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Introduction: Into the burning coals

*Christopher Holliday and
Chris Pallant*

The wicked woman uttered a curse, and she became so frightened, so frightened, that she did not know what to do. At first she did not want to go to the wedding, but she found no peace. She had to go and see the young queen. When she arrived she recognized Snow-White, and terrorized, she could only stand there without moving.

Then they put a pair of iron shoes into burning coals. They were brought forth with tongs and placed before her. She was forced to step into the red-hot shoes and dance until she fell down dead.¹

To undertake a scholarly project on the Wonderful World of Disney, in particular one focused on the historical, cultural and artistic significance of its celebrated cel-animated feature film *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (David Hand, 1937), is an endeavour that often feels like jumping headlong ‘into burning coals’. Over eighty years after its initial theatrical release, Disney’s adaptation of the Grimm Brothers’ nineteenth-century German fairy tale² remains ‘one of the most-discussed films in animation studies, and one of the most historically significant films of all time’.³ *Snow White*’s unwavering durability as the emblematic Disney product, its historical contribution to the Golden Age of Hollywood animation, and

its industrial and artistic relationship to the creativity of animation as an expressive medium during the first decades of the twentieth century have all combined to secure the film's overwhelming place within American – and indeed global – film history. As animation historian Leonard Maltin explains, 'There is no way to overstate the effect of *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* on the film industry, the moviegoing public, and the world in general.'⁴ However, despite the 'staggering' number of books already published on 'Walt Disney, the Disney company, and Disney products', there nonetheless remains numerous aspects of *Snow White*'s landmark production at the Disney studio, its reception both domestically and abroad, and the strength of its cultural legacy, which have yet to receive significant critical attention.⁵ *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs: New Perspectives on Production, Reception, Legacy* seeks to address this knowledge deficit. It pushes beyond well-established areas of discussion to reveal new insights into the industrial forces shaping the production of Disney's debut feature film; the interplay between exhibition practices and the critical reception of *Snow White* in the United States; and the international legacy of a film that continues to circulate within a variety of national filmmaking cultures and traditions. The collection also counters much of the existing scholarship on the film that has tended to focus on *Snow White* in its US (and, at best, largely Western and Anglophone) contexts. Several of the chapters reclaim production histories surrounding the film that have hitherto been marginalized, while others enhance our understanding of the contemporary exhibition of *Snow White* both in the United States and overseas and, for the first time, bring together accounts of *Snow White*'s cultural impact on the global stage through a series of international case studies.

Snow White in theory

Snow White's ongoing centrality within a number of interdisciplinary fields, not least its robust place across Film, Media and Animation studies, is entirely reflective of the film's standing as one of the defining achievements of twentieth-century animation. Numerous critical accounts have situated *Snow White* as a flashpoint film where the medium's artistic credentials and development of cel-animation as a technique came firmly into contact with the hardening of animation into an industrial art form in the United States. It was *Snow White* that propelled Disney's studio from a 'Poverty Row' operation, one that employed twenty-five staff in 1929, to an ambitious studio with three hundred employees in 1936, helping to prime the identity of a studio that would next go on to produce the films *Pinocchio* (Ben Sharpsteen and Hamilton Luske, 1940), *Fantasia* (James Algar et al., 1940), *Dumbo* (Ben Sharpsteen, 1941) and *Bambi* (David Hand, 1942).⁶ Within the hagiographic register of numerous company

histories too, *Snow White* has often been positioned simultaneously – and paradoxically – as a launchpad for Disney’s subsequent endeavours within feature animation *and* as confirmation of the studio’s mastery of the then-nascent form. *Snow White* was, for J. B. Kaufman, a film that ultimately ‘capped what had been a decade of remarkable expansion and development for Walt and his artists’, just as much as it would go on to establish a set of working practices for the animated feature moving forward.⁷ Indeed, the size of *Snow White*’s production and volume of personnel necessitated the reorganization of the company’s infrastructure, including the breaking up of ‘facilities into divisions that thought up and wrote stories, created initial and final drawings for those stories, inked and painted the drawings, created music and visual and sound effects, and shot and produced film’, alongside the management of other administrative roles that supported the production of its animated features.⁸ Nicholas Sammond notes that the labour of *Snow White* quickly became a symbol of Disney’s own ‘fetishistic celebration of repetition and standardization’, implicated in the framing of the studio as a highly efficient and ‘hypermodern industrial concern’.⁹ However, many scholars have also identified *Snow White* as equally an industrial milestone within the context of broader Classical Hollywood production. Geoffrey Nowell-Smith argues that, although not the first full-length animated feature, *Snow White* ‘enjoyed a phenomenal success (including a special Oscar), with serious impact on industrial animation in the US’.¹⁰ Beyond the contribution made by the film to Disney’s business evolution as a viable corporation (including the training of new animators and the hiring of Shamus Culhane, Al Eugster, Ted Sears and Grim Natwick from neighbouring studios), *Snow White*’s influence certainly reached beyond the studio’s walls. The shape of this influence can be traced through the contemporaneous emergence of comparable domestic productions in the United States, which in turn has served to mythologize Walt’s status as a uniquely American genius equivalent to George Gershwin, Irving Berlin, Thomas Edison and Henry Ford.¹¹ Nowell-Smith adds that in response to the critical and commercial success of *Snow White*, the Paramount Corporation ‘insisted’ that the Fleischer Brothers begin immediate work on a ‘rival feature’ in the form of *Gulliver’s Travels* (Dave Fleischer, 1939) and, later, *Mr. Bug Goes to Town* (Dave Fleischer, 1941). The outcome of these kinds of industrial exchanges, which have been writ large into Disney’s industrial history, has been the sustained framing of Walt as a ‘master’ or ‘systems builder’ who exerted his influence not solely through the efficiency of technologies, machines and processes but also through a form of entertainment that reached into ‘local, national and global’ spaces.¹²

It is through the significance of *Snow White* that contrasts between Disney and the Fleischers (who were themselves one of the most distinctive studios of the 1930s) are able to measure the success of the latter via their impact on the former. Mark Langer’s comparison of the two studios in this

Golden Age period argues that ‘By coopting the dominant feature-length format of classical Hollywood cinema, Disney differentiated his product. ... His competitors could follow, or be left with what would be perceived as a less innovative, inferior, product.’¹³ In the case of the Fleischers – who had already adapted the Grimms’ fairy tale four years previously with *Snow-White* (Dave Fleischer, 1933) – brothers Max and Dave ‘drove themselves into insolvency by combining all of their technologies’ for the ambitious *Gulliver’s Travels* and *Mr. Bug Goes to Town*.¹⁴ The outcome of this ‘institutional pattern’ of give-and-take and ‘product differentiation’ within the teleology of early animation history during the 1930s is that Disney’s *Snow White* was a creative catalyst, one whose profits were invested in – and used to fund – the studio’s roster of subsequent features. By comparison, this industrial narrative of competition, mimesis, progress, conflict and tension has consistently worked to frame the altogether more anxious working culture at Fleischers (not helped by the troubled production of *Mr. Bug Goes to Town*), leading to the company’s failures as the industry moved headlong into the 1940s.¹⁵

