Imagining Space and Place: the representation of Africa through image and text in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* (1889-1910)

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the representation of Africa and Africans in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* (1889-1910) considered to be the first global anthologies of fairy tales. Published at the heyday of the British Empire, they presented Africa and Europe alongside each other to the Victorian-era British audience of the time. As an appraisal of Lang's role as curator/editor, the study interrogates the books as containing representations of Africa from outside of Africa. While the inclusion of tales originating in Africa makes steps towards acknowledging an African story tradition independent of Europe, the editing process shaped the tales through European tale traditions and coloured by colonial perceptions of Africa. Lang's collaborative team of predominantly female translators/adaptors, as both Victorians and women, shaped the texts through their own sensitivities. The images, also created through one pictorial lens by Henry Justice Ford, were informed by imagination rather than fact, and the images were embraced for artistic merit rather than accuracy.

The dissertation explores how the representation interplay and slippage between the image and text in this colonial project of 'fairy tale' created a complex and contradictory single narrative of Africa and Africans.

From this new assessment of *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* (1889-1910), the dissertation formulates the argument of the cartographic imagination as fairy tale by comparing both the visual and textual components of fairy stories and maps, in addition to how they operate, how they are assembled, and their roles as agents of socialisation. These visual and textual components of fairy stories and maps were two forms of representation that were both used in the 19th century to socialise African people into being 'productive' colonised citizens. This study models new approaches – cartographic imagination as fairy tale and the image-text relationship – to reinvestigate Victorian representations of Africa and bring a more nuanced understanding and fresh perspective to this area of scholarship.

Key words: representation of Africa, colonial imagining, fairy tale, politics of representation, cartography, global anthology, anthropology, children's literature, colonisation, Victorian colonial collecting.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Andrew Lang (1844-1912) was an author, critic, essayist, poet and anthropologist. He wrote children's books, such as *Prince Prigio* (1889), and anthropological texts, including *Custom and Myth* (1884). He is best known for his anthologies of fairy tales which form the site of my inquiry. These became branded as the *Fairy Books* in conjunction with Lang's name as the series developed (Hines, 2013:133).

This dissertation sets out to examine the representation of Africa and Africans in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* (1889-1910). *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* were chosen as the site of my investigation as they are considered to be the first global anthologies of fairy tales. They were published at the beginning of the nineteenth century during the heyday of the British Empire (Bayly, 1989 in Ashkanasy et al., 2002:31) and presented Africa and Europe side by side, page by page to the Victorian audience. *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* are an underexplored source of information in contrast to the narratives of missionaries, soldiers and explorer/collectors. The dissertation examines how the interplay between image and text shapes the representation of Africa and Africans in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books*. I explore the formation of these representations, looking at how image and text can create a single complex narrative, as well as how they can contradict each other in their different tellings. These interactions thus create spaces of concord and slippage, allowing for the exploration of the nuances of representation. I examine specific instances of interplay between image and text in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books,* looking at where their concord builds a representation of Africa and where slippage between their representations creates the impression of an incohesive representation. The discrepancies between the representations signal to the viewer their constructed nature and beg the question as to why they were shaped in this manner.

The focus on this particular series, *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books,* is also grounded in its personal connection to me. The original volumes in our family belonged to my mother as a child, and I grew up with them on my bookshelf, informing my experience. My interest in Africa stems from growing up in Cape Town due to my colonial ancestors' immigration. Part of my family arrived in the Cape in the 1690s, at the time of slavery, forming part of the first colonial settlement in southern Africa and going on to establish a legacy of over 14 generations of European settlers in Africa. My family were mostly white immigrants and colonialists, coming

from France, England, and Scotland. I therefore sit in the uneasy position of descending from the colonisers, and structurally benefiting from that descent since colonial settlement at the Cape almost 400 years ago through to apartheid, while identifying strongly with the country of my birth and its history. While I was working on this dissertation, the Rhodes Must Fall (2015) protest movement gained traction at my university, the University of Cape Town, which prompted a wave of protests across campuses, spreading also to England. I could not extricate myself from the tumultuous series of events that occurred in the months that followed. While I was registered as a PhD student in African Studies, calls to decolonise the universities in South Africa and abroad gained increasing momentum. These events have strongly framed my dissertation, showing the importance of questioning colonialist shaping of perceptions of Africa through various textual and visual representations and the identification of other alternative narratives on this history.

In approaching this anthology, I have decided to work with the mix of oral and literary traditions, the vision of fairy tale that Andrew Lang created, to examine <u>how it represents</u>. I have proceeded with the knowledge that these tales are not "pure" from their creators and tellers, but have been edited and translated, some of them multiple times, and all ultimately through a white colonial and culturally imperialist perspective. As such, there are two parts to the representation of fairy tale that Andrew Lang created. The first is the core representation created in the bones of tale by the people from whom it was derived. The second is the representations made in image and text by Lang and his team, which carry a colonial and imperialist Victorian legacy. The representation is a complex creation of these two aspects, which complicates the reading of it.

The intricate imagery and the text-image relationship demand a comprehensive reading of the images from the African stories in the series. These readings focused on how Africa was represented and how these representations created a varied or homogenised view of Africa. Lang's project is predicated in generalisation and seeks a homogenous view of culture and humanity. I examine Lang's work to explore how the representation of Africa was constructed between image and text. To do this inquiry, I am working within a cultural paradigm, as *Lang's Fairy Tales* are framed through Victorian ideas.

I establish a context for the publications' creation and presentation in Victorian Britain. I present the context of these representations located in colonisation, Empire and the Industrial Revolution. In doing so, I consider how the artistic, anthropological, and historical contexts are formed through representation. The cultural values communicated in Andrew Lang's work require critical analysis. I approach this predominantly through visual analysis. The images and their interplay with the text are read in conjunction with a critical engagement with the historical and social context of the time.

The Victorians were driven by several fears in their colonial pursuits: the imperial competition of Russia, the growing economic power of America, the immigration of the Irish after the famine (1845-7), and Indian unrest after the warning of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 (Cheng 2002:13). Chu-Chueh Cheng reflects on the conflict embodied between Victorian England's global imperialism and insular nationalism: how imperial-centred mapmakers sought to hide this and show an "invincible empire flexing its muscles world wide' rather than a 'vulnerable island besieged by the Atlantic Ocean, Irish Sea, English Channel and the North Sea" (Cheng, 2002:2, 5). Maps displayed both the glory of the red-shaded conquered land and the anxiety-inducing unconquered spaces (Cheng, 2002:3).

The creation of *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* and their reception in Europe were primed by the prevailing generalised concept of Africa during Victorian times. Events, such as the Berlin Conference (1884-5), played a determining role in cementing the generalised idea of Africa as a source of raw resources for Europe (social imperialism) (Coombes, 1994:111). Money could be accrued through attaining both the natural resources and human resources (slave trade) of Africa. In the case of Britain's idea of Africa, this generalisation was created by the Victorians as a form of imperial propaganda, based on the few areas they had colonised and fitted to their colonial purpose (Coombes, 1994:2). Each colonial power had a unique experience of Africa through their desires and projections and their own specific contact experience with their colonies as well as the sizes of their colonies. With the focus of British expansionism in sub-Saharan Africa in 1890, communities in that region were subjected to an ethnographic and imperialistic gaze (Coombes, 1994:4).

According to Ifi Amadiume (1997), the generalisation of Africa is a tool to show control, a weapon in colonial competition and a way to produce a clear idea of Africa for the British

public (Amadiume, 1997:2). Mudimbe (1988) advocates this idea of a specific European construct of Africa created for imperial control (Amadiume, 1997:2). Amadiume (1997) defines the fictitious European knowledge about Africa as "based on a binary opposition – or a simple inversion of Self and Other, of Us and Them, as civilized versus savage monsters" (Amadiume, 1997:3). Lang's books reflected this idea and projected it back into Europe. *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* also conversely disturbed this generalisation by presenting representations that do not fit within its parameters. This is where my project intersects with the generalised term, 'Africa'. In my research project, I seek to trouble the stability of the term even as I acknowledge its use. This project seeks to see how Africa and Africans were represented and explores the nuances and contradictions between these representations. The problematic nature of the idea of a holistic Africa places me at a crossroads; I have to navigate the historical use of the term and explore how it speaks to British Victorian identity, as well as attempt to recognise the diversity of Africa represented in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books.*

Looking at the representation of Africa in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books,* I consider the cartographic imagination as fairy tale. Both maps and fairytales provide windows into the continent, and they share imagining that is constructed and can be divisive. My argument compares the use of image and text in mapping and fairy tales. I compare their histories and traditions looking at how they articulate meaning in the same way. I consider how they are both built using bricolage and seek to socialise people into being productive colonial citizens.

I structured this research to first contextualize *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* focusing on Empire-building and the imperialist collecting culture of the Victorians in order to establish the logic they were created in and by, linking *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* and Victorian ideas of Anthropology. The first three chapters introduce the books in terms of their historical and material context. The books were shaped and constrained by their material form as 'books' and by European story telling traditions. I unpack *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* as books created in the conversations between their images and texts. Having established this broader context, I examine the particular impact of the editor, illustrator and translators/adapters of *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* to comprehend the nuances of the formation of this particular series. After discussing how image and text work together, I then bring my attention to focus in particular on the visual representation of Africa followed by the separate representations of blackness

and Africa in the books. Thus, I build up to the idea of the cartographic imagination as fairy tale, exploring this as a new tool to interrogate the mapping of Africa.

The thesis is therefore structured as follows:

Chapter Four – Colonialism and the Collecting Spirit establishes a historical context to create a framework for understanding the impulses that led to the specific approach to the books. Empire, the Industrial Revolution, and the development of anthropology in the Victorian era[1] are considered. I delineate how they informed the shaping of Africa in contrast to the constructed Victorian British identity, as the centre and the projection of that identity outward onto other lands and peoples. I look at the Victorian British imperialist impetus to collect and link that impetus to *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books*. It was a time defined by a culturally imperialist desire to conquer and collect, and the act of collecting shaped the collected. I argue that these tales were assembled within an imperial collecting culture, one with a history of organising humanity (Lidchi, 1997:121) and putting human bodies both alive, dead and imagined on display. I look at what is meant by organising humanity and how it was played out and tangibly encountered in relation to colonisation, and to the creation of *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* and the inclusion of African tales within them.

My inquiry considers how Lang used his *Fairy Books* to prove a point that he made in his work as an anthropologist. Starting with George Cuvier's work on comparative anatomy[2], the notion of shared humanity was under threat; there was indecision as to whether humans were the same species but different races or whether the different races were indeed different species (Stocking, 1987:26-27). Lang argued that we are the same race; however, Lang's idea of race was the idea that Africans were a younger and less-developed brother (Lang, 1884:9). My inquiry considers both the positive representations in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* that placed Africans as the equals of Europeans, as well as the negative representations which denigrated

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[1] British monarch Queen Victoria was crowned in 1838 and died in 1901

[2] Cuvier's work is particularly infamous in South Africa, as it was Cuvier who made a plaster cast of Sarah Baartman after her death and then dissected her body, preserving her skeleton and pickling her brain and genitals. The jars containing these were then put on public display at the Paris's Museum of Man until 1974 (Parkinson, 2016).

them. In considering how the British Victorians categorised[3] peoples and civilisations, this section looks at anthropology as a discipline, and the perceptions of what it means to be human.

Chapter Five – Reading Image and Text considers the physical form of the books and its role in influencing how their representations are formed and read. It considers reading as social activity. Focusing on the context of *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books,* this chapter highlights the formation of children's literature, the growing interest in fairy tales and the development of print technologies. The importance of the illustrator is established by comparing Henry Justice Ford's and Kay Nielsen's illustrations of the same story, *East of the Sun and West of the Moon*. I explore how text and image operate together. In *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books,* the image and text work together to tell the stories, and I examine how this interaction has been defined by different scholars. I situate two types of interaction between image and text, as 'slippage' and 'complementary', when they contradict and affirm each other. Shifts between image and text work together to make meaning, and I explore these shifts with examples from *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books.* Ford's imagery was influenced by the pre-Raphaelites, and I unpack that relationship through his illustrations.

Chapter Six – Constraining Sensibilities examines the construction of the series through the work of the twenty-eight predominately female translators and adaptors, the illustrator (Henry Justice Ford) and editor (Andrew Lang). I examine their contribution to the series and the way that contribution shaped *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books.* The impact of having a team of female translators is explored, and I look at the language and perceptions of womanhood linked to motherhood and children. Ford's illustrations create a sense of continuity through the twelve *Fairy Books.* The illustrations hold the books together, despite their array of sources, through Ford's consistent style and repeating compositional devices. Lang's editorial choices are discussed. In particular, they are linked to his anthropological views of a common humanity, as it motivates his inclusion of multiple versions of the same stories from diverse cultures.

Chapter Seven – Constructing Africa looks at the representations in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* and their visual historical context. It focuses on the images from *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books,* and contextualises them within a visual context, looking at their kinship with the work

[3] Extending the work done by Charles Darwin and Carl Linnaeus by applying it to humans.

of the pre-Raphaelites. Their visual representation is considered in relation to other European interpretations of Africa and the work of European artists, such as Picasso, who appropriated African imagery. I ask how Africa and Africans are being represented and imagined. I establish that Africa has its own story-telling traditions, and that Europe is not the origin of tales. The exclusion of African knowledge production and the lack of African agency is noted in the creation of *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books.* I acknowledge that Lang does not connect to African modes of knowledge production nor African identities but rather reproduces European narrative models for a European audience. Furthermore, the concept of an 'African Fairy Story' is problematic, as fairy stories as coined by Countess d'Aulnoy are a western narrative form (Martinez-Ruiz, 2007:337).

I look at both the varied representations of Africans and the representation of black people, where the two representations diverge or merge. This dissertation highlights the idea that representations are manufactured and contain disparities. Colonialism fixes identities to create an image of 'us' and 'them'. The image of the black African is challenged using the representations in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books,* which depict fair-skinned Africans and black people living outside of Africa.

In **Chapter 8 – Mapping the Imagined, the Cartographic Imagination as Fairy Tale,** looking at the representations created by *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books,* I consider how the cartographic imagination inhabits the same space as fairy tale. Maps of Africa play the double role of the provider of the European theoretical and ideological structure, as well as acting as the window into the starkest features of Africa (Martinez-Ruiz, 2007:337). I will look at two maps of Africa, one from 1489-1552 and the other from 1812-1887, to examine how space is constructed and contrast how it was constructed before and during imperial expansion. The three initial acts of European representation of African space were to "imagine", "appropriate" and "demarcate" (Martinez-Ruiz, 2007:336). They imagined what the space was, appropriated the right to represent it, and demarcated it in lines of ink.

The comparative history, techniques and traditions are used to show how maps and fairy tales speak in the same way. I ask: Can the cartographic imagination be seen as fairy tale? Do these approaches to representation share a way of imagining and constructing the world, particularly a construction that sets Europe against the Other? I wish to challenge the preconception of fairy

tale and how it is consumed. I formulate the argument of the cartographic imagination as fairy tale by comparing both the visual and textual components of fairy stories and maps, in addition to how they operate, how they are assembled, and their roles as agents of socialisation. I look at two forms of representation that were both used in the 19th century to socialise people into being productive colonial citizens. I unpack how fairy tales and cartography function as didactic models to socialise people into their roles within the colonial project. I argue that people were positioned as subject to the colonial project OR as citizens with agency. Nineteenth-century representation of Africa carried this contradiction and tension between its manifestation of humanism in Europe and its simultaneous dehumanisation of Africans in the trajectory of the colonialist project. I examine how these tensions form and represent African bodies, shaping contradictory ideas on what it is to be human.

Maps and fairy tales project outward on to the unknown world and provide the means of navigation. Both maps and fairy stories form imagined spaces using the interplay between image and text. I consider how the relationship between image and text mirrors that of the interplay between two forms of visual representation in mapmaking; a more pictorial form of representation (iconic) and the representation of coastlines and river passages that are more diagrammatic. I look at what defines fairy tales and maps and consider their histories.[4] Fairy tales and cartography communicate culture and history in a similar way. They present a cultural view but are built on the whispers of many peoples. They are cobbled together from different sources. Maps are revised throughout time as are fairy tales. I analyse how fairy tales and maps act as cultural objects to create a discourse of ideas concerning the time and place in which they are told.

[4] I focus on the mapmaking and artistic traditions that, like *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books,* come from British and western design traditions.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Victorian and Edwardian scholar, Andrew Lang pursued a wide range of interests, he was a critic, writer, poet, and historian who translated Homer, developed ideas around anthropology and become involved in psychical research. Roger Lancelyn Green in 1946 published the only biography of Andrew Lang, and his scholarship reads Lang's work in relation to Lang himself. It is rich in information about Lang but underdeveloped in connecting Lang's many areas of interest, choosing to speak to them as discrete entities.

A man of letters, Lang made tracing his life difficult by requesting that his personal correspondence with family and friends be destroyed so that it would not be used after his death. Some of his correspondence to his friend and fellow writer and collaborator Rider Haggard survived the purges and appear in Haggard's autobiography, *The Days of My Life* (1926) (Green, 1946: ix). Lang had a coterie of literary friends to inform his working process and it a great pity that most of the correspondence between them is lost. Rider Haggard and Lang's friendship began when Lang read the manuscript of *King Solomon's Mines* in 1885. Later the pair co-authored *The World's Desire* (1890*)*, the project chronicled a romance between Helen of Troy and Odysseus set after the end of *Odyssey* in Egypt (Green, 1946: 125). Charles Longman their publisher, also enjoyed a close working relationship and friendship with both Haggard and Lang (Green, 1946: 176). Lang's most well-known literary friendship was with Robert Louis Stevenson (Green, 1946: 177). Another writer whose talent Lang recognised and was one of the first to identify both in the British and American Press was Rudyard Kipling. Henry Justice Ford also appears in Lang's social circle, his attendance being noted by Mrs. Eustace Hills at an evening at the Lang's house at which Ford spent his time discussing the Fairy Books (Green, 1946: 189). Ford is also mentioned in relation to Lang's cricketing interests. Ford played on the team, Allahakbarries, which was founded by J. M Barrie and populated by Lang's friends such as Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (Green, 1946: 196). Ford's appearance in Green's book is limited to these passing comments, Green focuses on Ford's Literary collaborators more than his collaborating illustrators. Green notes that Ford also collaborates with Lang illustrating *The Disentanglers* in 1902. This is a very slight hint at the both the working and personal relationship between the two.

Lang grew up in Selkirk in Scotland (Green, 1946: 1). He studied at St Andrews followed by Merton College Oxford. Lang's interest in fairy tales derives from his youth in Scotland and local tales. One such tale "Nicht, Nought, Nothing" Lang published in *Custom and Myth.* (Green, 1946: 68). While at Merton, Lang wrote a series of essays which served as the prefix to an edition of Aristotle's *Politics.* These essays are some of the earliest examples of Lang's connecting his interests in Greek literature and civilization and anthropology. He draws parallels with the 'survivals' of Greek civilization and customs of peoples who were at the time seen as savages. These writings were seen provocative in field of comparative anthropology. At the same time at Merton, Lang was pursuing more conventional scholarship in his work on the prose translation of the *Odyssey,* for which he is well known (Green, 1946:54).

Lang believed that people who were his contemporaries were living in a "primitive" state in the form of "savages" and country people. Lang saw the continuation of folk stories in both these societies and in "civilized" societies as proof of the theory of survivals (Smol, 1996:177). Anna Smol (1996) in examining Lang's beliefs in progress and his ideas of "savage" and "civilized" in relation to children vs adults, identifies these survivals of the past as being seen as reminders that the "savage" and the "civilized" are connected, as are the adult and child, and past and present (Smol, 1996:178). Smol posits:

> [H]is contributions to children's literature are intricately woven in this fabric of ideas. The larger patterns of Lang's thinking, revolving around representations of the "savage" and the "civilized," reveal how he constructs the child as a primitive creature analogous to the primitive peoples he studied. Lang's notions of "savage" stories, storytellers and audiences strengthened already existing associations of the folktale with the child, determined the way in which he undertook his work as an editor and translator, and continue to influence our ideas of children and their literature (Smol, 1996:177).

It is in the identification of the "savage", Smol argues, that the opposite is implied and located in the Urban European (Smol, 1996:178). The theory of survivals is deeply problematic and needs to be shifted in decolonial research. It is problematic language use which speaks to victimisation of subject because of the colonial context and its connotations. For a decolonised approach, continuity theory rather than survival theory would be more fitting.

During his Oxford years Lang started to study the origin and diffusion of folk and fairy tales, under the influence of the ideas of J.F. M'Lennan and J.B. Tylor (Green, 1946: 69). In the 1870's Lang was reading mythologies from cultures that were regarded at the time in England as the most primitive and from ones that were regarded the most civilised. He was reading historians and writers of the Greece and Rome alongside the anthropological writings and writings on so-called primitive peoples (Green, 1946: 69). In his reading, Lang observed that races that were considered divergent in their progression towards civilization often had similar stories with incidents occurring almost identically (Green, 1946: 69). Lang developed his ideas in response to Max Müller, using contradictions in Müller's text as sites of inquiry (Montenyohl, 1988:273; Crawford, 1986:856,865).[5] Müller expounds a degenerative view of myths, whereas Lang advocates that the Greek myths are the result of the refining of primitive tales (Crawford, 1986:866). Lang's 1873 article not only refutes Müller's theory but is the first full declaration of the anthropological method being used in a comparative study of myths (Crawford, 1986:866).

Montenyohl (1988) considers Lang's greatest contribution to anthropology to be his text, *Myth, Ritual and Religion* (1887), which applied evolutionary theory to culture (Montenyohl, 1988:277). Lang looks for "primitive" survivals in the mythologies of countries he deems to be civilised namely, Scandinavia, Greece, Mexico, and Egypt alongside reportedly contemporary practices of the Maori, Zulu, and Algonquin peoples (Green, 1946: 70). These theories espouse an idea where culture is evolving into European culture. Lang looked at cross-cultural repetitions, demonstrating common elements in tales and myths using a comparative method. He advocated a cross-cultural psychological unity through the universality of stories and myths (Montenyohl,1988:273).

Lang was interested in the commonality of tales (Crawford, 1986), in collecting specimens of stories as cross-cultural anthropological evidence which escapes the limitations, as he saw it, of Müller's use of Indo-European linguistic data (Montenyohl, 1988:272). Lang's dispute with Müller stimulated his range of scholarship from classical myths and European folk tales to the ethnographies of "savage cultures" by 1888 (Montenyohl, 1988:278). This range of interests

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[5] Lang's refutation of Max Müller appeared in *The Fortnightly Review* of May 1, 1873

would have seemed diverse at the time, but Lang gave them a collective identity for the Victorian and Edwardian British popular imagination by presenting his academic knowledge in the form of his *Fairy Books* (1889-1910). Knowledge production of Africa is here predicated on European systems and is centred on Europe. The concept of universal myths or tales is problematic as it flattens them into homogeny. The nuances of myth are tied to place, and they are complex beyond universalist generalisation. Lang had a limited understanding of African myths and tales because of his lack of awareness of African knowledge production, which I seek to highlight.

Andrew Lang's writing shows the forming of the close relationship between literature and anthropology (Crawford, 1986: 894). Lang's literary works reproduce and espouse his anthropological views to a wider audience (McKinnell, 1992). Lang is attributed a critical role in the reformation of anthropology, as he challenged key thinkers of the day and standing ideas, as well as continually reshaping his own theories in response to new information. Lang's achievements include overthrowing the philological school, and the theory of myth as the disease of language and shifting the trajectory of the study of the origin of religion. In 1908 Lang connected his scholarship on Homer with that of Anthropology in a lecture with the direct and simple title, "Homer and Anthropology" (Green, 1946: 74). Lang creating new points of knowledge through the interweaving of his varied points of study.

Andrew Lang linked his anthropological studies with his psychical work arguing that the commonalities, long histories, and wide diffusion bring ghost stories into the domain of anthropology. Lang identifies anthropology as a science that studies common and shared customs of humanity, regardless of its civilised state and therefore argues that psychical phenomena fall into these parameters. Lang produced a book of essays on the topic entitled *Cock Lane and Common Sense* (1894) (Green, 1946: 72). After further developing these ideas, Lang expressed a new theory in *The Making of Religion (1898).* Based on the study of Australian tales and legends, Lang advocates that a singular god creator is at the start of religion, and it is degradation of some religions that creates polytheism. This theory of Lang's was incredibly tenuous as there was insufficient evidence to prove it (Green, 1946: 73).

Crawford (1986) attributes Lang's anthropological interest – his interest in 'savages' – to his childhood reading of Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851) and Mayne Reid (1818-1883), and which

was further developed by John Ferguson McLennan's (1827-1881) essays on totemism (Crawford, 1986:858). Lang brought literature and anthropology together in his use of Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826) as a source of anthropological data on representation of indigenous Americans. Lang's decision to use *The Last of the Mohicans* was prompted by a lack of access to direct evidence, which encouraged him to look for other ways of accessing information (Crawford, 1986:859). In a similar vein I am looking at *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* as a new way of accessing information about the Victorian British representation of Africa as well as the representation of Africa in stories originating from the continent. Lang's own use of stories as a source of information leads the way for inquiries like that of Sara Hines (2010, 2013) and of this doctoral study, in using literature to give insight into a culture.

In his seminal text *On Fairy Stories* (1947), J. R.R. Tolkien uses *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* to discuss his definition of fairy tales (Tolkien, 1947: 4). This definition is: fairy tales are tales that contain the faerie. The faerie he elucidates encompasses more than witches and elves and other magical creatures. The faerie also includes the earth, sun, moon, plants, animals, pedestrian objects, and humans when we are contained within its enchantments (Tolkien, 1947: 4). Tolkien notes the "inclusiveness" of *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* while saying "most of its contents pass the test, more or less clearly," indicating that some of Lang's inclusions stretch Tolkien's definition of fairy tale (Tolkien, 1947: 4). Tolkien would seek to remove the story of "A Voyage to Lilliput" from the anthology series of fairy tales as he defines that as a traveller's tale not a fairy tale (Tolkien, 1947: 5). "The Monkey's Heart" is another tale in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* that Tolkien argues is not a fairy tale, in this case he defines rather as a 'Beast-fable.' For Tolkien 'Beast-fables' are separate because the animals in them are not truly enchanted but instead are animals acting as placeholders for humans and human behaviour (Tolkien, 1947: 6). Tolkien describes *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books as* "largely a by-product of his adult study of mythology and folklore; but they were made into and presented as books for children" (Tolkien, 1947: 12). Thus, Lang's approach to fairy tales is generous and omnivorous creating its epithet as the first global anthologies of fairy stories.

Lang's global approach to fairy tales was seen as a break away from a tradition that saw fairy tales presented as a vehicle for national heritage (Warner, 2014). In this schism, Marina Warner

(2014) argues that *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* shaped and changed the fairy tale canon.[6] The new global approach to nations allowed for a wealth of tales from all over the world to be gathered between the covers. Lang considered humanity to be defined by the presence of fairy stories, and he uses his *Fairy Books* to emphasise a shared human imagining. Teverson establishes how *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* are designed with Britain as its focus, as a reaction to Victorian British society. My reading of the books considers the implications of this centering with respect to the representation of Africa.

The global identity of Lang's fairy tales is pivotal to their construction and impact. This global identity is constantly being formed against the national identity of the home and reception point of the books, Victorian Britain.

In establishing the global identity versus national identity, Andrew Teverson (2016) compares *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* with Joseph Jacobs' *English Fairy Tales* (1890) by contrasting their approaches. Teverson emphasises that 'both collections are divergent responses to the same set of cultural and political problems that became manifest in Britain towards the end of the 19th century: the problem of the increasing fragility of the British Empire and of the simultaneous threat to Britain posed by Irish, Scottish and Welsh separatist movements' (Teverson, 2016:7). Teverson argues that the *English Fairy Tales* response was to create a sense of English national identity through fairy tales in order to shore it up against the separatist threats. In contrast, *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* react differently to these anxieties, by creating a sense of global oneness. In opposition to the threat of a falling empire, Lang creates a commonwealth of tales to convey stability and a sense of unity while still holding to the idea of Victorian Britain at the centre (Teverson, 2016:16).

The connection between national identity, imperialism and Andrew Lang is explored in Yuki Yoshino's doctoral dissertation (2013). Yoshino focuses on Lang's authored fairy tales and notes that there is a strong difference between the imperialist and cosmopolitan voice of Lang's edited *Fairy Books* and his more culturally-nationalistic original works (Yoshino, 2013:211, 214). *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* embody the imperial desire to discover and collect things

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[6] Following the publication of *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books*, other books were produced with fairy stories from around the world (Warner, 2014:69).

that belong to the Other and possess them through classification, collection, translation and appropriation (Yoshino, 2013:216). Yoshino observes that many of the fairy stories entered the collection through imperial infrastructures and institutions, and likens Lang to "a miniature of the British museum". Museums and fairy tales create systems of representation where meaning is created through classification and display (Lidchi, 1997:120). Museums were seen as tools which were detached and objective yet capable of instructing their audience and entertaining them in an intellectually stimulating manner. However, neither museums nor books are detached or objective, and the education they provide reveals the intentions of the collectors and institutions in which they are held (Lidchi, 1997:173). I examine how this idea is played out in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books.*

Lidchi (1997) highlights that it was cultures considered 'exotic', 'primitive' and 'savage' that were 'represented' in ethnography museums. This is what makes *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* such a complex study. It takes objects (stories) from cultures designated and denigrated as 'primitive' and puts them in the same space as civilizations that are historically seen as 'complex'. It is not a comparison between them but rather relates them to each other (Lidchi, 1997:128).

Lidchi establishes that exhibiting is "the practice of producing meaning through the internal ordering and conjugation of separate but related components of an exhibition" (Lidchi, 1997:135). Meaning is conveyed by how things are presented within the containing setting of the museum. The 'original' or primary meaning of an object is often tied to its original context, and therefore does not always carry through into the representation (Lidchi, 1997:129). In the case of Lang's books, it is the stories that have been dislocated from their original contexts and relocated in the anthology. Museums do not use objects to reflect the world, rather they use them to reveal representations of the world, both current and historical (Lidchi, 1997:127). The objects are used by the collectors to produce their perceived images of other cultures (Lidchi, 1997:173). The human body, as an object, was emphasised in the power battle for control and discipline in these institutions of representation (Lidchi, 1997:159). Françoise Lionnet (2001) considers what happens to an object when it is placed inside a museum, that it is removed from life and either acts as a reminder of the past or a frozen reflection. Placing stories within a book acts in the same way, locking them into a certain time and appearance, whereas a story told through oral story traditions within a community keeps evolving.

Although the primary aim of *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* was entertainment, instruction occurred through the modeling of the tales and their characters, as well as through the companionable inclusion of tales from around the world.[7] Maria Tatar argues that this social regulation of children occurs through the modeled regulation of the heroines of the tales (Tatar, 1992: xxvii). Imaginary monstrous figures in fairy tales according Marina Warner also act as social regulators. Warner argues that they, "variously represent abominations against society, civilisation and family, yet are vehicles for expressing ideas of proper behaviour and due order" (Warner, 1998:11). She looks at appetite, especially for human flesh, and the role food and cooking play in civilisation and barbarism. These manifestations of fear speak to 'othering' and description of a 'savage' Africa, to create, by contrast, a civilized Victorian British identity.

In order to decolonise Fairy-Tale studies, Donald Haase (2010) argues for the cautious use of tale taxonomy and classification, saying scholars must not "lose sight of the tale as a text within its context" (Haase, 2010:7). Haase believes that we have to stop universalising traditional narratives if it means we lose their specific sociocultural and historical contexts (Haase, 2010:29). He takes exception to the attempts in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century to universalise and, thus, flatten texts across cultures. These attempts that Haase refers to encompass Lang and his *Fairy Books* and their universalising approach. It is a valid critique of their functioning, as the European fairy tale needs to stop being generalised as an "ahistorical global genre" (Haase, 2010:29). Instead of generalisation, Haase advocates using constructive criticism and a self-reflexive approach to global fairy tale discourse.[8] Likewise, Mayako Murai

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[7] Jack Zipes (2006) argues that fairy tales played an important role in socialisation until the 1850s. Later, writers, including Andrew Lang in his story *The Princess Nobody* (1884), began to play with the fairy tale, shifting it to becoming a prism through which children could question the world around them (Zipes, 2006:87).

[8] In this vein, Haase critiques Gottschall's study (2008), which assesses whether the emphasis on female attractiveness is universal or whether it is predicated on western patriarchal structures as not being self-critical or aware of its colonial problematics (Haase, 2010:19). The study aspires to being culturally aware by collecting folktales from thirteen areas that Gottschall found to be culturally diverse (Haase, 2010:19). However, Gottschall does not fully take into account how these stories were collected and disseminated. He acknowledges the issues around collecting, translating and editing as potentially being 'limitations'. The foremost of these limitations is that 60% of the tales sampled were collected, translated, edited and, sometimes, even rewritten by Westerners, most of whom were male, between 1860-1930 (Haase, 2010:21). Haase points out that this is a significant problem for the project if it wishes to determine whether there is a different approach to female beauty between Western

(2012) finds Lang's editorial approach in his *Fairy Books* homogenising, accusing him of flattening cultural differences in order to present his view of the universalism of fairy tales (Murai, 2012:62). The colonial impetus is made obvious by Murai: "stories from different continents are collected, sanitized, and displayed in the Imperial cabinet of Fairies" (Murai, 2012:65).

Following the thread of homogenisation Annie E. Coombes (1994) identifies that there are two sets of images of Africa, the so called 'objective truth' created by anthropologists through discourse ('scientific' knowledge) and the perception that the public has of Africa through disseminated knowledge (popular imagination) (Coombes, 1994:3). In looking at the role of public exhibitions in shaping the popular imagination, Coombes notes the split between the 'scientific' discourse and the popular. Even after popular ideas were discredited within scientific academia, these representations of Africa were still circulated through exhibitions (Coombes, 1994:9). African identities were compressed, and a limited set of characters used to represent many different African cultures (Coombes, 1994:63). For example, the Stanley and African Exhibition used 'typical African scenery' instead of plants indigenous to the region, an act of homogenising that was so overt that even *The Times* acknowledged and made allowances for it (Coombes, 1994:69). Likewise,).

Sara Hines' *Collecting the Empire: Andrew Lang's Fairy Books (1889-1910)* (2010) also highlights the anthology's identity as a collection of tales and what it means to see the stories as objects collected by a colonising nation. Her analysis is limited to two tales from the series: "The Glass Axe" is considered in terms of its racial and racist undertones, while colonialism is her focus in unpacking "The Magic Mirror". Her analysis of "The Glass Axe" touches on how

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and other cultures, as the biases of these Western collectors and translators could have been imposed onto the tales through their work. This is an inherent problem in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books*, and the biases that Western collectors, translators and editors bring with them need to be identified in order to fully comprehend the stories. Haase argues that, "although it is indeed possible to use sources collected in colonial times to learn about the societies and cultures that these attempt to document, critical awareness that the texts produced by collectors and translators are forms of intercultural communication dictates more caution in dealing with these texts" (Haase, 2010:21-2).

image and text tell different stories, looking at how race can define the body's ability to be beautiful.

Two areas that progress from Hines in my inquiry are: the identity of the books as a collection; and the impact of the colonial context on the collection and representation of text and image in the books. Despite the importance of the combining of image and text to create meaning, the tools for decoding the representations created by the interaction are still underdeveloped (Nikolajeva & Scott, 2006:4). Studies that look at illustrated books, according to the research done by Maria Nikolajeva and Carole Scott (2006), tend to be either studies that focus purely on the individual images or show that the illustrations are ignored in literature studies (Nikolajeva & Scott, 2006:3). What is not considered is the interplay between them while they are being read. My work extends the reading of image and text in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books,* Hines only situates it in relation to "The Magic Mirror", whereas I look at many image-text relationships throughout the series. Hines has a clear colonial focus which is explored further in my work.

Annie Coombes (1994) argues that the role of scholarship is to highlight how the responses to, and involvement in, Africa have been heterogenous and thus appeal to, and perpetuate, the colonial ideology in even the most liberal of thinkers (Coombes, 1994:2). Ifi Amdiume (1997) references Mudimbe's critique of the European anthropological project as a means of using a European imagining of Africa and Africans to further the imperialist project (Amadiume, 1997:2). Amdiume expands on this, arguing that anthropology, from its inception and at its core is racist; that it is intentionally denigrating and derogatory rather than trying to pursue an objective truth (Amadiume, 1997:2). Cheikh Anta Diop's *Civilization or Barbarism: An Authentic Anthropology* (1981) is an argument against this stance. Diop takes on anthropology and makes it work for the recognition of African history and culture. He uses its structures and formulas to prove an African identity for the origins of man and the existence of an African Egyptian civilisation that contributed not only to the other ancient civilisations but to mathematics, medicine, chemistry, architecture and art.

In *The Invention of Africa,* V.Y. Mudimbe (1988) looks at the origin of the words, 'colonialism' and 'colonisation' as rooted in Latin for 'cultivate' or 'to design' (*colere*) and mean organisation/arrangement (Mudimbe, 1988:1). Mudimbe sketches out who arranged and

organised Africa from the outside. In the 15th century, while on a quest to find a sea route to India, explorers mapped the coast. By the 19th century this organisational task had grown to include information on anthropology, geography and medicine (Mudimbe, 1988:47). Missionaries helped their home countries possess these lands, following both imperial and divine directives. The Pope determined the framework for the idea of *terra nullius,* denying autonomous political existence and the ability to own or transfer ownership to non-Christian natives. In doing so, the 19th century "steals his country from the black man" (Mudimbe, 1988:129).

Anthropology, in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, arguably produced the outlines for classification of the human 'races' and by doing so supported their regulation (Lidchi, 1997:158). George W. Stocking Jr's (1987) multifaceted approach to the development of British anthropology considers the credentials and field research (or lack thereof) done by anthropologists at the time. The history of racism is established as relatively short, particularly the definition of race based on skin colour. Stocking (1987) outlines methods of racial grouping and how political events shifted and adapted them into the tools used by colonialism. Stocking argues that the manner in which the discipline of anthropology codified knowledge meant that it could be used as both a scientific and a moral justification for the often-violent process of colonialism and empire building (Stocking, 1987:273).

According to Nicholas B. Dirks (1992), colonialism's focus was culture, and anthropological ideas of culture were created in the crucible of colonisation. Culture was used to differentiate and separate people or places, marking them as foreign in order to be colonised.

Dirks describes how colonisation used culture as a means of possessing land and establishing European superiority:

> It was through discovery – the siting, surveying, mapping, naming and ultimately, possessing – of new regions that science itself could open new territories of conquest: cartography, geography, botany, and anthropology were all colonial enterprises. Even history and literature could claim vital colonial connections, for it was through the study and narrativization of colonial others that Europe's history and culture could be celebrated as unique and triumphant (Dirks, 1992:6).

Through documenting the culture of other nations, Europeans established their own superiority through truths that were shaped and created by the institutional structures of Europe (Dirks, 1992:19). I argue that this is what Lang is doing in his *Fairy Books.*

When looking at the idea of the British Nation, Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (2006) demonstrates that a nation is a constructed entity, and that it primarily exists in our imagination. He defines a nation as "an imagined political community–and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson, 2006:6). Anderson gives weight to the arrival of newspapers and novels in the process of imagining as he argues that they provide the technical conduit through which the nation can be re-presented (Anderson, 2006:25). Methods of imagining the nation were used to project onto, and define, other nations when Britain started to grow her Empire and acquire colonies. Hall (1997) looks at major moments of contact between Africa and Europe and he marks dramatic changes in the kind of interaction and representation that they produced. This kind of focus negates the more continuous slow contact and its effects. The first two major moments of contact Hall highlights would have impacted ideas represented in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books.* The first was that, in the 16th century, Europe traded in West Africa for slaves. He then notes a second major contact point around the time of the publication of *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* – the period of the Scramble for Africa (1882-1914) (Hall, 1997:228; James, 2016:88-100). The 'scramble' for territory brought with it a surge of African material culture[9] into the public eye via museums (Coombes, 1994:159).

Annie Coombes (1994) makes the argument that the image of Africa with which the British public was presented in the beginning of the twentieth century was the creation of imperial propaganda (Coombes, 1994:2). Africa was shaped through tropes such as 'the white man's burden' and the 'land of darkness'. Africans were seen to be savages; people who were inferior both physically and mentally to the white colonisers (Coombes, 1994:2). This negative imagining meant that the African material culture that was brought to Europe during the 'civilising' process of colonialism was categorised as 'trophy' or 'curiosity' (Coombes, 1994:2). *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* can be read as material and cultural commodities (Hines,

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[9] Objects from Africa tended to be portable for logical reasons, note Ezio Bassani and Malcolm McLeod (2001). They identify three main reasons that items were collected: one, that Europeans found them interesting; two, they were made of valuable materials, such as gold; three, they were goods that were produced in Africa that were modeled for the western market.

2013:2) and, as such, they provide an alternative viewing of African cultures to these trophies, one that could be placed alongside its European equivalents.

Africa maintained a presence that was simultaneously productive yet threatening, savage and exotic in its role as an ideological space within the popular imagination. It was populated with people who were given a range of racial traits that were disparate and inherently contradictory. These traits were shifted depending on what the colonisers needed rather than what the colonised actually were (Coombes, 1994:3). Hall's (1992) coining of the phrase, "the West and the Rest" reveals an identity shaped in opposition, generalisation and power inequality, in which one side is named while the second simply stands as the other (Hall & Gieben, 1992:85-95). In defining the Victorian British self, there were divisions both internally and externally. There were divisions between the different class cultures within Britain, and divisions between Britain and cultures that were geographically distanced (Lidchi, 1997:163). Distinctions are manufactured on the suggestion given by the representation of this difference (Lidchi, 1997:159). This discourse was not a true reflection of the cultures it displayed; rather it exhibited the power relationship between the cultures who were subjected to this classification process and the cultures who endorsed it (Lidchi, 1997:163). Discourses do not provide innocent designations nor do they reflect reality, instead they organise in specific contexts in line with particular power relations (Lidchi, 1997:158).

John Pilger (1994) gives a definitive review of Edward Said's *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) saying: "In illuminating the imperial doctrine found in much Western Culture – from Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* to the present day, ubiquitous 'media culture' – Said demonstrates how the perceptions of colonizers and colonized are entwined by the perceptions that drove imperialism 100 years ago" (Pilger, 1994). This idea is visually explored in *White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks on Western Popular Culture* (1990) by Jan Nederveen Pieterse and *The Image of the Black in Western Art: From the American Revolution to World War I: Black Models and White Myths* (2012) edited by David Bindman and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. These investigate the depiction of black or African bodies through imperial doctrine. The sexualisation and exoticising of Africans and black people through racial assumptions are highlighted, showing how they have been used as counterpoints to self-controlled Europeans. Depictions of Africans and black people have played on the contrast "savagery" and "civilization" and reveal the impact of the development of racism in the name of science and

anthropology. Pieterse's particular focus is on stereotypes, looking at images from popular culture to explore how they have developed and been propagated. Images have an impact on how people are perceived and, therefore, treated. Ford's images of Africans in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* are informed by these stereotypes but have a nuanced response to them, as they are advocates of Lang's project of shared humanity.

Representation is formed by the associations with which cultures or people shape or interpret languages, 'cultural relativism'. This link between representation and culture shows that understanding representation goes hand-in-hand with understanding culture; that the pursuit of the one means the pursuit of the other (Hall, 1997:46). Archie Mafeje (1971) presents the idea of "authentic interlocutors", which provides methodology for cross-cultural inquiries. Authentic interlocutors take the object of enquiry on its own terms; one must take the argument of the interlocuter on its own merits before attempting to expose the errors through a counter-argument (see discussion of Mafeje in Nyoka, 2012:4-5).

According to wa Thiong'o (1986), all languages are both a means of communication and a carrier of culture. For example, English when spoken by the English uses both functions, but when it is spoken by a person of another nationality, who is using it to communicate with someone outside of their language group, it is simply a means of communication (wa Thiong'o, 1986:13). Culture is formed by communication and it, in turn, disseminates through the specific language of that culture's representations of the world and the culture's reality (wa Thiong'o, 1986:15). In the 1884 Berlin Conference, Ngúgí wa Thiong'o notes, Africa was split into the different languages of the colonisers (wa Thiong'o, 1986:5). During their time as colonies and extending to today, African countries became defined both internally and externally in terms of these European languages (wa Thiong'o, 1986:5). Language became one of the ways that Europe controlled the representation of Africa and shaped it through a European system of representation, as *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* are shaped through their Victorian British creation and publication.

Stuart Hall (1997) presents how representation can be problematic, but highlights that the mechanics of the classifications, language and concepts of representation bring huge value in our ability to communicate with other people (Hall, 1997:45). He argues that we carry the

concepts and classifications of culture in our heads, which allow us to *think*[10] and engage with them whether they are physically present or not. Things that are known to us in the material world, as well as things that are purely imagined, can both conceptually live in our minds (Hall, 1997:45). Representation has allowed us to imagine other cultures and lands however problematic the specifics of that imagination. It allows for cross-cultural engagement and a means of coming to terms with people and things that are unknown to us.

The separation of representation from resemblance is key to Nelson Goodman's (1976) understanding of the nature of representation. Goodman examines representation through symbol systems, in which a symbol could be words, pictures, texts, maps or other vehicles of representations (Goodman, 1968: xii-xiii). As such, both pictures and descriptions function in a similar kind of fashion in their capacities as representation (Goodman, 1968:30). Goodman argues that resemblance is not sufficient to form representation. In order to represent a man, it must more than look like a man, it must be categorised as a man too with all the connotations this brings out. It is our understanding of the world and the categories that we use to order it, that shape and give meaning to representation. Thus, the representation of Africa is determined by the category of continents and the ordering of individual continents within that category. Goodman considers effective representation to be the result of a creative process. Goodman asserts: "That nature imitates art is too timid a dictum. Nature is a product of art and discourse"; a forthright identification of the role representation plays in shaping our perception and understanding of the world (Goodman, 1968:23).

Knowledge or understanding of things can develop through representations and extrapolations therefrom, rather than experiencing the real thing. Goodman uses the example of a unicorn. The identity of a unicorn has been learnt through representations of unicorns in images and texts. These representations provide us with a map to conceptualising the unknown (Goodman, 1968:25). Many Victorian British people would have learnt about Africa and its people through representations. Because Africa was a space of such imaginary unknown, it was thought to be possible that unicorns might exist in there, even though they were known to be imaginary in Europe. Lady Anne Barnard, in her family letters sent from the Cape to England in the 1790s,

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[10] Hall's italics.

discussed an incident where the unicorn[11] was recognised off the British Royal Coat of Arms by African people. It had also been noted by a European traveler of the Cape, Anders Sparrman (1785), that, in Bushman rock art, there was an animal depicted that was predominately represented "like a horse with a horn on its forehead".[12] Sparrman himself believed that it might have existed in Africa in the past and could conceivably still be around (Beinart, 2021). Goodman (1968) only refers to fictitious things being learnt through representation, but he fails to delve into the process of what occurs when real things are learnt through the imagined and what happens when the imagined representation comes up against the real. What happens when the imagined Africa is met by the real?

In his inquiry into the systems that inform representation, Goodman raises the view that Ernst Gombrich's concept of the eye[13] is not innocent:

> not only how but what it sees is regulated by need and prejudice. It selects, rejects, organizes, discriminates, associates, classifies, analyses, constructs. It does not so much mirror as take and make; and what it takes and makes it sees not bare, as items without attributes, but as things, as food, as enemies, as stars, as weapons. Nothing is seen nakedly or naked" (Goodman, 1968:7-8).

Things are not only seen by the eye, but they are also shaped, categorised and attached to meaning according to the owner of the eye. Representations are actively processed by the viewer and are particular to their experience. The colonial eye creates a particular kind of representation that speaks to the values and prejudice of the expanding Victorian British Empire and informs how *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* were created and received.

Hall (1997) argues that difference is a compelling tool within representation (Hall, 1997:225). He questions what forms and representational practices are used to create difference (Hall, 1997:225). Difference allows for great drama created through contrast (Hall, 1997:225). Hall (1997) makes a number of key points about difference in representation such as that difference is essential to meaning as, Swiss linguist, semiotician and philosopher Ferdinand de Saussure

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[11] The unicorn in the coat of arms is depicted as a rearing horse with one horn.
[12] Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope,* vol 2, 116.
[13] *Art and Illusion,* 1960.

established in his foundational work on semiotics, meaning is made through relating two different things/ideas (Hall, 1997:224). It is a crude method, reducing the subject as it captures it (Hall, 1997: 225). Hall supports Russian philosopher, Mikail Bakhtin, whose interested in the philosophy of language led to the argument that meaning is created in the interaction between the self and another person. It is through the difference between the two that dialogue is produced and through it, meaning (Hall, 1997:225). Difference often uses positions that have power relations between the poles. Hall uses the example of the relationship between upper class and lower class, in which the upper class, through their wealth, education and status, wield power over the lower class (Hall, 1997:225). In the case of *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books,* the power relationship is between the colonising imperialist Victorian Britain and the colonised African countries.

