Also by Andrew O'Malley

THE MAKING OF THE MODERN CHILD:
Children's Literature and Childhood in the Late Eighteenth Century

Critical Approaches to Children's Literature
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978–0–230–22787–3 (paperback)
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Children's Literature, Popular Culture, and *Robinson Crusoe*

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First published 2012 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

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Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

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ISBN 978–0–230–27270–5

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A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
21 20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12

Printed and bound in the United States of America

For Nima, Safianna, and Cyrus; if I were shipwrecked on a desert island I would want you there with me

2

Crusoe Comes Home: Robinsonades and Children's Editions of *Robinson Crusoe*

Within a decade or two of the initial publication of *Robinson Crusoe*, it had already lent its name to an emerging genre, or sub-genre, of stories involving the shipwreck or other misadventure and survival of individuals or small groups, typically of Europeans, in remote locales: the robinsonade. Its name coined by the German author Johann Gottfried Schnabel in the preface to his own robinsonade, *Die Insel Felsenburg* (*Felsenburg Island* 1731), this narrative form came generally to be associated with tales of adventure and exploration, especially by the mid nineteenth century, when it became a very common type of fiction for boys. As such, it has participated in what has conventionally been understood as the masculine-coded ideology of colonial adventure and conquest. Robinsonades are, however, not just stories about discovering strange and exotic places, but about making these places 'home' for their adventuring protagonists. In other words, they are stories that also include a strong focus on the usually feminine-coded practices of domesticity. Coincident with the emergence of the robinsonade, and with the pedagogical merits of *Robinson Crusoe* firmly established, children's editions and abridgements began appearing in considerable numbers for the burgeoning children's book market. Guided by such concerns as those of Sarah Trimmer and Maria Edgeworth, discussed in the previous chapter, and taking up Defoe's own extensive detailing of Crusoe's domestic arrangements, editions directed at child readers likewise placed a good deal of their narrative focus on the importance of the related ideas of home and family. This chapter examines how the seemingly contradictory concerns of adventure and conquest and of domesticity

and home-life are negotiated and even sustain each other in both the abridged versions for young readers and in the juvenile robinsonade tradition, whose histories are so closely related.[1] A brief look at the robinsonade tradition and its variations seems like the natural place to start such a discussion.

The robinsonade became a significant publishing phenomenon in the eighteenth century in England, France, and most pronouncedly in Germany, where, according to Jeannine Blackwell, over 130 of these stories were published between 1720 (the year *Robinson Crusoe* was translated into German) and 1800 (7, fn.12). Prior to the late eighteenth century, however, the majority of robinsonades were novels that, like their progenitor, did not specifically address a young readership. Some of the earliest examples of the form appeared on the continent and featured adult male protagonists like Crusoe: for example, the German *Der Sachische Robinson* (1722) and the Swedish *Gustav Landcron* (1724). Probably the first English robinsonade was *The Voyages, Dangerous Adventures, and Imminent Escapes of Captain Richard Falconer* (1720), although the most popular early example was Longueville's *The Hermit* (1727), which enjoyed a popularity that, for a time, almost rivalled that of Defoe's work. It was reprinted and abridged in chapbook form frequently in the eighteenth century and inspired a number of children's editions as well. This story features a sailor named Philip Quarll who is stranded on an island, makes a very pleasant home for himself there, trains a monkey as his man-servant, and finds his situation so preferable to life in so-called civilization that he refuses the opportunity to escape when it is offered him. Like most robinsonades of the first half of the century, the protagonist is a solitary male who overcomes a series of hardships and eventually reproduces a recognizably and comfortably European existence on an island he then claims as his own.

Eighteenth-century authors began to explore the possibilities afforded by different types of protagonist, starting with the solitary female Crusoe figure. Female robinsonades enjoyed less – although still significant – popularity in the eighteenth century than did their male counterparts. Interest in such stories was still sufficient for one example, *Hannah Hewitt; or, the Female Crusoe* to be produced as a musical drama performed at London's Theatre Royal in 1798. Like the earlier male Crusoe imitators, female robinsonades appeared in many European languages during the eighteenth century and, as

was the case with other types of robinsonades, the Germans evinced a particular fondness for this category of the genre. One recent count lists over sixteen German female castaway stories published before the year 1800, compared to three British, three French, three Dutch, and a single American example, *The Female American* (1768) (Blackwell 5). The form has, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, lent itself to countless other variations, including stories in which children, adults, groups containing adults and children, and even stranded animals have survival adventures in remote if not always 'exotic' places, although by this time it had become a form most commonly produced for children.[2] At the peak of the British Empire in the Victorian period, the robinsonade was perhaps the dominant form of boys' adventure story: notable examples include Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883), R. M. Ballantyne's *The Coral Island* (1857), Captain Frederick Marryat's *The Little Savage* (1848), and Jeffrys Taylor's *The Young Islanders* (1842).

