



CHAPTER II.

“Teaching Them a Lesson”: The Pedagogy of Fear in Fairy Tales

She had read several nice little stories about children who had got burnt, and eaten up by wild beasts, and other unpleasant things, all because they would not remember the simple rules their friends had taught them: such as, that a red-hot poker will burn you if you hold it too long; and that, if you cut your finger very deeply with a knife, it usually bleeds; and she had never forgotten that, if you drink much from a bottle marked “poison,” it is almost certain to disagree with you, sooner or later.

— Lewis Carroll, Alice in Wonderland

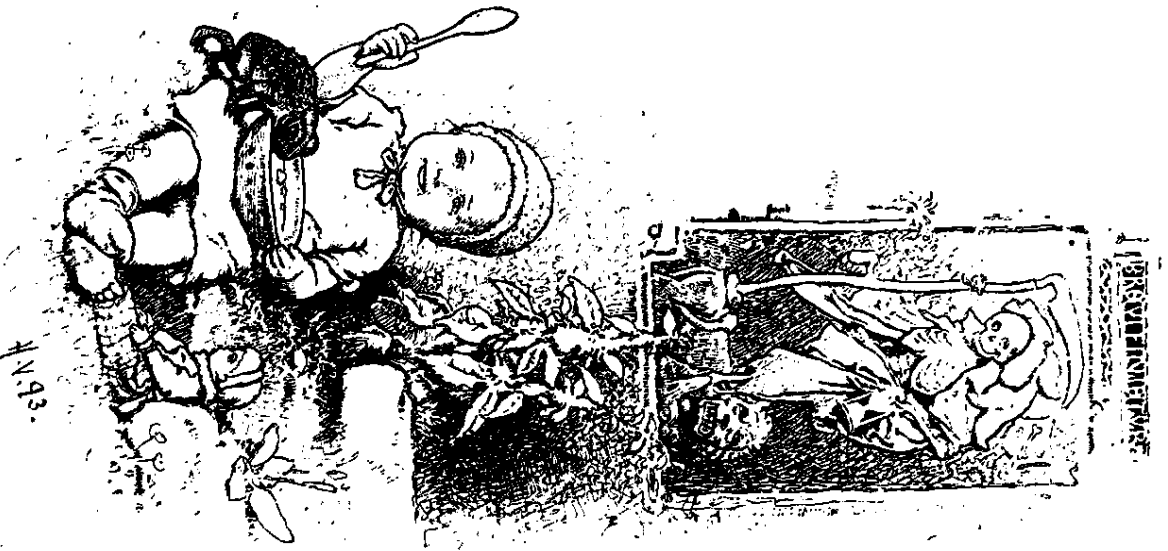
ONCE UPON A TIME there was a girl who was stubborn and curious, and whenever her parents told her to do something, she would not obey them. Well, how could things possibly go well for her? The answer is that they could not, for this girl happens to be caught between the pages of the Grimms’ *Nursery and Household Tales*, where stubbornness and curiosity invite persecution and virtually guarantee a violation of the rule that all ends well for fairy-tale heroes. The case of the headstrong young girl in the passage cited above is typical. She is determined to visit a woman named Frau Trude. “People say that there are unusual things about her house, and there are also strange things inside,” the heroine reflects. “All that’s made me very curious.” The sensible parents warn their daughter that Frau

Trude is known as an “evil woman” who does “wicked things,” but to no avail. As the girl makes her way up the stairs of Frau Trude’s house, she first witnesses a parade of ghoulish figures, then finds herself transformed into a block of wood casually tossed on the fire. “That makes a nice, bright fire,” Frau Trude declares with satisfaction as she warms herself by a blaze fueled by the tale’s stubborn, curious heroine.¹

There are many equally disagreeable tales in the Grimms’ collection. “The Stubborn Child” also rehearses the perils of disobedience: the recalcitrant child in that story lies on his deathbed because the “dear Lord” does not “look kindly on him” (he never does what his mother tells him to do) and lets him become sick. But even in the grave the boy asserts his will by forcing one arm right through the ground, despite repeated efforts to cover it over with fresh mounds of dirt. “So the child’s mother had to go to the grave herself and smack the little arm with a switch. After she had done that, the arm withdrew, and then, for the first time, the child had peace beneath the earth.” Another tale, one of three “Tales about Toads,” recounts the miserable lot of a child who has the nerve to bark the kinds of orders normally issued only by adults. Impertinent behavior leads the child first to lose her bright red cheeks, then to waste away. “It was not long before the owl, the bird of ill omen, began to screech in the night, and the robin gathered twigs and leaves for a funeral wreath. Soon thereafter the child lay in her coffin.”² While most readers expect to find examples of cruel behavior in the Grimms’ collection and are not surprised by scenes of violence, few fail to register shock at the grisly conclusions to these two tales.³

In nineteenth-century British fairy tales, disobedient children only narrowly escape the fate of their counterparts in the Grimms’ collection. The six-year-old boy in “My Own Self” has been bad, we are told, “since the day he was born.” When he refuses to obey his mother, she first threatens to “give him the stick,” then warns him that fairies will come to fetch him. The boy laughs, and the mother, in desperation, bursts into tears and goes to bed. When a fairy actually materializes and almost spirits the boy off, he is finally frightened into good behavior—the mother is surprised to find that her son is no longer “bad” or “naughty” but “willing to go to bed whenever she liked.”

Tommy in “Mr. Miacca,” a grisly little tale that was reissued as a story for children as recently as 1967, almost falls victim to a cannibalistic fiend. For failing to obey his mother, he is snatched up by Mr. Miacca, who thunders: “You’re rather tough . . . but you’re all I’ve got for sup-



4. Death awaits this beaming child, who sups daily with a toad that brings pearls, stones, and gold as a reward. After urging the toad to eat its bread, striking it with a spoon, and betraying its existence to an adult, the child loses its color, grows thinner by the day, and dies.

per, and you'll not taste bad boiled." Tommy survives the ordeal, but he roams too far from home a second time. This time Mr. Miacca chops off a leg and "pops it in a pot." As it turns out, however, the leg in the pot is really the leg of the sofa beneath which the boy was hiding, but readers learn that fact only after they see Mr. Miacca stirring his brew. Tommy escapes and never goes around the corner again until he is "old enough to go alone."⁴

Disobedience is generally a function of curiosity and stubbornness in the behavioral calculus of most folkloric collections, and both vices are repeatedly singled out for punishment in cautionary tales. Such tales, which enunciate a prohibition, stage its violation, and put on display the punishment of the violator, are surely the most openly violent and explicitly didactic of all children's stories. They aim to mold behavior by illustrating in elaborate detail the dire consequences of deviant conduct. Charles Perrault, who recognized early on that the stories told by his ancestors to children were no "mere trifles," gave us the classic formulation of the ethical code built into them: "Virtue is rewarded everywhere, and vice is always punished." The unambiguous message and iron logic of these tales were a joy to him—children are shown the advantages of being "honest, patient, prudent, hard-working and obedient," and at the same time they discover that without these virtues they will have nothing but trouble. Perrault's description of typical plots is telling: "Sometimes there are children who become great lords for having obeyed their fathers and mothers, or others who experience terrible misfortune for having been vicious and disobedient."⁵ Many of the cautionary tales to which Perrault refers include a coda in which the hero is rescued, revived, or resurrected, but there are enough that kill off their child-heroes so matter-of-factly that it becomes hard not to raise an eyebrow in bewilderment.

We do not have to look long or far to find an important source of the link between death and disobedience. Proverbs offers an endless refrain not only on the excellence of the rod but also on the perils of disobedience. In one of the more colorful passages describing the consequences of failure to honor mothers and fathers, children are advised that "the eye that mocks a father and scorns to obey a mother will be picked out by the ravens of the valley and eaten by the vultures" (Prov. 30:17). This may appear a rather harsh punishment by today's standards, but it must have seemed perfectly appropriate to the many parents who purchased one of the most popular children's books ever published: Isaac Watts's

Divine and Moral Songs (1715). One of the songs in it, entitled "Obedience to Parents," could be included in the "awful-warning" category:

Have you not heard what dreadful plagues
Are threaten'd by the Lord,
To him that breaks his father's law,
Or mocks his mother's word?

What heavy guilt upon him lies!
How curs'd is his name!
The ravens shall pick out his eyes,
And eagles eat the same.⁶

Mercurially, the vignette accompanying the song in one edition showed a bearded Prometheus rather than a small child suffering the consequences of disobedience.

The degree to which the popular imagination was intent on investing the curiosity and stubbornness of disobedient children with evil connotations becomes evident from a look at the Grimms' story "Mary's Child." That tale, a variant of "Bluebeard," recounts the trials of a young girl who is whisked off to heaven by the Virgin Mary when her parents can no longer provide for her. "Everything went well for the girl there: she ate cake and drank sweet milk. Her clothes were made of gold, and the little angels played with her."⁷ When the girl turns fourteen, the Virgin Mary tests her by entrusting her with a key to the thirteen doors of heaven, of which she may open twelve. Needless to say, the desire to find out what lies beyond the thirteenth door is overpowering; it keeps gnawing and pecking away at her" and gives her "no peace." In the end, Mary's Child not only succumbs to curiosity and opens the door, but also fails to acknowledge her sin. "You've disobeyed me," the Virgin scolds, "and you've even lied. You're no longer worthy enough to stay in heaven." The heroine's expulsion from paradise is described in elaborate detail:

The maiden sank then into a deep sleep, and when she awoke, she was lying on earth in the middle of a wilderness. She wanted to cry out, but she could not utter a sound. She jumped up and wanted to run away, but wherever she turned, she encountered thick hedges of thorns and could not make her way through them. She was imprisoned in this desolate spot and had to make an old hollow tree her dwelling place. . . . Roots and wild berries were her only food. . . .