If *Snow White* remains industrially significant to the formation of animation’s Golden Age in Hollywood through the 1940s and 1950s, then aesthetically too the film has been widely credited for establishing Disney’s ‘hyper-realist’ visual style and thematic preoccupations that have held sway over animation aesthetics throughout the twentieth century. Not only did *Snow White* popularize cel-animation within both Hollywood and internationally, but the film also initiated what would become a long-standing love affair between the animated medium and the folk tale/fairy-tale tradition. Joseph Zornado argues that the critical and commercial success of *Snow White* ‘would forever link’ animation with fantasy and fairy-tale storytelling structures, a connection that has come under continual scrutiny through the studio’s appropriation and colonizing of the popular understanding of these tales around the world.¹⁶ Numerous writers on Disney’s animated features have interrogated this problematic process of ‘Disneyfication’ or ‘Disneyization’ as a symptom of Disney’s identity as a ‘globalizing force’ through its reworking of source material for its animated films.¹⁷ In his book *The Disney Fetish*, Seán J. Harrington seeks to reclaim this activity of exchange by framing it as necessary for scholars to understand the formation of Disney’s animated formula. Harrington argues that ‘changes in translation from folk-tale to film are inevitable’, adding that ‘it is the ideological differences between film and folk-tale that present the qualities that can uniquely be called Disney’.¹⁸ Disney’s mediation of pre-existing stories gives rise to a central element of the Disney ‘formula’, a catchall term rooted in the formal properties and formulaic identity of Disney’s many multimedia products and business ventures. As Disney’s feature film debut, *Snow White* has often been understood as a standard bearer of such formulaic tendencies, repeating pleasures and cycles of

repetition, which have emphatically structured the studio's thematic and narrative content, character types, and high-contrast dualities between good and evil. Janet Wasko is not alone in arguing that *Snow White* 'might be said to have fully established the Classic Disney formula', while Jack Zipes agrees that the film 'laid down the prescribed formula' that has otherwise remained relatively untroubled well into the era of post-millennial Disney feature animation.¹⁹

Snow White's embodiment of the Disney formula has certainly guided its meaningfulness as a critical blueprint, and it is not hard to find references to the studio's founding feature within popular discourse surrounding more recent Disney animation, including their turn to digital technologies via their recent cycle of computer-animated films. To coincide with the release of the musical *Frozen* (Chris Buck and Jennifer Lee, 2013), which was inspired by Hans Christian Andersen's 1844 fairy tale 'The Snow Queen', *Variety* charted the evolution of the Disney Princess from *Snow White* to *Frozen*'s depiction of sisters Anna and Elsa (*Entertainment Weekly* ran a similar piece following the release of *Frozen 2* [Chris Buck and Jennifer Lee, 2019]).²⁰ Numerous reviews of Disney's other computer-animated films *Tangled* (Nathan Greno and Byron Howard, 2010) and *Moana* (Ron Clements and John Musker, 2016) also make strong connections between the organization of the fairy-tale narrative, musical numbers and gender politics of 'the studio's early years', to which *Snow White* is often cited as the defining feature and fullest embodiment of Disney's formulaic constitution.²¹ Perhaps expectedly, the fairy-tale musical *The Princess and the Frog* (Ron Clements and John Musker, 2009) – Disney's momentous return to cel-animation amid a Hollywood animation landscape dominated by the digital – was also widely positioned against its own 1937 feature. Justin Chang compared protagonist Tiana to Snow White through their contradictory use of geography (the castle vs. the ghetto), while Brooks Barnes in the *New York Times* argued that Tiana is 'a hand-drawn throwback to classic Disney characters', notably Snow White.²²

Snow White's narrative and stylistic influence upon Disney feature animation can certainly be understood through the studio's development of its own 'Disney-Formalist' aesthetic, one that according to Chris Pallant was 'forged' by the aesthetic style and pursuit of hyper-realism in *Snow White*, then continued in subsequent films *Pinocchio*, *Dumbo* and *Bambi*.²³ For Pallant, *Snow White*'s success 'profoundly altered the studio', not just in terms of financial revenue and business acumen but in its emergent role as an 'artistic paradigm' and 'aesthetic blueprint for much of the Disney-Formalist period'.²⁴ Foundational to this blueprint for a kind of realist representation that resisted the surrealist creativity and fluidity of form seen in Otto Messmer's *Felix the Cat* (1919–), and even Disney's own *Silly Symphonies* (1927–37) series of shorts, was the studio's engagement with technology. *Snow White* has been widely understood as the site for numerous technological developments that would ultimately impact the

entire animated medium. Eric Smoodin admits that ‘the story of the making of *Snow White* has been told many times’, a tale that has been largely directed at its monumental influence upon animation as a technology of potentially persuasive realist representation.²⁵ For Annette Kuhn, who charts *Snow White*’s reception in the UK during the 1930s, the film involved ‘innovative animation techniques and specially developed film-making equipment’.²⁶ Kuhn argues that the film ultimately marked a ‘huge gamble’ for the Disney studio thanks to its \$1.5 million cost for new equipment, with much of the hype that surrounded *Snow White*’s release in Britain directed at ‘the new cinematographic technology developed for the film, ... as well as on the intensive labour involved in making the thousands of drawings required for such an extended piece of animation’.²⁷ Among these ‘cinematographic’ developments were synchronized sound and the multi-plane camera, which Maltin defines as a device that ‘enabled the camera to look through a series of animation “planes” instead of just one, so that the finished picture would have a feeling of depth and dimension’.²⁸ In addition to *Snow White*’s influence on the acceleration in Hollywood cartoon production (with the film signalling for Smoodin a ‘new interest’ in animation as it moved from the margins to the mainstream), Disney’s seminal cel-animated feature also ‘reconfirmed’ the studio’s interest in colour, thereby building upon their application of Technicolor across its previous *Silly Symphonies* series of shorts.