Theories abound as to why Defoe's model has maintained such tremendous and widespread appeal. For the purposes of this chapter, among the most intriguing of these are Maher's view that '[t]he island setting . . . from Defoe on, serves as an archetypal laboratory for a society's ideology' (1988: 169). Loxley offers the related suggestion that narrating an individual (or small group) isolated on an island acts as 'the ultimate gesture of simplification . . . draw[ing] a line around a set of relationships which do not possess the normal political, social and cultural interference' (3), while Bristow remarks that the isolated settings of robinsonades, especially those for children, provide 'the European imagination with an ideal scene of instruction' (94). Rebecca Weaver-Hightower considers the continued repetition and adaptation of Crusoe's island narrative in terms of 'rituals of possession on the literary level' that serve to reaffirm a perpetually unstable colonial enterprise: 'The island fantasy has to be constantly re-inscribed and disseminated in series of colonial texts because the real-world incorporation that the texts enabled, the always unstable colonial contest, demanded self-justification through institutions' (41).

Artur Blaim suggests that to qualify as a robinsonade a text must have a number of features and elements beyond the obvious narrative of shipwreck and survival. For example, Blaim observes that robinsonades often also contain secondary narratives of spiritual

redemption after the protagonist's descent into despair. This personal spiritual growth is often followed by the conversion to Christianity of some sort of savage indigenous population. Blaim also remarks that robinsonades tend to focus closely on the minutiae of setting up and maintaining a safe *domestic* space in a foreign, alien environment (84). This domestic concern is quite consistent in the form's history, but has generally been overshadowed in criticism of both *Robinson Crusoe* and its progeny by the attention paid their more 'masculine' attributes of imperialism and adventure.

Over the last few decades, *Robinson Crusoe* has been studied predominantly in one of two related registers: first, as a narrative charting the emergence of a middle-class, mercantile individualism in the eighteenth century. This reading was popularized by such scholars as Ian Watt in *The Rise of the Novel* (1957), Maximillian Novak in *Economics and the Fiction of Daniel Defoe* (1962), and by Stephen Hymer in his article '*Robinson Crusoe* and the Secret of Primitive Accumulation' (1972). Second, it has been read as a narrative that expressed, shaped, and helped disseminate the attitudes toward parts of the non-European world and their peoples upon which colonialism in the eighteenth century was built.

Martin Green was one of the first critics to explore extensively the colonial/imperial (and usually, implicitly or not, masculine) dimensions of Defoe's novel and its imitators in his *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire*, in which he describes *Robinson Crusoe* as 'a central mythic expression of the modern system, of its call to young men to go out to expand [the] empire' (83). In *Colonial Encounters*, Peter Hulme observes how *Robinson Crusoe* works out a myth of origins, typical of colonialist discourse, that has to do 'with the primary stuff of colonialist ideology – the European hero's lonely first steps into the void of savagery' (186). Edward Said has famously observed in *Culture and Imperialism*, that colonialism and the rise of the realistic novel are inextricably linked, and that *Robinson Crusoe* is at the heart of this shared cultural history: '[t]he prototypical modern realistic novel is *Robinson Crusoe*, and certainly not accidentally it is about a European who creates a fiefdom for himself on a distant, non-European island' (xii). Firdous Azim, in *The Colonial Rise of the Novel* expands on Said's observation, asserting that the realistic novel is predicated on a kind of European and imperialist subjectivity that depends on the domination of a colonial Other: '[i]t is not surprising

that many histories of the novel have alighted on *Robinson Crusoe* as the starting-point for the genre . . . It is because the discourse of the novel is based on the notion of a sovereign subject, and the position of that subject is determined within a confrontation with its Other, that the novel of adventure occupies such a significant place in the annals of the English novel' (37). More recently, Daniel Carey has produced a sustained 'contrapuntal' reading of the novel, in which he identifies 'aspects of the English colonial system in operation in the period (for example the use of letters patent to secure title to private settlements) but also the forms of slave holding, indenture, and trafficking of slaves at the time' (111).[3]

The body of postcolonial scholarship that reads Crusoe as a quintessential figure of European imperialism – exploring, cataloguing, naming, mastering, claiming the 'New World' and subjugating, assimilating, or eradicating its indigenous population – can be and has been applied, by and large, to many protagonists of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century robinsonades. For the most part, such studies have tended to assume that the principal function of these 'boys' adventure books' was to form masculine, heroic, imperial subjects, and they have considered most robinsonades as narratives of male 'penetration' into 'virgin' territories, and of 'mastery' over feminized lands and peoples. In 'The *Robinson Crusoe* Story,' for example, Martin Green refers to the robinsonade tradition as 'profoundly masculinist, both in its characters' indifference to women, and in the stimulus it gave men to find fulfilment exclusively in bonds to other men' (36).

Perhaps because of the weight of the critical emphasis given to the masculine attributes in *Robinson Crusoe* and its imitators, Nancy Armstrong's remarks on the book's reception in certain eighteenth-century pedagogical circles is all the more surprising. She comments on how Maria Edgeworth and her father Richard, in their treatise on education, *Practical Education* (1798), thought that *Robinson Crusoe* was more valuable to girls than to boys: 'To girls this species of reading cannot be as dangerous . . . girls must soon perceive the impossibility of their rambling about the world in quest of adventures' (qtd. 16).[4] This on its own is perhaps not an altogether surprising view, given the gendered division of public and private or domestic spheres, especially among the middle classes, that was being promoted in the late eighteenth century. Armstrong, however, goes on

to propose that the fact that 'educators found this story more suitable reading for girls than for boys of an impressionable age' might have another motivation: '[t]here is also a strong possibility that early educational theorists recommended *Crusoe* . . . because they thought women were likely to learn to desire what Crusoe accomplished, a totally self-enclosed and functional domain where money did not really matter' (16). In other words, except for the absence of children, Crusoe has constructed for himself an ideal domestic space: a retreat in which contact with the potential vicissitudes of the public domain of politics, trade, and commerce is neither wanted nor needed.