For the illustrator H.J. Ford, there could have been tension between the desire for dramatic effect and a cohesive flow of images. Hall acknowledges the way in which representation, in particular difference, stimulates reactions and feelings, including fear and anxiety (Hall, 1997:216). These feelings, for Hall, are deep-rooted and not easy to explain. Regardless, they do impact how we seek difference and react to it. Representation plays off difference in terms of binary opposites, such as culture/nature. Problematically, through the course of the nineteenth century, socio-differences became seen as fixed and even sometimes as hereditary, and in that shift to extrinsic, they became located in the body (Hall, 1997:233). Body was a stage for difference to be projected on and performed, and, in this setting, black people became negatively seen by their white contemporaries through the signifiers of their physical difference: curly hair, dark skin, etc. (Hall, 1997:237).

Levi-Strauss (1970) looks at how cultures order things according to their own individual classification systems. This speaks to Foucault's (2002) *The Order of Things* and its relation to 'representation' and 'classification'. Foucault refers to epistemes, systems of knowledge or discourses, that create subjects and notes that "the function proper to knowledge is not seeing or demonstrating; it is interpreting" (Foucault, 2002:44). One can extrapolate that the kind of knowledge being created is dependent upon who is doing the interpreting. Power and knowledge are intertwined, which has a big impact across representations where there is a power imbalance. Hall shares Foucault's concerns about power and representation, coining the term "*a regime of representation*" (Hall, 1997:222), which refers to the complete repertoire of

how difference is visually articulated**.** Images are surrounded by this repertoire and are read through it. Drawing on these ideas, this thesis argues that, in representing Africa, the structural cultural power to tell or represent in the world has been in the hands of imperialist Europe. Africa is described by Europe from without (i,e, extraversion).

Extending this concern of cultural imperialist extraversion, Jimi O. Adesina (2008) interrogates anthropologist Archie Mafeje's (1963, 1971, 1976, 1996, 1997, 2001) ideas on focusing African scholarship within languages, research methodologies and epistemologies that initiate from a localised African experience. Mafeje would argue that in seeking to research African culture, it is problematic for the language of the theoretical framework to be imposed from an exterior European system. Retaining existing anthropological frameworks can be argued for as they are readily accessible to those initiated into the anthropological episteme. But this argument is weak in the face of the counter-argument, where meaning becomes limited by this framework and the self-identity of the community being researched is effaced. Access is needed into the interior coding systems of communities (Adesina, 2008:136). The use of existing anthropological frameworks keeps the power of language in the hands of Europe and, with language, representation. Mafeje is critical of the discipline of anthropology. He believes that epistemic 'othering' is inherent to anthropology, and, thus, it is impossible to reform the discipline (Adesina, 2008:136).

John M. Mackenzie's *Propaganda and the Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (1984) is a study of the control created over the British through the schooling system and media. Mackenzie shows how the British public were maneuvered into their support of the British Empire and its actions, and how they were shaped into ideal citizens of the Empire. In literature, ideas around race were provided as an impetus for conflict between cultures. The results of that conflict established a sense of superiority (Mackenzie, 1984:7). Children's literature had undergone a change, moving away from religious and moral texts, which taught children to be obedient, to a new kind of text that encouraged action and keen individualism (Mackenzie, 1984:199). This new children's literature seized on the interest in warfare and merged with the tradition of foreign adventures, becoming the most popular children's genre of the time. Empire became the locus of the action, where, as Mackenzie phrases it, "heroism was enhanced by both distance and exotic locales" (Mackenzie, 1984:6).

Two socialising categories of Victorian texts, according to Angelica Poon (2008), were adventure stories set in the colonies for English boys and conduct literature for English women. These texts helped build a sense of Englishness that was manifested in a way to be reproduced. This idea of Englishness is reproduced on many levels, including at its most basic, a physical one. This is a space where manners, dress and forms of lived behaviour play out (Poon, 2008:15). In conduct literature, aimed at women, it was asserted that an English woman's superior skills in creating a comfortable home distinguished her from other nation's women both civilised and "barbarous" (Poon, 2008:15).

Denis Judd and Keith Sturridge (2013) contextualise the adventure stories against the Boer War, and how it was the turning point of the Empire. They highlight the growing number of young readers, who had the means to purchase books, leading to a demand for the adventure stories from writers such as G.A. Henty as well as the kind of stories that became classic childhood literature. These were stories such as *The Wind in the Willows* (1908), *The Secret Garden* (1911), *The Railway Children* (1906) and Beatrix Potter's tales (Judd & Sturridge, 2013:258). Adventure stories such as those of G.A. Henty's work are no longer popular today because of their imperialistic nature. But, at the time, Henty was the most prolifically published children's book author ever. His novels were adventure stories that glorified the pluck and steadfastness of the English..[14] The books all featured this heroic young male English protagonist, who used to inspire dreams of heroism in the boys who read them, but are now seen as distasteful because of their xenophobia and its accompanying glorification of Englishness (Thompson, 2002).

These two types of tales seem to have very different reactions to the expansionist agenda of the time: the adventure stories sought out the new horizons that expansion offered, while the classic celebrated Englishness and the English home. These stories either entrench a romanticised idea of the English home as the sought-after ideal of civilisation or they glorify imperialism as a noble calling through adventure stories. Lang's series shared bookshelves with these publications in many children's homes, which would have formed peripheral context for

[14] For example, in *At the Point of the Bayonet: A Tale of the Mahratta War,* Harry Lindsay was brought up by his faithful old ayah after his parents were killed. When he later wishes to seek his revenge, he is still recognised as an Englishman despite his dyed skin. His English character portrayed as shining through despite a "native" upbringing and disguise.

the series. Lang's work echoes that centring on Britain; that is, that while these tales are not about the Victorian British home, they are for the Victorian British home. They do not actively encourage expansionist action, yet they do present a way of imagining unknown lands that could be ripe for expansion.

According to Gregory Fremont-Barnes "London was (in 1897) the center of imperial power and, to some, effectively the centre of the world. The fact that longitude was measured through Greenwich seemed to confirm this" (Fremont-Barnes, 2003:78). The measuring lines of cartography concurred with Britain's perceived understanding of its place in the world. Poon (2008) describes this idea thus: "The nation as original centre mobilises a cartographic imagination and a linear narrative of imperial growth by inscribing and ordering power and progress in spatial and temporal terms. Nation and Empire are encoded sequentially and positioned as centre and margin in an elision of their contingent constitutionality" (Poon, 2008:2). She goes on to expand: "The practice of empire in the Victorian period called for a certain conceptualisation of national and global space. The operational logic of colonial discourse depended on the map of England as imperial centre of the world with colonies cast on the margins or periphery" (Poon, 2008:10). This idea is also picked up on by Sandra Young in *The Early Modern Global South in Print* (2015) focusing on the images included in the maps:

> The early "geographies" sought to represent Africa and Asia alongside Europe and America (the so-called "four partes" of the world) within a new global "whole" that silently privileged the European view, rendering it universal and true. The map-images themselves perform the important work of explanation and legitimisation, connecting continents under an imperialist star in an act of representation that went beyond illustration or information sharing (Young, 2015:51).

Poon and Fremont-Barnes show how cartography was constructed around the notion of nation at the centre and created a feedback loop that affirmed the logic of it. It gave people a way of imaging the relationships between nation and Empire through the structure of spatial and temporal terms. Young shifts this idea slightly by looking at how images in maps represent the world in a manner that informs how the world was presented as subject to imperialism and this presentation was presented as logical and true.

Michael Gaudio (2008) presents that "a basic Western myth of what it means to be a savage, which is that a savage is precisely one who *lacks* perspective on the world" (Gaudio, 2008:xix). This description of savagery is dependent on the ability to see and perceive the world and that this myth is held from a Western standpoint which seeks to void that of others. Maps are physical proof of possessing perspective, enmeshing savagery and cartography. The acquisition of cartographic knowledge is used to mark the movement away from savagery by "civilised" nations. European technologies, such as clocks, the sea compass and writing, are more than a means of measuring the world. Gaudio argues that they provided a way of positioning oneself in the world and thus giving one that perspective on the world (Gaudio, 2008: xix). Readers in Europe, looking at representations of people in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* that they considered savage, are establishing their own lack of savagery by possessing a perspective (Gaudio, 2008: xix).

Jeffery Stone opens *A Short History of the Cartography of Africa* (1995) with "the evolution of the map of Africa over the past five centuries has been determined primarily by the nature of the relationship between Europe and Africa" (Stone, 1995: Intro). As Poon, Young and Fremont-Barnes attest, this relationship was dominated by English imperialism and colonialism. Stone argues that, from the start of colonial rule and throughout its span in Africa, the map of Africa underwent transformation to better serve the requirements of colonialism (Stone, 1995: Intro). The form and the subject of the maps changed with the motivation for map-making (Stone, 1995:65). Information was gathered throughout the 19th century by travellers and explorers, and transformation of the map of Africa occurred apace (Stone, 1995:48). There is an apparent lack of maps emanating from Africans, despite anecdotal evidence of creating temporary representations to give directions, pictorially and sequentially depicted places (Stone, 1995:6). Stone attributes this ostensible absence to different perceptions of the world and the failure to recognise a broader definition where other kinds of knowledge might be important in representing the land (Stone, 1995:8).

Tom McCarthy's collaboration with Hans Ulrich Oberist, *Mapping It Out* (2014), is a visual investigation into the process of mapping, considering how maps can be used as tools to manipulate perceptions through their conventions. It is an exercise in subverting these conventions and revealing the artifice that lies behind them. Maps in history, art and literature helped shape how people saw themselves in the world. In *New Encyclopaedia of Africa* (2007),

Barbaro Martinez-Ruiz's entry on "Cartography" considers the language of map-making. He argues that map-making developed out of a multicultural heritage but came to be dominated by the West. That through the imaginative process of mapping, Europeans exerted control over Africa.

Sandra Young (2015) discusses how maps were used to create a new imaginary which constructed a framework of human difference around the world. They did so by using the language of cartography, which allowed them to place regions of the world, that were less able to speak in this process, as objects of knowledge. In making this knowledge, cartographers fixed as formal knowledge their perception of the 'habits' of people they were coming into contact with. This had the effect of rendering what those unfamiliar people did as a signifier for who they are (Young, 2015:35). The images on maps, from antiquity, have spoken to the concerns, fears and myths embedded in the knowledge of the cultures which formed them. Both the imagined encounters and those which seem more quantifiable, like the shapes of geometry and astronomy, shaped cartography (Young, 2015:57). Young (2015) looks at Jonathan Swift's (1733) satirical lines on the images included in maps:

> So geographers, Afric maps
> With savage pictures fill their gaps,
> And o'er unhabitable downs
> Place elephants for want of towns (Young, 2015:53)

It is clear that Swift identifies that the images are poor placeholders for knowledge of an area, and that their core function is to fill the blank spaces in the map. With their lack of knowledge of the arrangements and designs of group human habitation, cartographers used the convention of images. These images disregard any sense of scale, are representational and emblematic (Young, 2015:52). They speak to things that are foreign and exotic and, by doing so, affirm to the reader the idea that England is the centre, perpetuating England's view of itself as the norm and that it thus requires no explanation (Young, 2015:128).

By the eighteenth century, at least to intellectuals like Swift, this technique was losing its ability to convince its audience of its pertinence. These images work very differently from how the latitudinal grid structures the cartographic construction of the coastline. They use a different

representational lexicon. The images do, however, share a relationship with other elements that are inserted on top of the maps, such as the written names of towns or geological wonders, or lines which mark the flow of rivers (Young, 2015:52). Image and text work together and reinforce each other by confirming the information given. The text gives the image the status of evidence, which makes it epistemologically more important than being purely decorative. The images create a visual embodiment of the text, which consolidates its meaning and gives visual shape to the ideas expressed (Young, 2015:47). Reading Sandra Young's *The Early Modern Global South in Print* (2015) made me keenly aware of the nature of the representation of maps, and Africa, which are each defined by the common process in which their representations were formed.

I extend her work and apply it to fairy tales (my extrapolation). The imagining of Africa was constructed in the same manner that maps and fairy stories were constructed: taken from scraps and pieces of pre-existing constructions, knowledge and stories are patchworked together. Jan Susina (2003), while critiquing Andrew Lang's text for Richard Doyle's *In Fairyland* (1884), highlights Lang's predilection for reworking old texts, a manner of working that bears close identification with the construction of fairy tales and text, as I expand on in my chapter on cartography (Susina, 2003:108).

The history of colonial representation suggests that difference is emphasised over commonality. Within the representations of Africa, I argue that there is a clash between representation, imagined and real. Goodman (1976) does not discuss the problematics of representing a dynamic and multifaceted thing, such as a continent. Parts of it fit certain categories while, for other parts, the same categories are simply not relevant. How does one represent something that is not homogenous? I look at categorising the tales while trying not to flatten them with generalization, as Haase and Mafeje warn against. I look at how representation remains desired as a means of mapping and understanding the world.

Chapter 3: Structure and Methodology

Lang's twelve *Fairy Books* (1889-1910) were created in a multidisciplinary (Anthropology, Children's Literature and Illustration) context during the height of the British Empire. All these disciplines provide tools through which the books can be read. But all these disciplines were constructed through the Victorian British lens, which demands the questions: What happens when the instrument of looking is compromised? What does it mean to be objective? New tools are required to gaze into this critical moment to re-interrogate the Victorian British culture of time, the hegemonic ideas contained in the books, and the lack of recognition of African voices. Looking at the books through image and text and the cartographic imagination as fairy tale creates new methods of interrogating them.

Lang's Fairy Tales have been the subject of several critical analyses[15]. Anna Smol's (1996) critical analysis queries the ideas of the "savage" and the "civilized" and the "representation of the child" in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* and other folklore publications, while Jan Susina's (2003) analysis considers how Andrew Lang created text for Richard Doyle's *In Fairyland* and the challenges of that text-image relationship. Hines (2010) critically analyses the discourses of collecting and empire in relation to *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books*. Within this, she produces a comparative visual analysis and textual analysis of the tale, *The Glass Axe.*

Andrew Lang approached his own work in anthropology and fairy tales using critical comparison. Andrew Teverson (2016) follows suit with a comparative analysis of Andrew Lang's and Joseph Jacobs' fairy tale books, with points of analysis being identity and nation as opposed to Empire. Mayoko Murai (2012) also uses this methodology to critically compare *Andrew Lang's Fairy books* with that of Angela Carter, looking at homogenisation through translation in Lang's and Carter's contextualising strategies.

[15] Discourse analysis is the analysis of patterns of articulation that are adhered to in different social domains (Jørgensen &Phillips, 2002:1). It is a series of interdisciplinary approaches and can be applied across social domains and studies. Critical analysis uses intertextuality to change the reading of individual discourses (Jørgensen &Phillips, 2002:7).

Qualitative discourse analysis has been used to develop and extrapolate knowledge from Lang's work. Ann McKinnell (1992) produced a qualitative discourse analysis of Andrew Lang's work focusing primarily on his anthropological texts but touching on his fiction and fairy tales insofar as they relate to his anthropological ideas and shape his anthropological thinking. The focus of Hines' (2013) qualitative research was the books as a material and cultural commodity, looking at the bibliographic history of fairy tales, the publishing and production of the books as a series, and acknowledging the colonial context. Nancy Guild's (1977) research analyses how Lang applied his theories on fairy tales to his fairy tales and his *Fairy Books*.

This inquiry is arguably the first critical discourse analysis on *Lang's Fairy Tales*. It is also the first inquiry to focus on visual analysis, as this is underdeveloped or ignored in other studies. While there has been critical engagement with *Lang's Fairy Tales* relating to Empire, *Lang's Fairy Tales* and anthropology, and *Lang's Fairy Tales* as books, there has not been a critical discourse analysis that harnesses all these elements before this study. It allows for the inclusion of multiple approaches wherein the discursive dominance of Britain and the Empire can be critiqued. By highlighting them, I trouble how this discursive dominance quietly inhabits the ostensibly neutral images and text of fairy tales.

Looking at how the hegemonic ideas are being transmitted and consolidated in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books,* I have used critical discourse analysis by applying cultural communications and codes to the images and texts in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* and the image and text in surrounding framework. I also analyse the cultural values expressed in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books*. This inquiry harnesses new tools for interrogating the books through image and text and the cartographic imagination as fairy tale.

Through critical discursive analysis, I look at the audience and context for *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* and assess these from a socio-economic standpoint. This covers the Industrial Revolution, changes in means of production for books, the rise of protected childhood, and increasing literacy. The combination of these factors creates a marketplace for the book that is also responding to pressure from these same socioeconomic factors. The publication of books came at the zenith of the British Empire, and I follow critical discursive analysis of texts on the Empire and its impact on creation and reception of the books.

My research was initiated with the seminal work on British anthropology at the time, George W. Stocking Junior's *Victorian Anthropology* (1987) – noting that this work matches both the geography and career of Lang. I draw on key sources and authors mentioned in that work, such as Edward Burnett Tylor's *Primitive Culture* (2010), to better understand the development and concerns of British anthropology. I engage with texts on the pursuit of collecting. My analysis critically discusses the impact of collecting on the representation of Africa in Britain.

I provide a discursive analysis of the reading of image and text, considering the concepts outlined by theorists in the field and then applying their theories to *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books*[16]. This analysis critiques the relationship between text and visual literacy and examines the text-image relationship as it is discussed largely in the study of picture books. I compare image and text, looking at how they are generated and function. I focus this framework looking for points of coherence and departure in the reading of image and text. I use a comparative analysis of the two sets of image-text relationships from *East of the Sun, West of the Moon* in the Lang's series and the version illustrated by Kay Nielsen in *East of the Sun, West of the Moon: Old tales from the North* (2008) to show the influence of the illustration over the text. I critically analyse who is forming the representations and, thus, what might be shaping them. This is Lang as the editor, informed by his work on anthropology and how he projects the role of current fairy stories in different cultures, as well as his tracing common narratives across cultures. Lang's team also play a vital role in shaping the representation; it is female-driven and presents issues around the female role and perspective. Together they form a double layer of Victorian British influence, editing and adapting for Victorian British audience and literary market.

I establish a critical analysis of artistic style and subject matter relating to the style of the illustrations following the pre-Raphaelites and the subject matter of Africa/Africans. The resulting ideas are developed in comparative study between the contextual images and Ford's illustrations for the books. I break down each of the twelve books into their tales. I counted the number of tales in each book and documented the place of origin that tales were attributed (if

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[16] I use the Dover Publications of *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* which are the unabridged and unaltered republication of the 1st editions.

such information was provided). The tales were then organised into continents of origin, and I mapped this through percentages to determine the comparative quantity of tales from each of the continents.

A comprehensive reading of the images throughout the books that represent the African stories is called for by the text-image relationship and the detail of the imagery. I examine how Africa is represented and explore whether the representations are cohesive or if they differ. On reading the images, the representation of black Africans and the diverse representations between Africans in fur and loincloths to Africans in rich turbans and robes became an area that needed critical discussion. This provoked an additional question about when blackness is tied to Africa throughout the images and tales and when it is not. How is the black body represented? I unpack the visual representation of Africa and Africans while looking at the interplay with the textual representation.

In analysing the representation of Africa, it highlights that the African voices were silenced: African voices have separated from the tales, and the tales are presented within a Western cultural understanding and logic, harnessed to Lang's ideas. The lack of acknowledgement and understanding of African modes of knowledge production (Oral, History, Proverbs) is apparent in these books and remains a challenge for research which I highlight here. Moses Gaster critiques how theories were indiscriminately applied across different types of folklore including myths, customs, superstitions, and tales (Gaster,1887:339). He argues instead for each type to be studied separately and then to follow the matrix that connects them. Gaster reminds us that oral knowledge, like written knowledge, is "formed by many *strata*, one upon the other" that has been acquired over the centuries even if it appears unified (Gaster,1887:339).

Within South Africa there has been a lack of recognition of the ongoing presence of African knowledge systems. The assumed extinction of indigenous African culture was advocated Dorothea Bleek's 1929 article. In it Bleek advanced that bushman lore had been lost by 1910. Bleek's claim is refuted by Marlene Winberg's 2011 work, debunking these colonial claims in her research role as part of an indigenous movement to assert African knowledge practices (2012, 20). Ironically, Bleek's (incorrect) premise also records the presence of knowledge practice, as something has to exist for it to be supposedly lost.

In her work, Winberg reads image and text together in studying Lucy Lloyd's ||[17] notebooks together with the |Xam children's paintings and drawings to create new insight into the fragmented information (2011:16). Winberg highlights the knowledge production of |Xam;

> a highly oral and visual culture wherein the transmission of knowledge and values through oral tradition was as important as the life skill of reading marks and prints on the ground. Drawing in the sand, reading spatial and visual clues to safely navigate the landscape's features and resources, body decoration, beadwork and the making of basic tools, to mention only a few skills, were fundamental to their families' daily lives (Winberg, 2011:39).

Another indigenous South African knowledge system is that of the matrilineal Ausis. June Bam extensively studies this in her groundbreaking publications *Ausi Told Me: Why Cape Herstoriographies Matter* (2021) and *Rethinking Africa: Indigenous Women Re-Interpret Southern Africa's Pasts* (Muthien & Bam, 2021). She explores the knowledge generated and passed down for generations by the Ausis on medicine, agriculture, and care for the land. In the last-mentioned, regarding conservation and the protection of indigenous fauna and flora, the Khoi castigated the early Dutch settlers trapping game birds as they wished to prevent the depletion of the bird population (Bam, 2021: 216). Bam describes this intersection of protection and conservation of various indigenous knowledges as an "ecology of knowledge" (2021:203).

To present other, non-Eurocentric, modes of knowledge production is an ongoing challenge for research. Bam raises that "we work with deficient models inherited from Eurocentric and Western disciplines, which involve the destruction of indigenous-knowledge ecologies and epistemological self-determination" (2021:149-150). To challenge these problems, Winberg (2015) offers us a new interpretation of the 'archive', shifting it from a fixed cohesive, unproblematic site of evidence of the past, to one that embraces the mobile vehicles of oral history and memory, which have carried fields of specialist knowledge (2015:45). Winberg advocates a close reading of the archive to interrogate its context and the hierarchies and hegemony of Western theories of thought (2015:45). New intersections need to be opened up

[17] Bushman language group

in order to achieve this. Fairy tales are a site for acknowledging African knowledge production despite inherent problems with their reproduction and their rupture from their place within their "ecology of knowledge."

The Yoruba system of knowledge suggests why written information might not have been privileged within Africa. In the Yoruba system of knowledge, they use the terms, *mo* and *gabaggo,* meaning "know" and "believe", respectively (Kalumba, 2005:276). Kalumba explains the two criteria for *mo* as being;

> *ri* (visual perception) and the recognition of the perceiver's *eri okon* (etm: truth) In other words, where P is a proposition, a person S has *imo* (the noun form of *mo*) that P(proposition) only if S has seen P(proposition) and (person)S's *eri okon* has witnessed that it is *ooto* (honest) that P(proposition) (Kalumba, 2005:276).

A person can know (*mo)* something if a person has experienced it and can attest to its truth. Kalumba expands this saying, "the criterion of *ri* (visual perception) so sharply distinguishes the meaning of *imo* from that of *knowledge* that is possible for a person who possesses knowledge that P(proposition) to fail to possess *imo* that P(proposition)" (Kalumba, 2005:276). That *imo* is a specialised kind of knowledge. Second-hand information is "relegated by the Yoruba to the second-best epistemic level of *igbagbo* (the noun form of *gabaggo*)" (Kalumba, 2005:276). This would suggest a knowledge system that highly recognised and valued experiential knowledge and that written knowledge would occupy a lesser space within this system; that the production of knowledge is not predominately literary in Africa.

I draw the study's findings together by extending the representation of *Lang's Fairy Tales* and their metaphorical mapping of the globe through stories as a comparative study of maps and fairy tales. I compare both the visual and textual components of fairy stories and maps in addition to how they operate, how they are assembled, and their roles as agents of socialisation. With the results of this study, I formulate the argument of the cartographic imagination as fairy tale.

The similarity between Sandra Young's (2019) *Shakespeare in the Global South* and this research dissertation is that, in both cases, their literature, Shakespeare and *Andrew Lang's*

Fairy Books, respectively, are sites around which ideas about Africa and Africans solidify and take shape, reflecting the developing discourse around ideas of human difference parallel to England's embracing an expansionist agenda (Young, 2019:81, 80). Young (2019) uses critical discourse analysis to unpack Shakespeare and British stories in the form of plays being reimagined for the Global South. My analysis critiques African tales being reimagined in a global context, where the globe is centred on Britain for the British.

Young (2019) references Aamir Mufti's (2016) *Forget English! Orientalism and World Literatures* and his idea that "world literature relies on the dominance of English and on a prurient fascination with cultural difference" (Young, 2019:60). This is a troubling idea as it questions both Young's and my inquiries. Young deals with it by inverting this relationship and putting the power in the hands of the Global South. This research dissertation, on the other hand, invites the "prurient fascination" with cultural difference, but it explores this fascination, while using cultural difference to point to a shared humanity.

A potential critique of my work could possibly be that it is Eurocentric, that I focus on the representation of Africa by and for the British. In this sense, it is a critical self-reflective research process, as these books were part of the niche culture I grew up with as an 'English' South African. It is important to examine, as the descendant of white colonialists, what representations of Africa have been inculcated in myself and those of my ilk, and how they perpetuate covert racism in how we read our histories. An exemplary example of a critical self-reflective engagement with representation and Empire is British historian Catherine Hall's confrontation of her own family history in *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in English Imagination 1830-1867* (2002). In this work, Hall leads the way in accepting the imperial English past in decolonising our own subjective experiences. To a certain extent, these books have come to represent for me what the Baptist church was for Hall, an entry point to processing this history.

My inquiry seeks to critique the cultural communication conveyed in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books*. It uses visual analysis to consider the representation of Africa and Africans through a Victorian British lens and considers its relationship with the text. This relationship between image and text and the cartographic imagination as fairy tale provides a fresh avenue for critically analysing *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books.*

Chapter 4: Colonialism and the Collecting Spirit

A historical context is established in this Chapter, *Colonialism and the Collecting Spirit*. This provides a grounding in order to understand better the conditions in which *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* were formed. By the Victorian period, the British conception of its own identity and of Africa's were constructed in contrast to each other for the British public. The development of the Empire, the Industrial Revolution and the development of anthropology were key in formulating this construction. The Victorian identity was positioned as the centre and was projected externally onto other peoples and lands. This chapter looks at anthropology and what was seen to constitute humanity in reviewing how the Victorians at the apex of their Empire categorised peoples and cultures. The cataloguing of peoples was created within the Victorian British collecting impetus which also gave rise to *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books*. I examine how this was enacted, specifically in the creation of *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* and the inclusion of African tales within them. My inquiry considers how Lang makes a point in his *Fairy Books* that he argues in his work as an anthropologist, Lang argued that we are all the same race, but that Africans are less developed (Lang, 1884:9). Following this concept, I consider the positive representations in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* that placed Africans as the equals of Europeans, as well as the negative representations which disparaged them, focusing on *The Orange Fairy Book*.

There has been a desire to trace a history in which Europeans are the linear descendants of antiquity despite Europe remaining in the doldrums during the Middle Ages while Islamic nations led in the economic, political and scientific spheres (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2013:4). With the rapid development of cities in the late Middle Ages, exploratory sea voyages were embarked on by European rulers backed by the embryonic capitalist class (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2013:5).

These journeys to hitherto unknown places were reported back to Europeans in vibrant detail, and they were widely circulated in books that were created in large numbers thanks to the invention of the printing press (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2013:6). These books contrasted the peoples in Europe with the societies they encountered, who were categorised either as 'noble savages' or barbarians (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2013:6). The 'noble' savage was an idealised European imagining of [these] people they met on their colonising endeavours (Redford, 1991:46). An

example of European travel-writing about Africa is that of Duarte Lopez concerning the early Portuguese interactions with the habitants of West Africa. The writings of Duarte Lopez were published as a book by Filippo Pigafetta in Rome under the title, *A Report of the Kingdom of Congo, and of the Surrounding Countries; Drawn out of the Writings and Discourses of Portuguese, Duarte Lopez* (1591) Between them, these two men build an image of the interactions between the Portuguese and the inhabitants of the Congo and its surrounds. In doing so, they establish a history of interactions and trade between Africans and Europeans before colonisation. They also demonstrate a long-standing history of trade between Africa and India. The descriptions of African people highlight wealth and skill, discussing the manufacture of, and desire for, a range of luxurious cloths for the elite. A stratified society is discussed, showing complex societal relations.

The first chapter of *A Report of the Kingdom of Congo* focuses on the climate, and the appearance of the inhabitants of the Congo, mainly their skin colour. Lopez questions the theory that the heat of a country turns people's skin dark, and he describes variances in the skin tone of people from the Congo and its surrounding countries. Lopez's main concern is not one of race but of religion. He is deeply concerned by the conversion to Christianity or lack thereof, and he calls for the importation of Christian iconography. The practice of polygamy bothers him, along with his disdain for local icons, which he ironically views as sacrilegious. Pigafetta's address to the Reverend Monsignor Antionio Migliore at the beginning of the book indicates that a desire to please the Church may have been the reason for this focus and approach, as well as the reason Lopez's knowledge was considered desirable to reproduce.

In his approach to local medicine, Lopez is uneven. On the one hand, he lists the medicines used and praises their efficacy, and, on the other, he describes it as a system where divine intervention is expected to kill or cure you. Lopez addresses dress, agriculture, kingdoms, architecture, currencies, and battle strategies. He builds a picture of complex cultures within Africa. The book is also very geography-centric, particularly focusing on rivers to navigate across the continent. It can be looked at as a map for navigating the region.

In the book's translation into English in 1881 by Margarite Hutchinson, it is highlighted that the original document was lost information, that these interactions between Africa and Europe slipped from the record books, allowing them to be "rediscovered" and the relationship

reimagined (Hutchinson, 1881: xxi). This reimagining was then allowed to embrace a colonialist perspective. The reimagining was one where the knowledge of culture and trade was conveniently lost or slipped into cracks, which allowed for the imagining of a very different, undeveloped Africa.

These encounters with other peoples left Europeans questioning what they considered to be 'natural' for humans, as they were presented with the representation of humans who lived differently (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2013:7). The concept of people reaching different stages of civilisation was a means of answering these questions (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2013:7). It was in contrast to the "other" that Europeans defined themselves as "free, modern individuals" (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2013:7). These voyages were coloured by violence and theft and laid down the path for the British Empire and its approach (Ferguson, 2003:1).

British colonisation was first experimented with within the British Isles, with the subjugation of Ireland, Scotland and Wales. In these first colonies, the connections between imagining, mapping and colonisation were already being planned out. The intimate connection between mapping contested spaces and seeking control over them was understood by the Victorians (Gange, 2016:41-2). This is visible in the decision to have the first national map that the Ordnance Survey complete be a map of Ireland (Gange, 2016:41). The English consolidated their possession of Ireland through using mapping to control how the landscape is imagined, demystified and, conversely, exoticised (Martinez- Ruiz, 2007:336). Likewise, control through mapping is demonstrated in the entry for Wales in the nineteenth-century edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* It read: "For Wales, see England", showing how Wales was imagined as completely consumed by England (Gange, 2016:43). Emboldened by the successes of this original empire-building and with the tactics they had honed in accomplishing them, the British later set their sights further afield.

In the early 1600s, the people of Ireland were considered 'barbarous' by the English and a group of pioneers crossed the sea in order to settle and civilise what they perceived as primitive land (Ferguson, 2003:55). This civilising mission worked hand in hand with the idea of *terra nullius* or nobody's land (Ferguson, 2003:64). Land that was seen as unoccupied land was open to being claimed, allowing the British to expropriate it from indigenous populations (Ferguson, 2003:64-5). Ireland was an exercise which became the guiding blueprint in Britain's

subsequent colonies. It was an exercise starting with otherness. For example, Jeremy Paxman (2012) notes that the attitudes and language used by the British to describe the colonised people mimicked and echoed each other across the colonies. Indolent, coarse and good-for-nothing were concepts used by the British to describe the natives of many later colonies, starting the process of othering (Paxman, 2012:34). Niall Ferguson (2003) describes Ireland as "the experimental laboratory of British colonisation" (2003:57). He argued that this demonstrated that migration and settlement in addition to commerce could build an empire (Ferguson, 2003:57). The next challenge was to try the model elsewhere (Ferguson, 2003:57).

The apex of the Empire's prestige and power was reached at the time of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897 (Fremont-Barnes, 2003:74). At this time, the Victorians believed that imperialism was a morally irreproachable idea (Fremont-Barnes, 2003:74). The concept of imposing one's national will on "what were universally perceived to be the less civilised peoples of Africa, Asia and the West Indies" was to have been seen as "downright laudable" (Fremont-Barnes, 2003:74). The Victorians positioned colonialism as humanitarian practice by the British[18] Empire. Colonialism was, allegedly, a way to bring light to what was known as the Dark Continent (Ferguson, 2003:113). Empire-building was espoused not only on a need to rule but also on one to "save" (Ferguson, 2003:113). The Victorians saw their rule of their colonies as paternalistic. They sought to improve native peoples by eradicating their cultures, which were seen as backward, heathen and superstitious (Ferguson, 2003:113). Representations of the supposed failings of other races by the end of the century had become prominent (Mackenzie, 1984:212). They are presented as indistinguishable from one another, greedy, superstitious, and that they ape their betters yet practice fetishism and witchcraft and, therefore, need missionaries to save them (Mackenzie, 1984:212). The practice of colonisation is visually played out in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books.* Here we see supposed 'superstitions' that civilisation needed to banish in the form of Makoma's giants, Chi-éswa-mapíri, Chi-dúbula-táka, Chi-gwísa-míti, Chin-débou Máu-giri and Sákatirína, as well as in the form of the fire-spirit Chi-ídea-móto. In "The Magic Mirror", Insatu, King of all the Reptiles, can assume human form; the spirit of an ancestor has entered a wasp and the magic mirror of the title grants

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[18] The English in the nineteenth century generally did not make the distinction between 'England' and 'Britain,' although the Celtic nations had more in common with the subsequent colonies in their shared subjugation to Britain (Gange, 2016:42, 45).

wishes. In “The Clever Cat”, the hero finds a white stone that grants wishes. The girl and her family perceive themselves to be tied to the fate of the Buffalo in “The Rover of the Plain” and they poison themselves upon his death. These elements of ‘superstition’ in the African tales, as well as old European tales, suggest an uncivilised savage state that encourages racist thinking. Missionary societies in their use of cards to gain support for their cause, exaggerated the heroism of missionaries, as well as the ‘primitiveness’ and ‘superstitions’ of the people they were trying to convert (Mackenzie, 1984:23).

In fifty years, through British commerce, Christianity and civilisation spread around the globe and created the framework for empire-building (Stocking, 1987:84). This process was imagined as the raising of cities in uncultivated wild lands, the gospel sweeping out superstition, and the English tongue only being spoken instead of less-civilised tongues (Stocking, 1987:84). The 350,000,000 alien people that Britain had control over in 1909 were seen as “unable as yet to govern themselves”, and, thus, needed British rule as a protecting force (Ferguson, 2003: xi). Colonisation came to be seen as a project of civilisation (Ferguson, 2003:114).

There was a contradiction between the establishment of humanism in Europe and the congruent dehumanisation of Africans. Africans were treated with contempt by the Victorians (Morris, 2012:139). It was not their intelligence that was questioned by the British, but rather, the perceived lack was in the character of Africans who were seen by the Victorians to be without a sense of duty, courage, fairness and steadfastness (Morris, 2012:140). Africans were therefore considered to be “only debatably human” (Morris, 2012:138). This questioning of their humanity by the Victorians could have been created by their prior representation with the nation. Most of the Africans visible in England had been slaves or freaks (Morris, 2012:138). Fourteen thousand African slaves were reportedly in Britain in the eighteenth century, and there was the lingering collective memory of the South African Bushmen, who were exhibited in 1853 (Morris, 2012:138).

Substantial scholarship has been done by British geographer and historian Caroline Bressey on the descendants of these slaves and black immigrants and their presence in Victorian life. [19] One such African in Britain is made visible in Dante Gabriel Rossetti's "The Beloved (1865-1866)" (See Figure 1). A young black child appears in the foreground holding a pot of roses. Rosetti uses this body simply as an adornment based on its colour. He wrote that he wanted the "colour of [his] picture to be like jewels and the *jet* would be invaluable" (Surtees, 1971:104-5) in (Honour, 1989:162). The dark skin of the child creates a depth to the image, which is dominated by the lighter tones of the woman. The black body here is reduced its colour to be used for its pictorial qualities. Humanism was being extolled in Europe while simultaneously Africans were being dehumanised into objects.

Figure 1 - Rossetti, D.G. 1865-1866. The Beloved.

[19] See for example Bressey, C., 2010. Looking for work: the black presence in Britain 1860–1920. *Immigrants & minorities*, *28*(2-3), pp.164-182. Bressey is also founder and director of the Equiano Centre in London.

This was the contradiction at the heart of the British Empire, that there was one set of standards for the English and another set for the people they colonised (Morris, 2012:515). England and her white colonies enjoyed free institutions while the rest of the Empire endured government by a benevolent dictatorship (Morris, 2012:515). The Victorian British retained a sense of racial superiority over their subjects that, perhaps, was created by slavery in the first British colonies and strengthened by pseudo-scientific theory and warfare in Africa (Morris, 2012:132). This intertwined sense of racial supremacy and imperial supremacy helped establish an Empire dependent on it and where it was possible for a few thousand white men to dominate several hundred million local people (Morris, 2012:139).

In 1897, the centre of the imperial power was London and, to some, it was also essentially the centre of the world (Fremont-Barnes, 2003:76). The measuring of longitude at Greenwich seemed to reinforce and echo this thought (Fremont-Barnes, 2003:76). This required a particular imagining of global and national space predicated on England being placed as the imperial centre of the world and the colonies removed to the margins (Poon, 2008:10). Imperialism, at its root, focuses on land that is far away. It is land that someone else owns and inhabits but which you desire to control and settle (Said, 1994:5).

In placing England as the centre, the world becomes organised through cartographic imagination and along a narrative formed by cataloguing power and progress, as well as spatial and temporal terms (Poon, 2008:2). The cartographic imagination was fed by material from those places (Tobin, 1999:213), such as fairy tales. This knowledge allowed the Victorians to imagine a place without having seen it and to position England at the centre of the world as a dominant power (Tobin, 1999:213). Said (1994) confirms this notion of overseas rule, arguing that it "has a lot to do with projections, whether in fiction or geography or art" (Said, 1994: xxv). Said expands on this, saying that, "through projections as well as rival geographies, narratives, and histories," the coloniser and colonised inhabit interdependent cultural terrains and struggle against each other (Said, 1994: xxii-i). These projections allowed overseas rule to occupy a "privileged" space in Victorian British culture, allowing Britain to extend from her empire's centre (Said, 1994:xxv). Said highlights the complexity of the situation, elucidating: "[J]ust as none of us is outside or beyond geography, none of us is completely free from the struggle over geography. That struggle is complex and interesting because it is not only about

the soldiers and cannons but also about the ideas, about forms, about images and imaginings" (Said, 1994:6). The way we imagine land is pivotal to the colonial experience, it shapes how histories and cultures are perceived.

In plotting the series of *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books,* I discovered that only two tales stem from England. Both of these stories appear in the first book, *The Blue Fairy Book,* published in 1889. The first story is not a fairy story but an adapted section from Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) entitled, *A Voyage to Lilliput*. The second, *Jack the Giant-Killer*, is sourced from a chapbook and had the status of being an "old Favourite" (Lang, 1889: Preface). I suggest that this overall lack of representation of English fairy tales in a series that was formed and published in England shows an unconscious positioning of England as the centre, charting the world around it. I argue this was an unconscious act as the editor himself, being a Scot, was not from England. Yet his notion of the centre was formed within England.

Empire provided Victorian British citizens with a vision of their place in the world and, thus, with a sense of identity of being British (Gange, 2016:67). The sense of Victorian British identity was being spread outside of Europe by the Empire-created British Diaspora. Bernard Porter describes the British Empire at the time of the creation of *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books*:

> Its citizens and subject peoples together comprised a large cross-section of humanity, of almost all colours, ethnicities, religion, and what used to be called the 'stages of civilization.' Only about a tenth of them looked and spoke and worshiped like the British, who had originally conquered and now ruled this immense conglomeration from a small damp group of islands off the north-west coast of Europe (Porter, 2004:1).

Porter indicates how the Victorian British identity was conflicted and shaped through their colonial endeavours by multi-nationalism and multi-culturalism. The people of Britain inhabited multiple identities: of class, ethnicity and gender alongside that of region, locality and nation (Gange, 2016:64). Industrialisation saw the population of Britain shift from the rural countryside to the city (Gange, 2016:42). The concentration of the population in cultural centres allowed a sense of 'British' culture to emerge (Gange, 2016:47). The Victorians at home and a larger population in the colonies were simultaneously constructing a sense of being British (Paxman, 2012:9). Empire was seen by the Victorians as a means of regeneration for

the British identity, as well as for the 'uncivilized' lands within their possession (Mackenzie, 1984:2). It gave them a sense of national purpose whose moral drive of 'civilising' united the classes (Mackenzie, 1984:2). Empire defined the British from without, resulting in a Victorian culture formed through relational, not domestic, terms (Poon, 2008:2).

The expansion of the empire was interlinked with class pressures at home. In order to form a national identity, notions of culture were required to separate groups from one another in core ways. It joined together race, geography, history and language in one concept (Dirks, 1992:3). Culture, invariably accompanied by some degree of xenophobia, often becomes connected with hostility with the state or nation, allowing the differentiation of 'us' from 'them' (Said, 1994: xiii). In this sense, culture is a rather bellicose source of identity (Said, 1994: xiii). British culture, through asserting its own innate inherited superiority over its large external possessions, inherently suggested that the English lords were superior to the English people, and the English people were above the natives of the colonised land (Anderson, 2006:150). The working classes were categorised by comparison with women, criminals and 'primitive' peoples (Pieterse, 1992:222-3). The hierarchies of Empire and home were joined in their common description using the same imagery of infantile traits and low levels of consciousness (Pieterse, 1992: 222-3). Colonial racism was used as a means of uniting the nation and lending a sense of legitimacy to its past (Anderson, 2006:150). The notion of 'subject' or 'inferior' race was generally accepted and encouraged in the colonisation of Africa throughout the nineteenth century (Said, 1994: xiv). The Empire prompted the British ruling class to ask fresh racial questions, because they held power over people who differed from them in customs, colour and language (Stepan, 1982: x).

At the end of the century, Britain was facing intense social crises (McClintock, 1995:282). There was an imminent land crisis, as manufacturers and mining magnates replaced the gentry as the economic powerhouses (McClintock, 1995:282). While a few benefited from industrial fortunes made in shipyards and mills, there were mass unemployment and strikes, and the diseases of poverty ran rife in the Great Depression (McClintock, 1995:282). In this time of uncertainty, Victorians needed a way to feel in control. Collecting was a means of achieving this. Collecting is described by American textual critic, G. Thomas Tanselle (1988), as the "accumulation of tangible things" (Tanselle, 1988:1). He suggests that, while bodily survival may not be dependent on possessions, they seem to be necessary in defining a feeling of one's

place in the world and forming a sense of human identity (Tanselle, 1988:2). The action of collecting answers a need to feel in control in the surrounding chaos of life; it creates an order with which people can define themselves (Tanselle, 1988:18). The boundaries of the collection contain the object and "fix" it within the collection, forming a constructed order (Tanselle, 1988:7). Collecting allows one to take something that is exterior to us and subjugate a small part of it to make it more ordered and controlled (Tanselle, 1988:9).

As a result of this desire to control through collecting, 'nature study' became a fashionable activity during the middle of the nineteenth century (Paxman, 2012:111). Collecting shells, butterflies, pressed flowers and the like was considered to be an improving activity (Paxman, 2012:111). A larger scale collection of this sort was the London Zoo, and its popularity attested to the public's interest in imperial collections (Paxman, 2012:111). The volume of unusual specimens arriving in England increased as the numbers of colonial officials, scientists and explorers grew (Paxman, 2012:111). The zoo's collection was a way in which the English could explore their Empire (Paxman, 2012:111). Jeremy Paxman (2012) describes it thus:

> The caging of wild and exotic animals in the middle of London brought the conquest of the wild and exotic lands to the heart of safe and ordered Britain. The world was stranger and more exotic than ever might have been imagined. But all of its creatures, whether magnificent and menacing or small and cuddly, could be brought before the people of London, caged and displayed for their entertainment, amid cropped lawns and gravel paths (Paxman, 2012:111).

Bringing things from colonised lands into England allowed the English public to be able to identify this dominance through the power of being able to contain and present these animals. While the strangeness of the creatures spoke to a wider, more exciting world, it also firmly established England's control over the world. Collecting allowed exotic things to be curated and displayed – "amid cropped lawns and gravel paths" – in the sense of order desired by the English.

In the world exhibitions, African peoples, cultures, and cities were produced before the European gaze and were subsumed into the form of a picture (Thomas, 1994:112). The world exterior to Europe was set up as stages; it is not represented as a space but rather as a succession

of scenes and views (Thomas, 1994:54). The colonisers gained a sense of power through their seeing these things as representations and as things beyond representation (Thomas, 1994:112). Being able to visualise a place without seeing a land, its plants, animals, peoples and other resources is crucial in the development of world dominance (Tobin, 1999:213). The visual held a vital part in forming impressions of other lands (Tobin, 1999:214). Ethnographic, botanical, and landscape illustrations were used to convey ideas about other lands in this process of accumulation through which Europeans familiarised themselves with the unseen (Tobin, 1999:214). The ability to visualise was dependent on the collection from those places of specimens, notes, sketches and measurements (Tobin, 1999:213).

With the desire to categorise and impose structure on the world, attention shifted from collecting plants and animals to people (Honour, 1989:279). Humanity was absorbed into the grand narratives and analogies of natural history by the modern discourse that is anthropology (Thomas, 1994:6). In the seventeenth century, "the curse of Ham" was considered to be an explanation for dark skin, and became the justification for the enslavement of black Africans (Pieterse, 1992:44). The biblical categories of humans became reproduced in eighteenth-century scientific classifications (Pieterse, 1992:44). Europeans were narcissistically used as the standard for comparison when the different races were compared and positioned along a scale (Stepan, 1982:25). The scale ascended from aborigines at the bottom to the Anglo-Saxons at the top (Mackenzie, 1984:212). The human race was to be mapped in terms of hair type, physiognomy and skin colour (Honour, 1989:279). According to these three criteria, Africans and Europeans were found to be the furthest apart from each other (Honour, 1989:279). Exclusively visual and, for the most part, aesthetic, criteria saw them positioned at opposite ends of a scale (Honour, 1989:279).

Natural scientists towards the end of the eighteenth century began to systematically investigate the subject of human races (Stepan, 1982: ix). A very intricate system of thought had been developed in science about human races by the middle of the nineteenth century (Stepan, 1982: ix). This system of thought was implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, racist (Stepan, 1982: ix). Exhibitions of living foreign peoples entered into these discussions with ethnologists and anthropologists mining the shows for their research opportunities (Qureshi, 2011.97). The use of performers as specimens simultaneously shaped an interpretive diversity of the reception of the shows and created anthropological knowledge through observation, description and

classification (Qureshi, 2011.97). There was a codification of difference using categories including natural, unnatural degenerate, savage and primitive (Said, 1994:130). The meaning of "primitive" had shifted from primarily meaning "first", "original" and "early" in the fourteenth century to becoming "an original inhabitant, an aboriginal; a belonging to a preliterate, non-industrial society" from the late 1800s when it became a denigrating term (Oxford English Dictionary, Primitivism [Online]).

Racial theories trained Western attitudes to blacks (Honour, 1989:279). They were predicated on the notion of white superiority in morality, physical beauty and intellect (Honour, 1989:279). The Crystal Palace had, in 1851, through placement of its exhibits, "led one along a line of progress from the Tasmanian savage through the 'barbaric' civilisations of the East, and northwest across the European continent toward an apex in Great Britain" (Stocking, 1987:5). Tylor describes this as Progression theory: that culture's development corresponds with the movement "from savage[20] through barbaric to civilised life" (Tylor, 2010:23).