The boundaries of enchantment

The birth of a more ideologically focused ‘Disney studies’ during the early 1990s – that, perhaps not coincidentally, corresponded with the ‘renaissance’ of the studio’s cel-animated features – once again turned to *Snow White* as fully representative of the Disney text due to its particular ideological operations. In 1994, Smoodin had already reflected on the notable resurgence in Disney literature, a shift he correlated with an increased interest in ‘developing a branch of cultural studies that examines networks of power, and ... emphasises the relation of the cinema to other disciplines and particularly to the social sciences’.²⁹ A few years later in 2001, Wasko similarly identified a narrative of scholarly expansion that emerged throughout the preceding ten-year period, aligning the company’s growth via popular tourist attractions (theme parks, holiday resorts) during this ‘Disney Decade’ with a ‘deluge of academic studies from a variety of disciplines’.³⁰ Disney’s position as a global media and entertainment corporation (including its links to alternate media enterprises), alongside its status as a manufacturing operation and production facility, certainly seemed to promote the company as an ideal ‘network of power’ for critical analysis. The same courtesy was extended to *Snow White*, with scrutiny

of its carefully orchestrated marketing strategies and exhibition practices that seemed to anticipate the consumerist logic and lucrative multimedia synergy for which the Disney Corporation perhaps remains best known. As Richard Neupert explains, Disney (in collaboration with United Artists) ‘provided what seems to have been one of the most successful promotional campaign of the 1930s with *Snow White*’, with ‘Dollarize with Disney’ a common ‘battle cry’, signifying the film as bankable revenue within trade advertisements of the period.³¹ Indeed, the index entries for *Snow White* listed in Smoodin’s collection *Disney Discourse: Producing the Magic Kingdom* speak to something of a scholarly orientation towards plotting the cultural influence of the Disney phenomenon primarily through the rubric of consumerism (entries for the film include ‘product tie-ins’, ‘production of’, ‘profits from’ and ‘promotional strategies’).

That is not to say *Snow White* has not been immune to examinations of its ideological operations and gender politics. Following David Forgacs’s association in the pages of *Screen* between Disney and childhood nostalgia through the workings of *Snow White*’s ‘clean, nonviolent, fantasies with songs and happy endings’, a closer look at Disney’s ideological impact on American popular culture did begin to emerge.³² Edited anthologies, such as *From Mouse to Mermaid: The Politics of Film, Gender, and Culture*, revisited several of the issues around the common characteristics of the Disney ideology first identified in Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart’s 1971 cultural analysis of the Disney comic books.³³ Originally banned under the country’s Fascist regime by President Allende, Dorfman and Mattelart’s seminal text – aside from being a valuable introduction to the neglected area of Disney comic books – vehemently deconstructed the Disney myth and thereby established the subsequent process by which communication studies of mass media were applied to forms of (Disney) animation. Painted with a broad brush, the aim of these accounts published in the 1990s was to ‘intervene in Disney’s construction of gender, identity and culture’ and to enable an understanding of Disney feature animation as forms of cultural pedagogy.³⁴ Framed by these emergent scholarly shifts towards the identification of cultural imperialism, critical considerations of *Snow White* quickly understood the film through the question of gender. In fact, as one of the ‘nest eggs’ of the Disney Empire, *Snow White* (the film and the eponymous heroine who was modelled on US dancer and actress Marjorie Champion) became the locus for studies into the ‘indelible images of the feminine’ and the ways in which Walt himself had ‘wrote his name and ownership on the folk stories of women’.³⁵ Since its 1937 release, *Snow White* has undoubtedly remained prototypical in the way that it presents a particularly conservative image of womanhood. For Cassandra Stover, the essentially ‘voiceless’ and ‘conventional’ heroine exemplifies ‘Hollywood’s trend towards passive, childish figures’ and a character archetype of ‘pure maiden innocence’ easily mapped onto American culture of the 1930s to

which Disney's commercial animated features actively contributed.³⁶ At the same time, Snow White's sketching as submissive and docile during the period leading up to second-wave feminism equally provides a contrast to the studio's rhetorical shift towards more proactive post-feminist princesses since the 1990s, even if – as Stover cautions – their autonomy, assertiveness and heroism do not always fulfil their narratological potential 'as a representation of agency for an American female audience'.³⁷ However, one of the most prescient elements of *Snow White*'s gender politics ultimately occurs beyond the screen.

The contribution of supervising animator David Hand – who began as an animator on the *Out of the Inkwell* (1918–29) series for the Fleischers, before joining the Disney studio in 1930 – to *Snow White* has been considered alongside the various sequence directors, supervising animators, character designers, art directors and background animators that comprised *Snow White*'s extensive production team. As Sammond explains, *Snow White*'s division of labour among its departments, facilities, offices and studios was flaunted as 'exemplary of its [Disney's] modernity, and as proof of its commitment to a Fordist imaginary of efficiency as humanized industrial practice'.³⁸ More crucial to understanding the historical specificity of Disney's animated infrastructure, however, is the occlusion of women from these received industrial narratives, a discourse of erasure that entirely fits with what Jonathan Frome has called the 'frustratingly general' nature of the historical accounts into the making of *Snow White*. Discussing the 'heavily gendered dimension' of work on the film that 'typified' Hollywood studios at the time, Smoodin argues that 'With the exception of Dorothy Ann Blank, one of eight credited with the story adaptation, and Hazel Sewell, one of the ten art directors, men made up the credited workforce'.³⁹ More recent studies into the studio's female employees during this Classic period, such as Mindy Johnson's *Ink & Paint: The Women of Walt Disney's Animation* and Nathalia Holt's *The Queens of Animation: The Untold Story of the Women*, are necessary correctives to this industrial invisibility and vital spaces for reclaiming the labour of women.⁴⁰ As Patricia Zohn put it in a recent *Vanity Fair* article shining a light on 'Disney animation girls', the studio's talented female workforce of young women, mostly under 25, were 'inking and painting minor miracles that would become part of our collective visual consciousness'.⁴¹ Their miraculous work included, of course, *Snow White*. Zohn thus continues that behind the hardened image of the 'all-male assembly line', which erroneously defined Disney's workforce, stood an extensive army of women that comprised the very 'backbone' of Disney's *Snow White* but whose creative contribution to the film's naturalism of background, colour palette and levels of visual detail, and artistry of expressing character movement and rhythm is a story only now being told.

