

When Did Robinson Crusoe Become a Children's Book?: An Aspect of a Publishing History in Eighteenth Century Britain¹

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1. Introduction

There is no doubt that when *Robinson Crusoe* was published in 1719, it was exclusively intended for adult readers. Today, however, this work is regarded not only as a forerunner of the genre of novel in Britain, but also as one of the earliest classical works in the history of children's books. With regard to this issue, the author of the present paper has argued the following three points in another paper [Sato, 1995]. First, the fact that this work was abridged and published as chapbooks, which were regarded as reading matter not for the cultural elite but for ordinary people, rendered this novel also apt to be read by children from various social backgrounds, as children also have formed a group which has been alienated by the dominant cultural elite, which in turn is obviously composed of adults. Second, the novel began to be made into chapbooks approximately in the 1750s and came to be published as books particularly designed for children around the 1790s. Third, the motivations of the first publishers which turned to publishing *Robinson Crusoe* as a children's book were economic rather than educational. They published various abridged editions of this work for children, because it was one of the best-sellers of the time and because children's books were just beginning to be profitable products, as is seen in the example of John Newbery; thus the transformation of *Robinson Crusoe* must be seen in this context of the development of the industry which produced children's books.

The theoretical ground on which these arguments are based is a deep scepticism toward the traditional explanations by various literary historians, who seek the origin of children's literature in the first appearances of *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver's Travels* [Hazard, 1932; Muir, 1969]. The present author attempts to date the time at which *Robinson Crusoe* was made into children's reading matter to late in the latter half of the eighteenth century, rather than the early decades of it. From the sixteenth century onward, the predominant attitude of society toward children's reading matter was that it should be moralistic and instructive, both in secular and religious terms. This attitude in general was so commanding that any movement, whether educational or literary, to change the above attitude, must not have taken place so early. In fact, even after this novel came to be abridged and edited for children, these modified versions were often intended to instruct or moralize children, rather than entertain or amuse them by adventures, as will be discussed later in this paper.

The first part of this paper will be spent in substantiating these arguments. Secondly, two of editions of *Robinson Crusoe*, published in the last decade of the eighteenth century,

will be examined to see whether they really came to be regarded as children's books. Lastly, there will be a brief discussion of several editions of *Robinson Crusoe* after its transformation, from the late 1790s onward. In this period, the novel established itself firmly as a children's book, and in accordance with this change, the character of *Robinson Crusoe* inevitably underwent changes.

2. The Date of Change

Though it is obvious that the intentions of authors and publishers are not the same as those of readers, the focus of this paper is almost exclusively on the publishing aspects of books. If we see the publication of books in terms of a business, it is needless to say that all publishers attempt to sell their products. In order to sell as many as possible, publishers must consider carefully what people would like to read, or in this special case, what they would like to have their children read. Thus, their products reflect the norms of the society with regard to what children should be given as reading matter. In particular, this paper deals with bibliographic information on various abridged editions. For this purpose, we will see the data contained in the Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue CD-ROM (abbreviated as ESTC hereafter.)

When we turn to the bibliographical information which ESTC provides for us in the discussion of publishing history of *Robinson Crusoe*, there might be two difficulties, if not fatal ones. First, it may be disputable to what extent we can rely on bibliographical data, without minute discussion of the content of the books. Second, though ESTC is the most comprehensive catalogue that we have at present, it does not necessarily mean that it is *completely* comprehensive. As we will see later, there might have been a book which has not survived to this day, which means that we do not have a record of it on ESTC; but the existence of the book may be confirmed by means of tracing advertisements in the contemporary magazines.

Nevertheless, as to the first point, this approach may be justified by the fact that the data concerning publishers, formats, collations, and the exact usage of particular words in the title, supply us a fairly large amount of information concerning the book being discussed, particularly when we deal with books as concrete objects rather than as abstract texts. With regard to the latter, we could also argue that the survival itself might indicate the popularity of the book in the period soon after publication, if we could admit that the more copies of a certain book was printed, the more copies of the book might have possibilities of survival (although we may not wholly depend on this presumption, either). For these reasons, bibliographical data based on ESTC will be used extensively in the following arguments. To compensate for these disadvantages, the author himself has also turned to the books and other printed materials contained in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. By means of feeling the papers and recognizing the actual size of the books (their physical smallness), as well as reading the texts, the author could discuss not only their content, but also the material nature of the books. Though he is fully aware of the

incomprehensiveness of the data on which his arguments are based, they must have some validity in that they are not the result of a research which focuses on the material exclusively in terms of its content, but one which adds the contexts obtained through the bibliographical data and the actual physical nature of the books.