Such eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century views of *Robinson Crusoe*'s pedagogical utility open up another way of looking not only at the original text, but its many children's abridgements and a number of its imitators. While *Robinson Crusoe* and the robinsonades that followed it undeniably participate in the masculinized world of the adventure story, they also very often operate in the feminized register of the domestic story. In fact, the almost ubiquitous concern in children's editions and in robinsonades over the establishment of home as a safe, and indeed moral, space in which the practices increasingly associated with the nuclear family could be pursued suggests that the form lent itself very easily to the promotion of the domestic ideology that was ascendant in the eighteenth century and that became dominant by the nineteenth.

In a 1974 article entitled 'Crusoe's Home,' Pat Rogers disputes the then newly emerging trend of reading *Robinson Crusoe* as a narrative of early capitalist enterprise. Much of the middle section of the novel is, as Rogers points out, taken up with Crusoe's careful cataloguing of his various household goods, his attempts to make such domestic necessities as a table or clay pots, and his methods of growing and preparing food. All of this suggests to Rogers a much humbler, domestic focus to the novel: '[i]t is surely clear that all this is not the language of a marketing man or a capitalist speculator. For much of the time, Crusoe is making a nest. His stay on the island represents the *domestic* rather than the mercantile aspect of bourgeois life' (380). By way of refuting the Crusoe-as-colonizer reading, Rogers observes that 'Crusoe . . . becomes, he tells us, "a mere Pastry-Cook into the Bargain." This hardly seems the stuff of which colonial predators are made' (384). Rogers' assertions concerning the domestic bent of the novel, though often ironic in tone, should not be taken lightly. They

require that we consider Crusoe's story more carefully in the light of the domesticity, as a form of social practice and a way of being, that had its roots in eighteenth-century middle-class culture and that came to define family life in nineteenth-century Europe and North America.

Mary Poovey's discussion of how, in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth century, the idea of virtue was distanced from the public sphere – increasingly associated with various kinds of corruption – and aligned with the private sphere, remains a useful consideration here: 'virtue was depoliticised, moralized, and associated with the domestic sphere, which was being abstracted at the same time – both rhetorically and, to a certain extent, materially – from the so-called public sphere of competition, self-interest, and economic aggression' (10). One reason for the popularity of producing children's versions of *Robinson Crusoe* is that the story can be understood as reproducing this abstraction. Crusoe only achieves virtue when his absolute separation from the public world is effected on the island. As well, aside from his religious devotions, his virtue manifests itself most clearly in his newfound work ethic, the energies of which are directed primarily at the constant improvement of his domestic arrangements.

Poovey's argument is centred on how the woman – especially the mother – was constructed as 'a figure (rhetorically) immune to the self-interest and competition integral to economic success' who could preserve 'virtue without inhibiting productivity' (10). Crusoe, of course, is no woman, but as Armstrong has remarked, he 'was more female, according to the nineteenth century understanding of gender, than either Roxana or Moll' (16). As well, even though it paid most attention to the behaviour and character of women (and of children as their principal responsibility), domesticity was instrumental in shaping middle-class subjectivity more generally; in Brian Lewis' eminently quotable terms, it was 'a rich delta where all of the bourgeoisie and many besides could wallow' (100).

In *The Middling Sort*, Margaret Hunt traces the roots of domestic ideology to the emerging middle classes of late seventeenth-century Britain. She argues that this group promoted the separation of public and private domestic spheres as a way of gaining access to the political and economic power monopolized by and bound up in traditional aristocratic, inherited privilege.[5] This concept (if not necessarily the actual practice) of separate spheres became elaborated, entrenched,

and naturalized by the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, when the middle classes were beginning to assume the central and dominant position in British society.[6] At the heart of domestic ideology is the configuration of home (and of the mother and her children who came to embody it) as beyond the reach of the political and the economic. Of course, the construction of the home as a self-contained, self-sufficient, nurturing space, detached from the vices and dangers of the outside (male) world had, since its inception, everything to do with the political and the economic. Domesticity's ability to erase its necessary material conditions and history and to render itself the 'natural' mode of family life is what makes it ideological, and its disavowal of the very violence, greed, and exploitation that characterize the expansion of empire make it a perfect counterpart to colonialism.

To view domesticity, however, as merely a justification for or distraction from colonial violence and exploitation would be to oversimplify the relationship between the colonial and the domestic. In *Empire Boys*, Bristow suggests that the framing of the colonizing narrative in familial terms is a kind of reduction or 'false consciousness' masking the 'real' colonial ends of robinsonades (97–9). Similarly, in her discussion of *The Swiss Family Robinson*, Loxley reads the family's drama of survival on their island as a way of distancing and abstracting the middle-class nuclear family from the capitalist and imperialist economies from which it emerged (90). While I see the merit in such positions, my difficulty with them lies in their subordination of the domestic to the colonial; the prominence of the domestic in robinsonade adventures suggests to me the instrumentality of domestic ideology to the imperial project.