In many ways, it is difficult, then, to think of a time 'before *Snow White*', of what popular animation in the United States looked like prior to Disney's

feature-length cel-animated debut.⁴² Kaufman writes that such was the Disney film's 'enchanted effect' that it soon 'established a precedent for much of the subsequent production, not only of Disney films, but of all animated features'.⁴³ Back in 1992, Forgacs speculated that while *Snow White* 'may not be the highest grossing film of all time ... it must be the most rereleased', and he suggested that Walt himself 'could not have anticipated quite how long these films would last or how big their eventual profits would be'.⁴⁴ Re-released theatrically in 1944, and then again in 1952, 1958, 1967, 1975, 1983, 1987 and 1993, *Snow White*'s subsequent post-cinema afterlife on a variety of media platforms has also reflected the studio's careful management of its animated content in the growing home entertainment market. *Snow White* has certainly been subject to the Disney's studio's corporate strategy to deliberately suppress certain titles, a lucrative business model that fuels the subsequent cultural value of absent, missing or withheld features locked in the symbolic Disney media 'vault'. David McGowan argues that '*Snow White*, for instance, was only issued on VHS in the United States between October 1994 and April 1995, and then finally returned to stores on VHS and DVD in 2001 (before being removed from sale yet again early in the following year)'.⁴⁵ The protection of *Snow White* by Disney's Studio Entertainment division tells us as much about the esteem in which the film is held by the company as it does about their careful gatekeeping of its most treasured products. *Snow White*'s sporadic appearance on VHS, DVD and now Blu-Ray platforms (as well as its availability on subscription, on-demand and streaming services) offers an example of Disney's market power both during and following 'the growth years of home video', if not their broader distribution practices that serve to 'maximize revenues' and build domestic family audiences.⁴⁶

The extent to which *Snow White* is often situated at the centre point of scholarly writing on the Disney Corporation is clear, a fulcrum that continues to support sustained methodological consideration into the popularity of studio's animated features. Given the multitude of contexts in which Disney feature animation has been explored, it is perhaps unsurprising, then, that Gillian Youngs speaks of the 'ghost' of *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, a film so deeply knotted together with what are now considered (and celebrated) as the repeated archetypes of Disney's storytelling structures and their ideological commitment to family entertainment that its very presence 'looms large' over critical and cultural understandings of the studio's animated feature film canon.⁴⁷ The aim of *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs: New Perspectives on Production, Reception, Legacy* is to therefore paint a more nuanced picture of the film's enchanting spectral quality and to understand why its pleasures 'haunt' critics, film history and the popular imagination. The collection is divided into three complementary parts that chart the evolution of *Snow White* across distinct phases of ideation, design, production, distribution, promotion, exhibition and reception. These parts

are titled 'Innovation, technology and style', '*Snow White* in Hollywood' and 'International legacies' and are intended to signpost the considerable importance of Disney's debut feature film across a multitude of competing industrial and artistic contexts. However, they are also intended to speak to how the existing critical terrain that has enveloped *Snow White* and the ways in which the film's place within academic discourse can be productively unfixed.

Innovation, technology and style

Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs: New Perspectives on Production, Reception, Legacy begins with an opening section that speaks directly to *Snow White*'s status as a feat of innovation and as a film that pioneered a multitude of formal styles, practices and technological processes as part of its landmark production. Eric Jenkins is not alone in acknowledging that immediately upon its release, '*Snow White* was praised as a wonder, a masterpiece, declared a true breakthrough, something never seen before'.⁴⁸ Jenkins attributes this rhetoric of 'wonder' to the studio's construction of a 'fantasy world' predicated on a mode of 'animistic mimesis' and the 'mimetic perception of life'.⁴⁹ The root cause of this graphic illusionism has, in turn, been widely acknowledged as emerging from not only *Snow White*'s identity as a technological marvel *as animation* (as a medium of representation) but also the film's particular mobilization of individual technologies and techniques that would formally approximate the real and its sensations of life and movement. The aim of this book's opening section is, then, to reach into the corners of the film's production history through a consideration of *Snow White*'s aesthetic novelty and modernity, elements of its character design and its organization of animated space. But its objective is also to complicate accepted and highly durable industrial narratives, and to thereby expand the ongoing scholarly fetishism with *Snow White*'s critical-functional status as the bearer of animation's technological progress.

Chapter 1, written by Victoria Mullins, discusses the legacies of German Expressionist cinema that can be traced throughout Disney's adaptation of the *Snow White* tale. Responding to a larger critical narrative that has engaged with Disney's national-cultural interpretation of European folklore, Mullins notes how Disney's film is often criticized for 'Americanizing' the Grimm Brothers' original story. However, although *Snow White*'s Expressionist aesthetic is routinely acknowledged by Film and Animation scholars, the debt that the film owes to German filmmakers has not yet been made the focus of extended academic inquiry. Mullins therefore places *Snow White* in direct dialogue with German Expressionist cinema, arguing that the characters and settings of *Snow White* should be observed as active components of the film's Expressionist tendencies. This chapter's analysis of

Snow White's multiple visual references to German Expressionist cinema, as well as Hollywood horror films of the period, builds the argument that Expressionism was initiated into the visual fabric of the film and has since remained an integral component of Disney's animated aesthetic.

The next chapter, co-written by Stéphane Collignon and Ian Friend, shifts the focus of discussion onto this subject of 'believability' within an animated context and the artistic strategies employed at the Disney studio to achieve such an aesthetic. Through the *Silly Symphonies* series, first, and then with the development of *Snow White* in mind, the studio started to improve its animation standards both on the fronts of character design and personality animation. Collignon and Friend discuss how Disney and his animators dealt with notions of reality, achieving the perfect balance of expressivity and credibility while fine-tuning a style that would become a standard for animators working all over the world. They make fruitful connections with cognitive psychology, neuroscience and ethology to explain why the specific recognizability of character design developed by the studio in *Snow White* has proved to be so efficient and still endures today, thereby extending a critical enquiry that highlights the legacy of the live-action referencing workflow pioneered in Disney's feature.

In Chapter 3, Christopher Holliday and Chris Pallant discuss *Snow White*'s pastoral graphic style through a consideration of Disney animation's long-standing investment in lush woodland settings. However, they argue that the studio's engagement with nature as both a theme and practical environment in which to set their animated features paradoxically function as highly technological, man-made spaces. The focus of Holliday and Pallant's chapter is largely directed at the patented multi-plane camera device, an imposing vertical camera system involving the spacing of horizontal planes, developed in 1937 by engineer William Garity, and first pioneered in the Disney short *The Old Mill* (Wilfred Jackson, 1937). In *Snow White*, woodland realms become worlds of increased depth and dimensionality thanks to the multi-plane's arrangement of space, allowing the film to narrativize its natural environments in ways that reinforce the Disney studio's synonymous relationship with animated technology. Yet beyond affording Disney feature animation more precise levels of reality, the multi-plane camera is also framed by a troubling industrial rhetoric, with the sustained relegation of women's labour to the extreme margins of the multi-plane narrative. This chapter therefore draws on archival research to argue that despite their historical occlusion, the studio's female workforce played an important role in ensuring the success of the multi-plane and by extension offers a space to think more closely about the place of women's labour in Golden Age Hollywood animation.