According to ESTC, ninety-one books which can be recognized as abridged editions of *Robinson Crusoe* were published in English during the eighteenth century². The number of the records apportioned to the decade in which they were published, as is indicated in the table 1, increased rapidly towards the end of the century. This increase is explained from the expanding readership and the development of the publishing industry, which continued during the eighteenth century [Feather, 1988].

Decade	A	B
1717—19	1	0
1720—29	3	0
1730—39	2	1
1740—49	1	1
1750—59	5	4
1760—69	9	2
1770—79	15	4
1780—89	22	8
1790—1800	33	22

table 1 Column A is the number of records of abridged editions of Robinson Crusoe, and column B is the number of books which have less than 160 pages. The author made this table based upon ESTC.

In the eighteenth century, when children's books first became seriously considered both by educationalists and publishers, the number of pages was, generally speaking, limited to approximately 150 [Sato, 1992a]. Thus, of these ninety-one books, any with more than 160 pages must have not been intended for children in the early or mid-eighteenth century; only those with less pages have any possibilities of being aimed at children. There are forty-two records of such books, with approximately the same tendency of increase as the entire amount of abridged editions [cf. table 1].

The first two records, in chronological order, of this 'less than 160 pages' group are almost identical in their pagination, format, and publishers, as well as in the exact words and phrases of the title. It is very likely that the content should be identical as well. Their precise records are as follows.

The first one is:

ESTC RECORD NUMBER: t072303

PERSONAL AUTHOR: Defoe, Daniel, 1661?-1731

UNIFORM TITLE: Robinson Crusoe—Abridgments.

TITLE: The wonderful life, and most surprizing adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York; mariner. Containing a full and particular account how he lived eight and twenty years in an un-inhabited island on the coast of America. . . . Faithfully epitomized from the

three volumes, and adorned with cutts—

IMPRINT: London: printed for A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch; R. Ware; and J. Hodges, 1737.

DATE: 1737

COLLATION: 154p.: ill.

FORMAT: 12mo.

The second one is:

ESTC RECORD NUMBER n025004

PERSONAL AUTHOR: Defoe, Daniel, 1661?-1731

UNIFORM TITLE: Robinson Crusoe—Abridgments.

TITLE: The wonderful life, and most surprizing adventures of Robinson Crusoe. Of York; mariner. Containing a full and particular account how he lived eight and twenty years in an un-inhabited island on the coast of America: . . . Faithfully epitomized from the three volumes, and adorned with cutts. . . .

IMPRINT: London: printed for C. Hitch and R. Ware and J. Hodges, 1748.

DATE: 1748

COLLATION: 154p.: ill.

FORMAT: 12mo.

Judging from the bibliographical information, they are also identical to the copy collected in the Opie Collection of the Bodleian Library. When we turn to this particular copy in detail, it is more likely that it was not intended for children, though some features might seem to suggest the opposite.

Peter Opie, who was one of the greatest collectors of children's books in this century, and whose collection was sold to the Bodleian after his death, seems to have believed that this was the first copy of *Robinson Crusoe* as a children's book. Between the pages of this copy, he put a piece of paper which reads, 'An extremely early chapbook edition, perhaps the earliest. Of this abridgement the earliest edition the British Museum has is 1759. The earliest date the Printers Dictionary has for C. Hitch is 1735. R. Ware published a number of juveniles, and there is an advertisement of his here for *A Description of Three Hundred Animals* which is "adapted to the Use of all Capacities" is for children also. Interesting Preface.' There are several points in this note which require examination, however.