5. Angels try to restrain Mary's Child from peering behind a door to which the Virgin has given her a key but forbidden her to use. Her curiosity gets the better of her, and—though she has promised to be obedient—she commits the "sin" of disobeying the Virgin's command.

Before long her clothes became tattered, and one piece after the other fell off her body. . . . She spent year after year like this and felt the sorrow and misery of the world.

Like Adam and Eve, Mary's Child gives in to temptation and is expelled from paradise. In an interesting twist, however, she is literally hedged in and loses her clothing so that she is left isolated and vulnerable. Her offense becomes tainted with all the disagreeable connotations of biblical transgression and original sin: after her fall from inno-

cence and grace, she survives only by the sweat of her brow. That a child's curiosity should be linked with the Fall and punished in so severe a manner may appear odd to us, but it happens all the time in children's fairy tales. The Russian Baba Yaga, for example, warns her young visitors that "if you know too much, you will soon grow old." Worse yet, she does not hesitate to eat the "overcurious."⁸ Through its forced association with original sin, curiosity in children came to be charged with evil and thus was deemed worthy of the folkloric punishments designed to remedy it.

Belief in the innate sinfulness of children was an article of faith for many in earlier ages. "When Adam was deceived, / I was of life bereaved; / Of late (too) I perceived, I was in sin conceived," John Bunyan's *Book for Boys and Girls* (1686) cheerfully declares. Some theologians may have exempted infants from the charge of moral corruption, but many found, like Luther, that even the newborn comes into the world tainted with sin—hence the importance of baptism. Luther himself emphasized that a child's moral condition is subject to constant deterioration: the very young do not have serious vices, but they can grow up to become the victims of all manner of deadly temptations. Bunyan summed up the prevailing wisdom of his contemporaries in his poem "Upon the Disobedient Child":

Children become, while little, our delights,
When they grow bigger, they begin to rebel.
Their sinful Nature prompts them to fight,
And to delight in Paths that lead to Hell.

The "sinful Nature" of Mary's Child manifests itself as disobedience, set in motion by curiosity and marked with all the signs of biblical rebellion and disgrace.⁹

"Mary's Child" encapsulates two lessons for children. One has to do with the perils of curiosity, the other with the evils of stubbornness. The second phase of the story shows us Mary's Child married to a king and mother of three children, each of whom is spirited off to heaven as punishment for their mother's stubborn insistence on her innocence. Only when about to be burned at the stake does Mary's Child break down, own up to her act of disobedience in heaven, and find forgiveness. Mary's Child may have grown up, but the Virgin treats her like a child whose will must be crushed. As the first pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers in Holland exhorted parents: "Surely there is in all children . . .

a stubbornness, and stoutness of mind arising from natural pride, which must in the first place be broken and beaten down."

Around the same time as Bunyan's book appeared, Calvin was advocating capital punishment for those who disobeyed parents, though New England appears to be one of the few places that actually carried out such penalties. Luther did not even have to decree the death penalty for rebellious children. In words that remind us of the Grimms' "Disobedient Child," who wastes away and loses favor with God because he refuses to do what his mother tells him, Luther declared that "those who fail to obey [parents] will die early and not live a long life." This was, of course, little more than a reformulation in negative terms of the third commandment which warns: "Honor your father and your mother, that your days may be long in the land which the Lord your God gives you." "Mary's Child" preaches a lesson that J. H. Plumb has described as being concerned with "the repression of Old Adam, the suppression of evil, or the breaking of the will." This religious, rather than social, morality held sway in Europe well into the eighteenth century and inscribed its stern values on stories told by adults to children.¹⁰

In much the same way that the Grimms lent authority to their condemnation of curiosity and stubbornness with biblical allusions and a Virgin whose threshold for disobedience is exceptionally low, Hans Christian Andersen delighted in the possibilities of describing divine revenge against mortal sin and wove biblical references into his story of childish pride and willfulness punished. "The Girl Who Trod on the Loaf" features a dreadful little girl who is "proud and vain," and who commits the worst of all fairy-tale sins—she tortures animals.¹¹ Inger delights in catching flies and pulling off their wings or sticking beetles on pins so that she can watch them writhe in agony. One day, Inger makes the mistake of flinging a loaf of bread on the ground so that she can cross a puddle without dirtying her shoes. But no sooner has she put her foot on the loaf than she sinks down into the ground and becomes a statue at the gates of hell. The narrator expands almost endlessly on her afflictions:

Her clothes seemed to be smeared over with one great blotch of slime; a snake had got caught in her hair and was dangling down her neck, and from each fold in her dress a toad peeped out with a croak. . . . Then the flies came and crawled over her eyes, to and fro. She blinked her eyes, but the flies didn't fly away; they couldn't, because their

wings had been pulled off. . . . That was torment for her, and as for her hunger—well, at last she felt that her innards were eating themselves up, and she became quite empty inside, so appallingly empty.

Her mother's tears of grief fail to release poor Inger from her misery; they only burn the girl, making her torment all the more intense. And what does her mother say while weeping for her child? "Pride goes before a fall—that was your misfortune, Inger. How you have grieved your mother!" The master and mistress of the house where Inger had gone to work have similar smug thoughts about the dead child: "She had no respect for God's gifts, but trod them underfoot; the door of mercy will be hard for her to open." During her trials, Inger herself begins to feel some remorse: "They should have corrected me more often," she reflects, "cured me of my bad ways if I had any." She is released at last from her misery, but not until the horrors of her sojourn in hell have been itemized in excruciating detail.¹²

For all their positive connotations, curiosity and a strong will are traits that parents rarely tolerate well in their children. As the Grimms remind us in the tales they recorded, curiosity goes hand in hand with defiance and therefore often becomes the trait that parents find most irritating. That fact alone does much to account for the vast numbers of children's stories that have sprung up in various cultures about the hazards of curiosity. The very genre "cautionary tale," while often warning of quite legitimate dangers, usually really aims to deter children from being too inquisitive about the world they inhabit and deviating in any way from behavioral norms. Using intimidation, cautionary tales persuade children to obey the laws set down by parental authority, celebrating docility and conformity while discouraging curiosity and willfulness. The consequences of this "pedagogy of fear" were recognized early on. As one French versifier put it in an attempt to serve as an advocate for children:

To speak out for the little child
I feel that I must scold the nurse.
For to keep him meek and mild
She threatens with a monster curse,
And happy to have calmed the strife
Leaves him fearful all his life.

He's haunted by the boogey-man,
He's haunted by the werewolf's cry.

The dragon's coming from his den
To gulp him down. And by and by
The frightened child is weak and cowed,
Surrounded by a monster crowd. . . .¹³

Cautionary tales, according to these strophes, masquerade as educational tales but are in reality satiric stories aimed at controlling behavior. Recognizing the advantages of a docile child, caregivers create a host of monsters that discourage children from engaging in daredevil behavior while also absorbing the blame for any prohibitions issued. The economy of the cautionary tale operates in such a way as to provide maximum advantage to its teller.

It may, to be sure, be true that children need monsters and other dreadful creatures of the imagination to conserve idealized images of their parents.¹⁴ By creating menacing figures and mobilizing them in their play, children are said to express and "master" the terror they feel when a parent is hostile, even as they protect the parent from criticism. Yet no matter what our point of view, it is coercive sadism on the one hand and forbidding hostility on the other that produces many of the monsters that haunt children's imaginations. And in each case it is parental behavior that creates the "monster crowd."

Fairy-tale collectors often put the spotlight on the morals to their stories. Each tale in the *Pentamerone*, for example, ends with a lesson that is set off from the text and italicized: "To be courteous is ever best," "To those who do good, good always comes," "Who spits at heaven gets it back in his face." But the frame-tale tells us something quite different about the immediate impact of each narrative. What the listeners find satisfying about these stories is the way in which they reward virtue and punish vice: "Everyone showed great pleasure in hearing of the consolation of the poor Prince and the punishment inflicted on the wicked women."¹⁵ Should a villain get off the hook, there is disappointment all around; in "The Cat Cinderella," the audience feels cheated because the punishments for the stepdaughters are "too light."¹⁶ Fairy tale collectors justified the display of cruel punishments on both pedagogical and moral grounds. If the pedagogical grounds were often a mask for satiric impulses, the moral grounds were usually little more than a pretext for gratifying the audience's need for chilling scenes of savage violence.

In a study of lullabies, Nicholas Tucker has concluded that some of the melodies sung to children must be "exercises in controlled hatred." Caretakers seeking to induce sleep may themselves be so desperate for

sleep that, rather than singing tender words, they resort in desperation to threats. A British lullaby is representative:

Baby, baby, naughty baby,
Hush, you squalling thing, I say
Peace this moment, peace, or maybe
Bonaparte will pass this way.

Baby, baby, he's a giant,
Tall and black as Rouen steeple,
And he breakfasts, dines, rely on't,
Every day on naughty people.
Baby, baby, if he hears you,
As he gallops past the house,
Limb from limb at once he'll tear you,
Just as pussy tears a mouse.

And he'll beat you, beat you, beat you,
And he'll beat you all to pap,
And he'll eat you, eat you, eat you,
Every morsel snap, snap, snap,¹⁷

Similar melodies have been used to lull French and Spanish babies to sleep, with Wellington and Bismarck, or El Cocco, the Bull, or the Moorish Queen standing in for Bonaparte.

Isaac Watts' "Cradle Hymn" gives a slightly different twist to menacing lullabies. Here, the mother begins on a gentle note but works herself into a rage as she contemplates how Christ was betrayed, then finally calms herself with thoughts of Christ as savior to her child:

Hush, my dear! Lie still, and slumber!
Holy angels guard thy bed!
Heavenly blessings, without number,
Gently falling on thy head.

How much better thou'rt attended
Than the Son of God could be.

Was there nothing but a manger
Cursed sinners could afford,
To receive the heavenly stranger?
Did they thus affront the Lord?