In Chapter 4, Maarit Kalmakurki reminds readers that although Disney animation is a site of intensive academic study, such studies have tended to neglect those elements that had a bearing on the costume design process,

the final look of the costume and how costumes were traditionally used to enhance both narrative and character. Kalmakurki therefore focuses on the Disney animators and their process of designing costumes in *Snow White*, drawing upon the production's story meeting notes, video footage filmed during a series of motion studies and conceptual drawings that each contributed to the realization of three-dimensional animated characters. Following on from Collignon and Friend, Kalmakurki assesses how animators used rotoscoping as a tool for designing character costumes, analysing how and why some of the rotoscoping costumes were different in their construction than everyday garments. Additionally, Kalmakurki reveals how the pressures of production influenced the style of the costumes, with small details and complex constructions avoided as they would have taken too long to be drawn. Ultimately, this chapter shows the multilayered process of the character costume design, a process that resulted in *Snow White*'s iconic costume, thereby supporting the significance of characters' costume in animation as an important – yet hitherto neglected – object of study.

Amy M. Davis closes the first section of the book, offering a consideration of what makes Disney's *Snow White* so emblematic of the studio's 'magic touch'. Drawing an evolutionary line from Disney's short-form animation through to their first feature, Davis works to locate what it is that we mean when we talk about *Snow White*'s 'Disney' qualities. How is Disney's interpretation of the ancient folk tale of 'Little Snow White' uniquely *Disney*? What is the trait, or pattern, or technique, or technology, or – as Davis terms it – 'magic touch' that identifies *Snow White* as a product specifically of Walt Disney Productions other than its title card? In her chapter, Davis situates *Snow White* in context, setting the questions that drive her chapter in relation to the cultural milieu of Jazz Age America and Modernist aesthetics.

Snow White in Hollywood

The book's middle section is tasked with picking apart *Snow White*'s Hollywood connection. Chapters take into account how (and why) Disney's film established its critical and cultural reputation within the domestic arena, while also expanding new thinking into its US reception and exhibition through detailed primary research. *Snow White* was, as animation historian Michael Barrier argues, conceived by Walt as a 'Hollywood product', one that could operate successfully within the machinations of the entrenched Hollywood studio system (and, perhaps, consolidate animation's place within such an economic arrangement of production).⁵⁰ Disney's film has undoubtedly become fixed as a central component of animation's historical development in the United States, central to the medium's forward momentum and rapid acceleration towards industrial security in the first

two decades of the twentieth century. Framed by this teleological project of unstoppable development that sites *Snow White* through its significant contribution to animation as an industrial art form, this section offers the opportunity to pause and move outwards, painting a more complete picture of the film's reception and its place in Hollywood during the 1930s and early 1940s.

In Chapter 6, Sadeen Elyas highlights how Disney's debut animated feature prompted a sonic revolution in US filmmaking practice through its identity as very much a Hollywood musical. As a genre, the musical had already solidified as a lucrative product within Hollywood's substantial Fordian economy (though as Barry Keith Grant notes, 'English cinema made musicals, particularly during the 1930s', though he dismisses them as 'largely undistinguished quickies').⁵¹ However, Elyas argues that within the history of Hollywood cinema, *Snow White* was one of the first (if not *the* first) fully 'integrated' film musicals in terms of its songs and musical score. By utilizing historical sources related to the production of *Snow White* and the Hollywood musical genre, and situating them alongside material drawn from musicology, Elyas examines Disney's position among other US studios during the first major era of Hollywood's use of sound. This allows a closer critical investigation into the complexity of *Snow White*'s soundscape, one that – as a tale as old as time – has often pivoted on the studio's synchronization of sound and image that marked out Disney from its Golden Age contemporaries.

The next two chapters discuss the ways that *Snow White* was symptomatic of the culture that produced it and how the film represented a response to factors external to the Disney studio: the diminishing returns of short-form animation and the Depression of the 1930s. In Chapter 7, Pamela O'Brien discusses Disney's recognition that changing audiences and distribution agreements had limited the commercial viability of animated shorts. O'Brien details the efforts made by Walt himself to ensure a return on his investment in feature-length animation, which includes the marketing strategies adopted to promote the release of *Snow White*. Disney's increasing appetite to merchandise his studio's productions through licensing deals and ancillary consumer products was an agenda that saw Walt's adaptation of the *Snow White* fairy tale prioritize characters that would connect with audiences, while supporting broad marketing and branding efforts. O'Brien therefore shows how Disney was able to tie the film and its marketing into the sociocultural context of the late 1930s in the United States to improve the film and merchandise's chance for success. In Chapter 8, Jane Batkin situates Disney's film against the backdrop of Depression-era America, dissecting US culture of the time and the contradictions of restraint and change that defined the 1930s to identify how *Snow White* came to represent an acute expression of Americana. Batkin argues that *Snow White* spoke directly to an American identity in the 1930s as one of crisis, thereby shaping the film

into a powerful cultural text that functioned as a transformative turning point in US national identity. *Snow White* is, for Batkin, a film that captures a critical moment in American history by ultimately looking back, with Disney presenting a solution rooted in a nostalgia for nature, hard work, routine and collectivism that comes together to preserve (and celebrate) the American Way.

The final chapter of this middle section anticipates those that follow by shifting critical focus, looking forward to the many afterlives of Disney's cel-animated debut. The seismic cultural impact of the film has been a mainstay of its historical narrative, and the 'standard account that *Snow White* was universally considered a masterpiece is generally accurate'.⁵² In Chapter 9, Terry Lindvall charts the journey taken by *Snow White* from a landmark of 1930s Hollywood cinema to its status as a dominant catalyst for extreme parodic enquiry. Lindvall's aim is to illuminate the many animation artists working within different national contexts and filmmaking traditions that have paid regular homage to Disney's fairy-tale adaptation. This includes the work of Bob Clampett in his *Coal Black and de Sebben Dwarfs* (1943) – a film produced by Leon Schlesinger and one of the controversial 'Censored Eleven' shorts now removed from circulation – and the more recent shorts of Italian filmmakers Bruno Bozzetto and Guido Manuli. Theories of film parody have often identified its form as an imitative genre whose structures of comedic intent are rooted in a fundamental process of recontextualization that supports its achievements of 'logical absurdity'.⁵³ However, Lindvall argues that the many playful reinterpretations and reworkings of Disney's *Snow White* – both within and beyond Hollywood – serve to draw attention to the ideological framing and politics of identity supporting Disney's film, including its otherwise invisible discourse of whiteness. Yet the sheer volume of animated media that take the specificity of Disney's adaptation as its target equally strengthens the identity of animation as a rigorous device of parody and a medium whose mutable and subversive potential is well-matched to the implausible distortions, heightened reflexivity and intertextual charge typically required of humorous parodic action.

