised of Nutt, Gomme, Lang, Sidney Hartland, W. A. Clouston, and Edward Clodd; see Dorson’s *British Folklorists*. 
frequently use the sales numbers for *English Fairy Tales* – 4,000 in the first season – as evidence of its popularity. Jacobs’s name is generally prominent, appearing in bold and all-caps after the title, but does not become the series title. Nutt never advertises the books as “Mr. Jacobs Fairy Book” like Longmans does for Lang’s Fairy Books; instead, Nutt takes a very different approach. In advertisements for the fifth volume, Nutt labels the books as “Fairy Tales of the British Empire”, a slogan that the publisher retains in advertisements until the early twentieth century, when the books were still in print.²⁰⁷

![Fig. 19 Covers of Indian Fairy Tales and Celtic Fairy Tales (1892) by Joseph Jacobs](image)

In 1895, Nutt published *Tales of the British Empire. Popular Edition*, which was a composite of the five books with minor changes. According to a review in the *Bookman*:

The popular reissue of this most deservedly successful fairy-tale series is as worthy of notice now as similar books of the present season. More especially meant for children, published at a lower price than the first edition, the notes have been omitted, but the stories are just as they were, and so are most of Mr. Batten’s delightful illustrations. Where the series is unknown or, where any one of the volumes, English, Celtic, more English, more Celtic, and Indian Fairy Tales, is unknown, the mistake should at once be rectified. (Rev. of *Fairy Tales of the British Empire*)

The series-title “Fairy Tales of the British Empire”, later reused in the popular edition is rather overt in its ideology, but it addresses a more general trend in fairy-tale publications at the time. Subsuming *English, Celtic and Indian Fairy Tales* under the series title “Fairy Tales from the British Empire” demonstrates a domestication of fairy tales for consumption by English readers and it is clear throughout all five prefaces that Jacobs’s books are indeed primarily intended for English children. The two *English Fairy Tale* books are ‘ours’; nevertheless the *Indian* and *Celtic* books can likewise be ‘ours’ once they are bought and placed on the bookshelf. The title page to *Indian Fairy Tales* contains an illustration that couples the recurring image of the female narrator with this phenomenon of presenting international narratives to British children. The illustration depicts a woman in traditional Indian dress seated on the floor telling stories to a white, Victorian child, who is lounging in a comfortable, and rather throne-like chair. This image clearly demarcates story-teller and story consumer along both gendered and racial lines.
A number of other publishing houses also produced fairy tales from international cultures specifically for enjoyment in the English nursery. Robert Nisbet Bain (1854-1909) edited several collections of fairy tales from Eastern Europe including *Russian Fairy Tales* (1893), *Cossack Fairy Tales* (1894), and *Turkish Fairy Tales* (1896) all published by Lawrence and Bullen of London and priced at 5s. The books are uniform in their packaging, but are illustrated by different artists: C. M. Gere, E. W. Mitchell, and Celia Levetus respectively. Bain wrote a preface for each book and his prefaces, like Jacobs’s, address the “British Public” (*Russian v*). As such, he provides context and history of the originating culture, as well as an overview of his source materials. Although W. R. S. Ralston had published a translation of *Russian Folk Tales* in 1873, Bain translates his Russian stories from a collection by the Russian scholar Peter Nikoleavich Polevoi that appeared a year after Ralston’s translation. Both Ralston’s English translations and Polevoi’s Russian version are based on the folk collections of Alexander Afanasiev. Polevoi’s and Ralston’s selections do not overlap, however, and Bain assures his readers that none of the tales in his translation “has seen the light in an English dress before”(vi). As stated in his second introduction, the success of his *Russian Fairy Tales* inspired him to edit a collection “selected from another Slavonic dialect extraordinarily rich in folk-tales—I mean Ruthenian, the language of the Cossacks” (ix). Acknowledging that Ruthenian would likely be unfamiliar to English readers, Bain offers an extensive history of the language, culture, and his sources. Once again, Bain assures his readers that these tales are appearing in English for the first time and writes:

> The present attempt to popularize these Cossack stories is, I believe, the first translation ever made from Ruthenian into English. The selection, though naturally restricted, is fairly representative; every variety of folk-tale has a place in it, and it should never be forgotten
that the Ruthenian Kazka (märchen), owing to favourable circumstances, has managed to preserve far more of the fresh spontaneity and naïve simplicity of the primitive folk-tale than her more sophisticated sister, the Russian Skazka. (xi)

Finally his Turkish Fairy Tales were also newly translated into English, but, as he admits, “I have Englished these tales from the first Hungarian edition, so that this version is, perhaps, open to the objection of being a translation of a translation” (vii). The sense of introducing something new to English readers is palpable in Bain’s prefaces. With one of the few direct references to Lang – although more likely Lang’s scholarly publications than his Fairy Books – Bain writes in Cossack Fairy Tales:

It may be so, but, after all that Mr. Andrew Lang has taught us on the subject, it would be rash for any mere philologist to assert positively that there can be anything really new in folk-lore under the sun. On the other hand, the comparative isolation and primitiveness of the Cossacks, and their remoteness from the great theatres of historical events, would seem to be favourable conditions both for the safe preservation of old myths and the easy development of new ones. (xii)

Such a comment acknowledges Lang’s influence on the field, but also predicts one of the characteristic paradoxes of Lang’s own collection. Although there is no “new” narrative to be discovered, unknown cultures are still considered a mine for new versions of the old stories.

Lang’s Fairy Book series continually reproduces old stories in new guise, but this formula was popular and followed by a number of other editors and publishers. Julia Goddard in Fairy Tales in Other Lands (1892) reproduces A Chinese Beauty and the Beast, A Scandinavian Jack the Giant-Killer, An Egyptian Puss in Boots, An Ocean Sleeping Beauty, A Persian Jack and the Bean-Stalk, and A Japanese Red Riding Hood. Such story titles immediately point to the paradox of fairy tales published
between 1889-1910: the narratives are familiar classics, but the cultural associations are new and exotic. Book titles such as *Fairy Tales Far and Near* by Quiller-Couch (1895), *Fairy Tales of the Slav Peasants and Herdsmen* by Chodzko (1896), *The Japanese Fairy Book* by Ozaki (1903), *Jewish Fairy Tales & Fables* by “Aunt Naomi” (1908), *Fairy Tales from South Africa* by Bourhill and Drake (1908), *Papuan Fairy Tales* by Ker (1910), and *Folk Tales from Many Lands* by Gask (1910) are a small sample that further demonstrates the wide range of fairy-tale collections collected from “afar” – either in generic terms such as “many lands” or specific identifiers like “Papuan” or “Japanese” – and published in London.

This trend of publishing international fairy tales continued quite plainly in several children’s series. As discussed, like Lang’s Fairy Books, Jacobs and Bain edited volumes that utilized some of the series techniques discussed in Chapter Three: packaging, branding, and the creation of a series title. Similar to Lang’s series, these techniques were often later additions. There are examples, however, of children’s series that were pre-planned, where the first volume clearly identifies itself as the start of a series. In these examples, individual volumes are then identified primarily by their participation in the series and secondarily by their individual identity. This study focuses on two examples: W. T. Stead’s “Books for the Bairns” published by The Review of Reviews Office and “Tales for Little People” by the Aldine

---

208 As discussed in Chapter One, by the end of the nineteenth-century, the *Arabian Nights Entertainments* had a long publishing history in Britain and had been one of the first collections of ‘exotic’ stories available to young readers. It should remembered that although this chapter focuses on the increasing internationalism of fairy-tale collections at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, editions of *Arabian Nights* as well as the Grimms’ and Andersen’s stories were continually being reprinted by a variety of different publishers and were, therefore, not lost to public memory.
Publishing Company, because both series, although not specifically designated as fairy-tale series, do contain a significant number of volumes dedicated to fairy tales.

William Thomas Stead (1849-1912) began “Books for the Bairns” in 1896 with *Æsop’s Fables*. Each volume was produced in chapbook style with paper covers; the volumes were heavily illustrated, cost 1 penny, and generally contained between four and six short stories. The format and price made them widely accessible to children and the series continued until Stead passed away in 1912.209 The seventh volume, *Cinderella, and other Fairy Tales* (also advertised as *Favourite Fairy Tales*), contains a preface by Stead, in which he states:

> So I send this little collection of Fairy-tales into a hundred thousand households, confident that good, and not evil, will come from popularizing these delightful romances of childhood, and hoping that they may be but the forerunner of many a score other collections of fairy-tales. There are plenty in the world, but hitherto they have been the Perquisite of the Rich. By the Books for the Bairns I hope to make them the Privilege of the Poor. (n. pag.)

Not all the numbers in this series are fairy tales, but a large portion are, which alludes to the popularity of fairy tales at this time. In addition to Perrault’s stories, this series includes many other classic tales from Grimm and Andersen. Like the Fairy Books, Stead’s series eventually diversifies to include a fair number of international sets of tales including fairy tales from the South Pacific, Persia and from China, India, and Africa. In many ways, Stead’s series is modeled after the same series techniques that were used by Longmans. The series is branded closely with Stead’s name and the Review of Reviews office, capitalizing on name and company recognition. The

---

209 The series was then taken over by his daughter, but her editorship is outwith the parameters of this study. For further reading on this series, see Sally Wood’s *W. T. Stead and his “Books for the Bairns”* (1987).
primary differences between the two series are the material formats and the price. Whether Stead was directly referencing the Fairy Books is unknown, but at 6s, Lang’s series was marketed towards a middle-class readers. Furthermore, most of the fairy-tale collections published between 1889 and 1910 were either 3s. 6d. or 6s and therefore priced considerably higher than Stead’s series. Finally, like the Fairy Books, Stead’s series opens with “old favorites” but increasingly diversifies in later volumes. Interestingly, Stead also wrote several prefaces for these volumes, often providing a brief historical context for some of the international stories and promoting values such as cultural awareness.210 Each volume contains an order form encouraging readers to purchase any issues of the series they might not have, thus completing the collection.

Another fairy tale series for children appeared after Stead’s. “Tales for Little People” (Aldine Publishing Company) was also priced at one penny, putting it in the same market as “Books for the Bairns”211 The series reprinted many of the European classics found in Stead’s series as well as offered new and unknown stories with fairy tale motifs and characters. “Lady Kathleen” appears as the editor for all the volumes in “Tales for Little People” although various “collectors” are occasionally listed. This series also offered a wide range of international stories including: Welsh, ‘Hindoo’, and Cornish fairy tales along with fairy stories from Japan, France, India, Iceland, and New Zealand. This series, like “Books for the Bairns,” number in the hundreds, although some of the classic tales were again reprinted in later numbers. Lady

---

210 For an example, see Fairy Tales from China (No. 52). Although modern readers might find some of the language problematic, it is interesting to note that Stead attempts to promote cultural tolerance in this preface.

211 These books do not have publishing dates on the title pages, but the National Library of Scotland dates “Tales for Little People” from 1905-1929.
Kathleen, a pseudonym, maintains an ongoing conversation with her readers. She encourages them to collect all the titles and sign up for membership to her club; she also hosts contests and offers prizes. Like Stead’s “Books for the Bairns”, volumes include order forms with lists of all the other volumes in the series. This series very consciously employs strategies outlined in Chapter Three – authorial branding and uniformity – as well as the inclusion of a female presence, as discussed in Chapter Four. Most relevant to the current discussion, however, is the concentration on fairy tales, especially considering that “Books for the Bairns” and “Tales for Little People” do not label themselves in this way. Neither series markets itself as a collection of fairy tales and yet both overwhelmingly are. Such concentration on the fairy tale is certainly indicative of the popularity of the genre at this time, but it is the internationalism of both series that implies an interest in fairy tales was not the sole motivating factor. The widening interest in various cultures therefore greatly increased at the end of the nineteenth century and numerous publications with descriptions, stories, and images of exotic peoples were produced to meet consumer demand.

A “Kaleidoscope” of International Fairy Tales

In an 1896 review of Christmas books for the *Academy*, the reviewer comments: “The folklore and country legends of all nations are now ransacked by students for the entertainment of the nursery. No nation is too insignificant or too savage to supply amusing stories for English children” (“Christmas Gift-Books” 492). The reviewer notes the shift in fairy-tale publishing discussed here. As demonstrated in
Chapter One, in the mid to late nineteenth century, rising interest in the study of folklore influenced the number of books published with stories, anecdotes, and traditions. F. Ethel Hynam mentions this phenomenon in the preface to *Secrets of the Night and Other Esthonian Tales* (1899):

The revival of interest in folk-lore and fairy tales is one of the most marked and, at the same time, encouraging incidents in modern literature.

Some few years ago these works were only known to the few—were hardly classed as books by the critics or by the public; now they are valued by the one, and eagerly looked for by the other. The remote by-ways of tradition are being examined for examples of these tales, and every land and every language brought under tribute to supply the new demand. (v)

By 1899, however, publications of folk and fairy tales, including Hynam’s were distinctly marketed for children first and scholars second. Unlike Dasent’s *Popular Tales from the Norse* or W. R. S. Ralston’s *Russian Folk-Tales*, which both include lengthy prefaces and no illustration or ornamentation, later books were edited and revised for young readers and most contain illustrations and decorated covers. Mary and Newman Tremearne’s preface to *Fables and Fairy Tales for Little Folk; or, Uncle Remus in Hausland* (1910) is symptomatic in its description of their intent: “The literal translations have appeared in the journals of the Folk-Lore and other Societies, but they would not have interested children as they stood, so they have been very much simplified in this book, care having been taken, however, to preserve the local color” (n. pag.). Similarly, in *The crimson Fairy Book*, Lang writes in the preface:

The Editor’s business is to hunt for collections of these stories told by peasant or savage grandmothers in many climes, from New Caledonia to Zululand; from the frozen snows of the Polar regions to Greece, or Spain, or Italy, or far Lochaber. When the tales are found they are adapted to the needs of British children by various hands, the Editor doing little beyond guarding the interests of propriety, and toning
down to mild reproofs the tortures inflicted on wicked stepmothers, and other naughty characters. (v)

Most editors, like Lang and the Tremearnes, are forthcoming about their editorial changes and the descriptive arc of how the book came to be is usually the same: these stories have been collected from the mouths of peasants or appear in an old book; modifications have been made to make them more accessible to child readers; nevertheless, the stories still convey a great deal of information about the originating source culture.212

In “Decolonizing Fairy-Tale Studies” (2010), Haase identifies the problematic assumption that fairy-tale collections – and his article looks specifically at collections published in the nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries – “require no understanding of the cultural contexts in which they were produced, that they directly convey cultural attitudes and values with singular clarity, and that the context of the entire tale is not necessary for an understanding of a motif’s importance and meaning” (25). Lang’s Fairy Books are uniquely suited for a study that problematizes texts and contexts. This section assesses, not the originating source cultures of the stories, but the cultural means and strategies by which the Fairy Books are presented in Britain as a kaleidoscope of tales. The marketing strategies discussed in Chapter Three encourage book buyers to purchase and collect all the volumes in the series, but additionally, Lang’s series, from The Blue Fairy Book through to The Lilac Fairy Book, is an expansive medley of 438 stories from all over the world and each volume, as a collection of stories, is also a site of collection. Susan Stewart proposes a

212 For examples of prefaces and introductions that follow this arc, see Joseph Jacobs English Fairy Tales, Ha Sheen Kaf The Winged Wolf and Other Fairy Tales (1893), Baroness Emmuska Orczy Old Hungarian Fairy Tales ([1895]), and Fairy Tales From South Africa Collected From Original Native Sources Arranged by Bourhill and Drake (1908).
theoretical framework for analyzing the phenomenon of the souvenir and the
collection in *On Longing* (1984) and her understanding shapes the remainder of this
chapter.

According to Stewart, “The souvenir seeks distance (the exotic in time and space),
but it does so in order to transform and collapse distance into proximity to, or
approximation with, the self” (xii). The Fairy Books contain a composite of
narratives, all of which have been displaced spatially and temporally, transformed
through editing, and then reproduced within a collection marketed for British readers.
In the Fairy Books the stories within have already been dislocated from the cultures
with which they are identified. Lang indicates in *The Olive Fairy Book* that “Dorani”
is a “Punjâbi story”. In the book, however, “Dorani” sits between stories from
“Contes Arméniens” and the “Cabinet des Fées”. Positioning the story between two
different cultures narrates displacement. “Dorani” is no longer a “Punjâbi story”, but
must be analyzed within its new cultural context. As such, this story cannot simply
“express indigenous attitudes and values directly” (Haase 2010 25). Instead “Dorani”,
like all of the stories in the series, reflects the dislocation of stories along with British
production.

Stewart further argues that collections mark “the space of nexus for all narratives, the
place where history is transformed into space, into property” (xii). As a site of
collection, the series takes on additional meaning because an array of international
stories are now presented in twelve identical packages made available for purchase.
The phenomenon of collecting international folk and fairy tales and subsequently
publishing them for a British audience can be considered within the wider
phenomenon of collecting cultural artifacts that was pervasive throughout the
nineteenth century. The phenomenon is best described in Moncure Conway’s
*Travels in South Kensington* (1882), in which one character exclaims: “Come go
round the world with me here in London!” (23), when suggesting a visit to the local
museums. According to Barringer, in the context of the museum, “The meaning of an
object is inflected, even re-invented by the context in which it is displayed; the
removal of objects from a colonial periphery to the imperial centre profoundly alters
the ways in which they are understood” (“South Kensington” 12). Between 1889 and
1910 British children could choose from a wide range of fairy-tale books from
“Afar”, “Other Lands” or from “Far and Near”, but these books, and the tales within,
were re-invented when produced, purchased, and eventually displayed on the nursery
shelf.

