

# A Preliminary Study to the Cultural History of Children's Books: Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*.<sup>1)</sup>

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## 1. Introduction.

The author became interested in the origins of children's books as a cultural historian, because, in historical terms, children's books can be seen as a cultural institution which can serve as a sort of interface between the world of the child and the adult world, which reflects adult perception, sentiment, and attitudes toward children. Thus inherently the study of children's books (especially their history) should be important not only from the standpoint of librarians, literary critics, and educationalists, but also of historians both cultural and social.

Among the literary critics who are conducting research concerning children's books, however, it seems to the author, there is a certain subtle attempt to exclude historical studies from their realm of research. An example of such a strategy can be seen in the following, cited from *Only Connect*, one of the most famous collections of essays on children's literature in the latter half of this century. "There were few books written before the middle of the nineteenth century which can be said to have more than an antiquarian interest today."<sup>3)</sup>

John Row Townsend demonstrates a similar exclusionary attitude in the foreword to his study, *Written for Children*. "Ephemeral matter produced to catch a market can be highly entertaining, and may well be important to the educationist, sociologist or social historian. But, for better or worse, this is a study of children's literature, not of children's reading-matter. It seeks to discriminate"<sup>4)</sup> It is difficult to understand what makes him so confident in distinguishing 'children's literature' from 'children's reading-matter.' Though these works may sound rather dated, as late as 1991, Peter Hunt, who is much more theoretically sophisticated with numerous accounts of references to the historicity of children's books, also limits the scope of his discussion to the books written in this century.<sup>5)</sup>

Needless to say, there should be various approaches to children's books. However, in

contrast to the opinions expressed above, opinions regarding the first publications in the history of children's books would be particularly important from an historical point of view, because it is through their study that we can understand the *change* in the attitudes of adults toward children. Among the questions involved in this study is: why, when and how did adults begin to give their children imaginative stories instead of didactic and moralistic verses, which formed the main stream of children's books? This change—if it can be described as change—in attitude is the main focus of the present paper.

What this paper aims at, however, is suggestions or proposals rather than a presentation of fact based upon carefully collected and thoroughly analysed material. This paper mainly discusses attitudes, concepts, and approaches toward children's books. *Robinson Crusoe* will be discussed as an example that would indicate such a change in adults, but during the course of examination, what is not clear will become more prominent than what is clear, mainly because of lack of material and evidence, which means a supplementary paper should be written in the future.

## 2 . *Robinson Crusoe* and Cultural History .

As this is a historical study, some precautions concerning the author's attitude to the children's books must be heeded. In the present paper, the author discusses 'children's books,' (the definition of which will appear later,) rather than 'children's literature.' The focus is not on the literary or aesthetic quality of the works discussed, but rather, on the bibliographical and socio-cultural aspects of the books. Any work will be dealt as a physical object rather than an abstract 'text.' This attitude will allow a discussion of the issue from the following three points of view.

First, the origins of children's books should be discussed within a certain social context. For example, the issue of readership is particularly important from this point of view. Since the price, format, and illustrations would determine the readership to a large extent, this sort of information is of great importance in the present argument.

Second, the issue should be discussed within the framework of the history of mass media for children. Though the present paper will deal with only printed media, it will be discussed as one of the very first types of mass media for children. As will be discussed later, widening our perspective from children's 'books' to children's 'media' in general is necessary if we are to attempt to discuss the history of children's books, bearing in mind

the situation in which children of our time exist.

Third, we can discuss the issue in conjunction with capitalism, when we consider children's books as commodities. The issues concerning the relationship of children and capitalism have, on the whole, been discussed with a special focus on children as part of productive force. Most notably the issue of child labour has been given special attention by numerous historians.<sup>6]</sup> But here it is necessary to argue that it is equally important to deal with the role of children as part of consumer force. They have been regarded as a market force ever since they were perceived as being different from adults. Children's culture in modern times has never been irrelevant to capitalism.