International legacies

It is a 'tale as old as time' that the impact of Disney's *Snow White* was felt most emphatically across Hollywood, galvanizing the studio as a major force in US animation at the same time as its influence reached beyond the filmmaking system that created it. Robin Allan argues that the release of *Snow White* 'shifted' (albeit 'slightly') the course of cinema in the US context, and he notes that 'not only was it a product of the studio system itself but it would in turn influence that system'.⁵⁴ Yet *Snow White*'s 'many waves of influence' and cultural impact across 'popular musical form, literature, art

and commerce' can, of course, equally be attributed to the durability of the original fairy tale. The folkloric heritage of fairy tales, as rooted in the oral telling and retelling of stories, therefore comes to bear on the 'pleasure of recognition' that accompanies fairy-tale narratives and perhaps accounts for their modality as ahistorical, formulaic and flexible texts readily adaptable to the new conditions and historical moments that produce and re-enchant them.⁵⁵ Jack Zipes argues that, as a classical text, there has 'been a wave of fairy-tale films about Snow White' since the first adaptation by Siegmund Lubin in July 1902 (the first screen version of a Grimm story), particularly in the twenty-first century as part of a broader 'tsunami' of adaptations that have further secured the fairy tale as an ever-popular filmmaking phenomenon.⁵⁶

The *Snow White* narrative has appeared in American productions such as *Snow White: A Tale of Terror* (Michael Cohn, 1997), *Happily N'Ever After 2: Snow White – Another Bite at the Apple* (Steven E. Gordon and Boyd Kirkland, 2009), *Mirror, Mirror* (Tarsem Singh, 2012), *Snow White: A Deadly Summer* (David DeCoteau, 2012), *Grimm's Snow White* (Rachel Lee Goldenberg, 2012), *Snow White and the Huntsman* (Rupert Sanders, 2012) – and its more recent sequel *The Huntsman: Winter's War* (Cedric Nicolas-Troyan, 2016) – and a variety of international versions too. In addition to the Italian feature *The Seven Dwarfs to the Rescue* (Paolo W. Tamburella, 1951), there are at least three live-action German adaptations released in 1955, 1959 and 1962 directed by Erich Kobler, Fritz Genschow and Gottfried Kolditz, respectively; another German comedy titled *7 Dwarves – Men Alone in the Wood* (Otto Waalkes, 2004) that itself prompted two sequels *7 Dwarves: The Forest Is Not Enough* (Sven Unterwaldt, 2006) and the digitally animated *The Seventh Dwarf* (Boris Aljinovic and Harald Siepermann, 2014); adult French animated feature *Snow White: The Sequel* (Picha, 2007) that reinterprets the fairy tale as a broad sex comedy; Spanish black-and-white drama *Blancanieves* (Pablo Berger, 2012); *Lilet Never Happened* (Jacco Groen, 2012), produced in the Netherlands and the Philippines that examines child prostitution in the capital Manila; and the recent computer-animated film *Red Shoes and the Seven Dwarfs* (Sung Ho Hong and Moo-Hyun Jang, 2019) by South Korean animation and VFX studio Locus.

Given *Snow White*'s pervasive international circulation, part three of the collection is devoted to the specificity of Disney's animated adaptation by plotting its extensive global influence beyond the institutional parameters of Hollywood, thereby approaching and evaluating *Snow White*'s tentacular reach across discrete national borders and its movement into alternate filmmaking traditions. If recent shifts within national cinema discourse have begun to push against the fixity and coherency of 'the national' as a practice, then the aim of 'International Legacies' can be understood as similarly informed by this methodological project. Authors identify *Snow*

White's complex identity as both an American cultural product based on a European folk tale *and* a transnational feature, one whose mobility and presence within new institutional limits is intensely related to the effects of globalization on cultural production. In Chapter 10, for example, Yuanyuan Chen identifies how *Snow White* was interpreted and indigenized in China during the 1930s and 1940s, quickly evolving into a phenomenon across Chinese media culture. For Chen, *Snow White* and its characters experienced increasing visibility in local print advertising (with 'Snow White' even registered as a trademark for local products) to coincide with its 1938 release in the country. The film also exerted its influence over two Chinese features that are the main focus of the chapter: the live-action remake *Chinese Snow White* (Wu Yonggang, 1940), produced by the Xinhua Film Company, and the first Asian animated feature-length film *Princess Iron Fan* (Wan Guchan and Wan Laiming, 1941), just two examples that reflect *Snow White's* immediate impact upon Chinese film and animation industries.

The push-pull relationship in *Snow White's* international circulation between local and global elements is continued by Greg Philip and Sébastien Roffat, who frame a discussion of the specificity of culture and aesthetics through their own restoration project and work with private collectors to recover the original French dub of Disney's *Snow White*. In Chapter 11, Philip and Roffat present new research surrounding this first French version and how the film's Francophone release was altered to attract prospective local audiences. They discuss the original film's French release on 6 May 1938 in the Marignan cinema Paris on the Champs-Élysées alongside its less-than-favourable reception by French critics and intellectuals that targeted Disney's unwavering pursuit of 'photographic' realism. Using extensive archival material, Philip and Roffat also compare the many versions of the film to identify clear shifts in aesthetic style, including reanimated scenes and the redesign of visual elements, which served to cater to international audiences. This chapter therefore illuminates what makes this rare French version of Disney's *Snow White* so historically significant, detailing the specific technical and artistic merits that are revealed by its recent rediscovery.

In Chapter 12, authors Priscila Mana Vaz, Janderson Pereira Toth and Thaiane de Oliveira Moreira engage with the arrival of Disney's *Snow White* in Brazil, doing so through the film's contemporary recuperation by LGBTQ communities across Brazilian social media. Placing representation in Disney's animated feature films within the Vito Russo Test (that measures the prominence of LGBTQ+ characters across media products), Mana Vaz, Pereira Toth and de Oliveira Moreira argue that queer communities have begun to co-opt Disney's iconic characters as a way of reframing the studio's traditionally conservative treatment of gender and sexuality. Drawing on social network analysis and data extracted from YouTube, their analysis of *Snow White* focuses particularly on online responses to the release of

Over the Rainbow: Um Livro de Contos de Fadas, a 2016 book written by a collective of Brazilian authors that combines *Snow White* with LGBTQ narratives, themes and identities. One of these stories – titled ‘The Resurrection of Júlia’ – includes the relationship between a transgender girl and her stepmother, thereby aligning LGBTQ representation with the fairy tale to radically question identity and non-normative bodies in ways not previously explored by Disney in its animated characters.