These international fairy-tale collections demonstrate a dual phenomenon. The books
showcase “exotic” peoples and cultures, but the stories are simultaneously recognized
for their familiarity and repetition of the well-known classics that appear in *The Blue
Fairy Book*. The kaleidoscopic imagery that Lang repeated in many of his prefaces is
usually meant to refer specifically to narrative motifs. As such, the Fairy Book series
provides ample evidence for Lang’s interpretation of the term. “The Strange
Adventures of Little Maia” (undefined, *The Olive Fairy Book*) is almost an exact

---

213 The practice of collecting is pervasive in the nineteenth-century and can be witnessed in small-scale examples such as private home museums, libraries, and living room aquariums to larger scale collections like discussions on taxonomic systems in the biological sciences, national botanical gardens and museums, and finally through colonial expansion itself in the collection of nations and countries. For further reading on collection and nineteenth-museums, see Barbara Black’s *On Exhibit: Victorians and their Museums* (2000) and Asa Briggs’s *Victorian Things* (1988).
repetition of “Thumbelina” (an Andersen story in The Yellow Fairy Book). A story about a Monkey who saves himself by declaring that he has left his heart behind hanging on a tree can be found in “The Monkey and the Jellyfish” (a Japanese tale in The Violet Fairy Book) and “The Heart of the Monkey” (a Swahili tale in The Lilac Fairy Book). Many stories deal with issues of betrayal, tests of character, seeking wealth, trickery, cunning, thievery, kindness, and courage. “Toads and Diamonds” (Perrault) from The Blue Fairy Book or “Mother Holle” (Grimm) from The Red Fairy Book – both versions of the Kind/Unkind sisters – are repeated at least fourteen times throughout the collection. The Blue Fairy Book contains “East of the Sun and West of the Moon” from Norway along with “The Black Bull of Norroway” from Scotland, which incorporates many of the same characters and motifs. Lang writes in the introduction to the collectors’ edition:

The Scotch ‘Black Bull of Norroway,’ for example, must remind even the youngest reader of ‘East of the Sun and West of the Moon,’ a tale from the Norse. Both, again, have manifest resemblances to ‘Beauty and the Beast,’ and every classical student has the fable of ‘Eros and Psyche’ brought back to his memory, while every anthropologist recollects a similar Märchen among Kaffirs and Bassutos. These resemblances and analogies recur on every page. (xi-xii)

The inclusion of both of these stories alludes to debates about how these narratives are transmitted, but also to the existence of cross-cultural similarities.

---

214 Every book, except The Grey Fairy Book and The Olive Fairy Book, contains some kind of variation of Aarne-Thompson tale-type 480. In addition to ‘Mother Holle’ The Red Fairy Book also contains “The Three Dwarfs” (Grimm) and “Bushy Bride” (Moe). Other variants include “Jack my Hedgehog” (Grimm in The Green Fairy Book); “The Story of King Frost” (a Russian tale in The Yellow Fairy Book); “The King Who would have a Beautiful Wife” (Sicilian), “Maiden Bright-eye” (Danish) and “The Sparrow with the Slit Tongue” (a Japanese tale, all in The Pink Fairy Book); “The Envious Neighbor” (another Japanese tale in The Violet Fairy Book); “The Colony of Cats” (undefined, The Crimson Fairy Book); “Pivi and Kabo” (from a French Bulletin of Anthropology in The Brown Fairy Book); “The Two Caskets” and “The Enchanted Wreath” (both from “Yule-tide stories” in The Orange Fairy Book); and “The Rich Brother and the Poor Brother” (adapted from the Portuguese) and “The One-handed Girl” (a Swahili tale, both in The Lilac Fairy Book).

215 See previous discussion about Lang’s and Jacobs’ debate on transmission in this chapter and Lang’s theories of universalism in Chapter Two.
Furthermore, the kaleidoscope image also applies to the diversity of the stories included in the collection. Early volumes of the series, like *The Blue Fairy Book*, primarily contain stories previously published in English including a number of stories from France, the Grimms (who feature heavily in the *Green* and *Yellow Fairy Books*), Hans Christian Andersen (whose stories are located in *The Yellow Fairy Book* and comprise most of *The Pink Fairy Book*), and more stories from Asbjörnson and Moe. In addition, these volumes add selections of other European stories, including Russian, Scottish, Romanian, Finnish, and Spanish tales, along with one contribution from China. *The Yellow Fairy Book* includes stories from publications by the United States Bureau of Ethnology on Native Americans and a selection of Polish, Hungarian, and Icelandic tales. *The Pink Fairy Book* contains stories from Italy, Japan, and some African stories. By *The Grey Fairy Book*, one reviewer notes the diversity of stories included within the books and comments: “The number of fairy variations on a few fairy themes is endless. In the latest volume which Mr. Lang has edited, we have stories from many countries, all freshened by the national breezes, so to say, which seem to blow through them” (“Chronicle of Art” 1901 143). The last seven books span the globe and include stories from Tripoli; Slavic, Serbian, Lithuanian, Portuguese, Hungarian, Tunisian, Brazilian, Rhodesian, Armenian, Australian and Swahili tales; and contain more stories from the Bureau of Ethnology. A few tales are translated from “the Hindoo” and some volumes contain Welsh and Scottish stories, including selections from *The Mabinogion* and *West Highland Tales*: all the stories that Lang had lamented did not fit into *The Blue Fairy Book*.216 Stories

---

216 This quotation appears in the conclusion to Chapter One of this thesis.
from individual tribes or cultures further diversify the series, and collectively the stories represent all six inhabited continents.\footnote{See Appendix B for full list of sources for the Fairy Books.} Lang’s series is a kaleidoscope of cultural narrative souvenirs mixed-up and reassembled within one uniform collection.

The Fairy Books are also a kaleidoscope of literary genres, which has led to the enduring criticism of Lang’s Fairy Books for not adhering to conventional definitions of fairy tales. Susina, for example argues that Lang’s “criteria for selection of the tales for the series were based on whether the tales were pleasant to read and not that they conformed to any academic definition of a fairy tale” (“Andrew Lang” 181). Nevertheless, it should not be assumed that Lang was ignorant of such definitions or even that he ignored scholarly views in favor of sales or popularity. The Fairy Books might not conform to either Lang’s colleagues’, or later folklore scholars’, understanding of fairy tales, but they do coincide with his own. The stories are derived from diverse geographical areas, and from a variety of historical points, but they also represent a range of literary genres. Such diversity, rather than revealing a haphazard editor, is a reminder of Lang’s assumption that fairy tales are universal. In the introduction to the collectors’ edition of The Blue Fairy Book, Lang writes of fairy tales:

The children to whom and for whom they are told represent the young age of man. They are true to his early loves, they have his unblunted edge of belief, and his fresh appetite for marvels. The instinct of economy so works that we are still repeating to the boys and girls of each generation the stories that were old before Homer sang, and the adventures that have wandered, like the wandering Psyche, over all the world. We may alter now and again the arrangement of incidents, but these always remain essentially the same, and of all the combinations into which they can be fitted, the oldest combinations are still the favourites. (xi)
The Blue Fairy Book includes the familiar and favorite stories, but these same motifs are repeated throughout the rest of the books under lesser-known titles, with new characters, and from exotic locations. The Blue Fairy Book contains Perrault’s well-known “Cinderella”, but other versions of the tale are repeated in later volumes; for example, “The Maiden with the Wooden Helmet”, from Japan (The Violet Fairy Book), and this repetition touches on one of the paradoxes demonstrated in several of the fairy-tale books published between 1889-1910. Collection of fairy tales from international cultures simultaneously exhibited cultural variances while also identifying universal similarities. C. J. T. address this paradox in the preface to Oriental Fairy Tales, when he comments:

> The reader of these tales will observe many points of similarity between them and the popular fictions of the West—similarity of thought and incident—and nothing, perhaps, speaks more eloquently the universal brotherhood of man than this oneness of folk-fiction. At the same time, the Tales of the East are unique, lighted up as they are by a gorgeous extravagance of imagination which never fails to attract and delight. (Oriental Fairy Tales v-vi)

In prefaces such as this – and this writer is one of many to express similar sentiments – fairy tales are simultaneously unique and universal.

Lang also highlights the universality of telling fairy tales throughout his prefaces. In The Green Fairy Book, he states: “The stories in all the books are borrowed from many countries; some are French, some German, some Russian, some Italian, some Scottish, some English, one Chinese. However much these nations differ about trifles, they all agree in liking fairy tales” (ix).\(^{218}\) This quotation is meant to reinforce the universality of telling fairy tales across time and culture, as well as remind

---

\(^{218}\) See also quotations from the Fairy Books’ prefaces included in the conclusion to Chapter Four.
readers of the frequency with which fairy-tale motifs and characters are repeated. As discussed in Chapter Two, it is this universality that intrigued Lang and he continually reinforces his belief in universalism throughout the selection of narratives for the Fairy Books.

Ford’s illustrations for the Fairy Books, however, do recognize and capitalize on the cultural distinctions in the tales. While the narratives repeat patterns and motifs, the illustrations exhibit a wide range of cultures. “The Red Etin,” for example, is one of the two Scottish stories included in *The Blue Fairy Book*. In both accompanying illustrations, the hero appears outfitted in traditional Scottish dress, including a kilt, sporran, and hose. “The Cat’s Elopement” from *The Pink Fairy Book* is a Japanese tale; in the accompanying illustrations, the heroine is dressed in a kimono, her hair is in a traditional knot adorned with hair tools, and the landscape is lush with cherry blossoms.

Fig. 20 Illustrations from “The Red Etin” in *Blue Fairy Book* (389) and “The Cat’s Elopement” in *The Pink Fairy Book* (3)
Likewise, “The Maiden with the Wooden Helmet” recreates imagery from Japan and the heroine is quite distinct from the Cinderella in *The Blue Fairy Book*. Illustrations from both stories represent the respective heroines in isolation, but Cinderella sits forlorn, by a fire in a large parlor, while the unnamed maiden washes her face outside in a stream (Fig. 21). Furthermore, characters in “Maiden” wear bamboo hats and Mount Fuji appears in the distance. Most of the stories included in the series contain a note either on the first or last page indicating the source used for the story, but even if readers were to ignore these textual cues, it is impossible to ignore the internationality of the stories given the drastic cultural variances that occur across the accompanying illustrations.  

![Fig. 21 Illustrations from “Cinderella” in *The Blue Fairy Book* (65) and “The Maiden with the Wooden Helmet” in *The Violet Fairy Book* (opposite 272)](image)

---

219 See Appendix F for examples of cultural representations throughout the Fairy Book series. Cultures depicted in these samples span the globe and include Europe in *The Green Fairy Book* (146), North American and the Polynesian Islands in *The Brown Fairy Book* (49; 108), the Middle East in *The Pink Fairy Book* (42), and sub-Saharan Africa in *The Yellow Fairy Book* (224). All of these depictions are quite elaborate in their imaginings and betray very specific ideological assumptions about these various cultures.
In examples such as “The Red Etin” and “The Maiden with the Wooden Helmet”, Ford’s illustrations conform to the stories’ sources as defined by Lang. Ford does not impose his own cultural identification, but instead adheres to the textual references to Scotland and Japan. “The Red Etin”, derived from Robert Chambers’ *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, is composed using Scottish dialect, and references to Scotland appear in the text:

The Red Etin of Ireland
Ance lived in Bellygan
And stole King Malcom’s daughter
The King of fair Scotland” (386).

Likewise, “The Maiden with the Wooden Helmet” begins: “In a little village in the country of Japan there lived long, long ago a man and his wife” (270). There are other examples, however, where Ford adds a cultural dimension to the illustrations that is not present in the literary text and these additions are worth considering.

“The Wonderful Sheep”, in *The Blue Fairy Book*, is one of d’Aulnoy’s French stories. It contains an illustration based on the following text:

The Captain of the Guard was very much astonished when he heard this barbarous order, but he did not dare to contradict the King for fear of making him still more angry, or causing him to send someone else, so he answered that he would fetch the Princess and do as the King had said. When he went to her room they would hardly let him in, it was still so early, but he said that the King had sent for Miranda, and she got up quickly and came out; a little black girl called Patypata held up her train, and her pet monkey and her little dog ran after her. The monkey was called Grabugeon, and the little dog Tintin. (216)

The accompanying illustration (Fig. 22) is located on the page opposite this paragraph. It shows the guard and Miranda facing each other. Miranda is centered in the frame, surrounded by Grabugeon, Tintin, and Patypata. The four figures form a
cohesive unit, but Miranda’s comparative size conveys her command over the other three figures, who are further unified in two other ways. First, Patypata is crouching on the ground while both the dog and the monkey stand on their hind legs, making all three figures appear about the same size. Second, all three figures wear similar collars, reinforcing the notion that Patypata, Grabugeon, and Tintin all belong to Miranda. The phrase “a little black girl called Patypata held up her train” does certainly suggest that Patypata is Miranda’s servant, but the illustration transmits overt assumptions that do not appear in the text, representing Patypata as a slave, rather than a servant. Furthermore, illustrations in other stories equate service with race, even when the text does not make this specification.

Fig. 22 Illustration from “The Wonderful Sheep” in The Blue Fairy Book (217)
Servants in the illustrations for “The Story of Pretty Goldilocks” and “Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp” are black, although neither story mentions the presence of servants in the scene’s textual description. For “The Story of Pretty Goldilocks,” Ford chose to illustrate the scene in which the Prince visits the Princess. The textual narrative focuses on descriptions of the Prince and Princess, the Prince’s reactions, and their dialogue, making no mention of other characters present. Yet the illustration shows the princess flanked by standing courtiers and two black servant boys who are kneeling on the dais. Similarly, the textual narrative in “Aladdin and the Magic Lamp” only describes Aladdin’s first view of the princess, but in the accompanying illustration, the princess is surrounded by three black servants. Their role as servants is indisputable. The man follows the princess with a fan for shade, one woman bows as the princess enters the room, and a third holds a basin of water for washing, none of which appears in the literary text.²²⁰

Shearer West argues that “As the Victorian period witnessed the flowering of modern print capitalism, the power of mechanical reproduction in creating and perpetuating ideologies of race cannot be ignored” (3) and illustrations from the Fairy Books provide ample evidence for his claim. In only one story in this book – “The Wonderful Sheep” – does the text state that the servant is black, and yet the visual representation of black servants appears in a number of illustrations throughout the Fairy Books. Furthermore, the illustrations repeat other ideological assumptions. In

²²⁰ Ford continues to depict black servants in several illustrations, regardless of whether the characters appear in the textual narrative; for further examples, see The Green Fairy Book (33), The Violet Fairy Book (opposite 145), The Brown Fairy Book (opposite 36), and The Olive Fairy Book (178).
these images there appears a central, white figure,\textsuperscript{221} often representing royalty. Other figures appear who surround, but do not distract from, the central figure. West further explains that “Literature, as well as art, manufactured imaginary spaces from fragments which could be read as ‘real’ to Victorian audiences . . .” (6). The \textit{Bookman} suggests that “Mr. Ford, we think, must have met a lot of fairies in his wanderings, he draws their portraits and their homes so exquisitely” (Rev. of \textit{The Grey Fairy Book}). Nevertheless, illustrations in the Fairy Books, starting in \textit{The Blue Fairy Book} and continuing on through \textit{The Lilac Fairy Book}, demonstrate that fairyland looks increasingly like the “real” nineteenth-century representations of colonized cultures.

Connelly suggests that Christmas, English values, and “the spirit of the British Empire” were intertwined at the end of the nineteenth century (203). All three phenomenon are inextricably linked to Lang’s Fairy Books. Lang’s series successfully unites a range of resources, most of which had already demonstrated prior success before 1889 – book buyer’s interest in fairy tales at Christmas time, Lang’s editorial acumen, and Longmans’ marketing strategies, to which was added Ford’s illustrations, L.B. Lang’s translations, and the public’s interest in cultural narratives. Lang, in his review of Jacobs’ \textit{English Fairy Tales},\textsuperscript{222} indicates that the English were the first to forget their own fairy tales, but with the Fairy Books, he effectually creates a cabinet of fairy tales for English children. He accomplishes this feat, not by compiling a collection of lost tales from English history, but by importing

\textsuperscript{221} The princess in “Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp” appears in a shadow obscuring her skin color in the illustration discussed, but in a later illustration, both she and Aladdin are white, despite their exoticized dress.

\textsuperscript{222} Quoted previously in the discussion on Jacobs’s series.
stories from a diverse range of countries and cultures and appropriating these stories for English readers.