First, the use of the word 'chapbook' is not precise. According to strict definition by literary or social historians [Neubrug, 1977; Spufford, 1983:], a book with 154 pages can never be called a 'chapbook', as the maximum number of pages which allowed a book to be so termed should be twenty-four, at least by the end of the eighteenth century. This discussion might sound too trivial, but the number of pages of a book, as well as its binding and the quality of paper, determine the capital and technology required in producing the book and the method of distribution. These features played a vital role in defining the readership of these small books. As to the last point, Neuburg explains as follows:

The question of distribution, accounting for the fact that these books were to be found not only in the towns but also in farmhouses. . . . was an important one. The pedlar or hawker—otherwise known as the chapman—purchased his stocks. . . . and proceeded then to ply his

wares in the streets, at fairs and public executions, in market places, taverns, coffee houses or wherever else people gathered in large numbers. But many of his kind spent their working lives much further afield, tramping up and down the country, visiting villages and remote farmhouses with a pack containing the small necessities. . . . Chapbooks formed a valuable part of the chapman's stock-in-trade, and the importance of this wandering fraternity cannot be overstressed. They provided the essential link between the printer/publisher. . . . and his public. [Neuburg, 1977]

In this respect, the book discussed is definitely not a chapbook, because a book with 154 pages must have been too heavy to be distributed in this fashion. If the book is not a chapbook, it might reduce the possibility that the book was read by ordinary people or children in general.

Second, how Opie came to regard this book as 'juvenile' is not clear. In the eighteenth century, most of the 'juvenile' books, i.e. the books intended to be read by children, had peculiar prefaces aimed at parents or teachers in order to explain in what fashion and to what extent the book was beneficial in improving the children in moral terms [Sato, 1992a]. The preface of this edition, which Opie calls 'interesting', is apparently aimed at general adult readers.

In this New Epitome, of the wonderful Life, and surprizing Adventures of ROBINSON CRUSOE, I think myself obliged to acquaint the Reader, that all possible Care has been taken to preserve the History entire to correct some Mistakes in former Impressions, and to add a considerable Number of Facts and material Observations that have lately occurred, and were never published but in this Edition. . . .

But as I hope the Performance will speak better in its own Favour, than any Body can pretend to, I shall not trouble the Reader, nor myself with useless Apologies, or attempt to persuade any one into an Opinion of a Work so universally esteemed.

Let this Epitome, which is contracted into as narrow a Compass as possible, be but read over with that Consideration and Sedateness which the Nature of the Design deserves, and then there is no Doubt to be made, but the candid Reader will find a sufficient Return both for his Trouble and Expencc; and with these Cautions, and upon this Presumption, I submit the following Sheets to his Perusal.

There is no sign here of the didacticism or self-complacency which is very characteristic of the Prefaces of the books aimed at children in this century, such as *The Divine Songs* written by Isaac Watts or various children's books published by John Newbery.

Thirdly, with regard to the advertisement which Opie refers to, we must see other books advertised here. Following is the list of them:

- Printed for A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, at the Red Lion in Pater-noster-row.
- A Treatise by the learned Dr. Thomas Burnet, late Master of the Charter-House to which is prefixed [sic] his Effigies [unreadable with stain], curiously engraved by Mr. Vertue.
- A Treatise concerning the State of departed Souls, before, at, and after the Resurrection, translated into English by Mr. Dennins. Price 5s.
- 2. The Faith and Duties of Christians, a Treatise in eight Chapter, translated by Mr. Dennis. P 5s.
- 3. De Statu Mortuorum & Resurgentium Tractus, adjiciture Appendix de futura Judaeorum

Restauratione. Price 6s.

4. *Archaeologia Philosophica*, five *Doctrina Antiqua de rerum originibus*. Libri duo. Editio Fecunda. Price 6s.
 5. *De Fide & Officiis Christianorum*, Liber posthumus. Editio fecunda. Price 4s. N.B. There are a small Number of the Latin Pieces printed on a fine large Paper. Just published, printed for R. Ware, at the Bible and Sun in Amen-Corner, Warwick-Lane.
- A Description of Three Hundred Animals, Viz. BEASTS, BIRDS, FISHES, SERPENTS, and INSECTS. With a particular Account of the Manner of their catching of Whales in Greenland. Extracted from the best Authors, and adapted to the Use of all Capacities. Illustrated with Copper Plates, wherein is curiously engraven every Beast, Bird, Fish, Serpent, and Insect, describ'd in the whole BOOK. The Third edition, carefully corrected and amended.