In Chapter 13, Daniël Biltereyst offers a comparative study of cross-national/cultural differences by examining both the reception and censorship of Disney’s *Snow White* in the UK and the Low Countries (specifically Belgium and the Netherlands). The chapter engages specifically with material from archives in Belgium (Royal Archives, Royal Film Archive, KADOC) and the Netherlands (Royal Library, Cinema Context) as a way of mapping *Snow White*’s often problematic historical reception and press coverage. Biltereyst’s aim is to chart the Disney film’s censorship history across the Low Countries as a small, but significant, element of the studio’s European marketing reach, using *Snow White* as a milestone in the history of children’s popular culture to discuss Hollywood’s internal censorship system, cultural hegemony and conflictual relationship with Europe. The chapter also seeks to connect archival material to wider issues of public morality and Disney’s own commercial imperatives, identifying *Snow White* as a feature film to which issues connected to new cinema historiography (film exhibition, programming and the social experience of cinema) are particularly central.

The collection’s closing two chapters each expound the international influence of Disney’s *Snow White* through close textual analysis of, and comparison between, multiple adaptations within popular film and television. In Chapter 14, Irene Raya Bravo and Maria del Mar Rubio-Hernández identify very recent transformations of the Disney feature in Spain by discussing two prominent case studies – Pablo Berger’s 2012 film *Blancanieves* and an episode of the television series *Cuéntame un cuento* titled ‘Blancanieves’ (Iñaki Peñañiel, 2014) broadcast on Antena 3 Televisión. The authors argue that while Berger’s adaptation inherits the character stereotypes drawn from the generalizing ‘la española’ discourse supporting national folklore, the ‘Blancanieves’ episode reworks the space and gender politics of Disney’s version, doing so within the media context of a generalist channel on Spanish broadcast television. The section’s closing chapter, written by Zeynep Gültekin Akçay, similarly relocates Disney’s *Snow White* beyond the industrial structures of Hollywood, this time situating the film firmly within the storytelling traditions of Turkish cinema. In Chapter 15, Akçay works through numerous contemporary adaptations of the film as a way of discussing transnational textual references and the hybridity of style. The focus here is three highly popular adaptations produced for Turkish audiences – *Pamuk Prenses ve 7 cüceler/Snow White and Seven Dwarfs*

(Ertem Göreç, 1971), *Komser Sekspir/Police Chief Shakespeare* (Sinan Çetin, 2000) and *Anlat Istanbul/Istanbul Tales* (Selim Demirdelen, Kudret Sabancı, Ümit Ünal, Yücel Yolcu and Ömür Atay, 2004) – that were overwhelmingly inspired by Disney’s animated adaptation rather than the original Brothers Grimm story. As with many international adaptations of Disney’s cel-animated film, each of these Turkish reimaginings was also interlaced with local storytelling elements (including the fictional figure of the Keloğlan typical of Turkish stories). By examining the variant combinations of Disney storytelling structures together with national folkloric traditions in Spanish and Turkish productions, these two chapters argue both for the timelessness of the Brothers Grimm original tale, and how popular and enduring fairy tales such as *Snow White* always belong to different cultural contexts and historical moments.

‘Go on, have a bite ...’

Writing back in 1999 in the introduction to their book *Deconstructing Disney*, Eleanor Byrne and Martin McQuillan playfully ask, ‘At this late stage in the process of ‘Advanced Capitalism’, the conditions of ‘postmodernity’, the construction of the Disney oeuvre, and the practice of ‘postructuralist’ inquiry, what is there left to say about the feature-length animations of the Disney corporation?’ Despite Byrne and McQuillan’s initial trepidation at a time when Disney Studies was imminently poised to enter the new millennium, more recent Disney scholarship produced over the last decade indicates that the studio and its animated features have lost none of their critical purchase, with *Snow White* remaining no less rife for ‘deconstruction’, ‘demystification’, ‘debate’ and ‘discussion’.⁵⁷ *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs: New Perspectives on Production, Reception, Legacy* is intended to continue the paths taken by this foundational scholarship and to be emphatic in plotting new ones. It expands a consideration of the aesthetic frameworks and formal characteristics of Disney animation, while using historical and cultural analyses to locate the film’s Hollywood impact. It also navigates *Snow White* through the social and political climates of its development and identifies the broader structures of global production and distribution through which Disney’s feature continues to move. This book therefore traces *Snow White* from the offices and workstations of the Disney studio located at 2701 Hyperion Avenue in Los Angeles during the 1930s, to its haunting of popular cinema in Turkey. In therefore making a virtue out of both the film’s domestic movement within Hollywood and its migration across – and involvement with – national filmmaking traditions, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs: New Perspectives on Production, Reception, Legacy* interrogates a landmark film that, like the Queen’s magical metamorphosis, has always changed its shape to assume any form.

Notes

- 1 Brothers Grimm ending to *Little Snow-White*.
- 2 The phraseology of 'fairy tale', 'fairytale', and 'fairy-tale' is used interchangeably throughout this book, both by the contributing authors and also within the secondary materials cited. No connotative importance is placed on this differing presentation.
- 3 Jonathan Frome, 'Snow White: Critics and Criteria for the Animated Feature Film', *Quarterly Review of Film and Video* 30 (2013): 462.
- 4 Leonard Maltin, quoted *ibid*.
- 5 Janet Wasko, *Understanding Disney: The Manufacture of Fantasy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), 4.
- 6 Anon., 'Walt Disney Comes to the Valley', *Valley Progress: Community, Commercial, and Industrial Progress in the San Fernando Valley* (October 1939): 3.
- 7 J. B. Kaufman, 'Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs', *Library of Congress – National Film Preservation Board Essays* (2015): 1–2.
- 8 Nicholas Sammond, *Babes in Tomorrowland: Walt Disney and the Making of the American Child, 1930–1960* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 116.
- 9 *Ibid*.
- 10 Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, *The Oxford History of World Cinema* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 270.
- 11 Eric Smoodin, 'Introduction', in *Disney Discourse: Producing the Magic Kingdom*, ed. Eric Smoodin (London: Routledge, 1994), 3.
- 12 *Ibid*.
- 13 Mark Langer, 'The Disney-Fleischer Dilemma: Product Differentiation and Technological Innovation', *Screen* 33 (1992): 354.
- 14 *Ibid*.
- 15 See Ray Pointer, *The Art and Inventions of Max Fleischer: American Animation Pioneer* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2017). Pointer notes the 'economic warning signs' that surrounded the troubled production of *Mr. Bug Goes to Town*, including the film's cancelled release and Paramount's attempts to 'recover the remaining Fleischer debt' that reflected then then-Paramount president Barney Balaban's desire to 'duplicate Disney's successes without totally understanding them' (240).
- 16 Joseph Zornado, *Disney and the Dialectic of Desire: Fantasy as Social Practice* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 70.
- 17 Alan Bryman, *The Disneyization of Society* (London: SAGE, 2004), 2.
- 18 Seán J. Harrington, *The Disney Fetish* (New Barnet: John Libbey, 2015), 73.
- 19 Wasko, *Understanding Disney*, 131; Jack Zipes, *The Enchanted Screen: The Unknown History of Fairy-Tale Films* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 257.