**Conclusion: Transcultural Texts; or, “Outlandish Natives” for “White People”**

As discussed in Chapter Two, prior to the start of the Fairy Book series, Lang contributed introductions to collections of the Grimms and Perrault along with introductions to “Beauty and the Beast” and “Cupid and Psyche”. While the series was being produced, Lang continued to contribute prefaces to other editors’ folk- and fairy-tale collections. He wrote prefaces for Katherine Langloh Parker’s *Australian Legendary Tales* (1897) and *More Australian Legendary Tales* (1898), as well as Elphinstone Dayrell’s *Folk Stories from Southern Nigeria* (1910). In these prefaces Lang reinforces some of the theories present in his earlier introductions, but also accentuates the exoticism of these collections, stating that in *Australian Legendary Tales* “we have pictures of a savage life by savages, romances which are truly realistic” (xvi) and that “Mr. Dayrell’s Folkstories from Southern Nigeria appeal to the anthropologist within me, no less than to the lover of what children and older people call ‘Fairy Tales.’ The stories are full of mentions of strange institutions, as well as of rare adventures” (vi). In this introduction from 1910, Lang replicates his introduction to Perrault from 1888 and offers a comparative analysis of the Nigerian stories and their European counterparts to demonstrate the universalism of fairy tales. References to “strange institutions” and “rare adventures” certainly correspond with Lang’s own affinity for romance stories, but the extensive range of publications
available at the time demonstrate that other readers were also interested in purchasing and reading international fairy tales.

Sundmark reiterates: “With the expansion of the British Empire the demand for tales from different parts of the world grew enormously” (7-8). Moreover, the increase in international collections of folk and fairy tales for children parallels publishing trends in other genres. British children could also purchase other fiction and non-fiction books such as *Fifty-Two Stories of the British Empire* in Alfred Mile’s Hutchinson series ([1901]), *The World of To-Day* by A. R. Hope Moncrieff (1905), *Savage Childhood: A Study of Kaffir Children* by Dudley Kidd (1906), *The Romance of Savage Life* by G. F. Scott Elliot (1908), *Our Empire Story* by H. E. Marshall ([1908]), *In Empire’s Cause* by Ernest Protheroe (1908), or a series by Oliphant, Andersen and Ferrier that began with *Children of China* ([1909]), *Children of Jamaica* (1910), *Children of India* ([1910]) and continued into 1915 with other titles from Arabia, Labrador, Borneo, and Wild Australia.223

Within such a context this chapter suggests that the ongoing popularity of Lang’s Fairy Books was as much fueled by the late nineteenth- early twentieth-century interest in reading about international and exotic cultures as it is by a resurgent interest in fairy tales. Field and other contemporary critics are right to note the abundance of fairy-tale books available in the 1890s, something not unexpected as the number of books across all genres increased during this period. Regardless, what

223 This each volume in the series was compiled by a different editor: *Children of China* (Brown), *Children of Jamaica* (Maclean), *Children of India* (Kelman), *Children of Arabia* (Young), *Children of Labrador* (Dwight), *Children of Borneo* (Gomes), and *Children of Wild Australia* (Pitts).
Green fails to acknowledge, when using Field’s comment as proof of Lang’s influence, is that there is minimal direct evidence that Lang’s series was indeed responsible for the increase in fairy-tale publications. Furthermore, Lang’s series, like other books and series, respond to a somewhat separate late nineteenth-century trend, which is the interest in collecting and displaying books of international cultures and, as Stewart emphasizes, the nuanced meanings that are created in these sites of collection. Scholars have continued to perpetuate Green’s 1946 assertion, without necessarily conducting further research to verify his claims. Manlove, for example, mentions the nineteenth century “craze for fairy tales” and attributes “the huge popularity of these stories [fairy tales]” to Andersen, Grimm, and Lang, without providing additional documentary evidence (17-18). By examining the wider publishing context of 1889-1910, it becomes evident that there are larger forces at play and, despite Green’s claim, Lang’s Fairy Books cannot be solely credited with bringing the fairy tale back into fashion.

Moreover, as Haase explains: “the colonialist trespassing that occurs in collecting, editing, and translating is not only a matter of the tension or trade-off between what is lost and what is preserved” (“Decolonizing” 30) and Lang’s Fairy Books contain a number of components that illustrate this tension. The originating source material for a majority of the 438 stories appear in footnotes and in the prefaces Lang repeatedly disclaims authorship, once again offering generalized allusions to “grannies” and “savages” as a reminder to his readers that fairy tales are ancient narratives and the property of communities, not individuals, thereby preserving the perception of “authenticity”. The diverse source material is further preserved in the accompanying
illustrations that render visual interpretations of various cultures. Conversely, much is lost in the series. The stories are translated, and so there is a loss of the original language. Because they are printed, there is a loss of the traditional storytelling that was often implied in these narratives. Haase continues his argument, and contends that “Equally important is the fact that these acts of trespass produce something new—a transcultural text that communicates more than the sum of its cultural parts” (30). This “something new” is also tangible in Lang’s series. Ford’s illustrations add English colonial ideologies that are not immediately apparent in the narratives. The visual interpretations of various cultures explicitly conform to the prevailing perceptions about race at the end of the nineteenth century that West identifies. Furthermore, the Fairy Books are a particularly complex “transcultural text”. Unlike other fairy-tale publications that reproduce one culture within another culture, Lang’s collection reproduces stories from well over forty cultures and given the number of translations from German and French, many of the stories are in fact reproductions of reproductions. In *The Brown Fairy Book*, Lang writes:

> The tale of ‘What the Rose did to the Cypress,’ is translated out of a Persian manuscript by Mrs. Beveridge. ‘Pivi and Kabo’ is translated by the Editor from a French version; ‘Asmund and Signy’ by Miss Blackley; the Indian stories by Major Campbell, and all the rest are told by Mrs. Lang, who does not give them exactly as they are told by all sorts of outlandish natives, but makes them up in the hope white people will like them, skipping the pieces which they will not like. That is how this Fairy Book was made up for your entertainment. (viii)

As such, Lang delineates the intent of the Fairy Books. The series is not meant to transport British readers to other cultures, but instead the series collects, modifies, and presents cultural narratives in a form acceptable to British readers. Indeed, the
Fairy Books communicate much more than the “sum of [their] cultural parts”; they communicate prevailing colonial discourses.
**Conclusion**

*A “Kaleidoscope” of Fairy Book Editions, 1912-2012*

Lang was somewhat accurate in his assessment that “The taste of the world, which has veered so often, is constant enough in fairy tales”, at least in regards to his own fairy-tale collection. As the introduction to this study suggests, although scholarship investigating Lang’s collection has been relatively minimal, there have been numerous editions of the Fairy Books published over the past century. These editions include facsimile reprints of Longmans’ 1889-1910 originals, heavily edited and revised editions, selected one volume anthologies of the whole series, as well as elaborate gift-book editions. These various new editions have kept Lang's Fairy Books in print, in some form, since the series began in 1889. Moreover, these editions offer insight into how Lang's Fairy Books have been continually modified to meet cultural changes, and they also demonstrate that Lang’s series has retained a lasting popularity for over 100 years.

Adams and Barker identify “use” as their final category for investigating the reception of books. “Use” is a rather vague term, as they explain: “A much more elusive, and in many ways a more important and less understood, aspect of reception is the way that the ideas, and even the actual wording of those ideas, are picked up and used with or without acknowledgement by later writers for a variety of purposes” (30). This category, which is similar to literary concepts such as adaptation and intertextuality, questions whether it is possible to trace ideas, structures, and visual images, for example, from one book to another and how later books appropriate and use these
concepts. Evidence of “using” Lang’s Fairy Books does appear in published literature over the past century. In the first volume of his Discworld series, Terry Pratchett satirized the Fairy Books in *The Colour of Magic* (1983): “Every since he was two years old he had been captivated by the pictures of the fiery beasts in *The Octarine Fairy Book*” (123). Discworld, then, possesses its own fictionalized thirteenth volume of the Fairy Books. Angela Carter, in the introduction to the *Old Wives’ Fairy Tale Book* (1990), indicates that her fairy-tale collection “has been consciously modelled on those anthologies compiled by Andrew Lang at the turn of the century that once gave me so much joy” (xiv). Additionally, in 2009, *The Blue Fairy Book* makes a cameo in A. S. Byatt’s novel *The Children’s Book*: “In 1889 Andrew Lang’s *Blue Fairy Book* appeared. Tales for children suddenly included real magic, myths, invented worlds and creatures” (34). This concluding survey of the afterlife of Lang’s series suggests that while Lang’s original books did retain lasting popularity, their reputation has been augmented and perpetuated primarily through the repeated publication of new and revised editions, each of which adds another layer to the “thickness” of texts that McGann identifies and is discussed in the introduction. Additional publishers, editors, and illustrations, plus new editing, marketing, and production departments mediate between Lang and Longman’s 1889-1910 series and the reader.

---

224 In Pratchett’s Discworld series, the color “Octarine”, based on the mystical number “8”, contains properties of magic.
New Longmans editions of the Fairy Books began as early as 1889, when Longmans published a collectors’ edition of *The Blue Fairy Book*. In 1890 the publisher decided to reissue thirty-four\(^{225}\) of the stories from *The Blue Fairy Book* in seven volumes, collectively titled “Longmans’ Supplementary Readers”. The books were divided into reading levels and marketed as early-reader books to be used in schools or given as prizes. The stories were substantially edited to meet educational standards according to the first four reading levels. The series included images from the 1889 edition but Ford also contributed new illustrations to this series. The *Athenaum* indicates:

“Messrs. Longmans have done a clever stroke of business in dividing Mr. Lang’s *Blue Fairy Book* into seven pretty thin volumes with additional illustrations by Mr. Ford. They will, beyond all doubt, have a prodigious sale, and deservedly, too” (“Our Library Table” Rev. of Longmans Supplementary Readers). Longmans continued to issue volumes of selected stories from the collection for schools and prizes. In 1906, the publisher issued a series of eight books that reproduced a mixture of stories from

\[^{225}\] “A Voyage to Lilliput” and the two Scottish stories – “The Red Etin” and “The Black Bull of Narroway” – are not included in this series.
various original volumes: *The Elf Maiden and Other Stories* (Brown, Pink, and Yellow), *The Magic Ring and Other Stories* (Yellow and Crimson), *The Snow Queen and Other Stories* (Pink and Crimson), *Pretty Goldilocks and Other Stories* (Brown, Blue, and Green), *Trusty John and Other Stories* (Grey, Violet, Brown, and Blue), *Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp and Other Stories* (Blue, Brown, and Pink), *The Golden Mermaid and Other Stories* (Pink, Green, and Crimson), and *Little Wildrose and Other Stories* (Crimson). The volumes include many of Ford’s original illustrations along with one color frontispiece from the color illustrations that appeared in the *Violet* through *Lilac* books. The books do not contain gilt edges, are printed on cheaper paper, and are typeset using a larger font. Given the lack of additional features, the lower quality, and retail price (2s 6d), this series is clearly aimed at a different market than the original series. Adams and Barker indicate that “The possession of books thus became important to many levels of society, and the publisher and the bookseller were able to supply them all at appropriate prices” (32). By producing editions that range from these lower-cost series through to the limited collectors’ editions of the first three titles, Longmans purposefully capitalized on this concept and issued the Fairy Books in a range of formats to appeal to a wide market. The company continued to use series techniques, packaging the books in uniform covers of varying colors, and branding the series with Lang’s name. In these editions, it is, once again, insufficient to purchase one volume; instead, each book belongs to a larger collection. In 1923 Longmans issued another series of books that recombined stories from 1889-1910, included Ford’s color and black and white illustrations, and used a similar title structure as the 1906 series: *The Blue Parrot and Other Stories, The Fairy Nurse and Other Stories, The King of the Waterfalls and Other Stories,*
Little King Loc and Other Stories, The Magic Book and Other Stories (Blue and Lilac), The Satin Surgeon and Other Stories, The Snake Prince and Other Stories, The White Doe and Other Stories. Both the 1906 and the 1923 series recombine the stories creating new networks and connections between the fairy-tale narratives.

Once the first series ended in 1910, Longmans continued to reprint the original twelve books throughout the 1910s and 1920s. In 1929, Longmans reissued a new “Authorised Crown Edition”, which was reprinted through the 1930s and 1940s. In 1949, Longmans commissioned a newly edited and illustrated edition of The Blue Fairy Book. This series continued until 1951 and was comprised of nine volumes with identical covers of varying colors. Mary Gould Davis edited the series, which was illustrated by Ben Kutcher (Blue 1949 and Crimson 1951), Dorothy Lake Gregory (Green 1949 and Violet 1951), Marc Simont (Red 1950), Annie Vaughan (Olive 1950), Janice Holland (Yellow 1950), Christine Price (Orange 1950), and Vera Bock (Rose 1951). The Blue, Red, Green, Yellow, Violet, and Crimson volumes contain selections from the original volumes of the same colors. The Olive, Orange, and Rose volumes contain combinations of stories from multiple original volumes. Davis’s Olive Fairy Book, for example includes selections of stories with “Eastern philosophy” whereas her newly-added Rose Fairy Book includes stories of romance from France, Italy, and Spain. Overall, this series focuses on storytelling. The primary purpose of the series appears to be resetting the stories in a “larger, more readable type” and in her prefaces, Gould offers brief analysis of tale variants and discusses popular storytellers of the time. The series was published not long after
Green’s first biography on Lang and Gould references Green’s work indirectly in her prefaces.

Davis repeatedly juxtaposes the context in which Lang’s series was first published with her current time period. She reiterates that the 1910s—“in the light of two world wars and modern invention”—must seem “centuries away” to readers in the 1950s (Crimson vi). Nevertheless, she adheres to Lang’s theories of universalism, insisting that “The love of fairy tales is common to all peoples” (Blue vi). Interestingly, in the early years of the United Nations (founded in 1945), Davis represents Lang’s series as a utopia of cultural diversity and acceptance. Whereas Lang considers fairy tales to be evident for the universal trajectory of human evolution, Davis considers the stories’ universal appeal to be a foundation for cultural education. Indicating that “In our world today people are searching everywhere for stories that will bring to children knowledge and understanding of races other than their own”, Davis contends that Lang’s series “will take its proper place in a world where understanding among different races and different cultures must begin in childhood—if we are to achieve a just and lasting peace” (Violet x; Orange x). According to Davis’s prefaces, fairy tales can become conduits for cross-cultural communication, which will subsequently facilitate international peace.

Davis very specifically positions Lang’s Fairy Books as an antidote to contemporary societal concerns. “In our sorry world of today”, Davis writes, “boys and girls will be all the better for a trip with Andrew Lang to his Fairyland” (Rose vii). The illustrations, however, betray a different set of conventions. The representations of
black servants that appear in Ford’s illustrations are effectually eliminated in this edition, along with all racial diversity. Cultural diversity is represented through landscape, architecture, and sartorial imagery, but all the figures in the illustrations for this edition are white. Although this series was published by Longmans, the primary city of publication is listed as New York in most of the volumes. The prefaces use English spelling, but Davis, writing in New York, addresses American readers in Crimson Fairy Book (vi). In the United States, segregation in schools did not officially end until 1954 with the Supreme Court decision of the landmark case Brown versus The Board of Education. This case, however, did not end segregation in other public areas. It is within this context that Davis’s edition appeared and, whether intentional or not, the overt ideologies of race that exist in Ford’s illustrations of 1889-1910 have been modified in this edition in favor of the segregation of the early 1950s.


---

226 The one exception appears in Rose Fairy Book (169).
227 Alderson’s lists of sources are located in Appendix G. The order of the stories in this appendix matches Lang’s edition and not Alderson’s revised edition.
many changes have been made – from the alteration of a single word to the deleting or re-working of whole stories . . .” (ix). In addition, Alderson includes Lang’s lengthy introductions to the collectors’ editions of The Blue Fairy Book and The Red Fairy Book as appendices to his respective volumes along with a critical essay in a second appendix to The Blue Fairy Book. In this critical essay, Alderson comments on the branding strategies used for the series and he infers that the success of the Fairy Books was likely due to Lang’s “authority” (360) and writes:

Hitherto most general collections of traditional tales for children had been gleaned haphazardly from other printed sources without too much regard for their status or authenticity. Here however we find a scholar, who was also a leading light in the Folk-lore Society, and who had prepared what up to that time was probably the best French text of Perrault, turning his eye to texts suitable for children. (360)

Whereas Davis prioritizes storytelling in her editions, Alderson’s professed editorial strategy is to “bring the book a little more into harmony with the kind of volume looked for by critics” who were more interested in folklore than literature (360). In doing so, Alderson cuts the “literary’ stories” and also offers new translations of other tales. 228 Such editorial changes reflect Alderson’s privileging of the folkloric component of Lang’s series, but disregards the balance of folklore and literature present throughout the collection. As is discussed at length in Chapter Two, Lang’s Fairy Books are most successful precisely because of the point on which they are most criticized: the Fairy Books combine Lang’s knowledge of fairy tales with his interest in literature. To delete the literary contributions to The Blue Fairy Book indicates a failure to appreciate the balance between the two that Lang achieved within the Fairy Books.