The reassembly of the Crystal Palace in 1852 saw the institution of the Natural History Department which had thirteen arrangements of "savages", which placed people alongside animals indigenous to their countries. West Africans were situated next to chimpanzees, Native Americans were placed to correspond with North American birds and Eskimos[21] were alongside a polar bear. (Stocking, 1987:47). People were collected and categorised along with animals. The British Empire Exhibition was described as a "stock-taking" of the Empire's resources (Mackenzie, 1984:108). Peoples of the Empire were frequently "on display" for the English public (Gange, 2016:88). In these exhibitions, races were catalogued and described, examining human difference (Gange, 2016:89). These exhibitions were one of the main ways in which people in London encountered the people whom they had colonised (Mackenzie, 1984:113). In this display of racial stereotypes, Social Darwinism was entrenched in the minds of the populace, and the English control of the world was shown through the human body (Mackenzie, 1984:113-4).

[20] Only in 1930 did the term "savage" become unacceptable in mainstream Anglo-American anthropology.

[21] A term considered by some Inuit communities as derogatory (see Regier, T., Carstensen, A. and Kemp, C., 2016. Languages support efficient communication about the environment: Words for snow revisited. *PloS one*, *11*(4))

Photography was used in anthropology to create a visual system that classified and recorded human diversity in the structure of a global family of man (McClintock, 1995:124). In racial science, photography was used to create "facts" about racial "tribes" and "types" (McClintock, 1995:124). These photographs presented the English with images of Africans that framed them in structures that placed them below Europeans. Photographs were not snapshots of life but, rather, carefully composed scenes, which rendered the subject objectified in the position of trophy rather than person (Coombes, 1994:12). Jan Nederveen Pieterse introduces us to two such photographs produced just after *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books:* "Luke – The Baboon Boy" (Figure 2) was produced as a postcard in South Africa in 1920 at the time of the British Union and its racist segregationist policies in the country, and "Negro Boy and Apes" (Figure 3) was reproduced in *America's Greatest Problem: The Negro* in 1915. Pieterse uses them to illustrate the "prehistory of racial thinking in natural history" where the connections were made between black people and apes (Pieterse, 1992:43). They are rooted in the concept of the Great Chain of Being, the hierarchy of which orders organisms from the lowest to the greatest (Pieterse, 1992:40). The structure of this hierarchy suggests a transition from animal to human and, thus, people began to search for the link between apes and humans (Pieterse, 1992:40). "Luke – The Baboon Boy" is represented as an animal: he is a "baboon boy". The back of the postcard describes his abduction and subsequent raising by baboons, which is followed by his "training" to "become a useful farm hand" (Pieterse, 1992:42). In "Negro Boy and Apes", a black child is presented with a young chimpanzee and a young gorilla. Placing the child with the apes suggests that they are on a par with one another and, thus, next to each other on the evolutionary ladder (Pieterse, 1992:44). Homi K. Bhabha, in reading colonial discourse, advocates a focus on such subjectification in colonisation. Bhabha suggests a departure from categorisation of images as positive or negative, but rather to seek to understand how, through stereotypical discourse, subjectification is permitted and promoted (Bhabha, 1996:88). Images such as these solidified for the English public promoted the idea that Africans were connected to animals and that they existed on a lessor rung of the great chain of being to Europeans (Pieterse, 1992:44).

Figure 2 - Pieterse, J.N. 1998. Luke - The Baboon Boy.

Figure 3 - Pieterse, J.N. 1998. Negro boy and Apes.

The categorisation of peoples other than the English operated in terms of 'stages' of progress that they had reached (Lang, 1884:9). These 'stages' were measured in chronological rather than spatial terms (Porter, 2004:78). These other peoples were seen as the same as the English, just 'behind' them in their development (Porter, 2004:78). On this continuum, Africans were placed as having reached the equivalent of the English Dark or Middle Ages (Porter, 2004:78).

The categorisation of humans according to ideas of progress uses the interconnecting ideas of savagery, civilisation and the developing discipline of anthropology.

Anthropologists in the colonial era believed that blacks were Europe's "contemporary ancestors" (Pieterse, 1992:37). The supposed "wildness" and "backwardness" of Africans were placed in direct opposition with the Modernist idea of industrialisation. Africans, like other indigenous peoples, were seen as belonging to the past rather than the future. Nicolas Thomas (1994) describes this in relation to the Native Americans saying the sentiment was: "[H]ere is their passing" not "here they are" (Thomas, 1994:180). Cultures other than European were seen to be ending. They were seen to be unchanging and fixed in their ways (Thomas, 1994:176). Africans in the present represented a state from which Europeans had already emerged. Europeans could see their past represented in Africa.

Maxime du Camp's 1852 photographic publication, *Égypte, Nubie, Palestine et Syrie* depicts this idea of a constant African reality (Britannica, *Maxime Du Camp: French writer and photographer.* [Online]). The editing of the images formed a representation of a society that was frozen in the past and beginning to decay. Prints that showed local life, such as an image of a head-dress, and that of Egyptians at a well, were excluded, as were images of modern secular buildings (McCauley, 1982:47). An arrangement of weapons, pipes and utensils in front of a white sheet was similarly not included (McCauley, 1982:47). The construction of the present through the inclusion of nature images and the exclusion of images of modern secular buildings created a picture of a society that had degenerated from the society who had built the monuments of the past.

Between 1837 and 1871, conversations surrounding savages became institutionalised as "ethnology" and then later "anthropology" (Stocking, 1987: xiii). "Ethnology" in Britain in the 1850s, formed the inclusionary scientific system for the study of physical, linguistic, and cultural characteristics of darker complexioned, "uncivilised" non-European peoples (Stocking, 1987:47). Anthropology became a science when the two aspects of anthropological enquiry were brought together: the data and the theory (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2013:10). Those who developed this emerging science of observation did so with rigorous tools of analysis (Said, 1994:121). They were informed by a range of notions and images as well as quasi-scientific ideas surrounding primitivism, barbarism and civilisation (Said, 1994:121).

Information from travellers mixed with legal history, linguistics, racial theory, Unitarianism, Christianity, and idealism in a manner, which, while confusing, was steadfast to the superiority of white English civilisation (Said, 1994:121).

Anthropology was concerned with mapping, ordering and examining the perceived stages of civilisation to create a history of man. The ideas surrounding progression in civilisation heightened the consciousness of European identity and cultural superiority, as they gave "civilisation" a geographic centre in Europe (Stocking, 1987:26). After Darwin, evolutionism became "the dominant anthropological framework for conceptualising the observed (and imagined) differences between civilised men" (Stocking, 1987:107). Ethnographic data on "the savage peoples of the world" was juxtaposed in social evolutionism with that of European pre-historic archaeology and folklore to create a new system of interpreting "savage man" on an evidential basis (Stocking, 1987:108). This juxtaposition is reflected in Lang's collection of tales as he positions "present savage tales" with "past European folklore". Lang, in *The Yellow Fairy Book,* informs us that "the history and geography of Fairy Land" is "contained in very old tales, such as country people tell and savages" (Lang, 1894:x).

In *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books*, Lang's collecting and categorising of stories primarily adhere to these ideas but also gently trouble them. The African stories are being placed alongside European stories, creating a sense of equality with them. But this is counterweighted by Lang primitivising the fairy stories in his prefaces. Lang believed that the presence of markers of violence and savagery in the tales he had collected proved the societies' lack of civilisation (Lang, 1884:10-11). His vision was that of a singular ongoing past, in which the human was signified through the formation of fairy tales, and the stories themselves formed a thread connecting societies throughout time (Warner, 2014:69; Lang, 1884:9). He considers them to be the work and entertainment of "savages", that they are so ancient that our ancestors inherited them, that they pre-date any civilisation and that they contain ideas from before the discovery of science.

> These stories are as old as anything that men have invented. They are narrated by naked savage women to naked savage children. They have been inherited by our earliest civilized ancestors, who really believed that beasts and trees and stones can talk if they choose, and behave kindly or unkindly. The stories

> are full of the oldest ideas of ages when science did not exist and magic took the place of science.
>
> Andrew Lang (Lang, 1901: viii)

In the preface of *The Crimson Fairy Book* (1903) Lang writes: "The peoples who tell the stories differ in colour, language, religion, and almost everything else; but they all love a nursery tale" (Lang, 1903:vi). He also frames *The Pink Fairy Book* (1897) with: "Here then are fancies brought from all quarters: we see that black, white, and yellow peoples are fond of just the same kind of adventures" (Lang, 1897:viii)[1] In both texts, Lang highlights colour as marker of difference, however he constructs a view of peoples being different from each other yet bound in their humanity through their common love of stories. It is this bond that *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* seek to bring to our attention. While 67% of the tales in the series are European and indicate a Euro-centric experience of the world, the series binds together tales from America (3%), Asia (11%), Australia (1%) and Africa (6%) within its covers.[22] The stories are placed as equals under the title of fairy tale. Yet Lang's perception of these tales and the notion of them inhabiting a certain place in societies, fix the tales in a nostalgic past-present continuum (Stocking, 1987:208). This kind of story is perceived as rooted in Europe's past and in Africa's present. It is presented as a marker of European's progression.

"The savage" was perceived as having "the mind of a child with the passions of a man", perhaps suggesting why *Andrew Lang's Fairy Tales* were considered suitable for the modern child (Stocking, 1987:226). The prehistory of the savage played out within Europe (Pieterse, 1992:30-1). The term "savages" comes from habitat (Stocking, 1987:10). The distinction was not predicated on the difference between town and country but rather between cultivated land versus 'nature' or uncultivated land. From the Latin *sylva,* "savages" were people who lived in the woods and not in cities (Stocking, 1987:10). "Savage" means to be untamed, not domesticated, not under human control, lacking in the checks controlling civilised man. Referring to a person as a "savage" meant that they were part of a primitive society; that they were brutal; that they were rude or lacking in manners (Pieterse, 1992:30-1). "Barbarian" was the Greeks' word for foreigner and it was sometimes used for people who were seen as inferiors (Thomas, 1994:72). What the term suggested was lack; the lack of the civilized way of life of

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[22] Twelve percent of tales' sources are not provided.

the Greeks, of Greek culture, which the Greeks considered to be distinctly theirs (Thomas, 1994:72). Because of this imbalance in value in the distinction made between presence and lack, "barbarian" accrued powerful connotations of inferiority (Thomas, 1994:72). These meanings merged with idea of savageness (Pieterse, 1992:30-1).

Anthropologist Edward Burnett Tylor (2010) described the nations of Europe and America as setting the benchmark for "progressed" societies, and "savage tribes" occupied the opposite end of the spectrum. The rest of mankind would be arranged between them depending on whether they were closer to "savage or cultured life" (Tylor, 2010:23). He argued that the main criteria for classification are the presence or absence of the industrial arts[23] and their degree of development (Tylor, 2010:23). This nineteenth-century concept of savagery is one formed by absences, such as the (relative) absence of clothing, possessions and "attributes of civilisation" (Mackenzie, 1984:212). The Victorians were introduced to a pattern of thought that suggested the mastery of technological innovation and the production of material goods, such as clothes, was what distinguished a civilised man from a savage man (Stocking, 1987:18). Tylor echoes historian Edward Gibbon, describing the "human savage" as being naked in mind and body, and being bereft of arts, ideas, and laws and nearly of language (Tylor, 2010:30).

It was assumed by the colonisers that black people were lacking a historical past, that they had no culture or civilisation of their own (Hall, 2002:12). Likewise, a professor of colonial history at Oxford expressed the view that Africa south of the of the Sahara had no history but only "blank, uninteresting, brutal barbarism" (Honour, 1989:221). The only history there was natural and prehistory (Honour, 1989:221). Thus, Africans living a traditional lifestyle were catalogued as Stone Age (Honour, 1989:221). The rejection of the doctoral dissertation of Leo Frobenius on the origins of African culture in the late 1800s displays a lack of belief that Africans had their own arts and ideas, that they were "human savages" (Honour, 1989:223). It was rejected because the university did not think the subject matter ever existed (Honour, 1989:223).

[23] Among these are specified: the manufacture of implements and vessels, the extent of scientific knowledge, architecture, metal working, the state of ceremony and religion, the extent of social and political organisation, and "the definiteness of moral principles" (Tylor, 2010:23-4).

In the eighteenth century, the progress of refinement and civilisation rather than difference in inherent physical make up was considered to be what divided civilised[24] man from savage man, allowing, of course, for the prolonged effects of environmental influences (Stocking, 1987:18). A contrast between European and "barbarous" or "savage" social life and manners was expressed in "civilised", "civilise" and "civility" (Stocking, 1987:10). "Civilisation" began to combine within it the ideas of both process and status (Stocking, 1987:10). It became the term for the process of man's progress, as well as the amassed achievements in every aspect of human activity (Stocking, 1987:10). Progress and development are linked with a single linear idea of civilisation,[25] based on European perception of itself. Progress and development have become trapped in their own terminology. This makes it incredibly difficult to use concepts, such as progress and civilisation, without connecting to the idea that Europe embodies the pinnacles of these concepts. They have provided a scaffolding against which it is easy to compare cultures; however, the markers and ideas used as yardsticks are completely biased toward Europeans and, therefore, the results hold little or no real value. What they do show is what Europeans considered to be important. These ideas may not have held such a central focus in other cultures.

The meaning behind the cultural divergences has been erroneously ascribed to Europe's cultural superiority. When we look at images of Africa, we do so via Eurocentrism (Pieterse, 1992:23). We know that it is an Africa represented by, and from, the standpoint of Europe (Pieterse, 1992:23). The images are connected to the images of other colonised continents, as well as Europe's imagining of herself. Pieterse (1992) describes it as the myths of the colonised contents tie into the Europe's myth of itself. (Pieterse, 1992:23). The imagining of one affects the representation of the other. Colonialism fixes identities to help create an image of us and them. The construction of otherness is important in the manufacturing of imperial purpose and national identity and, as such, is crucial to the colonial project (Mitchell, 1992:290). The social construction of reality is formed through representations of otherness, as civilisation was positioned in opposition to the savage (Pieterse, 1992:232). It is at its core a project aimed bolstering European identity by creating a sense of superiority.

[24] The word "civilisation" had pre-existed as a legal term (Stocking, 1987:10). It referred to the conversion from a criminal to a civil proceeding (Stocking, 1987:10).
[25] The plural of the word "civilisation" appeared only in the nineteenth century (Stocking, 1987:18). It was, therefore, a relatively new concept that there could be different civilisations with different paths of progress.

About forty years before the publication of Lang's first fairy book, a strong contrast had been formed between the perceived civilised lifestyles of modern industrial England, and rural areas with their traditional modes of living (Stocking, 1987:53). As a result, scholars were seeking and recording the "folks" vanishing customs and beliefs (Stocking, 1987:37). A polarisation had taken place splitting British life into "now" and "then": life after the industrialisation and steam and life before (Stocking, 1987:208). This splitting into "now" and "then" plays into the notions of development and progress. Rural British life was placed above "savages" but below industrialised British society in the perceived progression towards civilisation. Rural villages were considered a primitive starting point for the transformative processes of civilisation (Stocking, 1987:210). Britain's industrialisation saw it conflating civilisation and what was considered 'progress', celebrating the urban centres as 'civilised' and rural areas as less so. In this system Africa was seen as less industrialised as in the case of rural Britain and therefore less civilised. Rural Britain and Africa were associated by their shared 'less civilised' status.

Lang encourages his readers to equate the tales of peasants and non-Europeans, telling them that, "learned men like the Grimms and Sir Walter Scott began to take an interest in the popular tales of peasants and savages all the world over. All the world over the tales were found to be essentially the same things" (Lang, 1907: vii). Lang suggests that these stories are comparable because they come out of the developing past; but their stage of development is not considered the same. Using the presence of education, clothing, possessions, and housing as indicators of development, Lang shapes his readers' perception of Indians, Australians and Africans:

> The stories in this Fairy Book [*The Brown Fairy Book*, 1904] come from all quarters of the world. For example, the adventures of "Ball-Carrier and the Bad One" are told by Red Indian grandmothers to Red Indian children who never go to school, nor see pen and ink. "The Bunyip" is known to even more uneducated little ones, running about with no clothes at all in the bush, in Australia…. Other stories, such as "The Sacred Milk of Koumongoe", come from the Kaffirs in Africa, whose dear papas are not so poor as those in Australia, but have plenty of cattle and milk, and good mielies to eat, and live in houses like very big bee-hives, and wear clothes of a sort, though not very like our own (Lang, 1904: vii).

A new framework for interpreting savage man was built on the evidential basis of the swiftly growing information on prehistoric archaeology and European folklore, juxtaposed with ethnographic information on the savage peoples of the world, which had been reclassified through social evolutionism (Stocking, 1987:108).

At the time of *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books*' publications, readers would be comparing Victorian British "signs of progress" with other cultures. A quantitative research inquiry into *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* shows the tenth book, *The Orange Fairy Book* (1906)[26] to have the highest number of African stories. The emphasis of representation in this book is on African and European representation which allows it to be an excellent case study of the representations of these two continents and the contrasts and similarities in those representations. Twenty-four percent of the stories in *The Orange Fairy Book* come from Africa, 58% are from Europe, while America and Asia are each represented by 9% of the tales. In looking at the ratio of representation of each continent in image and text, Africa's representation remains constant, making up 24% of the text and 24.14% of the illustrations. Europe's visibility increases from 58% of the text to 70.69% of the illustrations, while Asia and America's representation decreases from 9% each in the text to 3.45% and 1.72%, respectively. There are fourteen images that depict African tales (24.14%), one that depicts an American tale (1.72%), two that illustrate an Asian tale (3.45%) and forty-one that illustrate European tales (70.69%). All eight of the half-tone colour plates depict European stories. Of the full-page illustrations, fourteen are European and the remaining three are African from "The Story of the Hero Makoma" right at the beginning of the book. The in-text illustrations are, likewise, predominately European (nineteen of the illustrations), with two Asian illustrations, one American and eleven African. The images in this book share a common vision of Africa through their creation by the same artist, H.J. Ford, as were most of the images in the series. Fourteen of the fifty-four images represent African stories. Thirty-seven images represent European and Asia and America are represented by only two and one, respectively. It is through Ford's Pre-Raphaelite-influenced style that we see the imagining of Africa in a Western visual expression incorporating English printing and image-making traditions.

[26] This book was published in 1906, when the British Empire was at its largest. (http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/citizenship/struggle_democracy/citizens_empire.htm). Accessed: 11 Oct. 2017. The year before, its population had been estimated at 345 million people (http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/citizenship/struggle_democracy/citizens_empire.htm). Accessed: 11 Oct. 2017.

George W. Stocking Jr (1987) argues that the cultural contrast is inherent in the concept of 'civilisation' (Stocking, 1987:10). *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books,* in the manner that they use contrast, and juxtapose cultures through their tales, resonate a particular notion of civilisation. This notion of civilisation contains the developing idea of progress (Stocking, 1987:18). Progress was measured both "externally" and "internally": externally as material process phenomena and social organisation, internally as "culture" – the diverse aesthetic and moral expressions of humanity (Stocking, 1987:20). The inclusion of the concept of progress accompanies the sense of European cultural superiority and increased awareness of European identity (Stocking, 1987:18), celebrating European progress and identifying Africa by contrast as backward.

Clothing was considered a sign of material progress. Indeed, Columbus's first comment about the Indians, and one he subsequently made many times, was on the Indians' lack of clothes, which, in their way, symbolise culture (Dirks, 1992:72). Within the illustrations in *The Orange Fairy Book* (1906), a contrast plays out between the "covered" medieval style of dress of the European tales' characters and the "uncovered" clothing consisting of loincloths, skirts, and other wrapped fabrics of the African characters. The clothes of the Europeans appear to need more skill and technology to manufacture because of their complex design. The African characters' clothes appear simpler; they are pieces of wrapped cloth and fur, and, therefore, seem to require less industry to create. The illustrations, more than the text, seem to attempt a fixed representation of progress through cultural artefacts.

Africans in *The Orange Fairy Book* (1906) are depicted as relatively unclothed, which suggests that they are underdeveloped in the arts of clothes production. On the other hand, attributing the telling of these stories to Africans acknowledges the presence of oral traditions and the art of language and storytelling. In the visual re-presentations of clothing in *The Orange Fairy Book,* Ford depicts two distinctive styles of dress for the African tales, loincloths and wrapped clothes or robes that show an eastern link. In "The Story of the Hero Makoma", characters are dressed in loincloths and cloaks. In "The Magic Mirror", the male figure wears only a loincloth and the female, a skirt. The people are wrapped in cloths in "How Isuro the Rabbit tricked Gudu". In "The Rover of the Plain", the girl is shown wearing a garment that consists of a skirt and fabric draping over her one shoulder, exposing her breast on the opposite side of her body.

"The Clever Cat", however, takes its cue from depictions of the East. This tale is from Algeria in North Africa. The figures wear sumptuous robes as well as veils and turbans.

Figures in the European tales have, for the most part, been described in a medieval style of dress and wear more clothing than their African counterparts. "How Ian Direach got the Blue Falcon", "The Enchanted Wreath", "Pinkel the Thief", "Andras Baive" and "The Magic Book" all depict figures in either sumptuous or peasant's clothing. "The Two Caskets" and "How the Stalos Were Tricked" depict people in peasant dress. "Ian, the Soldier's Son", "The Story of Manus", "The White Doe" and "The Princess Bella-Flor" dress their characters in sumptuous costumes. A different kind of dress is included in "The Three Treasures of the Giants" and "The Bird of Truth". In "The Three Treasures of the Giants", the giants are dressed in fur loincloths that extend to a drape over their shoulders. The witch in "The Bird of Truth" is hidden in a fur robe that is belted about her with snakes. The hood of the robe has two ears. These two stories depict their villains in a similar way to the heroes and people in African tales: fur and simplistic clothing formed by wrapping. These depictions contained within the same book create subtle connections about what the other looks like and that this notion of "savagery" is that of the violent, untrustworthy savage.

Within the text, clothing is rarely alluded to unless it plays a role in the plot; in "Ian the Soldier's Son", the gold and silver cap of the youngest daughter allows Ian to reclaim her after his brothers have stolen her and her sisters. Shoes are mentioned in "How Ian Direach Got the Blue Falcon" in a curse from Ian's stepmother, "your shoes may ever have pools in them". A velvet cloak and lace veil allow the daughter of the stepmother to masquerade as the princess. In "The Story of Manus", it is the old sword, helmet and tunic that best serve the hero on his quest. "Pinkel the Thief" has to steal a cloak of gold from the witch. Pinkel also uses his coat as a means of transporting and concealing a large bag. In "The Adventures of a Jackal", Jackal has to put his shoes back on after removing them to sneak into the barn. "A beautiful green cloak" causes discord over its ownership in "The Adventures of the Jackal's Eldest Son" (Lang, 1906:202). In "How the Stalos Were Tricked", Patto searches for his children without finding so much as a shoe or handkerchief (Lang, 1906:320). The King badly wounds his foot in "The White Slipper" because he wore sandals instead of proper hunting boots; this wound necessitates the construction of the white slipper (Lang, 1906:336-7). In "The Magic Mirror" and "The Frog and the Lion Fairy", characters wear the skins of the animals whose form they

can take on: a python and lion, respectively. It is also sometimes used to indicate status: in "The White Slipper", when Diamantina realises she is to marry the chemist's boy, she notes that he looks "so well in his common dress, how much would he be improved by the splendid garments of a king's son" (Lang, 1906:448). He is then dressed in "a magnificent tunic of green velvet bordered with gold, and a cap with three white plumes stuck in it" (Lang, 1906:448). A large crab in "The White Doe" turns into an old woman, "smartly dressed in white and crimson with green ribbons in her grey hair". When Desiree is returned to her human form, she dresses in "a flowing dress of green silk" and, in this state, is seen by Becasigue and the prince; the silk indicates that she is a person of means (Lang, 1906:223). Within the stories, clothing is referenced when characters need to possess it; it is indicative of their presence and status, it conceals their identity, or causes or alludes to their activities. Clothing in and of itself seems relatively unimportant.

Alongside clothing, another perceived marker of civilisation was industry. The idea of bringing industry to the colonies reinforced the "civilising mission to a culturally inferior people" (Paxman, 2012:34). It allowed the Victorians to imagine themselves as bringing "progress" and "civilisation" to less developed cultures. This argument is seen in Sir Thomas Smith's case for colonisation of England's original colony, Ireland (Paxman, 2012:34). Smith argued that "the English purpose in Ireland was no different to that of the Romans when they first encountered the primitive ancient Britons." The British needed to modernise the "culturally inferior" Irish. Likewise, in the nineteenth century, the Victorian sought to modernise the new 'inferior' cultures over which they ruled.

The Industrial Revolution allowed the British Empire to dominate through development in accordance with the anthropological concept of a hierarchy of man. The moral justification of development and civilisation became tangled up with economic exploitation (Mackenzie, 1984:185). In the ideology of progress, the state takes on moral responsibility, as it stands as "enlightened representative" of these progressive forces (Dirks, 1992:252). The antithesis of that progress was seen in colonies (Dirks, 1992:252). Power was exerted in the new territories in the name of progress; the rationale was that resources needed to be developed to become productive (Dirks, 1992:252). In order to do so, prior systems of resource control were taken apart and replaced by what was seen as "rational policy and social order", allowing "enlightened" English to assist people held back by their own backwardness (Dirks, 1992:252).

African workers were pressured by colonial powers into adopting the working patterns of industrial capitalism (Dirks, 1992:209). Work was supposed, by the Victorians, to be regular, constant and carefully managed (Dirks, 1992:209), as labour was understood to produce civilisation (Hall, 2002:49). Colonial commentators failed to recognise other work schedules and, as a result, they perceived Africans as lazy (Dirks, 1992:211). Through the depiction of Africans as lazy, colonialists could justify their colonisation of their lands (Pieterse, 1992:91). The concurrent images of Africans as hunters carrying spears, and bows and arrows emphasised that these people were not cultivators of their land, instead they were merely hunters; another subtle suggestion their lands would only be properly cultivated through colonialism (Pieterse, 1992:91).

Figure 4 - Ford, H.J. 1906. The Rover of the Plain does the girl's work (Lang, 1906:193)

Andrew Lang's Fairy Books reflect this idea that Africans were not industrious; there is a lack of visual depictions of labour in the series. The only visual sign of labour in the African stories in *The Orange Fairy Book* (1906) for example, appears in "The Rover of the Plain does the

girl's work" from "The Rover of The Plain" (Figure 4), where it is a buffalo, not an African, that is carrying the water vessel. Comparatively, there is substantial visual representation of labour in the European tales in this book. The princess sews in "Ian Finds the Youngest Sister" from "Ian, the Soldier's Son" (Figure 5). The girl collects water and has milked the cows in "Ashes! Ashes! Twittered the Swallows" (Figure 6) and in "She found sitting around her a whole circle of cats (Figure 7), both from "The Two Caskets". In "The Enchanted Wreath" (Figure 8) the girl chops wood. The princess in "How José found the Princess Bella-Flor" (Figure 9) feeds the chickens.

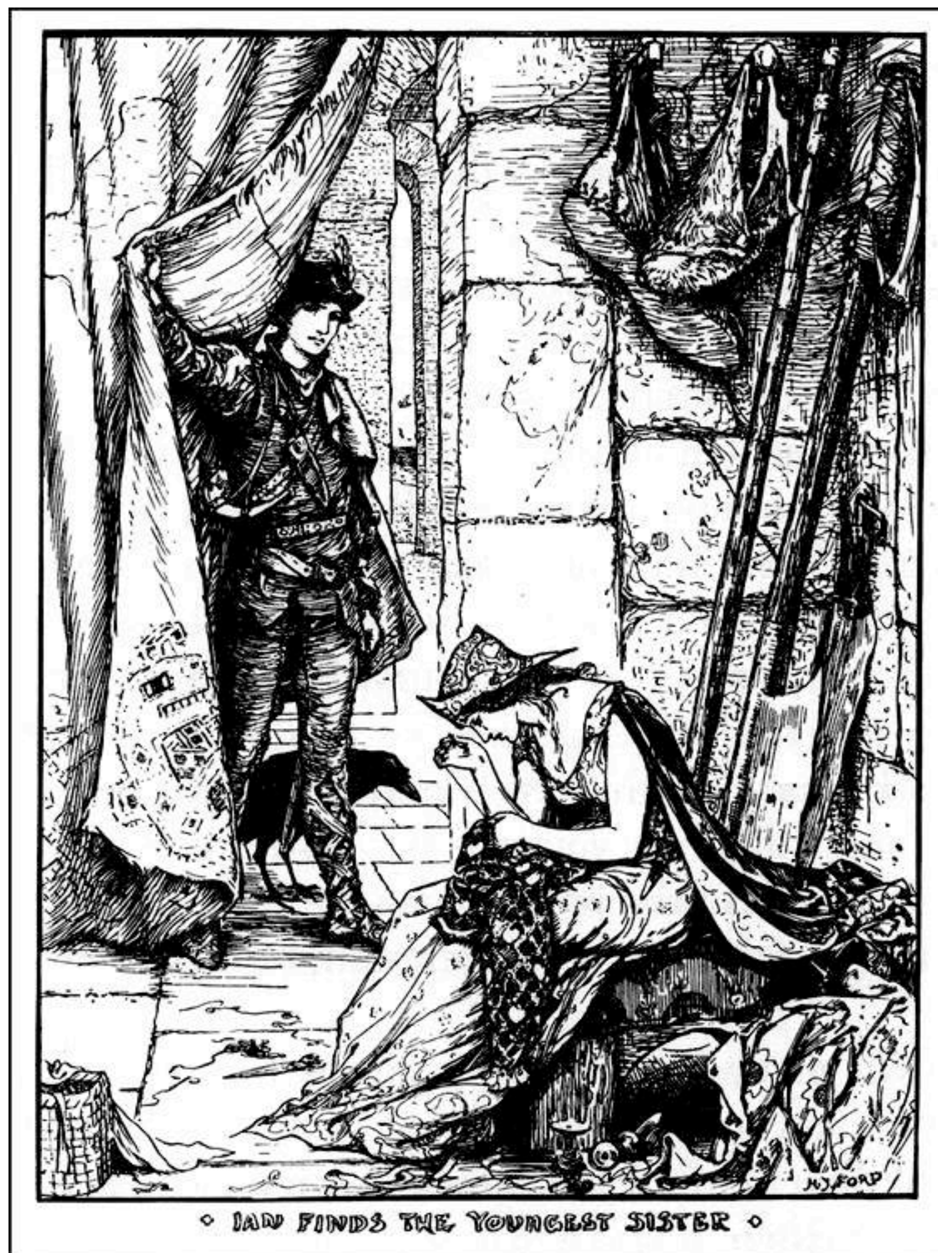

Figure 5 - Ford, H.J. 1906. Ian Finds the Youngest Sister (Lang, 1906:43)

Figure 6 - Ford, H.J. 1906. 'Ashes, Ashes!' Twittered the Swallows (Lang, 1906: 93)

Figure 7 - Ford, H.J. 1906. She found sitting around her a whole circle of cats (Lang, 1906:95)

Figure 8 - Ford, H.J. 1906. Standing in the shelter of a Tree, he watched her a long while (Lang, 1906:114)

Figure 9 - Ford, H.J. 1906. How José found the Princess Bella-Flor (Lang, 1906:285)

Labour was a means of claiming the earth and marking it as owned through cultivation. The Victorians used the eighteenth-century philosophy of *terra nullius* that Europeans could rightfully occupy foreign land, if it was unoccupied, to seize land in the colonies. Cultivation was seen as an indication of occupation and *terra nullius* was defined by its being 'uncultivated'. Colonising projects were divided by the desires to declare land as *terra nullius* for colonial endeavours and to "define, collect and map the cultures which already possessed them" (Mackenzie, 1984:174). European development of the tropics was considered essential because large pieces of land there were perceived to be "imperfectly cultivated by natives or not cultivated at all.:[2] The idea that unfenced or unfarmed land was unowned, allowed the Victorians to justify expropriating land from indigenous populations. Depictions of the landscape in image and text could be used to present to the Victorian public a pre-industrial ideal, a wilderness that needed to be subdued, a resource for commercial development (Miller, Berlo, Wolf, & Roberts, 2008:241). Landscapes were depicted free of Africans and the signs of their inhabiting the land in order to open the land up for the colonialists' emotional engagement (Thomas, 1994:148).

Figure 10 - Ford, H.J. 1906. Shasása hides the Mirror (Lang, 1906:21)

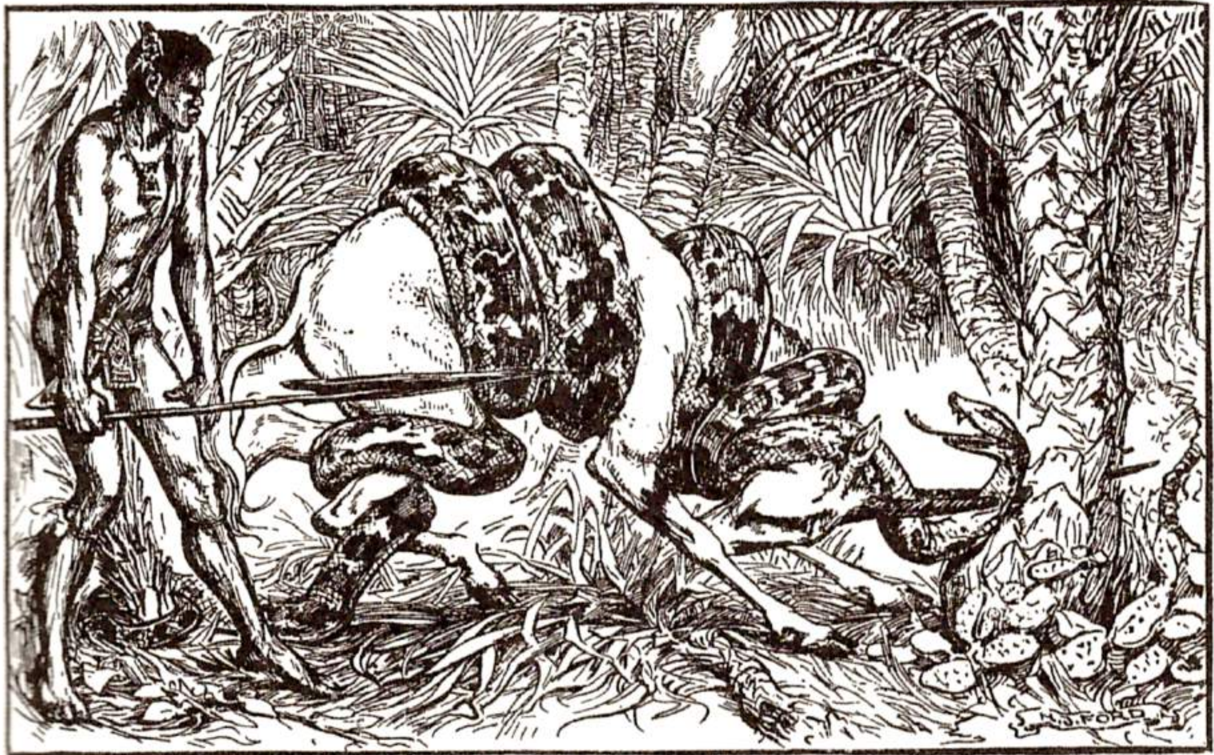

Figure 11 - Ford, H.J. 1906. Gopáni-Kúfa sees a strange sight (Lang, 1906:17)

Ford and Lang's African landscapes are, however, occupied by people. They don't suggest that the land is available but rather, that it is inhabited with tales about living on the land. There is conflicting messaging on this account in the story of from "The Magic Mirror", an African tale from the Senna. The tale itself shows the presence of people by chronicling their story on the land. In "Shasása hides the Mirror" (Figure 10), the occupancy of the land is indicated by the suggestion of a building, represented by the bed and mat on the floor but the confines of its walls and door are omitted. However, the first image from this tale, "Gopáni-Kúfa sees a strange sight" (Figure 11), depicts a landscape that appears wild and uncultivated, showing an open opportunity for development. The figures of a man, buck and python appear pressed against the surface of the image by the wealth of plant life behind them. The background is dense with what appears to be multiple palm fronds. The grass underfoot is long and tangled. Two animals struggle in the centre of the image. They are undomesticated animals, a buck and a python, and appear connected in their struggle at the base of the palm tree.

In *The History of Civilization in England (1857-1861),* H.T. Buckle creates a framework where the history of human civilisation is split into two: the European and the non-European (Stocking, 1987:114-5). Nature is subordinate to man in the case of the European, and the reverse is considered true in the case of the non-European, where man is subordinate to nature (Stocking, 1987:115). Africans, Australians and Native Americans are thought to live in harmony with nature. They are thought to share "that primitive spirituality [which] is frequently evoked as a homogenous essence" (Thomas, 1994:28). Africans are equated with wild nature, and the lack of history with uncultivated lands. They are compared to animals and often represented in conjunction with them.

Land depicted in European tales, such as in "'That is an end of You,' she said. But she was Wrong, for it was only the Beginning" (Figure 12),[27] is represented as claimed through the depiction of it being settled with buildings and employed in agriculture. The image is divided into two distinct sections. The first scene is placed in a white picket fenced farmyard with a well; poultry hover around the open door of the cottage. The well is surrounded by cobbled stones and is positioned to the left of the yard. The visible space beyond the courtyard appears to be filled by trees. In the second landscape, a scattered flock of sheep is grazing in the pasture. In the distance, a house is visible and the field's edge is marked by a thicket of trees. Images of the pastoral idyll in European tales, such as from picturesque scenes, gave the increasingly urban Victorian society a "comforting premodern image of itself" (Miller, Berlo, Wolf & Roberts, 2008:243). The image is a familiar one, the bottom half is similar to *The Farmer's Daughter* (1868) by John Everett Millais (Figure 13). Both images show a young woman in simple peasant clothing with loose hair standing in a field with a homestead in the distance over her shoulder. The fields in which they stand are shown in detail to be full of wildflowers with concentrated patches around the women. The land around the field is thickly wooded. This kind of landscape indicates ordered agriculture, tying together land, beauty, labour, order, agricultural knowledge and money (Miller et al., 2008:243). The orderly scene contrasts with industrialised England, as well as the unharnessed and uncontained nature of the undomesticated African scene.

[27] From "The Two Caskets" from Thorpe's *Yule Tales.*

Figure 12 - Ford, H.J. 1906. 'That is an end of You,' she said. But she was Wrong, for it was only the Beginning (Lang, 1906:90)

Figure 13 - Millais, J.E. (1868) The Farmer's Daughter

The relative absence of labour and buildings in the visual representations of the African tales compared to the European tales in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* makes it easy for the reader to imagine Africa as "uncultivated". This concept of the wilderness has been critiqued for enabling the denial of the occupation of land by indigenous people and their shaping of the environment (Beinart et al, 2013:4). Hall argues that,

> For settlers to possess the lands which they fondly constructed as "vacant" they needed to map them, to name them in their own language, to describe and define them, to anatomize the land and its fruits, for themselves and the mother country, to classify their inhabitants, to differentiate them from other "natives", to fictionalize them, to represent them visually, to civilize and cure them (Hall, 2002:24-5).

Andrew Lang's Fairy Books act as space for doing just that, creating a fictional defined image of Africa.

This chapter, *Colonialism and The Collecting Spirit,* creates a historical framework to contextualise Andrew Lang's construction of his *Fairy Books.* This framework was formed in the Victorian era by empire, the Industrial Revolution and the development of anthropology. Nineteenth-century anthropology provided a lens through which the Victorians could imagine themselves and others. It constructed the idea of British identity at the centre and placed Africa as its counterpart on the periphery. *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* represent the British domination over the globe and over Africa through its collection of tales. It is, however, also a reflection of the British trying to make sense of the people and cultures, who had become part of the British Empire, and to forge a sense of ownership over this multinational territory. It was an era motivated by the desire to collect, and this act of collecting shaped the representations in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books*. These books and their inclusion of African tales were created within a collecting culture with a history of organising humanity during the colonisation of Africa (Lidchi, 1997:121). Colonial endeavours were encouraged by the idea that civilization is shaped by possessions, progress and domination over nature. Geography was couched in terms of the human and the historical (Mackenzie, 1984:174). This shaped a culture of empire-

building for prestige, domination,[28] markets and resources (Gange, 2016:9-10). This culture relied on the production of racial difference to justify its continuation and, thus, propagated it.

Annie Coombes describes the historical reconstruction of how Africa was presented to the British public at the end of Queen Victoria's rule and the beginning of the twentieth century as being depicted as the "product of a monolithic imperial propaganda" (Coombes, 1994:2). These accounts show Africa through tropes such as 'the white man's burden' and 'land of darkness' which is populated by people who are less than the white colonisers, both morally and intellectually (Coombes, 1994:2). As a result of these attitudes, material culture that was brought out of Africa by the colonisers is contained within their accounts as a trophy or a curiosity (Coombes, 1994:2). The African fairy stories that Lang includes in his *Fairy Books* would have been similarly categorised as curiosities, but their inclusion in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* shifts that categorisation, as they are identified with European fairy tales in the series.

[28] The majority of Africa comes under the rule of European empires during the 1880s and 90s.

Chapter 5: Reading Image and Text

Between the covers of the books, Lang connects image and text to form a rich tapestry of storytelling, joining global fairy tales and cultures. Lang's inclusion of "African fairy tales" is problematic as African story-telling traditions are separate to European ones. The "African fairy tales" are seized out of context as they were perceived by Lang and other Europeans to fit their idea of fairy tales. *Reading Image and Text* establishes the location of *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* in the physical form of a book and goes on to exploring reading as a social activity. The books were created in the wake of the formation of children's literature in Victorian Britain, growing interest in fairy tales, and technical innovations in production and dispersing of books. The new ability to print images alongside text forms part of these developments.

I explore text and image in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* and consider how they operate as well as their interaction. Literary text-image interactions have been identified by different names by various scholars. The names I use are "slippage" and "complementary" and I explore examples of both in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books*. Ford, the primary illustrator of the books, employed imagery belonging to the pre-Raphaelite movement. I compare Ford's images with those of pre-Raphaelite artists, both of whom use details to reinforce tales. In looking at the impact of illustrators on the story, I use Ford and Nielsen as examples showing the effect of their different illustrations on *East of the Sun and West of the Moon*.

Before looking at the construction of *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* and how they are designed, one has to consider their physical structure – the standard design of books in the West. This form comprises of pages bound together and encased in a cover. The spaces of the pages are designed to carry information. Either that information is produced with the book itself, printed onto the page in the form of image or text, or it is added later by the owner inscribing their own words or images onto the pages as in diaries, notebooks, and sketchbooks. We presume, when we are confronted with a book, that it contains knowledge. Books, like all objects, produce meaning within the context of the connotations that are attached to them by the reader. The reader may not even be aware of many of these connotations; they can be both personal and cultural. They suggest what values and ideas are represented, how these objects are usually used, and what they are usually used for (Nodelman, 1988:9). Our reality is defined by an

intricate, enormous system of significance, of which images, words and books function as parts (Nodelman, 1988:36).

The format of the page in the West has, for centuries, acted as a space for building knowledge (Wakelin, 2018:71). This format is part of books' identities as material culture, and it extends the use of books beyond that of a text. They can serve as elements in interior-decorating or presents to please and impress (Wakelin, 2018:5). But it is the format of books that form the manner in which words communicate (Wakelin, 2018:5). The layout of the contents instructs the reader how to approach and "read" the text. The design of a book starts with selecting the size and shape of the page and placing those pages together into a codex, which is a book formed of leaves hinged together at the spine (Wakelin, 2018:40). The size of a book may be selected for ease of handling by the reader or for economic reasons. It could be selected for the symbolism of the size itself (Wakelin, 2018:46). Their design was sometimes shaped to their purpose; for example, if they needed to be held while standing, this placed constraints upon their size. Many books were designed to be read aloud in singing, preaching, acting, poetry reading or public declarations. They also could prompt gestures, such as making the sign of the cross which would be notated in the text for the reader to follow (Wakelin, 2018:129).

Reading is a social activity in communities where inscribed language performs a social function (Meek, 1988:4). They are not isolated actions but, instead, are shaped by their surroundings and social conditions. Reading has been viewed as a solitary activity, which has led to the social components of group reading being neglected (Meek, 1988:6). Margret Meek (1988) argues that we learn to read by "becoming involved in what we read." We do this by taking what we have read and engaging with other members of our community about them; whether we are arguing or agreeing, we are exploring them in a social space. Meek argues that people often read together and gives the example of people singing hymns in church together as they read the words from their hymnals (Meek, 1988:6). The act of reading is different from the simple act of recognising words (Meek, 1988:4). In order to read a book, a reader assumes the role of both the teller and the told (Meek, 1988:4). The teller speaks with the author's voice and perspective. The told listens to the story and interprets it for themselves. This symbolic interaction is learnt early in the development of reading (Meek, 1988:4).

In order to challenge European hegemony and the concept of an Africa without history or narrative traditions, it is important to acknowledge that Europe does not possess the sole origins of storytelling, and that Africa has its own ancient and independent story-telling traditions. These African traditions carry into the present through the work of well-known children's story tellers such as Gcina Mhlophe through the widely distributed medium of the radio in South Africa. The wealth of indigenous African knowledge production created in these ancient African traditions is not alluded to in An*drew Lang's Fairy Books*. *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books*, while incorporating some African tales, have a lack of African agency in the production of the books which fail to connect to African personhood and modes of knowledge production which are often about the interpretation of the landscape and indigenous ecosystem sustainability. *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* instead focus on producing European models for a European audience.

Additionally, Lang's inclusion of what he perceives as "African Fairy tales" in his *Fairy Books* is problematic. There was not the same tradition of fairy stories in Africa, as it evolved in Europe through folk tales and literary fairy stories (Warner, 2014: xvi-xvii). African "Fairy" tales developed in an entirely different tradition. The primary function of African tales is not entertainment, like that of fairy tales (Tatar, 2009:4), but rather African tales are intrinsically part of the bounds of a community. African tales form a vital role in knowledge transference and hold religious and ritual import, such as on sustaining ecosystems through understanding the important relationship between fauna, flora, and humans. African tales are stripped of the complexities of their roles when they are shoehorned into the Western construct of fairy tales.

In the oral tradition, the telling of African tales is interactive and multilingual, whereas the European fairy tales established a literary tradition more dissociative from the community, read from a book in the home, sometimes even alone. While they may appear to have narrative similarities, African tales are predicated on metaphor, while fairy tales tend to use loose symbolism (Warner, 2014: xix). African fairy tales use the transformative effects of metaphors as a powerful tool (Power, Finnegan & Callan, 2017:23). A metaphor is defined in Andrew Smith and Stefan Hoefler's *From Metaphor to Symbols and Grammar* (2017) as "the creative use of an existing linguistic form to express a meaning similar to its conventional, 'literal' meaning" (Smith & Hoefler, 2017:159-60). The Greek entomology of the word suggests "transfer". Smith and Hoefler extrapolate this to mean the move from the conventional meaning

to the new (Smith & Hoefler, 2017:160). Yet metaphors are required as commonplace dialogue especially when discussing abstract concepts, such as time (Smith & Hoefler, 2017:160). The view of metaphors being indirect belies the way they can be used to directly map the intricacies of things.

Metaphors can be seen to develop an understanding that keeps building on itself in African tales. For example, Chris Knight and Jerome Lewis (2017) give an account of the girl's initiation ritual, *Maitoko,* performed by the Hadza of Tanzania (Knight & Lewis, 2017:96). This ritual is a re-enactment of the story of "Mambedeko, the 'Woman With the Zebra's Penis'" (Knight & Lewis, 2017:96). In the beginning of things, Mambedeko could change into a male zebra and uses this form to have sex with other women (known as Mambedeko's wives). In the telling of *Maitoko,* women and girls decorate their legs with zebra stripes and bleed together to reenact the events. This metaphor carries on to when a Hadza girl first menstruates: she is congratulated for having "shot her zebra" (Knight & Lewis, 2017:96). Assuming the role of Mambedeko with her zebra penis, the girl tells the men that she is unavailable for sex, that she has taken on the penetrative role (Knight & Lewis, 2017:97). The metaphor signals "wrong species, wrong sex, wrong time" (Knight & Lewis, 2017:97).

The understanding of time underpins the tales and plays a major role in their differences. Europeans understand time to be linear, a progression forward. While, to Africans, time is stationary, bound up in repetition and cycles (Mbembe, 2001:4). These play against the Western narrative structure of a beginning, middle and end. Bernedette Muthien (2021) describes the African story of matricentrism as following this storytelling pattern, "All tales ostensibly have a beginning and an end. Some sagas continue in the endless cycles of narration, like waves in the ocean, drawing energies from the infinite collective" (Muthien, 2021:52). African tales have a continuous, patchwork style with tales weaving in and out of the story and connecting to points of life. African tales form part of societies' fabric, while European fairy tales entertain and socialise their listeners.