- 20 Anon., 'Disney's Princesses: From Snow White to Frozen', *Variety* (26 November 2013), available at <https://variety.com/gallery/disneys-princesses-from-snow-white-to-frozen/>; and Sydney Bucksbaum, 'The Evolution of Disney Princesses, from *Snow White* to *Frozen 2*', *Entertainment Weekly* (21 November 2019), available at <https://ew.com/movies/disney-princesses-evolution/>.
- 21 Richard Corliss, 'Tangled: Disney's Ripping Rapunzel', *Time* (26 November 2010), available at <http://content.time.com/time/arts/article/0,8599,2033166,00.html>. See also Tasha Robinson, 'Moana Review: After 80 Years of Experiments, Disney Has Made the Perfect Disney Movie', *The Verge* (26 November 2016), available at <https://www.theverge.com/2016/11/26/13749060/moana-film-review-walt-disney-animation-dwayne-johnson-diversity>.
- 22 Justin Chang, 'The Princess and the Frog', *Variety* (24 November 2009), available at <https://variety.com/2009/digital/features/the-princess-and-the-frog-1200477289/>; and Brooks Barnes, 'Her Prince Has Come: Critics, Too', *New York Times* (29 May 2009), available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/31/fashion/31disney.html>.
- 23 Chris Pallant, 'Disney-Formalism: Rethinking "Classic Disney"', *animation: an interdisciplinary journal* 5 (3) (2010): 342.
- 24 Ibid., 345.
- 25 Eric Smoodin, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 30.
- 26 Annette Kuhn, 'Snow White in 1930s Britain', *Journal of British Cinema and Television* 7 (2) (2010): 183.
- 27 Ibid., 189.
- 28 Leonard Maltin, *Of Mice and Magic: A History of American Animated Cartoons* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1980), 51.
- 29 Smoodin, 'Introduction', 4.
- 30 Wasko, *Understanding Disney*, 156–7. In 1999, Eleanor Byrne and Martin McQuillan cautioned against this notable increase in scholarly writing on the studio, claiming it is only a matter of time before Disney scholars adopt a 'baroque critical strategy' that links Walt Disney 'to the assassination of J.F. Kennedy and the production of anti-personnel landmines'. Eleanor Byrne and Martin McQuillan, *Deconstructing Disney* (London: Pluto Press, 1999), 1.
- 31 Richard Neupert, 'Painting a Plausible World: Disney's Color Prototypes', in Smoodin, *Disney Discourse*, 114.
- 32 David Forgacs, 'Disney Animation and the Business of Childhood', *Screen* 33, no. 4 (1992): 366.
- 33 Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart, *How to Read Donald Duck: Imperialist Ideology in the Disney Comic* (trans. David Kunzle, New York: International General, 1975), originally published as *Para Leer al Pato Donald* (Ediciones Universitarias de Valparaíso, 1971).

- 34 Elizabeth Bell, Lynda Haas and Laura Sells, 'Introduction', in *From Mouse to Mermaid: The Politics of Film, Gender, and Culture*, ed. Elizabeth Bell, Lynda Haas and Laura Sells (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 2–3. See also the essays collected in Johnson Cheu, *Diversity in Disney Films: Critical Essays on Race, Ethnicity, Gender, Sexuality and Disability* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2013).
- 35 Elizabeth Bell, 'Somatexts at the Disney Shop: Constructing the Pentimentos of Women's Animated Bodies', in *From Mouse to Mermaid*, 167.
- 36 Cassandra Stover, 'Damsels and Heroines: The Conundrum of the Post-Feminist Disney Princess', *LUX: A Journal of Transdisciplinary Writing and Research* 2, no. 1 (2013): 1.
- 37 Ibid., 5.
- 38 Sammond, *Babes in Tomorrowland*, 116.
- 39 Smoodin, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, 30–1.
- 40 Mindy Johnson, *Ink & Paint: The Women of Walt Disney's Animation* (Glendale: Disney Editions, 2017); and Nathalia Holt, *The Queens of Animation: The Untold Story of the Women* (London: Little, Brown Book Group, 2019).
- 41 Patricia Zohn, 'Coloring the Kingdom', *Vanity Fair* (March 2010), available at <https://www.vanityfair.com/culture/2010/03/disney-animation-girls-201003>.
- 42 J. B. Kaufman, 'Before Snow White', *Film History* 5, no. 2 (June 1993): 158–75.
- 43 Ibid., 158.
- 44 Forgacs, 'Disney Animation and the Business of Childhood', 367.
- 45 David McGowan, 'Walt Disney Treasures or Mickey Mouse DVDs? Animatophilia, Nostalgia, and the Competing Representations of Theatrical Cartoon Shorts on Home Video', *animation: an interdisciplinary journal* 13, no. 1 (2018): 54.
- 46 Jason Scott, 'Disneyizing Home Entertainment Distribution', in *DVD, Blu-ray and Beyond: Navigating Formats and Platforms within Media Consumption*, ed. Jonathan Wroot and Andy Willis (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 20.
- 47 Gillian Youngs, 'The Ghost of Snow White', *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 1, no. 2 (1999): 311–14.
- 48 Eric Jenkins, *Special Affects: Cinema, Animation and the Translation of Consumer Culture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 110.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 Michael Barrier, *The Animated Man: A Life of Walt Disney* (California: University of California Press, 2007), 123.
- 51 Barry Keith Grant, *The Hollywood Film Musical* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 5.
- 52 Frome, "'Snow White: Critics and Criteria for the Animated Feature Film,'" 464.

- 53 Dan Harries, *Film Parody* (London: BFI, 2000), 9.
- 54 Robin Allan, '50 Years of *Snow White*', *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 15, no. (4) (1988): 156.
- 55 Jessica Tiffin, *Marvelous Geometry: Narrative and Metafiction in Modern Fairy Tale* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2009), 144.
- 56 Jack Zipes, 'The Great Cultural Tsunami of Fairy-Tale Films', in *Fairy-Tale Films Beyond Disney: International Perspectives*, ed. Jack Zipes, Pauline Greenhill and Kendra Magnus-Johnson (London: Routledge, 2016), 4.
- 57 Byrne and McQuillan, *Deconstructing Disney*; Chris Pallant, *Demystifying Disney: A History of the Disney Feature Animation* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011); Douglas Brode and Shea T. Brode (eds), *Debating Disney: Pedagogical Perspectives on Commercial Cinema* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016); and Amy M. Davis (ed.), *Discussing Disney* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019).