If colonization involves the attempt to reproduce and superimpose one culture over another, then domesticity in Europe can be seen to have served an internal colonizing function – with the labouring classes as the principal targets of reform – before it was ever exported to the colonies. Following the pioneering social historians of family life, Davidoff and Hall, Mary Jo Maynes describes how, in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, 'domestic arrangements served to constitute the European middle classes, not only demographically but also socially, culturally, and economically' (195). Indeed, she suggests that domesticity was essential to the rise of bourgeois cultural hegemony. The various movements in Europe to

reform the domestic economies and 'manners' of the lower classes helped make the middle-class model of home and family life the norm. As Maynes argues, the claimed superiority of middle-class morality was predicated on the domestic sphere, which acted as a foil to the amoral, rational calculations of the market (201). This logic applies equally well to the colony, where middle-class domesticity offset the amoral calculations, exploitation, and violence of colonial expansion; as Sharon Harrow observes: 'domesticity was deployed as a strategy to resolve anxieties about colonial trade' (7). In other words, the domestic creates the framework in which the moral superiority of the colonizer can remain intact.

In the colonies, domesticity and its configuration of 'home' also provided, as Inderpal Grewal has demonstrated in the case of India, a space for female participation in the building of empire during the nineteenth century. Travelling abroad as carriers and disseminators of domesticity (and of the national character), 'Englishwomen could show their equality with Englishmen by participating in the colonial project that was defined in purely heterosexual, masculinist terms' (65). Indeed, Grewal goes so far as to demonstrate how the colonial and the domestic are ultimately inseparable: 'all constructions of "home" during this period are implicated within colonial discourses' (8). The feminized 'virtues' of domesticity were also understood as a bulwark against the dangers attendant on contact with 'other' races and cultures in the colonies. As Harrow has shown, the threats posed by contact with the colonies were often configured in terms of 'sexual, physical, and social infection,' dangers against which the home was meant to offer the best protection (9). This observation highlights an often overlooked, yet crucial association with the idea of 'home': as a space not just of welcoming and comfort, but necessarily of exclusion, one of the functions of which is to keep out unwanted and dangerous elements.

The view that the home should protect against sexual license led to what Felicity Nussbaum calls 'the impossibility of linking domesticity and sexuality' (40). As the domestic sphere was invested with ideas of purity and morality, its security required, paradoxically, a disavowal of the very sexuality necessary for generating nuclear families. In the robinsonade, the anxieties over obscuring the connection between homemaking and sexuality lead to some quite complex narrative contortions. In the robinsonade for adults, *Female American*, for example, the protagonist, Unca Eliza Winkfield, must refuse the romantic overtures and marriage proposals of her cousin until the very end of the novel, once her island has been transformed sufficiently into a 'home' and once the Natives have been adequately domesticated and slotted as her 'children.' In children's editions of *Robinson Crusoe*, the tension between female domesticity and sexuality, at least reproductive sexuality, is defused by keeping women off the island entirely and by configuring the relationship between Crusoe and Friday as one between parent and child. In several later robinsonades involving children, the mother is made absent and her domestic functions are carried on without her. While the feminized practice of domesticity – making and maintaining a safe and nurturing space in which the moral upbringing of children can occur – is crucial to these narratives, the biology of maternity has to be removed from the equation in a 'strange dislocation' of the sort Carolyn Steedman sees as the product of our idealization of childhood: 'And then there is the strangest dislocation of them all, which is that children are the bloody fragments of another body, little parcels of flesh and bone split off from another' (ix).

The absence of women in the novel did not seem to hamper producers of children's editions from emphasizing the more 'feminine' domestic aspects of the novel and the importance of the concepts of home and family for young readers. In addressing a new, younger audience, however, the abridged versions produced for them had to negotiate between the narrative and ideological demands of the adventure story's celebration of 'away' and domesticity's requirement that children stay home. These negotiations produce at times uneasy or awkward results, but do reveal some points of intersection between these two key ideological formations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. By focusing narrative attention on Crusoe's home and by positioning the domestic in the context of the 'away – the unfamiliar and exotic – children's abridgements helped perform the dual, if paradoxical, function of confirming the rightness both of the home as the child's natural place and of going abroad so as to make the away more like the home.

One of the immediately identifiable ways in which Crusoe's story is made more 'homey' and so more amenable to the demands of the period's domestic sensibilities is through the illustrations many children's abridgements include. If the iconic image of the chapbook versions,

discussed in the next chapter, was of Crusoe on the beach, loaded for bear with a rifle over each shoulder and a sword at his side, in the children's abridgement it is of 'Crusoe at home,' usually seated at table, with his dog and cat begging for scraps at his feet, and sometimes his parrot on his shoulder (Figure 2.1). Variations of this image were reproduced constantly in children's editions, sometimes as the cover illustration,[7] from the eighteenth to the end of the nineteenth centuries, and they usually contained most of the same elements (although differently arranged at times). Above the rifles mounted on the wall are household objects such as pots and plates arranged neatly on the shelves, and usually a broom rests against a stool in the walled courtyard. The scene

Figure 2.1 Illustration of Crusoe at dinner, from a children's edition of *Robinson Crusoe* (London: William Darton, 1823). Courtesy of the Osborne Collection of Early Children's Literature, Toronto Public Library.

evokes the tranquility of the domestic sphere as well as its cleanliness (and thus its godliness). The idea of separate spheres is suggested by the wall demarcating the boundary between the outside jungle, overgrown, wild and thus dangerous, and the orderly, safe inside space that has been cleared and made ready for the domestic imprint Crusoe leaves (an axe, presumably used to clear the brush around his home, is often included as a common element in versions of this image). The division between inside and outside is further echoed by the curtain draped over a rod in the entrance to Crusoe's cave.