The literal translation of Bushman tales, *Specimens of Bushmen Folklore* (2001)[29], by William Bleek and Lucy Lloyd expresses a different narrative logic, which feels disjointed to Western

[29] First published in 1911

sensibilities. Stephen Watson (1991) describes this disjointedness as “blurring” (Watson, 1991:12, 14). Watson comments further that the Bushman tales circle through; that they contain repetition instead of following a linear narrative (Watson, 1991:14). Abrahams (1983) comments that the tape recorder allowed for a more accurate recording of tales but “when tales recorded in this way are transcribed verbatim, the first thing that impresses the reader is that they are often abundantly unreadable, even boring. The text even when translated with some sense of style, is full of the repetitions and hesitations that are the rule in an oral performance, but hardly expected in a written one” (Abrahams, 1983: xv). Here he rejects the narrative logic and style of African tales because it is different from that of the West and, therefore, is harder to penetrate and enjoy. The disjunction between the style of Western stories and African stories suggests a potential reason why African tales have been shoehorned into the structure of a Western folktale or fairy tale to make them more accessible to a Western audience primed for a Western structure and style.

In the West, modernity created a split between culture and religion. Achille Mbembe (2001) argues that modernity is “seen as characterized by the liberation of the sentient subject and his/her sovereignty from the unifying power of religion and the authority of faith and tradition” (Mbembe, 2001:10). Mbembe argues that culture was secularised, that it was separated from the powers of nature and miracles (Mbembe, 2001:10). The process of modernity in the West means that it is possible to read Western fairy tales without a direct reference to religion; however, African tales operate differently and intertwine the two.

Hermann Wittenberg (2012) argues that Wilhelm Bleek’s 1864 collection of Khoi stories, *Reynard the Fox in South Africa* or *Hottentot Fables and Tales,* enacted “a Victorian circumscription of the Khoisan imagination” (Wittenberg, 2012:667). In including these narratives in the European folklore tradition, Bleek encouraged them to be read in a way that focused on larger tradition rather than their specific local cultural import (Wittenberg, 2012:671). Bleek would have thus been inclined to select stories that had commonalties with European tales rather than celebrating cultural uniqueness (Wittenberg, 2012:671). Wittenberg comments that, by placing the stories within the confines of the European children’s folktale, it curtails the transgressive and sexual elements of Khoi narratives (Wittenberg, 2012:667). Wittenberg gives examples from Leonhard Schultze’s *Aus Namaland* (1907) of the sexual and bodily elements where a jackal touches the back hole (anus) of a lion as a means of determining

through the anus's reaction to stimulation whether the lion is dead or just pretending to be so (Wittenberg, 2012:675). In another story, "The Two Women who were Captured by the Aigamuchab", there is a graphic description of a woman 'shitting' herself on being slaughtered and the killers eating up the faeces. The second woman escapes death by farting, which makes her more appealing for consumption, and she runs away while the Aigamuchab is looking for his cooking pot (Wittenberg, 2012:676). This level of violence and scatological references do not sit with the traditions of Western children's literature so it is understandable how they might be excluded (Wittenberg, 2012:676).

The storytelling traditions of sub-Saharan Africa have been compressed into the genre of folk tales and then with fairy tales, as in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* (Abrahams, 1983: xvi). Tales have been received through anthologies such as *African Folktales: Traditional Stories of the Black World* (1983) "Selected and Retold" by Roger D. Abrahams. Abrahams prefaces his anthology with: "Naturally, this anthology is built on the backs of those who have observed these cultures firsthand and collected these tales in actual performance. And here the record is astonishing, for the oral repertoire of no other area of the world has been widely recorded" (Abrahams, 1983: xiv). Abrahams identifies African storytelling as more than oration and concedes that it has other performative elements that are missing from the literary translations. In terms of an oral tradition, it is problematic to fix a story into one definitive text (Van Vuuren, 1994:58). While the plot structure is usually more or less determined, it can exist within many different narratives. The kind of narrative depends on the ability, as well as the interests, of the narrator (Van Vuuren, 1994:58). Abrahams uses a tale from the Nupe of Nigeria to exemplify the theme of the power of the spoken words using the story of the talking skull (Abrahams, 1983:1). He describes it as "a story about storytelling". Abrahams links this to the power of the spoken word in African cultures, where he argues that, along with dealing with the important questions of life, the spoken word creates bonds and can bring about both personal and social transformation (Abrahams, 1983:1-2).

Van Vuuren (1994) discusses Bisele's (1993) reading that "oral tradition is central to an understanding of hunter-gatherer societies. It functions as the storehouse of knowledge in an oral, non-literate society" (Van Vuuren, 1994:62). Van Vuuren quotes Bisele, saying that folklore is not "cultural froth" but has an important place in the classification of knowledge of hunter-gathers (Van Vuuren, 1994:62). Oral tale transmission generates evolutionary pressure

to learn, store and communicate knowledge (Van Vuuren, 1994:62). The stories themselves can be carriers of indigenous literary theory (Van Vuuren, 1994:63). Van Vuuren gives an example of this from *Specimens of Bushmen Folklore.* //Kabbo tells us: "The Bushmen's letters are in their bodies. They (the letters) speak, they move, they make their (the Bushmen's) bodies move" (Van Vuuren, 1994:63). His words are metatextual observations on stories with his Bushman society and he uses the concept of communication through literacy and has shaped it for an oral tradition (Van Vuuren, 1994:63). Van Vuuren highlights how //Kabbo speaks to the communal nature of storytelling, and that, for him, storytelling is bound up with a sense of community and inclusion (Van Vuuren, 1994:63). He longs to go home so "that I may listen to all the peoples, when I visit them; that I may listen to their…stories, that which they tell… For, I am here: I do not obtain stories; because I do not visit, so that I might hear … stories which float along; while I feel that the people of another place are here; they do not possess my stories. They do not talk my language; for they go visit their like" (Van Vuuren, 1994:63; Bleek & Lloyd, 1911:301).

In looking at South African tales, Nadia van der Westhuizen (2019) identifies three overarching categories for the tales, "legendary tales (*amabali)*, historical tales (*imilando*) and fantastic tales (*iitnsomi*)" (van der Westhuizen, 2019:122). Van der Westhuizen focuses on the last category, and one can extrapolate that she does so because these stories most closely resemble Western fairy tales. In van der Westhuizen's words, "they contain elements (e.g. supernatural creatures, magic etc.) which associate them with the types of stories we consider to be fairy stories", and she quotes Z.P. Jordan (1973) saying that these tales are first and foremost told for entertainment (Van der Westhuizen, 2019:122). In these tales, the narrative is built around a "core cliché", such as a song or chant (Van der Westhuizen, 2019:122). Through the core cliché, the performer brings across the focus that they think is currently relevant for the audience (Van der Westhuizen, 2019:122). The performance and the emotional and psychological involvement in it are pivotal to the storytelling process (Van der Westhuizen, 2019:122).

The publication of African tales for a Western audience and with it the revelation of cultural secrets to the uninitiated is an area of critical concern. Christopher L. Miller (1990) postulates a view on Djibril Tamsir Niane's *Soundjata* epic that he qualifies as "radically critical", and in which he describes Niane's role as transcriber-historian as forming "part of a process of

handing African culture over to Western modernity so that it might be packaged and sold as folklore or as history in the Western sense of the term" (Miller, 1990: 104). Niane transcribed and published the traditional tale with the help of a griot, Djeli Mamadou Kouvaté (Miller, 1990: 89). Griots are praise speakers and take on the responsibility from the nobles of using contaminating language. They also act as historians, spokesperson, advisors, ambassadors, jesters, genealogists, and matrimonial agents (Miller, 1990:81). This critique can be brought to bear on the African tales co-opted by Lang for his fairy tales, that African culture was taken to be presented and used by Lang as the Western construct of fairy tales. Miller also raises that, in *L'Enfant Noir* (1953), Laye Camara is thought by some to have committed a betrayal revealing the secret behind the ceremony of the lion. Camara speaks about keeping silent and keeping the secret but follows this by revealing the true identity of the "lions". In an interview, Camara addresses the accusation and argues that the purpose of writing is telling the truth (Miller, 1990:176). In the pursuit of literary entertainment and universal 'truth', stories, which should have remained the secrets of those were initiated into them, were told to all (Miller, 1990:176). Miller argues that this kind of truth is "corrosive, compromising, treacherous to local secrets" (Miller, 1990:176).

Camara and Niane's stories are pivotal in creating an African narrative, albeit one defined within European literary conventions. Camara demonstrates a professional writing identity, which imagines a modern African Africa. These stories perhaps suggest a model for African literary history, proposing transformative modernity with its inherent good/bad and progression-focused structuring. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o moved away from writing in English to establish an African literary voice expressed in an African language (Gikuyu) (Miller, 1990:40). He found that writing in colonial languages to be rooted in the coloniser's own literary traditions (he refers to this in his particular context as Afro-Saxon literature) (Thiong'o, 1985:151) and not within an African one. Thiong'o considers the reception of his book and argues that "an African writer should write in a language that will allow him to communicate effectively with peasants and workers in Africa– in other words, he should write in an African language" (Thiong'o, 1985:151). Thiong'o considers his book to be received first and foremost by local Africans. Writing in a local language, Thiong'o argues, adds the pressure of staying relevant to the African experience in order to sell to the African market (Thiong'o, 1985:151). Soyinka's *Ake: The Years of Childhood,* while written about an African experience, in its composition in English immediately suggests reaching to a global reception rather than

focusing on an African one. Indeed, the review on the cover by James Olney of *The New York Times Book Review* presents *Ake: The Years of Childhood* as first and foremost a universal childhood memoir: "A classic of African autobiography, indeed a classic of childhood memoirs wherever and whenever produced." Similarly, *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* contain content in their African fairy tales that derives from Africa but the articulation and reception of which were British. A study of history as plural allows for the tales of the colonialists as well as the colonialised, even during their oppression and suppression (Said, 1994:22). Stories are the means by which novelists and explorers inform us about "the strange regions of the world" and that, "they also become the method colonized people use to assert their own identity and the existence of their own history" (Said, 1994: xiii). Stories allow the colonised to narrate their culture and identity.

In Western literature, children's books are considered distinct from those written for adults. Childhood had during the Victorian period become an important state distinct from adulthood in ways beyond its physical inferiorities and books were printed for it (Bratton, 1982:11). The contemporary idea of childhood began in European and American societies in the 1860s and, as such, is a fairly modern concept (Wilson, 2003: 260).[3] It was a phenomenon of the rise of the middle classes and of the upper classes and their accompanying privileges (Wilson, 2003:260). Children became an important topic of English literature and they were the focus of developing philanthropical and legislative concerns (Collins, 1990:51). Childhood was institutionalised during the nineteenth century not only as a period that was separate to adulthood but that within childhood there were differences between different age ranges of children (Meyer, 1983:13). The idea developed that childhood was meant to be a happy time, so, along with the moral tales that were meant to shape character, stories started being written and illustrated for children with the express intention of entertainment (Meyer, 1983:13). In pursuit of entertainment, nursery rhymes and fairy tales were no longer seen as frivolous and were printed in large numbers (Meyer, 1983:18-9). Children's books are expected to be a means of communication through which children learn to interpret the world which they have not yet interacted with (Whalley & Chester, 1988:11).

There is a presumption that the presence of images indicates that a book is aimed at children. Between 1850 and 1870 it was considered normal to illustrate a wider range of literature, including poetry and novels, aimed at adults (Goldman, 1994:45). But, since then, the public

perception of illustration in books has shifted, and we now consider illustration in books to be the preserve of children's books (Goldman, 1994:45). Based on this shift, when we see an illustrated book, we assume it is for children. The inclusion and nature of the images also allowed *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* to be pivoted away from being anthropological collections to being aimed at educating and entertaining a younger audience.

The end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century formed a period known as the Golden Age of Illustration (Salisbury & Styles, 2012:18). This period formed as a result of the changing attitudes towards the idea of childhood and the development of new printing technologies with amazing artists emerging to employ them (Salisbury & Styles, 2012:18). During the Golden Age of Illustration there was a surge of interest in fairy tales from both academia and the general public, leading the ever-favoured subject of fairy tales to become even more popular for illustration (Whalley & Chester, 1988:140). Fairy tales were sought after by illustrators because of the appeal of their requirements of both imagination and realism (Whalley & Chester, 1988:20). The source of this particular interest was the developing of an industrial civilisation. People became conscious that this industrialisation threatened traditional ways of life (Whalley & Chester, 1988:140). The desire to safeguard and preserve traditions in the form of tales was met with an entirely new space for tale collection in the territories that had been recently acquired by Britain in Africa and India (Whalley & Chester, 1988:140). These new collections joined the more familiar tales from Grimm and the *Arabian Nights.*

A market and demand for illustration was formed by the prosperity of some classes of society created by the Industrial Revolution (Whalley & Chester, 1988:75). This demand was further increased by the rise in literacy following the Education Acts of 1870 and 1872 (Whalley & Chester, 1988:75). The market was swiftly identified and responded to by publishers and booksellers (Whalley & Chester, 1988:127). Book selling during the period was focused on the family and home, with a closer focus on the preferences of children (Whalley & Chester, 1988:127). Publishers began to cater for the fast-growing children's books market (Mackenzie, 1984: 18). Colour, along with toy books, came to dominate towards 1880 (Whalley & Chester, 1988:92). Publishers were daring to print far bigger editions than ever before, pushing the expanding market (Whalley & Chester, 1988:92).

Books were able to be widely distributed throughout the British Isles, as well as to France and America, because of the expansion of the railways and shipping (Meyer, 1983:26). The development of the book market was complemented by the continuous progress of book manufacture and design made possible by the improvement of industrial techniques and products (Whalley & Chester, 1988:75). There were now superior mechanical means to produce books. These developments included change from wood to iron and the use of steam power in printing. Cheaper wood pulp paper rather than hand-made rag paper became popular after the middle of the century (Mackenzie, 1984:17). The mechanisation of aspects of production, such as book binding, brought down the cost of book production by reducing the production cost of each individual book unit (Mackenzie, 1984:17). This and the changes in paper production, making it less costly, allowed for cheaper editions of books for every home (Mackenzie, 1984:17). These circumstances created fertile ground for the blossoming of illustration and to the creation of some of England's most outstanding children's books.

Technological developments in printing in the nineteenth century created the printed word and visual image as a new mass medium. *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* include half-tone plates from the eighth book, *The Crimson Fairy Book* (1903). Most of the images in the book remained black and white full pages or images in the text but there are six[30] or eight full-page colour prints to delight in the last five books. Half-tone is a printing technique that was used from the 1880s (Whalley & Chester, 1988: 247). It is a technique that was less suited to combining image and text, although half-tone did excel at depicting subtle shifts in tone (Whalley & Chester, 1988:151). This technique demanded the use of expensive coated art paper to print the illustration, and these pages then had to added by hand between the thicker letterpress pages (Whalley & Chester, 1988:151). To bypass this tricky operation of integrating the different thicknesses of paper, the plates were often grouped together at the end of the book (Whalley & Chester, 1988:151). The image is represented by tone on metal, broken down by a grid into tiny dots of different sizes (Whalley & Chester, 1988:247). The process demanded very smooth paper because the dots were so small (Whalley & Chester, 1988:247). Half-tone colour printing is also referred to as the trichromatic process because it is produced through the three primary colours (Whalley & Chester, 1988:248). Red, yellow and blue are printed separately in colour

[30] The *Violet, Crimson, Brown, Orange* and *Olive Fairy Books* have eight colour prints and the *Lilac* has six.

blocks (Whalley & Chester, 1988:248). However, a fourth block of black is required to add definition (Whalley & Chester, 1988:248).

Figure 14 - Ford, H.J. 1889. Front Cover (Lang, 1906: cover)

Colour-printing and the use of gold-blocked designs for the covers increased the appeal of both the inside and outside of children's books in the middle of the nineteenth century (Whalley & Chester, 1988:119). The invention of the Arming Press in 1832 permitted the creation of book covers with gold-blocked designs on cloth covered boards (Whalley & Chester, 1988:118). On the front cover of *The Blue Fairy Book,* the dark blue cloth becomes the night sky across which a gold witch sails on her broom (Figure 14). The sky behind her is speckled with gold stars, and a moon partially veiled by clouds sits in the top left corner. The spine gives us the title, author, and publisher, as well as a peek at the delights that await inside by showing us glimpse of a brave young man being towered over by a three-headed giant. These gilded images were created to sell the books by making them visually desirable. The addition of colour printing and the inclusion of coloured illustrations made the inside of the books glow as enticingly as the covers.

Benefiting from these contemporary advances in the printing industry, authors such as Lang were increasingly able to embellish their stories with image. This enriched their narratives beyond that afforded to the authors before them, making the interplay between image and text increasingly relevant to their storytelling at large.

While images are a form of communication, they have different abilities and limitations to text (Honour, 2012:280). We use different methods to understand art and language (Honour, 2012:280). Images are best able to create a physical description. A single image can describe the appearance of somebody or something in a way that would take a considerable length of text to evoke. Images are better able to show the physical position of the character in the space that he or she inhabits. They are particularly adept at showing the spatial relationship between characters. This relationship in space is often indicative of other relationships, such as their psychological relationship and relative status to one other (Nikolajeva & Scott, 2006:83). Images are also well-suited to show the relative size of things, describe spatial dimensions. Images are able to *show* a space, while words are limited to *describing* space (Nikolajeva & Scott, 2006:61). Psychological descriptions, on the other hand, are best rendered through the subtleties of words. Words provide the opportunity to explore and build aspects, such as motivation and the creation of complex emotion. While these things may be suggested in pictures, they can only be fully developed in text (Nikolajeva & Scott, 2006:83). In the transmission of emotions, image, and text each have their strengths and weaknesses. Words can be both obvious and subtle in the expression of emotions but they are hampered by the time it takes them to build such a representation. Images can transmit an emotion quickly and efficiently through techniques, such as design, line, colour and placement (Nikolajeva & Scott, 2006:83).

Pictures represent or describe, while words tend to narrate. This is because words follow a linear pattern. Images on the other hand are nonlinear and do not directly instruct the viewer how to read them. The narrative of a text tends to progress and provides the reader with a sense of passage. Looking at the design of *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books,* text forms the bulk of the contents with images scattered throughout. The text carries the weight of most of the visibility of the telling of the tales and the form of communication because they take up most of the space within the book (Nodelman, 1988: viii). Because the text takes up most of the book, it

commands the bulk of your attention and focus. The images then seem to take a subordinate position to the text.

Stories inhabit time with their core being movement and change; pictures, on the other hand, describe a single moment that has been isolated from the passage of time (Nodelman, 1988:158). The format of the books allows the images to act as punctuation marks, creating breaks in the rhythm of the text (Nodelman, 1988:148). Images create a pause in the progression of the narrative, where the viewer takes their time interacting with information provided by the image, which presents the characters captured at a specific time. Images make us to focus on the "now" of the image (Nodelman, 1988: 246), they hold the story at a specific moment in time and they usually only depict one event per frame but they do have an endless capacity for discourse (Nikolajeva & Scott, 2006:30, 159).The story then continues its progression through the text, and the narrative is driven forward in time while the readers continue to process information produced in the images (Nodelman, 1988:247). The story keeps pulling us forward as we ask, "what happens next" and seek to turn the page and discover the answer. There is tension between the text pulling the narrative forward and the images pausing the narrative to more fully examine the nuances of a moment (Nodelman, 1988:246). The disjunctions between description and narration, as well between the linear and nonlinear, allow the word and image elements to interact in different ways creating different potential readings (Nikolajeva & Scott, 2006:2).

A story may be interpreted differently by different artists in different publications. While the story itself will remain fundamentally the same, illustrations bring their own nuances to the tale which can even deviate from the original intention (Nikolajeva & Scott, 2006:8). Details or characters can be shown in the illustrations that are not mentioned in the text. Artists can transfer meaning onto the text that was not part of its original script (Nikolajeva & Scott, 2006:44). The placement and selection of the images, even if they are relatively few, can determine the tone and rhythm of the book (Nikolajeva & Scott, 2006:45). Images can be either "happy" (pleasant and calm) or "moody" (negative, dramatic, and discomforting). The narrative will drive shifts between the two. A constant shifting from one to the other balances them out. However, illustrators/authors may want to dramatise the story by focusing on the negative or softening textual harshness by including more of the "happy" images (Nikolajeva, & Scott, 2006:44).

Susan E. Meyer, the Editor Emeritus of *American Artist* and writer on illustration (1983), describes the following differing illustration approaches:

> N. C. Wyeth preferred to illustrate the scene as it was described in words, a literal visualization of the text repeated in pictures, Arthur Rackham preferred to illustrate the indescribable, to use the text merely as a hint at pictures that were meant to exist independently of words. Randolph Caldecott chose to weave his pictures in and out of the words, filling in what the words omitted, interpreting the words where suitable, playing a carefully orchestrated duet with pictures and text. (Meyer, 1983:43).

I quibble with Meyer's descriptions of these approaches to illustration. She describes N. C. Wyeth's illustrations as "the text repeated in pictures" and that it is "a literal visualization" of the text. I would argue that this is impossible. An illustration cannot be a literal visualisation of the text as it visually fleshes out the text, adding detail that the text does not supply. For example, the text tells us a man was in a room. For the image to represent that in any meaningful way it has to imagine what the man is wearing: Is he wearing a jacket? If so, what kind and colour? And for the image to work with the text, these details need to relate to the space imagined in the text.

Meyer defines Rackham's style as illustrating the indescribable which speaks to an image's ability to bring conflicting information, detail, simplicity, and emotion into one space. But it is not indescribable or wholly independent; while it can, and does, communicate on its own, it speaks much more powerfully when it is with partner text. An image alone functions much as a tennis player hitting balls against a wall. Image and text function much as two tennis players engaged in a match, they complement and compete with each other. Meyer's description of Caldecott's illustrations' relationship with their texts as being a duet matches this idea of two separate entities playing off one another to create a spectacle. This is a common trait of illustrations; that they work with text to create meaning and that they are shaped by a moving narrative rather than a single still idea. Our minds construct visual narratives differently from textual narratives. Thus, the experience of reading with text and images is affected by their different textures. The interweaving of image and text produces a dialogue of separate narratives. The different media tell the same tales in parallel but their positioning and the details

that they reveal can shift the tales in different directions. In viewing these parallel tales together, the tales create an imagining of the story that contains the shifts between them.

Looking at how an illustrator and their illustrations can shape a story, I examine the work of two illustrators illustrating the same tale. In 1914, twenty-five years after Ford had illustrated "East of the Sun and West of the Moon" in the first of *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* (1889), it was illustrated again by one of the stars of the Golden Age of Illustration, Kay Nielsen. These distinct illustrations interact with the written text in their unique ways, bringing out different aspects of the text and thereby creating different narratives. Nielsen and Ford both capture the part in the story where the girl is carried away from home on the bear's back.

Figure 15 - Ford, H.J. 1889. Untitled (Lang, 1889: 20)

Figure 16 - Nielsen, K. 2008. "Well, mind and hold tight by my shaggy coat, and then there's nothing to fear," said the Bear, so she rode a long, long way (East of the Sun and West of the Moon: Old Tales from the North, 2008:9)

Figure 17 - Nielsen, K. 2008. Untitled (East of the Sun and West of the Moon: Old Tales from the North, 2008: 11)

Ford's image "Untitled" (Figure 15) is a dark one; the white of the bear's body stands out against the densely worked landscape. The figure of the bear with the girl riding on his back fills up most of the image space. The image takes the format of squarish rectangle. In the background one can just make out a shepherd herding sheep. Behind him on the horizon are some dark shapes that appear to be trees. The small slit of sky above them is darkened. The bear and the girl are separated from the pastoral scene as they are herded towards the viewer by a dark hedgerow. The journey these two are making seems unpleasant because of the image's dark tone and cramped composition. The bear is walking through water rather than on a smooth road with his head and gaze downcast, and the girl is hunched over trying to stay on his back. Her clothes are wound around her, and a bundle is tied about her. However, they are moving downhill, away from the more densely vegetated side of the image.

The image is framed by a white and a black border. It is set within the text a few lines later in the narrative in the middle of the description of the White Bear's palace in the mountain where they arrive at the end of their journey. The text reads as follows:

> She seated herself on his back with her bundle, and thus they departed. When they had gone a great part of the way, the White Bear said: 'Are you afraid?'
>
> 'No, I am not,' said she.
>
> 'Keep tight hold of my fur, and then there is no danger,' said he.
>
> And thus she rode far, far away, until they came to a great mountain
>
> (Lang, 1889:20).

In the text the girl replies to the White Bear's query that she is not afraid. The image would have us think otherwise with its evocation of discomfort. The mood of the image makes the reader question whether to take the girl's words at face value or to consider that she might be afraid of going off into a strange environment with a huge bear. That she could be putting on a brave face for her own sake or the bear. This slippage allows us to think more deeply about the story and think about how we would feel if faced by that situation.

Nielsen's image, "'Well, mind and hold tight by my shaggy coat, and then there's nothing to fear,' said the Bear, so she rode a long, long way" (Figure 16), on the other hand, has a portrait format. It is framed by multiple white and black borders. Nielsen fills most of the image with a blue sky. A star appears in the top-left corner of the image, and diagonally down from it, is a moon with its aura. To the right of the image, there is part of a large darker blue oval, creating a darker blue arch or doorway that the girl and the white bear seem to be traveling out of. They are heading along a flat and stony terrain to what appears to be a densely forested hill. A single tree grows nearby. It is a delicate sapling with a willow-like foliage. Here the tree stands upright like the body of the girl but, in the later scene in the wood, it also mimics her body and is bent over. The colours of the image are the soft blue and pinks of twilight. Nielsen makes the white bear appear sculptural with hard, defined edges as if he were made from ice.

In an illustration, characterisation provides an essential and profound difference (Nikolajeva & Scott, 2006:45). The girl, in the written text, is described thus: "[T]he prettiest was the youngest daughter, who was so lovely there was no end to her loveliness" (East of the Sun and West of the Moon: Old Tales from the North, 2008:9). In Nielsen's image this is realised in the idea of a blonde Nordic beauty. The girl's face is obscured, so what defines her is her long blonde hair, which hangs down past her waist in a braid, and her tall, slender figure. Her face is turned away but she sits bolt upright on the bear. Her hands gently rest on his shoulders, and she wears an elegant white dress with colourful flowers embroidered on its hem. The image is positioned in the book at the very start of the tale; it occurs before we have even seen the title and thus sets the mood for the tale. On the page beneath the borders run the lines "'Well, mind and hold tight by my shaggy coat, and then there's nothing to fear,' said the Bear, so she rode a long, long way. (See page 10)." The text actually spills across to page 11 where another variation of this image (Figure 17) is inserted next to the text. This image is a much cruder woodcut where the figures of the bear and girl dominate and stand out as stark white forms against a black background. The bear stands in front of a door, and, to the right of the image, stars and the moon have appeared, showing the image to appear later than the colour one. Nielson must have considered the journey of the girl on the back of the White Bear to be of upmost importance for it to be depicted twice.

The inclusion of an image in the book implies that the scene is important and merits our consideration (Nodelman, 1988:49). The reader feels that the artist must have selected this

scene because it has some significance and that it will offer us important visual information (Nodelman, 1988:49). Both Ford and Nielsen elected to render the scene where the white bear carries the girl away. Later on in the narrative, different scenes were chosen to be illustrated by Ford and Nielsen. The selection emphasises through iteration in text and image what were considered key movements in the narrative.[31] They also both capture a moment surrounding the sequence of events that occurs when the girl breaks the rules and looks at her night companion. Ford captures the act while Nielsen captures the consequences.

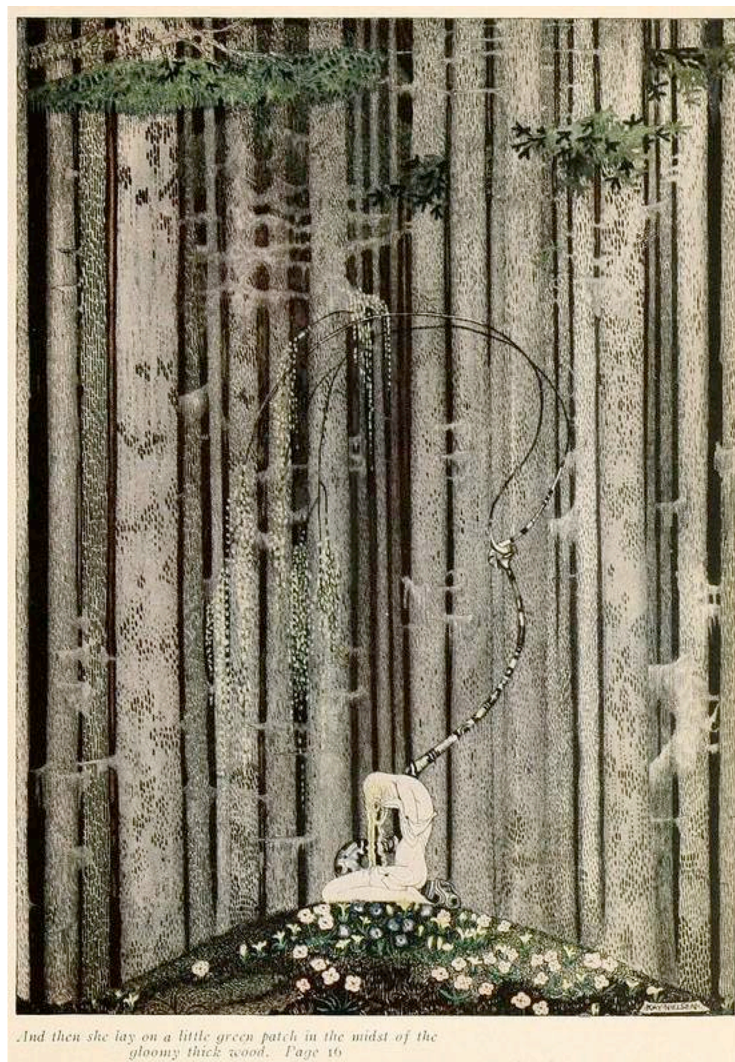

Figure 18 - Nielsen, K. 2008. And then she lay on a little green patch in the midst of the gloomy thick wood (East of the Sun and West of the Moon: Old Tales from the North, 2008: 9)

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[31] But when selecting scenes for illustration, key scenes are sometimes not selected. They may have been omitted because they were considered to be too distressing for young children.

Figure 19 - Figure 19) Ford, H.J. 1889. Untitled. (Lang, 1889: 23)

In “And then she lay on a little green patch in the midst of the gloomy thick wood” (Figure 18), Nielsen pictures the girl bowed down with grief after finding herself all alone after she had looked upon the face of her bedfellow. The endless straight spartan lines of the trees surrounding the flowery hillock on which she kneels both dwarf her and seem to mock her body, which is bent with sorrow by the contrast with their straight lines. The image is composed predominately of shades of grey; the silvery trees fill the image with the girl placed at their feet in the foreground. She is barely tinged with colour: a hint of blonde and pink flesh. Her nightgown is white. On the hill beneath her is a pool of flowers, and around them the grass is green, one of the green points of colour in the image. The other points are patches of green foliage at the top of the image. The viewer’s eye is pulled up and down between the greens as it seeks out colour. This makes the expanse of tree trunks seem even longer as the eye continually travels their length, increasing their overpowering of the figure. The bowed form of the girl is echoed in the curved form of the slender sapling behind her; it projects her form into the larger space behind her almost like a shadow. Nielsen shapes the girl and the landscape in elongated stylised forms creating an otherworldly feeling. The style of the image changes how we view the story, creating a basis for understanding its events which, in this case, are strange and wondrous and free of the limitations of the ordinary (Nikolajeva & Scott, 2006:43).

The image is framed by a thick black frame, then a thinner white, black again, white again then a very thin black line. The frames emphasise the sense of detachment, and distance the viewer (Nikolajeva & Scott, 2006:44). They do so by marking the image off as separate from the viewer, the boundaries of the frame show that it is something for the viewer to look at that is separate from them (Nodelman, 1988:50). The difference between the framed and unframed image is that the lack of the frame can allow the viewer to immerse themselves in the experience, while the frame holds the viewer outside, as if they are glimpsing the scene through a window (Moebius, 1986:150) in (Nodelman, 1988:52). Frames can also 'tidy' the image, constraining it and its energy (Nodelman, 1988:50).

The page beneath the image bears the inscription, "And then she lay on a little green patch in the midst of the gloomy thick wood. (See page 16)". This image is placed in the book a considerable distance after its written counterpart. The image appears between pages 24 and 25, while, as the inscription below the image tells us, the written counterpart occurs on page 16. The inscription, "See page 16", below the image tells us to look back at the text at page 16 creating the start of a hermeneutic circle. On page 16 the related text is as follows, "So next morning, when she woke up, both the *Prince* and the castle were gone, and then she lay on a little green patch, in the midst of the gloomy thick wood, and by her side lay the same bundle of rags she had brought with her from her old home" (East of the Sun and West of the Moon: Old Tales from the North, 2008: 16). The image omits the bundle of rags and starkly depicts the textual scene. There is just a girl, a wood, and a green mound. The only things that lift the scene from its harsh starkness are the slender sapling behind the girl and the scattered flowers on the mound. The simplicity of the scene echoes its sense of desolation. In placing the image later in the textual narrative, it is then juxtaposed with the scene where the girl seeks to win back the prince using her golden spindle. The moment of loss is contrasted with the actions that overcome that loss.

Ford's image in *The Blue Fairy Book* (1889), "Untitled" (Figure 19), chooses to show us a different scene from an adjacent point in the narrative. The girl has lit the candle that her mother had given her and has disobeyed the command that she must not look at her night-time companion. The image shows a close-up view of a young girl in her nightgown opening a bedcurtain with one hand and holding a candle up with the other, lighting the dark room. Her hair is loose, and her eyes are downcast as she gazes peacefully at the youth who is sleeping in

the bed. He is a beardless youth, who sleeps with his head turned toward the viewer so that we can see his face. His arm closest to the viewer is bent around his head, while his other arm lies across his chest leaving his face open and exposed to the light and the girl's gaze. The close cropping of the image creates the sense of an intimate moment as if the viewer has drawn the curtains on the other side of the bed and is peeking like the girl. The girl is the centre of the image while the youth's repose crosses the bottom of the image at a downwards diagonal, gently moving the viewers gaze out of the image and out of this private moment. The image is placed on the page in the middle of a later part of the narrative in the text. The textual moment precedes the image moment on the preceding page; however, they are contained in the same double-page spread so they can be 'read' at the same time. The image is situated at the same spot in the text that Nielsen's image captures. Immediately above the image is the line "When she awoke in the morning both the Prince and the castle," and the sentence continues below the image, "were gone, and she was lying on a small green patch in the midst of a dark[32] thick wood. By her side lay the self-same bundle of rags which she had brought with her from home" (Lang, 1889:23). The text that describes the same scene as the image goes as follows:

> So when she had reached home and had gone to bed it was just the same as it had been before, and a man came and lay down beside her, and, late at night, when she could hear that he was sleeping, she got up and kindled a light, lit her candle, let her light shine on him, and saw him, he was the handsomest prince that eyes had ever beheld, and she loved him so much that it seemed to her that she would die if she did not kiss him that very moment (Lang, 1889: 22).

It is this wonderful moment of beholding that Ford choses to emphasise, a direct contrast to that of Nielsen, which occurs just a few lines later. In *The Blue Fairy Book,* the contrast between the quiet intimacy of the image and the desolation of the text highlights the stupidity of the act and what the cost of it was. There is a juxtaposition of action and consequence.

The work of Nielsen and Ford in conjunction with the text speak to how image and text are read together. Image and text have a huge capacity to work together to make meaning because of their differences. Their relationship is one between differently constructed discourses which

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[32] In the Nielsen text, the word "gloomy" appears not "dark".

provide us with different information. This dissonance in messaging challenges the reader who seeks clarity and an accurate, neat meaning. This accurate, neat meaning becomes a front, from which the reader can start to apprehend the potential for other meanings. In the possibility of multiple interpretations, meaningfulness becomes problematic (Nikolajeva & Scott, 2006:30). Image and text, by complementing each other, build a story, but it is the differences between them that produce significance (Nikolajeva & Scott, 2006:30). Their interaction stimulates the reader by engaging the reader's imagination and creating many possible interpretations (Nikolajeva & Scott, 2006:24).

We read text left to right and top to bottom in a continuous line, whereas images are read in a manner that takes in the whole image and then explores it, moving from element to element. The switching between the two styles of reading image and texts suggests that these two methods require different ways of thinking (Nodelman, 1988:243). We move between the explicit nature of words to the diffuse nature of images and back again, shifting through ways of seeing that make us view the world differently through the slippage between them (Nodelman, 1988:198). When text and images are combined to tell a story, they do not present us with different types of communication to be read simultaneously; rather, the reader is required to alternate between the two forms, as we cannot read both the pictures and the words at the same time (Nodelman, 1988: viii). This movement prevents the viewer from interpreting the text or image within its own isolated bubble. Instead, interpretation is shaped in the interaction between the two (Thomas, 2004:5).

Texts are often polysemic and draw from, and connect to, a history of previous texts in order to make meaning (Meek, 1988:20-4). The combination of image and text to convey meaning arguably extends this ability to be polysemic. Image and text allow for a multi-consciousness in reading. This ability to read image and text together to generate interpretations is something that is taught in childhood through picture books. But it is something that, once learned, is increasingly ignored, as children are taught that the words are the most important part of a book and that images are merely decorations (Meek, 1988:27-8). Text is seen as the primary and more authoritative source of information, with the illustrations being relegated to decoration.

Focusing on a word-based reading ignores the rich conversations and meanings that are formed in a word-image interplay (Nikolajeva & Scott, 2006:2). Authors and illustrators connect the

things that their readers know and things that they partly know but are still discovering, to the representation of the world in books (Meek, 1988:19). Images and text can teach us about visual objects that are unknown to us. Pictures can communicate and document the existence of things with which we might not have come into contact before, and for which we do not possess names (Nodelman, 1988:206). We can build on the information provided by an image by using text as a cognitive map which, when overlaid, reveals what information is new and extends our prior knowledge (Nodelman, 1988:207-8).

Roland Barthes (1977), Hall (1972) and (1997) discuss the anchoring of an image with written text, and how it is often the caption that fixes an image's meaning in the form of the **preferred meaning (**Hall, 1997:218**).** The meaning of an image does not lie entirely within it, but in its combination with text. The image remains open- ended with more than one meaning until the text narrows its focus (Hall, 1997:218). The meanings of illustrations are spelt out in the text that they accompany (Honour, 2012:281). Without this textual spelling out, illustrations' meanings are unfixed and indistinct (Honour, 2012:281). Pre-conceptions shape how images are received in ways that are not always intended by the artist. While the focus narrows, they still gain in meaning when image and text are read with one another. Meaning is accrued or developed through interplay between each other and against a wider context of image and text, "where one image refers to another, or has its meaning altered by being 'read' in the context of other images", this is referred to as inter-textuality (Hall, 1997:222). But the individual text or image continues to bring its own nice meaning (Hall, 1997:222). Lidchi (1997) describes this process as the texts working both together and separately; that each text encodes the other while appearing to decode (Lidchi, 1997:149). What is being read is not simply image then text (or vice versa) but image and text. It is the combination of two levels of communication, the visual and the verbal (Nikolajeva & Scott, 2006:1). These two types of communication are not read sequentially but rather in parallel, forming a network of inter-constructed, and sometimes refuted, meanings.

These potential readings are built and expanded upon through a hermeneutic analysis leading to a hermeneutic circle. This process involves first reading the whole, then considering the detail and then going back to look at the whole again with a new focus that is informed by the detail. When this process keeps repeating it is a hermeneutic circle (Nikolajeva & Scott, 2006:2). In reading image and text, we move from one to the other, and, with each movement,

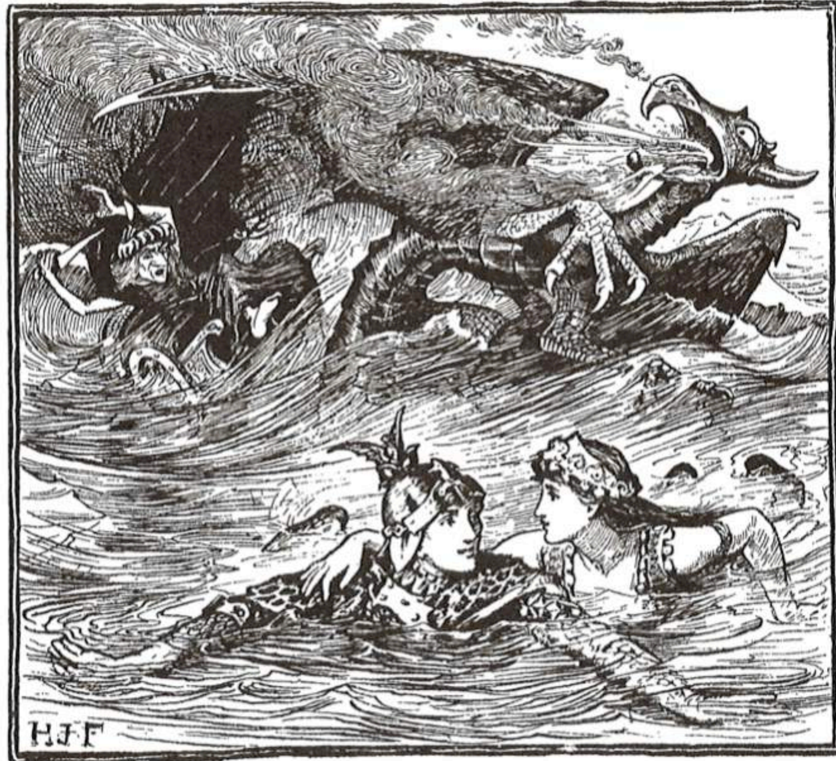
the act of reading is re-informed and shifts. Images have certain gaps in the information that text is able to full, and likewise there are gaps in the information that text is able to convey that images can provide. While images may contain information that bridges the gaps in text, it may do so only partially, and vice versa, with texts bridging the gaps in images only partially. The remaining gaps are left to be filled by readers bringing their own pre-existing knowledge, beliefs, expectations and experiences to the reading to fill this breach (Nikolajeva & Scott, 2006:2). These pre-existing factors open up the interplay between text and image to even more possibilities. When images and text are placed in a relationship with one another, their relationship changes each of their meanings, so that they are "more than just a sum of their parts" (Nodelman, 1988:199).

This interaction between image and text has been given many different names. Children's writer, Allan Ahlberg, talks of an "interweaving" between the two (Salisbury & Styles, 2012:90), while Emeritus Reader at the Institute of Education in the University of London, Margaret Meek, describes it as "interanimate" (Salisbury & Styles, 2012:90).[4] Maria Nikolajeva and Carole Scott in their book, *How Picturebooks Work,* use two different terms depending on the type of interaction. They use "complementary" when the image and text are in agreement and where they expand and reflect on each other (Salisbury & Styles, 2012:92). They use the term "counterpoint" when there are disparities between the stories told by the image and text (Salisbury & Styles, 2012:94). These disparities allow for several possible readings. Phillip Pullman too employs counterpoint to express how, when image and text are combined, they have great potential to show multiple things occurring simultaneously (Salisbury & Styles, 2012:94). These terms reflect how image and text are bound up in each other and bolster each other. Yet they do not always agree with each other, or they provide alternative information, creating what I, following Nikolajeva and Scott, refer to as slippage, which can take the form of multiple simultaneous actions or can raise questions that make the reader question their perception and acceptance of each of the representations and create a plethora of interpretations and readings (Nikolajeva & Scott, 2006:17).

A clear example of slippage between the parallel narratives of image and text occurs in *The Yellow Fairy Book* (1894). Sara Hines in *Collecting the Empire, Andrew Lang's Fairy Books (1889-1910*) explains how the text of "The Glass Axe" (Figure 20) simply narrates that a black girl is disenchanted and becomes beautiful. While the image, "But the waters seized her chariot

and sunk it in the lowest depths" (Figure 21) shows a later scene that is placed out of sequence immediately under the description of the transformation into beauty. A white maiden is depicted escaping with the prince instead of the black slave girl. Thus, it imagines the transformation into beauty as a transformation into whiteness, equating the two terms in the reader's mind. Hines argues that the image is strategically placed and that it uses "an implication latent in the text". The image interprets the text for us in a particular way. To produce textual truths continuous with our cultural beliefs, any contradiction, slippage or ambiguity tends to be discarded in the "construction of a concise, self-evident, universal truth", allowing our pre-structured understanding of the situation, which the book presents, to interpret things in a certain way, for example, accepting that beauty in fairy stories means a white maiden.

Figure 20 - Ford, H.J. 1894 The Black Girl Stops the Witch with a Bit of the Rock (Lang, 1894:144)

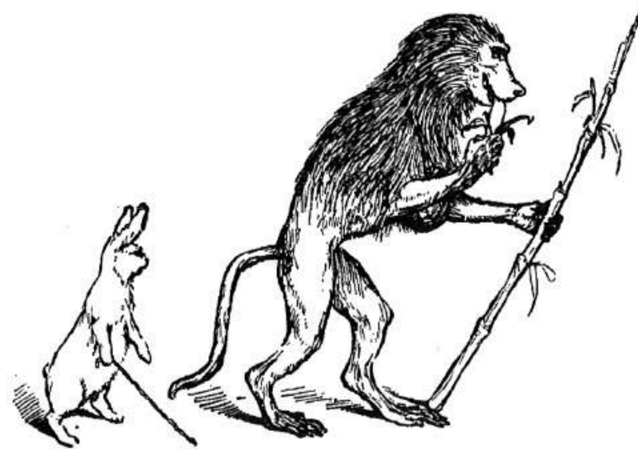


'But the waters seized her chariot and sunk it in the lowest depths'

Figure 21 - Ford, H.J. 1894 'But the waters seized her chariot and sunk it in the lowest depths'(Lang, 1894:147)

The prior image in this story, "The Black Girl Stops the Witch with a Bit of the Rock" (Figure 20), on the other hand, goes against the ideas of a gentle, soft, confined femininity depicted by Ford throughout most of the images. Instead, what we see is a strong, black woman, fighting witchcraft and defending a white man. In the image, the witch (evil Fairy) bears down on the couple in a diagonal from the top left corner. Her cloak and hair billow behind her as she extends her one arm like a wing while the other is bent, clutching a large dagger. The gazes of the witch and the black girl are directed at each other. The black girl raises a rock in the direction of the witch in a gesture of defiance. The Prince crouches behind a boulder. He is wearing armour and carries a dagger and arrows, yet despite these weapons and combative wear he kneels behind the black girl holding her hand, letting her defend them from the witch. This image inverts tropes of fragile femininity, which must be protected, and strong masculinity that will do the protecting. These two images reflect the same woman very differently.

The interplay of image and text teaches us about what was considered the nature of beauty at this time; it buys into a Victorian British ethnographic and anthropological hierarchy of races in which whiteness is superior to blackness. When a woman is described as beautiful in the text the illustration of that woman will then reveal what is considered to be beautiful; in this case, white with delicate features (Nodelman, 1988:112). The princess is depicted with a serene face, abundant hair, sloping nose and a graceful, long stem-like neck, echoing the galleries of pre-Raphaelite women who embody a soft and domestic type of beauty. The representation of the textual flat description of a beautiful woman as this particular form of white female beauty reveals what Ford and his audience thought female beauty to be.



'WHERE DID YOU GET THAT FROM?' ASKED ISURO

Figure 22 - Ford, H.J. 1906. Where did you get that from?" asked Isuro' (Lang, 1906:31)

A more benign slippage occurs in "How Isuru the Rabbit Tricked Gudu". There is an illustration entitled "'Where did you get that from?' asked Isuro" (Figure 22). This image creates confusion with the text as to what kind of fruit is being described in the story. The text describes the following:

> …a tree so laden with fruit that its branches swept the ground. Some of the fruit was still green and some yellow. The rabbit hopped forward with joy, for he was very hungry; but Gudu said to him: 'Pluck the green fruit for you will find it much the best. I will leave it all for you, as you have had no dinner, and take the yellow for myself.' So the rabbit took one of the green oranges and began to bite it, but its skin was so

> hard that he could hardly get his teeth through the rind. 'It does not taste at all nice,' he cried, screwing up his face; 'I would rather have one of the yellow ones.'