228 In The Blue Fairy Book, Alderson cuts May Kendall’s version of “A Voyage to Lilliput” and in The Yellow Fairy Book he removes three French tales from the Cabinet des Fées as these stories are deemed too literary.
Regarding the folkloric component, however, Alderson’s editions provide useful information about the source materials for Lang’s series. Alderson conducted a tremendous amount of research to identify the printed sources and his notes on the stories provide some of the meticulous details on source materials that are lacking in Lang’s original editions.229 Interestingly, what Alderson provides is a detailed bibliographic history of the stories, but he tends to emphasize the oral quality of the fairy tales, when applicable. Lang’s footnote on “East of the Sun and West of the Moon” states simply “Asbjørnsen and Moe” (sic). Alderson provides the full citation: “From ‘Ostenfor Sol og Vestenfor Maane’ in Norske Folk Eventyr by P. C. Asbjørnsen and J. Moe (Part II, First Supplement. Christiania, 1842. Part I was

229 Alderson’s scholarly approach is further evident when comparing his edition to Davis’s. She makes several factual errors in her prefaces, including misrepresenting original dates of publication.
published the year before)” (364). Alderson’s citations are useful for scholars interested in translation studies and comparative analysis. His research also provides extensive contextual material for the stories. In addition to the citation for “East of the Sun West of the Moon”, Alderson offers a brief synopsis of the story’s translation history:

The translation given here is not of Mrs Alfred Hunt, whose ‘version’ Lang used, but that of Sir George Webbe Dasent from *Popular Tales from the Norse* (Edinburgh, 1859). It is not clear how far Mrs Hunt herself translated Asbjörnsen and Moe, or how far she relied on previous translations, but Lang certainly admired Dasent’s work (see above, page 357, and the Preface to *The Olive Fairy Book*, 1907) and his version has been preferred here for its greater strength and ‘tellability’. Only in one or two small instances has Dasent’s phrasing itself been interfered with to further improve these points. (364)

While perhaps useful for the researcher, Alderson's retranslation effectively removes one of the vital components of Lang’s series: the translators. Nevertheless, Alderson’s editions are interesting because they appear to have three agendas. Given the extensive research conducted and the information provided in these editions, the books seem to be aimed towards bibliographic and folklore scholars. The editions are also newly illustrated by John Lawrence (Blue), Faith Jaques (Red), Antony Maitland (Green), Erik Blegvad (Yellow), and Colin McNaughton (Pink). The illustrations, which are more jovial and far less complicated or dramatic than Ford’s illustrations, indicate that these editions were meant for a younger audience. The blurb for *The Blue Fairy Book* betrays this ambiguity. It states: “Andrew Lang’s Blue Fairy Book has long given pleasure to countless readers . . .” without attempting to define who these readers might be.
Each volume is printed on quality paper with a cloth case binding in the color of the respective title, with the exception of *The Pink Fairy Book*, whose case is white, but embossed in pink ink on the spine. The dust jackets, also in the respective colors, contain Lang’s name, the title, a color illustration of one image from within, and “Edited by Brian Alderson”. The end papers are also colored accordingly and the books retailed for £6.50/$14.95. The quality of the books’ materials and the price indicate that these editions, like the original, are meant to be gifts and should be collected.

Interestingly in the preface to *The Green Fairy Book* (1978), Alderson finds himself in the same position as Lang in *The Yellow Fairy Book* (1894): that of defender. In his Notes, Alderson writes, “In general [*The Blue Fairy Book*] was accorded a kindly reception – the most serious criticism, as anticipated, being directed at the decision to ‘tamper’ with Lang’s texts” (398). Alderson’s defense is quoted here, because it reveals his perceptions of this publishing venture:

> If might therefore be worth reiterating here that the frame and virtue of Lang’s enterprise did not so much reside in the individual characteristics of particular stories as in the emerging concept of a sequence of books, each of which would present a diversity of material within a unified design. Cumulatively the series took on the character of a worldwide anthology, assembled by a man with claims to be one of the leading folklorists of his generation. If such a view of the Colour Fairy Books is accepted there would seem to be little argument against amending texts which Lang chose, or even omitting some which, by current standards, can be seen as either feeble or outside the admittedly broad limits of authenticity which Lang allowed himself. The present editor has adopted what he hopes is a consistent brief: that his prime duty lies towards the stories which Lang chose and that these should be reassembled book by book in the best versions and in a way that makes the best sense for modern readers. By finding Lang’s sources and by checking his versions against those on which they were based the present editor hopes to enhance rather than lessen the stature of Lang’s anthology. (398)
Alderson, then, applies the same scientific precision to his editions that Lang was
criticized for not having in his own. Alderson also introduces modifications that are
reflective of concerns from the late 1970s and early 1980s; for example, *The Yellow
Fairy Book*, Alderson does not include the story “The Glass Axe”. In the 1894
edition, a female figure is represented as black in Ford’s first illustration. After
undergoing “disenchantment” and becoming “the most beautiful girl” the prince had
ever seen, she is depicted as white in the second illustration. Alderson specifically
cuts the story because the racial ideologies are “now deemed unacceptable” (325).
Unlike Davis’s series, Alderson does not offer Lang’s collection of fairy stories as an
antidote to social concerns, nor does he represent the stories as a projection of a
future utopia. Instead, Alderson’s editions are more concerned with looking
backwards and correcting the past. He offers detailed information that Lang
overlooked, and removes stories that do not accord with current sensibilities. As
such, in editing Lang’s transcultural text, Alderson implicitly adds another layer of
ideologies that the Fairy Books communicate.

For readers who, like the reviewer quoted above, might want “untampered” versions
of Lang’s books, Dover issued facsimile reproductions of the original editions
between 1965-1968, which are still in print. This edition is available in paperback;
it was originally priced between $2.50 and $3 and currently retails for $10.95. The
books’ covers claim to be “Complete and Unabridged, Every Word, Every One of the

---

230 For an analysis on the cultural implications of this story and how these illustrations correspond to
Lang’s theories of fairy tales, see Hines “Collecting the Empire” (2010).
231 Three books were published each year, and the order mostly accords with the original order, with a
few exceptions. The publication dates are as follows: *Blue* (1965), *Red* (1966), *Green* (1965), *Yellow*
(1968), and *Lilac* (1968).
Illustrations” (Fig. 25) and the books include Lang’s prefaces, his source notes for the stories, and Ford’s, Jacomb-Hood’s, and Speed’s original illustrations. They do not, however, include Lang’s introductions to the collectors’ editions of the Blue and Red Fairy Books. Like the original series, the covers are color-coordinated to match the titles.

![Cover of Dover’s Edition of The Pink Fairy Book (1968)](image)

**Fig. 25 Cover of Dover’s Edition of The Pink Fairy Book (1968)**

The advertising blurbs included on the back covers all follow a similar structure and professes many of the same assertions. Each book proclaims:

> It is almost impossible to envision what childhood would be like without the enchanting world of fairyland... From the day that they were first printed, the Lang fairy tale books of many colors have entertained thousands of boys and girls, as they have also brought pleasure to the many parents who have read these unforgettable classics to their children... Not only are Lang’s generally conceded to be the best English versions of standard stories, his collections are the richest and widest in range. His position as one of England’s foremost folklorists as well as his first-rate literary abilities makes his
collections unmatchable in the English language. *(The Blue Fairy Book* 1965)

Some version of this description appears on all twelve volumes. In the ellipses from the above quotation are individual descriptions of each volume. *The Blue Fairy Book,* as usual, is described as containing “some of the best known tales” *; The Brown Fairy Book* “is a delectable assortment of adventures from all over the world,” and “In *The Violet Fairy Book* we hear strange and exotic tale from the far corners of the earth”. In these blurbs, Dover capitalizes on Lang’s literary acumen, referring to the “clear lively prose for which Lang was famous” in each volume, but the oral associations are not lost as the tales are “told in the common language of fairy tales” *(Violet; Grey)* and “*The Orange Fairy Book* delves into the oral traditions”. Although Ford’s name appears on the title pages, as in the originals, no mention is made of his illustrations in the blurbs.

The editions discussed thus far replicate the series format of the original editions, even if the stories have been reorganized and reassembled. However, there have been a number of single-volume editions that contain a small selection of stories from all twelve books. In 1963 and 1967, Kathleen Lines edited *Fifty Favourite Fairy Tales: Chosen from the Colour Fairy Books of Andrew Lang and More Favourite Fairy Tales.* Lines provides a brief afterword in which she maintains that “The recently re-designed Fairy Books . . . are evidence that Lang’s influence and the debt owing to him by children have extended long past his own time” (363). The influence has continued and other anthologies have appeared in each subsequent decade. In 1973, The Bodley Head republished Lines’s first volume. In 1986, Michael Hearn edited

232 Likely referring to Davis’s editions.
Andrew Lang’s Fairy Tale Book: 41 Stories from Around the World for Signet Classics. Dial Books published a gift edition in 1994, which was introduced by Neil Philip, entitled A World of Fairy Tales, focuses more on Ford’s illustrations than Lang’s text. Shoes and Ships and Sealing Wax published The Complete “Fairy Books” Series Traditional Folk Tales and Fairy Stories From Around the World in 2006 and Dover issued The Rainbow Fairy Book in 2007. The Fairy Books would have gone out of copyright in the 1960s, thereby explaining these numerous editions. Currently there are also a number of digital editions available for e-readers.

Hearn’s edition includes a combination of classic and lesser-known stories. This paperback edition is printed on cheap, mass-market paper, and originally retailed for $3.50. The edition opens with a brief biography on Lang, claiming that he was “A man out of place in the modern world” (n. pag.). Hearn both edited the edition and also provided an extensive afterward. In the contents list, each story is followed by a cultural identifier. According to the contents, stories range from “English” and “Celtic” to “American Indian”, “Lappish”, “Swahili”, and “Japanese”. These identifiers do not provide the detailed print sources of the stories, but do differentiate the stories and acknowledge the international scope of the collection. These same cultural identifiers are included underneath the title at the beginning of each story, once again reminding readers of the diversity within the collection. In addition, each story is concluded with a reference to the original volume from the Fairy Book series from which the story is derived. The book includes a selection of Ford’s original illustrations and his signature appears in the illustration on the front cover, although
his name is not included on the title page. The front cover design is reminiscent of the Dover 1960s editions.

This particular edition appears to be more interested in the child market and does not directly address a dual audience. The back cover blurb indicates that, “these special stories . . . if not for Andrew Lang, might have long faded from the collective consciousness of childhood”. In Hearn’s afterward, he claims: “In effect, what Lang achieved was the creation of a new Cabinet des fées but one designed for British boys and girls” (495) and concludes by referring to the “eternal gratitude of children” (499) for Lang’s collection. Although acknowledged as the editor, Hearn appears to have made no editorial changes within the text, and the stories retain their original English spelling. Hearn’s editorial strategy is apparent, however, and in many ways follows Lang’s own approach. The edition seemingly addresses children and yet provides a scholarly essay as well as extensive source material for the stories. Hearn, like Lang, emphasizes the cultural variety of these tales. Overall, Hearn dislocates the stories from their context, but provides information within this single edition that continually refers back to the larger collection.

Despite the cheaper publication quality, the Signet edition retains much of the contextual qualities that are missing from Dover’s 2007 edition: The Rainbow Fairy Book. Dover’s volume is a compilation of “thirty-one enchanting selections drawn from Andrew Lang’s famous series of colorfully titled fairy tale anthologies”. The stories come from nine of the Fairy Books (Blue, Red, Green, Yellow, Pink, Grey, Crimson, Olive and Lilac). This volume is not illustrated and the type has been reset.
Although the copyright page indicates from which books the selections were obtained, no further information is provided to connect the individual stories to their respective volumes. The stories included are a combination of the classics – such as “East of the Sun and West of the Moon”, “Hansel and Gretel”, and “Rapunzel”, but not “Cinderella”, “Beauty and the Beast” or “Little Red Riding-Hood” – and some lesser-known tales – such as “The Battle of the Birds” and “The Donkey Cabbage”. As with their 1960s editions, Dover addresses the dual audience, asserting: “Lyrical and timeless, these are the stories that have captured the imaginations of children and adults alike for generations”. The oral associations of fairy tales are not highlighted in this volume; instead, Lang is described as “Scholar, poet, novelist, and literary critic”, thus prioritizing his literary reputation over his folkloric one. This edition is printed on quality paper and retails for $12.95.

The stories in this edition have been moderately edited, although no editor is listed on the title or copyright page. In “The Twelve Dancing Princesses”, for example, “little cow-boy” (Red 1890 1) is changed to “young herdsman” (Rainbow 194). These minimal changes do little more than modernize the language, but the overall changes in this edition are significant. This edition provides no contextual information for these stories, something that was crucial to Lang’s editions. Despite criticisms from other folklorists, Lang’s interest in anthropology and folk lore actually pervaded his editing style. In all of Lang’s Fairy Books, there is a clear sense that the stories come from somewhere specific. He discusses this concept in his prefaces and provides source material throughout the volume. The absence of an explanatory note and the source material in Dover’s Rainbow Fairy Book, in addition to not providing
adequate information to match story to volume, decontextualizes and dislocates these stories. This edition no longer contains continuity or the unity of a collection that exists in Lang’s original series.

Finally, in 2003, the Folio Society decided to include Andrew Lang’s Blue Fairy Book in their catalogue over 100 years after the book was originally published. According to the publisher’s website: “From our first books in 1947 we have made it our goal to furnish readers with beautiful and authoritative editions of great literary works”. Inclusion in this catalogue of “great literary works” is testament to the status and reputation of the Fairy Books. The publisher includes Lang’s books in the children’s books list, with introductions by children’s authors (Joan Aiken) and scholars of children’s and fantasy literature (Jack Zipes, Maria Tatar, and Alison Lurie), but at £44.95 each, these books are unlikely to be sitting on many children’s bookshelves. Indeed, prefaces by Carol Ann Duffy and A. S. Byatt are calculated to appeal to adult readers of literature more so than children. Folio Society books are extensively illustrated, printed on high quality paper, and use fine typography. According to their tagline, the Folio Society produces “Books you love to own”. Such phrasing highlights the collection, possession, and exhibition phenomenon that are integral to the Fairy Book series.

The Folio Society editions, like all the editions before it capitalize on current social trends. These Fairy Books retain a sense of diversity, but in this edition, that diversity is reflected in the choice of illustrators. Illustrators of the Folio Society Fairy Books include Charles Van Sandwyk of South Africa (Blue), Niroott Puttapipat of Thailand (Red), Julian de Navarez of Bogotá of Columbia (Green), Omar Rayyan of the
United States (*Brown*), and Danuta Mayer (*Yellow*), Debra McFarlane (*Pink*), Bob Venables (*Violet*), and Tim Stevens (*Crimson*) all from the United Kingdom.\(^{233}\)

Fig. 26 Covers of the Folio Society Editions

Folio Society editions emphasize the art and craftsmanship of book production. According to the publisher’s marketing materials: “Exceptional in every way, a Folio Society edition will become a treasured keepsake in your collection”. “Treasured

\(^{233}\) Websites and portfolio pages containing biographical information about these contemporary illustrators are listed under the artists’ surnames in the Works Cited.
keepsake” recalls the *Athenæum* review from 1889 cited in the introduction, which wrote of Lang’s *Blue Fairy Book*: “Here we find gathered together treasures, new and old, from all lands”. For over one hundred years, the collection has been represented as holding the treasures of fairyland. Although the genre of the stories is undoubtedly influential on the series’ reception, continual reprints and new editions have ensured that the Fairy Books have indeed been “household book[s] for many a long year”.