The author will discuss *Robinson Crusoe* in relation to the origin of children's books in England. Many historians of children's books have argued that *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver's Travels* are the first two classics for children. Needless to say, however, all of them must have known well that these works were never intended for children originally. Yet, they insist that these two and several other works have been 'taken over' or 'adopted' by children.<sup>7]</sup> Most notably Paul Hazard forcibly argues that these two novels written for adult readers were converted into children's books, through the active efforts of children themselves who found them interesting and had them made into the books for themselves.<sup>8]</sup> Here is his explanation concerning how children 'gained' *Robinson Crusoe* as theirs.

The little folk took it to themselves without ceremony. They began by sifting it, until it was rid of those heavy elements that its powerful current dragged painfully along with it: Those repeated sermons, those first truths,...; that the prosperity which we abuse often becomes the source of our greatest misfortunes;... And they have also changed somewhat that puritan spirit which tended to regard the adventures of Robinson as a punishment from Heaven.<sup>9]</sup>

While we do not need to take issue with any emphasis on children's spontaneity in discussing children's books, it seems that these literary expressions are too naive. No cultural historian can accept this sort of explanation without a more detailed discussion concerning the actual historical process through which these works became children's classics. Hazard does not seem to be interested in who and how and when these books were made into children's books. Yet the answers to these questions are vitally important.

As yet, we have at present too little concrete material to fully demonstrate the actual process by which *Robinson Crusoe* became a children's classic. In this paper the author proposes a preliminary hypothesis which may be able to explain this historical process to

a certain extent. It is mainly based upon the evidence which has been presented in the works of various literary and cultural historians, as well as on evidence discovered by the author. As will be discussed later in detail, we will see that the birth of *Robinson Crusoe* as a children's classic, which itself was a phenomenon occurring within the elite culture framework, had a close connection to chapbooks, which belonged to the realm of popular culture.

In order to make the following argument slightly more understandable, it is necessary to define a few terms. We have to recognize the difference between two meanings connotated by the phrase 'children's books'. This phrase can be used to mean 'books written, edited, and published specifically for children, which the authors or the publishers in question think are suitable for children'<sup>10]</sup> This "productive" definition sometimes makes a sharp contrast with another aspect of children's books—their reception. There is a group of books which may not have been specifically aimed at children, but which children are very likely to obtain and read. Our concern here is at which point the latter became the former. 'Children' is more difficult to define, but approximately the word meant any boys or girls (including those who might be illiterate,) who were thought of as 'children' by the group which he/she belongs at a particular context in a particular point in time.<sup>11]</sup> This inclusion of the illiterate under 'readers' would suggest that some kinds of children's books (especially children's books from reader's points of view) were expected to be read aloud.

### 3 . The Process of Change in *Robinson Crusoe*.

It is necessary to deal with the problem of the 'transformation' of *Robinson Crusoe* from one of the first novels for the adult reader to a children's classic. It was specifically abridged and adapted for children by certain publishers. According to Pat Rogers, *Robinson Crusoe* was subjected to three kinds of abridgement.

Some of these [abridgements] are what would normally be described as 'chapbooks', that is they are short, simplified texts, crudely produced for a very low price. Others are not: they are, rather, popularisations and piracies, which evidently assume a level of education and literary sophistication not much inferior to that required by the original work. Others fall in between these categories, and might be regarded as fringe-chapbooks.<sup>12]</sup>

The question is which of the three is the most important to the birth of the children's *Robinson Crusoe*. The author argues that in this discussion, the cultural map of eighteenth

century England is the crucial aspect to be considered. Numerous social historians, of which one of the most famous must be Peter Burke, have argued that in early modern Europe there were two cultural trends, namely, that of elite culture and popular culture.<sup>13]</sup>

Though some connections were maintained, as we will see later, these two cultures had come to be regarded as almost completely different, in terms of membership, media, and social strata, by the early eighteenth century in England. This separation in England took place relatively early among Western European countries.<sup>14]</sup> Theoretically, it is possible to argue that children and common people, both marginalized by the bearers of central culture (cultural elite, adults, etc.,) had much in common in terms of their culture. Burke argues, 'In the late seventeenth century, educated people were coming to think of the belief in witches as a characteristic of "such as are of the weakest judgement and reason, as *women, children, and ignorant and superstitious persons.*"' [italics added]<sup>15]</sup>