Even if, as Opie notes, the last one might have been targeted at children, the others are obviously not. Three of them are written, or at least titled, in Latin, and they are serious religious books.

Incidentally, this list of advertisement gives us another source of information which has not yet been discussed, that is the price of the book. Though we must not confuse the two, this may make us aware of the division of readership, not in terms of age, but in terms of class, or, at least wealth of the reader. The price of chapbooks varies according to the period and individual products, but usually it is within the range from halfpenny to six pence [Spufford, 1983].

In spite of Opie's assertion that this is one of the earliest abridgements for children, the preface and the advertisements indicate the contrary. We must search for the 'first specimen of them in other abridged copies. The third record of the 'less than 160pages' group is this:

ESTC RECORD NUMBER: t072304

PERSONAL AUTHOR: Defoe, Daniel, 1661?-1731

UNIFORM TITLE: *Robinson Crusoe*—Abridgments.

TITLE: *Voyages and travels: being the life and adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, mariner. Who lived eight and twenty years all alone in an uninhabited [sic] island on the coast of America, . . .* Written by himselfe. [sic]

IMPRINT: [London?, 1750?].

DATE: 1750

COLLATION: 8p.

FORMAT: 8vo.

Judging from the collation and format, this edition seems to be a genuine chapbook. As far as the bibliographical evidence is concerned, this seems to be one of the earliest chapbook editions of *Robinson Crusoe*. The next record of one which is assumed to be a chapbook appears c.1770, printed in Newcastle. Between these two records, there are two of C.Hitch's editions (in 1752 and in 1759), one piracy (in 1759), and two editions published in Glasgow by different publishers (in 1761 and in 1762). We are not certain whether any of these is specifically intended for children or not. All of them have more

than 100 pages and seem to be what Rogers calls 'fringe' chapbooks [Rogers, 1985].

In 1775, another chapbook edition was published in Aldermary Church Yard, which was a famous area in London for its chapbooks and other types of ephemeral publications [Boswell, 1950]. This edition is assumed to be the chapbook mentioned by Brian Alderson [Harvey-Darton, 1982; 1st 1932] as one of the earliest instances of *Robinson Crusoe* being made into a chapbook.

During the 1770s and 1780s a certain number of abridged editions were published, both as chapbooks and as 'fringe' chapbooks. The first book which seems more likely to be specifically aimed at children than others was published by Thomas Carnan, who was the stepson and one of the successors of John Newbery. The record is as follows:

ESTC RECORD NUMBER: n036069

PERSONAL AUTHOR: Defoe, Daniel, 1661?-1731

UNIFORM TITLE: Robinson Crusoe—Abridgments.

TITLE: The wonderful life, and surprising adventures of that renowned hero, Robinson Crusoe, who lived twenty-eight years on an uninhabited island, which he afterwards colonised.

IMPRINT: London: printed for the inhabitants of his island, and sold by T. Carnan, [1780?].

DATE: 1780

COLLATION: 160p.: ill.

FORMAT: 32mo.

There are several clues in this record which suggest that the copy was intended for children, besides the fact that it was published by Thomas Carnan. As to the number of the pages, one hundred and sixty may be well above average, but the copy was extremely small, since 32mo. means 3×4.5 inches, which is the same size as, or smaller than, average chapbooks of the time. The format might justify the number of the pages.

In addition, this is the first time Robinson Crusoe himself is referred to as 'that renowned hero.' This phrase might suggest his popularity among a fairly wide reading public, including children. At least, the word 'renowned' can often be seen among the titles of chapbooks from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, such as *The Noble and Renowned History of Guy, Earl of Warwick*, or *The Life and Adventures of the Renowned Tom Thumb*. This phrase can be seen in the other eight copies in the group of *Robinson Crusoe* being discussed, two of which were published by successors of Newbery, the other six by various publishers, both in England and in Scotland. All of them seemed to be editions for children. Judging from the fact that only one of the eight copies is identical with the 1780 Carnan edition, the use of this phrase in the title referring to Robinson Crusoe himself was popular in the last few decades of the eighteenth century.