In this text the green and yellow fruit in question are clearly named as oranges. But the illustration that is inserted into the text and appears immediately below this passage clearly shows Gudu, the baboon, eating a banana. The placement of the image below the text would suggest they are relating the same scene and are occurring at the same part of the tale. However, this image actually relates what is happening earlier in the story on the page before when "Gudu opened the bag that lay hidden in the thick hair about his neck and began to eat some delicious-looking fruit. 'Where did you get that from?' asked Isuro enviously." As Joyce Whalley and Tessa Chester note, an illustration differs from a picture, as a picture makes its own argument, whereas an illustration is usually a link in a chain of events (Whalley & Chester, 1988:11). The sequence of events in this case has been set off kilter. This discrepancy creates a tension between the image and text, which engages our attention more fully, as we want to solve it (Nikolajeva & Scott, 2006:30-1). The illustrations have been shifted out of alignment with the text, placing text and illustration in what appears to be conflict, which creates a rupture in the sense of integrity of the tale. This act of slippage occurs because books, as author and illustrator, Brian Selznick (2016), says, "are a technology, but we don't usually think of them that way" (Selznick, 2016). The physicality of the pages and covers means we uncover and experience their contents in a particular way. It is a tactile experience where the reader turns the pages creating what Selznick describes as "a magic trick", "because we never know what we're going to find on the other side" (Selznick, 2016). In the construction of the book this is where the excitement lies, but it can create slippage, as the image and text both occupy the same moment in the narrative, but they cannot physically both occupy the same space, creating two moments of information.

"How Direach Got the Falcon" shows us an example of a complementary image and text. In the tale, Gille Mairtean, the fox, turns himself into a boat numerous of times for Ian Direach. One of the times he does so is to help Direach capture the princess. In the illustration "The princess finds herself a prisoner on the ship" (Ford, 1904:69) (Figure 23), H.J. Ford has indicated the relationship between the fox and the ship by detailing the ship with fox heads. They are present on the mast where they are used to secure ropes and one is holding a sail rope

in the foreground. The fox is being reflected in the ship so that the reader can grasp their unity. The image reinforces the details of the story and shows their physical manifestation.

"The princess finds herself a prisoner on the ship" complements and extends the written scene by showing a sense of movement in the ship's flight: the sails are taut with the wind, the princess's cloak and hair also billow in it, and, below the ship, the spray from the keel and the choppiness of the waves creates visual movement across the image. The viewer is pulled into the image with the boat's supposed trajectory as it projects from the bottom left corner up towards the top right.

Figure 23 - Ford, H.J. 1906.The princess finds herself a prisoner on the ship (Lang, 1906:68)

Figure 24 - Waterhouse, J.W. (1888) The Lady Of Shalott

"The Lady Of Shalott" (1888) (Figure 24) by John William Waterhouse, on the other hand, is almost the mirror image of energy, despite both images being pre-Raphaelite depictions of maidens with loose, flowing hair dressed in medieval-style robes on boats. The princess in "The princess finds herself a prisoner on the ship" stands contrapposto confidently holding onto the mast and ropes for support and glances down towards Ian Direach kneeling below her on the boat while the Lady of Shalott holds anxiously onto a chain, lifting her chin to peer apprehensively ahead. "The Lady Of Shalott" depicts a still and oppressive mood. The manner of rendering the images and their details marries the image to the mood and concept of the narratives. The water is hemmed in by trees and both are dense and heavily rendered in dark tones. Flashes of bright green fields, which peep through the trees, serve to highlight the heaviness of the foreground.

Waterhouse, like Ford, has used details within the boat to convey and support the narrative. In Ford's case it is the inclusion of the fox detailing that speaks to the boat's true identity; in Waterhouse's, the presence of a crucifix on the prow alongside three guttering candles, are premonitions of the princess's demise on this journey, while other previous scenes are depicted in a large tapestry that drapes over the side of the boat. In the tapestry, we see the princess and the tower in one scene, and Sir Lancelot and his knights in another. Details like these develop a richer, more complex narrative by speaking to the text and linking its parts together in a single

moment. The pre-Raphaelites sought naturalism, to be faithful to nature and the details of experience (Smyser, 1910:508). This naturalism was paired with a romantic spirit, which meant that the details of nature are manifested with imaginative suggestions, which take them away from basic realism. The details carry meaning and, sometimes, hidden meanings or symbolic functions, such as fox features or tapestry (Smyser, 1910:509).

Reading Image and Text focuses on the role of the physical form of the books and the technical innovations that supported them. Children's literature was created as a category and with it the idea that there was a connection between children and images. *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* operate within this understanding. In discussing Lang's inclusion and representation of Africa through "African Fairy Tales", the existence of an independent African story tradition must be acknowledged. Differences between European and African story traditions mean that the "African Fairy Tales" do not fit into the format of European fairy tales although they ostensibly show similarities. The impact of the illustrations on the reading of a book is shown through the illustrative work of Ford and Nielsen in their versions of *East of the Sun and West of the Moon.* The text of this tale interplays differently with their unique approaches, bringing richness and deeper emotions. Image and text operate differently, they bring their specific manner of conveying information to the interplay between image and text in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books*. The shifts between image and text make meaning as they affirm or contradict each other, I have defined these actions as "slippage" and "complementary", looking at their occurrences in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books.*

Chapter 6: Constraining Sensibilities

Constraining Sensibilities unpacks the development of *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* through the work of the twenty-eight predominately female translators and adaptors, the illustrator (Henry Justice Ford) and editor (Andrew Lang). Their respective contributions and influences are explored. Lang's editorial choice of the inclusion of multiple versions of the same stories from diverse cultures is discussed and related to his anthropological views of a common humanity. Ford creates continuity throughout *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books,* despite the range of sources of the tales, with his consistent use of this style and compositional devices that echo each other. Ford's pre-Raphaelite influences are reflected in the images through their intricate detail and their focus on nature and the past.

My inquiry focuses on *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* in their original format, with images by H.J. Ford. The books were published between 1889 and 1910. This series grew from one stand-alone book, *The Blue Fairy Book* (1889)*,* to a twelve-book-series. *The Blue Fairy Book* (1889) stories were primarily European and literary tales, but the book also included non-fairy tales, such as an extract from Gulliver's travels. *The Blue Fairy Book* (1889) was well-received and sought by parents and relatives as presents for children, which led to an expansion into eleven other books (Lathey, 2010:164). Andrew Lang was surprised at the book's great success and, yielding to "overwhelming readers' enthusiasm", he brought out *The Red Fairy Book* (1890) (Warner, 2014:68).

Lang's identity as respected scholar and literary critic meant that his name governed the reception of the project, and it gave the series credibility, appealing to the snobbery of discerning parents (Hines, 2013:82,115). Indeed, there were five thousand copies printed of the first volume of *The Blue Fairy Book* (1889), and it had the distinction of being acclaimed as "amongst the most popular juvenile gifts of the time" by *The Bookseller* (Alderson, 1975:359 in Lathey, 2010:164). The print run for *The Red Fairy Book* in 1890 doubled that of its predecessor with ten thousand copies and *The Green Fairy Book* (1892) had a run of fifteen thousand copies (Lathey, 2010:164). This still did not satisfy the public's demand, so he continued to build a series of twelve books.

Mass production meant that not only could large numbers of books be produced, but also that different volumes of books could be made uniform. *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* took full advantage of this and were marketed as collectable Christmas books.[33] New technologies[34] changed the look and feel[35] of books. By embracing these technologies *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* asserted themselves as "modern books for modern children" (Hines, 2013:120). But their content is old and, as such, the anthologies were presented as "old" stories, newly packaged for the modern reader.

The bright colours of *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* along with a consistent style and visual themes made them clearly identifiable as parts of the series, as well as attracting the viewer (Lathey, 2010:161-2; Hines, 2013:127). The different coloured covers made each book unique and required collecting all of the books to make the series seem complete (Hines, 2013:20). This collective impetus allowed the reader to collect and display cultural narratives on the nursery shelf (Hines, 2013:205). The diversity of stories in the collection would have given the Victorian child a sense of ownership of the world (Teverson, 2016:7; Hines, 2013:13).

According to Marina Warner (2014), "the Romantic ideal of national heritage" was "overstepped" when Andrew Lang started his *Fairy Books*. This description stems from his mixing tales from different origins in the same book/series. In doing so, he went beyond a device of using folklore to bring people together "by enabling them to recognize the cultural value of their tales and customs" (Zipes, 2015:22).[36] This would suggest that another impetus was at the origin of the books' creation. Following in the tradition of Grimm, "folklore–the cartography and anthropology of the imagination–became a Victorian enthusiasm, alongside the imperial and scientific mapping of the adventures of the age" (Warner, 2014:67). In this spirit, Lang created a series of books that travelled beyond representing the English nation through its own tales and customs but through mapping it in relation to the tales of other lands.

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[33] *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), *The Lilac Fairy Book* (1910).

[34] The book changed from being predominately hand-made in 1830 to, in 1914, being completely machine-made. (Hines, 2013:118).

[35] The introduction of colour illustrations meant the insertion of glossy paper, changing the tactile experience of the books (Hines, 2013:128).

[36] Zipes is discussing the particular case of the Grimms' work and its attempts to unify the German people through culture.

When *The Blue Fairy Book* (1889) was published, it was meant to be a presentation of the "best" of fairy tales and contained a theoretical experiment in "The Terrible Head" (pp. 182-192) (Hines, 2013:32). In this story, Lang retro-fitted a Greek myth into a fairy tale by simplifying the tale and turning the characters and places into generic versions. As Sara Hines (2013) succinctly puts it: "By devolving the story from myth to fairy, Lang attempts to demonstrate how fairy tales have evolved into myths and legends" (Hines, 2013:94). *The Blue Fairy Book* (1889) became the blueprint for the rest of the series, and, having won the confidence of its readership with old favourites, paved the way for introducing them to new stories from more distant places (Hines, 2013:67). Lang constructs a space where the reader can enjoy and recognise stories as familiar, but yet, by presenting tales from cultures around the world, the reader is excited by the new and the exotic as well as the familiar (Hines, 2013:222, 229).

Lang himself did not collect the stories from oral sources nor did he translate them. He selected 437 tales from what was considered a broad range of countries and cultures. This was one of the largest collections of tales ever assembled. The tales were collected from a wide multi-cultural range of literary sources and were translated into English by a team of twenty-eight people including Lang's wife, Leonora Lang (Hines, 2013:181). Andrew Lang published these works through the publishing house of his good friend Charles Longman. The text was accompanied by illustrations primarily by Henry Justice Ford,[37] who worked with Lang on other projects; but he did include illustrations by G.P. Jacomb-Hood and Lancelot Speed in the first two books.

These books were structured as children's literature at a time when the notion of childhood and books specifically aimed at children was just gaining traction (Warner, 2014:98,101). Indeed, only in November 1900, were *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* marketed under the sub-section "New Juvenile Books" in the Longmans book lists (Hines, 2013:142). What children's literature there was, was intended to be realist. Lang has been credited with exciting the desire for the consumption of these kinds of fantasy tales.[38]

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[37] Henry J. Ford studied the Classics at Clare College, Cambridge. He then studied art in 1883-4 at the Slade School of Art under Alphose Legros (1837-1911). This was followed by the Herkomer School of Art under Sir Hubert von Herkomer (1849-1914). He was an illustrator, painter and pastelist who depicted landscapes and mythological subjects. (Hines, 2013:124-5).

[38] Although this idea has been questioned. (See Hines, 2013).

Children's books in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were created as tools for productive socialisation (Tatar, 1992: xvi). Tatar believes that, when fairy stories entered the domain of children, the humour and subversive edge of the fairy tales went missing in the move (Tatar, 1992:3). Fairy tales became serious tales that modelled behaviour patterns for productive citizenship instead of using laughter to question these behavioural patterns (Tatar, 1992:5). By socialising children through their literature, Victorian society was able to socialise them into being the kind of productive citizens that the Empire needed to grow and develop.

Some twenty educated women of his acquaintance were asked by Lang to translate, and in some cases rewrite, the tales in the first books. These translators were given passing credit for their work in the prefaces (Lathey, 2010:154). Some of the translators at work in the series were Lang's relatives. First and foremost, among them was his wife, Leonora Lang, who was responsible for most of the tales' writing in the later books, as well as his cousins, May and Eleanor Sellar, and Mrs. Lang's nieces, Alma Alleyne and Thyra Alleyne. A Miss Lang is also referred to. Miss Minnie Wright and Miss Bruce are acknowledged as adapting and translating tales from French. Translation from German was the work of Miss Blackley and Miss Farquharson, and Mrs. Alfred Hunt rendered the Norse tales in English. While Miss May Kendall did not in fact translate but rather abridged tales in English for the purposes of the series, the precise role of Miss Cheape (*The Yellow Fairy Book,* 1894) and Mrs. Dent (*The Grey Fairy Book,* 1900) is not so transparent. Four new female translators appear in the last four books: Mrs. Beveridge translates a Persian manuscript (*The Brown Fairy Book,* 1904); Mrs. Pedersen translates a Norwegian tale (*The Orange Fairy Book,* 1906), while Miss Christie and Miss Harding bring to the English, children's stories from Finland (*The Lilac Fairy Book,* 1910). Only a few male translators were referred to in the last four books and one, Mr. W.A. Craigie, in the first six (Lathey, 2010:165).

While he used some male translators, such as Major Camphill for "The Pushto", his choice of mostly women limited the languages from which he could translate stories, as women would only be taught European languages as part of their genteel education (although some, such as Annette Beveridge were able to translate farther afield languages, in her case, Chagatai Turkish, into English (Reef, 1976:46; Hines, 2013:191). This meant that, for many of these tales, this was the second translation into a European language. French, German and, indeed, English were used as intermediary languages throughout Europe by the mid- to late-nineteenth

century (Lathey, 2010:177). Tales from throughout *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* originate from around the globe, and have been shaped through their translation into French and German, and then into English for the purposes of the series (Lathey, 2010:177).

The female translators not only translated the tales but also adapted them for their audience. The narratives were moulded to subscribe to the public approval of parents (Warner, 2014:68). Lang's use of women as the mediators of these tales is interesting in the light of their targeted audience. Lang intended the books to be read in the home by mothers to their children, thus he can be seen to be using women to speak to women. Author of *The Role of The Translator in Children's Literature: Invisible Storytellers*, Gillian Lathey (2010), raises the idea of a perceived connection between women, children, and translation, which impacts the history of this kind of translated work (Lathey, 2010:151). Anna Smol (1996-7) argues that not only was it considered appropriate for women to write for children but also that the storytellers of folklore tales were predominately envisioned as women (Smol, 1996:180-1). Did Lang believe that communication within gender would be more efficient or were these women used as translators because of their availability? Through their adaptations of the tales, these women were helping to shape the experiences that they thought families should have of these tales. Through their adaptations, the translators would be able both to guide the readers and be guided by the fear of the readers' censure in placing their adaptions of stories in public view. The public could censure their inclusion of anything that lacked propriety. I would argue that this forces a more conservative telling of the tales then the translators would tell at home.

There seem to be differing accounts for a woman taking on translation work; one account is that she was a genteel, poor English woman working as governess and as a translator to keep body and soul together (Lathey, 2010:152), or translating was seen as a way for women to stimulate and challenge themselves intellectually. While they were barred from public academic and professional life, they could translate within the domestic space (Lathey, 2010:152). Indeed, a few of the women who translated tales for *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* were professional authors with their own publications (Lathey, 2010:165). However intellectually stimulating the work, Lang's translators did not enjoy the autonomy enjoyed by other female translators, such as their contemporary, Mary Howitt, who stormed into a printer's office in search of payment due (Lathey, 2010:161-2).

Lang, as the editor of the books, acted akin to a curator in shaping them. It was his overarching vision that determined that these stories be taken from their multiple sources and appropriated into a unified English series of anthologies. Lang determined which tales would be presented to the English readers, and how they would be ordered and positioned. He also chose what kind of tale best represented different countries.

Through his prefaces, his choices of illustrators, translators and tales, Lang creates a path for his reader to follow, in which cultures are linked and a re-presentation of global humanity is created. It is Lang's vision of the universal human disposition and the desire to produce evidence of the common story and shared motif that is the curatorial vision shaping the anthologies. This vision motivates his choice of repeating stories and motifs as well as including such a global range of tales.

Andrew Lang's Fairy Books were the first of such multicultural folk/fairy tales anthologies, mingling familiar tales with "exotic" tales from the other. But Lang simultaneously presents the stories as "Universal". In his *Fairy Books,* Andrew Lang incorporates African tales into his collection. He orders them alongside stories from Europe; stories that have been accepted into the canon of fairy tales from Grimm, Hans Christian Anderson and Madame la Comtesse d'Aulnoy. In this way, Lang relates them to the canon as the collected items are located in relation to other items in the collection (Tanselle, 1988:9). Susan Stewart (1984) describes this process as the "objects are naturalised into the landscape of the collection" (Stewart, 1984:156). The objects make their home within the collection.

Lang connects fairy tales from all over the world allowing us to look for the patterns of the similarities and differences. By placing them together, he seeks to highlight the human commonality of fairy tales and their telling. It is important to note that the series does not seek to transport the Victorian reader into other cultures but rather to present them with pieces of culture that have been modified so as to be acceptable to the British (Hines, 2013:243). Lang's work also troubles the general condition that "ethnographic texts are not accurate descriptions of one culture by another, but the writing of one culture by another" (Lidchi, 1997:172). The representation of the tales within the collection is simultaneously echoing this description while also manifesting an attempt for a culture to speak in part for itself. The core of the tale is self-representation, the re-telling is the writing of one culture by another. The tales are only

fragments of a culture; museums and collections can only collect and store fragments. Thus, they are places where the culture that is being represented comprises pieces, but the collecting culture develops its identity (Durrans, 1993:25 in Lidchi, 1997:134).

In his work as editor in his *Fairy Books,* Lang leaves the objectivity of an anthropologist and becomes a representative of his colonial era (Lathey, 2010:168) The construction of *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* is tightly bound by power relationships and ideology. The format of the books as a Western publication with British translators, artists and editors and their intended re-presentation to a British audience, places the determining power of representation in the hands of the British. The stories of other peoples and cultures being re-presented were, thus, passed through the prism of mainstream Victorian and Edwardian ideologies. Control over the re-presentation lies firmly in the hands of the British through both production and market. Popular literature related concepts of race to the necessity of conflict between cultures and how conflict highlighted the superiority of British culture (Mackenzie, 1984:7). The tale, "The Magic Mirror" from *The Orange Fairy Book* (1906), touches on interaction between Africans and Europeans. The appeal and, therefore, selection of the tale for a European audience is very clear. It tells of European victory over Africans and also of African superstition, attributing their defeat to a snake, who was King of the Reptiles, and his present magic mirror. While the story is told from the African storyline and the figures that are represented are Africans, the power at the end is given to the white men. It reflects an African telling of colonisation that speaks to wider reasons than white superiority in the subordination of Africa.

While the impetus for the global anthology came from Lang's own interest as a scholar in folklore[39] and the perceived universality of the folk tale, his vision for the project focused on the child audience. He positions folk tales here as entertainment rather than as the grist for study (Hines, 2013:37). Lang had a clear vision of tales, both translated and retold, from Europe and other continents, which were squarely aimed at the late-Victorian, early-Edwardian Nursery. It is from a late-Victorian early-Edwardian voice that we hear the tales from Africa. The telling of these tales is defined by Lang and visually shaped by Ford and translated into English by predominately English women. Lang takes these tales using their "authorless" or

[39] Lang's primary publications on anthropology are *Mythology and Fairy Tales* (1873), *Anthropology and the Vedas* (1883), *Custom and Myth* (1884), *Modern Mythology* (1897), *The Making of Religion* (1898), *Myth, Ritual and Religion* (1897), *Australian Gods: A Reply* (1899), and *Magic and Religion* (1901).

"community authoring" as folk tales as a means of claiming them for Victorian and Edwardian children;

> Like nature, the popular tales are too vast to be the creation of a single modern mind. The Editor's business is to hunt for collections of these stories told by peasant or savage grandmothers in many climes, 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 (Lang, 1903:v).

Lang clearly spells out that he thinks that tales from Africa needed to be edited to make them suitable to be consumed by the British public, especially children. He is most brash about this in *The Brown Fairy Book* (1904) where he declares: "…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" (Lang, 1904:viii). By saying it was made up for "your entertainment" and saying "makes them up in the hopes white people will like them" clearly indicates that the reader is presumed to be white. He also insults the people whose tales he is using, calling them "outlandish". He is situating tales as commodities to be modified to suit their Victorian and Edwardian audience, not as pieces of culture.

The books suggest that Africans are on a par with children by appropriating their stories for consumption by Victorian and Edwardian Children. Africans were being widely positioned as having the mental capacity of children with the passions of grown men (Stocking, 1987:226). In *The Olive Fairy Book* (1907), Lang tells the reader that, unlike other anthologies of fairy stories, his focus is on what children want to read, not what adults want. Because of this, he has searched for fairy stories not only in Europe but in all parts of the world (Lang, 1907:vii). Lang further discusses how "there are hundreds of collections of savage and peasant fairy tales, but, though many of these are most interesting especially Bishop Callaway's Zulu stories (with the Zulu versions), these do not come in the way of children" (Lang, 1907:vii-viii). Lang asserts that he wishes that children were allowed to choose their own books. One supposes this is

because Lang believes that they would be interested in a wider array of tales from a greater diversity of cultures.

Lang's appropriation of the tales for a Victorian and Edwardian audience extends beyond Africa. In the preface to *The Orange Fairy Book* (1906), Lang says: "The stories are taken from those told by grannies to grandchildren in many countries and in many languages– French, Italian, Spanish, Catalan, Gaelic, Icelandic, Cherokee, African, Indian, Australian, Slavonic, Eskimo and what not. The stories are not literal, or word by word translations, but have been altered in many ways to make them suitable for children" (Lang, 1906:v-vi). Here Lang talks about taking stories from a wide range of places, including Africa, and not translating them but rather repurposing them for the entertainment of children. As such, he suggests that they were not necessarily already aimed at children. In *The Violet Fairy Book* (1901), he indicates how these stories, to his mind, needed to be altered for his chosen audience: "three African[40] stories have here been abridged and simplified for Children". This is a recurrent theme. In *The Crimson Fairy Book* (1903), he defines the editor's job as searching for these stories[41] far and wide (Lang, 1903:v). Once these tales are found and selected, they are "adapted to the needs of British Children by various hands". These "various hands" refer to Lang's wife and the other (mostly) women whom he used to translate and transform the tales into reading material deemed suitable for the Victorian and Edwardian Child. Lang views himself as acting as a guard for propriety and as responsible for softening any violence that could upset sensitive readers (Lang, 1903:v).

One of the editorial strategies that Lang used was to include versions of the same tale from different countries, such as French Charles Perrault's "Cinderella or the Glass Slipper" in *The*

[40] These African tales, Lang informs us, were already published in the late Dr Steere's *Swahili Tales,* but that permission had been given by Dr Steere's representative to use and rewrite the stories (Lang, 1901: viii).
[41] Regardless of how suitable they were considered before Lang's team adapted them, Lang makes it clear that stories have been circulating around the world and that they have entered into a global exchange: "The slave trade might take a Greek to Persia, a Persian to Greece; an Egyptian woman to Phoenicia; 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" (Lang, 1906:vii). These words of Lang's depict and propagate an understanding of a world enmeshed in, and created by, trade. It shows that cultures are not isolated but have been evolving through interaction. While this is a minor set of words adorning the preface, it shows and teaches an idea of shared culture and history, that the world and races have intermingled with the slave trade and the trade of other goods, "a Scandinavian child might be carried with the amber from the Baltic to the Adriatic," and that, with this human traffic, stories have traveled too, "while the Portuguese may have borne their tales to South Africa".

Blue Fairy Book (1889) followed directly by "The Wonderful Birch" from Russia in *The Red Fairy Book* (1880), to highlight cross-cultural similarities and to hint at the ongoing debates about the transmission of narratives (Hines, 2013:230). He reminds us that "[a]ll people in the world tell nursery tales to their children" and that these tales are shared as a mark of our common humanity. He sets up a comparison of tales within the books, asking his readers to find commonalities between stories from different cultures. The repetition of tale types etc. allows the readers to identify similarities, overlapping patterns and narratives between tales.

Tale repetition is important, as Lang uses it to argue his case for monogenism. He argues that the tales and their shared threads prove that man is one species, if multiple races. The proof of this argument in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* is humans share similar tales, showing that Africans share their humanity with Europeans. In eighteenth-century anthropology man is considered to be one species with a common origin, monogenism, but, in the nineteenth century, the impulse shifted to polygenism, multiple origins (Stocking, 1987:17, 27). Polygenesis was an unchristian notion with its multiple creation of people (Pieterse, 1992:41). David Hume, in the mid-1700s exemplified this belief of polygenesis, writing:

> I am apt to suspect the Negroes, and in general all the other species of men (for there are four or five different kinds) to be naturally inferior to the whites. There was never a civilised nation of any other complexion than white, nor even any individual eminent in action or speculation. No ingenious manufactures amongst them, no arts, no sciences… Such a uniformed and constant difference could not happen, in so many countries and ages if nature had not made an original distinction betwixt these breeds of men. (Hume, 1985:629 in Garrett & Sebastiani, 2017:31)

Hume believed that man was too divergent in his state of civilisation and this divergence was too uniform in man's distance from Europe for it not to be caused by some innate biology, that man must consist of different species (Hume, 1985:629 in Garrett & Sebastiani, 2017:31).

Edward Tylor, in *Primitive Culture* (1871), and Andrew Lang, in *Custom and Myth* (1884), both advocate monogenism using common mythology as a means of showing different races' common humanity (Lang, 1884:9). They believed that folklore supports a theory of cultural evolution towards civilisation (Stocking, 1987:163). The presence of fairy stories in all cultures

indicates that civilised cultures have progressed from a primitive state, which generated and needed these stories. Lang argues that the presence of the arts is seen in the form of fairy tales and that this commonality means that different races share a single genesis. This argument, while problematic, as it uses a progressionist racist hierarchy, is important in establishing a common humanity that allows for later reforms in the belief that all races are equal and are entitled to human rights. *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* help construct a view of man that celebrates our common humanity. This universality of fairy tales is expressed by Lang in his inclusion of stories like "Udea and Her Seven Brothers" in *The Grey Fairy Book* (1900) and "The Twelve Brothers" in *The Red Fairy Book* (1890), which share a common piece of narrative in their opening scene. The former is an African story from Libya. Lang borrowed it from *Marchen und Gedicht aus der Stadt Tripolis*, while the latter is a European tale that Lang has borrowed from the Brothers Grimm.

The European tale, "The Twelve Brothers":

> THERE were once upon a time a King and a Queen who lived happily together, and they had twelve children, all of whom were boys. One day the King said to his wife:
>
> 'If our thirteenth child is a girl, all her twelve brothers must die, so that she may be very rich and the kingdom hers alone.'
>
> Then he ordered twelve coffins to be made, and filled them with shavings, and placed a little pillow in each. These he put away in an empty room, and, giving the key to his wife, he bade her tell no one of it.
>
> The Queen grieved over the sad fate of her sons and refused to be comforted, so much so that the youngest boy, who was always with her, and who she had christened Benjamin, said to her one day:
>
> 'Dear mother, why are you so sad?'
>
> 'My child,' she answered, 'I may not tell you the reason.'
>
> But he left her no peace, till she went and showed him the twelve coffins filled with shavings, and with a little pillow laid in each.

> Then she said: 'My dearest Benjamin, your father has had these coffins made for you and your eleven brothers, because if I bring a girl into the world you are all to be killed and buried in them.'
>
> She wept bitterly as she spoke, but her son comforted her and said:
>
> 'Don't cry, dear mother; we'll manage to escape somehow, and will fly for our lives.'
>
> 'Yes,' replied his mother, 'that is what you must do – go with your eleven brothers out into the wood, and let one of you always sit on the highest tree you can find, keeping watch on the tower of the castle. If I give birth to a little son I will wave a white flag, and then you may safely return; but if I give birth to a little daughter I will wave a red flag, which will warn you to fly away as quickly as you can, and may the kind Heaven have pity on you. Every night I will get up and pray for you, in winter that you may always have a fire to warm yourself by, and in summer that you may not languish in the heat.'
>
> Then she blessed her sons and they set out into the wood.
>
> They found a very high oak tree, and there they sat, turn about, keeping their eyes always fixed on the castle tower. On the twelfth day, when the turn came to Benjamin, he noticed a flag waving in the air, but alas! It was not white, but blood red, the sign which told them they must all die.
>
> "The Twelve Brothers", *The Red Fairy Book,* pp. 274-5.

The Libyan tale, "Udea and Her Seven Brothers":

> Once upon a time there was a man and his wife who had seven boys. The children lived in the open air and grew big and strong, and the six eldest spent part of every day hunting wild beasts. The youngest did not care so much about sport, and he often stayed with his mother.

> One morning, however, as the whole seven were going out for a long expedition, they said to their aunt, 'Dear aunt, if a baby sister comes into the world to-day, wave a white handkerchief, and we will return immediately; but if it is only a boy, just brandish a sickle, and we will go on with what we are doing.'
>
> Now the baby when it arrived really proved to be a girl, but as the aunt could not bear the boys, she thought it was a good opportunity to get rid of them. So she waved the sickle. And when the seven brothers saw the sign they said, 'Now we have nothing to go back for,' and plunged deeper into the desert.
>
> "Udea and Her Seven Brothers", *The Grey Fairy book,* p. 153.

These two tales both start with a large number of sons born into a family. In "The Twelve Brothers", there are twelve sons and, in "Udea and Her Seven Brothers", there are seven sons. In both stories, the youngest son is particularly close to, and spends a lot of time with, his mother. The equilibrium of the families is disturbed when the mother becomes pregnant; the gender of the baby will determine whether the brothers will have to leave the family. In the case of "The Twelve Brothers", the father will kill them if it is a girl, so they need to leave for their survival. In "Udea and Her Seven Brothers", it is the brothers who decide that, for some unknown reason, they will not stay if another son is born. Both the sets of brothers arrange to have someone signal the gender of the baby with a white cloth being the preferred gender and a red cloth or a sickle, respectively, representing the other. In the tales, the brothers are signalled that it is the undesired gender (even though, in the case of "Udea and Her Seven Brothers", this is incorrect). Thus, the birth of a daughter drives her brothers into exile. The common threads in these two tales create a connection between African and European people through shared imagining. Not only do they both tell tales, but they tell similar tales. It shows the reader that people imagine in similar ways, that societies grapple with similar issues, that the similarities in our story-telling traditions show that we have more in common than we do apart, although different cultures bring their own voices to the tellings.

Figure 25 - Ford, H.J. 1900. The Negro compels Udea to walk (Lang, 1900:155)

Figure 26 - Ford, H.J. 1890. Untitled (Lang, 1890:278)

The tales are visually represented through the same artist, H.J. Ford. His articulation of these similar tales is, at times, very close, emphasising their connection. Yet other aspects seem to suggest the distance between them. The women at the centre of the two tales are depicted very similarly by Ford; it as though it is the same fair-skinned slight maiden who has dyed her hair differently in each story. She appears with dark hair in "Udea and Her Seven Brothers" (Figure 25) and light hair in "The Twelve Brothers" (Figure 26). It is interesting that Ford chose to represent these two women, one from Africa and one from Europe, so similarly. The sister from "The Twelve Brothers" is a classic Germanic fair Aryan. But it might have been startling for English readers to see people from Libya represented as fair skinned. Not only this, but Udea, protagonist sister, is set up against a couple with dark skin, who are described in the story as a negro and a negress. These two are represented very differently to Udea.

Following what Gaffron (1950) refers to as the "glance curve" in *The Negro compels Udea to walk* (1910), the reader's eye moves from the foreground on the left side backwards into the picture, where we come upon the figure of Udea. She is placed in the background on the left-hand side. She is passively looking towards the right with her hands pressed together in a gentle gesture of supplication. Gaffron argues that the reader often identifies with the figure in the left foreground because it is our first visual port of call. This image denies us that first initial contact, so we have to continue to seek it as we travel around the image. We then move backwards until we find the figure of Udea and connect with her and her displacement.

We then continue along the glance curve to the right background and forward into the presence of the black female figure. She sits with her back to Udea and faces the reader, but she is so encased in clothes that we cannot make out her features. All we can see is her mouth as she sits eating a watermelon. From what we can make out around the clothes, she is black and heavyset. She appears the highest figure on the picture plane, as she rides a camel. Below her, leading the camel, is a black male figure. His stance is strong, with his legs apart. He averts his face from our gaze looking along the shaft of the spear which he carries over his shoulder. His gaze looks over Udea's head ignoring her entreaties. His free arm is stretched as if to impede her movement forward. There is an enormous scabbard strapped around his chest. He wears a turban and has a hooped earring in his visible ear. His clothes consist of a cloth that has been tied across one shoulder and wraps around his waist. His arms, shoulders and most of his torso

are bare and his legs are displayed though slits in the cloth. His body is depicted as upright and muscular, and he is on display while his wife lurks within her mound of cloth.

The three bodies in this image contrast against each other. The soft slenderness and supplication of the fair maiden against the dark, powerful stance of the black male. The defined muscles and posture of the male's body against the black woman's pillowy, brooding form. The black man and woman are linked by their shared colour and their grouping in a line, one behind the other. Udea, on the other hand, is highlighted by her paleness and her position separate from the other two. Her clothed body contrasts with the negro's displayed skin. Udea's dress varies very slightly from the dress of the sister in "The Twelve Brothers".

The image of the girl in "The Twelve Brothers" depicts her kneeling in a garden in the foreground of the image. She is holding a bunch of lilies in her left hand, the lines of which draw the reader's eyes over her shoulder to the right side of the image. There we find a gate and, beyond that, excluded from the garden, is the figure of a crone. Her head is covered by a hood and her face is obscured by shadows. She clasps a crook in her right hand, crossing her chest to hold it against her heart. Her dark, hooded shape acts as a foil to the princess's light form, which literally emanates light from the star on her forehead. The scene depicts the girl picking lilies; we see the stalks of the plants in a row in front of her, some of the picked lilies lie on the grass in the foreground and she picks the last flower to add to the armful she holds. The rest of the image above the bottom left to top right diagonal bisection is filled with flying black birds. The girl looks up in apparent wonder at the birds. The text tells us that the act of picking the flowers turns the brothers into ravens. The way it delivers this information is through the old woman. She tells the girl what has occurred and how she can go about freeing her brothers from their raven forms. There is no indication beyond her possession of this knowledge that the old woman is responsible for the transformation of the brothers. The text provides no answers as to why the plucking of the lilies would transform the brothers into ravens. However, the composition and construction of the image make the reader see the old woman as a malevolent figure and attribute the enchantment to her.

Both images show the fair female protagonist set against people who have been othered. "The Twelve Brothers" connects with a long history in the West of treating elderly women with suspicion and fear that they might be witches. In "Udea and her Seven Brothers", it sets Udea

against the negro and his wife. This is a problematic display of racial/cultural relationships even though it breaks down an Africa/Europe dichotomy of race by presenting us with the representation of fair-skinned Africans. In doing so it teases at more complex ideas of race and identity although it does not explore them. The stories are used by Lang to present the idea of common humanity through their narrative. Ford uses a continuous style and visual language to create universal image. But within that he annunciates difference and tension in depicting a scene of "us and them" in the illustrations.

There is a visual continuity of composition and imagery throughout Ford's illustrations. Looking at another two of Ford's images which bear striking compositional similarity to each other shows how Ford creates visual equality between the African and European tales by using similar compositions. This allows the reader to connect the images through their similar form. The two images are "The Gazelle Brings Clothes to His Master" (Figure 27) from "The Story of the Gazelle" in *The Violet Fairy Book,* and "The Queen and the Crab" (Figure 28) from "The White Doe" in *The Orange Fairy Book.* Both images feature a central human figure seated on a rock next to a body of water, a queen in the one image and a man in the other. Their bodies are mirror images of one another as the queen faces towards the water and the man faces away from the water. Their postures are almost identical except that the queen's furthest hand holds a handkerchief and the man's rests on his knee. Both the queen and the man are turning to look at their animal companions, a crab and gazelle, respectively. The interaction between the queen and the crab pulls her focus away from the people on the cliff and on to the crab in the foreground. The gazelle draws the man's attention as it offers him clothing; and the viewer's gaze continues past the gazelle to a white tethered horse.

In both images the figures have trees growing to the left of them, which, together with the rocks on which they sit, anchor them to the landscape. The viewer's eye in both images is drawn to the figure down from the right side of the landscape by a vertical feature. In "The Gazelle Brings Clothes to His Master", this is a cleft between two boulders. In "The Queen and the Crab", it is a waterfall. The figures are passive; their interaction with the landscape is through their gaze and central presence. The commonality in the figures' postures and composition of the image creates a sense of visual continuity throughout the books and suggests equality between African and European stories, as their subjects are treated visually in the same way.

This equality of visual manner of representation stands in opposition to the anthropological ideas of the time.

Figure 27 - Ford, H.J. 1901. The Gazelle Brings Clothes to His Master (Lang, 1901:135)

Figure 28 - Ford, H.J. 1906. The Queen and the Crab (Lang, 1906:202)

Ford’s illustrations are in the form of black-and-white prints, some full-page and some embedded in the text. Woodcuts were extremely well suited to combining image and text on a single page, as the type and the image are both in relief and can go through the press together (Whalley & Chester, 1988:13). As the series progresses, colour is introduced with the addition of a few half-tone prints. There had been a refining and development in the production of tonal effect in wood-engraving between 1875 to 1900. Half-tone, a photomechanical tone process, developed and eventually replaced the use of wood blocks. The growth and development of these technologies can be seen in the increase in sensitivity in the illustrations in *Andrew Lang’s Fairy Books* and the choice of subject matter they portray.

Henry Justice Ford in illustrations for *Andrew Lang’s Fairy Books,* uses a pre-Raphaelite style, embracing, as its proponents did, delicate details and soft flowing medieval robes. Ford’s use of a pre-Raphaelite style in *Andrew Lang’s Fairy Books* echoes Victorian nostalgia for the past and the obsession with the meticulous recording of observed phenomena. Ford embraces what Colin Cruise (2012) describes as a “pre-Raphaelite modified outline style” (Cruise, 2012:47-61). This style deviated from the focus on light and shade drawing of academic drawing, created through stippling and rubbing. It sought to use line alone and was embraced at different times by all of the original pre-Raphaelites (Cruise, 2012:47-61). They rejected the traditional idealised style of the academic, and created legitimacy for a style based on the direct and, sometimes, close study of nature, and which was recognised for its originality and the strength of its visual qualities (Cruise, 2012:47-61). It is thought that Ford’s colour illustrations that appear in the later titles of *Andrew Lang’s Fairy Books* reveal the influence of the pre-Raphaelites even more than the black-and-white illustrations (Whalley & Chester, 1988:141). However, the half-tones lack the crisp clarity of the black and white works and are marred by their less than harmonious colouration and indistinctness.

Richard Stein (1981) describes the work of the pre-Raphaelites using the words, “introspective, decorative, and static” (Stein, 1981:289). This description applies to Lang’s images; they appear to be frozen moments in the movement of the narrative. In Ford’s images, the figures are the focus of the image, and often, specifically, the interaction between two main figures. Very little detail is shown in the figures themselves: they tend to be generic, soft-featured youths and maidens with shapely bodies. Information about the bodies is mainly derived

through their interactions and surrounds. The detail of the images resides in the characters' clothes, objects and landscapes.

The pre-Raphaelites celebrated beauty outside drab, urban, industrialised Victorian life. They sought to see nature and to immerse themselves in it (Jacobi, 2016:31). Their images show the results of meticulous research, and display intricate realistic detail in creating the fantastical (Whalley & Chester, 1988:141). They echo Ruskin's idea of a holistic approach of "looking, identifying and transcribing" focusing on "the structure of nature, the basis of design and beauty" (Cruise, 2012:47-61). Green landscapes, such as the woods, echo the idealised paradise that was summoned in the poems of Wordsworth and his ilk. They reference a consciousness of the Garden of Eden as well as the pastoral traditions of Europe (Nodelman, 1988:112). The impetus for this desire for nature and the past was the upheaval and progress of the Industrial Revolution and rapid urbanisation (Barringer, 2012:18).

The 1880s saw an idealisation of the imperial adventurer outside of England, as well as the local myth of "Merrie England" (Rich, 1990:216). This myth was a journey into England's distant past as a means of "moral critique of capitalist industrialism" (Rich, 1990:216). This was a Medieval revival that went beyond style and appearance. The Middle Ages were looked to, to provide templates for stability, unity and faith in a time of instability and change of the progress of the Industrial Revolution (Yates, 1990:60). William Morris describes this desire for the past as an artistic compulsion to "turn back to the life of past time" or to provide the imagination with some clothing, "and perhaps naturally took the garb of some period at which the surroundings of life were not ugly but beautiful" (Morris, 1892:143). In H.J. Ford's illustrations in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books,* we see an echoing of a nostalgia for the past through the setting of the tales in the Middle Ages (Hines, 2010:39-56). Ford's images contain nothing of the "now": the landscapes are all courts, caves, forests or timeless rustic dwellings. The figures are clothed in medieval or "exotic" dress. This visual continuity suspends time throughout the books and creates a seamless telling with a shifting cast of characters.

Figure 29 - Millais, J.E. (1850-51) The Woodman's Daughter

Ford's "The Queen and the Crab" (Figure 28) embraces the pre-Raphaelites' focus on nature, and reflects a similar feeling of being surrounded by nature as John Everett Millais's "The Woodman's Daughter" (1850-51) (Figure 29). Both images are realised within the setting of a woodland (Jacobi, 2016:31). Both images tell of a written story, one a fairy tale, the other a poem. The sky has almost disappeared in "The Woodman's Daughter", and we can only see a patch of it in the centre top of the image peeping through the trees. The enclosing of the space is more advanced in Ford's "The Queen and the Crab" with the sky debatably absent, as the landscape is hemmed in against rocky cliffs. Nature, in this image is wilder, with a cascading waterfall drawing the eye in from the top right of the image to the centre. The waterfall is flanked by craggy cliffs, which host a barely discernible procession of women whose dresses echo the autumnal hues of the trees; the queen dressed in purple, richly embroidered robes that drape around her body. She wears a gold crown on her head with purple stones and a white, floating veil. The gold crown echoes the gold trim and girdles on her dress. The bottom of her dress displays a heraldic device. The huge crab dominates the foreground. The wood in "The

Woodman's Daughter" is a fresher, greener place. The greens of foliage are the prevalent colours against which the contrasting red of the boy's tunic stands out. The woodcutter and his daughter's clothes blend into the colours of the woodland more than the boy's so they seem more at home in the space. In both images, the figures stand out against the woodland, with the focus on humans rather than nature.

Andrew Lang's Fairy Books allowed Victorian children to imagine an unknown Africa. These books were constructed by the editor (Andrew Lang), the illustrator (Henry Justice Ford) and the twenty-eight translators and adaptors. The books were formed to reflect Lang's Anthropological views of a common humanity which is echoed in the inclusion of multiple versions of the same stories from different cultures. Ford's compositional devices show similarities, creating a sense of continuity throughout the books despite the differences in the sources of the tales. The books also reflect Ford's pre-Raphaelite influences with the focus on nature, detail and the past.

Chapter 7: Constructing Africa

Constructing Africa considers that *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* can provide a new additional form of representation of Africa and Africans other than those of missionaries, explorers and artists. However, these sources provide the context of the production and reception of *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books*. I establish that these representations are produced for European gaze and contain distortions. They are representations of Africa in Europe and must be read through this context. I identify the trend to include African tales in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books;* how this is played out throughout the series in the prefaces, text, and images. With the series, Africa is also depicted from without in the tales (and their illustrations) from other countries in the books. In examining the representation of Africans in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books,* it becomes clear that Blackness and African-ness are not homogenised into one in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books,* as is often the depiction.

The description of African conquest and exploration until the mid-twentieth century is enormous and extremely varied, as were those practices themselves (Basil Davidson in Said, 1994:119). However, despite this variation, the records are predominately journals of men who represent Africa from the outside (Basil Davidson in Said, 1994:119). In forming the representations, information is extracted and translated; the details are taken out of one context and placed in another (Tobin, 1999:214). They are taken from the cultural and geographic landscape in which they are formed and placed within a European context. In the case of Lang's books, this means European literary and artistic traditions.

The African tales and images in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* provided another form of representation of Africa other than the reports and tales of missionaries and explorers. These had different objectives in representing Africa. Explorers sought to map the continent and then to accrue information regarding geography, medicine and anthropology in order to "tame" the land (Mudimbe, 1988:47). In order to raise public interest in expansion in Africa, myths about the "savage beasts" and "barbaric splendours" were circulated along with that of "the white man's grave". At the same time, they also presented a dehumanised image of Africa where British help was needed on humanitarian principles in order civilise and Christianise Africans and suppress the slave trade (Mudimbe, 1988:20). Missionaries also advocated the idea that Africans needed help to develop spiritually and culturally (Mudimbe, 1988:44). These were

powerful discourses, being “both signs and symbols of a cultural model” they formed a type of knowledge (Mudimbe, 1988:44). *Andrew Lang’s Fairy Books* offer an alternative representation to those created by people with religious and imperialist agendas.

The filtering of images through preconceptions is discussed by David Bindman and Henry Louis Gates, Jr (2012) in the preface to *The Image of the Black in Western Art* through scholar Barbara Johnson’s (1978) definition of a stereotype as “an already read text” (Bindman & Gates, 2012: xii). They argue that, before there was actual familiarity with Africans, Europeans were aware of many significations connected to “blackness” of black people (Bindman & Gates, 2012: xii). This allowed an array of imagined associations and traits to be attributed to them. Human “blackness” was a sign of evil; magic and witchcraft; irrationality; primitive innocence; ancient wisdom; savage nobility or ignobility; insatiable animalistic sexuality; and a tendency to be deeply devout (Bindman & Gates, 2012: xii). Blacks were seen as belonging on the opposite side to Reason (Bindman & Gates, 2012: xii). They dually represented the superstitions that the Enlightenment wished to remove, as well as a perceived innocence that man had lost in his materialism (Bindman & Gates, 2012: xii). The role of noble savage was sometimes assigned to Africans but, generally, they were cast as the epitome of ignobility (Bindman & Gates, 2012: xii). Some of these significations are picturesque, some are debased, and some are threatening, while others are seductive (Thomas, 1994:22). What they all are, are distortions (Thomas, 1994:22). These distortions disclose the concerns and impetuses of the observers rather than the supposedly represented (Thomas, 1994:22). The representations in *Andrew Lang’s Fairy Books* are distortions and reflect back to the European reader their imaginings of Africa.

Images of Africans, including those of H.J. Ford, would have been “already read” through and distorted by perceived notions created by stereotypes. Ford’s images were shaped by the place of their creation and the social structures of their time (Honour, 1989:288). While it is in some ways a sympathetic representation of colonised people, it is not innocent; veneration can restrict the growth of knowledge and appreciation of variation (Thomas, 1994:54). Ford depicts Africans as noble heroes and heroines, but he also equates them to nature, placing them in landscapes with few signs of domestication. He dresses them in simple furs with expanses of exposed flesh. This representation roots African people in the pre-industrialised past as the ‘noble savage’.

Europe and England were seeing representations of Africa in cartoons, in landscape paintings and botanical prints, as well as in photographs and the work of Picasso and his circle. Picasso's primitivism is described by Patricia Leighton (1990) as "an avant-garde gesture, as provocative rather than merely an appreciative act, with social as well as stylistic consequences" (Leighton, 1990:609). She argues that Picasso was not celebrating African culture or African artistic practices when he painted *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* (The Young Ladies of Avignon) (Figure 30) but, instead, he was attempting to subvert Western artistic traditions and the social order of which they were a part. The primitivists' view of Africa was romanticised and homogenised; they conflated many cultures into a monolithic 'African' culture (Leighton, 1990:610). They welcomed an imaged "primitive" Africa as an antidote to Western civilization. Picasso's views of Africa were not different to popular thought as he considered Africans to be primitive – he merely celebrated this so-called primitiveness instead of criticising it.

Figure 30 - Picasso, P. 1907. Les Desmoiselles d'Avignon

Artists, such as the English painter and traveller, Thomas Baines, who depicted Southern Africa in the mid-1800s, sought to represent the objective truth of the continent to the British public. Norfolk-born Thomas Baines was engaged as the artist and storekeeper on the famous Victorian missionary-explorer David Livingstone's Zambezi expedition (Carruthers & Arnold, 1995:48&50). Livingstone received much recognition for his exploration of the African continent and for 'opening' it for other Europeans to bring Christianity, civilisation and commercial endeavours to the continent (Carruthers & Arnold, 1995:48-49).