As is shown in this extract, children in general were often connected with popular culture, and there is some evidence that children, not only of lower strata but also of higher strata, were associated with chapbooks. For example, as Margaret Spufford maintains, we have considerable evidence that schoolboys from all social strata were presumed to be readers of chapbooks. "As it happens there is more direct evidence on the reading of schoolboys, although it remains pitifully little, than any other social group."<sup>16]</sup> Another example is James Boswell, who, in the middle of the eighteenth century, wrote in his diary:

Some days ago I went to the old printing-office in Bow Church-yard kept by Dicey, ... There are ushered into the world of literature Jack and the Giants, The Seven Wise Men of Gotham, and other story-books which in my dawning years amused me as much as *Rasselas* does now. I saw the whole scheme with a kind of pleasing romantic feeling to find myself really where all my old darlings were printed.<sup>17]</sup>

This was written in 1763, when Boswell was twenty-three years old, which means Boswell as a boy read chapbooks around the middle of the century. We are dealing with rather long time frame, and it is very dangerous to over-generalize, but at least concerning the lives of children in the last few decades of the eighteenth century, we have a certain amount of auto-biographical evidence to indicate that children of the lower strata had also purchased printed pages, such as chapbooks, with their pocket money. Here we have an example, which was written by a Radical leader, Samuel Bamford, who was born in 1788.

This autobiography was published in 1840.

In the spacious windows of this shop [near the Old Church yard], ...., were exhibited numerous songs, ballads, tales and other publications, .... Every farthing I could scrape together, was now spent in purchasing 'Histories of Jack the Giant Killer', 'Saint George and the Dragon', 'Tom Hickathrift', .....and such like romances.<sup>18]</sup>

From such descriptions, it seems that we can safely assume that once *Robinson Crusoe* was turned into chapbook editions, it came to be read by children from all social background.

The point in time when *Robinson Crusoe* was published as a chapbook, therefore, can be designated as the time when *Robinson Crusoe* became a 'children's book' from the point of view of readership. Thus, the next issue is the production of *Robinson Crusoe* as a children's book. Concerning this there are three points which deserve our attention. The first is when *Robinson Crusoe* was turned into a chapbook. Secondly, we also have to examine the distance between *Robinson Crusoe* and the norm for such 'children's books,' that is, what was thought as proper for children's books. Thirdly, and closely connected with the previous point, concerns the time when abridged versions of *Robinson Crusoe* began to be published as 'proper' books for children.

We will now attempt to clarify these three issues. First, as to the period of the first chapbook versions of *Robinson Crusoe*, Brian Alderson argues, "... the first chapbook edition [of *Robinson Crusoe*] noted is an Aldermay Churchyard one conjecturally dated in the 1750s."<sup>19]</sup> John Ashton, who edited a one-volume collection of chapbooks in the late nineteenth century, contains a chapbook version of *Robinson Crusoe* in his book, with a note "From Defoe's original edition of three volumes in 1719, to the 12mo Chap-book[sic], is a great drop, and, naturally, the story is much condensed. As it is so well known, only the illustrations are given, which in this edition are quainter than in the earlier one published at Aldermay Churchyard"<sup>20]</sup> As this edition has no date on it, nothing is certain, but the 'Aldermay Churchyard' edition, which is referred to in the note, probably should be identified with the one Alderson mentioned. So far the author cannot find any earlier reference to the chapbook edition of *Robinson Crusoe*, thus we have to be contented with having the 1750s as the date for the first appearance of *Robinson Crusoe* in chapbooks.