But there is another explanation as to what was the first edition of *Robinson Crusoe* intended for children. In *The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature* [Carpenter and Prichard, 1984], The editors give the date 1768 as the first instance of the advertisement of the abridgement edited especially for children, which was published by Francis Newbery

and Thomas Carnan. According to the advertisement, the copy was priced sixpence, with a frontispiece and six other illustrations. And it declared itself to have been “Printed for the Inhabitants of his Island, and sold by all the Booksellers in the World.” The author of this paper has not seen any other reference to this copy, but it may represent the first appearance of children’s *Robinson Crusoe* twelve years earlier than the 1780 Carnan edition. At the same time, the association of the first children’s *Robinson Crusoe* with Newbery’s family suggests the economic motivations of the publishers in editing this work as children’s reading matter [Sato, 1995].

All of these arguments above are designed to locate the first appearance of *Robinson Crusoe* as a children’s book in history. Though much is still uncertain, at least we can safely assume, from the limited evidence that we have, that there were no copies of the abridgement of this novel which were specifically published for children in the first half of the eighteenth century, and the most likely it is in the 1780s that we can see the first appearance of children’s editions of *Robinson Crusoe*, though it is possible that the late 1760s might be the date.

In ESTC, there is one publisher which published two different versions (not editions) of *Robinson Crusoe*, and one seems to be intended for adult readers, whereas the other must have been published for children. We will next turn to these two versions in the context of other publications by the same publisher, which might provide us a wider perspective.

3. Two Copies of *Robinson Crusoe*

The name of this publisher is Robert Bassam, who had his printing house at No.53 St. John’s St., West Smithfield, in London. As far as the surviving records indicate, he seemed to have established his business by 1750. ESTC has fifty-one records of printed matter published by him. Bassam rarely printed works of ‘high’ culture, like Pope or Johnson, most probably because such works were heavily guarded by copyrights and monopolized by a few large publishing companies [Feather, 1988]. On the relatively few occasions that he did so, the text was always abridged. There is no incidence of his publishing such material without any modifications. Bassam’s main repertoire consists of satirical or political posters and pamphlets, song-books, some abridgements of the novels, such as *Robinson Crusoe* and *Tom Jones*, and books written for children. The last two groups are of special interest here.

The books obviously written and published for children, which is visible in their titles, have a certain tendency. The following are some examples of them. Since most of them were published anonymously or pseudonymously, only the titles, pages, format and the year of publication are given, though in most cases the last is not necessarily certain. In addition, we can see in the following the connection between the number of the pages and the content.

The entertaining history of Miss Lovegood and Miss Nogood, with that of Miss Tattle.

Containing a variety of circumstances, moral and pleasant, for the instruction of youth. Adorned with cuts, 1780?, 63 [1] p.: ill., FORMAT 24mo.

A pretty riddle book, being a choice whetstone for the wit of young children, by Mr. Christopher Conundrum, Adorned with cuts, 1785?, 63 [1] p.: ill., FORMAT 16mo.

The aviary; or, book of birds, for the amusement of children, 1790?, 9 [3] p.: ill., FORMAT: 16mo.

Billy Lovegood's history of birds and beasts; with instructive poems upon each. . . . Adorned with cuts, 1790?, 63 [1] p.: ill., FORMAT: 24mo.

The new royal primer, or, the easy and pleasant guide to the art of reading, authorized by His Majesty King George III. . . . , 1790?, 71 [1] p.: ill., FORMAT: 12mo.

The school mistress: containing the history of Miss Charlotte Goodall, and other young ladies. To which is added, a pretty hymn on love-all, 1790?, 79 [1] p.: ill., FORMAT: 32mo.

The effects of tyranny & disobedience! Or the history of Hamet, Prince of Persia. Calculated to inspire the minds of youth with ideas of real virtue, , 1790?, 80p.: ill. FORMAT: 32mo.