Soft my Child,



Soft my Child, I did not chide thee,
Though my Song might sound loud here,
For thy (Dadber) has sin beside thee,
And her Arms shall hold thee dear.

Yet to read the shameful story



Yet to read the shameful story,
How the Jews abused their King,
How they served the Lord of Glory,
Makes me angry while I sing.

6. The belligerent tone of this song seems at odds with the soothing effect we expect from lullabies, just as it stands in stark contrast to the soft pastels of the illustration. Our most popular lullaby ("Tush-a-bye, baby, on the tree top") reminds us, however, of the way in which caregivers sing about all manner of calamities to the children they are trying to put to sleep.

Soft my child! I did not chide thee,
Though my song might sound too hard:
Tis thy mother sits beside thee,
And her arm shall be thy guard.

Yet to read the shameful story,
How the Jews abused their King,
How they served the Lord of Glory,
Makes me angry while I sing.

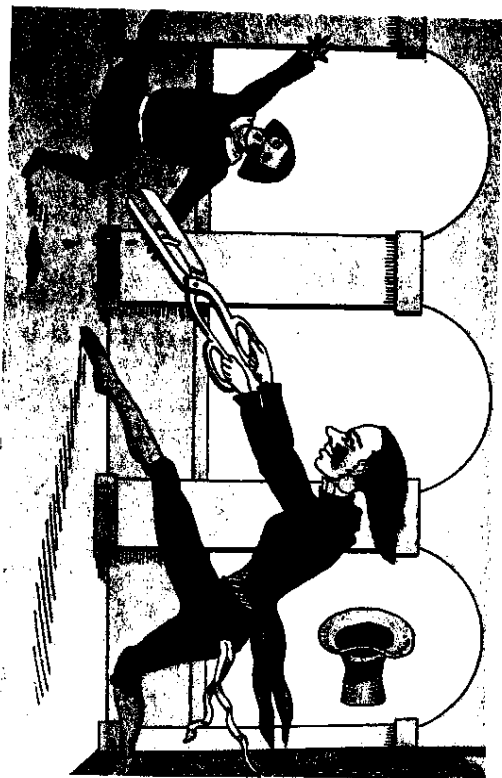
'Twas to save thee, child, from dying,
Save my dear from burning flame,
Bitter groans and endless crying,
That thy blest Redeemer came.¹⁸

The way in which the mother dwells on the soft life of her child (by comparison with that of the Christ child) and expands on the misery her child has been spared makes this lullaby more than peculiar.

Happily, there is little risk of inflicting psychic damage on infants with lullabies like these, for the (often) soothing melody (what the baby takes in) stands in sharp contrast to the hair-raising text. How older siblings or any other children within earshot react to the words is less easy to calculate, though one can only speculate on a range of responses from gleeful satisfaction to nervous anxiety. It is clear, however, that the cautionary narratives embedded in lullabies represent the case in which didacticism is least important (reaching degree zero when sung to infants) and the venting of adult resentment on children is most significant.

When it comes to cautionary tales for older children, the relationship between didacticism and retaliation would seem to shift in the direction of strengthening didacticism. Even *Struwwelpeter*, that nineteenth-century answer to permissive childrearing, appears to have some sound lessons to impart. "Nasty Frederick" is cruel to animals and ends up with a dog bite; "Fidgety Philipp" rocks back and forth at the dinner table and lands on the floor; "Hans Head-in-the-Clouds" never watches his step and plunges into icy waters. Other episodes take a different turn, and it becomes difficult not to wince at the sight of the blood that flows when "Conrad the Thumbsucker" gets his thumbs sliced off by a fleet-footed tailor wielding oversized shears, or to flinch as flames engulf Little Pauline after she lights matches.¹⁹

On the face of it, each of the episodes recounted in *Struwwelpeter* conveys a lesson worth transmitting to children, but here, as in many of the cautionary tales in the Grimms' collection, the weight given to the punishment (often fully half the text is devoted to its description) and the disproportionate relationship between the childish offense and the penalty for it make the episode disturbing. The balance between didacticism and retaliation does not really seem to have shifted much from what it was in lullabies. Cautionary tales seem equally intent on venting adult anger about childish willfulness and on controlling behavior rather than educating. But here the adult anger has a retaliatory effect whose full force can be felt by the child. Boys or girls hearing about Conrad the Thumbsucker will probably feel a need more acute than ever for their thumbs, though it is impossible to predict the exact impact of the verses. In fact, children may—like some adults—derive a



7. Conrad the Thumbsucker makes the mistake of persisting in a bad habit and finds himself the victim of a zealous tailor.

certain degree of pleasure from the punishments enacted in cautionary tales.

It is not hard to guess how young readers must have reacted when the gluttonous Tom Swallowell is tricked into eating a custard pie mixed with cow dung in *The Memoirs of a Peg-Top* (1781).²⁰ We also know how much children relish the punishments of adult villains in fairy tales. Anthony Storr offers a telling anecdote about a child who felt frustrated when a fairy-tale figure was rescued from a horrible death: "But I wanted him to be thrown into the cask of pitch," sobbed the little girl, unable to tolerate the disappointment of finding that this exciting threat was not, after all, to be put into practice."²¹

A look at what has become possibly the most famous cautionary tale of all times may help to clarify the origins, intentions, and impact of these tales. "Little Red Riding Hood," or "Rotkäppchen" as the Grimms tell it, contains the customary prohibition/violation pattern of cautionary tales. Red Riding Hood's mother hands her daughter cakes and wine for grandmother and adds a warning: "When you're out in the woods, be nice and good and don't stray from the path, otherwise you'll fall and break the glass, and your grandmother will get nothing. And when you enter her room, don't forget to say good morning, and don't go peeping

in all the corners."²² The consequences of violating the mother's prohibitions, as we know, turn out to be quite different from what is predicted.

When Red Riding Hood strays from the path to gather flowers for her grandmother, she lets the wolf get a head start on her, giving him a chance to devour grandmother and to don her nightclothes before Red Riding Hood ever reaches the house. That the bottle of wine remains intact despite the mother's predictions subverts the authority of her pronouncements. And whether Red Riding Hood's deviating from the path and dallying among the flowers gives the wolf more of an edge than he already has also remains questionable. The Grimms, at least, seemed to think it did, for at the end of their story Red Riding Hood says to herself: "Never again in all my life will I stray from the path and enter the woods alone, when mother has forbidden it." There is, however, no clear causal connection between the violation of the mother's prohibition and its punishment by the wolf—Little Red Riding Hood encounters the wolf "as soon as" she enters the forest. And once again, the punishment hardly suits the crime.

It may seem pedantic to demand logic from a genre that traffics in the supernatural, but even fairy tales have their ground rules, and those rules assure a degree of predictability in the plot. When a father orders all the spindles in his kingdom burned to protect his daughter from a curse, we know that Briar Rose will somehow find a spindle and prick her finger. When a king instructs his servant to keep his son from a portrait, you can be sure that the son will find a way to set eyes on the forbidden image. Prohibitions lead to violations, and the consequences of these violations are generally spelled out once the prohibition has been stated. That Red Riding Hood's mother wrongly forecasts the consequences of her daughter's transgression suggests that something is awry in this tale. The finger of suspicion naturally points first in the direction of the Grimms. Did the brothers inject messages into this tale ("Go along properly . . . don't stray from the path . . . don't forget to say good morning . . . don't go poking in all the corners") that did not square with the story's folkloric facts?

The first place to look for an answer is in the Grimms' source for the tale. Perrault's "Petit Chaperon Rouge," despite its catastrophic ending, is the acknowledged literary antecedent of the Grimms' text. In it, the mother issues no prohibitions at all, but it becomes clear that the little girl makes the fatal error first of giving the wolf directions to grand-

mother's house, and then of amusing herself by gathering nuts, chasing butterflies, and making nosegays while the wolf zooms off, taking a shortcut to the house. Just to ensure that no one missed the message, Perrault added a moral of his own: "From this story one learns that children, / Especially young lasses, / Pretty, courteous and well-bred, / Do very wrong to listen to strangers, / And it is not an unheard-of thing / If the Wolf is thereby provided with his dinner."²³ This heavy-handed didactic touch concerning the errors of Little Red Riding Hood's ways is not to be found in the folkloric counterparts to "Le Petit Chaperon Rouge" and "Rotkäppchen." Peasant versions of the tale simply pit a naive innocent against a predatory beast, illustrating the consequences (often both cruel and ribald in their details) of an encounter between the two.

One of the fullest available texts faithful to oral, peasant versions of "Little Red Riding Hood" was recorded in France at the end of the nineteenth century.²⁴ It too tells of a girl's trip to grandmother's house and of her encounter with a wolf, but there the resemblance to Perrault's "Petit Chaperon Rouge" and to the Grimms' "Rotkäppchen" ends. "The Story of Grandmother" dispenses with the advice and warnings issued to the heroine in its more literary counterparts—a mother simply sends her daughter to granny with a loaf of hot bread and a bottle of milk. Since there are no prohibitions to violate and no instructions to ignore, the heroine cannot be perceived as naughty or disobedient. Indeed, by outsmarting the wolf-aggressor, she escapes the role of hapless victim and joins the class of clever innocents. Folk versions of "Little Red Riding Hood" are less concerned with presenting lessons than with entertaining an audience by rehearsing a sequence of racy episodes and sensational events. Red Riding Hood begins by unwittingly eating the flesh and blood of her grandmother, she then performs a striptease for the wolf, gets into bed with him, and engages in a dialogue that leads up to a terrifying threat; in the end she escapes by pleading with the wolf for a chance to go outdoors and relieve herself.