The next question is whether there was any other *Robinson Crusoe* abridgement as a children's book before the 1750s. It must be assumed that there was not for a couple of

reasons. First, in the first half of the eighteenth century, a book-length story was seldom used as a book written for children. They were more often in the form of a collection of moral verses or a sort of moral medley, which consisted of aphorisms and lessons in verses, short moral tales, alphabet songs, proverbs and sayings. One of the most well known examples of the former is *Divine Songs* written by Isaac Watts in 1715, and one of the examples of the latter is *Little Pretty Pocket-Book*, published by John Newbery in 1744.<sup>21]</sup>

Though there had been numerous abridged texts of *Robinson Crusoe* published before 1750s, children would not read them, since all of them, as far as we know, are too sophisticated in language, as Rogers argues in the extract above. Besides, most of the ‘abridged’ texts still seem too long for a child. Thus it is impossible to agree with Muir, who remarks, “By the first week in August an unauthorised abridged edition had been published as a pocket-sized volume, and with this publication Defoe’s story may be said, in the very year of its birth, to have started its career as a book for children.”<sup>22]</sup> Though the length of this edition is not stated, another example he gives is ‘less than 200 [pages] in duodecimo.’<sup>23]</sup> All the other books published for children discussed in the present paper, which can be regarded as a standard of the time, have less than 100 pages. It must be assumed that length of a book also determines its readership as well as its quality or content.

Last but not least, there was a vast distance between *Robinson Crusoe* and the books written and published for children in the first half of the eighteenth century, in terms of not only the number of pages, but also the content. We will pursue the last point further, with the emphasis on Watts’s work, partly because we have discussed Newbery’s works elsewhere, and partly because this is closer to *Robinson Crusoe* with regard to the year when it was published.

*Divine Songs Attempted in Easy Language for the Use of Children, printed for M. Lawrence at the Angel in the Poultry, London, in 1715*, in its full title, is true to its title. The book is full of didactic short rhymes, both religious and secular. Here are the few examples. The first one is a typical of Watts’s posture—the dedicated Puritan.

There is an Hour when I must die,  
Nor do I know how soon ’twill come;  
A thousand Children young as I

Are call'd by Death to hear their Doom.

Let me Improve the Hours I have  
 Before the Day of Grace is fled;  
 There's no Repentance in the Grave,  
 Nor Pardons offer'd to the Dead.<sup>24]</sup>

In more secular one such as the following, Watts located himself and his readers firmly in the atmosphere of upper-middle classes, accordingly, identified themselves with elite culture.

WHen'er [sic] I take my Walks abroad,  
 How many Poor I see?  
 What shall I render to my God  
 For all his Gifts to me?

Not more than others I deserve,  
 Yet God hath given me more;  
 For I have Food, while others starve,  
 Or beg from Door to Door

How many Children in the Street  
 Half naked I behold?  
 While I am cloth'd from Head to Feet,  
 And cover'd from the Cold.

While some poor Wretches scarce can tell  
 Where they may lay their Head,  
 I have a Home wherein to dwell,  
 And rest upon my Bed.<sup>25]</sup>

The children of the poor are here totally alienated. The supposed reader, parents and children of the well-off family, can be perfectly content with their lives, with everything supposedly given to them by divine will. They can safely look down on people who are not given these gifts.

This kind of book seems to have been quite popular as is shown by the fact that the book was re-published numerous times over the next few centuries. According to Pafford, who edited and wrote an introductory essay to the Oxford edition of *Divine Songs*, 125 editions have been identified between 1715 and 1800, both with and without lawful copyright.<sup>26]</sup> This figure alone allows us to see that *Divine Songs* was one of the models for children's books written and published for children during the eighteenth century.

The first edition of *Robinson Crusoe* was published in 1719, four years after *Divine*

*Songs*. Though the original version of *Robinson Crusoe* includes a certain amount of morality and religiousness, which Hazard calls 'heavy elements', for young readers its essence must be as an adventure story, and accordingly, its characteristics as such are clearly far from the moral and religious songs of Watts. The adventurousness of *Robinson Crusoe* must not have seemed fit for children from educators' and parents' points of view at the time. We must agree that the early eighteenth century is still too early for an adventure story such as *Robinson Crusoe* to be accepted by adults as suitable for children, at least, if we emphasize the 'adventure' element of it.