Cape Town at this point, was a main city of the colony that was well established and had been in the control of the British for almost half a century (Carruthers & Arnold, 1995:24). Following the work of William Burchell and Anders Sparrman, Baines developed an interest in geographical exploration (Carruthers & Arnold, 1995:26). He received his orders as the expedition artist from Livingstone in April 1858 (Carruthers & Arnold, 1995:50). They demanded that he produce "faithful representations of the general features of the country… make drawings of wild animals and birds…delineate for the general collection…useful and rare plants, fossils and reptiles…draw average specimens of the different tribes" (Carruthers & Arnold, 1995:50).

Baines positioned his paintings as journalistic recordings first, and aesthetic objects second (Carruthers & Arnold, 1995:79). The poster for his 1850 public exhibition in King's Lynn of his "Panorama Views and Paintings of Southern Africa" makes this view clear. The poster informs us that "the scenery, is represented on a bold scale in several large views, and the Exhibition is rendered further instructive by a collection of Natural History, Birds, Beasts, Insects and Vegetables…also Costumes and Implements including the complete dress of a Caffir Chief" (Carruthers & Arnold, 1995:79). The poster focuses on the paintings as didactic information using words, such as "instructive", and listing items that the viewer will be able to interrogate. Baines was well known in scientific circles and, within that environment, which held empiricism in high esteem and believed that the objective truth could be discovered through rational enquiry, his pictures were examined as factual evidence of life in Africa at the time (Carruthers & Arnold, 1995:83).

The landscapes Baines depicted were, for the most, unknown to the British public or, indeed, the colonialists (Carruthers & Arnold, 1995:92). Baines approached the landscapes with the mindset of a nineteenth-century imperialist: he viewed the land as being open for British use and ownership (Carruthers & Arnold, 1995:92). In *The Life and Work of Thomas Baines,* Jane Carruthers and Marion Arnold argue that, thematically, the landscapes are metaphorical as much as they are factual (Carruthers & Arnold, 1995:92). The landscapes depict specific spatial places (Carruthers & Arnold, 1995:92). But these views, which are broken by natural barriers, also embed an idea of travel which represents expansionist ideology (Carruthers & Arnold, 1995:92). These barriers of mountains and rivers interrupt the space and provide an obstacle to be crossed and "conquered", allowing the territory to be explored further (Carruthers & Arnold, 1995:92). The viewer (and alluded with him is the colonialist) is invited to enter into the terrain and take possession of it through the gaze (Carruthers & Arnold, 1995:92).

Figure 31 - Baines, T. 1862. Hippo shoot near Logier Hill

Baines and Ford both created landscapes that speak of the dangers of African waters and the need to traverse them. Baines' "Hippo Shoot near Logier Hill (1862)" (Figure 31) is structured so that the foreground takes up nearly half of the image. The foreground is comprised of a body of water inhabited by a pod of hippos. The hippos are depicted as large snorting bulks. The central hippo opens his maw wide, showing his huge yellow ivories, and lending weight to their reputation as the most dangerous large land animal in Africa. The other hippos lie submerged, half-hidden dangers which mimic rocks and, thus, start to blend with the land itself. The water is not serene, the surface is ruffled with tiny ripples; it appears troubled. There is an open stretch of land beyond the water before progressing into some low hills. The hills are populated by scrubby and, for the most part, bare brown trees. There is a valley in the centre of the image which is formed by two hills. This channels the viewer's gaze into the hinterland of the image. But the viewer cannot see what lies there, as a tree obstructs his view. He must travel into, and claim the landscape in order to see it.

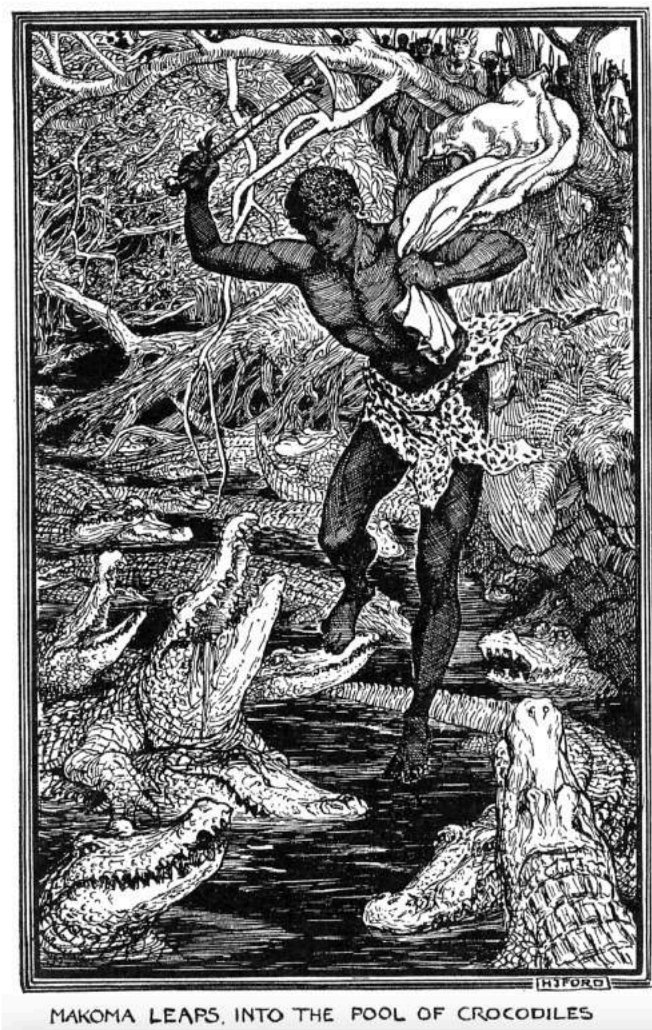

Figure 32 - Ford, H.J. 1906. Makoma leaps into the Pool of Crocodiles (Lang, 1906:3)

Figure 33 - Burne-Jones, E. 1866. The Fight- St George kills Dragon VI

Ford's illustration, "Makoma Leaps into the Pool of Crocodiles" (Figure 32), also depicts African waters filled with dangerous beasts. In this image, it is crocodiles rather than hippos that wait, jaws agape, in the dark waters. The landscape evokes wild, untamed danger. The black male figure of Makoma dominates the undomesticated landscape. He is dressed only in what appears to be a leopard-skin loincloth. The animal-skin loincloth becomes a marker of primitivism and savagery against the abundantly enclosing Edwardian clothing worn in Britain in 1906.[42]. The wearing of fur literally dresses Makoma in the savagery of the beasts. Makoma's dark skin is used to pull the viewer's eye to the centre of the image and to him. The viewer is thus made conscious of the blackness of his body against the less densely worked surroundings. The landscape is rugged and unmanicured, with tangled trees forming the background. Peering from behind the tangled trees, we see a large host of men carrying weapons and wearing headdresses. These men and the crocodiles appear to be focused on Makoma. Despite these threatening stares, Makoma's lithe muscular body and confident grasp of his weapon suggest that he will escape unscathed. The crocodiles, Makoma and the villagers form a diagonal from the bottom left to top right. The viewer's gaze is moved between a mass of writhing crocodiles and the wall of armed people, tracking Makoma's movement between the two. Makoma is depicted as conquering the landscape. This suggests that the land is not

[42] Women in Britain in 1906 are dressed in figuring, encompassing dresses with high necks, and slightly puffed elbow-length sleeves.

open for European settlers, as it has already been conquered and is ruled by the local inhabitants.

The positioning of Makoma as the hero in this image is readily apparent when it is compared with Edward Burne-Jones' "The Fight – St George Kills Dragon VI" (1864) (Figure 33); "Makoma Leaps into the Pool of Crocodiles" mirrors "The Fight – St George kills Dragon VI" in showing the hero besting reptilian foe(s). St George has a billowing red cape and pins the dragon, with its mouth agape, down with his sword, while in Ford's image, Makoma faces the open jaws of a crocodile and appears ready to strike it with his raised hammer. The cloth that Makoma holds tightly in his other fist floats over his shoulder mimicking the action of St. George's cape. Both images reflect prevalent Victorian views that had been perpetuated, of masculinity being tied to heroic physical action. Victorian ideals of heroic masculinity are being projected on both the body of St George and Makoma in their comparable representations. This similarity of depiction not only entrenches these ideas of masculinity but cements the depiction of Makoma as a hero. The title, "The Story of the Hero Makoma", the positioning of Makoma in his story, and the hero depiction creates a representation in which Victorian and Edwardian children can see an African hero and identify themselves with him through the act of reading.

Andrew Lang's Fairy Books present us with two ways to imagine Africa. They show us Africa as strange and exotic. But they also inadvertently show us an Africa that is equal in its tale production to Europe, although it does not show the different objectives of the stories such as passing on important indigenous knowledge. It presents us with a presentation of Africa through its (albeit edited) own stories. Africans are humanised by being represented in the same contexts as Europeans. The idea of the separation between the English and the people that they subjugated is negated, as they are literally connected by the binding of the books. Within the covers of the books, they share equal status as creators and heroes of tales with their European counterparts. The cultural form of a book is rooted in Western tradition and creates "the power to narrate, or to block other narrations from forming and emerging", which is central in linking culture and imperialism (Said, 1994: xiii). But it also provides the opportunity, through differing narratives, to suggest an alternative to the colonial space, life or otherness.

Europeans are positioned in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* as having control and power over Africans, as the Europeans, in the form of the collectors, previous publishers, translators, editor and illustrator, determine how Africans are represented. Lang's voice is the voice of authority in the introductions, while the African voice is only present in the tales themselves, after being filtered through a European perspective. The African stories remain a projection of Europe. Despite Gillian Lathey's (2010) argument that "it is hardly possible to speak of children experiencing difference through these early translations of fables and romances, since multiple retellings had removed most cultural markers", it was still a chance for African narratives to be heard in Britain, even if cultural markers were lost (Lathey, 2010:79).

While the stories appear to equalise African and European tales, there is a subtle shift in how they are represented. African tales are presented as tales that are currently told in Africa, while the European tales are positioned as tales from the distant past. This is reflected in the eschewing of contemporary dress in the European illustrations in favour of a medieval style. Africa of the day is, thus, located in the Europe of the past. Within the tales, they are presented in the same way, but the illustrations tend to make Africans appear primitive through dress and lack of the perceived accoutrements of civilisation and, thus, dehumanise them.

In representing Africa through fairy tales, it is shown as a place of myth and fantasy. In "The Little Hare" from *The Pink Fairy Book* for example, Africa is shown to be the home of some scary mythical monsters, the "nyamatsanes". These are rendered in an illustration by Ford entitled "The Nyamatsanes Return Home" (Figure 34). But *nyamatsane* simply means "herbivore" in Sesotho. It is Ford who chooses to imagine the nyamatsanes as scary, black-horned anthropomorphic figures with large, clawed feet, big white eyes and tails.

In the story a man is sent by his wife to get her the liver of a nyamatsane to eat for dinner. The man has to travel far to get to the place where the nyamatsanes live, which is on the edge of a great marsh. The nyamatsanes, we are told, are not initially home because they are out hunting, as their larder is empty. The only person who is home is their old, feeble grandmother. The husband promptly kills the grandmother, dresses in her skin and pretends to be her. The nyamatsanes come home and they encourage their grandmother to eat stones and jump over a ditch with them. Again, they go hunting and the man leaves with grandmother's liver. On returning from the expedition, the nyamatsanes discover their grandmother's skin. The man

traveling home sees a cloud of dust and is concerned that it is the nyamatsanes (it is) and that they will tear him to pieces. He hides himself on top of a magic stone that becomes a giant rock. With the help of his rock, the man makes it home where he is safe from the nyamatsanes because they are afraid of the dogs. The nyamatsanes thus thwarted, return home. It is their defeated homecoming that Ford seeks to represent. The woman eats the nyamatsane's liver and is seized by extreme thirst so that she drinks the springs, wells, river and lake dry.

Figure 34 - Ford, H.J. 1897. The Nyamatsanes Return Home (Lang, 1897:325)

Ford's image demonises the nyamatsanes, who, in the story, appear to be living peacefully until they are hunted by the man, and their grandmother is killed, whereupon they quite understandably want revenge, which is denied to them. While the story says they go on a "hunting expedition" this could simply mean that they were looking for things to eat, not looking for something to kill and eat. Their name suggests they are herbivores and the only thing we actually hear of them eating during the course of the story are rocks. Even in their moment of defeat and suffering, Ford demonises them. He shows the outline of the village on the horizon, complete with multiple huts, palm trees and dogs. The sky to the right of the village is marked with striations as if the sun were rising or setting and its rays were moving across

the sky. The land in the foreground is left completely blank, occupied only by the densely-worked figures of the nyamatsanes and their shadows. Ford has depicted them as one huddled threatening mass. He has chosen to render them using threatening elements, which suggest evil. They are literally the colour of darkness. Their horns are not those of a small buck or gazelle but rather they are redolent of the devil's horns. For contemporary readers, they bring to mind Sendak's "wild things", with their over-sized hands and feet which hang heavily off their bodies. Their nails are not the manicured, short nails of domesticated creatures but are dangerously long and curved. Many of their hands are clenched in fists and they are menacingly hunched over. The overall impression that they make is one of an angry mob walking towards the viewer as if they intend to beat them up. It is an extremely aggressive depiction of what essentially is a group of herbivores who have just suffered a terrible loss and have been defeated in their quest for revenge. The reader will not question this logic, as they are not provided with translation. It can seem potentially true to the reader to whom the inhabitants of Africa were not extensively known, and the presence of monsters, in general, are common in mapping the land in cartography and in fairy tales. These representations use the fascination of the child's gaze and invite the adult to unabashedly embrace that kind of wondrous stare. The depictions of the nyamatsanes, are created and read in the context of "Darkest" Africa and the horrors it was alleged to contain.

In *The Yellow Fairy Book* (1894), Lang links the small (relative to European physiques) physical build of some African people back into the fantastical world of fairy tales saying: "As to Giants, they have died out, but real Dwarfs are common in the forests of Africa" (Lang, 1894: xi). This action dehumanises Africans while almost negating their reality by pushing them into the realm of fairy tale. Fairy tale is an interesting space in this way for processing the unknown and also for displacing it away from us. *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* are a space of fantasy projections, but these projections do not show a uniform generic representation of Africa. They show us Africans as black and wearing fur loincloths and battling dangerous beasts in their landscapes, such as Makóma; yet they also show white Africans, dressed in rich robes, in a palace, being offered jewels, in "The Clever Cat" and "The Story of The Gazelle". The choice to show any kind of racial, cultural, or geographical difference was a creative decision made in Ford and Lang's collaboration. They chose to acknowledge difference as well as similarities in constructing their representations through these tales.

Of the twenty-seven tales from Africa, only six stories are not represented in images. Altogether there are forty-six images visually representing the African stories. Colour, in the form of half tone plates, is used in only three images, “The Gazelle” from “The Story of a Gazelle” (Lang, 1901:146),[43] “The Nunda, Eater of People” from a story of the same name (Lang, 1901:254), and “The Princess and the Snake” from “The Prince and the Three Fates” (Lang, 1904:238). There are eleven full-page prints and thirty-two in-text images. This is a fairly comprehensive visual representation of these stories and creates a second window next to the text through which to imagine Africa. A window which is shaped by H.J. Ford’s imagining of Africa and visualisation of the tales. Henry J. Ford’s representations of the tales from Africa were not based on strong research and specific cultural knowledge. But they do not present us with one completely homogenous vision of Africa either. They were created by an Englishman in England, who would not have been under huge pressure to be accurate in his depictions of all the different cultures from which the fairy tales came. This leniency perhaps stems from the ubiquitous homogenising and othering of cultures outside of Britain, as well as the positioning of European tales in their primitive past, not their present.

The first visual representation the reader sees of an African tale in *Andrew Lang’s Fairy Books* is in the fifth book of the series, *The Pink Fairy Book* (1897); “The Jackal, the Dove, and the Panther”. The image is called “The Baboon wishes to see the panther’s children” (Figure 35). The leopard (panther) and the baboon are presented in the midground with the foreground seemingly cropped away, making the space feel compressed. The space is filled with trees, large boulders, and spiky plants. The bodies of the leopard and baboon together with a tree make a vertical column a third of the way across the image. In the third to the left, the jackal lurks, looking over their shoulders. The action is directed through the baboon and the leopard’s gaze as they stare into a cleft between two rocks. The monkey is inserting a stick into the cleft and bees are flying out. The image is very densely worked with the animals’ pelts, the foliage, and a textured sky. It shows us a representation of Africa as a place associated with, and inhabited by, these exotic (to the European readers) animals and, therefore, a sense of untamed wildness.

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[43] *The Violet Fairy Book* (1901).

Figure 35 - Ford, H.J. 1897. The Baboon wishes to see the panther's children. (Lang,1897:319)

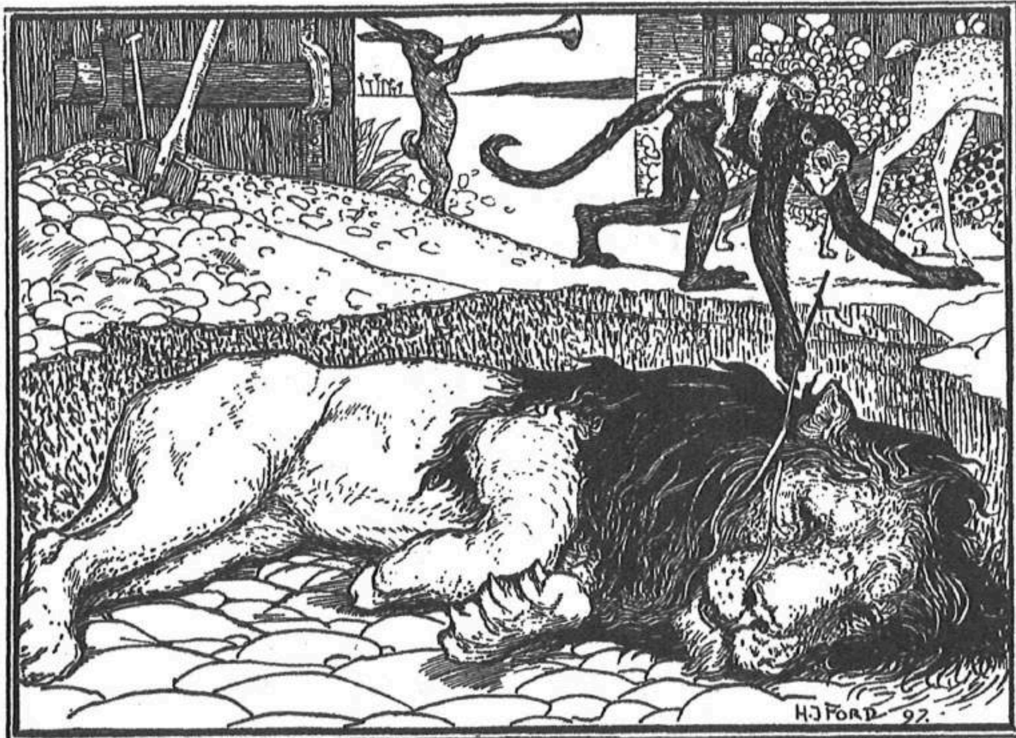

Figure 36 - Ford, H.J. 1897. Untitled (Lang, 1897:329)

In this first glimpse of Africa in the books, both the text and the image are devoid of people and are dominated by animals and vegetation. This kind of representation of Africa carries through and is expanded in the next two images in “The Little Hare”. Firstly, we are shown the depiction of the nyamatsanes (Figure 34) as menacing anthropomorphic, dark-skinned creatures traversing a barren landscape on whose edge is a fringe of trees and huts. The following image is “Untitled” (Figure 36) and has a large lion lying in the foreground. The left half of the image is relatively empty, depicting space and raw materials; stones, rocks, a couple of digging implements and wooden structure in the top left corner. The wooden structure stops to create a gap in the top center of the image. This space is occupied by a hare blowing a trumpet. There is an empty expanse framed behind the hare, which shows a row of trees on the left and a dark low mountainous shape on the left. A monkey with a baby on its back is positioned above the lion and its curled tail protrudes into the framed space of the hare. The monkey reaches down to tickle the sleeping lion, linking the mid and foreground. Walking out of the frame is the rear end of a buck. The viewer is again presented with an Africa that is populated by wild animals suggesting that it is *terra nullius* and open to be claimed by Europeans.

This view of a wilderness populated by animals is echoed later in the series in “The Heart of a Monkey” in *The Lilac Fairy Book* (1910), in which the reader is presented with interactions between a shark and monkey (Figure 37). In the second of the two images that feature these, there is a boat with two tiny human paddlers in the background, hinting at human settlement of the nearby land. The story goes on to visually represent a donkey, lion, and hare in “The Donkey expected the Lion would speak of their Marriage” (Figure 38). The three are shown fully occupying the space at the entrance to a cave and the scrub around it, cementing the idea of landscape predominately inhabited by animals.

Figure 37 - Ford, H.J. 1910. The monkey feeds the shark (Lang, 1910:43)

Figure 38 - Ford, H.J. 1910. The Donkey expected the Lion would speak of their Marriage (Lang, 1910:49)

Africa appears in the prologues of books three to eleven. It is given in book three, *The Green Fairy Book* (1892), as the site of the oldest written fairy tale, specifically in Egypt: "The oldest fairy tales ever written down were written down in Egypt, about Joseph's time, nearly three thousand five hundred years ago" (Lang, 1892:x). Through Egypt, Africa is defined here as literate and the first to make oral knowledge fixed and transmissible in the same form of *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* themselves – text.

In *The Pink Fairy Book* (1897), *The Grey Fairy Book* (1900), *The Violet Fairy Book* (1901), *The Crimson Fairy Book* (1903), and *The Orange Fairy Book* (1906), the prefaces all introduce the idea that fairy tales are ubiquitous throughout the world, including Africa. Some, like *The Pink Fairy Book* (1897), almost contradictorily equate the stories that come from Africa with societies of the past while, at the same time, describing them as a part of a global fairy tale human impetus. In lines such as, "The Kaffirs of South Africa tell them, and the modern Greeks, just as the old Egyptians did" (Lang, 1897: Preface), Lang tries to relocate Africa to the past; a critical comment of lack of progress from Industrialist Britain. Yet he will later say things such as; "The tales in the Grey Fairy Book are derived from many countries–Lithuania, various parts of Africa, Germany, France, Greece, and other regions of the world" (Lang, 1900: Preface). Here, he locates Africa within the global context of humanity of its time. Arguably, Lang is struggling to reconcile his belief in monogenesis and a single connected humanity with a deep-seated impulse to position Africa as being inferior to Europe. Throughout the books, there is this tension between flattening and celebrating a common storytelling tradition and maintaining distance between Europe and Africa.

In looking at the distribution of tales from different continents across Lang's series, we see tales from Australia only towards the end of the series: two tales each in books nine and twelve, *The Brown Fairy Book* (1904) and *The Lilac Fairy Book* (1910). Stories from America feature in three of the books, also predominately towards the end of the series in books four, nine and ten. Book nine, *The Brown Fairy Book,* has a large concentration of these tales, featuring eight American tales, making up 25% of the book. Fourteen tales (3%) come from America in the entire series. After book four, *The Yellow Fairy Book* (1894), tales from Africa appear in every one of the eight remaining books. Twenty-seven of the tales in the series (6%) are from Africa.

Distribution of tales from Europe, Africa, Asia, America, Australia/Oceania and unknown sources in Andrew Lang's Fairy Books

Position	**Title (Date)**	**Europe**	**Unknown**	**Asia**	**Africa**	**America**	**Australia**
1	Blue (1889)	27 (73%)	6 (16%)	4 (11%)	0	0	0
2	Red (1890)	34 (92%)	3 (8%)	0	0	0	0
3	Green (1892)	38 (91%)	3 (7%)	1 (2%)	0	0	0
4	Yellow (1894)	25 (56%)	17 (38%)	0	0	3 (7%)	0
5	Pink (1897)	34 (83%)	1 (2%)	4 (10%)	2 (5%)	0	0
6	Grey (1900)	17 (49%)	13 (37%)	0	5 (14%)	0	0
7	Violet (1901)	23 (66%)	3 (9%)	5 (14%)	4 (11%)	0	0
8	Crimson (1903)	24 (67%)	6 (17%)	4 (11%)	2 (6%)	0	0
9	Brown (1904)	12 (38%)	0	7 (22%)	3 (9%)	8 (25%)	2 (6%)
10	Orange (1906)	19 (58%)	0%	3 (9%)	8 (24%)	3 (9%)	0
11	Olive (1907)	8 (30%)	0	18 (67%)	1 (4%)	0	0
12	Lilac (1910)	26 (81%)	0	2 (6%)	2 (6%)	0	2 (6%)
	Total	**287 (66%)**	**52 (13%)**	**48 (11%)**	**27 (6%)**	**14 (3%)**	**4 (1%)**

The book with the most tales from Africa is book number ten, *The Orange Fairy Book* (1906); it contains eight African tales (24%). There are forty-eight tales from Asia in the series, making up 11% of all the tales. The tales from Asia are told throughout the series, peaking in book eleven, *The Olive Fairy Book,* with eighteen tales. This is the lion's share of the tales in that book, 67%, and it is the only book where a continent other than Europe dominates the book.

The trend of including African tales in the books occurs after the 1894 publication of *The Yellow Fairy Book*. At this time, Britain was coming to terms with the relationships with Africa that its empire-building had created and was creating. In 1884, Basutoland was tied to the British Empire when it was made a protectorate. In 1888, Southern Rhodesia became a protectorate, as did Zanzibar two years later in 1890. Sudan was ruled alongside Egypt by the British from 1898. These countries were starting to enter the consciousness of the country that had colonised them. Inclusion in these books shows a desire for these places to be represented, possessed, and consumed.

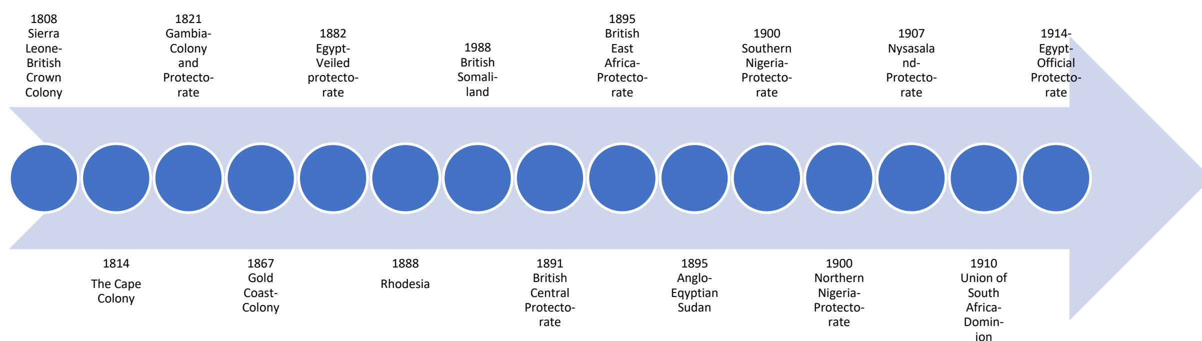

Figure 39 - Timeline: The colonisation of Africa by the British, showing the acquisition of colonies, protectorates and dominions

Most of the tales in the series come from Europe: 287 tales representing 66% of the total. One can presume that this plethora of tales from Europe was selected because of their accessibility in publications and because of their familiarity. People would recognise and identify many of

these tales as familiar friends, and they would shape what a fairy tale was in the context of the anthology. Fifteen of the twenty-seven African tales are from places which were either British protectorates or, in the case of the Sudan, under Anglo-Egyptian rule.[44] Three tales come from Southern Rhodesia (modern-day Zimbabwe), which was a protectorate from 1888. "How Isuro the Rabbit tricked Gudu"[45] is referenced as from the Mashona, who are inhabitants of that region. "The Story of the Hero Makoma" and "The Magic Mirror" are ascribed to the Senna.[46] From Basutoland, now called Lesotho, come four tales "The Jackal, the Dove, and the Panther"; "The Little Hare";[47] "The Jackal and the Spring";[48] and "The Sacred Milk of Koumongoe".[49] Basutoland became a British Protectorate in 1884. Two tales[50] in *The Brown Fairy Book* (1904) are listed as *Contes Populaires*, presumably *The Contes Populaires des Bassoutos,* like the other, "The Sacred Milk of Koumongoe". Five tales, "The Story of a Gazelle", "The Nunda", "The Story of Hassebu",[51] "The One-Handed Girl" and "The Heart of a Monkey"[52], were attributed to Swahili and places them in Zanzibar, a protectorate since 1890. "Samba the Coward"[53] is the Sudanese tale.

The other twelve tales come from African countries that were colonised by other European powers at the time. Four tales[54] from *The Grey Fairy Book* (1900) and one[55] from *The Violet Fairy Book* (1901) came from Libya, which was under Ottoman rule until 1911. One tale[56] from *The Crimson Fairy Book* (1903) is from Tunisia, which was occupied by the French after 1881. Two tales come from Mozambique: one[57] in *The Crimson Fairy Book* and one[58] in *The Orange Fairy Book* (1906). Mozambique was under Portuguese rule from 1505. Algeria, which was a French colony after 1830, contributed four tales,[59] all in *The Orange Fairy Book*.

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[44] From 1899.
[45] From *The Orange Fairy Book.*
[46] Both are from *The Orange Fairy Book.*
[47] From *The Pink Fairy Book.*
[48] From *The Grey Fairy Book.*
[49] From *The Brown Fairy Book.*
[50] "Father Grumbler" and "The Husband of the Rat's Daughter".
[51] These three are from *The Violet Fairy Book.*
[52] Both from *The Lilac Fairy Book.*
[53] From *The Olive Fairy Book.*
[48] "The Story of Dschemil and Dschemila"; "Udea and her Seven Brothers"; "Mohammed with the Magic Finger" and "The Daughter of Buk Ettemsuch".
[55] "The Story of Halfman".
[56] "The Death of Abu Nowas and of his Wife".
[57] "Motikatika".
[58] "The Rover of the Plain".
[59] "The Clever Cat"; "The Adventures of a Jackal"; "The Adventures of the Jackal's Eldest Son"; and "The Adventures of the Younger Son of the Jackal".

All the tales from Africa in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* come from places that were colonised by European countries. The process of colonisation can be seen as a problematic conduit of these tales and African cultures into Europe. Like the need for acknowledgement of the terrain's composition to be verified by a European eye, these stories are given authenticity by being filtered through a European publication or collector. But the presence of these tales within Europe attested to a European audience that African cultures and civilisations existed and that they had a prior claim on the land, despite coming from lands that were mapped and claimed through European conquest.

The sources of fifty-two tales (12%) are not provided by Lang. He gives no indication as to why most of the stories are given a source and why he has not provided any for these tales. His referencing throughout the series is a mishmash ranging from nothing, to a people, to a specific publication. In the last four books, however, all the sources are given. His poor referencing is problematic, and can be seen to position his inclusion of non-Western tales as an act of appropriation. This occurs when he fails to give clear credit to the source. With captions, such as "from the Senna" "Mashona story" "A Pathan Story", "From the Pushto", "from the Journal of Anthropological Institute", Lang identifies the tales as belonging to cultures not people. Yet for the majority of the European tales, he indicates from which books and authors he has borrowed them.

In *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books,* Africa is represented through a small number of its peoples, languages, and cities. There is a split between identifying people from the land they occupy and the language they speak. Lang's books identify three peoples based on land, one of which is focused on a city, Tripoli. However, six of the peoples are identified through language with no direct ties to land shown.[60] We see southern Africa identified through the Senna (people who predominately live in Mozambique but also in Malawi and Zimbabwe), Mashona (a language in now-Northern Zimbabwe) and the Bassoutos (via French, the Sotho or Basothu a people living in Lesotho and South Africa) and the Boranga (a people in Southern

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[60] Here I am not including the two tales that are attributed as being African, Lang only gives "Contes Populaires". This makes them fundamentally difficult to work with. Only one of the tales, "Father Grumbler" in *The Brown Fairy Book* (1904), is described in images. These representations are very different to the others that imagine Africa. They appear to be characters placed in environments that resemble other representations in the books of European peasants.

Mozambique). Then there is a group of stories that come from the top of Africa, from the Berbers in Algeria, from the City of Tripoli in Libya, and a story each from Egypt and Sudan. And then a group of stories that are attributed to Swahili, a language largely spoken in Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi, Kenya, and Somalia. The representations are spread along the eastern side of Africa, with central and western Africa severely under-represented. Very few parts of Africa are represented when compared to its whole.

Figure 40 – Map of Africa Showing Tale Origins in Andrew Lang's Fairy Books

THE GAZELLE BRINGS THE DIAMOND TO THE SULTAN

Figure 41 - Ford, H.J. 1901.The Gazelle Brings The Diamond To The Sultan (Lang, 1901:131)

In the Swahili images, there is interesting interplay between black and white relations, as the protagonists and ruling class are white, while black people appear in “The Story of the Gazelle” in the form of servants. “The Story of the Gazelle”, in its first visual representation, “The Gazelle Brings the Diamond to the Sultan” (Figure 41) shows us the gazelle presenting a huge sparkling rock to a fair-skinned man with a long, flowing, pale beard and moustache. He sits on a throne, the armrests of which are carved in the shape of birds, and, on his head, he wears a massive billowing turban. In the shadows behind him, waiting on him, are a black servant girl who gently fans him with a feathered fan, a white armoured guard behind her, and below them, a black child servant clad only in a loincloth, jewelry and turban, who is holding an ornate teapot and saucer. A third black figure is barely discernable standing behind the Sultan’s right shoulder. Tied to orientalism, black servants are relegated to the background to highlight the white masters. The black servants form a decorative dark background that recedes behind the light foreground, which is occupied by the Sultan and the Gazelle. The image represents Africa as a place that is populated by both white and black people, but that the darker-skinned people are subservient to the lighter-skinned people, as they are given a servile role.

The room is divided by three decoratively carved pillars, and there is a large hookah pipe on the floor, the end of which is in the Sultan’s hand. Africa is shown as a place of great wealth in its possession of diamonds, and in the richness of the palace and the jewelry worn by the servants. We see hints at the region’s history of trade with the East. The people are depicted wearing turbans and the architecture suggests pillared domes. Elements of décor, such as ceramic tiles, textiles, moucharaby work and ornaments, are used to localise the images and root them in Africa (Honour, 1989:103-4). The oriental aspects could be seen to reflect the rich history of trade that the east coast of Africa has with Asia, or that it embraces orientalism as way of othering, as a way of imagining.

In the half-tone print, “The Gazelle” (Figure 42) we are presented with two black servants looking after the Gazelle while their white mistress observes them as they carry out her commands. The servants are literally lower than her, as she looks down at them from the top of a flight of stairs. The viewer is keyed into this being a servant’s space by the contrast between the cold colours and emptiness of the space which is dressed only with a brass lamp and warm red carpet. Meanwhile, the view past the red curtain into the mistress’s space shows warm, inviting colours and blue, hinting at the outlook through a window. Ford has used the interplay

between warm and cool colours to create spaces of desirability and exclusion. The representations broaden the view of what an African looks like by including Africans with pale complexions, but they also place black Africans as inferior by positioning them as servants.

Figure 42 - Ford, H.J. 1901. The Gazelle (Lang, 1901:146)

The land in the Swahili tales is shown as inhabited, as the images are filled with buildings: "The Story of Hassebu and the Snake" and "The Story of the Gazelle" show huge palatial buildings and while a hut appears in "How the Girl Lost her Hand" it is contextualised with the information in the text that the inhabitants are poor. In "The One-Handed Girl", the people are shown to be pale-skinned with dark hair. The style of dress shifts through the story and the status of each character. The one-handed girl is first presented wearing a straw conical hat in "How the girl lost her hand" (Figure 43). We are told that she and her brother are poor and they are depicted as wearing cloths draped around them; the brother is wearing a turban and a necklace. Their home is represented as surrounded by thick forest and takes the form of a thatched hut. In front of the hut, there is some domestication of the land in the form of a pumpkin patch. Poverty is given as a context for the lack of development and refinement in the clothes and buildings.

Figure 43 - Ford, H.J. 1910. How the girl lost her hand (Lang, 1910:188)

Figure 44 - Ford, H.J. 1910.The king's son finds the girl in the tree (Lang, 1910: 192)

In the next image in this story, "The king's son finds the girl in the tree" (Figure 44)*,* we are presented with a rather different style of dress. The one-handed girl seems be clad in a form-fitting richly patterned tunic dress. Her arm with the severed hand is wrapped in a cloth. She and the prince are almost camouflaged by their detailed clothing in all the lines of bark and leaves. They seem at one, almost integrated, with the natural environment which they inhabit. The prince wears a patterned turban, carries a long, straight sword, and is dressed from the neck down in armour. Below the tree in the bottom left corner is a black space where an armoured horse and man wait. In the subsequent image, the girl's clothes have become richer as befits her new station as the prince's wife (Figure 45). She wears an earring and several delicate necklaces, and a generous headscarf cascades from her head. Her dress has gained more refinements, indicating a wealth of cloth manufacturing knowledge. However, in contrast to these riches, her feet remain bare, and her child is naked. These two images display rich clothing which speak of a culture possessing developed manufacturing skills.

The focus of a good painting for the pre-Raphaelites was storytelling, and Ford plays out the progression of the story through these intimate and detailed scenes (Morris, 1892:143) The girl is sitting with her heels against a tree, as the tree mirrors and extends the line of her back. The branches and foliage form an arch over her head, containing her figure but also holding a sense of menace in the barely discernable figure of a monkey lurking above her head. The landscape behind her is hidden in shadows, pushing the viewer's attention forward to the action of a snake being released from a basket. The image creates tension as the girl releases the threat of the snake in her space. The space around the snake is blank, keeping the focus on the action. In the fourth image, the bodies of the girl, her baby and the snake form a triangle in the centre of the image (Figure 46). The scene represents the girl's celebration when the snake helps her to save her baby and to grow her hand back. The girl holds the naked baby above her head. We can see her face and its tender expression towards her baby. She is still clad in her trailing turban and hoop earrings. Her feet remain bare, but her clothing has become looser and more flowing. It appears to be tied up around her waist, suggesting that she knotted up her dress so that it would not get wet. Behind the naked baby is the twilit sky with a large moon passing behind the baby's bottom. These two white spots draw your attention into the image and create a sense of mystical wonder, speaking to images of naked bodies in the moonlight. The middle-ground is swallowed up by pure black and reveals only the outline of the land against the sky. The snake rests its coils on the twisting roots of a tree which grows up into the left side of the image. The foreground is filled with a pool of water surrounded by rushes.

Figure 45 - Ford, H.J. 1910. The one-handed girl befriends a snake (Lang, 1910:197)

Figure 46 - Ford, H.J. 1910. "My baby, my baby!" (Lang, 1910:198)

Figure 47 - Ford, H.J. 1910 The Girl asks the Snakes for the Ring and casket (Lang, 1910:204)

In the last image, “The Girl asks the Snakes for the Ring and casket” (Figure 47)*,* the baby has grown to a small child and clutches a doll, yet he is still naked. His mother’s wrapped, cloth dress leaves her shoulders bare, and she continues to wear her jewelry and turban. The tunnel with the small dot of light at the end and the knot of tangled roots descending from the top right corner, suggest that the scene is situated in a subterranean space. There is a strange juxtaposition between the sophisticated worked metals and jewel that snakes own, and their rustic living conditions resting on a bed of old leaves in an underground room. There is a lack of many of the so-called signs of civilisation and domestication of the space but there is this indication of knowledge, labour and craftsmanship inherent in the metalwork. Despite the story telling us that the one-handed girl lives in a town and a palace, we are visually shown only a thatched hut and undomesticated spaces.

Heading north on the map, the tales from these countries show a predominately white cast of characters; we see black people pictorially represented only in “Udea and her Seven Brothers”, in which there is a character labeled “the negro” and another called “the negro’s wife”. These representations (as discussed in Chapter 2) are not kind and situate the characters as distasteful in relation to the delicate Udea. As previously discussed, “Udea and her seven brothers” (Figure 25) also positions black Africans as servants. It further degrades them by making them evil and untrustworthy as they plotted against their mistress, Udea. There is a continuation of the white body dressed in oriental-esque clothing, interiors, buildings, and landscapes. It is particularly strong in the images from “The Clever Cat”. Hugh Honour (1989) argues that, in the nineteenth century, North Africa was a pictorial revelation; it captured the imagination of the creative minds of the time (Honour, 1989:86).

Figure 48 - Ford, H.J. 1900. Dschemila outwits the Ogre (Lang, 1900:46)

Figure 49 - Dschemila gets an Ass's Head (Lang, 1900:51)

Figure 50 - Ford, H.J. 1900. Dschemila gets rid of the Ass's Head (Lang, 1900:56)

Figure 51 - Ford, H.J. 1900. My Uncle is Coming (Lang, 1900:181)

The images in *The Grey Fairy Book* (1900) and *The Violet Fairy Book* (1901) depict light-skinned people in what seems to be Arabic or oriental dress. “The Story of Dschemil and Dschemila” (Figure 48, Figure 49 and Figure 50) first presents us with a maiden, Dschemila, wearing pantaloons, a headscarf and gold earrings, her dress is wrapped around her and has a dense floral motif. She has dark hair and pale skin. Her cousin, Dschemil, is also dressed in pantaloons. He wears knee-high boots with a tunic covered by a hauberk. Across his back is strapped a round shield, and he has a dagger and a curved sword. On his head, he wears a turban with a central embellishment with feathers. This kind of imagery continues in “Mohamed and the Magic Finger” and “The Story of Hassebu” (Figure 51 and Figure 52) with pale-skinned people in turbans. In “The Clever Cat”, we still see white figures in Arabian-style dress and the man accompanied by European domesticated animals, a cat, sighthound, and hunting bird in “I go to seek my fortune alone” (Figure 53).

Figure 52 - Ford, H.J. 1901. Hassebu & the Serpent King (Lang, 1901:267)

Figure 53 - Ford, H.J. 1906. I go to seek my Fortune Alone (Lang, 1906:136)

Figure 54 - Ford, H.J. 1901. The Nunda, Eater of People (Lang, 1901:254)

Figure 55 - Ford, H.J. 1901. The Prince finds the Nunda (Lang, 1901:254)

Turbans continue to make an appearance alongside domed, spiked helmets in “The Nunda, Eater of People” (Figure 54). However, the pale skin of the hero takes on a golden hue in the half-tone colour print, “The Nunda, Eater of People”. The leopard/tiger hybrid with its watermarked fur dominated the landscape and the people in “The Prince finds the Nunda” (Figure 55). The diagonal division between the Nunda and the landscape occupied by the people puts them literally in diametrically opposed positions. In this space, people are being pitted against the monstrous powers of nature in the form of the sleeping beast. Like the pre-Raphaelites, the landscapes are moody and evocative, and the dramatic situations are passionate (Stein, 1981:289).

Figure 56 - Ford, H.J. 1907. Samba is found skulking by his wife (Lang, 1907:110)

The illustration in "Samba the Coward", "Samba is found skulking by his wife" (Figure 56), seems to seek to exoticise the tale with the heavy use of leopard's skin and pattern. The scene takes place in a dark underground cellar which is full of large, patterned pots. Samba's wife's head is covered, and she wears big, hooped earrings and necklaces. At her waist, she wears a curved knife, and her dress is made up of layers of patterned fabrics, a metal breastplate, and the dominant leopard skins. Samba is crouched in the bottom right corner at her feet. She pulls at his cloak revealing his chainmail shirt. All the metal work, pottery, architecture, and weaving speak to the idea of a multi-skilled society, but it doesn't echo the sense of industrialised Britain in which the readers would have lived. The pictorial language of "Samba Found Sulking by His Wife" follows a tradition of representing fairy tales, such as "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves" with characters hiding around urns instead of in them. This familiar scene is given an African overlay with Samba's wife having a leopard skin fastened around her and the 'African' patterns on some of the urns.

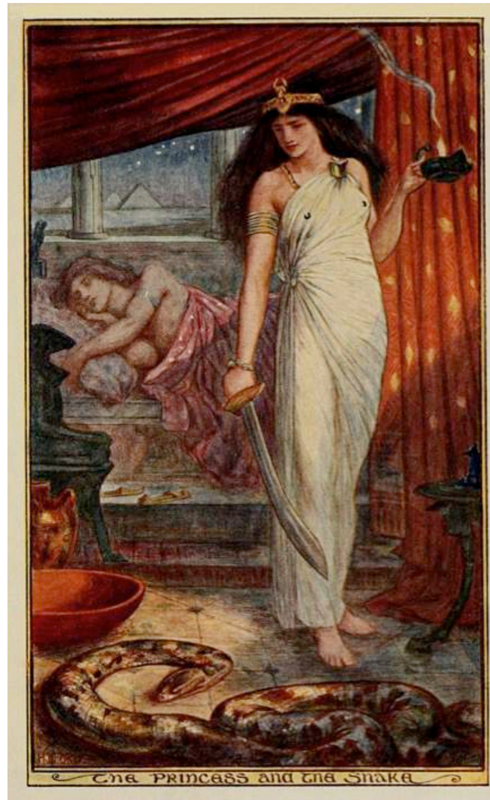

Figure 57 - Ford, H.J. 1904. The Princess and the Snake (Lang, 1904:238)

The stamp of a geographical location onto traditional fairy tale imagery is also seen in the tales from Egypt. Ford's images incorporate crowns seen in Egyptian artefacts, and the three pyramids in the background of "The Princess and the Snake" (Figure 57) bring markers that differentiate the tale as being from Egypt. The space inside the room is tiled and there is a raised dais on which the bed rests. The dais appears to be canopied in red fabric with yellow embellishments that hang in a curtain on the right side of the image. Two statues, which flank the bed that the fair prince lies on, are suggestive of Horus on the far-side and Anubis on the near. Next to Anubis sit an amphora and a large terracotta bowl. The prince lies seemingly asleep covered by a pink blanket, and in front of him stands his wife. She has a cloud of thick hair that contrasts against her pale skin and one-shouldered dress. On her head she wears a gold crown with a horned or crescent-shaped centrepiece. In her one hand, she holds a smoking oil lamp, and in her other hand she wields a broad curved sword which cuts through the middle of the image. The sword guides the eye down to her bare feet and past them to the massive snake a hair's breadth away from them at the bottom of the image.

Figure 58 - Ford, H.J. 1904. The Pool in the Sand (Lang, 1904:243)

The second image (Figure 58) in this tale is situated outside and this time it is a crocodile that lies in wait. The landscape is shown to be inhabited. There is a city structure with the suggestion of a harbour visible over the prince's left shoulder and there is a domed building hidden in a grove of trees over the princess's right shoulder. Behind them, the vegetation looks cultivated, as it is a line of a single crop with a harnessed donkey in its midst. There is also a spade lying behind the princess that was presumably used to dig the hole. Both the princess and prince are more richly dressed and shod. He wears armour, a cape, and a helmet/crown. Her dress is patterned and has more belts and embellishments while her hair has become rigid and is evocative of an Egyptian headdress or crown. The focal point of the image is the pool of water in the foreground. Attention is drawn down there by the gestures and gaze of the figures. Floating on top of this pool is a leafy twig which appears to have been cast down from the princess's outstretched hand.

These images evoke an idea of Africa which is rich and developed but still has lurking horrors in the form of dangerous reptiles. The princess's body is also depicted as more muscular than Ford's renditions of her European sisters, who have flowing limbs, while her arms show a

gentle bicep curl, perhaps suggesting that she has a more active life. Ford's illustrations created the idea of a historically white Egypt by choosing to depict the Egyptians as white. Had Ford chosen to depict them as black, he would have supported an understanding of an important Black African civilization and history; a history which is confirmed by the Greek writer, Herodotus, in his descriptions of Africans as being "dark skinned people with woolly hair" (Clarke, 1991: xix).

Herodotus in his *Histories* alludes to an expedition where the sun lay to the north which would indicate a successful navigation around southern Africa, which suggests further and more ancient interactions between Africa and Europe (Bam, 2021, 24). Cheikh Anta Diop (1923-1986) has this to say about ignoring this history: "The negation of the history and intellectual accomplishments of Black Africans was cultural mental murder, which preceded and paved the way for their genocide here and there in the world" (Diop, 1991:2). Choosing this representation of Egypt perpetuates an imperial ideology which attributes civilisation to white people.

Figure 59 - Ford, H.J. 1900. The Maiden creeps out of the Pot (Lang, 1900:282)

Figure 60 - Ford, H.J. 1900. The Daughter of Buk Ettemsuch (Lang, 1900:287)

"The Daughter of Buk Ettemsuch" from Tripoli, Libya in North Africa, has two images which reference a kind of medieval world of big stone castles making it appear more in keeping with the depiction of the European fairy tales. In the first image, "The Maiden creeps out of the Pot" (Figure 59), yet another fair maiden with dark hair appears; this time she is climbing out of a large pot, dressed in a simple bodice dress with an apron and decorated cap. She is tiny in comparison to the oversized space in which she finds herself. The flagstones are about a third of her size, while the wooden door with metal detailing looms above her. There is also an enormous broom in the corner made from rushes. A giant with a long moustache dressed in armour takes up the left vertical side of the image.