The superiority and desirability of the domestic sphere over what is outside it, as well as the rightness and naturalness of the child's place in this sphere, are confirmed by the perspective these images offer. The implied viewer, understood to be a child, is observing the scene of domestic contentment from *within* Crusoe's cave, and is so invited to occupy that safe, comfortable, domestic space with Crusoe. This perspectival arrangement situates the child within the home, even while she is imaginatively or vicariously joining Crusoe in the exotic space of the colonial 'away.' The image thus reproduces an ideological assertion that remains at the heart of children's literature to this very day: children belong in the home.

That home is best, especially for children, receives plentiful confirmation from the texts of the children's abridgements as well. Children's editions devote a great deal of their limited textual space to Crusoe's descriptions of his various efforts at homemaking: from building and then making increasingly comfortable his different habitations, to his efforts at baking and pottery, to his taming – domesticating – of the island's wild goats. They also frequently underscore the contentment and peace Crusoe associates with his home. After his exhausting and hazardous tour of the island, Crusoe, in a children's abridgement printed in London in 1816, expresses his relief at returning home: 'I cannot express what satisfaction it was now to come into my hut, and to lie down in my hammock bed. I rested myself a week, employed in the weighty affair of making a cage for my parrot, which soon became one of my favourites' (16). The text does not suggest he has gained anything other than fatigue from his rambles abroad on the island, except, perhaps for a deeper appreciation of the simple domestic pleasures.

Crusoe's connection to ideas of domesticity is not only positively demonstrated through his championing of the merits of home on

the island; it is also reinforced by accentuating the suffering he endures for rejecting domestic comfort at the beginning of his story. His departure from his parents' home and his disobedience to his father often receive disproportionate attention in children's abridgements; in one Irish edition printed in Dundalk around 1800, Crusoe's father's remonstrances over the young Crusoe's decision to go to sea take up almost three full pages in a twenty-six page text. The pathos of this scene is sometimes further re-enforced by an appropriate illustration (Figure 2.2). In other texts, such as an edition published in Derby *c.*1810, Crusoe's villainous decision to leave home takes on implications beyond the disobedience of the father stressed in the

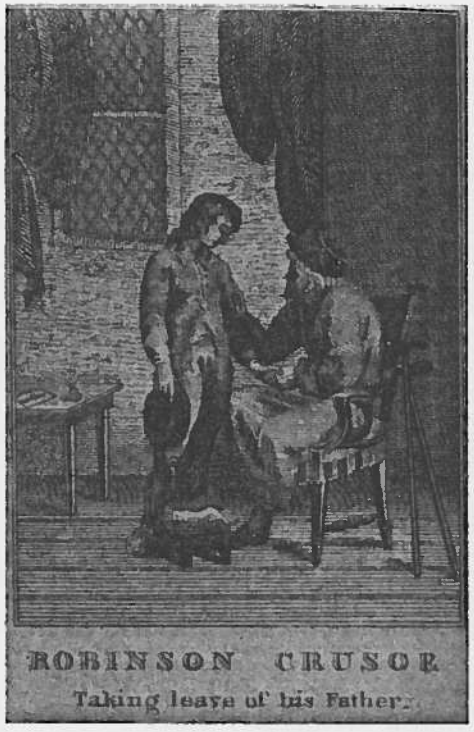

Figure 2.2 Illustration of a very boyish-looking Crusoe leaving his father, from *The Life and Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (Glasgow: Lumsden and Son, *c.*1815). Courtesy of the Osborne Collection of Early Children's Literature, Toronto Public Library.

original: 'though my father often persuaded me to settle to some business, and my mother used the tenderest entreaties, yet nothing could prevail upon me to lay aside my desire of going to sea; as if bent on my own destruction, I hardened myself against the prudent and kind advice of the most indulgent parents' (5–6).[8] The inclusion in the previous passage of the mother's sufferings over Crusoe's wilfulness shifts the register here from a biblically-coded transgression of paternal authority to a wicked and unnatural rejection of maternal love.

Crusoe's disobedience to both parents and the disruption it causes to his original domestic circumstances figure so prominently in several editions that he is revisited by the shame and regret he feels over them at the end of the text. One of the more surprising deviations from Defoe's original narrative found in the children's books involves the novel's ending. Rather than Crusoe's happy discovery that his flourishing plantations have made him rich, the brief episode in the Pyrenees, his two-sentence marriage, and the promise of 'farther adventures,' several children's editions end with a mixture of renewed remorse over the death of his parents and a promise to keep a sedentary, religious, and so domestic, life. They also alter the source of Crusoe's post-island wealth from, predominantly, the accrued revenue from plantations sustained by slave-labour to the inheritance he gains from his parents' estate. An edition published in York *c.*1825 contains this remarkable – and odd, as Crusoe seems almost surprised that his parents might have died during his twenty-eight year absence – statement of grief over his parents' deaths in its closing paragraphs:

> I cannot express the agony it causes in me; I consider myself as the author of their deaths; and though property sufficient is left for me to live like a gentleman, I cannot have peace to enjoy it; and at this moment I really believe myself the most miserable object living, and heartily I repent giving way to that restless disposition which made me leave my parents, as from that hour I date all the subsequent misfortunes of my life. (31)

This is substantially different from the passing reference to the death of his parents in the original novel, which explicitly states that they left Crusoe nothing. It is difficult not to read this passage as a

confirmation for the child reader of the necessity of following one's parents' desires and of the sorrows attendant upon leaving the home to which one both belongs and owes all one's good fortunes.[9]

Pat Rogers' dismissal of a colonial reading of *Robinson Crusoe* is built on the assumption that colonial adventure and domesticity are distinct to the point of being mutually exclusive. At one level, this seems intuitive: narratives of colonial expansion and exploration are about the 'away,' while domestic stories are about the 'home.' Robinsonades of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, however, seem to have little trouble combining these categories. In fact, as such early children's robinsonades as *Ambrose and Eleanor* (a 1796 English adaptation of the French children's book *Lolotte et Fanfan*), *Leila; or, The Island* (1839), and *Canadian Crusoes* (1852) demonstrate, these narratives bridge the colonial and the domestic by reconstituting, in whatever shape possible, not just the European home but its nuclear-style family as well on the island or other remote setting.

Many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century robinsonades begin with a disruption of the nuclear family unit, an important aspect of Defoe's book in which Crusoe's moment of disobedience to his father is critical, and of the children's editions, which elaborate so fully on the consequences of this act. Indeed, this seems like an almost necessary element to these narratives – the protagonist must leave or be rent from his or her first home in order to rebuild a new home abroad, and this usually involves the rebuilding of a family unit. In *Ambrose and Eleanor*, for example, the story opens with a Colonel in the British colonial army in North America who has left his family behind in England and finds himself shipwrecked on an island. He is amazed to discover two English children living there in a state of semi-, albeit basically noble (or at least harmless), savagery. The children, Ambrose and Eleanor, had been left on the island when they were only four years old.

The reader discovers only at the end of the story the family disruption that has led to their abandonment on an island. The union of their parents did not meet with the approval of one of the grandparents, and mother and children were shipped off to the colonies until father could resolve the disagreement. Having lost both of their biological parents, the children are eager to take on the Colonel as their surrogate father. The Colonel, having left his own family behind in England, immediately acknowledges, and seamlessly assumes, his

necessary and prescribed role on the island: 'he resolved henceforth to be to them a father, guide and friend' (20).

Once this partial version of the nuclear family unit is reconstituted, the Colonel sets about creating a proper domestic setting for his new foster children. He removes them from the dank and miserable cave in which they had been living, then extracts from it and buries the putrefying remains of the children's deceased guardian, which they had rather grimly been reverencing for several years as the vestige of a lost parental figure. Constructing a true home, in the sense of a protective, nurturing domestic sphere for the children, is the Colonel's next obvious step: 'a cabin that will shelter us from the injuries of the air, and serve as *an asylum against all alarms*' (22, my emphasis). Even without a mother, whose absence is always felt yet seems necessary to the narrative, the new family thrives and is sustained by the sphere of safety the home represents.

The colonel's second order of business is to provide the children the moral instruction increasingly understood in the period to be a function of domesticity and a duty of parents. Lacking the benefits of a 'proper' home and of the Christian education it was meant to provide, the children have instinctively taken to the kind of 'primitive' or 'natural' religion commonly associated in the period with aboriginals: worshipping the sun.[10] The colonel weans his charges from their false beliefs through his lectures on religion, which begin thus: 'at present it will be sufficient to acquaint you that this great Being, who is called God, created all things: the Sun, which has hitherto been the object of your adoration, and which communicates light and heat to all nature, was formed by his word' (40). The primitive and/or infantile tendency toward misguided (and ultimately dangerous) beliefs is best corrected within a domestic framework. This idea, that the home was necessarily the space in which the earliest, or foundational religious instruction must take place, was a key element of eighteenth and nineteenth-century domestic ideology. The domestic and the missionary are connected here in the colonial enterprise at the level of inscribing the nuclear-styled family as the necessary vehicle for transmitting Christian morality and belief.

Indeed, the period's children's abridgements of *Robinson Crusoe* suggest a similar link between the domestic sphere and early religious instruction in their portrayals of Crusoe teaching his faith to Friday. That Crusoe sees Friday as a child and himself as a parent in their

relationship is made explicit when he remarks that Friday 'had the same affection for me as a child has for a father' (Glasgow 33). Crusoe's first lessons for Friday involve teaching him English, then familiarizing him with such domestic chores as baking (London 1816: 24), followed by instruction in 'the principles of religion' (Glasgow 34). These are three of the main elements of the early education of children that were, from the middle of the eighteenth century on, increasingly understood to be the purview of the mother and to be best effected inside the home: 'a growing emphasis on the value of family life encouraged a more domestic interest in education, while moral education came to be regarded as the responsibility of the family rather than of the community at large' (Briggs 67). What emerges, then, in the children's editions as well as in the robinsonades is a conflation of the domestic and the colonial. By casting the colonizing enterprise in the shape of domestically-coded early education, it becomes depoliticized and abstracted from any economic motivation through its association with the natural affections of the domestic sphere and the family. Further, the association of the child with the primitive enables this recasting of the colonial enterprise as natural domestic practice.