The third question is naturally presents itself as to the date of the acceptance of *Robinson Crusoe* as a children's book rather than a chapbook. As has been discussed above, it is not likely that it was earlier than the 1750s. However, things may have been changing in the middle of the 1760s. For one thing, in this period children's books began to consist of a story of considerable length. The most famous must be *Goody Two-Shoes*, written by an anonymous writer and published by John Newbery in 1765. Another piece of evidence that the author would like to point out though it is somewhat circumstantial, and that is that adults' novels, though not specifically *Robinson Crusoe*, began to be introduced to the world of children's books in the 1760s.

It was an eighteenth-century custom that a new book included at the back advertisements for other (often new) books, and this was also usual among children's books in that period. Though the list of the books so advertised is by no means comprehensive, still we can thereby obtain a certain amount of information. Among 44 titles which were listed in the advertisement pages of the John Newbery's books published in 1766 and 1767<sup>27]</sup>, there appears a magazine that is titled as *The Lilliputian Magazine*. It suggests that the name 'Lilliputian' was thought to be a suitable name for a magazine for children. The collected volume of the magazine in the advertisement was priced at one shilling, which is exceptionally expensive, as more than half of the titles listed are priced inexpensively at less than six pence. That means that the volume was expected to sell at that price from the publisher's point of view, and Newbery was never slow in deciding what would sell and what would not sell. Thus even *Gulliver's Travels*, which could be described as less religious and moralistic than *Robinson Crusoe*, had entered the realm of the children's book industry by the middle of the 1760s.

The first concrete evidence for the appearance of *Robinson Crusoe* that the author has

obtained so far is among the advertisement of books attached to *Tommy Thumb's Song Book* published in 1794 by an American publisher Isaiah Thomas.<sup>28]</sup> The fact this is not published in Britain may be a matter for discussion, but in general, Thomas's publications have been acknowledged for their sticking to their English originals.<sup>29]</sup> Thus this indicates the appearance of *Robinson Crusoe* in the world of children's books. In addition, according to Pat Rogers, the first bowdlerized edition of *Robinson Crusoe* was published in 1813.<sup>30]</sup> From these pieces of evidences, we can argue, we can conjecturally assume that it was around the turn of the century that *Robinson Crusoe* was established as a children's book.

#### 4 . An Interpretation of the Change.

So far, we have discussed the relationship of *Robinson Crusoe* to chapbooks, where this book stands in relation to the norm for children's books in the early eighteenth century, and the date when *Robinson Crusoe* became a socially acceptable children's book. Next we will proceed to interpret the transformation of the book from an adults' novel to that of children's literature, and argue the implications.

There are several approaches to understanding the motives of the publishers and writers of the abridged texts who were involved in this transformation of *Robinson Crusoe*. We will mainly discuss two major areas, the economic and intellectual motives. We will deal with the issue of trade and business first, because it has seldom been explicitly discussed. In discussing the success of the first edition of *Robinson Crusoe*, Rogers argues that the large sum of money paid for the copyright of the book most cogently indicates the popularity of the book, "The book trade defines a bestseller by the simplest of criteria, and no one would have paid hard cash for a worthless title."<sup>31]</sup> We have to recognize the fact that *Robinson Crusoe* was abridged into various versions because it made profits for the publishers, editors, and writers of the foreshortened texts. In addition, it was made into a children's book because children comprised a profitable market, however bleak it may sound.

We have, again, too little evidence to make such a bold comment complacently, but there are some facts, which show, though indirectly, how the children's books industry seemed promising in the middle of the eighteenth century. For example, the two publishers of children's books mentioned, John Newbery and Isaiah Thomas, both became prosper-

ous through their specializing in children's books.<sup>32]</sup> Though we do not have exact figures to demonstrate how profitable business concerning *Robinson Crusoe* was, Roger's comment on the price for the copyright of *Robinson Crusoe* must show it was also highly promising.