Lang’s Fairy Book series remains fertile ground for further research, and there is a wide scope for future research on the textual modifications and new illustrations in all these editions of the Fairy Books. As this thesis has demonstrated, the series is significant not only because it synthesizes trends in printed collections of fairy tales in the Victorian and Edwardian periods, but also because it has continued to influence fairy-tale collections published during the past century. Furthermore, general surveys of printed fairy tales in Britain in the nineteenth century are conspicuously absent from fairy-tale scholarship and book history studies. While the source material presented here provides an immediate context for Lang’s series, an expanded bibliographic analysis of the range of books published under the title of “Fairy Tale” would offer further insight into shifting perceptions of this concept and would also provide a more comprehensive understanding children’s book market in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Finally, the stories – whether the classic tales told over and over again or the unfamiliar versions that appear later in the series – that comprise the Fairy Book have, as yet, not received substantial critical treatment. Nevertheless, their presence in Lang’s collection creates intertextual dialogues across fairy-tale narratives that further expose the internal complexities of this kaleidoscopic
collection of Fairy Books. This thesis has demonstrated how Andrew Lang’s Fairy
Books played a vital role in the material presentation, ‘commodification’, and
conceptualization of the fairy tale in print at the end of the nineteenth and early
twentieth centuries; and shown that no matter how elusive or shape-shifting the fairy
tale mode may be, the series has returned in the present as a material package once
more to be collected.
## Appendix A: Classic Fairy Tales

Classic Fairy Tales by Peter and Iona Opie

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variant</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Fairy Book</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The History of Tom Thumb</td>
<td>French: Perrault</td>
<td><em>The Blue Fairy Book</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack the Giant Killer</td>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>The Blue Fairy Book</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Yellow Dwarf</td>
<td>French: d'Aulnoy</td>
<td><em>The Blue Fairy Book</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sleeping Beauty</td>
<td>French: Perrault</td>
<td><em>The Blue Fairy Book</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Red Ridinghood</td>
<td>French: Perrault</td>
<td><em>The Blue Fairy Book</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diamonds and Toads</td>
<td>French: Perrault</td>
<td><em>The Blue Fairy Book</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bluebeard</td>
<td>French: Perrault</td>
<td><em>The Blue Fairy Book</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puss in Boots</td>
<td>French: Perrault</td>
<td><em>The Blue Fairy Book</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinderella</td>
<td>French: Perrault</td>
<td><em>The Blue Fairy Book</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hop o' my Thumb</td>
<td>French: Perrault</td>
<td><em>The Blue Fairy Book</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauty and the Beast</td>
<td>French: de Villeneuve</td>
<td><em>The Blue Fairy Book</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Three Wishes</td>
<td>German: Grimm</td>
<td>not included</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Three Heads in the Well</td>
<td>Norwegian: Moe</td>
<td><em>The Red Fairy Book</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack and the Beanstalk</td>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>The Red Fairy Book</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs</td>
<td>German: Grimm</td>
<td><em>The Red Fairy Book</em> (as “Snowdrop”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Frog Prince</td>
<td>German: Grimm</td>
<td>Not included</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Twelve Dancing Princesses</td>
<td>German: Grimm</td>
<td><em>The Red Fairy Book</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumplestiltzkin</td>
<td>German: Grimm</td>
<td><em>The Blue Fairy Book</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goldilocks and the Three Bears</td>
<td>English: Southey</td>
<td><em>The Green Fairy Book</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Tinder Box</td>
<td>Danish: Andersen</td>
<td><em>The Yellow Fairy Book</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Princess and the Pea</td>
<td>Danish: Andersen</td>
<td><em>The Yellow Fairy Book</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thumbelina</td>
<td>Danish: Andersen</td>
<td><em>The Yellow Fairy Book</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Swineherd  Danish: Andersen  *The Yellow Fairy Book*
Hansel and Gretel  German: Grimm  *The Blue Fairy Book*

**Classic Fairy Tales by Maria Tatar**

Little Red Riding Hood
Beauty and the Beast
Snow White
Cinderella
Bluebeard
Hansel and Gretel
Hans Christian Andersen
Oscar Wilde
**Appendix B: Sources for the Fairy Books**

*The Blue Fairy Book* (1889)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East of the Sun and West of the Moon</td>
<td>Asbjornsen and Moe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Yellow Dwarf</td>
<td>Madame d'Aulnoy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Red Riding-Hood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sleeping Beauty in the Wood Cinderella; or, the Little Glass Slipper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp</td>
<td>Arabian Nights.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Tale of the Youth who Set out to Learn what Fear was</td>
<td>Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumpelstiltzkin</td>
<td>Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauty and the Beast</td>
<td><em>La Belle et la Bête</em>. Par Madame de Villeneuve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Master Maid</td>
<td>Asbjornsen and Moe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why the Sea is Salt</td>
<td>Asbjornsen and Moe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Master Cat; or, Puss in Boots</td>
<td>Charles Perrault.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felicia and the Pot of Pinks</td>
<td><em>Fortunée</em>. Par Madame la Comtesse d'Aulnoy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The White Cat</td>
<td><em>La Chatte blanche</em>. Par Madame la Comtesse d'Aulnoy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Water-Lily. The Gold-Spinners</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Terrible Head</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of Pretty Goldilocks</td>
<td>Madame d'Aulnoy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The History of Whittington</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Wonderful Sheep</td>
<td>Madame d'Aulnoy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Thumb</td>
<td>Charles Perrault.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Forty Thieves</td>
<td><em>Arabian Nights</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hansel and Gretel</td>
<td>Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snow-White and Rose-Red</td>
<td>Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Goose-Girl</td>
<td>Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toads and Diamonds</td>
<td>Charles Perrault.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is considerable inconsistency in Lang’s citation style and the spelling of source titles. Furthermore, there are a number of errors in these source listings. It is unknown whether mistakes such as “Märchen”, are due to Lang’s oversight or typographical errors. To maintain consistency, and provide an accurate portrayal of the way that sources were presented in the Fairy Books, these idiosyncrasies, including spelling and punctuation, have been preserved.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author/Translator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prince Darling</td>
<td>Cabinet des Fées.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Beard</td>
<td>Charles Perrault.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trusty John</td>
<td>Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Brave Little Tailor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Voyage to Lilliput</td>
<td>Swift.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Princess on the Glass Hill</td>
<td>Asbjornsen and Mœ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The History of Jack the Giant-Killer</td>
<td>Old Chapbook.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Black Bull of Norroway</td>
<td>Chambers. Popular Traditions of Scotland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Red Etin</td>
<td>Chambers. Popular Traditions of Scotland.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The Red Fairy Book (1890)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author/Translator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Twelve Dancing Princesses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Princess Mayblossom</td>
<td>La Princesse Printanièr. Par Mme. d'Aulnoy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soria Moria Castle</td>
<td>From P. C. Asbjornsen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Death of Koschei the Deathless</td>
<td>Ralston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Black Thief and Knight of the Glen</td>
<td>The Hibernian Tales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Master Thief</td>
<td>From P. C. Asbjornsen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother and Sister</td>
<td>Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Princess Rosette</td>
<td>Madame d'Aulnoy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Enchanted Pig</td>
<td>Rumänische Märchen übersetzt von Nite (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Norka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Wonderful Birch</td>
<td>From the Russo-Karelian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack and the Beanstalk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Little Good Mouse</td>
<td>La bonne petite Souris, par Madame d'Aulnoy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Three Princesses of Whiteland</td>
<td>From J. Moe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Voice of Death</td>
<td>Roumanian Tales from the German of Mite Thremnitz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Six Sillies</td>
<td>Story from Hainaut. (M. Lemoine. La Tradition. No. 34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kari Woodengown</td>
<td>From P. C. Asbjornsen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drakestail</td>
<td>Contes of Ch. Marelles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ratcatcher</td>
<td>Ch. Marelles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The True History of Little Goldenhood</td>
<td>Ch. Marelles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Golden Branch</td>
<td>Le Rameau d'Or. Par Madame d'Aulnoy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Three Dwarfs</td>
<td>Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dapplegrim</td>
<td>From J. Moe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Enchanted Canary</td>
<td>Charles Daulin, Contes du Roi Gambrinus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Twelve Brothers</td>
<td>Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rapunzel</td>
<td>Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nettle Spinner</td>
<td>Ch. Deulin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer Weatherbeard</td>
<td>From P. C. Asbjornsen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother Holle</td>
<td>Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnikin</td>
<td>From J. Moe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bushy Bride</td>
<td>From J. Moe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snowdrop</td>
<td>Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Golden Goose</td>
<td>Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Seven Foals</td>
<td>From J. Moe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Marvellous Musician</td>
<td>Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of Sigurd</td>
<td>The Volsunga Saga.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Blue Bird</td>
<td>L'Oiseau Bleu. Par Mme. d'Aulnoy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Half-Chick</td>
<td>Spanish Tradition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of the Caliph Stork</td>
<td>Deulin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Enchanted Watch</td>
<td>Deulin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosanella</td>
<td>By the Comte de Caylus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sylvain and Jocosa</td>
<td>By the Comte de Caylus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairy Gifts</td>
<td>By the Comte de Caylus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Narcissus and the Princess Potentilla</td>
<td>La Princesses Pimprenelle et Le Prince Romarin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Featherhead and the Princess Celandine</td>
<td>Le Prince Muguet et la Princesses Zaza.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Three Little Pigs</td>
<td>Comte de Caylus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart of Ice</td>
<td>Comte de Caylus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Enchanted Ring</td>
<td>Fénelon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Snuff-box</td>
<td>Sébillot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Golden Blackbird</td>
<td>Sébillot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Little Soldier</td>
<td>Charles Deulin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Magic Swan</td>
<td>Kletke.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Dirty Shepherdess</td>
<td>Sébillot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Enchanted Snake</td>
<td>Sébillot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Biter Bit</td>
<td>Kletke.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King Kojata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Fickle and Fair Helena</td>
<td>(From the German)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puddocky</td>
<td>(From the German)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of Hok Lee and the Dwarfs</td>
<td>From the Chinese.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of the Three Bears</td>
<td>Southey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Vivien and the Princess Placidia</td>
<td>Nonchalante et Papillon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little One-eye, Little Two-eyes,</td>
<td>Grimm.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and Little Three-eyes
Jorinde and Joringel  Grimm.
Allerleirauh; or, the Many-furred Creature  Grimm.
The Twelve Huntsmen  Grimm.
Spindle, Shuttle, and Needle  Grimm.
The Crysall Coffin  Grimm.
The Three Snake-leaves  Grimm.
The Riddle  Grimm.
Jack my Hedgehog  Grimm.
The Golden Lads  Grimm.
The White Snake  Grimm.
The Story of a Cleaver Tailor  Grimm.
The Golden Mermaid  Grimm.
The War of the Wolf and the Fox  Grimm.
The Story of the Fisherman and his Wife  Grimm.
The Three Musicians  Grimm.
The Three Dogs  Grimm.

The Yellow Fairy Book (1894)
The Cat and the Mouse in Partnership
The Six Swans
The Dragon of the North
Story of the Emperor's New Clothes  Andersen.
The Golden Crab  'Prinz Krebs,' from Griechische Mährchen. Schmidt.
The Iron Stove  Grimm.
The Dragon and his Grandmother
The Donkey Cabbage
The Little Green Frog  Cabinet des Fées.
The Seven-headed Serpent  'Die Siebenköpfige Schlange,' from Schmidt's Griechische Mährchen.
The Grateful Beasts  From the Hungarian. Kletke.
The Giants and the Herd-boy  From the Bukowniaer. Von Wliocki.
The Invisible Prince
The Crow  From the Polish. Kletke.
How Six Men travelled through the Wide World
The Wizard King  From Les Fées illustres.
The Nixy  From the German. Kletke.
The Glass Mountain  From the Polish. Kletke.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alphege, or the Green Monkey</td>
<td>Fairer-than-a-Fairy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Three Brothers</td>
<td>From the Polish. Kletke.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Boy and the Wolves, or the Broken Promise</td>
<td>A North American Indian story.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Glass Axe</td>
<td>From the Hungarian. Kletke.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Dead Wife</td>
<td>From the Iroquois.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the Land of Souls</td>
<td>From the Red Indian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The White Duck</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Witch and her Servants</td>
<td>From the Russian. Kletke.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Magic Ring</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Flower Queen's Daughter</td>
<td>From the <em>Bukowinaer</em>. Von Wliocki.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Flying Ship</td>
<td>From the Russian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Snow-daughter and the Fire-son</td>
<td>From the <em>Bukowinaer Tales and Legends</em>. Von Wliocki.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of King Frost</td>
<td>From the Russian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Death of the Sun-hero</td>
<td>From the <em>Bukowinaer Tales and Legends</em>. Von Wliocki.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Witch</td>
<td>From the Russian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hazel-nut Child</td>
<td>From the <em>Bukowinaer</em>. Von Wliolocki. (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of Big Klaus and Little Klaus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Ring</td>
<td>From the Icelandic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Swineherd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How to tell a True Princess</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Blue Mountains</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Tinder-box</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Witch in the Stone Boat</td>
<td>From the Icelandic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thumbelina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nightingale</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hermod and Hadvor</td>
<td>From the Icelandic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Steadfast Tin-soldier</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blockhead Hans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Story about a Darning-needle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Pink Fairy Book (1897)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How the Dragon was Tricked</td>
<td>From <em>Griechische und Albanesische Märchen</em>, von J.G. von Hahn. (Leipzig: Engelmann. 1864.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Goblin and the Grocer</td>
<td>Translated from the German of Hans Andersen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The House in the Wood</td>
<td>From the German of Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story Title</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Slaying of the Tanuki</td>
<td>From the <em>Japanische Märchen und Sagen</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Flying Trunk</td>
<td>Translated from the German of Hans Andersen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Snow Man</td>
<td>Translated from the German of Hans Christian Andersen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Shirt-Collar</td>
<td>Translated from the German of Hans Christian Andersen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Princess in the Chest</td>
<td>Translated from the Danish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Three Brothers</td>
<td>Translated from the German of the Brothers Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Snow-queen</td>
<td>Translated from the German of Hans Andersen by Miss Alma Alleyne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Fir-Tree</td>
<td>Translated from the German of Hans Christian Andersen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hans, the Mermaid's Son</td>
<td>Translated from the Danish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Bull</td>
<td>From the Danish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Bird 'Grip'</td>
<td>Translated from the Swedish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I know what I have learned</td>
<td>From the Danish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Cunning Shoemaker</td>
<td><em>Sicilianische Mährchen</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The King who would have a Beautiful Wife</td>
<td><em>Sicilianische Mährchen</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catherine and her Destiny</td>
<td><em>Sicilianische Mährchen</em>, von Laura Gozenbach. Leipzig, Englemann, 1870.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How the Hermit helped to win the King's Daughter</td>
<td><em>Sicilianische Mährchen</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Water of Life</td>
<td><em>Cuentos Populares Catalans</em>, per lo Dr. D. Francisco de S. Maspous y Labros. Barcelona, 1885.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Wounded Lion</td>
<td><em>Cuentos Populares Catalans</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Man without a Heart</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Two Brothers</td>
<td><em>Sicilianische Mährchen</em>. L. Gozenbach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master and Pupil</td>
<td>From the Danish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Golden Lion</td>
<td><em>Sicilianische Mährchen</em>. L. Gonzenbach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sprig of Rosemary</td>
<td><em>Cuentos Populares Catalans</em>, par lo Dr. D. Francisco de S. Maspous y Labros (Barcelona: Librería de Don Alvar Verdaguier, 1885).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The White Dove</td>
<td>From the Danish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Troll's Daughter</td>
<td>From the Danish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esben and the Witch</td>
<td>From the Danish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Princess Minon-Minette</td>
<td><em>Bibliothèque des Fées et des Génies</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maiden Bright-eye</td>
<td>From the Danish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Merry Wives</td>
<td>From the Danish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King Lindorm</td>
<td>From the Swedish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sparrow with the Slit Tongue</td>
<td>From the <em>Japanische Märchen und Sagen</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of Ciccu</td>
<td>From <em>Sicilianische Mährchen</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Giovanni de la Fortuna</td>
<td>From <em>Sicilianische Mährchen</em>.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The Grey Fairy Book (1900)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Donkey Skin</td>
<td>[From <em>Le Cabinet des Fées</em>.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Goblin Pony</td>
<td>[From the French, <em>Kletke</em>.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Impossible Enchantment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of Dschemil and Dschemila</td>
<td>[Märchen un Gedichte aus der Stadt Tripolis.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janni and the Draken</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Partnership of the Thief and the Liar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortunatus and his Purse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Goat-faced Girl</td>
<td>[From the Italian. <em>Kletke</em>.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What came of picking Flowers</td>
<td>[From the Portuguese.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of Bensurdatu</td>
<td>[From the <em>Sicilianische Mährchen</em>.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Magician's Horse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Little Gray Man</td>
<td>[From the German. <em>Kletke</em>.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herr Lazarus and the Draken</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of the Queen of the Flowery Isles</td>
<td>['Cabinet des Fées.']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udea and her Seven Brothers</td>
<td>[Märchen und Gedichte aus der Stadt Tripolis. Von Hans Stumme.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The White Wolf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohammed with the Magic Finger</td>
<td>[Märchen und Gedichte aus der Stadt Tripolis. Von Hans Stumme.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bobino</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Dog and the Sparrow</td>
<td>[From the German, <em>Kletke</em>.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of the Three Sons of Hali</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of the Fair Circassians</td>
<td>[Cabinet des Fées.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Bear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sunchild</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Daughter of Buk Ettemsuch</td>
<td>[Märchen und Gedichte aus der Stadt Tripolis. Von Hans Stumme.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laughing Eye and Weeping Eye, or the Limping Fox</td>
<td>(Servian Story) . . . [Contes Populaires Slaves. Traduits par Louis Léger. Paris: Ernest Leroux, éditeur.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Unlooked-for Prince</td>
<td>(Polish Story) . . . [Contes Populaires Slaves. Traduits par Louis Léger. Paris: Leroux, éditeur.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Simpleton</td>
<td>[From the Italian, Kletke. ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Street Musicians</td>
<td>[From the German, Kletke. ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Twin Brothers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannetella</td>
<td>[From the Italian, Kletke. ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ogre</td>
<td>[From the Italian, Kletke. ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Fairy's Blunder</td>
<td>[Cabinet des Fées. ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long, Broad, and Quickeye</td>
<td>(A Bohemian Story) . . . [Contes populaires. Traduits par Louis Léger. Paris: Leroux, éditeur.]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Information in parentheses appear with the story title, rather than in the source notes.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Story Title</th>
<th>Source Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Story of Hassebu</td>
<td>[Adapted from Swahili Tales.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Maiden with the Wooden Helmet</td>
<td>[Japanische Märchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Monkey and the Jelly-fish</td>
<td>[Japanische Märchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Headless Dwarfs</td>
<td>[Estnische Märchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Man who would have his Eyes opened</td>
<td>[Estnische Märchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Boys with the Golden Stars</td>
<td>[Rumänische Märchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Frog</td>
<td>[From the Italian.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Princess who was hidden Underground</td>
<td>[From the German.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Girl who pretended to be a Boy</td>
<td>[From Sept Contes Roumains, Jules Brun and Leo Bachelin.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Prince who wanted to see the World</td>
<td>[From the Portuguese.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virgilius the Sorcerer</td>
<td>[Adapted from 'Virgilius the Sorcerer.']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mogarzea and his Son</td>
<td>[Ölümänische Märchen.]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The Crimson Fairy Book (1903)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Story Title</th>
<th>Source Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lovely Ilonka</td>
<td>[From Ungarische Mährchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucky Luck</td>
<td>[From Ungarische Mährchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hairy Man</td>
<td>[From Russische Märchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To your Good Health!</td>
<td>[From Russische Märchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of the Seven Simons</td>
<td>[From Ungarische Mährchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Language of Beasts</td>
<td>[From Ungarische Mährchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Boy who could keep a Secret</td>
<td>[From the Folk Tales of the Magyars.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Princess and the Dragon</td>
<td>[From Volksmärchen der Serben.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Wildrose</td>
<td>[Adapted from the Roumanian.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiidu the Piper</td>
<td>[From Estnische Märchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paperarello</td>
<td>[From Sicilíanischen Mährchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Gifts of the Magician</td>
<td>[From Finnische Mährchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Strong Prince</td>
<td>[From Ungarische Volksmärchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Treasur Seeker</td>
<td>[From Isländische Märchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Cottager and his Cat</td>
<td>[From Isländische Märchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Prince who would seek Immortality</td>
<td>[From Ungarische Volksmärchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Stone-cutter</td>
<td>[From Japanische Mährchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Gold-bearded Man</td>
<td>[From Ungarische Mährchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tritill, Litill, and the Birds</td>
<td>[From Ungarische Mährchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Three Robes</td>
<td>[From Isländische Märchen Poestion Wien.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Six Hungry Beasts</td>
<td>[From Finnische Mährchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How the Beggar Boy turned into Count Piro</td>
<td>[From Sicilíanische Mährchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rogue and the Herdsman</td>
<td>[From Isländische Mährchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esienkopf</td>
<td>[From Ungarische Mährchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Death of Abu Nowas and of his Wife</td>
<td>[From Tünische Mährchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motikatikia</td>
<td>[Adapted from the Ba-Ronga (H. Jumod).]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niels and the Giants</td>
<td>[From Ungarische Mährchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shepherd Paul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How the wicked Tanuki was punished</td>
<td>[From Japanische Mährchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Crab and the Monkey</td>
<td>[From Japanische Mährchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Horse Gullfaxi and the Sword Gunnföder</td>
<td>[From Isländische Mährchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of the Sham Prince, or the Ambitious Tailor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Colony of Cats</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How to find out a True Friend</td>
<td>[From Sicilänische Mährchen, Gozenbach.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clever Maria</td>
<td>[From the Portuguese.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Magic Kettle</td>
<td>[Adapted from Japanische Mährchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Brown Fairy Book (1904)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What the Rose did to the Cypress</td>
<td>Translated from two Persian MSS. in the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>possession of the British Museum and the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>India Office, and adapted, with some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>reservations, by Annette S. Beveridge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ball-Carrier and the Bad One</td>
<td>[U.S. Bureau of Ethnology.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How Ball-Carrier finished his Task</td>
<td>[From Bureau of Ethnology. 'Indian Folklore.']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Bunyip</td>
<td>[From Journal of Anthropological Institute. ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father Grumbler</td>
<td>[From Contes Populaires.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of the Yara</td>
<td>[Adapted from Folklore Brésilien.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Cunning Hare</td>
<td>[Indian Folk Tales.' Bureau of Ethnology.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Turtle and his Bride</td>
<td>[Bureau of Ethnology.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How Geirald the Coward was Punished</td>
<td>[From Neuislandischem Volksmärchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hápogi</td>
<td>[From Neusländischen Volksmärchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How Little Brother set Free his Big Brothers</td>
<td>[From the Bureau of Ethnology, U.S.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sacred Milk of Koumongoë</td>
<td>[Contes Populaires des Bassoutos.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Wicked Wolverine</td>
<td>[Adapted from Bureau of Ethnology.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Husband of the Rat's Daughter</td>
<td>[Contes Populaires.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Mermaid and the Boy</td>
<td>[Lappländische Mährchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Elf Maiden</td>
<td>[Lappländische Mährchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How Some Wild Animals became Tame Ones</td>
<td>[Lappländische Mährchen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortune and the Wood-Cutter</td>
<td><em>Traditions Populaires de l'Asie Mineure.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Enchanted Head</td>
<td><em>Traditions populaires de toutes les nations (Asie Mineure).</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sister of the Sun</td>
<td><em>Lappländische Mährchen.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Princes and the Three Fates</td>
<td><em>Adapted from Les Contes Populaires de l'Egypte Ancienne.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Fox and the Lapp</td>
<td><em>Lappländische Mährchen.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kisa the Cat</td>
<td><em>Adapted from Neuislandischen Volkmärchen.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Lion and the Cat</td>
<td><em>Adapted from North American Indian Legends.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which was the Foolishest?</td>
<td><em>Adapted from the Neuisländische Volkmärchen.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asmund and Signy</td>
<td><em>From Isländische Mährchen.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rübezahl</td>
<td><em>Volkmährchen der Deutschen.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story of the King who would be Stronger than Fate</td>
<td>[Told the writer by an Indian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story of Wali Dâd and the Simple-hearted</td>
<td>[Told the writer by an Indian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tale of a Tortoise and of a Mischievous Monkey</td>
<td><em>Adapted from Folk-lore Brésilien.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Knights of the Fish</td>
<td><em>From Cuentos, Oraciones, Adivinas recogidos por Fernan Caballaro.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Orange Fairy Book (1906)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of the Hero Makóma</td>
<td>From the Senna (Oral Tradition) . . . <em>Native Rhodesian Tale.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Magic Mirror</td>
<td><em>From the Senna</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story of the King who would see Paradise</td>
<td><em>A Pathan story told to Major Campbell.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How Isuro the Rabbit tricked Gudu</td>
<td><em>Mashona Story.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ian, the Soldier's Son</td>
<td><em>From Tales of the West Highlands.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Fox and the Wolf</td>
<td><em>From Cuentos Populares, por Antonio de Trueba.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How Ian Direach got the Blue Falcon</td>
<td><em>From Tales of the West Highlands.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ugly Duckling</td>
<td><em>Hans Anderson.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Two Caskets</td>
<td><em>From Thorpe's Yule-Tide Stories.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Goldsmith's Fortune</td>
<td><em>Told by a Pathan to Major Campbell.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Enchanted Wreath</td>
<td><em>Adapted from Thorpe's Yule-Tide Stories.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Foolish Weaver</td>
<td><em>From the Pushto.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Clever Cat</td>
<td><em>Adapted from Contes Berbères.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of Manus</td>
<td><em>Shortened from West Highland Tales.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