In *Ambrose and Eleanor*, the colonial and the domestic merge even more explicitly by the end of the novel. After a series of strange and improbable coincidences, the children find their mother while the Colonel finds his wife in England. It turns out that the two women had earlier formed a friendship based on their mutual grief over their familial losses. Because of the unjust machinations of his political rivals, the colonel is then exiled from England. This prompts him to 'found . . . a colony in the island which had so long served him and his pupils as a retreat' (200). The domestic ideology that renders the home a peaceful retreat from an often vicious and corrupt public sphere – here manifested in the campaign of slander directed against the colonel – thus dovetails neatly with the objectives of colonial expansion. The 'unpopulated' island (as in the case of *Robinson Crusoe* and many subsequent robinsonades, the story's Natives live on a neighbouring island and only 'visit' from time to time) on which the colonel lived with and happily raised his young charges becomes a perfect and natural site for the expression of this ideal of domestic retirement.

Ann Fraser Tytler's *Leila; or, The Island* is worth considering briefly here as well, as it represents one of the more exaggerated examples

of the form's expression of domesticity. In this text, the child Leila Howard, her elderly nurse, and her father are all shipwrecked on a spectacularly bountiful yet uninhabited island. Once again, the mother is physically absent even if the social/familial practices which she is meant to embody are sedulously pursued in the text. As well, the advanced age and clearly marked lower-class status of the nurse serve to defuse anxieties over the possibility of the sexual encroaching on the domestic. In their edenic locale, the makeshift family reproduces with remarkable ease a comfortable (even stylish), upper middle-class British existence, and the island serves primarily as a remote, yet ideal setting for the moral education of Leila.

Susan Naramore Maher has rightly remarked on how this particular novel, like many other robinsonades, acts to reaffirm a patriarchal family order. On the island, 'God centres creation, one's father centres family life, and gender determines one's fixed role in this naturalized paradigm' (2000: 155). While the authority of Leila's father is – as is the case with Ambrose's and Eleanor's surrogate father – never questioned, the juvenile island narrative still foregrounds most of the activities coded as feminine in domestic ideology: moral economy in the form of early religious training and the nurturing and care of the child, and domestic economy in the form of establishing and maintaining a comfortable, safe home.

Indeed, the transformation of the uncivilized island into an ideal, British, middle-class space of comfort and Christian morality is taken to quite absurd extremes in this text. Leila's father, Mr Howard, for example, builds a family chapel as well as a bower with the word 'Welcome' written in flowers above its entrance. The interior of the bower, which they call their 'green parlour' (114), essentially reproduces a bourgeois sitting room: 'in a sweet corner close to the window which looked upon the rivulet, there was a little table and chair . . . a pretty cage of white wicker work, with a pair of turtle-doves hung upon a branch by the window' (105).[11]

Catharine Parr Traill, perhaps given her own experiences of European settler life in Canada, eschews Tytler's narrative excesses in her robinsonade, *Canadian Crusoes*, set on the Rice Lake Plains of Canada. Yet, like Tytler's and other robinsonades, Traill's text carries the dual and linked ideological charges of colonial conquest-adventure and domesticity. While *Canadian Crusoes*' colonialist qualities are clearly evident, especially in its constructions of the land as abundant and 'trackless'

and in its representations of the aboriginal population, a number of critics of Traill's work have remarked on her ambivalent adoption of this discourse. Robert Fleming has argued that there are many slippages and contradictions in Traill's representations of aboriginals, which problematize a simple negative reading of her work as imperialist narrative.[12] Suzanne James, I think fairly, suggests that Traill is 'almost progressive' in her portrayal of indigenous people, at least in comparison to both her contemporaries, and the architects of 'a deliberate policy of cultural genocide' of the generation immediately after Traill's (121). As well, Carole Gerson has pointed out how the figure of 'the Native' in Traill's work, and Traill's own lived relationships with aboriginal women in particular, are inflected and complicated by gender: 'Powerful as white but disempowered as female . . . Traill share[s] with native women some marginal space on the outskirts of frontier culture' (10). What has received less attention in criticism of *Canadian Crusoes*, however, is that the book also presents us with a detailed model of home life, deeply informed by the ideas of domesticity prevalent in Traill's time.

In an earlier book for juvenile readers, *The Young Emigrants; or, Pictures of Canada* (1826), Traill recounts the transition of the Clarence family from a comfortable home life in England to a difficult settler existence in Canada (a move Traill would herself experience six years later). While this text hardly qualifies as a robinsonade, it provides insights into the reproduction of a distinctly British mode of domestic life in the 'wilderness' of Canada that forms such an important part of *Canadian Crusoes*. Among the items the Clarences bring with them from their old estate – 'Roselands' – to their new home are rose bushes. Roses are, of course, the national flower of Britain and one of its national emblems, and in the soil of the colonies they take on the symbolic weight of the British home itself: 'These . . . we will plant by the porch of our Canadian cottage; and who knows . . . but we may, in course of time, possess another Roselands, in the wilderness' (27). Once the Clarences have established themselves in the colonies, they send for their daughter Ellen, whose poor health required her to remain behind in England. The reunion (an integral part of many robinsonades) at 'the home of that beloved family' takes place, naturally enough, in an iconographically British and Victorian 'home' setting: around the 'blazing fire' in the cottage hearth (161).