To discuss children's books merely from an economic standpoint does sound discouraging. Phrases such as imagination, authenticity, realism, and fantasy, which often appear in discussions of children's books may give the impression of being a more fruitful area than words such as profit, market, and industry. As argued earlier, however, we should see children's books not only as literary texts, but also as commodities, as part of the mass media, often controlled by capitalistic motives, if we wish to connect their history with the present-day situation in which children finds themselves. Besides, it must be described as 'change' in that we can discuss books, children's books in particular, in conjunction with capitalism, which would not have been possible concerning books published earlier. What the eighteenth century experienced was only the very beginning of the industrial revolution, and it might be still too early to take capitalism into consideration, yet it is not totally impossible to argue that the 'mass' media which slowly began to appear in this century was influenced by sales figures.

It is needless to say, however, that a capitalistic interpretation is not the only explanation for the transformation of *Robinson Crusoe*. What sort of cultural, social or ideological changes could be assumed in England during the eighteenth century? The emergence of the Romantic concepts of childhood, which were elaborately expressed by Wordsworth and Blake, and other serious public concerns for children were, for the most part, the characteristics of the nineteenth century, rather than that of the previous century. Yet, a new sensitivity toward children also began to appear in the latter half of the eighteenth century. For example, Hugh Cunningham argues, "The 1780s saw the beginning of public concern for both the slaves in the West Indies and *the children in the factories*. [italics added] "<sup>33]</sup> Still it needed almost another century before harsh child labour was put to an end. In this sense, we could not expect a dramatic change in the sensitivity of the public toward children. Thus, the changes of *Robinson Crusoe* cannot be explained from this perspective.

If we suppose that there were changes in the reading public, following two possibilities may be entertained. One concerns the status of *Robinson Crusoe* in the elite culture

framework. The other is a change in the meaning of reading in general public.

As for the status of the work, Rogers argues, "it [*Robinson Crusoe*] possessed an authentic currency among the devotees of polite letters. This was more marked after the book had received the suffrage of Rousseau in *Emile* (1762),"<sup>34]</sup> Though we will not elaborate here on the history of the reception of *Robinson Crusoe*, it seems that the work, though it was extremely popular from the start, became to be given a special status around the middle of the century. Though we cannot be sure in deciding on what the commanding factor was to make *Robinson Crusoe* such a unique work in terms of its popularity, we can posit the rise of individualism among the reading public as one explanation, as Ian Watt discusses.<sup>35]</sup> In particular, we should assume its appearance in *Emile*, as a book suitable for children, must have been influential.

The meaning of reading for the general public changed during the eighteenth century, especially toward the end of it, because of the increase in literacy, the number of the printed materials published, and the increased purchasing power. Neuburg argues, "The period between 1700 and 1800 was one in which there was a considerable increase in the extent to which the printed word became part of the background of men and women who had not previously been exposed to it ..." <sup>36]</sup> And he attributed this change to the increase of literacy in this century. According to him, "The other influence upon the market for popular literature during this century was, it is suggested, the movement towards the spread of literacy, in so far as this is interpreted as the ability to read a printed page. For the children of the poor who could pay a trifling weekly fee, some sort of education could be acquired at the random, private-venture establishments ... The eighteenth-century, however, also saw the rise of charity schools."<sup>37]</sup> Though we should not overestimate the increase in literacy of this period, and even Neuburg does not give exact figures, it must be admitted that the literacy rate among ordinary people had increased considerably.

In accordance with the spread of reading, we can assume that a larger part of reading public than before began to read, not only from practical necessity, but also for sheer pleasure. we can argue that this change in attitude toward reading must have been related to *Robinson Crusoe* becoming children's reading material.

## 5 . Conclusion .

In this paper we have outlined and discussed the short history of *Robinson Crusoe*

starting from an adult novel through various abridged versions to an acceptable children's book. In doing this, we must admit, that the evidence is often too weak, and that we need much more information concerning the history of publishing in the eighteenth century to prove the thesis on the relationships between chapbooks and *Robinson Crusoe* as a children's book. We must also admit that the explanations given here of the change from an adult novel to a children's book are neither conclusive nor decisive, but are more hypothetical.