For centuries, adult audiences depended on the telling of tales such as "The Story of Grandmother" to shorten the hours devoted to repetitive household chores or harvesting tasks. Is it any wonder that they demanded fast-paced adventure stories filled with bawdy episodes, violent scenes, and scatological humor? Neither Perrault nor the Brothers Grimm shows us the protagonist of "Little Red Riding Hood" relieving herself outdoors or stripping before the wolf, but each works hard to

build tension in the scene that unfolds in the bedroom right before the wolf pounces on his unwary victim. More importantly, both Perrault and the Brothers Grimm saw to it that the victim was not without blame. Little Red Riding Hood may not deserve her fate, but she is responsible for it nonetheless. By speaking to strangers (as Perrault has it) or by disobeying her mother and straying from the path (as the Grimms have it), Red Riding Hood courts her own downfall.

For every brutal act that befalls the hero of a folktale, it is easy enough to establish a cause and to implicate the hero in it. A chain of events that might once have been linked in a totally arbitrary manner to create burlesque effects can easily be restructured to produce a "morally edifying" tale. This was certainly the case with "Little Red Riding Hood." Readers of Perrault, as of the Grimms, speak with virtually one voice when it comes to judging the tale's heroine. Jack Zipes finds that Perrault's story is one of "discipline and punishment"—"Red Riding Hood is presented as 'pretty, spoiled, glibble, and helpless' and is seen to collaborate in her own rape. According to Bruno Bettelheim, the Grimms' Red Riding Hood has reverted to the "pleasure-seeking oedipal child." The wolf's swallowing of the girl is nothing more than "the merited punishment for her arranging things so that the wolf can do away with a mother figure."²⁵ These readings are in no way idiosyncratic—both are based on textual indicators that consistently construct a sybaritic heroine rather than a rapacious wolf.

Red Riding Hood fared even worse in later adaptations of her story. Nineteenth-century literary retellings of the tale consistently stressed the importance of restraining natural instincts and adhering to social norms set by adults. An anonymous verse melodrama from the end of the century is characteristic in the way that it underscores the conflict between self-indulgent idleness and compliant obedience to parental law:

But the pretty flowers that in the wood
Bloomed gay and bright on either hand,
So lured the maiden to gaze and pluck
That she quite forgot the strict command.

Red Riding Hood fails to heed her mother's instructions—instead of heading directly for grandmother's house, she dallies in the woods, thereby becoming responsible for her grandmother's death and narrowly escaping the wolf's clutches:

To her mother's words, ever after this,
Red Riding Hood gave better heed;
For she saw the dreadful end to which
A disobedient act may lead.

Or, as Red Riding Hood's father puts it in a prose version of the tale by Sabine Baring-Gould,

A little maid,
Must be afraid
To do other than her mother told her.

This was the lesson that one nineteenth-century Red Riding Hood after another learned.²⁶

The shift from violence in the service of slapstick to violence in the service of the didactic added a moral backbone to folktales, but it rarely curbed their uninhibited display of cruelty. The Grimms' Little Red Riding Hood may be rescued (when a hunter slits open the wolf's belly!), but not before we are treated to two scenes in which both girl and grandmother are attacked and devoured—those are, significantly, the scenes to which illustrators habitually call attention.²⁷ In their best form, the folktales that entered the sphere of children's literary culture preserved the burlesque humor of the original tales even as they taught lessons; in their worst, they promoted a pedagogy of fear and terror.

Curiosity and disobedience came to be highlighted and charged with negative meanings only relatively recently in the history of folktales—specifically, with their transformation into children's literature. Nineteenth-century rewriters of "Frau Trude," for example, had no trouble turning the protagonist of the story into a strong-willed, impudent girl who deserves to come to a terrible end. But a survey of versions closer to oral sources and therefore probably of less recent vintage reveals that disobedience never really figured prominently in the story.²⁸ These versions give us daredevils who court danger by entering households that are both forbidden and forbidding. Never once do we find in them condescending judgments about the weak or evil character of their heroines. Many variants of "The Household of the Witch" (the tale type in the comprehensive Aarne/Thompson classification system for folktales to which "Frau Trude" belongs) do not even feature a young girl as protagonist.²⁹ They show us a woman visiting her sister, a mother paying respects to her child's godmother, or a spinner knocking on a

neighbor's door to borrow embers for a fire. Each time the woman visited turns out to be allied with demonic powers. One class of tales even veers off from the demonic into the comic when it describes a terrified Frau Leberwurst (Mrs. Liversausage) hightailing it out of the house of Frau Blurwurst (Mrs. Bloodsausage), who is armed with a long knife as she chants: "If I had you, / How I'd like to / Take a knife and- / Do you get my meaning?"³⁰

"The Household of the Witch" was probably originally designed to send chills down the spines of its listeners. Its lavish description of the horrors housed in the witch's abode—one tale shows us piles of human heads, fingers, feet, torsos, and hair—along with its attention to the protagonist's growing awareness of the menace lurking there, mark it as a tale of terror. Once we enter the world of the tale and witness its events from the protagonist's point of view—and a skillful raconteur can arrange it so that we identify with the demon's victim—the tale becomes imbued with pathos. However, when the primary actors are themselves stick figures (as is the case with Frau Leberwurst and Frau Blurwurst), melodrama slides into slapstick. We may still have a horror story, but it is no longer horrifying.

That variant of "The Household of the Witch" moved out of the melodramatic and comic modes to take a turn in the direction of moral edification is unfortunate, for they thereby instituted a death penalty for such character traits as curiosity and audacity. Once "The Household of the Witch" ceased to function as a source of entertainment for adults, it began to deteriorate into a frightening story about the way in which the deviant behavior of children is punished with death.

"The Household of the Witch" is only one of a host of tales that lost more than they gained while making the transition from adult oral entertainment to literary fare for children. The Italian "Caterinella" also offers a striking example of the way in which a folktale once full of earthy humor could be converted into a heavy-handed text with a pedagogical agenda. In the process, the surreal violence of the original was converted into a frightening punishment for a relatively minor transgression. "Caterinella" tells of a girl sent by her mother to borrow a pan from a neighbor. The neighbor turns out to be a witch, ogre, or wolf—often masquerading as an aunt or uncle. Caterinella gets what she needs, but the sinister lender of each tale variant makes her promise to return the pan with a generous portion of whatever was prepared in it.

On her way back with the pan, the girl gets hungry and eats up the entire offering. She tries to outwit Uncle Wolf or his like by replacing the treat with animal excrement (cows, horses, and donkeys provide the substitute for the cake). When liquids are involved, urine usually does the job. The witches, ogres, and wolves all fall for the trick at first, but once they see through it, they rush to the heroine's home, track her down in her bed, and devour her. Most versions of the tale end with Caterinella's slaying: only a small number stage the heroine's rescue in scenes reminiscent of (and probably influenced by) the Grimms' "Little Red Riding Hood."

It is interesting to observe the ease with which folklorists classify this story as a cautionary tale. Caterinella is invariably described as "disobedient," although she displays nothing more than the healthy appetite of a perfectly normal child. Like most children, she starts off with one small bite, continues with larger portions, then finds herself obliged to destroy the evidence by eating the entire cake in the pan or drinking the entire bottle of wine. She then covers up her deed in a way so transparent that it can only lead to discovery. One commentator observes that "for educational reasons, it is important for Caterinella to be punished for her greed and deceit."³¹ By turning gluttony into greed, and a childish attempt at a cover-up into full-blown deceit, this critic tries to make an example of the tale's heroine. But is it really such a bad thing to outwit a creature who makes a habit of devouring human beings? Moralizing readings of "Caterinella" miss the point of the story even as they fail to appreciate its scatological humor or, for that matter, any of the tale's comic possibilities. Much of the humor may seem crude to our ears, but it surely could have made for high entertainment among rural audiences, for whom animal dung was a powerful part of everyday life.

Caterinella's only real mistake is that she gets caught. But even the conclusion to her story is not necessarily tragic or frightening. In the proper hands, the tale can easily end by provoking gales of laughter, for the greed of the ogre, a grotesquely magnified and distorted form of gluttonous urges, can be acted out in a fashion that promotes a cathartic rather than a savagely frightening effect. The teller of a tale can indulge in the same kind of playful cavoring that goes on between children when they mock their own fears about being devoured by playing games in which ogres and witches are taunted.³² The final episode of

"Caterinella" touches on one of our deepest fears (the idea of being devoured can be a source of anxiety for adults and children alike), but that episode can be told in a way that works through those fears by mobilizing an animated playfulness rather than intensifying them with a tone of moral earnestness. Humor, along with verbal markers emphasizing the status of the tales as fantasy and not reality, prevents "Caterinella" (a tale that has flourished in oral form) from turning into a horror story. This is patently not the case with latter-day versions of "The Household of the Witch"—these "children's stories" remain dead serious in the punishment of protagonists whose curiosity, audacity, gluttony, and willfulness make them easy targets of identification for virtually every child.

If the basic narrative unit of the cautionary tale consists of a prohibition and its violation, the fundamental move of the exemplary story involves a command and its fulfillment. In exemplary stories, dutiful obedience to the point of subservience and servitude is enshrined as the highest value. In this context, it is important to bear in mind that the male protagonists of European classic fairy tales possess two virtues that set them apart from others: humility and compassion. Humility makes for a meek docility that earns rewards from adults; compassion is generally lavished on animals who repay kindness with assistance in carrying out tasks. For fairy-tale heroines, by contrast, the combination of a servile attitude and hard work pays off by attracting a groom who offers social promotion through marriage.³³ The Grimms' *Allerleirauh*, for example, demonstrates extraordinary self-effacing fortitude by agreeing to do "all the nasty work," which includes hauling wood and water, tending the fires, plucking fowl, cleaning vegetables, and sweeping the ashes.