278
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pinkel the Thief</td>
<td>[Thorpe's <em>Yule-Tide Stories.</em>]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Adventures of a Jackal</td>
<td>[Nouveaux Contes Berbères, par René Basset.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Adventures of the Jackal's Eldest Son</td>
<td>[Contes Berbères.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Adventures of the Younger Son of the Jackal</td>
<td>[Contes Berbères, par René Basset.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Three Treasures of the Giants</td>
<td>[From <em>Contes Populaires Slaves,</em> par Louis Leger.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rover of the Plain</td>
<td>[From <em>L’Etude Ethnographique sur les Baronga,</em> par Henri Junod.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The White Doe</td>
<td>[Contes des Fées, par Madame d'Aulnoy.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Adventures of the Jackal's Eldest Son</td>
<td>[From <em>Nouveaux Contes Berbères,</em> par René Basset.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Adventures of the Younger Son of the Jackal</td>
<td>[Contes Berbères, par René Basset.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Three Treasures of the Giants</td>
<td>[From <em>Contes Berbères,</em> par René Basset.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rover of the Plain</td>
<td>[From <em>L’Etude Ethnographique sur les Baronga,</em> par Henri Junod.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The White Doe</td>
<td>[Contes des Fées, par Madame d'Aulnoy.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Girl-Fish</td>
<td>[From <em>Cuentos Populares Catalans,</em> por Dr. D. Francisco de S. Maspons y Labros.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Owl and the Eagle</td>
<td>[From the <em>Journal of the Anthropological Institute.</em>]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Frog and the Lion Fairy</td>
<td>[From <em>Les Contes des Fées,</em> par Madame d'Aulnoy.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Adventures of Covan the Brown-haired</td>
<td>[Taken from a Celtic story. Translated by Doctor Macleod Clarke.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Princess Bella-Flor</td>
<td>[From <em>Cuentos, Oraciones, y Adivinas,</em> por Fernan Caballero.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Bird of Truth</td>
<td>[From <em>Cuentos, Oraciones, y Adivinas,</em> por Fernan Caballero.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Mink and the Wolf</td>
<td>[From the <em>Journal of the Anthropological Institute.</em>]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adventures of an Indian Brave</td>
<td>[From <em>Lappländische Märchen,</em> J. C. Poestion.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How the Stalos were Tricked</td>
<td>[From <em>Lappländische Märchen,</em> J. C. Poestion.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andras Baive</td>
<td>[From <em>Lappländische Märchen,</em> J. C. Poestion.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The White Slipper</td>
<td>[From <em>Capullos de Rosa,</em> por D. Enrique Ceballos Quintana.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Magic Book</td>
<td>[From <em>Æventyr fra Zylland samlede og optegnede af Tang Kristensen,</em> Translated from the Danish by Mrs. Skavgaard-Pedersen.]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The Olive Fairy Book (1907)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madschun</td>
<td>[Adapted from <em>Türkische Volksmärchen aus Stambul,</em> Dr. Ignaz Künos. E. J. Brill. Leiden.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Blue Parrot</td>
<td>[Adapted and shortened from <em>Le Cabinet des Fées.</em>]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GeirIaug the King's Daughter</td>
<td>[From <em>Neuisländischen Volksmärchen.</em>]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of Little King Loc</td>
<td>[Adapted and shortened from the story <em>Abeille,</em> by M. Anatole France.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Source/Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Long-bow Story</td>
<td>[This is from oral tradition.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackal or Tiger?</td>
<td>[From Count Anthony Hamilton's <em>Fairy Tales.</em>]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Comb and the Collar</td>
<td>[Punjâbi story.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Thanksgiving of the Wazir</td>
<td>[Contes Soudainais. Par C. Monteil.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samba the Coward</td>
<td>[Punjâbi story.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kupti and Imani</td>
<td>[Punjâbi story.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Strange Adventures of Little Maia</td>
<td>[Punjâbi story, Major Campbell, Feroshepore.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diamond cut Diamond</td>
<td>[From “Eventyr fra Jylland” samlede og optegnede af Evald Tang Kristensen. Translated from the Danish by Mrs. Skovgaard-Pedersen.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Green Knight</td>
<td>[From <em>Contes Arméniens.</em> Par Frédéric Macler, Paris. Ernest Leroux, Editeur.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Five Wise Words of the Guru</td>
<td>[A Punjâbi story.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Golden-headed Fish</td>
<td>[Adapted from <em>Contes Arméniens.</em> Par Frédéric Macler, Paris. Ernest Leroux, Editeur.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorani</td>
<td>[Punjâbi story, Major Cambell, Feroshepore.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Satin Surgeon</td>
<td>[From the <em>Cabinet des Fées.</em>]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Billy Goat and the King</td>
<td>[Punjâbi story, Major Campbell, Feroshepore.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of Zoulvisia</td>
<td>[From <em>Contes Arméniens.</em> Par Louis Macler.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grasp all, Lose all</td>
<td>[Major Campbell, Feroshepore.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Fate of the Turtle</td>
<td>[From <em>Les Contes et Fables Indiennes.</em> Par M. Galland, 1724.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Snake Prince</td>
<td>[Major Campbell, Feroshepore.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Prince and the Princess in the Forest</td>
<td>[Fra <em>Eventyr fra Gylbauck samlede og optegnede af Evald Taug Kristensen.</em> Translated from the Dutch by Mrs. Skovgaard-Pedersen] (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Cleaver Weaver</td>
<td>[From <em>Contes Arméniens.</em> Par Frédéric Macler.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Boy who found Fear at last</td>
<td>[Adapted from <em>Türkische Volksmärchen.</em> Von Dr. Ignaz Künos. E. J. Brill, Leiden.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He Wins who Waits</td>
<td>[From <em>Contes Arméniens.</em> Par Frédéric Macler.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Steel Cane</td>
<td>[From <em>Contes Arméniens.</em> Par Frédéric Macler.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Punishment of the Fairy Gangana</td>
<td>[From <em>Le Cabinet des Fées.</em>]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Silent Princess</td>
<td>[Adapted from <em>Türkische Volksmärchen aus Stambul gesammelt, übersetzt und eingeleitet von Dr. Ignaz Künos. Brilla, Leiden.</em>]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The Lilac Fairy Book* (1910)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Source/Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Shifty Lad</td>
<td>West Highland Tales.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The False Prince and the True</td>
<td>Adapted from the Portuguese.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Jogi's Punishment</td>
<td>From Major Campbell, Ferosherpore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Heart of a Monkey</td>
<td>From 'Swahili Tales,' by Edward Steere, LL.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Fairy Nurse</td>
<td>'Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts,' by Patrick Kennedy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Lost Paradise</td>
<td>From 'Littérature Orale de l'Auvergne,' par Paul Sébillot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How Brave Walter Hunted Wolves</td>
<td>From Z. Topelius.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The King of the Waterfalls</td>
<td>From 'West Highland Tales.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A French Puck</td>
<td>From 'Littérature Orale de l'Auvergne,' par Paul Sébillot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Three Crowns</td>
<td>From 'West Highland Tales.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of a Very Bad Boy</td>
<td>From 'Littérature Orale de l'Auvergne,' par Paul Sébillot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Brown Bear of Norway</td>
<td>From 'West Highland Tales.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Lasse</td>
<td>From Z. Topelius.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Moti'</td>
<td>A Pushto Story.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Enchanted Deer</td>
<td>From 'Popular Tales of the West Highlands. (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Fish Story</td>
<td>Australian Folk Tale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Wonderful Tune</td>
<td>From 'Fairy Tales and Traditions of the South of Ireland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rich Brother and the Poor Brother</td>
<td>Adapted from the Portuguese.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The One-Handed Girl</td>
<td>From 'Swahili Tales,' by E. Steere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Bones of Djulung</td>
<td>From Folk Lore,' by A.F. Mackenzie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sea King's Gift</td>
<td>From Z. Topelius.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Raspberry Worm</td>
<td>From Z. Topelius.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Stones of Plouhinec</td>
<td>From 'Le Foyer Breton,' par Emile Souvestre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Castle of Kerglas</td>
<td>From 'Le Foyer Breton,' par Emile Souvestre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Battle of the Birds</td>
<td>From 'Tales of the West Highlands.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Lady of the Fountain</td>
<td>From the 'Mabinogion.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Four Gifts</td>
<td>From 'Le Foyer Breton,' par E. Souvestre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Groac'h of the Isle of Lok</td>
<td>From 'Le Foyer Breton,' par E. Souvestre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Escape of the Mouse</td>
<td>From the 'Mabinogion.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Believing Husbands</td>
<td>From 'West Highland Tales.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hoodie-Crow</td>
<td>From 'West Highland Tales.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Brownie of the Lake</td>
<td>From 'Le Foyer Breton,' par E. Souvestre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Winning of Olwen</td>
<td>From the 'Mabinogion.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix C: Covers of the Fairy Books (1889-1910)
Appendix D: Printing Numbers for the Fairy Books (1889-1919)

| Year | 1889 | 1890 | 1891 | 1892 | 1893 | 1894 | 1895 | 1896 | 1897 | 1898 | 1899 | 1900 | 1901 | 1902 | 1903 | 1904 | 1905 | 1906 | 1907 | 1908 | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 | 1912 | 1913 | 1914 | 1915 | 1916 | 1917 | 1918 | 1919 |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
|      | 3,000| 5,000| 5,000| 5,000| 5,000| 5,000| 5,000| 5,000| 5,000| 5,000| 5,000| 5,000| 5,000| 5,000| 5,000| 5,000| 5,000| 5,000| 5,000| 5,000| 5,000| 5,000| 5,000| 5,000| 5,000| 5,000| 5,000|
|      | 10,000| 12,500| 12,500| 12,500| 12,500| 12,500| 12,500| 12,500| 12,500| 12,500| 12,500| 12,500| 12,500| 12,500| 12,500| 12,500| 12,500| 12,500| 12,500| 12,500| 12,500| 12,500| 12,500| 12,500| 12,500| 12,500| 12,500|