Another postscript concerns the 'history of reading,' which is one of the most important areas in cultural history during the last few decades. Cultural historians, most notably Carlo Ginzburg and Roger Chartier to name but a few, argue that reading experience consists not only of an abstract entity defined as 'text,' but also of the various relationships between the reader and the text.<sup>38]</sup> Though the author is much inspired by this approach to reading, it could not fully employed to support the arguments herein presented. Yet this preliminary study has achieved the author's aim if it has opened up a different perspective to research into the history of children's books.

#### Notes

- 1 ] Special thanks are due to Professor Stephen Nigel Williams and Professor Jan Baker Gordon for their valuable comments and assistance.
- 2 ] In this paper, names of the Japanese are spelt according to their own system, i. e., surname first.
- 3 ] Roger Lancelyn Green, "The golden age of children's books." *Only Connect: Readings on Children's Literature*, eds. Sheila Egoff, G.T. Stubbs, and L.F. Ashley (Tronto, NY: Oxford University Press, 1969) p. 2
- 4 ] John Rowe Tounsend, *Written for Children*, (Penguin Books, 2nd, 1983, 1st 1965) p. 14.
- 5 ] Peter Hunt, *Criticism, Theory, & Children's Literature*, (Basil Blackwell, 1991) p. 61-62
- 6 ] Concerning the recent debate, see Sato Kazuya, "'How should a History of Childhood be Written?' A Review Article on Recent Studies in the History of Childhood", *Area and Culture Studies*, No. 48, 1994, pp. 347-356.
- 7 ] For example, Percy Muir describes *Robinson Crusoe* and other works as "adopted" books by children and says, "those written for adults but firmly taken over by children." Percy Muir, *English Children's Books: 1600 to 1900* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1954), p. 40.
- 8 ] Paul Hazard, *Books, Children, and Men*, trans. Marguerite Mitchell, 5th edition (Boston: The Horn Book, 1983, 1st 1944) p. 47 ff.
- 9 ] *Ibid*, p. 54.
- 10 ] Concerning the perception of what a child is, see Jacqueline Rose, *The Case of Peter Pan or The Impossibility of Children's Fiction* (London: Macmillan, 1984.)
- 11 ] We have to distinguish between 'children' and 'infant.' Infancy was thought, before

- childhood was 'discovered,' a totally different period of life in that an infant was not able to look after himself. Concerning this argument, see Miyazawa Yasuto, "'Modernity' for Ariès, children, family, and school" *Children in Social History (Shakaishi no nakano kodomo)* (eds. Miyazawa Yasuo, Shinyo-sha, 1988), pp. 15-23.
- 12] Pat Rogers, *Literature and Popular Culture in Eighteenth Century England* (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1985) p. 167.
- 13] The following arguments are based on: Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, (London: Temple Smith, 1978.)
- 14] *Ibid.*, pp. 277-78.
- 15] *Ibid.*, p. 278.
- 16] Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories—Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen & Co., 1981; rpt. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1985) p. 72.
- 17] James Boswell, with introduction and notes by Frederick A. Pottle, *Boswell's London Journal; 1762-63*, (London: William Heinemann, 1950) p. 299.
- 18] Quoted in Victor E. Neuburg, *Popular Literature—A History and Guide* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977), pp. 113-14.
- 19] F.J. Harvey-Darton, *Children's Books in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1st, 1932, 3rd edition, 1982, revised by Brian Alderson) p. 354.
- 20] John Ashton, *Chap-Books of the Eighteenth Century*, (London: Chatto & Windus, 1882), pp. 418-19.
- 21] As for the books published by John Newbery, see Sato Kazuya, "John Newbery's books: A Historical Study", *Journal of the Department of Liberal Arts*, No. 24, 1992 the University of Tokyo, pp. 27-48.
- 22] Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
- 23] *Ibid.*, p. 41.
- 24] Isaac Watts, *Divine Songs* (London: printed for M. Lawrence at the Angel in the Poultry, 1715) The following texts are cited from Facsimile reproductions of the first edition of 1715 and an illustrated edition of circa 1840, with an introduction and bibliography by J.H.P. Pafford (London: Oxford University Press, 1971.) Paging here and in the next note is done according to the original in facsimile. pp. 15-16.
- 25] *Divine Songs*, pp. 6-7.
- 26] 'Introduction' by J.H.P. Pafford to *Divine Songs*, p. 70.
- 27] Two of the most well-known Newbery's books, *The Little Pretty Pocket-Book* and *Goody Two-Shoes* is used here. Concerning these advertisement pages, see Note 21.
- 28] *Nurse Lovechild, Tommy Thumb's Song Book, FOR ALL LITTLE MASTERS and MISSES, To be Sung to them by their Nurses, until they can sing themselves, TO WHICH IS ADDED, A Letter from a Lady on Nursing*, The Second Worcester Edition, PRINTED at WORCESTER, Massachusetts, by ISAIAH THOMAS, 1794 (rpt. 1992, Tokyo: Holp Shuppan.)
- 29] "Thomas." in Humphry Carpenter, *The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983.) It says, "His [Thomas's] practice was to reprint English children's books with a minimum of alteration."
- 30] Rogers, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
- 31] Rogers, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