Exemplary stories, like cautionary tales, combine didacticism with melodrama to create powerful dramatic tableaux. The spectacles of suffering we witness in cautionary tales are often excessively cruel and unusual, but they are usually embedded in a brutal context where the lex talionis prevails. Far more disconcerting than the severe punishments visited on transgressors of explicit or implicit interdictions are the penalties imposed on those who adhere to the spirit and letter of what one would imagine to be "good behavior." Obedient paragons of virtue often suffer more than the most hardened young criminals. We have seen that the numbers of arrogant, disobedient, and vain children

make for a wealth of tales in which both the protagonists and the listeners/readers of the tale are taught lessons even as they are treated to pungent scenes of crimes and punishments. There are not many meek, modest, and dutiful counterparts to these ill-bred creatures, but the ones that do make an appearance in fairy-tale volumes inevitably fare badly, at least for the major part of the tales that recount their trials and tribulations.

The Grimms' "Star Coins" offers a revealing example of the way in which exemplary stories celebrate suffering. The tale, which combines hagiography and pedagogy in a remarkable manner, recounts the fate of an orphaned girl who has nothing more than a crust of bread and the clothes on her back, but who is so "good" and so "pious" that the bread goes to a hungry man and every last item in her meager wardrobe is bequeathed to various children shivering from the cold. Just at the point when this paragon of compassion is bereft of all material possessions, coins shower down on her and she finds herself clothed in a dress of the finest linen: "She collected the coins and stayed rich for the rest of her life."³⁴ Virtue is rewarded with cold, hard cash. The story's glorification of selflessness may seem extreme, but that does not appear to have affected its popularity. "The Star Coins" was one of fifty tales that appeared between the covers of the Grimms' *Kleine Ausgabe*, an abridged edition of the tales that enjoyed tremendous popular success over the years.³⁵ Its position as the final tale in that anthology suggests that the Grimms had made a point of putting it in an especially prominent place, and indeed the story remains among the best known in the collection, having found many admirers among both children and adults. It is no accident that countless editions of the *Nursery and Household Tales* boast a frontispiece showing this girl reaping heavenly rewards for her selflessness and humility.³⁶ For the duration of her story, this orphan girl's virtues do nothing but promote her misery and deprivation. Manna may rain down from heaven and the girl may live prosperously ever after, but at what price? The story displays her sufferings so ostentatiously and at such length that they remain with us much longer than the single concluding sentence that documents a rise in the heroine's fortunes.

Misery and suffering are nowhere more brilliantly apotheosized than in the tales of Hans Christian Andersen. Andersen's genius for humbling the proud and displaying the sufferings of the humble is unparal-



8. The heroine of "The Star Coins" is rewarded for her compassion with coins that fall from heaven in the form of stars.

leled. His "Little Match Girl" numbers among the most extreme examples of tales that idealize wretchedness and deprivation as a state that leads to genuine happiness: the match girl dies out in the cold "with a smile on her lips." Andersen's tale may dispense with the supernatural intervention we see in "The Star Coins" (here the stars fail to turn into

coins), but adds a dimension of such passionate sentimentality that many readers of the story will rub their eyes in disbelief. "It was so dreadfully cold!" the tale begins.³⁷ On New Year's Eve, just on the evening when there is "a lovely smell of roast goose" everywhere, a poor little girl "with bare head and naked feet" wanders the streets. Andersen mobilizes all his descriptive resources to emphasize the hopelessness of the girl's plight: "The poor little thing" is "hungry and frozen." She dares not return home, where the wind whistles through the cracks in the walls, for her father will beat her when he finds her matches unsold. There is no stopping Andersen, who punctuates his narrative packed with grim observations about the girl's life (Granny, the only person who ever spoke a kind word to the girl, is dead) with increasingly urgent pronouncements about the dropping temperature. The girl's welcome into heaven by her dear old granny may be painted in brilliant visionary hues, but the stark image of "a dead little body," a girl "dead, frozen to death," haunts the final paragraph of the tale.³⁸

When Andersen was approaching age seventy, his admirers planned to erect a statue in his honor. The sculptor August Saabye brought the author preliminary sketches that showed him seated in a chair reading to a crowd of eager children. Here is Andersen's reaction:

My blood was boiling, and I spoke clearly and unambiguously, saying: "None of the sculptors knew me, nothing in their attempts indicated that they had seen or realized the characteristic thing about me,—that I could never read aloud if anyone was sitting behind me or leaning towards me, and even less if I had children sitting on my lap or on my back, or young Copenhagen boys leaning up against me, and that it was only a manner of speaking when I was referred to as 'the children's writer.'"³⁹

What makes this passage remarkable is not the strength of feeling about the sculptor's mistake but the undisguised pedophobia expressed in it. The anecdote goes farther than almost any other biographical detail of Andersen's life in illustrating why the Danish writer was quite correct in stating that his books were really not for children.

"The Steadfast Tin Soldier" is also expansive in its description of suffering. Here again, Andersen creates an exemplary tale that details the protagonist's misery and builds up to a stunningly morbid death scene. Missing a leg but "steadfast" in his posture, the tin soldier makes a virtue of silent suffering. The little match girl's endurance of cold weather

is paralleled by the soldier's stoic tolerance of humiliating assaults. Street urchins use his body to make a boat, which they send down the gutter; a water rat harasses him with requests to see his passport; a fish swallows him; and finally, after a miraculous rebirth from the fish's belly, the soldier is casually tossed into a fire: "He felt himself melting, but he still stood steadfast with his rifle on his shoulder."⁴⁰

It is not only in cautionary tales and exemplary stories that children suffer cruel and unusual punishments or die slow, painful deaths. Events in the ten "Legends for Children" appended to the Grimms' *Nursery and Household Tales* are shocking in their brutality. In one, a girl is stung to death by snakes and lizards. In another, five children starve to death along with their mother. A third recounts the fate of twelve boys who, one by one, die of starvation. In a fourth, a woman dies while reflecting on the loss of her two young sons, her husband, and every one of her friends and relatives. "The Rosebud" charts the simultaneous opening of a flower and death of a child. That these tales were targeted specifically for children seems astonishing until we reflect on the social realities of the age in which they were told. In the premodern era, death stood at the center of life. As Lawrence Stone reminds us, it was a "normal occurrence in persons of all ages, and was not something that happened mainly to the old."⁴¹ As late as 1900, when Freud published *The Interpretation of Dreams*, he noted that half of the human race fails to survive the childhood years.⁴² That so many of the ten legends portray death as a release and as the path to a better life suggests that adults living in earlier centuries felt that children needed such stories to help them cope with some of the brutal facts of their everyday lives.

Those living in the premodern era probably also had a higher tolerance for descriptions of brutal behavior and violent deaths owing to the hardships to which they were exposed on a daily basis. These were times of famine and plague. Infanticide was regularly used as a method of "population control"; abandonment of children was not at all uncommon for reasons ranging from callous self-interest to an altruistic desire to better a child's chances for survival.⁴³ Public displays of corporal punishment and physical abuse were not uncommon. That children were routinely required—not just encouraged—to attend public executions is a telling commentary on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century modes of childrearing. One of the most prominent experts on parenting in late eighteenth-century Germany wrote eloquently (and probably convincingly) about "the pedagogical value of executions." "Despite the

feelings of compassion and the unpleasant sensations that may be aroused by the sight of the execution of this criminal," Christian Felix Weisse wrote to his children, "I hope, indeed I insist, no matter what effort it may cost you, that you be present." Because these executions gave an example of the price of criminal behavior, it was all the more important that children attend them. As a postscript, Weisse noted that his children followed his instructions and "forced themselves" to witness the execution. "They did not regret it, for afterwards the event became the occasion for many edifying discussions among us and our friends."⁴⁴ Hans Christian Andersen, in his autobiography, tells about an execution that was to haunt him for years after he witnessed it. A farmer's wife, daughter, and man-servant were to be executed for their roles in conspiring to murder the farmer. "The day was like a holiday," Andersen recalled. "The Rector dismissed the upper class from school, and we were to go and see the execution, for it would be a good thing for us to be acquainted with it, he said."⁴⁵

Earlier ages had few reservations about displaying the body in pain or in death—as the victim of nature or as the casualty of social justice. Decaying corpses, decapitated torsos, mutilated limbs, diseased parts, faces disfigured by illness—children were rarely spared the sight of physical suffering or of the body in a state of decomposition. The *History of the Fairchild Family*, the first volume of which was published in 1818, forcefully reminds us how some parents even went out of their way to expose children to the biological aspect of death. When Mr. and Mrs. Fairchild take their children to view the corpse of the "old gardener" John Roberts, they see this event as a real opportunity for religious instruction and moral enlightenment. The children find the assault on their olfactory and visual senses almost more than they can bear:

When they came to the door, they perceived a kind of disagreeable smell, such as they never had smelt before: this was the smell of the corpse, which, having been dead now nearly two days, had begun to corrupt; and as the children went higher up the stairs, they perceived this smell more disagreeably. . . . The face of the corpse was quite yellow, there was no colour in the lips, the nose looked sharp and long, and the eyes were closed, and sunk under the brow. . . . The whole appearance of the body was more ghastly and horrible than the children expected.⁴⁶

[39]

The CHILD.

Man that is born of a Woman, is of few Days, and full of Trouble. He cometh forth like a Flower, and is cut down: He flourisheth also as a Shabden, and continueth not.

JOB XIV. 1.



Man, who conceiv'd in the dark Womb,
Into the World is brought,
Is born to Times with Miserie,
And various Evil fraught.

And as the Flow'r soon fades and dies,
However fair it be,
So finks he also to the Grave,
And like a Shade does flee.

E 2

9. Vulnerability to disease and famine made death a central fact of life for children living in an earlier age. Ghastly reminders of the way in which death strikes the young were not at all uncommon.

Mr. Fairchild seizes the chance to launch into a sermon on "the taint and corruption of the flesh," "the exceeding sinfulness of sin, and its horrible nature," and on the way in which the sinful body must dissolve and "fall to dust in the grave." To all of this the bereaved widow responds by exclaiming: "Oh, sirl! It comforts me to hear you talk."