Pleasing amusement for little girls and boys. Containing a variety of adventures moral and diverting. . . . Adorned with a great number of curious pictures., 1790?, 63 [1] p.: ill., FORMAT: 16mo.

As the phrases in the titles, such as 'moral', 'instructive poems,' and 'to inspire the minds of youth,' or names such as 'Lovegood' or 'Nogood' suggest, these are the typical eighteenth-century children's books, in terms of the intended mixture of amusement and education, with obvious emphasis on the latter [Sato, 1992a]. On the other hand, it may be noteworthy that some books, such as *A Pretty Riddle Book* (1785), or *The Aviary, or, Book of Birds, for the Amusement of Children* (1790) do not have any didactic phrases in their title, even though we are not certain whether they really lack such content.

Though we have very little information as to the content of these books, the titles alone give us some clues in order to clarify the question of readership, if only slightly. First, many of the books seemed to be intended for both boys and girls. We are reminded that John Newbery addressed his famous *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book* (1744) to 'Master Tommy and Miss Polly.' At least on the surface, books intended for children had been relatively, if not completely, free from sexism. Second, references to schools and practical reading skills in the titles also might clarify the implied reader. When we compare these titles with Newbery's book mentioned above, we can find at least one clear contrast, because in the preface to *Pocket-Book*, Newbery addresses 'To the Parents, Guardians, and Nurses,' rather than teachers in schools [Sato, 1992a]. By the last few decades of the eighteenth century, there was a wide range of schools, from charity schools to the expensive 'public' schools. This change might indicate the diffusion of schools in many forms during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Lastly, we should pay attention to the term 'youth,'

as it might have designated a fairly wide age group. In this case, it is possible that the range of implied readers was also considerably wide, possibly up to eighteen or even twenty years old, as the term could be applied to the young people who had not terminated their apprenticeship [Gillis, 1981].

In addition, some of the titles of other books published by Bassam suggest that there is a group of books which do not include children as readers in explicit terms, but have a reasonable possibility of being read by them. They are, for instance, collections of popular songs and abridged versions of novels. In terms of the number of pages, which we have used as an indicator of children's books, all of them are just slightly longer than the average, and as far as the titles suggest, many of them are not serious but humorous reading matter. Here are two examples of such books:

The muses banquet, or vocal repository: being the newest and most modern collection of songs, duets, trios, & c.---, 1790, 96p., plate, 12mo.

The humourous and diverting history of Tom Jones, a foundling: . . . , 1794, [2], 82p.: ill., 12mo.

In terms of their volume and topics, these books can be classified as 'fringe' chapbooks, which we have mentioned in the argument with regard to the first copy of *Robinson Crusoe* written for children. In short, they are slightly longer than chapbooks and belong to the realm of popular culture rather than "elite" culture.

In the discussions so far, there are two points which deserve our attention. One is that in terms of its didacticism, the genre of children's books had not changed very much since Newbery's times. The other is that the 'fringe' chapbooks might have played a role in making children's reading matter and that of adults (especially for fun or entertainment) gradually coalesce.

Next, we will see how the two versions of *Robinson Crusoe* published by Bassam were related to other publications by him. One of them is:

A short sketch of the wonderful life, and surprising adventures of that renowned hero, Robinson Crusoe. . . .

Adorned with cuts., 1790?, 62 [2] p.: ill., FORMAT: 24mo

Though it is not very clear whether this is especially edited for children or not, at least it has the phrase 'renowned hero' in its title, and as we have discussed, it may serve as such an indication. If this be the case, this book must be seen in relation with others of Bassam's publications for children. As has been discussed above, the most prominent feature of such books is their didactic attitude, even though it might be slightly modified by attempts to make the books amusing. Thus, we can conjecturally argue that a copy of *Robinson Crusoe* intended for children should also contain some elements of didacticism, though we know that there are a certain number of books which seemingly do not contain any at all. Still, in general terms, we know that in this century most of the books aimed at children were more or less didactic; therefore, there is a stronger possibility that the publisher of the book discussed at present also has certain educational or didactic inten-

tions, than that the book is one of the rare exceptions. In addition, there is some support that *Robinson Crusoe* was given to children with strong didactic intentions [Pickering, 1993].