The table above lists the printing numbers for the Fairy Books from 1889 to 1919.
### Appendix E: Sales Numbers for the Fairy Books (1896-1912)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Book 1</th>
<th>Book 2</th>
<th>Book 3</th>
<th>Book 4</th>
<th>Book 5</th>
<th>Book 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>2768</td>
<td>2121</td>
<td>2167</td>
<td>2168</td>
<td>2756</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>2177</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>1391</td>
<td>1040</td>
<td>1268</td>
<td>1267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>1753</td>
<td>1538</td>
<td>1516</td>
<td>9341</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>9172</td>
<td>1403</td>
<td>1317</td>
<td>1302</td>
<td>844</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1552</td>
<td>1440</td>
<td>1225</td>
<td>1211</td>
<td>729</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1564</td>
<td>1254</td>
<td>1273</td>
<td>1045</td>
<td>726</td>
<td>7124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>2289</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>1637</td>
<td>1434</td>
<td>768</td>
<td>577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>1392</td>
<td>1354</td>
<td>1163</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>2383</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>1494</td>
<td>1461</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>1787</td>
<td>1385</td>
<td>1578</td>
<td>1180</td>
<td>619</td>
<td>554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>2170</td>
<td>2073</td>
<td>1621</td>
<td>1517</td>
<td>725</td>
<td>579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>2062</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>1556</td>
<td>1282</td>
<td>535</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>1634</td>
<td>1519</td>
<td>1046</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>3289</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>2052</td>
<td>2435</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>2417</td>
<td>1420</td>
<td>1562</td>
<td>1032</td>
<td>624</td>
<td>544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>2322</td>
<td>1743</td>
<td>1497</td>
<td>1236</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>2266</td>
<td>1512</td>
<td>1651</td>
<td>1192</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>384</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix F: Samples of Cultural Representation in Ford’s Illustrations
### Appendix G: Brian Alderson’s Sources for the First Five Fairy Books[^34]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Blue Fairy Book (1975)</th>
<th>From 'L'Anneau de Bronze' in <em>Traditions Populaires de l'Asie Mineure</em> by Henri Carnoy and Jean Nicolaïdes (Paris, 1889)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Bronze Ring</td>
<td>From 'Le Prince Désir et la Princesse Mignonne' in the <em>Magasin des Enfants</em> by Madame Leprince de Beaumont (London, 1756)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Hyacinth and the Dear Little Princess</td>
<td>From 'Østenfor Sol og Vestenfor Maane' in <em>Norske Folk Eventyr</em> by P. C. Asbjørnsen and J. Moe (Part II, First Supplement. Christiania, 1842. Part I was published the year before.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East of the Sun and West of the Moon</td>
<td>From 'Le Nain Jaune' in <em>Les Contes des Fétes</em> by Madame d'Aulnoy (first collected edition: <em>Contes Nouveaux, ou les Fétes à la Mode</em>. Paris, 1698).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Yellow Dwarf</td>
<td>From 'Le Petit Chaperon Rouge' in <em>Histoires, ou Contes du Temps Passé</em> by Charles Perrault (Paris, 1697).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Red Riding Hood</td>
<td>From 'La Belle aus Bois Dormant' in Perrault's <em>Histoires</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sleeping Beauty in the Wood</td>
<td>From 'La Belle et la Bête' in <em>Les Contes Marins</em> by Madame de Villeneuve (Paris, 1740-41).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinderella; or, the Little Glass Slipper</td>
<td>From the “Märchen von einem, der auszog, das Fürchten zu lernen' in <em>Kinder- und Hausmärchen</em> by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm. (First edition: two volumes 1812, 1815; ninth edition: one volume 1870)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp</td>
<td>From 'Cendrillon ou: La Petite Pantoufle de Verre' in Perrault's <em>Histoires</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Tale of the Youth who Set out to Learn what Fear was</td>
<td>From 'Rumpelstilzchen' in the Grimms' <em>Märchen</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumpelstiltzkin</td>
<td>From 'Rumpelstilzchen' in the Grimms' <em>Märchen</em>.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[^34]: Alderson provides source material for these stories in the Notes section of each book. Here, stories are listed according to Lang’s original order, not Aldersen’s revisions. Full citations are provided for the first appearance in each book. Entries that have been paraphrased appear in brackets.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Master Maid</td>
<td>From 'Mestermø' in Asbjörnsen and Moe's <em>Norske Folk Eventyr</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why the Sea is Salt</td>
<td>From 'Kvaernen, so Staaer og Maler paa Havsens Bund' in Asbjörnsen and Moe's <em>Norske Folk Eventyr</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Master Cat; or, Puss in Boots</td>
<td>From 'Le Maistre Chat, ou le Chat Botté' in Perrault's <em>Histoires</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felicia and the Pot of Pinks</td>
<td>[attributed to Countess d'Aulnoy, omitted]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The White Cat</td>
<td>From 'La Chatte Blanche' in Madame d'Aulnoy's <em>Les Contes des Fées</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Water-lily. The Gold-spinners</td>
<td>[not traced]235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Terrible Head</td>
<td>[no additional information provided]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of Pretty Goldilocks</td>
<td>From 'La Belle aux Cheveus d'Or' in Madame d'Aulnoy's <em>Les Contes de Fées</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The History of Whittington</td>
<td>[no additional information provided]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Wonderful Sheep</td>
<td>Madame d'Aulnoy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Thumb</td>
<td>From 'Le Petit Poucet' in Perrault's <em>Histoires</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Forty Thieves</td>
<td>From the eight hundred and fifty-first to the eight hundred and sixtieth night in <em>The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hansel and Gretel</td>
<td>From 'Hänsel und Gretel' in the Grimms' <em>Märchen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snow-white and Rose-red</td>
<td>From 'Schneeweisschen und Rosenrot' in the Grimms' <em>Märchen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Goose-girl</td>
<td>From 'Die Gänsemagd' in the Grimms' <em>Märchen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toads and Diamonds</td>
<td>From 'Les Fées' in Perrault's <em>Histoires</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Darling</td>
<td>From <em>Cabinet des Fées</em> [omitted]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Beard</td>
<td>From 'La Barbe Bleue' in Perrault's <em>Histoires</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trusty John</td>
<td>From 'Der Treue Johannes' in Grimms' <em>Märchen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Brave Little Tailor</td>
<td>From 'Das Tapfere Scheiderlein' in the Grimms' <em>Märchen</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

235 See footnote to “The Dragon of the North” in *The Yellow Fairy Book.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Voyage to Lilliput</td>
<td>[No additional information provided, omitted]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Princess on the Glass Hill</td>
<td>From 'Jomfruen pa Glasberget' in Asbjørnsen and Moe's <em>Norske Folk Eventyr</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of Prince Ahmed and the Fairy Paribanou</td>
<td><em>The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night</em> [omitted]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The History of Jack the Giant-killer</td>
<td>[No additional information]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Black Bull of Norroway</td>
<td>[No additional information]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Red Etin</td>
<td>[No additional information]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The Red Fairy Book (1976)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Twelve Dancing Princesses</td>
<td>From 'Les Douze Princesses Dansantes' in Charles Deulin's <em>Contes du Roi Cambrinus</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Death of Koschei the Deathless</td>
<td>From 'Marya-Morevna' in <em>Narodnuïya Russkiya Skazki</em> by A.N. Afanasiev (part VII, no. 8, Moscow, 1863).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Black Thief and Knight of the Glen</td>
<td>[original source not located. possibly derived from Thackeray's <em>Irish Sketch Book</em> (1843)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Master Thief</td>
<td>From 'Mestertyven' in P.C. Asbörnsen and J. Moe's <em>Norske Folkeeventyr</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother and Sister</td>
<td>From 'Brüderchen und Schwesterchen' in the Grimms' <em>Märchen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Princess Rosette</td>
<td>From 'La Princesse Rosette' in Madame d'Aulnoy's <em>Les Contes des Fées</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Enchanted Pig</td>
<td>From 'Porcul cel fermecat' in <em>Legende sau Basmele Româniloru, Aduntate din Gura Poporului</em> by P. Ispirescu (Bucarest, 1882). Translated from the German source: <em>Roumânische Märchen</em> translated by Mite Kremnitz (Leipzig, 1882).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Norka</td>
<td>From 'Norka-Zvyer' in <em>Narodnuiya Russkiya Skazki</em> by A.N. Afanasiev (part I, no. 14, Moscow, 1855)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Wonderful Birch</td>
<td>appears to be the Finnish tale 'Ihmeellinen koivu' in Eero Salmelainen's <em>Suomen Kansan Satuja ja Tarinoita</em> (part I, Helsinki, 1852). The tale was translated by Emmy Schreck in her <em>Finnische Märchen</em>, with an Introduction by Gustav Meyer (Weimar, 1887).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack and the Beanstalk</td>
<td>[From <em>English Fairy Tales</em> by Joseph Jacobs or by a text edited by William Godwin in 1807]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Little Good Mouse</td>
<td>From 'La Bonne Petite Souris' in Madam d'Aulnoy's <em>Les Contes des Fées</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graciosa and Percinet</td>
<td>From 'Gracieuse et Percinet' in Madame d'Aulnoy's <em>Les Contes des Fées</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Three Princesses of Whiteland</td>
<td>From 'De Tre Prindsesser i Hvidtenland' in Asbørnsen and Moe's <em>Norske Foleeventyr</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Voice of Death</td>
<td>[From Mite Kremnitz's German translation of Roumaninan tales.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Six Sillies</td>
<td>From 'La Sotte Fiancée' in <em>La Tradition</em> (vol. IV, no. 34, Paris, January 1890), one of the 'Contes Populaires du Hainaut' recorded by Jules Lemoine as 'raconté à Macon par Adrien Derême'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kari Woodengown</td>
<td>From 'Kari Troestak' in Asbörnsen and Moe's <em>Norske Foleeventyr</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drakestail</td>
<td>From 'Bout-d'-Canard' in <em>Affenschamnz et Cetera: variantes orales de contes populaires français et étrangers</em>, collected by Charles Marelle (Brunswick, 1888).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ratcatcher</td>
<td>[source as above, omitted]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The True History of Little Goldenhood</td>
<td>[source as above, omitted]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Golden Branch</td>
<td>Madame d'Aulnoy's <em>Contes</em>, [omitted]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Three Dwarfs</td>
<td>From 'Die Drei Männerlein im Walde' in the Grimms' <em>Märchen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dapplegrim</td>
<td>From 'Grimsborken' in Asbjörnsen and Moe's <em>Norske Folkeeventyr</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Enchanted Canary</td>
<td>From 'Désiré d'Amour' in <em>Contes du Roi Cambrinus</em> by Charles Deulin (Paris, 1874).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Source Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Twelve Brothers</td>
<td>From 'Die Zwölf Brüder' in the Grimms' <em>Märchen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rapunzel</td>
<td>From 'Rapunzel' in the Grimms' <em>Märchen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nettle Spinner</td>
<td>From 'La Fileuse d'Orties' in Charles Deulin's <em>Contes du Roi Gambrinus</em> (Paris, 1874).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer Weatherbeard</td>
<td>From 'Bonde Veirskoeg' in Asbjørnsen and Moe's <em>Norske Foleeventyr</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother Holle</td>
<td>From 'Frau Holle' in the Grimms' <em>Märchen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnikin</td>
<td>From 'Lillekort' in Asbjørnsen and Moe's <em>Norske Foleeventyr</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bushy Bride</td>
<td>From 'Buskebruden' in Asbjørnsen and Moe's <em>Norske Foleeventyr</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snowdrop</td>
<td>From 'Sneewittchen' in the Grimms' <em>Märchen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Golden Goose</td>
<td>From 'Die Goldene Gans' in the Grimms' <em>Märchen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Seven Foals</td>
<td>From 'De Syv Folerne' in Asbjørnsen and Moe's <em>Norske Foleeventyr</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Marvellous Musician</td>
<td>From 'Der Wunderliche Spielmann' in the Grimms' <em>Märchen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of Sigurd</td>
<td>From 'The Volsunga Saga'. [omitted]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The Green Fairy Book (1978)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Source Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Blue Bird</td>
<td>From L’Oiseau Bleu’, first published in <em>Les Contes des Fées</em> by Madame D’Aulnoy (Paris, 1698)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Half-Chick</td>
<td>The story resembles and imporved upon the ‘Half-Chick’ which Caroline Deffell translated for <em>Aunt Judy’s Magazine</em> (September, 1869) from the Spanish of Fernán Caballero.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Enchanted Watch</td>
<td>[not traced]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosanella</td>
<td>[omitted]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sylvain and Jocasa</td>
<td>[omitted]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairy Gifts</td>
<td>[omitted]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Featherhead and the Princess Celandine</td>
<td>From ‘Le Prince Muguet et la Princesse Zaza’ by the Comte de Caylus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Three Little Pigs</td>
<td>From <em>The Nursery Rhymes of England</em> by James Orchard Halliwell (fifth edition, London, 1853), which appears to be the first appearance of the story in print.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart of Ice</td>
<td>From ‘le Prince Courtebotte et la Princesse Zibeline’ by the Comte de Caylus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Enchanted Ring</td>
<td>From the ‘Histoire de Rosimond et Braminte’ in the <em>Fables</em> of François Salignac de la Mothe Fénélon ‘Composed for the Education of a Prince’ during the 1690s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Snuff-box</td>
<td>[not traced]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Golden Blackbird</td>
<td>From ‘La Merle d’Or’ in <em>Littérature Orale de la Houte-Bretagne</em> by Paul Sébillot, the first volume of ‘Les Littératures populaires des toutes les nations’ (Paris, 1881). Sébillot records that the story was told to him in 1879 by François Duman of Ércé près Liffré (Ille et Vilaine), the twenty-year-old daughter of a weaver, and herself a weaver.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Little Soldier</td>
<td>From ‘Le Petit Soldat’ in <em>Contes d’un Buveur d’dre Bière</em> by Charles Deulin (Paris, 1868).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Magic Swan</td>
<td>[omitted]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Dirty Sheppardess</td>
<td>From ‘La Pouilleuse’ in Sébillot’s <em>Littérature Orale de la Houte-Bretagne</em>. Sébillot notes that he got the tale in 1878 from Aimé Pierre, a nineteen-year-old farm boy from Liffré.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story Title</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Enchanted Snake</td>
<td>From ‘Il Serpe’, being the fifth story of the second day of <em>Lo Cunto de li Cunti</em>; better known as ‘Il Pentamerone’ by Giambattista Basile, first published in Neapolitan dialect in Naples (1634), and subsequently in Bolognese (Bologna, 1713) and Italian (Naples, 1747). In all probability Lang took the story from a German version in the first volume of Dr Hermann Kletke’s <em>Marchensaal; Märchen aller Völker für Jung und Alt</em> (Berlin, 1845), a three-volume compendium which reprints 180 tales from nineteen European countries and from seven areas outside Europe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Biter Bit</td>
<td>From ‘Pre Scarpafico’, being the third fable of the first night of the <em>Piacevole Notti</em> of Giovanni Francesco Straparola, first published at Venice in 1550. [Likely taken from Kletke’s volume, see not above.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King Kojata</td>
<td>From ‘Kotjata’, which is said to have been first published in Russian in a collection of stories and poems entitled <em>Novosele; ‘The New House’</em> (St. Petersburg, 1883). A German translation appeared in Rudolph Glaser’s periodical <em>Ost und West</em> (Prague, 1837, nos. 1 and 2) from which an adaptation was made by Kletke for Volume II of his <em>Märchensaal</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puddocky</td>
<td>From ‘Paddegotjen’ in volume I of the <em>Erzählungen und Märchen</em> by F. H. van der Hagen (Prenzlau, 1824).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of Hok Lee and the Dwarfs</td>
<td>[omitted]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of the Three Bears</td>
<td>From the miscellany <em>The Doctor</em>, volume IV, 1837, by Robert Southey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Vivien and the Princess Placida</td>
<td>From ‘Nonchalante et Papillon’ by the Comte de Caylus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jorine and Joringel</td>
<td>From ‘Jorinde und Joringel’ in Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allerleiuh; or, the Many-furred Creature</td>
<td>From ‘Allerleirauh’ in Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Twelve Huntsmen</td>
<td>From ‘Die Zwölf Jäger’ in Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spindle, Shuttle, and Needle</td>
<td>From ‘Spindel, Weberschiffchen und Nadel’ in Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Crysal Coffin</td>
<td>From ‘Der Gläsern Sarg’ in Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Three Snake-leaves</td>
<td>From ‘Die Drei Schlangenblätter’ in Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Riddle</td>
<td>From ‘Das Räthsel’ in Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack my Hedgehog</td>
<td>From ‘Hans Mein Igel’ in Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Golden Lads</td>
<td>From ‘Die Goldkinder’ in Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The White Snake</td>
<td>From ‘Die Weisse Schlange’ in Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of a Cleaver Tailor</td>
<td>From ‘Vom KlugenSchneiderlein’ in Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Golden Mermaid</td>
<td>From ‘Das Goldene Meermädchen’ in <em>Walackische Maehrchen</em>, edited by Artur and Albert Schott (Stuttgart, 1845).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The War of the Wolf and the Fox</td>
<td>From ‘Der Krief des Wolfes und des Fuches’ in <em>Volkslieder der Wenden in der Ober- und Niederlausitz</em>, a collection deriving from the oral tradition of the Sorb community in Germany, taken down and translated into German by Leopold Haupt and Johann Ernst Schmaler (2 parts, Grimma, 1841-43).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of the Fisherman and his Wife</td>
<td>From ‘Von dem Fischer un syner Fru’ in Grimm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Three Musicians</td>
<td>From ‘Die Drei Musikanten’ in <em>Das Deutsche Märchenbuch</em> by Ludwig Bechstein (Leipzig, 1845).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Three Dogs</td>
<td>From ‘Die Drei Hunde’ in <em>Das Deutsche Märchenbuch</em> by Ludwig Bechstein (Leipzig, 1845).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The Yellow Fairy Book* (1980)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Cat and the Mouse in Partnership</td>
<td>From 'Katze und Maus in Gesellschaft' by the Brothers Grimm, first published in their Kinder- und Hausmärchen Volume I (Berlin, 1812)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Six Swans</td>
<td>From 'Die Sechs Schwäne' by the Brothers Grimm, first published in their Kinder- und Hausmärchen Volume I (Berlin, 1812)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Dragon of the North</td>
<td>From 'Der Norlands Drache' in Ebsthnishe Märchen, collected by Fredrich Kreutzwald and translated from Estonian into German by F. Löew (Halle, 1896)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story of the Emperor's New Clothes</td>
<td>From 'Keiserens Nye Klaeder', first published in the third volume of Eventyr by Hans Christian Andersen (Copenhagen, 1837)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Golden Crab</td>
<td>From 'Prinz Krebs' in Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder, collected, translated and annotated by Bernhard Schmidt (Leipzig, 1877), where the story is said to come from Zakynthos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Iron Stove</td>
<td>From 'Der Eisenofen' by the Brothers Grimm, first published in their Kinder- und Hausmärchen Volume I (Berlin, 1812)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Dragon and his Grandmother</td>
<td>From 'Der Teufel und seine Grossmutter' by the Brothers Grimm, first published in their Kinder- und Hausmärchen Volume I (Berlin, 1812)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Donkey Cabbage</td>
<td>From 'Krautesel' by the Brothers Grimm, first published in their Kinder- und Hausmärchen Volume I (Berlin, 1812)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Little Green Frog</td>
<td>From 'La Petite Grenouille Verte' in the Noveau Recueil de contes de fées (Paris, 1718?). Attributed to Le Chevalier de Mailly by M.E. Storer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Seven-headed Serpent</td>
<td>From 'Die Siebenköpfige Schlange' in Schmidt's Griechische Märchen. [The story is also said come from Zakynthos.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Grateful Beasts</td>
<td>From 'Die dankbaren Thiere' in Mährchen der Magyaren, edited by Georg con Gaal (Vienna, 1822). Translated from Volume II of Heinrich Kletke's Mährensaal (Berlin, 1845)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