The second image (Figure 60) also plays off verticals as it forms a slit window on its page of text. As we follow the text from left to right down the page so do we follow the image on the right-hand side. We see the maiden's head and shoulders leaning out of the open window and staring down at the yoked ox. Between the girl and the ox, a fruit tree grows. Midway between the two, a young, crowned man in doublet and hose is perched in the branches of the tree. He is looking up at the maiden in the window. The eye follows the line of these three figures down. The space is that of a technologically skilled construction with the flat, smooth, high stone walls, metal and glass windows, paved courtyard, and tiled roof. The characters' dress places them in the past, in the medieval period. This is a nostalgic device used by the pre-Raphaelites and, indeed, by Ford in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* in his representations of Western tales. Here the African and Western tales are represented almost identically; only the dark hair of the girl and the identified source show the divergence from Europe.

In looking at the tales from Southern Africa, we are shown representations of black Africans. Confusing the narrative of a single racial vision of Southern Africa, Ford depicts two different racial representations. There are only five tales from Africa where the African people in the story are exclusively represented as Black. These tales are "Motikatika" (*The Crimson Fairy Book,* 1903), "The Sacred Milk of Koumougué" (*The Brown Fairy Book,* 1904), "The Story of the Hero Makóma" (*The Orange Fairy Book,* 1906), "The Magic Mirror" (*The Orange Fairy Book,* 1906) and "How Isuro the Rabbit tricked Gudu" (*The Orange Fairy Book,* 1906). In one tale from the Borango, "Motikatika", we are shown a black woman wearing a turban, with a beaded necklace and thick metal bracelets around her upper arm and ankles, while the other tale from the Borango, "The Rover of the Plain", shows a white woman with long, dark hair ornamented by a headband with pendants. She wears an elaborate necklace and clothing that reveals one of her breasts, clothing that stays in keeping with representations of generalised notions of African apparel. The images from the Mashona, Senna and Bassoutu all represent bodies that read as black. The men's bodies are a lot more muscular than their northern counterparts and there is much more unclothed flesh.

How GUDU danced & the bones rattled

Figure 61 - Ford, H.J. 1906. How Gudu danced and the bones rattled (Lang, 1906:35)

THE WOMAN AND THE OGRE

Figure 62 - Ford, H.J. 1903. The Woman and the Ogre (Lang, 1903:281)

In “How Isuro the Rabbit tricked Gudu” (*The Orange Fairy Book*, 1906), the people only form an audience to the actions of the rabbit and a baboon and are set against a white background (Figure 61). In “Motikatika” the image, “The Woman and the Ogre” (Figure 62), is a frightening yet comical image. The focal point is the large, black, horned, toothy head of the ogre protruding out of the water. He appears to be squinting his huge eyes at the woman. Her back is turned to us as she faces him, directing our attention to the ogre. It is the space between them that is filled with the tension of their interlocking gaze. Here we are presented with both a black monster and a black maiden, representing a common fairy tale scene in an African context. “The Story of the Hero Makóma” continues this concept, presenting us with a fairy tale hero – depicted as black – for his African context, an African hero.

In “The Rover of the Plains”, the characters are shown as white with dark hair, but the girl’s dress is filled with clothing tropes that would have suggested “exotic” or “ethnic” to the readers at the time. Her clothing contains beaded headbands and necklaces. It is tied and knotted in a way that exposes body parts, such as her breast, which would never be exposed in the Western world at this time. Likewise, “The Sacred Milk of Koumougué” plays upon tropes of Africans being semi-naked and dressed in furs. Ford’s in-text illustration, “Why do you give to the Ogre your Child, so fair, so fair?” (Figure 63) presents a proud, muscular black man dressed in leopard skins and walking while carrying a spear. His right side is naked showing a well-muscled physique. His body is adorned with beads and feathered bracelets, necklaces, and a head-dress. A bold earing echoes the line of his proudly lifted head. He is leading his daughter by her hand to the left of the image. She tilts her gaze downwards. Her fur clothing covers her body as if it is a dress, except for a high slit on her right-hand side, which reveals her body up to her hip. She is adorned with bracelets, three necklaces and hoop earrings. She wears what appears to be a crown or headband in her ear-length hair. This image depicts what the girl, Thakane, was described wearing earlier in the tale in the following passage: “Instead, he went outside and brought in two sheepskins, which he stained red and sent for a blacksmith to forge some iron rings. The rings were then passed over Thakane’s arms and legs and neck, and the skins were fastened on her, before and behind” (Lang, 1904:145). The significance of her dress is lost in the black-and-white illustration; although the skins and rings are present, they do not read as anything special when seen alongside the attire of her father. The prior reading of this text is needed to reveal this aspect of the illustration. The illustration allows this previously

mentioned aspect to be carried forward in the tale by being present in successive parts of the story. The image merely presents us with the idea of Africans dressed in furs and beads.

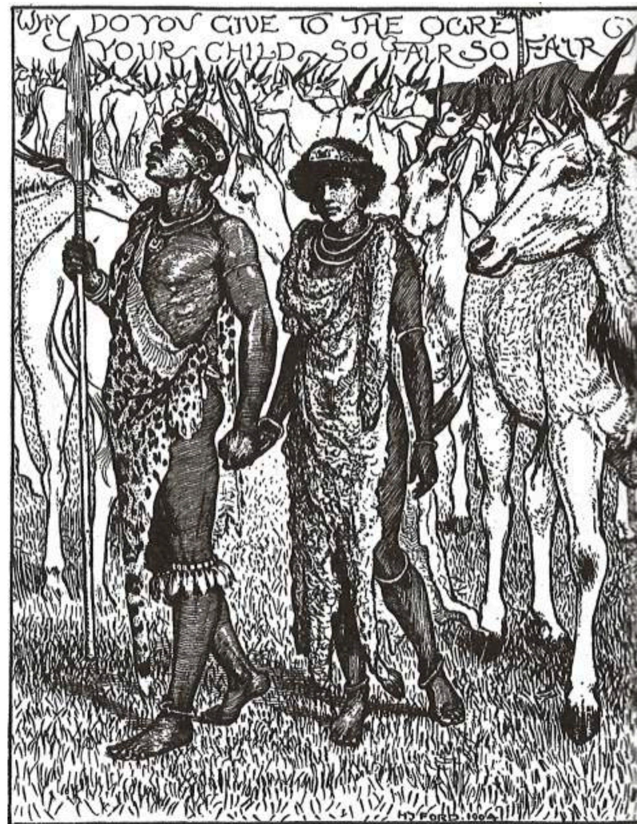

Figure 63 - Ford, H.J. 1904. "Why do you give to the Ogre your Child, so fair, so fair?" (Lang, 1904:146)

The southern African tales are depicted with less domesticated landscapes. The landscapes are shown to challenge the characters as they navigate their way. In "The Hero Makóma", the landscapes are filled with crocodiles, huge river gods, fire eaters dominating a terrain comprised of rock and stone, mountain tops battered by strong winds, and a giant. Gopani, in "Gopani Sees a strange Sight", is confronted with an antelope fighting a snake in his space. In "The Sacred Milk of the Koumougue", the figures are enveloped by the nature around them. In "Bring to me Dilah the Rejected One", the trees and plants surrounding the water enclose the figures, pushing inward towards the centre. While the figures are flanked entirely by a herd of Elands in "'Why do you give to the Ogre your child, so fair, so fair'". Peeping above their horns on the right-hand side of the image is a hill with a single hut perched on top. In "The Woman and the Ogre" we are shown nothing of the land, just an empty fringe of shore opening onto the expanse of water. In Ford's representations of the stories from the Borango, we see pots and pails and other utensils in use but there is no sign of habitation. The surroundings are

either removed from the image, such as in “Last of all she sang in a low voice a dirge over the Rover of the Plain”, or the landscape is densely filled with vegetation, pushing the characters towards the viewer in a claustrophobic space as in “The Rover of the Plain does the Girl’s Work”. While the people carry tools, the landscape is unmarked by human inhabitation, a stark contrast with the representations of northern Africa.

Figure 64 - Ford, H.J. 1906. Gudu drops a Stone into the Water (Lang, 1906:30)

The landscape remains predominately unrepresented in the images from “How Isuro the Rabbit tricked Gudu”. In “‘Where did you get that from?’ asked Isuro” (Figure 22), the figures of the hare and the baboon and the objects they are holding are the only things that appear. “Gudu drops a Stone into the Water” (Figure 64) anchors its figures a bit more into the landscape by depicting the trail of stones the pair are using to cross the water. These stones and their displacement of the water gives the viewer the barest suggestion of the space. People act as the main descriptors of the area in “How Gudu danced and the bones rattled” (Figure 61), where Gudu dances is only otherwise demarcated by a goat and grass. The animals are represented as free-floating on the page.

Africa has been homogenised into a single image through European representations prior to, and during, colonisation and Ford's representations of Africa both keep to this tradition and trouble it. In plotting the origins of the tales in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* on a map I categorised them as belonged to three main groups, stories from North Africa, stories from Swahili-speaking countries and stories from Southern or "Black" Africa. The Swahili and North African tales share similar depictions of Africa and Africans. Characters are white, with black servants. We are shown palaces containing possessions and clothing that display skilled craftmanship. These elements of material culture show signs of an Eastern influence and speak to a trade relationship with the Arabic world. But even here there are variations. The Egyptian tales reference the pyramids, the gods and other imagery from ancient Egypt, while the imagery of the Libyan tale, "The Daughter of Buk Ettemsuch" reads with the same medieval setting as the European tales.

In the images of the southern African tales, we see black protagonists. However not all the southern African tales visually depict black characters. In the two tales coming from the Borango (a people in southern Mozambique), one shows white characters, the other black. In the tales from Southern Africa, the characters, are dressed in fewer clothes, with furs and beads, presenting an imagery that is associated with Africa to this day. The landscapes shift from being depicted as inhabited by castles in the North African and Swahili tales to a less domesticated space in Southern Africa; landscapes filled with wild animals and strange gods. Southern Africa presents the image of a wild and untamed land inhabited by black people while the Swahili and North African images represent difference differently: there it is othered through its connection to orientalism.

Africa appears in a tale from outside Africa for the first time in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* in *The Blue Fairy Book* (1889), the original book in the series. These are representations of Africa as perceived from outside of Africa rather than from within and, thus, carry a different set of connotations. Africa is alluded to in "Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp", a tale from Asia originally from *The Arabian Nights*. On page 72, Aladdin is greeted by a man who claims to be his uncle but is, in fact, "a famous African magician". This magician is revealed to be a liar regarding his relationship to Aladdin and a wicked man, as he traps Aladdin in an underground cave. In its first representation, Africa receives a less than flattering depiction of one of its

people being a cruel charlatan. Africa enters the story again on page 217, where the princess says to the magician: "…but I am tired of the wines of China, and would fain taste those of Africa". An interesting set up which appears to equalise China and "Africa" in terms of wine production and shows interaction and trade between continents instead of showing them as wholly separate. This is the first of five tales that come from outside of Africa that represent Africa. Three of these references are to Egypt.

In *The Grey Fairy Book* (1900), "The Simpleton"[61] has its main character, Moscoine, mount a horse and head for Venice, "hoping to find a ship there that would take him to Cairo" (Lang, 1900:309). "The Story of the Sham Prince, or the Ambitious Tailor" from *The Crimson Fairy Book* (1903) tells the story of "a respectable young tailor called Labakan, who worked for a clever master in Alexandria" (Lang, 1903:326-39). Egypt is the setting of "The Golden-Headed Fish". It is referred to by name twice on page 178: "Once upon a time there lived in Egypt a king who lost his sight from a bad illness" (Lang, 1907:178), and "Great was therefore the rejoicing through Egypt when a traveler arrived in a boat down the river Nile" (Lang, 1907:178). Further on in the tale, the land is referenced through the identification of a character as the "Queen of Egypt" (Lang, 1907:186). "The Golden-Headed Fish" is another case where Africa is being represented through Asia, as it is adapted from *Contes Arméniens*. In *The Lilac Fairy Book* (1910), the tale "Little Lasse" has the protagonist situated in Europe, imagining that the rocks, islands, and stones he sees as being the land exterior to him, Asia, Africa, America, and Polynesia:

> And now the ships must sail around the world. The great island over there was Asia; that large stone Africa; the little island America; the small stones were Polynesia; and the shore from which the ships sailed out was Europe.
>
> The whole fleet set off and sailed away to other parts of the world. The ships of the line steered a straight course to Asia, the frigates sailed to Africa, the brigs to America, and the schooners to Polynesia. But Little Lasse remained in Europe, and threw stones out into the great sea (Lang, 1910:133).

Later in the tale, the protagonist, the titular Little Lasse, goes to Africa:

[61] The story is referenced as being of Italian origin.

> ‘We are not far from Africa’ – and as he said that they were there.
>
> They anchored at the mouth of a great river where the shores were as green as the greenest velvet. A little distance from the river an immense desert stretched away. The air was yellow; the sun shone so hot, so hot as if it would burn the earth to ashes, and the people were as black as the blackest jet. They rode across the desert on tall camels; the lions roared with thirst, and the great crocodiles with their grey lizard heads and sharp teeth gaped up out of the river.
>
> ‘Shall we land here?’ asked the dream-boy.
>
> ‘No,’ said Little Lasse. ‘The sun would burn us, and the lions and crocodiles would eat us up. Let us travel to another part of the world’ (Lang, 1910:133).

Little Lasse’s Africa appears to be a place of intense extremes: a huge desert near a big river lined with velvet-green vegetation, but the air is yellow, and the sun is scorching hot. The people are not just described as black but as “the blackest jet”, the most intense shade of black. The land is traversed by camel, and, from their backs, one would see lions mad with thirst and the river teaming with the wide-open jaws of crocodiles. Little Lasse decides that Africa is too dangerous for him and declines to go there, heading on to seek gentler climes. Africa is depicted as an inhospitable place that is harsh and intense; it is not shown to be a desirable place to visit, let alone inhabit, to someone who lives in Europe.

Representations of Blackness and Africa have long been intertwined. This is true in *The Fairy Books*. However, there are interesting spaces where the two separate or are not resolutely tied together. Blackness does not always mean African and African does not necessarily mean black. In glancing through the illustrations based on skin colour as a marker, a reader might misattribute some of the African tales based on the lack of a clearly black protagonist. Black characters appear in tales that come from Asia, Europe, Australia and New Caledonia. We are told in the introduction to “The Fish Story” in *The Lilac Fairy Book* (1910) that there are black people in Australia: “If you went to Australia and talked to the black people in the sandy desert in the centre of the country, you would learn something quite different” (Lang, 1910:162).

Figure 65 - Ford, H.J. 1904. The Bunyip (Lang, 1904:73)

"The Bunyip" (Figure 65) in *The Brown Fairy Book* (1904) visually represents black people as the main characters in a tale that is not from Africa (see Ford, 1904:73). A fishing party is represented as a group of seven-plus black bodies who are dressed only in loincloths and adorned with the occasional earring, and carrying spears, nets, and a shield. They are depicted so darkly that their bodies appear almost as silhouettes. Here we see a very black body that is not equated to Africa. This suggests to the European that "black" and "African" are not interchangeable and allows a chink for the readers to wonder what it means to be either. This point is emphasised later in *The Brown Fairy Book* (1904) where a second representation of blackness that is not situated in Africa occurs in "Pivi and Kabo". This tale is from New Caledonia and presents us with the full-page image, "Pivi dives for the Shellfish" (Figure 66), in which the two human figures here are again rendered so darkly that the figures have become almost silhouettes (see Ford, 1904:187). This form of representation flatters the lean, well-formed diving figure of Pivi and gives the crouched paddling figure of Kabo a menacing appearance. The image presents the black body in a marine world, situating it firmly in the archipelago of New Caledonia. We are presented with a black body that is not tied to Africa causing a divergence in the perception that "black" and "African" are interchangeable.

Figure 66 - Ford, H.J. 1904. Pivi dives for the Shellfish (Lang, 1904:186)

Between the tales there is a switching between the words “negro” and “black”, which is an interesting editorial choice of Lang’s not to unify the texts by using one or the other. *Andrew Lang’s Fairy Books* contain such racist and offensive terminology and images that appear throughout the thesis within the context of the primary sources to illustrate the data in support of my argument. We see the use of the word “black” to describe people in “The Wonderful

Sheep",[62] "The Castle of Kerglas",[63] "The Lady of the Fountain",[64] "The Groac'h of the Isle of Lok"[65]and "The Hazelnut Child".[66] However, we find the words "negro" or "negress" in "The Twelve Dancing Princesses",[67] "The Enchanted Head",[68] "Madschun",[69] "The Twin Brothers",[70] "The Enchanted Canary"[71] and "What the Rose said to the Cyprus".[72] The two terms are used almost equally and, while they are used throughout the series, it seems as though Lang has kept terminology consistent in the individual books: for example, *The Brown Fairy Book* (1904) has two stories that refer to negroes and none that refer to black people. Conversely, *The Lilac Fairy Book* (1910) refers to black people in three of its stories and contains no reference to negroes. To further confuse matters, "The Castle of Kerglas" in *The Lilac Fairy Book* (1910) not only identifies one character as "black" but also identifies another character as a "moor". *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* contain a mishmash of identities for the black body which show a lack of care and consideration given to this topic by Lang and his team.

The first visual representation of blackness in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* is in an untitled in-text illustration from "Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp" (Figure 67). It appears on page 75 of *The Blue Fairy Book.* The scene depicts three black attendants waiting on a pale-skinned princess. In our first sight of blackness, we see it in a serving role to whiteness. Sara Hines highlights that their presence is not noted in the text (Hines, 2013:238). The second representation of Blackness echoes this placement of the black body as servant. "The Story of Pretty Goldilocks" has an untitled in-text illustration which also has black servants who are not described in the text. They (kneeling and offering up bowls) form the base of a triangle which holds the princess on her throne as its apex. Hines (2013) notes that, in the images that include black servants, there is always a central white figure (Hines, 2013:238-9). Hines also remarks that "The Wonderful Sheep" (*The Blue Fairy Book*) is the only tale that depicts black servants

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[62] *The Blue Fairy Book* (1889).
[63] *The Lilac Fairy Book* (1910).
[64] *The Lilac Fairy Book* (1910).
[65] *The Lilac Fairy Book* (1910).
[66] *The Yellow Fairy Book* (1894).
[67] *The Red Fairy Book* (1890).
[68] *The Brown Fairy Book* (1904).
[69] *The Olive Fairy Book* (1907).
[70] *The Grey Fairy Book* (1900).
[71] *The Red Fairy Book* (1890).
[72] *The Brown Fairy Book* (1904).

in the text and in the illustrations. In the other tales illustrated with the black servants, they appear only in the illustrations. This reveals how the illustrations can perpetuate ideologies of race by inserting these ideas into the stories; in this case, service is equated with race (Hines, 2013:237-8).

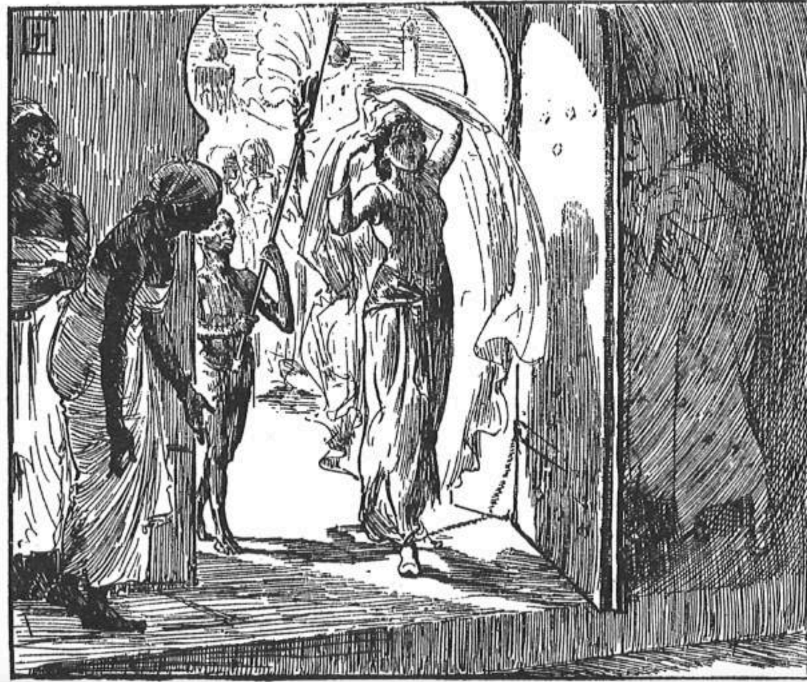

Figure 67 - Ford, H.J. 1889. Untitled (Lang, 1889:75)

Figure 68 - Ford, H.J. 1889. Untitled (Lang, 1889:217)

In “The Wonderful Sheep”, we are told: “The King sent for Miranda, and she got up quickly and came out; a little black girl called Pataypata held up her train, and her pet monkey and her little dog Tintin” (Lang, 1889:216). This is followed by an in-text illustration (Figure 68) on the opposite page that depicts a white Princess Miranda who stands, while her dog, monkey and Pataypata are arranged at her feet (Lang, 1889:217). Pataypata is classed along with Miranda’s pets, and she is literally positioned as a kneeling subordinate. In the text, the description of her holding the train suggests that Pataypata is a servant of some kind, but her position in the image and the collar around her neck, which matches those worn by the monkey and the dog, suggest ownership by Miranda and that Pataypata is a slave (Hines, 2013:237).

The Red Fairy Book (1890) produces yet another scene of black servitude, this time depicted in the text. In *The Twelve Dancing Princesses* it is written that “a delicious supper was served by negro boys” to the princesses in the magical castle in which they go to dance (Lang, 1890:6). The “Enchanted Head” in *The Brown Fairy Book* (1904) has three “negroes”, Ahmed, Mahomet and Ali, that magically appear and do his bidding. Ahmed is described as “a huge negro, as tall as giant (Lang, 1904:206), Mahomet as “a negro, still larger than the last,” and finally, Ali is described as being of such a huge size that he almost scared the old woman sent to command him (Lang, 1904:207, 209). Size seems to be a concern regarding black bodies: in *The Olive Fairy Book* (1907) in “Madschun”, the hero of the tale returns to the palace to claim his bride, the Sultan’s daughter. On entering the palace, he encounters “a large negro before the door” who admits him into the palace (Lang, 1907:8).

In “The Castle of Kerglas” in *The Lilac Fairy Book* (1910), the black body becomes more violent and antagonistic. The hero must fight “the black man who holds in his hand the iron ball which never misses its mark and returns of its own accord to its master” (Lang, 1910:247). The black man is described as having *“*six eyes that were never all shut at once, but kept watch one after the other*”* (Lang, 1910:255). With his weaponry and extra ocular power, he is depicted as a powerful opponent. “The Lady of The Fountain” in the same volume brings us another representation of a big, powerful, black man with ocular irregularities; in this case, he has only one eye (along with only one foot). He is described as “larger than any two white men”. Like the black man in “The Castle of Kerglas”, he carries an iron weapon; in this case it is an iron club that is described as so heavy that it would take two white men to lift it (see Lang,

1910:280-1). It is interesting to note how white men are established here as the benchmark of humanity and how the black body is superhumanly big and strong, adding to the sense of its otherness and potential danger. Finally, in “The Twin Brothers” in *The Grey Fairy Book* (1900), the hero is given three tasks by the King to win the Princess, the last of which is beating the King’s “negro” in a fight (see Lang, 1900:325). On the next page, we find out that the “negro” is in fact the princess who has consumed a magic potion to change form; she describes this body as “a negro of unconquerable strength” (Lang, 1900:326). Yet again, we see the black body conflated with violence.

“What the Rose did to the Cypress” in *The Brown Fairy Book* (1904) is particularly full of violent characters who are identified as “negroes”. Firstly, they are described as “a blood thirsty set” and the hero of the tale, Prince Almās-ruh-bakhsh, is warned, “God forbid they should lay hands on your precious person” (Lang, 1904:25). He is warned that the “negro’s” castle is referred to as “the Place of Clashing Swords” and that, inside, are forty “negro” captains, each of over three thousand or four thousand more. Their chief is Taram-tāq (Pomp and Pride) (Lang, 1904:25-6). They are depicted as being a very warlike race, the castle identified as a place of fighting action by its name and its readiness and propensity for warfare by the number of its troops. Their chief, Taram-tāq, is even represented as cannibal and they send a giant “negro” to do the fighting (see Lang, 1904:28). Within the story, we are twice presented with a scene where a light-skinned woman is being abused by “negroes”. In the first scene, it is at the behest of her husband that they drag and fetter her (see Lang, 1904:37). In the second scene, the woman subjects herself to a beating from a giant “negro” (see Lang, 1904:42). However, while the “negroes” are depicted as violent, there is a mitigation by means of miscegenation when the hero marries the negro chief’s daughter in “lawful” marriage, showing that the races are not totally separate and can be compatible (see Lang, 1904:43).

Figure 69 - Ford, H.J. Kynon Meets with the Black Master of the Beasts (Lang, 1910:281)

Figure 70 - Ford, H.J. 1890. Untitled (Lang, 1890:179)

Through *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books,* we see the black body connected with animals, as two representations of rulers of nature are represented as black men surrounded by animals. In "The Lady of The Fountain" in *The Lilac Fairy Book* (1910), the hero seeks a black man to give him guidance for his quest. The black man is described as having grazing around him "a thousand beasts, all of different kinds, for he is the guardian of that wood" (Lang, 1910:280-1). In the in-text illustration of this scene which is situated below the text, "Kynon Meets with the Black Master of the Beasts" (Figure 69), Ford has imagined for us this black master and his followers. He stands on the top of a mound and around him is an interesting menagerie of bold creatures. Of the ones that are real, one can make out a stag, cat, two giraffes, an elephant, tiger and, perhaps, a boar. The rest of the animals are fantastical, strange dragon-like creatures. He is shown as connected to these beasts.

The animals that surround the black figure in the in-text illustration of "The Three Princesses of Whiteland" (Figure 70) in *The Red Fairy Book* (1890), represent real animals. The majority are African animals: monkey, hippo, crocodile, lion, rhino, giraffe, elephant, and leopard, although there are three creatures which do not appear on the African continent: a bear, tiger and moose. This mix of animals either shows that the man in his position is a global "Lord of all the beasts in the forest" as he can summon beasts from around the world or, that Ford and Lang did not have a tight grip on which animals live in Africa (see Lang, 1890:179). The man is represented in the image as leaning on a spear while blowing a horn fashioned from a curling buck horn. His skin is shaded dark with dark lines, and he is crowned with a feathered headpiece. His cloak falls behind his back, exposing a fair amount of skin. A narrow band of a chest plate, which looks like a bra. covers his torso. He has a cloth that is folded around his waist and has bands with tassels circling his calves. On his feet, he wears sandals. His exotic dress and dark skin colour, in the mind of the Victorian and Edwardian reader, connect him as a savage to the beasts he commands; they are akin in their wildness. What is particularly interesting is that the casting of the "Lord of all the beasts in the forest" as a black man was done by H.J. Ford in the illustration, as there is no mention of race or colour in the text. The connection between the ruler of the beasts and blackness is something that Ford imagined and represented.

In *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books,* blackness is represented as unattractive. In "The Enchanted Canary" in *The Red Fairy Book* (1890), this is quite baldly stated by Lord Tubby in his question: "Do you want to marry a negress, and give me grandchildren as ugly as monkeys and as stupid as owls" (Lang, 1890:258). Lord Tubby believes that black people look as unattractive as monkeys. A similar denigration, but much more subtly wielded, is in "The Glass Axe" in *The Yellow Fairy Book* (1894) where, as I have previously discussed, we are introduced to a character who is consistently referred to as "the black girl" until she undergoes a transformation and becomes a beauty, where she is referred to as "the most beautiful girl" (Lang, 1894:147). In the illustrations for this story, she changes in her transformation from a turbaned, dark-skinned girl to a crowned white maiden with long, loose, flowing hair. Black is emphatically used to represent unattractiveness.

Figure 71 - Ford, H.J. 1894. The Black King's Gift (Lang, 1894:223)

The concept of distance between the Victorian and Edwardian readers of tales and where black people are seen to be from is highlighted in the text and the image from "The Hazelnut Child" in *The Yellow Fairy Book* (1894). The tale tells of the Hazelnut child, who is so small, that he can travel with the storks when they fly south, sitting on a stork's back. The text tells us: "In

this way he reached the country of the black people, where the storks took up their abode close to the capital. When the people saw the Hazelnut child they were much astonished, and took him with the stork to the King of the country" (Lang, 1894:223). We are told that the King is delighted by the Hazelnut child and gives him a huge diamond that is four times bigger than he is. The in-text illustration that is situated below this information is entitled "The Black King's Gift" (Figure 71) (Lang, 1894:223). The King is represented as grinning while bending over the tiny Hazelnut child and presenting him with a diamond that is the size of the King's palm. His body is black and his features, such as his ear, are picked out in white. His hair is shown to be short and curly and, on top of it, he wears a bejeweled crown with large plumes of feathers which project from the tines of the crown. Compared to this opulent crown, the weaponry he carries appears crude. In his left hand he holds a long spear, while, hanging from his belt, there is a rough hammer. The King wears a leopard skin and is adorned with rings around his ankles, two rings hanging from septum piercings, a ring around his upper left arm, his ear appears to be pierced by a curved bone and he wears a necklace strung with a row of the same material. The figure of the Hazelnut child has been rendered so tiny in the image that he is just a suggestion of a person with just discernable legs, torso, head and outstretched arms. There are no indications of his race. But, from the emphasis of referring to the king as the "black" king, we can infer that this was a feature that was distinctive and worth drawing attention to and, therefore, different from the norm. We can thus deduce that the Hazelnut child is not black. What is interesting about this tale is the Hazelnut child's long journey south to reach the land of the black king. Storks are the connecting feature between these two different places. The distance between the two is deemed so far that it can only be reached on the backs of birds, not on a horse as in the Hazelnut child's two previous journeys. The reader is left with a sense of massive space and distance between these two places and their people.

Constructing Africa is focused on the imagining of Africa in image and text, and the representation of Africa in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books.* Africa had been visually represented in Europe in both text and image prior *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books.* Representations of Africa were produced for the European consumer but were distortions of their creators. Other European interpretations of Africa and the work of European artists, such as Picasso, who appropriated African imagery, established the representation of Africa and Africans in this visual context. In unpacking the African representation in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books,* the distribution of tales, their geographical origins and illustrations are disclosed. *Andrew Lang's*

Fairy Books contain many representations of Africans and representations of black people. I consider where these representations diverge or merge. This dissertation foregrounds the idea that representations are constructed and contain inconsistencies and contradictions which inadvertently challenge the very intended fixing of identities by colonialism. The divergence or merging of the varied representations of Africans and the representation of black people is used to highlight the idea that representations are manufactured and contain disparities. Colonialism fixes identities to create an image of "us" and "them", and these representations in themselves trouble this intended fixing.

Chapter 8: Mapping the Imagined, Cartographic Imagination as Fairy Tale

Exploring the idea of the Cartographic Imagination as fairy tale, I argue that cartography and fairy tales inhabit the same narrative space. I examine fairy tales and cartography, looking at how they are defined, their history, how they operate and how they act as socialising agents. I look at the role of re-representation in their construction. The cartographic imagination as fairy tale is advocated by comparing cartography and fairy tales, focusing on the similarities in their ways of seeing, construction and shaping of society.

D. K. Smith (2016) has explored the idea of the cartographic imagination, looking at the impact of cartograph on cultural perceptions in Britain during the Tudor- Stuart period. He argues that the cartographic imagination is the manipulation of people's perceptions by the representation of physical space. The cartographic imagination works through visual language to highlight centrality and to create self-awareness. Africa has been continuously represented throughout history through the cartographic imagination. These depictions are central in forming perceptions of the continent, its land, and inhabitants. They shape our knowledge production and form new spaces that we may re-imagine differently. Cartography is a window into other places, showing that space is a construct. The socialising role of cartography and fairy tales plays a role in the colonial project, shaping people as citizens or colonial subjects.

Fairy tales are also known as "wonder tales". In them, a magical reality is formed where the natural physical is suspended (Warner, 2014: xxii). This is created by the inter-relationship between magical agency and the pleasure of wonder (Warner, 2014: xxii). Fairy tales speak about marvels as being true (Tolkien, 1947:5). We are drawn into a fairy tale through the vibrant and physical embodiment of forests, mirrors, apples and animals (Warner, 2014:20). Once we are within the tales, everything shifts, as the laws of nature are ignored and overruled (Warner, 2014:20). It is not remarkable when boys are turned into deer; it is assumed that these things can and do happen (Warner, 2014:37).

Like fairy tales, the diverse processes of 'mapping' also form realities. John Pickles (2004) describes a map as "a conjured object that creates categories, boundaries and territories: the spaces of temperature, biota, populations, regions, spaces and objects attain the reality that is

particular to them through the combined and multiple acts of mapping, delimiting, bounding, categorising" (Pickles, 2004:94). As defined by Pickles, a map is a thing that is summoned through a process of 'mapping' and it forms definitions which produce reality in relation to space. The definitions are formed through multiple acts of locating and delineating. Judith Tyner (2010) declares that "by their very nature" maps are spatial representations (Tyner, 2010:9). What she means by this is that maps show where things are situated in space (Tyner, 2010:9). She describes them as "uniquely suited" "to portray features of the earth's surface (for terrestrial maps) or to show the *spatial relationships* of features to one another" (Tyner, 2010:9). Because maps show the position of things in space, they are able to represent the features of the earth and how things relate spatially to one another. Thomas Bassett states that, at its core, the function of a map is to show relative position, location and paths of travel (Bassett, 1994:317). Within mapmaking, the cartographic imagination seeks to work through visual language to highlight centrality. Self-awareness is created through the cartographic.

Norman Thrower (1996) references an older definition of a "map" in *Maps & Civilization: Cartography in Culture and Society.* This definition, he claims, is still used by purists: "[A] map is a representation of all or part of the earth, drawn to scale, usually on a plane surface" (Thrower, 1996:3). Thrower informs us that metal, stone, wood, cloth paper, parchment and film have formed part of the large selection of materials used in cartography (Thrower, 1996:3). It is these materials that the words "map" and "chart" come from (Thrower, 1996:3). A formal document on parchment or paper is called a *carta* in Latin, while cloth is evoked through the word *mappa* (Thrower, 1996:3). Thrower identifies "maps" as the term that encompasses a broader range in its modern use. It speaks to a representation of land (Thrower, 1996:3).

These terms reference the materiality of Western maps. Not all mapping cultures used these kinds of materials or had maps that were easily reproduced (Pickles, 2004:15). Maps have been seen as disposable or made of materials that are not durable, diminishing our ability to understand the history of mapmaking (Thrower, 1996:13). Cultures do not necessarily share the same concept of a map and mapping practice (Pickles, 2004:15). Performative and gestural practices are pivotal in the manner in which some cultures organise and represent things in space; these representations allow people to imagine the space around them and to navigate it (Pickles, 2004:15).

Thrower argues that “[e]arly maps from great civilizations were attempts to depict earth distributions graphically in order to better visualize them … these maps served specific needs” (Thrower, 1996:1). The ancient Greeks devised a map of a circular world that, in the work of Hecataeus of Miletus, imagined the world in two parts: Europe, and Asia and Africa together (Thrower, 1996:19). He imagined this around the Mediterranean with the lands bordering the sea and they, in turn, were surrounded by ocean (Thrower, 1996:19). Later the idea of three land masses developed (Thrower, 1996:19). Aristotle went beyond dividing space into land masses but also into five climatic zones (Thrower, 1996:19). Crates of Mellos, during the second century B.C., imagined the world as a globe divided into four land masses split from each other by narrow bands of water (Thrower, 1996:22). One of these masses was the known and inhabited world, the other three were unknown (Thrower, 1996:22).

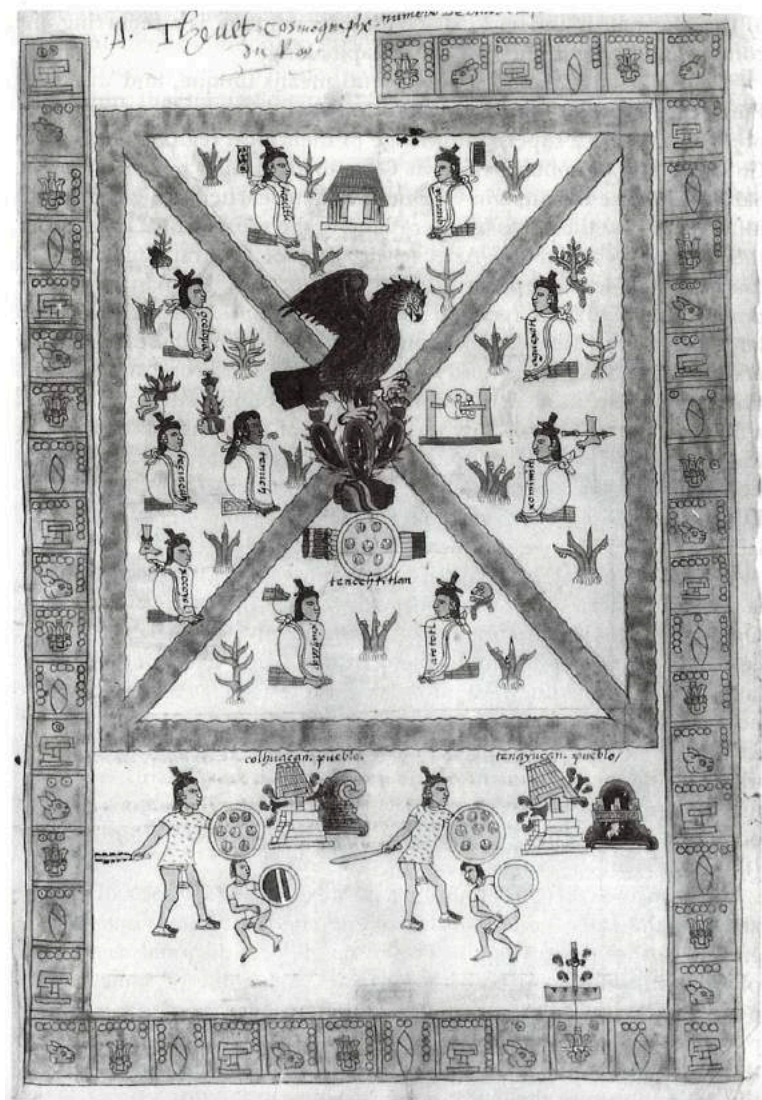

Figure 72 - Mendoza, A. Circa 1547.Codex Mendoza

Figure 73 - Yolngu Community of Northeastern Arnhem Land, Australia. (Bark painting showing the Biranybirany area)

Examples from outside of Europe include the *Codex Mendoza* (Figure 72) from the Aztecs and, the bark painting of the Yolngu. The bark painting of the Yolngu (Figure 73) is both a painting and a map (Thrower, 1996:9). The painting is a depiction of a salt-water crocodile (Thrower, 1996:9-10). Simultaneously, it can be read as a map of water ways of the coastal area of Biranybirany (Thrower, 1996:9). The crocodile appears to have no defined relationship to the space around it, instead the body of a crocodile houses the map of the river (Thrower, 1996:10). The mouth of the river is located where the tail joins the body (Thrower, 1996:10). The painting was used to teach the Yolngu children the lie of the land (Thrower, 1996:10). In order to access

the information contained in the painting, one needs to know the dances and songs of the creation of the Ancestral Being and its relatives (Thrower, 1996:10).

The *Codex Mendoza* shows the creation of Mexico City (Tenochtitlan) (Thrower, 1996:7). It has a rectangle format crossed with diagonals, and it is a stylised depiction of the city and its water ways. The Aztecs believed that the city was the centre of the world and that the cardinal directions were indicated by the canals (Thrower, 1996:7-9). Thrower informs us that contemporary attempts to interpret the map are speculation (Thrower, 1996:7). Map knowledge is acquired and, in order for a map to show us a reality that we know and recognise, mapping skills and codes have to be culturally reproduced (Pickles, 2004:61).

Being able to read and interpret maps is not innate but is a learned skill (Thrower, 1996:1); for example, the stick charts from the Marshall Islands are not accessible to those who are not from the Islands and have not been educated in their representations and logic. They are composed of thin strips of the centre ribs of palm fronds which are tied together with fibre plant cord (Thrower, 1996:5). The charts are normally around eighteen and twenty-four inches square although they can vary quite a lot (Thrower, 1996:5). The pattern of swells or wave masses formed by winds is represented through the arrangement of the sticks, while the islands are indicated through shells and coral (Thrower, 1996:5). The Marshall Islanders were not keen to share their knowledge of their maps, so outsiders originally believed that the arrangements were of currents (Thrower, 1996:5). This wish to keep private both the manner of cartographic representation and the geographical information it presents is a common concern in the history of mapmaking (Thrower, 1996:6-7). European rulers treated maps and charts as secret documents and unauthorised publication was a punishable offence (Bassett, 1994:324).

However, maps can, and do, contain errors as they were often formed through information relayed to cartographers in Europe. Early nineteenth-century maps of South-Eastern Africa depicted the source of the Limpopo River as being 130-150 kilometres east of where it should have been (Etherington, 2004:67). The land between longitudes 26 degrees and 33 degrees was compressed (Etherington, 2004:70). This meant the omission of a large territory and, along with the land on which they lived, it resulted in the existence and history of tens of thousands of people being unrecognised (Etherington, 2004:67). This omission later negated these

people's claims to their land, as historians used these maps as references, and left it seemingly open for colonisation (Etherington, 2004:70).

Thrower (1996) comments that the map has many important roles in the modern world (Thrower, 1996:1). It is a means of storing information. It allows us to understand space and objects in space (Thrower, 1996:1). The map is a means of reckoning the resources and structures on the earth's surface (Pickles, 2004:20). It is a tool for representing space and organising the earth into territories (Pickles, 2004:20). Maps are used to provide information because they are an effective means of doing so (Keates, 1996:3). Maps are a means of indirectly learning about a space: a person can go to a river and experience it directly and, thus, gain knowledge about it or he can learn about it indirectly through the map's description of it (Keates, 1996:4).

Fairy tales too communicate information; they determine what is important in a community and inform community members of this so that they might adapt (Zipes, 2006:15). The entertaining but didactic manner in which they do it is pivotal to their success (Zipes, 2006:15). Fairy tales evolve in order to respond to their changing environment and the certain social contexts of different cultural groups, as well as being stimulated by their own linguistic properties and possibilities (Zipes, 2006:26). Fairy tales are concerned with metaphorically representing people's experiences, both the personal and the public (Zipes, 2006:42). They are also reflections of the customs and the civilising process of their time (Zipes, 2006:42). Fairy tales consider how people from different social classes interact while looking for agency over their lives (Zipes, 2006:42). Simultaneously, fairy tales articulate utopian ideals and examine our instinctual drives along with our social conflicts surrounding gender, family, etc. (Zipes, 2006:15). These paradoxes allow fairy tales to reflect upon and interrogate social codes to elicit a reaction from their audience (Zipes, 2006:15).

Maps are created in the contexts of other maps (Pickles, 2004:42). They are constructions shaped and pieced together from different sources of information including travel letters and prior maps (Pickles, 2004:88). They are assembled according to cartographic techniques and other uninterrogated practices (Pickles, 2004:88). Maps carry with them the legacies of the things that shape their assembly (Pickles, 2004:88). Pickles (2004) discusses mapmaking in terms of the idea of cartographic *bricolage.* Frank Lestringant (1994) developed the concept of

cartographic *bricolage* in order to explain how mapping practices came about in the Age of Discovery (Pickles, 2004: 87). He uses it to discuss the assemblage that is the social practice of mapping. He describes mapping as “a historical process of accretion and reworking: a process of subsequent occupance, a palimpsest of epistemological commitments and technical apparatuses and approaches” (Pickles, 2004:87).

In cartographic *bricolage,* the first undertaking was *montage* (Pickles, 2004: 88). *Montage* is a process where pieces of empirical information are taken from their source, often without standard projection and scale, and are grafted together onto a theoretical framework (Pickles, 2004:88). It is, in short, the representation of disparate pieces of information from different sources that are superimposed on the pre-formed idea of the map of the world (Pickles, 2004:88). The idea of cartographic *bricolage* is that maps are not created on completely new conditions, instead they receive what is often a fair amount of their information from preceding maps (Lestringant, 1994:113) in (Pickles, 2004:88). Thus, a map is not a single frame image of the world frozen at a single point, but rather a collage of different images of the world collated and coalesced together to form a single visual (Lestringant, 1994:113 in Pickles, 2004:88).

Maps are built through a process of bricolage using information from preceding maps and other sources, such as travel journals. The information is selected and contained within the structure and format of the map. In a similar process, fairy tales piece together existing motifs, characters, imagery and plot fragments, and bind them together in a new story line. They are both composite objects which rely on the history of their traditions. Fairy Tales are familiar stories because they have been passed down through the generations or because they are composite patchwork stories, made up of different familiar parts of other stories (Warner, 2014: xvi). Andrew Lang describes this process in the preface of *The Grey Fairy Book*: “A certain number of incidents are shaken into many varying combinations, like the fragments of coloured glass in the Kaleidoscope” (Lang, 1900: Preface). Fairy tales have a sense of history because they are genetically recognisable through the reconstructions (Warner, 2014: iii). Fairy tales and maps are shaped and formed by pieces of other tales and maps that have come before. They are constantly being retold and revised. That history is made apparent through their reweaving of information. Despite their multiple sources, maps and fairy tales are (usually) clear.

They both use simple, direct depictions that allow people to access them as speedily and efficiently as possible. At their core fairy tales are marked as being short stories (Warner, 2014: xvi). This allows them to communicate clearly. Both maps and fairy tales use a set style to convey information. In fairy stories, this means stock characters and imagery, while, in cartography, it means a standardised manner of depicting things, such as rivers, within the language of that map. However, the process of simplification in both cases makes them generalised constructions of the world. Benedict Anderson (2006) described the style of European maps as being founded on totalising classification, in that the categories for classification wholly encompass the re-presentation (Anderson, 2006:173).

Neither maps nor fairy tales are neutral but are created to form particular perspectives. Maps have the aura of scientific detachment, but both forms of representation are deeply encoded in their graphic and textual forms. The combination of image and text in each creates new ways of thinking. They build narratives and thought patterns through their structures. Maps show the position of places relative to each other, while fairy tales create positional relationships. They both often represent a place before people have experienced it. Fairy tales and maps can then stand in place of the reality itself. They allow people to access knowledge, but often only those who are initiated into the creator's culture have the tools to decode them.

Maps do not merely represent the territory, they also shape it (Pickles, 2004:145). In this way, maps come before the territory, as they create the boundaries that become lived realities (Pickles, 2004:145). Territories are formed by the "overlay of inscriptions we call mappings" (Pickles, 2004:5). National and social spaces are recorded, coded and decoded by cartography (Pickles, 2004:5). The world is re-imagined and re-spaced (Pickles, 2004:5). The coding by cartography has superseded the land itself (Pickles, 2004:5). Because the land has been shaped by mapping, it has become impossible to separate the map from the territory (King 1996:16-7 in Pickles, 2004:31). The map fixes the territories as real, cementing experiences of them (King, 1996:16-7 in Pickles, 2004:31). The map and the territories continue to appear separate because acknowledging their intertwining would be to look at how the maps, around which we have structured lives, are, at their core, socially constructed objects (King, 1996:16-7 in Pickles, 2004:31).

Jorge Luis Borges wrote a well-known story in 1964 about the relationship between the map and the territory and the creation of a map the size of the territory (Pickles, 2004:94-5). But this story has roots older than the Borges telling. Borges adapted it from a story of the author of *Alice in Wonderland* (1865), Lewis Carroll (Pickles, 2004:94-5). The book, *Sylvie and Bruno Concluded,* was written in 1894, seventy years before Borges' retelling, but evidentially the concerns about the map-territory relationship remained the same. Carrol wrote of a map whose scale was one to one. Its size meant it was never used because farmers were afraid that it would cover the entire land and stop the sunshine from reaching it. Because of these fears, the map was not used, and instead, the country was to act as its own map. Carroll assures us that, at this job, "it does nearly as well" (Carroll, 1894:69 reported in King, 1996:4 in Pickles, 2004:94-5). The story looks at the "whole" being produced. That a knowledge of the "whole" is created and that it exists in tension with the particular. Both these kinds of knowledge production speak to reality but obscure reality itself through their re-presentation of it.