With regard to the other copy of *Robinson Crusoe*, the bibliographic data are as follows:

ESTC RECORD NUMBER: n036052

PERSONAL AUTHOR Defoe, Daniel, 1661?-1731

UNIFORM TITLE: Robinson Crusoe—Abridgments.

TITLE: The wonderful life and most surprising adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, mariner. . . . Faithfully abridged [sic] from the three volumes, and adorned with an entire new set of cuts, . . . from drawings done on purpose for his edition.

IMPRINT: London: printed by Robert Bassam, 1793.

DATE: 1793

COLLATION: 108p.: ill.

FORMAT: 12mo.

This copy is contained in the Bodleian, and we can discuss it more fully than the other one. First of all, the preface is, except for a few changes in spelling, almost identical to the one attached to the 1737 Hitch edition, which has already been discussed here. As we have seen, this preface shows no indication of aiming at children. In addition, there are three indications in its text which reveal the intended readership.

First is its language. As can be seen in the extract below, both the vocabulary and syntax are far more complex than is accepted as children's reading matter.

These thoughts made me look upon the things of this world with a sort of religious contempt, and rendered me easy in my desolate and melancholy condition; for, having made God's mercies to me a matter of the highest consolation, I relinquished all gloomy thoughts and dismal apprehensions, and designed myself up entirely to God's providence. (p. 40)

Needless to say, the religious reference seen here does not mean to exclude the child reader—perhaps the contrary was the case in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—but one could argue that the complexity of the vocabulary, as well as the syntactic complexity, must be an indication of the intended reader.

The second is a sexual theme. This copy covers both the first volume of the original, which is the most famous part, and the second part, which describes Crusoe's further travels with other sailors after his return to England. In the latter, there is an episode of massacre on the island of "Madagascar," where the fellow sailors, leaving Crusoe on the ship, land on the island, and get involved in some trouble, which is caused by themselves.

An old woman that sold milk, brought with her a young woman that sold herbs, whom when the sailors saw, they laid hold of her and carried her in among the trees; on which the old one made such a prodigious out-cry, that both men and women came to their assistance. (p. 92)

Though it is not explicitly described here, the sailors' intention to carry the native woman away is obviously sexual assault. In the second volume there are similar sexual themes, mainly with regard to the Indian and other non-European women. Even by the standard of the time, sexuality would be one of the topics to be avoided in books for children.

Third, the description and woodcut illustrations seem sometimes too grotesque or too brutal for children. As a result of the assault on the native woman, one of the sailors is killed by the native people. The sailors, in return, attack their village and exact revenge.

...before the first company found their companion Tom Jeffreys stripped stark naked and his throat cut from ear to ear, hung by one arm on a tree.....

They immediately set fire to the house, and at the same time to many others in the towns, so that presently the whole place began to be in flames, and no sooner did the affrighted creatures run out to save themselves therefrom, but the sailors either drove them back again into the fire, or killed them without mercy. (p. 93)

It is, of course, disputable that what does not seem appropriate for children from our viewpoint was also seen in the same fashion for the contemporary people, as children in the eighteenth century, as well as adults, might have lived in a far more harsh world than now, so that they would have been more accustomed to the brutality of society. However, any direct description of violence seems to have been avoided in books for children, even in the eighteenth century [Sato, 1992b].

Judging from these points, there is every possibility that the copy was not aimed at children. If we accept this premise, we can assume that the other copy of *Robinson Crusoe* published by Bassam, which we conjectured to be aimed at children, is even more likely to be so, because if a publisher published two different versions of one work, it is difficult to think that s/he would have made the two similar to each other. The two must have been different kinds of books in one way or another. The difference may not be that of readership, but at least the number of pages and the phrases in their titles suggest that the intended readership would have differed between these two books.

4. After the Transformation

Lastly, we will briefly discuss how *Robinson Crusoe* became a children's book with an emphasis on its 'adventure' aspects. Even after *Robinson Crusoe* began to be recognized as one book in children's reading matter during the latter half of the eighteenth century, the authors and publishers of children's books in general were quite reluctant to eliminate strong didacticism from them. As the result, the work was much influenced by such a dominant atmosphere of the time.