- 32] Newbery eventually purchased a property in Surrey and, as a token of climbing up the social ladder, sent his sons to Oxford, whereas Thomas was able to retire with a large sum of money and he could concentrate on academic research after his retirement.
- 33] Hugh Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor: Representations of Childhood since the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991) p. 72.
- 34] Rogers, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
- 35] Ian Watt, "Individualism and the Novel" *Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe* ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1988) p. 11-41.
- 36] Neuburg, *op. cit.*, p. 105.
- 37] *Ibid.*, p. 106.
- 38] The specific work in mind is a collection of Chartier's essays and interviews, collected and translated for a Japanese publisher. Roger Chartier, *The Cultural History of Reading: Text, Book, and Reading (Dokusho no Bunka-shi:tekusuto, shomotu, dokkai)* trans. Fukui Norihiko (Tokyo: Shinyo-sha, 1992)

子どもの本をめぐる文化史試論  
『ロビンソン・クルーソー』について

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子どもの本の歴史を文学史としてよりも文化史の一部として考える場合には、そのテキストの内容ばかりでなく、「本」としての物質的要素や商品としての要素を考える必要がある。小論は、この立場から本来大人のために書かれた小説であった『ロビンソン・クルーソー』が子どもの本として受け入れられるようになる過程を検討したものである。この過程には、さまざまなダイジェスト版の存在が不可欠であり、なかでもチャップブックと呼ばれる民衆のための印刷物が大きく関与していると考えられる。チャップブックは必ずしも子どもの「ために」出版されたものではなかったが、またむしろいわゆる「エリート文化」の認めるものではなかったにも関わらず、読み手である子どもたちからは、階級を問わず広く受け入れられたものであり、『ロビンソン・クルーソー』がチャップブック版で出版されたということは、イコール子どもを読者として持つことになることを意味したからである。

しかし、このことは必ずしもこの小説が大人の文化の中で、子どもにふさわしい読み物として認められることを意味せず、現在分かる限りの史料からは、おそらく、読み手にとっての子ども版『ロビンソン・クルーソー』（＝チャップブック版）の誕生から、作り手にとってのそれ（＝エリート文化の中で認められ得る出版業者によって出版された『ロビンソン・クルーソー』）の誕生まで半世紀ほどを要したと考えられる。

このような変化の原因としては、この小説が当初から非常に売れ行きが良かったためにさまざまな短縮版・縮刷版や海賊版などの出版を招いたということに加えて、子どもの本という産業が有望であると思われるようになったということなどの商業的・経済的要因が強く働いていたことは間違いないが、それとともに識字率の増大に伴う読者層の拡大、読書という体験が意味することの変化なども考えられる。