Because of these practicalities of scale, maps are selective as they represent a larger area than that on which they are drawn (Tyner, 2010:11). In the process of reducing an area to the smaller scale of the map, some details must necessarily be chosen to be omitted (Tyner, 2010:11). "(M)aps are graphic representations," and this means that they are symbolic and selective (Tyner, 2010:9). These two traits determine that they are generalised and that they do not display every piece of available information (Tyner, 20109). The larger the area that is being represented and the smaller the scale it is being represented on, the more information is omitted and the more generalised the map becomes (Tyner, 2010:11). Maps are also selective regarding the information they show in order not to overwhelm the viewer with information that does not contribute towards the concepts they are trying to convey (Tyner, 2010:9). Being selective allows the topic or theme of the map to be easily accessed and read (Tyner, 2010:9). Pickles (2004) references J.K. Wright's notion that the clear, neat appearance that a carefully-selected map presents is what makes maps so credible as a scientific source, and allows them to be such powerful visual tools (Pickles, 2004:36). Maps carry authority because of the assumption that they are based on scientific principles and that they are accurate and objective representations of reality (Bassett, 1994: 333).

However, Tyner (2010) declares that "all maps are biased to some extent" (Tyner, 2010:9), because maps are projections not copies (McCarthy, 2014:6). They project a representation of

a round earth on to the flat surface of a map (McCarthy, 2014:6). Projections are constructed and arranged, they are neither natural or neutral (McCarthy, 2014:6). Curator, Hans Ulrich Oberist, writes: "Maps are often an abstraction of the physical or conceptual world – a symbolic depiction of space or idea that allows one to understand and navigate an unfamiliar topography or complex topology." He continues that these abstractions do not help us to understand space in an objective and accurate way, rather, they are held by agendas of their creators and users (Oberist, 2014:11). Pickles (2004) concurs, saying that "the socially constructed nature of the image" is concealed by the myth that maps are neutral and dispassionate (Pickles, 2004:61). He believes that this vison of maps allows them to be seen as a surface that reflects reality like a mirror. The image of maps as reflections creates the idea that they are objective and accurate (Pickles, 2004:61). Pickles argues that the map is a subjective representation, as it is made to perform a specific job in reaction to the specific requirements of society's situation (Pickles, 2004:66); that a map represents more than simply the facts, it also always conveys the subjectivity of the author's intention (Pickles, 2004:43). With this intention, is carried both the acknowledged and unacknowledged environments and beliefs that the authors in their time, culture and profession bring with them to their work (Pickles, 2004:43). The world is selected and picked by the cartographer in order to promote a specific viewpoint. (Pickles, 2004:53). In this manner, Pickles argues, "cartographers manufacture power" (2004:12). He compares the viewpoint that they provide to maps the element of "a spatial panopticon" (Pickles, 2004:12). It gives us a place that suggests all-seeing power and control from which to view the world. Borders and labels were the invention of European cartography, and they were imposed on the spaces as a means of dominating the unknown (Martinez-Ruiz, 2007:335).

Benedict Anderson (2006) identifies the map as one of "three institutions of power" (Anderson, 2006:163-4). The other two institutions that Anderson refers to are the census and the museum (Anderson, 2006:163-4). While these institutions were developed prior to the mid-nineteenth century, they shifted within this period, changing their form and function to that of a colonised zone (Anderson, 2006:163-4). They are labelled as institutions of "power" because they shaped how the colonised were imagined by their colonisers (Anderson, 2006:163-4). This power to shape how the colonies were imagined extended to power over how the peoples of the colonies were seen, how the geography was visualised, and how the narrative of the legitimacy of its ancestry was perceived (Anderson, 2006:163-4).

Andrew Lang's Fairy Books can be seen as operating in the same vein as the map in Benedict Anderson's "three institutions of power" (Anderson, 2006:163-4). They equally moulded the manner in which "the colonial state imagined its dominion", how it defined the people over which it ruled, determined its geography and legitimised its ancestry (Anderson, 2006:163-4). These forms of visualisation provide ways of positioning oneself and for achieving a vantage point (Gaudio, 2008: xix). The books operate in a similar way, as they map lands through textual descriptions and illustrations; they provide a way of counting the presence of other peoples through their cultures and of collecting and curating cultural artefacts within the bindings of the books.

Fairy tales and maps both refer to reality, but they do not seek to capture it. Rather, they speak selectively and generalise about the real world. They provide information about what is important to people, as they indicate what knowledge is considered to be important enough to capture it in a tale or on a map.

People's existence is recorded and constructed through maps or fairy tales. Dwellings are indicated on a map, and people are located within a certain landscape in a tale; while, conversely, the creation of the maps and tales by communities signal their own existence. Maps and fairy tales are cultural products and are used to store knowledge. They are shaped and informed by the cultures that create them and, thus, speak to the time and place in which they are formed. They give people a means with which they can navigate life. Cassie Cobos (2012) argues that a mapping of a space demands interaction between the physical geographies and the bodies, and that these interactions change with the rivers etc and cannot form a constant map. She refers to the mapping practices of the Chican@ as "embodied storied spaces" of the Chican@ "practising on and around them" (Cobos, 2012:80). The people and the land are worked together into the story of the map.

Maps and fairy stories regulate people through socialisation and by normalising their own form and existence. They create order and play a role in shaping national and cultural identities. They do so by marking identity boundaries. Maps show people what area and group of people they belong to, sometimes by showing them an area or group of people that they are not part of, that they can build an identity around what they are not. They also then condition how to imagine the unknown and how the exotic other is represented.

Fairy tales regulate and shape identity towards that of an ideal citizen/community member through socialisation. In this process of socialisation, the personal and the public experiences of the 19th century are represented along with their era's customs and the civilising process (Zipes, 2006:42). The fairy tale plays a socialising role within the development of social codes, norms and values (Zipes, 2006:14). They repeat and entrench ideas while allowing them to subtly evolve. Fairy tales sketch out utopian ideals of European and African life while they interrogate the conflicts of everyday existence. The stories that were chosen to be repeated orally and included in publications were the stories that reflect the kind of citizens the Empire wished to create. Jack Zipes writes about the changing nature of fairy tales, how stories are repeated and replicated to form cultural patterns if they are seen as relevant or are accepted by the audience. Thus, they reveal through repetition what ideas are accepted by the culture in which they are formed.

Fairy tales use characterisation in order to represent the concerns and contestations of socialisation and civilisation (Zipes, 2006:15). In *Off with Their Heads: Fairy Tales and the Culture of Childhood,* Maria Tatar applies Foucault's exploration of how "docile bodies" that are self-disciplined and take on the yoke of productive labours are formed through socialisation (Tatar, 1992:235-6). Socialisation works by instilling in every person a disciplinary regimen; thus, as people self-regulate, the need for repressive or coercive methods is avoided (Tatar, 1992:235-6). Characters in fairy tales model behaviours for people to emulate. Good behaviour is shown to be rewarded and, thus, encourages people to emulate it. Dreams and goals are repeated, entrenching their desirability. In a similar way, maps entrench boundaries by showing and repeating them.

The reality of the map is completely different to the reality that we experience in the world but the power of the map is that its reality is known and accepted (Pickles, 2004:61). Pickles (2004) tells us: "Maps work by naturalising themselves by reproducing a particular sign system and at the same time treating the sign system as natural and given" (Pickles, 2004:60-1). He argues that we see maps and their sign systems because they reproduce and entrench themselves in our minds. The reproduction of maps obscures that the signs are created, not natural. Maps present us with a way of navigating the world through a system of codified, acculturated knowledge (Pickles, 2004:61). In this manner, there is always a gap between the map and a

representation of the real, as the map is formed by structures of abstract symbols (Pickles, 2004:61). Maps and fairy tales naturalise their content through repetition.

When read critically, fairy tales are exposed as being assertions of the authors' and collectors' beliefs and ideals, which are bound by time and class, rather than being sealed ancient carriers of peasant knowledge (Warner, 2014:133). During the 12th to 15th centuries, the genre of the literary fairy tale began to be established (Zipes, 2006:45). Its conventions, plots, characters and motifs were largely drawn from those in the oral tradition, but were adapted to suit the particular reading public, namely the middle class, aristocracy and the clergy (Zipes, 2006:45). Under the *ancien regime,* the fairy tale became fashionable as a means of critiquing society. The writers were predominately educated intellectual women who belonged to the elite court society (Warner, 2014:46-7). They developed the standard characters and plots and embellished them with satire about political oppression and domestic cruelty alongside rococo flourishes (Warner, 2014:46-7). The phrase "fairy tales" is coined during this period; it was first used by Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy in 1698 when she referred to *Contes des fees* (Tales of the Fairies) (Warner, 2014:46-7). Thanks to the printing press and new technological and social forms of transmission, fairy tales began to flourish (Zipes, 2006:2). The late seventeenth and early eighteenth century saw the development of the modern fairy tale as we currently know it (Warner, 2014:49-50). Through collectors and writers, such as Perrault and the Brothers Grimm, a fairy tale canon started to form, establishing standard elements in print (Warner, 2014:49-50). The versions of the stories that have become prevailing in the oral and literary traditions of dominant Western nations, such as France, Germany, England and the United States, are the versions that have been cultivated by male writers, collectors and storytellers (Zipes, 2006:28).

Scholars in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries began studying and collecting fairy tales (Zipes, 2006:42-3). Some, such as the Brothers Grimm, believed that fairy tales could be used to cement national[73] identities (Zipes, 2006:42-3). They believed that the supposedly "pure" intrinsic tales of the folk would anchor their imagined nations (Zipes,

[73] While their aim was to create a national imagining of their countries, the stories that were collected have revealed themselves over time to be more international than local (Warner, 2014:65). Regardless, the example of the Brothers Grimm triggered a host of collectors seeking local fairy tales (Warner, 2014:65).

2006:42-3). Through creating a sense of shared heritage, fairy tales help shape and form a national identity and a sense of belonging (Zipes, 2002:68). The rise of nations in the 19th century, in particular that of England, necessitated the imaging of the person as citizen. The expansion of nations' power over colonies amplified this need. Britain needed its citizens to have a clear shared idea of identity, morals, and aspirations in order for them to be "productive". It required them to behave like citizens of the Empire: to embrace ownership of the colonies and potentially go and domesticate the colonies by seeking adventure and wealth in them. Benedict Anderson defined a nation as "an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson, 2006:6). The English needed to imagine themselves as connected in a community, and they needed to have a mental image of what that communion entailed (Anderson, 2006:6). People from Britain could use fairy tales as a tool to navigate their growing empire and to process their relations both with their colonies and peers at home. Fairy tales are encoded with important information that allows people to navigate the world and to hide and reveal issues within social relations (Zipes, 2006:94).

Fairy tales reproduce the stratified roles in society. The readily identifiable characters, which are located with particular professions, social classes and social positions, have allowed fairy tales to have achieved such longevity and to have acted as a repository for people to collect, recollect and represent the plot of a tale while adapting it to their desires and experiences (Zipes, 2006:50). Characters perform and model certain positions with the family and within society, and enact the complexities of thinking and performing that position (Zipes, 2006:49). In sociological terms, by modelling these positions, the characters are acting out what Pierre Bourdieu calls a *habitus.* Within fairy tales the sense of the character representing a status is highlighted by the lack of names (Zipes, 2006:49). Characters are rarely given names but, instead, they represent their position within the family or society, for example the swineherd (Zipes, 2006:49). While the social position of the character can engage him or her in particular class struggles, the relative anonymity and lack of precise characterisation creates a comparatively untethered cast of characters (Warner, 1994:xvi). The vagueness of these characters prevents them being fixed in a particular time and place and allows them to float free. As unfixed entities, they can move and form a screen or a map through which we see the landscape of our own experiences (Warner, 1994: xvi).

They model acceptable or good behaviour and how to succeed within, and potentially escape, one's social position and class structure. Certain behaviours are rewarded, thus, making them

seem desirable to enact. Normative behaviour is established through these characters moving up in life because they are hardworking and compassionate. While fairy tales adhere to class stratifications, they provide a vehicle for upward mobility and a platform for righting social injustices (Zipes, 2002:87). Characters often cross the boundaries of their status and transform themselves, with the swineherd becoming a handsome prince (Zipes, 2006:49). Fairy tales suggest what people should aspire to by rewarding the protagonist, if he is successful, with a combination of money, marriage, wisdom and life (Zipes, 2006:50).

Jack Zipes (2012) applies Arthur W. Frank's theories on socio-narratology to fairy stories. Zipes highlights that, in telling stories, we form social relationships, and that storytelling is a form of socialising (Zipes, 2012:4). Socio-narratology examines how stories have a life created by their ability to bring people together to entertain and educate, as well as the ability of stories to deceive people and divide them (Zipes, 2012:4). Stories do not belong to their tellers: the distinction is made that they are not *theirs* (the storytellers) but *there* (they exist as realities) (Zipes, 2012:4). Fairy tales can be, and have been, harnessed as didactic tools, but they retain the ability to shift and form new realities.

Fairy tales and maps provide us with a means of navigating life and ordering the world around us. They are a way of visualising land and people that are unknown to us. Yet both maps and fairy tales are imagined spaces. They fill in the "blank spaces"' in our knowledge and experience, but they also highlight and exaggerate these spaces. Thus, the manner of their representation conditions how we see the unknown. They inform how we imagine the exotic through their representation.

Mapping was foremost in the representational technologies that made "exotic" lands and peoples visible for Europeans and, in doing so, helped divide people (Pickles, 2004:118). The "exotic" acts as a category in the classification of reality. In this category, people are classified alongside the land and wild animals in a rendering of difference. The map operates as both a practice and a discourse that categorises people, labels the world, creates boundaries and ties socio-politico-economic regions to the land itself (Pickles, 2004:21). Pickles (2004) believes that a desire for cartography lies at the centre of the "territorializing practices of modernity" (2004:91). Maps were used to imagine and solidify new communities (Pickles, 2004:99). These communities were increasingly represented as states bound by land enclosing clear, contained

groups of people (Pickles, 2004:99). These groups of people were seen to be united by a common history, language, ethnicity and culture (Pickles, 2004:99).

Mapping practices use and establish how nature, social life and space are coded (Pickles, 2004:91). Mapping practices are tools for researching and understanding the distributions and relationships on which we seek clarity (Thrower, 1996:1). Ann Stoler and Fredrick Cooper argue, "The colonies of France, England and the Netherlands…did more than reflect the bounded universality of the metropolitan political culture: they constituted an imaginary and physical space in which the inclusions and exclusions built into the notions of citizen, sovereignty and participation were worked out" (in Hall, 2002:23). Heidegger (1977), in *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays,* discusses "The Age of the World Picture". By "world picture", Heidegger means the world imagined and accessed as a picture rather than the world simply represented as a picture (Heidegger, 1977:129). All aspects of the world were conceived and grasped as a picture through mapmaking, rendering them accessible for appropriation and use (Pickles, 2004:7). Here the diverse range of other lands, cultures and people were subjugated, and turned into consumable objects that were displayed in the European desire for producing "orders". In this process, the unknown becomes domesticated, visible and open to be used (Pickles, 2004:7).

At the centre of this culture of labelling and display, are the map and mapping (Pickles, 2004:8). Barbaro Martinez-Ruiz describes mapmaking, like art, as a production of natural language and, as such, its creation requires two parts (Martinez-Ruiz, 2007:337). These parts are modes of call and response which are formed in the interaction between the creator and the object that is being represented (Martinez-Ruiz, 2007:337); that European maps of Africa are formed in the interaction between Europeans as the creator and Africa as the represented object. During this process, mapping becomes another colonial collection.

Cartographers in the nineteenth century inscribed maps with new names for places, drew new borders, and engraved information in the blank spaces. The presentation of these updated maps of Africa legitimated expansion into this area (Bassett, 1994:333). Pickles (2004) highlights how Edney captured the relationship between empire and mapping with the quote: "The empire might have defined the map's extent, but mapping defined the empire's nature" (Edney, 1999:340 in Pickles, 2004:118). Pickles argues that this was accurate, and expanded it to argue

that the dominions were the heart of empire (2004:118). Cartographers opened Africa to European commerce, domination, and colonisation. They achieved this by using convenient and standardised formats through which they produced geographical information (Bassett, 1994:317). Pickles argues that, in this way, maps are produced by specific representational practices (Pickles, 2004:31). The worldviews created are the physical products of cultural projects including colonial expansion, the development of a nation or cultural hegemony (Pickles, 2004:31). According to Pickles, "mapping, maps and cartographic reason [are] central to the geographical imagination in the sense that they are crucial elements of social inscription that produce spatial identities" (Pickles, 2004:22). Mapping defines societies according to space.

The power of mapmaking is seen in the late-nineteenth century where it had a key role in shaping strategic thinking about land and state (Pickles, 2004:108). Empire was a geopolitical practice that employed a cartographic imagination that was increasingly arrogant (Pickles, 2004:108). Bassett (1994) discusses the arrogance of this cartographic imagination at play at the Berlin Conference of 1884-5. In the winter of 1884-5, Bismarck invited representatives of European powers and of the United States of America to his home (James, 2016:91). These powers were not just those that had an active vested interest in Africa, the presence of international powers legitimised the decisions of the conference (James, 2016:91). Their actions were seen as the desire of the "civilised" world. No African representatives were included (James, 2016:91). At this conference, lines were drawn on the map of Africa by the leaders of powerful European countries to determine the borders of African territories in order to prevent war from breaking out (Pickles, 2004:108). These European leaders decided on the basis of maps how to divide up control of, and influence over, Africa amongst themselves (Bassett, 1994:316). The Berlin Conference illustrates how the narrative and the trajectory of Africa's recent history have been seized and controlled by Europe. Africa's story has been told and selected from the outside. It is a projection of Europe. The map and the cartographic imagination were intrinsic to this process of empire-building (Bassett, 1994:316). This act of drawing lines on a map exemplifies one of the many ways that cartography facilitated European hegemony over lands that were both distant and foreign to Europe (Pickles, 2004:108).

Bassett examines how mapping and mapping techniques generated and furthered imperialism and colonisation (Bassett, 1994:316). He examines how maps helped with conquest, settlement

and commercial activities by contributing information on where resources, roads and villages were (Bassett, 1994:316). By indicating the presence of local economic activity and resources, maps showed the public at home what could be gained through controlling these lands (Bassett, 1994:321). Bassett makes an argument regarding how territorial expansion was facilitated by the use of colour, and the presence of blank spaces and boundaries (Bassett, 1994:316). Bassett argues that the use of colour in maps played an important role in whetting the appetite for expansion and colonial conquest.

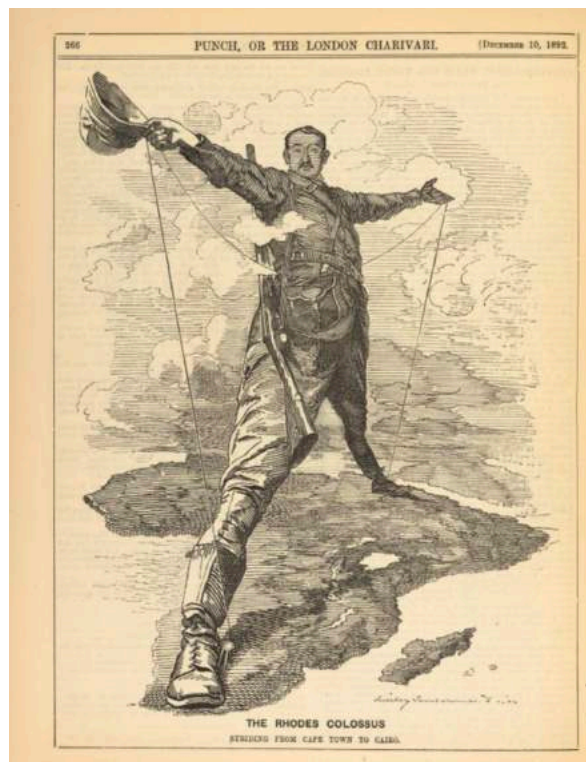

Figure 74 - Sambourne, E.L. 1892. The Rhodes Colossus: Striding from Cape Town to Cairo.

Founder of the Comite de l'Afrique Francaise, an organization that sought to bring foreign lands under French power, Auguste Terrier, articulated a desire to colour in the blank spaces of the map with the rose colour that symbolised French influence and domination (Bassett, 1994:325). The colouring in of the map suggested that the blank spaces were waiting to be claimed and coloured. It legitimised the colonial process. The use of colour also allowed the public at home to be able to imagine colonial expansion and derive a sense of pride through the spreading colour. In this way, the map can be seen to anticipate empire rather than reflect it (Bassett, 1994:326). The map presented a view of the world in which it showed what land there was to be conquered. Bassett examines how decorative elements on maps of Africa act

as symbols of imperial power and ideology and how they condoned and celebrated "the appropriation of African space" (Bassett, 1994:316-7). This celebration of appropriation of African space communicated through the map is illustrated through the image of "The Rhodes Colossus: Striding from Cape Town to Cairo." (Figure 74), in which we see a giant Rhodes celebrating while straddling the continent, showing that he is literally on top of Africa and has conquered the distance between Cape Town and Cairo (Pickles, 2004:108).

According to Homi K. Bhabha (1996), "Colonial power produces the colonized as a fixed reality which is at once an "other" and yet entirely knowable and visible. It resembles a form of narrative in which the productivity and circulation of subjects and signs are bound in a reformed and recognizable totality. It employs a system of representation, a regime of truth, that is structurally similar to realism" (1996:93-4).

Mapping acts as that system of representation and, looking at the effect that the colonial impetus had, I compare two maps of Africa, one from 1542 and the second from 1812-1887: one map from the early days of colonisation and a later one after the Empire has expanded.

Map One is *"Totius Africae tabula et descriptio universalis etiam ultra Ptolemaei limites extensa"* (Figure 75). It was published between 1489 and 1552 and was created by Sebastian Munster. The map focuses on the coastline, providing the most information along it. The tip of Africa is labelled *"Africae extremitas"* with the *"Caput Bonespei"* (Cape of Good Hope) indicated at the end. The land is tinted ochre, and an elephant with long tusks, as if to indicate ivory is here, fills the centre of the southern tip. The sea is densely marked with lines suggesting waves. A ship as large as the southern tip of Africa floats beside the tip. The white water below it appears to form an arrow pointing toward the land. The ship has more detail than any other element, suggesting its importance, as time and focus were awarded to its creation. The ship and the land appear to be in conversation with each other; the land being there for the ship to journey around. The edges of the map outline numerous movements in the coastline and the routes of the rivers feeding into the sea. The focus on coastlines and rivers suggests their importance to the European sailors, who would have used this map, and, thus, their prominence. These features are rendered as aerial diagrams, while others appear as pictorial renderings of the appearance of things.

Figure 75 - Munster, S. 1542. Totius Africae tabula et descriptio universalis etiam ultra Ptolemaei limites extensa [Map]

Mapping combines two symbolic systems: graphical images and writing systems (Pickles, 2004:57-8). Images of objects are replaced with symbols (Tyner, 2010:9). The image is a simplified understanding of the world, while the graphical writing system inhabits the interchange between linguistic texts, images, and wider social contexts (Pickles, 2004:57-8). In *Totius Africae tabula et descriptio universalis etiam ultra Ptolemaei limites extensa* (Map and inclusive description of the whole of Africa, covering even the areas beyond Ptolemy's limits), kingdoms are pictorially indicated as iconic signs[74] through crowns and sceptres, giving no indication of who these people are and what the bounds of the kingdoms are. Towns or cities are indicated through drawings of houses with red roofs. This shows that Europeans were aware

[74] Hall (1997) describes iconic signs as visual signs, meaning that their form resembles the object or person they represent. Hall refers to written or spoken signs as indexical. (Hall, 1997:7).

of established kingdoms and domesticated, built areas within Africa but that they might have been less concerned about the identities of these peoples and the scope of their domains as these are not mapped out and defined by borders. The interior is shown as free from buildings but one assumes this is because Europeans were not travelling into the interior and, thus, were not knowledgeable about its inhabitants.

Much like the symbols used in maps to indicate cities through houses or kingdoms via crowns, fairy tales are constructed using recognisable characters (princes and stepmothers) and recurring motifs (apples and mirrors). Marina Warner describes the fairy-tale-style as "one-dimensional, depthless, abstract, and sparse; their characteristic manner is matter-of-fact" (Warner, 2014: xx). Importance is given to what happens and not to building up complex characters. Thus, fairy tale characters are remarkable for their flatness (Pullman, 2020: xv). Imagery is pared down to what Pullman describes as the obvious "as white as snow, as red as blood" (Pullman, 2020: xvi). The imagery of strong contrasts awakens the symbolism and allows it to communicate meanings (Warner, 2014: xix). The Grimm Brothers identified the use of recurring motifs and characters as a defining feature of these stories in Jacob Grimm's 1811 appeal for tale collection (Zipes, 2002:26). They are texts formed by language; they are exploits of imagination expressed through a symbolic shared language (Warner, 2014: xix).

Fairy tales produced in a book format are frequently lavishly illustrated and make use of the combination of image and text. The images flesh out the sparse descriptions in the text, showing us what a beautiful princess looks like, what a hideous beast looks like and what a dark forest looks like. While not every aspect of a fairy tale is rendered through illustration, the scenes that are, act as lodestones for the reader's imagination, guiding how the fairy tales are visualised. Marina Warner (2014) highlights the impact of images in fairy tales, saying that "pictures imprint more strongly than words" (Warner, 2014:99). They permeate your mind more deeply and linger on long after you have stopped looking at them. For many children, these illustrations are their first porthole into the imaginary world of fairy stories, reading the stories through images until they are old enough to tackle the text.

The kinds of text commonly found on maps are place-names, legends, titles, labels on symbols and scales, and statements of source and explanatory material (Tyner, 2010:43). The text on maps is used to do one of four things (Tyner, 2010:43). Text can act as a label for example, in

Totius Africae tabula et descriptio universalis etiam ultra Ptolemaei limites extensa, the inscription "Libyone" gives a name to an undefined area on the map that is adjacent to "Libya" on the left and "Nvbiae" on the right. It can explain. The word "Regnum" under "Nvbiae" explains that "Nvbiae" is a kingdom. It can be used to direct or point attention. The size of text can also be used as a symbol which points to the size of something on the map or to indicate its importance. For example, in this map the labels for kingdoms are bigger and in capital letters, while those of towns are smaller and only start with a capital.

In *Totius Africae tabula et descriptio universalis etiam ultra Ptolemaei limites* extensa, African forests are imagined through clumps of trees that dot the shoreline, and a thick knot of trees is positioned above the word "Libyone". The trees are depicted as if the map's surface is a landscape painting. While mountain ranges appear more abstracted, like lengths of twisted ropes or successively stacked cones. In the south, on the coast, some very tall trees housing big pink birds are drawn. There is an image of a pink-skinned cyclops or *"Monoculi",* as it is labelled on the map, nestled under the bulge. Maps did not only represent the known fragments of the world but also the unknown land, filling in their imagined detail in an attempt to ward off the horror of the unknown (Lestringant, 1994:113 in Pickles, 2004:88). These spaces were filled with imaginary mountains, florid text and animals (Bassett, 1994:322).

Cultural theorist, Marina Warner, suggests, in *Monsters of Our Own Making*: *The Peculiar Pleasures of Fear,* that a cyclops' eye resembles a large orifice, forming him as a creature that is all mouth and all about consumption and greed (Warner, 1998:87). The presence of the Cyclops under the bulge of Africa in *Totius Africae tabula et descriptio universalis etiam ultra Ptolemaei limites extensa* suggests land which has an appetite for the lives of men. In the same vein, in "Motikatika" in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* a "horrible head" dwells in a lake with golden waters. The head is later identified as an "ogre", who, in return for the water the female protagonist has taken from the lake, demands her child. In the image that depicts this scene, "the woman and the Ogre" (Figure 62), the ogre is shown as an enormous black head and neck dripping out of the water. His head is bigger than the whole upper body of the woman and it is tilted so that his teeth with huge, curved canines are thrust towards the viewer. His eyes are balls of white contrasting with black squinting pupils. His head curves back into two curved horns. He is enormous, with his white teeth and eyes glowing in his black face, with his sharp

horns and canines increasing the sense of danger. In short, he is the stuff of nightmare. The ogre embodies the fear of the unknown and the threats that unknown water presents.

Like fairy tales, maps contain the fear of the unknown by marking it with fantastical, dangerous beasts, such as cyclopes, ogres, leviathans, giant snakes and bunyips. These creatures materialise fear (Warner, 1998:4). Fairy tales are places of danger, they are structures of wonder which allow experiences to be recorded while imagining a time and space when the trials and tribulations will be overcome (Warner, 2014:30, 74).

When European maps of Africa were constructed, they built off prior European maps and European-verified information and European-imagined notions about the people and their land. When it came to maps created by Africans and territorial knowledge, some Europeans chose to disregard this information (Bassett, 1994:322). While Africans would be solicited to sketch out maps of unknown areas, these were not trusted, as only Europeans were seen as reliable sources (Bassett, 1994:323). It was often required that a European would have seen the terrain for it to hold scientific weight (Bassett, 1994:323). In 1749, Jean-B.B. d'Anville started what became the scientific tradition of leaving blank spaces where information has not been verified (Bassett, 1994:322). In nineteenth-century maps, large areas were left empty and were known as the blank spaces on the map (Bassett, 1994:322). These blank spaces played an important role in how Africa was imagined. Bassett describes the blank spaces as "the silent dissocialised space"'; it made it seem as if the land was uninhabited (Bassett, 1994:324). The lack of information led Europeans to believe that these lands were literally empty of people rather than to understand the emptiness as representing their own lack of knowledge (Bassett, 1994:324). The perceived emptiness of the land helped legitimise colonial plans for expansion in the eyes of the public as it appeared open for the claiming (Bassett, 1994:324). In some cases, the known existence of states and human inhabitation on the land, for example, the St. Louis-Timbuktu-Kongo triangle is left out and the space is left blank and open to being seen as ready for colonisation (Bassett, 1994:326). A network of domination and control was created by the act of mapping Africa. This network encompassed the mapped Africans and other powers that also desired to possess and know the world (Martinez-Ruiz, 2007:336).

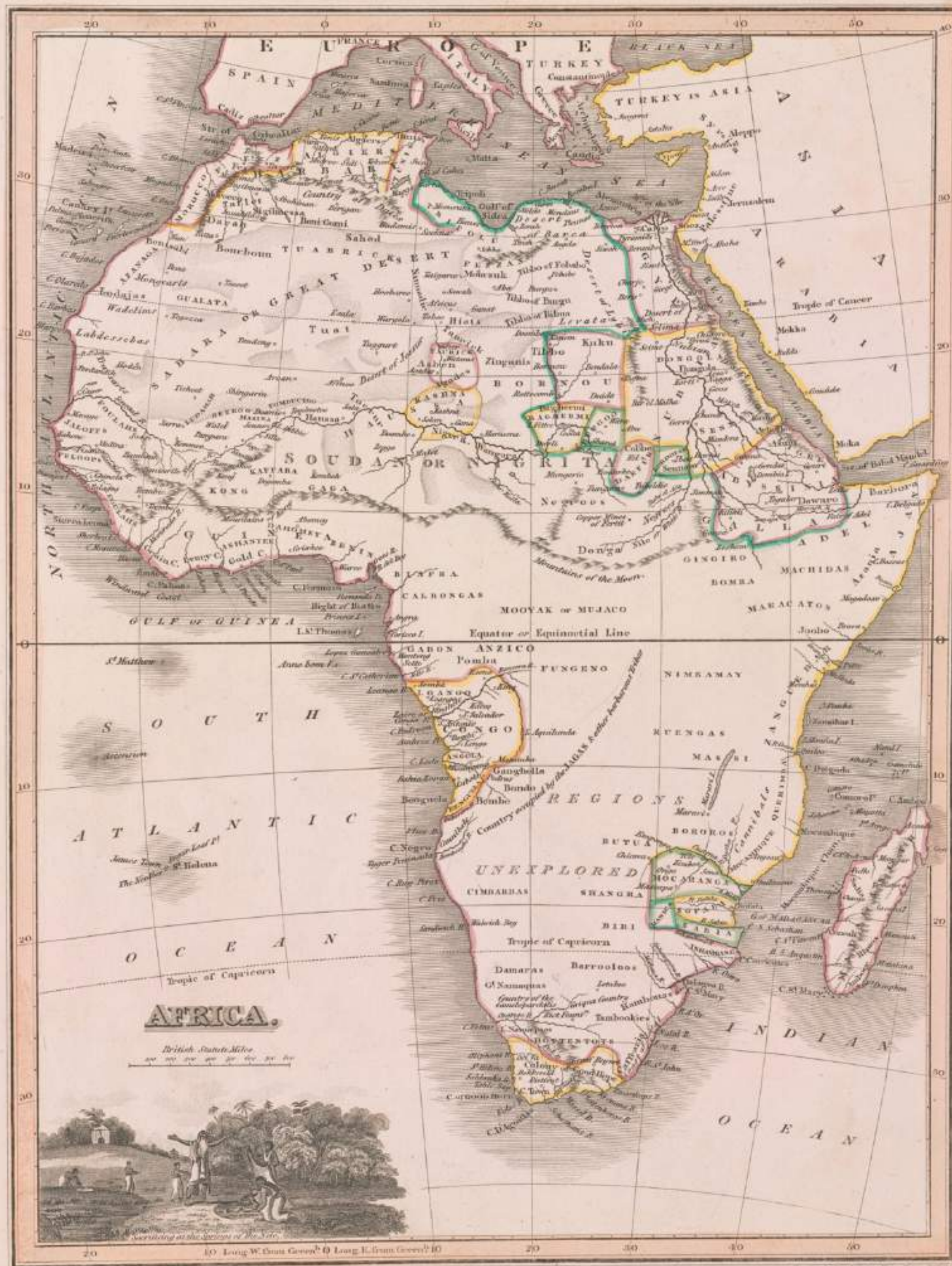

Figure 76 - Wyld, J. 1812-1887. Africa.

Looking at the effects of this colonial impetus, I now consider the second map which was published between 1812 and 1887, during the expansion of the British Empire and just before the publication of the first of *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* in 1889 (Figure 76). The map bears the title, "Africa." Positioned below the title, is the key indicating the map measurements and the distances they refer to. These distances are imagined in "British Statute Miles" suggesting that Africa is measured by British Standards; that Africa is constructed through the imagined structure of miles which is imposed on it from without. Maps themselves are a tool for creating understanding and ownership, and the British have marked this representation of Africa with their unit of measurement. Writer, Tom McCarthy, in his collaboration with Hans Ulrich Oberist, *Mapping It Out,* states that "mapping always, at some level, involves violence" (McCarthy, 2014:8). He gives the example of the Maps Section of the British Army being depicted in Brian Friel's 1980 play "Translations" as the true villains of the Irish occupation (McCarthy, 2014:8). He argues that the landscape was emptied of its legends and history when local names were anglicised (McCarthy, 2014:8).

Below the title is a cartouche (Figure 77) on the bottom left corner, placed on top of the sea. The cartouche contextualises the map for the viewer. The scene depicts a landscape with three figures in the foreground and three figures in the middle ground. The figures have dark skin and are dressed in white robes. The figures in the foreground are focused on the decapitated head of a bull and the pool of water or blood that lies beneath it. The head of the bull is held by a kneeling figure, who looks over his shoulder directly at the viewer. Another figure stands erect and holds palms up to the skies. The third figure stands behind the first and holds a cloth open as if ready to catch something or someone. The first middle-ground figure appears to be bending and collecting something from a circular shape on the ground, perhaps a pool of water. The other two walk with their arms outstretched. Something appears to be falling out of the hands of the middle figure, evoking a sense of offering to the water. Under the image is the legend "Sacrificing at the Springs of the Nile". This image could have been chosen to titillate viewers. It works to cement any ideas Europeans had of the savagery of Africa by connecting and representing Africa with this single image of ritual sacrifice. The cartouche primes the viewer to read Africa through the idea of the savage other.

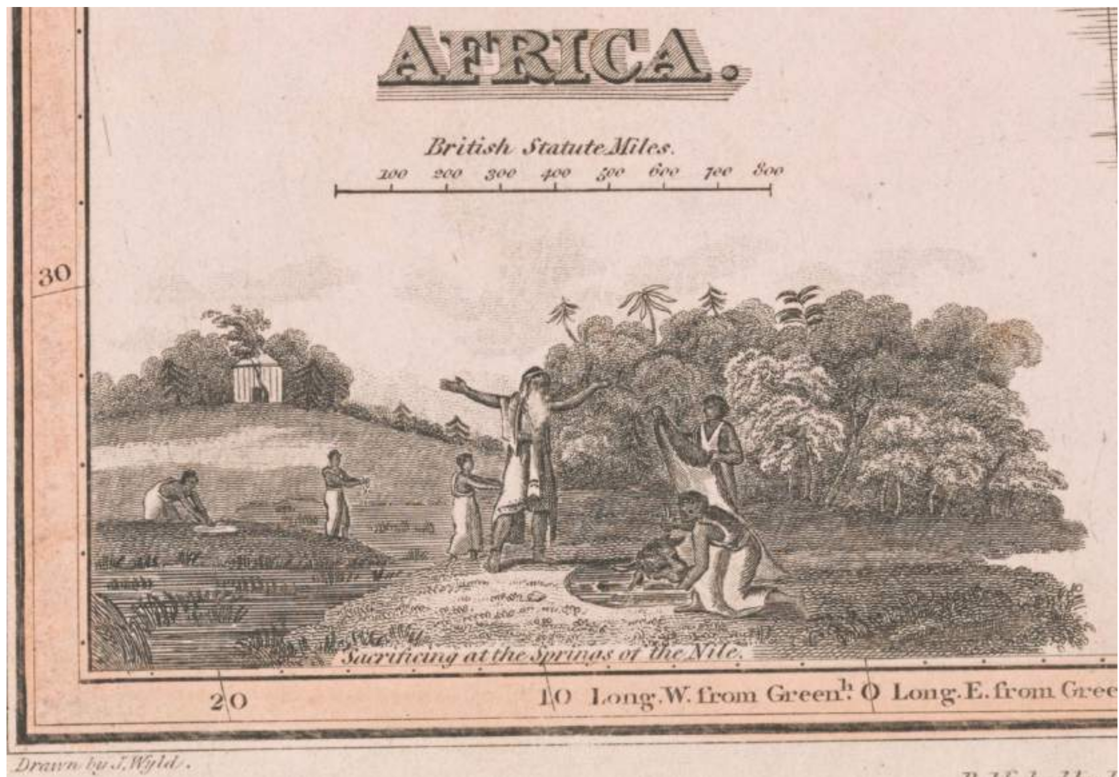

Figure 77 – Cartouche

Figure 78 - Ford, H.J. 1906. Last of all she sang in a low voice a dirge over the Rover of the Plain (Lang, 1996:197)

The cartouche shares imagery of a ritual performed over a severed buffalo/bull's head with Ford's image "Last of all she sang in a low voice a dirge over the Rover of the Plain" (Figure 78). Here too the imagery seeks to emphasise the savageness of the moment: almost no contextual information is given other than the heavily smoking open fire and its collection of pots, the buffalo's severed head and the dress of the girl in the middle. Her figure bending over the severed head while crooning to it seems to draw power, gravitas, and drama from the billowing smoke behind her. The sense of horror is subtly notched up by the knife lying on the floor between the severed head of the buffalo and the girl. It evokes the idea of African witchcraft and ritual magic as it was conjured by missionaries seeking support from the British at home.

The land depicted in the cartouche is depicted as having minimal unsophisticated inhabitation. On top of the high left hill there is a small dwelling with a door and tree next to the door. The tree is taller than the house. The house is backed by what appears to be the margins of a forest. Behind the first group of figures looms a dense area of trees with palm trees showing against the skyline. The fore- and middle-ground show open, undomesticated grass areas.

On the mapping of the land itself, most of the detail appears above the Horn of Africa, with detail also appearing in the Congo and Cape. Below the mountains of Algiers, the land is identified by its produce, "country of dates". In the region of "Nigrita", the "copper mines of Fertit" are flanked on either side by the word "negroes." While some kingdoms, such as Dahomey and Benin, are shown, the space between the Equator and the Tropic of Capricorn is literally labelled "regions unexplored". The labelling of the area as unexplored, suggests that the land is waiting to be explored, that this is needed to occur.

The ocean around the coast is rendered darker by horizontal lines fanning out vertically from the shore. Maps catalogue the features of the land and earth surface that are deemed to be "important"; they ignore those features that are thought to be unimportant (Pickles, 2004:20). In the representation of Europe, very little detail is given, just elements, such as the names of countries. This is not a map that allows the viewer to "know" Europe, rather it is a map that shows the edges of Europe so that viewers might be able to imagine Africa in relation to it. The Asian coast is similarly empty.

The map orientates the user by establishing lines of longitude and latitude. Some areas have been given borders which appear to have been coloured after publication. The “Sahara” or “Great Desert” is indicated through stippling. The mountain ranges are indicated pictorially with shaded cones and textually with their names; for example, one set of cones is labelled “Mountains of the Moon”. Text is used here in conjunction with pictures to create meaning. Another example is that the word “Turkey”, representing the geographical space known as Turkey is placed within a set of lines. The interaction between the words and lines informs the viewer that the pictorial space between the lines represents the geographical space of Turkey. We are taught by the map to identify cities’ relative locations on the map, and their names by the combination of a circle with a dot in the middle, and text. The circle indicates location, the text indicates the name of that location.

Space on a map can simultaneously represent more than one space. For example, the space that is indicated to be Cape Town through the dot and text system, also falls into a larger area that is designated by lines and the text “The Colony of Good Hope”. As described above, text forms another kind of language in describing the absent space. Both text and image languages are needed to create a representation of the space. Without the image, the text simply indicates that a place or thing exists, not where it exists in relation to other things or places. Without the text, the images describe the land but do not name it. Together, image and text can give a representation that both identifies and locates. The space is then represented using both graphic and linguistic codes (Pickles, 2004:53).

In the two maps being considered here, there are two different resolutions to the process of abstraction. If you will, two kinds of dialects conversing with the viewer. The more diagrammatic elements in the maps allow people to navigate and imagine the space through lines making up topographical features and lines that make up imaginary boundaries between spaces, borders. These stripped-down markers are contrasted with pictorial representations. The two modes of image-based representation are hooks from which we can build our imagined land. The scenes, animals, things, or people give us a window into what things are like, while the linear depiction of the space gives us a sense of spatial relationships. Like borders and labels of cartography, the images impose their ideas through the particulars of their form of representing and imagining. The two maps use these modes to differing degrees to allow the

viewer to imagine Africa. The combination of the two forms of language relates to the interplay between image and text and the coexistence of two forms of representation.

There is a shift in imagining between the two maps: the first is not located as firmly as the second in detailing Africa's relationship to Europe and Asia. It lacks the scientific construction that the second map creates through measuring lines of latitude and longitude and the attempt at scale through miles. The second map anchors the land with an increased number of labelled cities, regions, mountains, deserts, etc, while the first map relies more on images accompanied by text rather than relying on viewers to be able to distinguish what a thing is based on labels.

The second map contains more information, which would suggest that in the time between the two maps' creation, either the demand for information or availability of information or both had increased. The increased labels and demarcations could also speak to the use of these devices to control the unknown. We see the entrenchment of ideas of representation and image in cartography through a continuous depiction of rivers as snaking lines and mountain ranges as a collection of mountains. The indication of deserts in the second map reads as a continuation of this visual language (Martinez-Ruiz, 2007:335). Through the interplay of the languages of image and text, cartography creates an understanding and ownership of the imaginary space they represent. The relationship of image and text in these maps reflects the relationship between Europe and the Other. It is a relationship that is often paradoxical, as the strategies for understanding lie in the dialogue between them. Maps construct space by building European ideas of reason. The product is a representation of space that is appropriated, imagined and then outlined (Martinez-Ruiz, 2007:335). The second map has built on the trajectory and information of previous maps and shows the accrual and focusing of data as a result of the colonial expansion.

Fairy tales and maps, with their history of constant evolution through re-presentations, provide the perfect space for looking at the implications of re-presentations (Zipes, 2006: xi-xv). I consider how the cartographic imagination inhabits the same space as fairy tale. The comparative history, techniques and traditions are used to show how maps and fairy tales speak in the same way. By comparing fairy stories and maps, how they operate and are assembled, and their roles as agents of socialisation, I formulate the argument of the cartographic imagination as fairy tale. These representations not only allow us to understand how Africa has

been imagined, but also to reconsider how these representations shape our knowledge production, and open new spaces so that we may interrogate them for future re-imaginings. Depictions of the continent were instrumental in shaping future perceptions of the African continent, land, and bodies. Fairy tales and cartography function as didactic models in order to socialise people into their roles within the colonial project, and this saw the positioning of people either as active citizens or as subject to the colonial project.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

My thesis centers on a series of illustrated texts, *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books,* which while well known in their day, have not been the subject of much focus in recent years. These texts were aimed at children and are conduits of colonial culture. The crux of my thesis is a comparison between Lang's global anthologies of fairy tales and cartography. I introduce the concept of the map as a framework for interpreting the visual and textual components of *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* with an expansive historiography. I consider how the representations in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* construct an image of Africa and Africans. I used the idea of the cartographic imagination as fairy tale and the relationship between image and text as tools to re-interrogate this space.

In looking at the representations created by *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books,* I considered how the cartographic imagination inhabits the same narrative space as fairytale. The shared manner of representation in maps and fairy tales is displayed in their comparative history, techniques, and traditions. Comparing the cartographic imagination to fairy tales creates a new way of gaining insight into representations created by fairy tales. It highlights the need for a multi-conscious approach, acknowledging that reading (image and text) is a community-based pursuit and that it is both active and social.

My study contextualises Lang's methods of literary collection and situates it in the bigger context of the colonial collecting of objects and knowledge. In these processes of colonial acquisition, libraries, museums, and government archives are implicated. To counter and highlight the systems of thought these institutions entrench, I show that European orthodoxies can be destabilized by non-western systems of knowledge. I situate *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* in an "ecology" of knowledge which occupies space exterior to the imperial centre. I refute the logic of the centre and periphery by showing Yoruba systems as a hierarchy of knowledge being both a comparative and corrective archive.

Andrew Lang's Fairy Books, in combining stories from all over the globe, provide a platform where Africa is seen as a peer of Europe. They also bring information from the peoples

themselves albeit transmuted by the collecting and translation process. It is not an unadulterated source, but it adds information and nuances, especially through its interplay between image and text. It is within the spaces of concord and slippage created by image and text that we can set about exploring the representations: what they say about who is being represented, and who is doing the representing. They produce a multi-representational approach within the same source.

I examined specific instances of interplay between image and text in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books,* looking at where they work together to build a representation of Africa and where, conversely, there is slippage between their representations. Slippage creates the impression of an unstable and questionable representation, encouraging the viewer to consider both the image and text, and why they might be depicting things in such a discordant way. Slippage alerts the reader to the construction of the representation. Charlene Villaseñor Black and Tim Barringer (2022) highlight this problematic construction of representation, noting that art history has not been swift to acknowledge how its methods and categories were shaped by racial hierarchies and taxonomies and imperialism during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Villaseñor Black & Barringer, 2022:10). In highlighting this slippage and the construction it reveals, I seek to confront the "continuing effects of the age of imperialism in our world" as denoted by Villaseñor Black & Barringer (2002:18).

Having established the theories of race prevalent in late- Victorian Britain, using a wide range of sources, before examining *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books*, I consider how the colonies played an important role in developing a cohesive British identity out of diverse multi-faceted people. In order to create a clear identity to position themselves against, Victorian and Edwardian Britain sought to generalise and homogenise Africa and Africans into a single identity. This imposed African identity was imagined and built from the limited pieces of information and experiences that the British had gleaned from their African colonies. It was shaped by the need for imperialist cultural and resource control of landscape, fauna, flora and people and their desire to be seen as a dominant colonial power. This imposed identity has been entrenched through multiple disciplines, each with its own unique framing. The British cultivated an imposed African identity through visual and textual representations as something that contained everything that Africa and Africans in their vast diversity were not. In the wake of the Industrial Revolution, the British sought to position themselves as "developed",

"hardworking" and "moral", and, thus, positioned Africans in a role of "lazy", "immoral" and "primitive" (untamed labour), coinciding also with the exploitation of minerals in South Africa. This representation is extremely problematic as is the notion of a homogenous "Africa". The former is racist and pejorative while the latter blankets out information in order to create the effect of sameness. A critique of this is in order and I have approached it here through looking at image and text in *Andrew Lang's Fairy Books* and unpacking the holistic idea of "Africa". Further and more detailed investigations into the African representation through her own storytelling traditions are required going forward to counteract the weight of the European literary hegemony, as I have attempted to initiate here.

This study models new approaches – cartographic imagination as fairytale and the image-text relationship – to reinvestigate representations of Africa and bring more nuanced understandings and fresh perspectives.

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