As we have mentioned briefly, there are some references which show that *Robinson Crusoe* was read as a book of moral and instruction from the last few decades of the eighteenth century. Especially, since 1790, when Joachim Campe wrote *The New Robinson Crusoe*, didactic aspects of the original *Robinson Crusoe* became emphasized as well. The content of the didacticism is, on one hand, diligence and reverence, which is derived from Crusoe's life on the island, and on the other hand, obedience to one's parents (especially one's father), lack of which compelled Robinson Crusoe to live a hard and solitary life. In an edition which emphasizes the former, the focus of the entire story is laid on Crusoe's ingenuity and hard-working habits, which made him quite a different person,

whereas in an edition which stresses the latter, the book often depicts the life on the island as a punishment for disobedience. Needless to say, every edition contains both features, and the difference is found only in their extent. In either case, the work was regarded as a vehicle of moral guidance, rather than an adventure story, which would excite and charm children.

As we have discussed so far, when *Robinson Crusoe* was turned into a children's book by publishers, it was restricted by the norms of the children's books of the time. The author would argue that other kinds of abridgement, namely, an edition as 'fringe' chapbooks like the first one of the two versions published by Bassam or genuine chapbooks which continued to be published well into the nineteenth century, such as the one published by J.G. Rusher in Banbury, could have contributed to the further transformation of *Robinson Crusoe*, rather than the deliberately re-written versions. The Opie Collection in the Bodleian Library contains several chapbook versions of *Robinson Crusoe*. The most famous one published in the early nineteenth century must be this one:

Opie: A1295

LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF/ Robinson Crusoe, Banbury: J.G. Rusher, [n.d.], not bound. 16 pages.

A remarkable thing concerning this copy is that it totally lacks the reference to religion or diligence, and at the same time, the entire story is tersely related, with an emphasis on adventures. This edition must have been quite popular in the early nineteenth century, as Rusher was one of the most prominent publishers of chapbooks in that period.

It still remains largely conjectural, but the author would argue that it is these abridgements not necessarily for children but for wider readers and audiences (often chapbooks are read aloud by a few literate people for the illiterate), which rendered *Robinson Crusoe* one of the English-speaking world's classic adventure stories for children, rather than the intentional efforts of educationalists and publishers to make it readable for them.

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- 1 The major part of the research on which this paper is based was conducted in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, during summer of 1994. The author wishes to express sincere gratitude to Mr. Clive Hurst, the Head of Special Collections, Department of Printed Books, and his staff.
 - 2 This number was obtained as a result of the search on CD-ROM for the title, 'Robinson Crusoe,' and the key-word, 'abridge*.' Using the asterisk enables one to search for both 'abridgement' and 'abridged.'

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『ロビンソン・クルーソー』はいつ子どもの本となったか？
—18世紀イギリス出版史の一断面

佐藤 和哉

本来大人のための読み物であった『ロビンソン・クルーソー』は、18世紀を通じてさまざまな簡約版へと書き直され、その経過を経て初めて子どものための読み物とされるようになった。その際、特にチャップブックと呼ばれる行商本の果たした役割は大きい。以上のような仮説を、筆者は主としてESTCの書誌データに基づいて可能な限り検証することを試みた。その結果、当時の図書の現存する資料から判断する限りでは、『ロビンソン・クルーソー』のチャップブック版が出版されるようになるのが1750年代、子どものために意図的に書きおされたものが出版され始めるのがおよそ1780年代であることが分かった。

また、これを裏付ける別の資料として、18世紀後半にロンドンで活動していたある出版者による、2種類の異なった簡約版を検討した。その結果、ひとつの版は明らかに大人を読者として想定したものであり、もうひとつの版は子どもを対象に書き直されたものである可能性が高いことが分かった。

しかし、子どもを読者として想定した版は、当時の児童書の規範に則って、倫理的な教化を目的とし、飽くまでその手段として『ロビンソン・クルーソー』を書き直しており、これが本格的な児童のための冒険読み物として書き直されるようになるのには、大人向けのさまざまな簡約版の果たした役割が大きかったと考えられる。