236 In this note Alderson states: “Kreutzwald's collection of Estonian tales also proves to be the source of the story 'The Gold Spinners', given as untraced in the 1975 edition of The Blue Fairy Book” (320)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Giants and the Herd-boy</td>
<td>From <em>Märchen und Sagen der Bukowinaer und siebenbürger Armenier</em> translated into German from his own collection and from those of others by Heinrich Von Wiislocki (Hamburg, 1891)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Invisible Prince</td>
<td>From 'L'Invisible Prince' by Mme Louise Cavelier Lévèque, first published with 'Le Prince des aigues marines' (Paris, 1722). [omitted]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Crow</td>
<td>From 'Die Krähe in a collection of annotated Polish folk tales made by K. W. Woycicki, later translated into German by F. H. Lewestam (Berlin, 1839) Translated from Kletke's <em>Märchensaal</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Wizard King</td>
<td>From 'Le Roi magicien' from <em>Les Illustres Fées: contes galans</em> (Paris, 1698) attributed by M. E. Storer to le Chevalier de Mailly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nixy</td>
<td>From 'Die Nixe' first published in the <em>Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterhum</em> Volume I (Leipzig, 1841) edited by Moriz Haupt, where it is given the title 'Ein Märchen aus der Oberlausitz'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Glass Mountain</td>
<td>From Kletke's version of a Polish story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alphege, or the Green Monkey</td>
<td>From 'Alphinge, ou le singe verte', which was one of the stories assembled at the order of Peridor and Diamantino in the <em>Nouveu Recueil de contes de fées</em> [omitted]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairer-than-a-fairy</td>
<td>From 'Le Prince Arc-en-ciel' in the <em>Nouveu Recueil de contes de fées</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Three Brothers</td>
<td>From Kletke's version of a Polish story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Boy and the Wolves, or the Broken Promise</td>
<td>[not traced]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Glass Axe</td>
<td>[From Gaal's <em>Märchen der Magyaren</em> via a reworking by Kletke. omitted]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Dead Wife</td>
<td>From 'The Hunter and his Dead Wife' given by Mrs Erminnie A. Smith in her 'Myths of the Iroquois' in the <em>Second Annual Report</em> of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1880-81 (Washington, 1883)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the Land of Souls</td>
<td>[not traced]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The White Duck</td>
<td>From 'Belaya Utochka' in <em>Narodnye Russkie Skazki</em> by A.N. Afanasiev (Moscow, 1855-63), taken down in Kursk Region.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Witch and her Servants</td>
<td>From 'Die Hexe Corva und ihre Knechte' in <em>Volksmärchen</em> by J. N. Vogl (Vienna, 1837). [Translated via Volume II of Kletke's <em>Märchensaal</em>]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Magic Ring</td>
<td>[not traced]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Flower Queen's Daughter</td>
<td>From Die Tochter der Blumenkönigin' in <em>Märchen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Flying Ship</td>
<td>From 'Leutuchi korabl' in Afanasiev's <em>Skazki</em>. Afanasiev is here retelling a dialect tale from the Piryatin District of Poltava Region.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Snow-daughter and the Fire-son</td>
<td>From 'Die Schneetocher un der Feuersohn' in Von Wlislocki's <em>Märchen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of King Frost</td>
<td>From 'Morozko' in Afanasiev's <em>Skazki</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Death of the Sun-hero</td>
<td>From 'Der Tod des Sonnenhelden' in Wlislocki's <em>Märchen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Witch</td>
<td>From 'Baba Yaga' drawn from Afansiev's <em>Skazki</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hazel-nut Child</td>
<td>From 'Das Haselnusskind' in Wlislocki's <em>Märchen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of Big Klaus and Little Klaus</td>
<td>From 'Lille Claus og Store Claus' by Hans Christian Andersen, first published in <em>Eventyr Fortalte for Børn</em> (Copenhagen, 1835).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Ring</td>
<td>From 'Sagan af Hringri Kóngssyni' by Jón Áranson, first published in <em>Islenzkar Thjósögur og Æfuntýri</em> (Volume II, Leipzig, 1864) where an oral source is cited.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Swineherd</td>
<td>From 'Svinedrengen' by Jans Christian Andersen, first published in <em>Eventyr</em> (Copenhagen, 1842)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How to tell a true Princess</td>
<td>From 'Prindsessen paa Ærten in the first number of Andersen's <em>Eventyr</em>, Copenhagen, 1835)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Blue Mountains</td>
<td>[not traced]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Tinder-box</td>
<td>From 'Fyrtøiet', the first story in the first number of <em>Eventyr</em> (Copenhagen, 1835)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Witch in the Stone Boat</td>
<td>From 'Skessan á Steinnókkvanum' in Áranson's collection where the story is said to come from Reykavik.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thumbelina</td>
<td>From 'Tommelise' in the first number of Andersen's <em>Eventyr</em>, Copenhagen, 1835.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nightingale</td>
<td>From 'Nattergalen' by Hans Christian Andersen, first published in the <em>Nye Eventyr</em> (Copenhagen, 1843).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hermod and Hadivor</td>
<td>From 'Sagan af Hermó'd'i og Ha'd'vör' in Áronson's collection where a manuscript source is cited.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Steadfast Tin-soldier</td>
<td>From 'Den Standhaftige Tinsoldat', first published in Andersen's <em>Eventyr</em> of 1838.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blockhead Hans</td>
<td>From 'Klods-Hans; en gammel historie fortalt igjen', first published in Andersen's <em>Eventyr</em> of 1855.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Story about a Darning-needle</td>
<td>From 'Stoppenaalen', first published in Andersen's <em>Eventyr</em> of 1847.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Pink Fairy Book (1982)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Cat's Elopement</td>
<td>[Japanische Märchen und Sagen by David Brauns (Leipzig, 1875), omitted]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How the Dragon was Tricked</td>
<td>From 'Von dem Schönen vom Drakos', a Greek tale collected in Kukuli, Epirus, and published in a German translation as the third story of <em>Griechische und Albanesische Märchen</em> by J. G. von Hahn (2 volumes, Leipzig, 1864).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The House in the Wood</td>
<td>From 'Das Waldhaus'in the 1840 edition of the <em>Kinder- und Hausmärchen</em> of Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm. It was sent to them by Karl Goedeke of Zeligsen bei Alefeld, who had it from an oral source.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uraschimatoro and the Turtle</td>
<td>Japanische Märchen und Sagen by David Brauns (Leipzig, 1875)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Slaying of the Tanuki</td>
<td>Japanische Märchen und Sagen by David Brauns (Leipzig, 1875)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Flying Trunk</td>
<td>From 'Den Flyvende Koffert' by Hans Christian Andersen, first published in <em>Eventyr Fortalte for Børn</em> Volume II.2 (copenhagen, 1839)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| The Snow Man                  | From 'Sneemanden' by Hans Christian Andersen  
*Nye Eventyr of Historier II.1* (Copenhagen, 1861) |
| The Shirt-Collar              | From 'Flipperne' by Hans Christian Andersen,  
first published in *Nye Eventyr* II.2 (Copenhagen, 1848). |
| The Princess in the Chest     | From 'Prinsessen i Kisten', no. 13 of the *Danske Folkeæventyr efter Utrykte Kilder* by Svend Grundtvig (Copenhagen, 1876). |
| The Three Brothers            | From 'Die Drei Brüder' in the 1815 collection of  
*Kinder- und Hausmärchen* by Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm, and not by them as coming from the Schwalmgegend. |
| The Snow-Queen                | From 'Sneedronningen' by Hans Christian Andersen,  
first published in *Nye Eventyr* I.2 (Copenhagen, 1845). |
| The Fir-Tree                  | From 'Grantraet' by Hans Christian Andersen,  
first published in *Nye Eventyr* (Copenhagen, 1845). |
| Hans, the Mermaid's Son       | From 'Hans Havkvindsøn', no. 4 in the *Danske Folkeeventyr Fundne i Folkemunde: Ny Samling* by Svend Grundtvig (Copenhagen, 1878). |
| Peter Bull                    | From 'Peder Oxe', no. 18 of Grundtvig's 1876 collection. |
| The Bird 'Grip'               | From 'Fogel Grip' in Volume I of *Folkdiktning*  
(Copenhagen, 1880). The story was collected by Eva Wigmström in the village of Asmundtorp in Skåne. |
| Snowflake                     | From 'Blanche-Neige', a French translation by  
<p>| I know what I have learned    | From 'Pokker med Pengene! Jeg Veed, hvad jeg har Laert!', item no. 246 in <em>Gamle Danske Minder i Folkmunde</em> Volume I, by Svend Grundtvig (Copenhagen, 1854). Collected by a student, N. C. Christensen, in Vensyssel. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Title</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The King who would have a Beautiful Wife</td>
<td>From 'Von dem König, der eine schöne Frau haben vollte', no. 73 in Gozenbach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catherine and her Destiny</td>
<td>From 'Die Geschichte von Caterina und ihrem Schicksal', no. 21 in Gozenbach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How the Hermit helped to win the King's Daughter</td>
<td>From 'Von Einem, der mit Hülfe des heiligen Joseph die Königstochter gewann', no, 74 in Gozenbach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Water of Life</td>
<td>From 'L'Augua de la Vida' in <em>Cuentos Populares Catalans</em> by D. Francisco de S. Maspons y Labros (Barcelona, 1885).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Wounded Lion</td>
<td>[From 'Lo Lleo' in <em>Cuentos.</em>]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Man without a Heart</td>
<td>From 'Der Mann ohne Herz' by Ludwig Bechstein, first published in the twelfth edition of his <em>Märchenbuch</em> (Leipzig, 1853)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Two Brothers</td>
<td>From 'Von den zwei Brüdern!', no. 40 in Gozenbach's Sicilian collection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master and Pupil</td>
<td>From 'Mester og Lærling', item 256 in Grundtvig's 1854 Danish collection. The tale is said to have been collected by Madame H. Fenger of Ulvborg-Herred.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Golden Lion</td>
<td>'Vom goldenem Löwen' in Gozenbach's collection. [omitted]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sprig of Rosemary</td>
<td>[From 'Lo Rommani' in the Catalan tales.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The White Dove</td>
<td>From 'Den hvide Due', no. 5 in Grundtvig's 1876 collection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Troll's Daughter</td>
<td>From 'Troldens Datter', no. 12 in Grundtvig's 1876 collection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esben and the Witch</td>
<td>[from Grundtvig and Evald Tang Kristensen]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Princess Minon-Minette</td>
<td>[by l'Abbé de la Porte in the <em>Bibliothèque des Fées et des Génies</em>. Incorporated in <em>Cabinet des Fées</em> (c. 1785). omitted]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maiden Bright-eye</td>
<td>From 'Jomfru Klarøje', no. 15 in <em>Dansk Folkeminder</em> (Volume V, <em>Æventyr fra Jylland</em>), collected and published by Evald Tang Kristensen (Copenhagen, 1881).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Merry Wives</td>
<td>From 'De Lystige Koner', no. 18 in Grundtvig's 1876 collection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King Lindorm</td>
<td>From 'Kung Lindorm' in Eva Wigströme' Swedish collection. The tale was collected near Landskrona in Skåne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Jackal, the Dove, and the Panther</td>
<td>[Translated from E. Jacottet's <em>Contes Populaires des Bassoutos</em> (Paris, 1895). omitted]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Little Hare</td>
<td>Originally from 'Le Petit Lièvre' in Jacottet's collection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sparrow with the Slit Tongue</td>
<td><em>Japanische Märchen und Sagen</em> by David Brauns (Leipzig, 1875)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of Ciccu</td>
<td>From 'Die Geschichte von Ciccu', no. 30 in Gozenbach's Sicilian collection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Giovanni de la Fortuna</td>
<td>From a story of the same title, no. 72 in Gozenbach's Sicilian collection.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Works Cited

Fairy Book Editions

First Editions (1889-1910)


---

237 Fairy Book editions are listed by date. Single volume collections appear at the end of this list.
Collectors’ Editions


Longmans’ Supplementary Readers (1890)


Longmans’ New Series of Prize Books (1906)


**Longmans (1923)**


**Longmans, Edited by Mary Gould Davis (1949-1951)**


**Dover Publications (1965-1968)**


**Harmondsworth Publishers, Revised and Edited by Brian Alderson (1975-1982)**


---


**Single-volume Collections**


**Andrew Lang’s Publications**


**Secondary Sources**


---. Turkish Fairy Tales and Folk Tales. London: Lawrence and Bullen, 1896. Print.


Blamires, David. “The Early Reception of the Grimms’ *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* in


Braddon, M. E. *Aladdin; or, the Wonderful Lamp, Sindbad, the Sailor, and Ali Baba*. London: John & Robert Maxwell, 1880. Print.


Burne, Glenn S. “Andrew Lang’s the Blue Fairy Book: Changing the Course of History.” Nodleman 140-49.


---. Introduction. “‘Such a Store House of Ingenious Fiction and of Splendid Imagery’” Caracciolo. Arabian Nights 1-80.


---. *Publisher’s Cloth: An Outline History of Publisher’s Binding in England, 1820-1900*. This reprint published for The College of Librarianship Wales by University Microfilms Limited, 1970. Print.


Cole, Henry. *(see* Summerly, Felix).


---. *The History of Jack & the Bean-Stalk.* George Cruikshank’s Fairy Library.


---. *The Court of Queen Mab: Containing a Select Collection of Only the Best, Most Instructive, and Entertaining Tales of the Fairies: Viz. 1. Graciosa and Percinet... 9. The Little Good Mouse. Written by the Countess D’aulnoi. To Which Are Added, a Fairy Tale in the Ancient English Style, by Dr. Parnell: And Queen Mab’s Song*. London: printed: and sold by M. Cooper, 1752. Print.


Dugaw, Dianne. “Chapbook Publishing and the ‘Lore’ of the ‘Folk’.” *The Other Print


---. Gammer Grethel; or, German Fairy-Tales, and Popular Stories, From the Collection of MM. Grimm and Other Sources. Trans. Edgar Taylor. London: John Green, 1839. Print.


---. Household Tales Collected by the Brothers Grimm. Ed. A. Gardiner. Manchester:
J. Heywood, 1889. Print.


Hynam, F. Ethel. *The Secrets of the Night, and Other Estonian Tales.* European


“Juvenile Literature.” Rev. of The Japanese Fairy Book. Athenæum 8 Dec. 1906: 731-


*Nottingham Guardian*. November 5, 1912. The Roger Lancelyn Green Collection Andrew Lang Bequest: Manuscripts. Seven Envelopes of Mrs Lang’s Cuttings MS38256. St Andrews University Library Special Collections, St Andrews.


Oriental Tales: Being Moral Selections from the Arabian Nights’ Entertainments; Calculated Both to Amuse and Improve the Minds of Youth. London: Thomas Tegg, 1829. Print.


Signing-in Books. 1884-1887. MSS. Slade School of Art, University College London.


Summerly, Felix [Henry Cole]. *Beauty and the Beast*. Home Treasury. London:
Joseph Cundall, 1843. Print.


Thoms, William. (see Merton, Ambrose).


*Tuscan Fairy Tales (Taken down from the Mouths of the People)*. London: W. Satchell and Co., 1880. Print.

*Twilight Tales for Tiny Folk; or, Tales Told in the Firelight*. Manchester: John Heywood, [1882]. Print.