The Fairchilds' attempt to use death as the occasion for a lesson has an artificial quality to it, in part because the parents go so far out of their way to inflict the corpse on their children and to frighten them into an avoidance of sin. But those who lived under different circumstances in an earlier age were repeatedly exposed to the kinds of horrors that the Fairchilds sought out, but that we make a point of avoiding. These horrors of everyday life, particularly in times marked by war, famine, or disease, are faithfully reflected in folktale collections the world over, where they become the stuff of melodrama, black humor, or tragicomedy. It is only in relatively recent times, in certain cultures, that harshly brutal scenes have retreated from center stage to become a less visible part of the drama of daily life. Once the violent events in folktales ceased to function as mirrors (however distorted) of reality, they often began to be taken figuratively as events with a deep psychological resonance. A girl going to grandmother's house, for example, was no longer the potential prey of wild beasts but became the likely, and deserving, target of male seduction.

With its need to find a motive for everything, the Age of Reason hastened the process of identifying psychological causes for brutal or tragic effects. It is no accident that fairy tales underwent a profound metamorphosis in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. That era marked the rise of the cautionary tale as we know it today. Everything became motivated: A child devoured by a wolf was guilty of self-indulgence, idleness, and disobedience. A girl punished for opening a door was seen as suffering from excessive curiosity. Another girl, turned by a witch into firewood, is censured for disobedience and audacity. Representations of what had previously functioned in many cases as the random, senseless violence of a world in which human beings were hostage to powers beyond their control were mobilized to serve the purpose of moral education.

Even as the cautionary tale indulges in a gruesome spectacle of physical pain, the exemplary story mounts long, drawn-out scenes of both mental and physical suffering. But its protagonists wear their misery as if it were a badge of merit—which indeed it is. The pitiful march girl's reward may be deferred, but she wins it in the end. Other patient suf-

ferers also reap their rewards only in heaven. As the Grimms put it in the title to one of their "Legends for Children": "Poverty and Humility Lead to Heaven"—even to sainthood in some cases. Twelve brothers who starve to death one after another are, to cite just one example, reincarnated three hundred years later as Christ's apostles. These tales may have had some value as a consolation for the death of siblings and friends, but many also openly advocate self-abnegation as the path to happiness. "Put on my tattered clothes," one old man tells a king's son. "Wander about the world for seven years, and learn all about its misery. Do not take any money, but when you're hungry, ask for a piece of bread from kindhearted people. This is how you'll find the way to heaven."⁴⁷

Both cautionary tales and exemplary stories evolved in directions that are less than salutary. When the lessons preached in them are combined in reward/punishment tales, they have a powerful impact—one that will be explored in the next chapter. As soon as the collectors of fairy tales looked to children's literature as a model and assimilated from it the didactic mode, the stories made a bold move back to their original function as adult entertainment—but this time a grimly solemn version of it that could only be satisfying to those intent on seeing the child as the target of lessons. Hans Christian Andersen's description of the genesis of his fairy tales is revealing. Often he relied on stories he had heard in his childhood to craft these tales, but the best stories, in his view, emerged in the following fashion: "I dip into my own bosom, find an idea for the older people and tell it to children, but remembering that father and mother are listening!"⁴⁸

Some adults may profit from exemplary stories, and they may even get some perverse satisfaction from cautionary tales, but such narratives are not really intended for children's ears. Is it any wonder that Lucy Sprague Mitchell rejected such stories not merely for their violence, but for other reasons as well? Tales that try to teach children lessons cannot but misfire. "We are utilitarian, we are executive," Mitchell complained of her generation. "We are didactic, we are earth-tied, we are hopelessly adult!"⁴⁹



Just Desserts:

Reward-and-Punishment Tales

Since our thoughts and endeavors are permeated with evil from childhood onward, and since the human sins and errors that deserve punishment are manifold and varied, a chapter on punishments would have to take up a great deal of space. When it comes to rewards and recognition, we can be brief. For the true, the good, and the excellent are uncomplicated; and for that reason rewards, recognition, and praise can be handed out in plain and simple ways.

A. Mathias, *Raising our Son Benjamin*

READING about childrearing practices in earlier centuries reminds us just how important it was to secure a strong causal link between corporal punishment and the salvation of a child's soul. Mr. and Mrs. Fairchild provide the following gloss on a story about a child who goes up in flames because she has disobeyed her parents by carrying lighted candles about the house:

"Had this poor child been brought up in the fear of God, she might now be living, a blessing to her parents and the delight of their eyes. Withhold not correction from the child! for if thou beatest him with the rod, he shall not die; thou shalt beat him with the rod, and shall deliver his soul from hell."

Mrs. Fairchild reminds her children of just how lucky they are to have parents who punish them in the here and now and thereby save them not only from a premature death but also from damnation in the here-

40. Rachel Isadora, *The Princess and the Frog* (New York: Greenwillow Books, 1989).
41. Wolfgang Mieder, "Modern Anglo-American Variants of the Frog Prince (AaTh 440)." *New York Folklore* 6 (1980): 111-35, and Lutz Röhrich, *Wage es, den Frosch zu küssen! Das Grimmschen Märchen Nummer Eins in seinen Wandlungen* (Köln: Dieterichs, 1987) both contain a multitude of examples.
42. *Princess Furball*, retold by Charlotte Huck, illus. Anita Lobel (New York: Greenwillow Books, 1989).

CHAPTER II

1. "Mother Trudy," in *The Complete Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm*, pp. 159-60.
2. "Tales about Toads" and "The Stubborn Child" both appear in *The Complete Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm*, pp. 380-81, 422. The German originals of both stories use the neuter pronoun "es" to refer to the children and therefore do not make it clear whether the protagonists are boys or girls. I cite from Zipes's translation, which—unwittingly or not—follows the practice of previous translators in using the male pronoun for the central figure of "The Stubborn Child" and the female pronoun for the child in "Tales about Toads." These choices are not unproblematic, but using "it" to refer to the child was, for me, not an acceptable solution.
3. On violence in the Grimms' collection, see especially Carl-Heinz Mallet, *Keig ab! Gewalt im Märchen* (Hamburg: Rasch und Röhmig, 1985); Karalin Horn, "Motivationen und Funktionen der tödlichen Bedrohung in den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm," *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 74 (1978): 20-40, and Lutz Röhrich, "Die Grausamkeit im deutschen Märchen," *Rhetorisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 6 (1955): 176-224.
4. "My Own Self" and "Mr. Miacca," in *English Fairy Tales*, comp. Joseph Jacobs (London: The Bodley Head, 1968), pp. 102-3, 156-58. The most recent edition I have found is *Mr. Miacca: An English Folktale*, illus. Evaline Ness (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967).
5. Charles Perrault, "Preface" to *Contes en Vers*, in *Contes*, ed. Gilbert Rouger (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1967), pp. 3-7.
6. Isaac Watts, *Divine and Moral Songs for Children* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1866), pp. 73-74. Arthur Paul Davis writes that, "judged by the number of its editions, *Divine Songs* has been the world's most popular children's classic." Although Davis is well aware of the content of Watts's book, he describes the verse as "tolerant, gentle and persuasive." See *Isaac Watts: His Life and Work* (New York: Dryden, 1943), pp. 78, 81.
7. "The Virgin Mary's Child," in *The Complete Tales of the Brothers Grimm*, pp. 8-11. I use the shorter title, since it is closer to the original ("Mantelkind").
8. "Vasilisa the Beautiful," in Alexander Afanasev, *Russian Fairy Tales*, trans. Norbert Guterman (New York: Pantheon, 1945), p. 444.
9. "Von der Kindertaufe," in *Dr. Martin Luthers Grosser Katechismus*, ed. Gotthilf

- Hermann (Gutersloh: Gerd Mohr, n.d.), 131-32. For Bunyan's verses, see *A Book for Boys and Girls: or, Country Rhymes for Children* [facsimile of first edition] (London: Elliot Stock, 1890), pp. 2, 72.
10. J. H. Plumb, "The New World of Children in Eighteenth-Century England," *Past and Present* 67 (1975): 64-93. Lawrence Stone also discusses earlier views of children's sinfulness in *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), pp. 161-74. The importance of breaking a child's will is discussed by Jürgen Schlumbohm, "Traditionale Kollektivität und 'moderne' Individualität: Einige Fragen und Thesen für eine historische Sozialisationsforschung," in *Bürger und Bürgerlichkeit im Zeitalter der Aufklärung*, ed. Rudolf Vierhaus (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1981), pp. 279-81.
11. On the way in which cruelty to animals figures prominently in early children's literature, see Pickering, *John Locke and Children's Books*, pp. 3-39.
12. "The Girl Who Trod on the Loaf," *Hans Christian Andersen: Eighty Fairy Tales*, trans. R. P. Keigwin (New York: Pantheon, 1982), pp. 353-61.
13. Cited by Marc Soriano, "From Tales of Warning to Formules: The Oral Tradition in French Children's Literature," *Yale French Studies* 43 (1969): 31.
14. Dorothy Bloch has written eloquently and poignantly about the way in which disturbed children build fantasies about aggressive monsters to camouflage the real source of their terror. See her "So the Witch Won't Eat Me": *Fantasy and the Child's Fear of Infanticide* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978).
15. Basile, *The Pentameron*, vol. 1, p. 34.
16. Basile, *The Pentameron*, 1:64.
17. The full form of the lullaby appears in *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes*, ed. Iona Opie and Peter Opie (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1951), p. 59. For Nicholas Tucker's observations, see "Lullabies and Child Care: A Historical Perspective," in *Opening Texts: Psychoanalysis and the Culture of the Child*, ed. Joseph H. Smith and William Kerrigan (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1985), pp. 17-27.
18. Watts, "Cradle Hymn," in *Divine and Moral Songs*, pp. 111-16.
19. Hofmann, *Der Struwwelpeter* (Volksausgabe), (n.p.).
20. Mary Ann Kilner, *The Memoirs of a Peg-Top* (London: Marshall, 1781).
21. Anthony Storr, "The Child and the Book," in *Only Connect: Readings on Children's Literature*, ed. Sheila Egoff, G. T. Stubbs, and L. F. Ashley (Toronto: Oxford Univ. Press, 1969), pp. 91-96.
22. "Little Red Cap," in *The Complete Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm*, pp. 101-5. To avoid confusion, I use the title "Little Red Riding Hood" for all variants of the tale.
23. *Perrault's Complete Fairy Tales*, pp. 71-77.
24. "Le Petit Chaperon Rouge," in vol. 1 of *Le Conte populaire français*, ed. Paul Delarue and Marie-Louise Tenze (Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1976), pp. 373-74. An English translation of the tale can be found in *The Borzoi Book of French Folk Tales*, ed. Paul Delarue, trans. Austin File (New York: Knopf, 1956), pp. 230-32. See also Delarue's "Les Contes Merveilleux de Perrault et la tradition populaire:

1. *Le Petit Chaperon Rouge*, "Bulletin folklorique d'Ille-de-France" (1951), pp. 221-28, 251-60, 283-91; (1953), pp. 511-17.

25. The way in which literary versions of folktales tend to motivate events, giving causes where they were once absent, is discussed by Vladimir Propp. See his "Folklore and Reality," in *Theory and History of Folklore*, trans. Ariadna Y. Martin and Richard P. Martin, ed. Anatoly Liberman (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1984), pp. 16-38. On interpretations of "Little Red Riding Hood," see Jack Zipes, *The Trials and Tribulations of Little Red Riding Hood: Versions of the Tale in Socio-cultural Context* (South Hadley, Mass.: Bergin & Garvey, 1983), pp. 9-10, and Bettelheim, *The Uses of Enchantment*, p. 172. Carl-Henry Mallet's interpretation of the Grimms' story gives us an extreme example of misguided psychologizing. "A trained psychologist," he argues, "will understand exactly what the mother is after. He will translate what she says into the following words: Don't stray from the proper path, otherwise you will lose your innocence and be a fallen maiden." Needless to say, this is a strange message to send to five-year-old girls and boys. See his *Kennen Sie Kinder? Wie Kinder denken, handeln und fühlen, aufgezeigt an vier Grimmschen Märchen* (Hamburg: Hoffmann and Campe, 1981), p. 90. Carole Hanks and D. T. Hanks, Jr., describe Perrault's "Le Petit Chaperon Rouge" as a story in which "youth and innocence leave home only to be destroyed guiltless." They blame the Grimms alone for deleting the erotic elements from the story and pointing morals where there were none. See "Perrault's 'Little Red Riding Hood': Victim of the Revisers," *Children's Literature* 7 (1983): 68-77.

26. Jack Zipes incisively sums up the direction the tale took: "To live, a child had to live properly, restraining natural instincts according to rules established by adults. To disobey these rules or to indulge one's sensual drives for pleasure meant death." See *The Trials and Tribulations of Little Red Riding Hood*, pp. 20-31, for a discussion of the versions cited.

27. On the illustrations for "Little Red Riding Hood," see Jack Zipes, "A Second Gaze at Little Red Riding Hood's Trials and Tribulations," *The Lion and the Unicorn* 7/8 (1985): 78-109. Variants of the tale are anthologized in two collections: Hans Ritz, *Die Geschichte vom Rotkäppchen: Ursprünge, Analysen, Parodien eines Märchens* (Emswil: Murtverlag, 1981) and Zipes, *The Trials and Tribulations of Little Red Riding Hood*. For a collection of variants plus interpretive essays, see *Little Red Riding Hood: A Casebook*, ed. Alan Dundes (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1989).

28. See Walter Schert's analysis, *Die Herabforderung des Dämons: Form und Funktion grausiger Kindermärchen* (Munich: K. G. Saur, 1987).

29. Hereafter, I will use the Aarne/Thompson designations to refer to tale types (Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography*, 2d rev. ed. [Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1973]). The tale type name offers a convenient shorthand system for referring to a block of tales that have common features.

30. "The Strange Feast," in *The Complete Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm*, pp. 658-59. The translation is my own, since Zipes gives an abbreviated version of the sentence. The story appeared only in the first two editions of the *Nursery and Household Tales*.

31. Marianne Rumpf, "Caterinella: Ein italienisches Wärmärchen," *Fabula* 1 (1957): 76-84.

32. See the description of such entertainments in *Games and Songs of American Children*, comp. William Wells Newell (New York: Harper & Bros., 1884), pp. 215-21.

33. See my contrastive analysis of male and female protagonists in *The Hard Facts of the Grimms' Fairy Tales*, pp. 85-105.

34. "The Star Coins," in *The Complete Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm*, pp. 509-10.

35. Ten editions of the *Kleine Ausgabe* were printed in the Grimms' lifetimes. The volume has recently been edited and reissued by Heinz Rölleke [Kinder- und Hausmärchen gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm: Kleine Ausgabe von 1858 (Frankfurt a.M.: Insel, 1985)].

36. Ruth B. Bottigheimer makes this point in *Grimms' Bad Girls & Bold Boys: The Moral & Social Vision of the Tales* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1987), p. 150.

37. "The Little Match-Seller," in *Hans Christian Andersen: Eighty Fairy Tales*, pp. 121-23. I use the title by which the tale is conventionally known.

38. Andersen's preoccupation with the death of children is further documented in his poem "The Dying Child," printed in Rumer Godden's *Hans Christian Andersen: A Great Life in Brief* (New York: Knopf, 1955).

39. "The Saunuch Tin Soldier," in *Hans Christian Andersen: Eighty Fairy Tales*, pp. 69-72. Here again I use the popular title for the tale.

40. Cited by Elias Bredsdorff, *Hans Christian Andersen* (New York: Scribner's, 1975), p. 272. On Andersen and his audience, see Phyllis Greenacre, "Hans Christian Andersen and Children," *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child* 38 (1983): 617-35.

41. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage*, pp. 66-68. On the theme of death in fairy tales and children's literature, see Isabella Wolfing, *Aller und Tod in den Grimmschen Märchen und im Kinder- und Jugendbuch* (Heitzogenrath: Markens-Altrogge, 1986).

42. Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, vol. 4 of the *Standard Edition*, trans. James Strachey (London: Hogarth, 1953), p. 254.

43. On the important though not always carefully drawn distinction between infanticide and abandonment, see Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers*, pp. 43-45. Boswell cites the pertinent literature on both phenomena.

44. C. F. Weisse, "Der erzieherische Wert einer Hirnrichtung," in *Schwarze Pädagogik: Quellen zur Naturgeschichte der bürgerlichen Erziehung*, ed. Katharina Rauschky (Berlin: Ullstein, 1977), pp. 5-9. In this context it is interesting to note the notorious moment in *The Fairchild Family* when Mr. Fairchild decides to deter sibling quarrels by treating his children to the sight of the decaying cadaver of a man who killed his brother. See the *History of the Fairchild Family*, vol. 2 in *The Works of Mrs. Sherwood* (New York: Harper, 1864), p. 56.

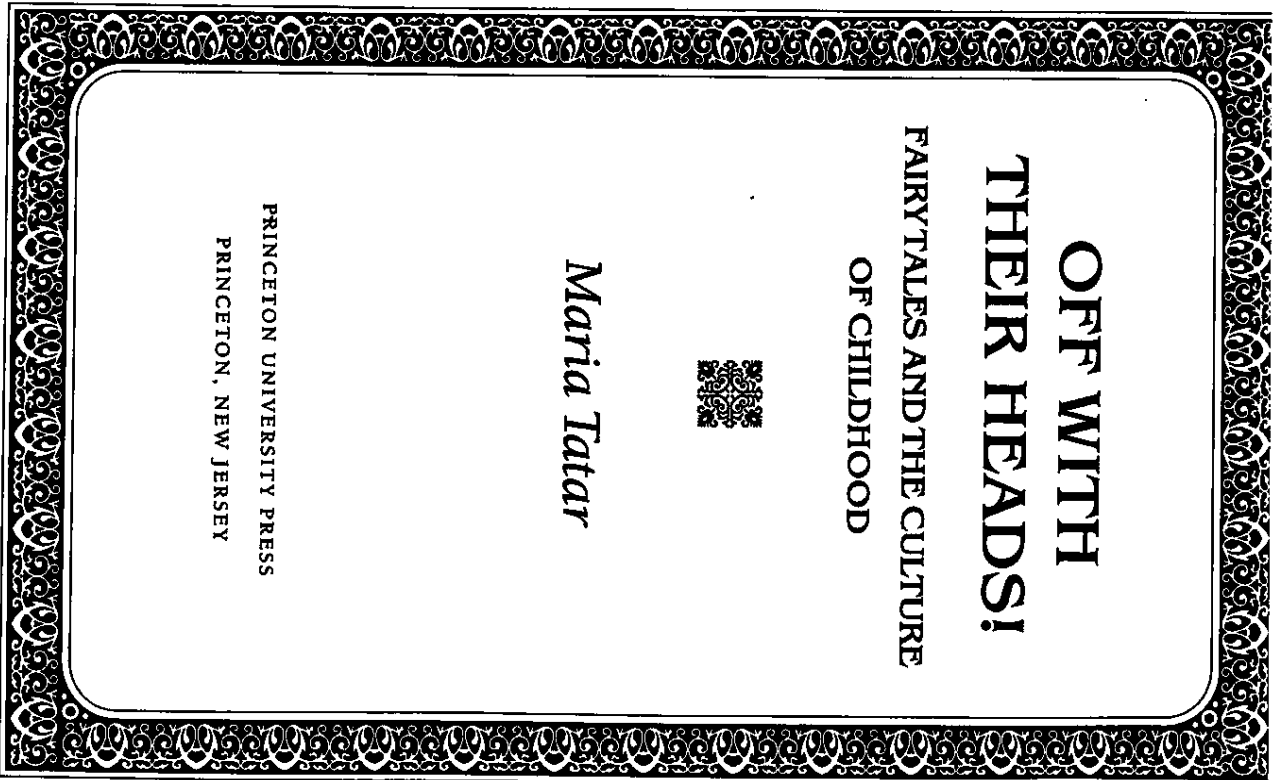
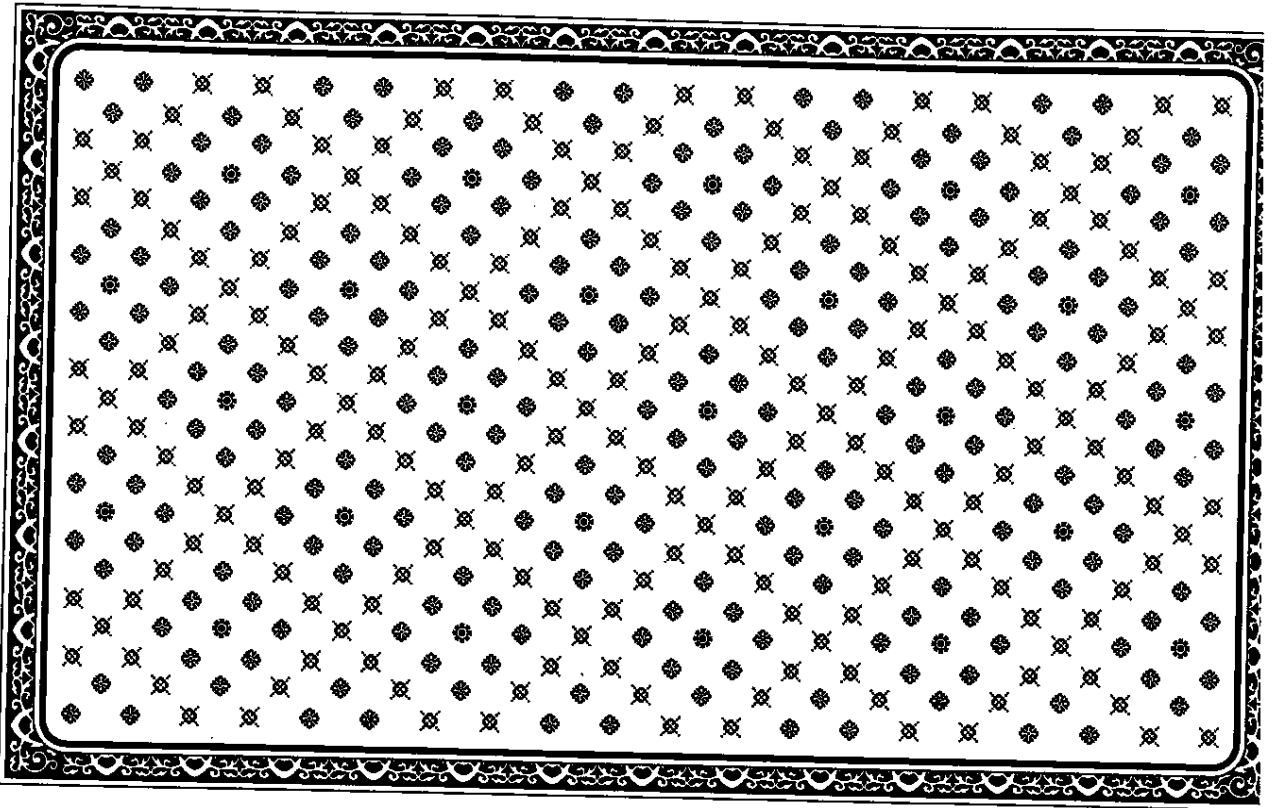
45. Hans Christian Andersen, *The Fairy Tale of My Life: An Autobiography* (New York: Paddington, 1975), p. 52.

46. Sherwood, *History of the Fairchild Family*, pp. 128-29.

47. "Poverty and Humility Lead to Heaven," in *The Complete Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm*, pp. 638-39. Zipes calls the "Legends for Children" (*Kinderlegenden*) "Religious Tales for Children."
48. The passage comes from a letter of 1843 to the poet Ingemann and is cited by Alan Moray Williams, "Hans Christian Andersen," in *Only Connect*, ed. Egoff et al., pp. 265-69.
49. Lucy Sprague Mitchell, *Here and Now Story Book* (New York: Dutton, 1921), p. 61.

CHAPTER III

1. Sherwood, *History of the Fairchild Family*, pp. 135-36.
2. Johann Georg Sulzer, "Versuch von der Erziehung und Unterweisung der Kinder," in *Johann Georg Sulzers Pädagogische Schriften*, ed. Willibald Klinké (Langensalza: Hermann Beyer, 1922), p. 129.
3. Sulzer, "Versuch von der Erziehung und Unterweisung der Kinder," p. 129.
4. Alice Miller has examined the ways in which violence perpetuates itself through childrearing practices. See her *For Your Own Good*.
5. AT 480 refers to the tale type's number in the Aarne/Tompson classification scheme cited earlier.
6. "The Tale of the Cats" in *Italian Folktales*, comp. Italo Calvino, trans. George Martin (New York: Pantheon, 1980), pp. 446-48.
7. "Mother Holle," in *The Complete Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm*, pp. 96-99.
8. "The Old Witch," in *English Fairy Tales*, comp. Jacobs, pp. 206-8.
9. "Baba Yaga," in Alexander Afanasev, *Russian Fairy Tales*, (New York: Pantheon, 1973), pp. 194-95.
10. "The Fairies," in *Perrault's Complete Fairy Tales*, pp. 42-46.
11. "Water in the Basket," in *Italian Folktales*, comp. Calvino, pp. 353-55.
12. Ludwig Bechstein, "Der Garten im Brunnen," in *Märchen* (Stuttgart: Parkland, 1985), pp. 440-43.
13. "Prince Vendeprato," in Basile, *The Pentameron*, pp. 141-46.
14. "Vom Hühnchen, Hähnchen, Hundchen und Käzchen," in *Hundert neue Märchen im Gebirge gesammelt*, comp. Friedmund von Arnim (Charlottenburg: Egbert Bauer, 1844), pp. 19-21.
15. Bechstein, "Fippenchen Fäppchen," in *Märchen*, pp. 431-32.
16. Bechstein, "Die Goldmaria und die Pechmaria," in *Märchen*, pp. 79-83.
17. On this point, see David Gylis, *Grietas and Angels*, pp. 79-80.
18. "Water in the Basket," in *Italian Folktales*, comp. Calvino, pp. 353-355.
19. "Hans My Hedgehog," in *The Complete Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm*, pp. 393-97.
20. "The Frog King, or Iron Heinrich," in *The Complete Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm*, pp. 2-5.
21. "First Fable, Night the Second," in *The Factious Nights of Straparola*, trans. W. G. Waters (London: Society of Bibliophiles, 1901), pp. 133-52.
22. Norbert Elias, *The History of Manners*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Pantheon, 1978), pp. 169, 180. The manual Elias cites is Raumer's *Geschichte der Pädagogik*.
23. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Random House, Vintage Books, 1978) vol. 1, p. 3.
24. For Foucault, the rise of capitalism is largely responsible for the repression of sexuality for sex is "incompatible with a general and intensive work imperative." This work ethic permeates literary fairy tales about girls' development, but it does not play as prominent a role in stories mapping out the development of boys. See *The History of Sexuality*, 1:6.
25. One noteworthy exception to the contrasting fates of kind and unkind girls appears in a story collected by Leonard Roberts: "The Gold in the Chimney." In this tale, the unkind girl visits a witch, finds a bag of gold, and flees the witch's abode. On the escape route, she encounters a cow that needs milking, a sheep that needs shearing, a horse that needs riding, and a mill that needs turning. Since she fails to respond to their appeals the animals and the mill betray her location to the witch, who seizes her gold and turns the girl to stone. Conversely, the kind girl—though she too steals the witch's gold—responds to the appeals and is protected from the witch, who is ground up in the mill. The surprise conclusion shows the kind girl turning the stone back into her sister and living "happy ever after" with her. See *Midwest Folklore* 6 (1956): 76-78.
26. Warren E. Roberts, *The Tale of the Kind and the Unkind Girls: A Th 480 and Related Tales* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1958). On the significance of gender in fairy tales, see Kay E. Stone, "The Misuses of Enchantment: Controversies on the Significance of Fairy Tales," in *Women's Folklore, Women's Culture*, ed. Rosan A. Jordan and Susan J. Kalcik (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), pp. 125-45.
27. See Italer, "Born Yesterday," in *The Hard Facts of the Grimms' Fairy Tales*, pp. 85-105.
28. "The Golden Bird," in *The Complete Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm*, pp. 216-22.
29. "The Water of Life," in *The Complete Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm*, pp. 356-61.
30. "Only One Brother Was Grateful," in *Modern Greek Folktales*, trans. and comp. R. M. Dawkins (Oxford: Clarendon, 1953), pp. 415-19.
31. Kurt Ranke has analyzed over 770 versions of the story in his study of the tale type. See *Die zwei Brüder: Eine Studie zur vergleichenden Märchenforschung* (Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1934).
32. A related tale type, "Ferdinand the True and Ferdinand the Untrue" (AT 531), contrasts a dutiful hero with his deceitful companion. Ferdinand the True is challenged again and again by his shifty double to carry out dangerous tasks—he must fetch tapestries from the home of an ogre, embark on a perilous journey to fetch the king's bride, or undergo an experiment in decapitation. Each and every attempt on the part of Ferdinand the Untrue to do in Ferdinand the True backfires, with the result that Ferdinand the True wins one prize after another for undertaking hazardous missions. The envy and rivalry between the two protagonists serves only to elevate the one over the other.



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