Canadian Crusoes, like so many other robinsonades, begins with some sort of disruption of the domestic sphere and the nuclear family. Hector, his sister Catharine, and their cousin Louis – the titular Crusoes – leave the safety of their family home and become lost in the wilderness. Their departure from their home comes, like *Robinson Crusoe*'s, partly as an act of disobedience; Louis lies to Catharine, saying her mother has given her permission to join the boys as they look for cattle that have strayed. The anguish Louis feels at his act of disobedience and the anguish the children feel over the suffering their parents must be enduring are recurrent features of the text, just as Crusoe's torment over his own disobedience to his father permeates the original and is amplified in its children's editions.

As is common for the genre, Traill's robinsonade also includes some sort of reconstitution or reproduction of the disrupted nuclear family in the 'away' space. In *Canadian Crusoes* the children re-form a makeshift family with the addition of a young aboriginal woman whom Hector rescues and whom they name, rather unimaginatively, 'Indiana.' At one point, Indiana's face is described as being 'almost as blank as that of an infant of a few weeks old'; at another it is as 'joyous and innocent as a little child's' (113, 114). Indeed, the text refers to Indiana throughout as a child, despite her being the same age as Catharine, thus repeating the pattern established in Defoe's text and its children's editions, in which colony becomes 'home,' colonizer becomes 'parent,' and aboriginals become 'children.'

While Catharine calls Indiana her 'sister,' she acts like her mother. In this role, she gladly takes on one of the standard maternal duties, the early and decidedly domestic education of the childlike Indiana:

> How did the lively intelligent Canadian girl . . . long to instruct her Indian friend, to enlarge her mind by pointing out such things to her attention as she herself took interest in! She would then repeat the name of the object that she showed her several times over, and by degrees the young squaw learned the names of all the *familiar household objects*. (113, my emphasis)

Catharine is not just teaching Indiana the basics of the English language, but of English, female domesticity as well, as the attention paid to 'familiar household objects' suggests. Catharine also instructs

Indiana in the basic tenets of Christianity, thus repeating again the pattern of education seen in the children's versions of *Robinson Crusoe*.

One of the most telling features of many robinsonades is the detailed attention they pay to the building and furnishing of new homes. Crusoe is positively obsessive about equipping, maintaining, outfitting, and defending his home, and this feature of the original novel is retained and typically highlighted in children's versions as well. The Canadian Crusoes make a series of homes over the three years they spend on the Rice Lake Plains, starting with a rough lean-to, and eventually erecting a comfortable log cabin with a hearth and with cultivated fields around it. In their progression to more and more elaborate and permanent homes, the children re-enact a narrative of cultural evolution from primitive and nomadic to settler-agricultural societies. In effect, they re-enact the myth of human progress in a compressed form, a narrative that draws on the two competing narratives of childhood: as a state connected to and symbolically located in a primitive past and as a state out of which adulthood and modernity can progress. That the young Crusoes progress through the history of home-making so rapidly also serves to distinguish them from the aboriginals, who never advance beyond primitive domestic arrangements. Finally, the advanced state of the Crusoes' domesticity underscores the implied claims to the land on which they make their homes, as well.[13]

They spend their first night under a tree, providence protecting and providing for them as it does the birds and the beasts, and the scene echoes the period's notions of childhood innocence and simplicity and its associations of children with nature. Their second home is a rudimentary, temporary affair described as: 'A few boughs cut down and interlaced with the shrubs around a small space cleared by Hector' (29). When Traill describes how this dwelling is outfitted, she does so using terms of reference from other primitive, nomadic peoples: the 'cedar-boughs that the Indians spread within their summer wigwams for carpets or couches, or the fresh heather that the Highlanders gather on the wild Scottish hill' (30). Their first meal in this dwelling is a partridge prepared 'gipsy-fashion' suspended from a stick over coals (30). Their third home is an improvement: a 'summer hut,' erected in the style of an 'Indian wigwam' (62, 63). In a nostalgic recollection evoking the idyllic visions of England's primitive past

one finds in Romantic-era antiquarianism, Traill remarks that the cedar-bough carpeting 'reminds one of the times when the palaces of our English kings were strewed with rushes' (63). The children have evolved by now in their homemaking to a recognizably (albeit archaically) English level.

By the time this home is built, they are joined by the beloved family dog, Wolfe, who for weeks had been searching the forest for them. As Kathleen Kete observes, by the nineteenth century, 'the family dog became a cliché of modern [bourgeois family] life' (1). Laura Brown, in *Fables of Modernity*, traces 'the socially widespread assumption of household intimacy with a companion animal' to the eighteenth century, and points out that the dog was the '[m]ost evident, even ubiquitous' household pet (232, 233). The companion dog is an important feature of many robinsonades (Crusoe himself has one for a time, as do the Swiss Family Robinson, and Leila of *Leila; or, the Island*, for example) because of its powerful association with domesticity. Kete suggests a couple of reasons for this association. First, since domestic ideology has children as its focus, pet dogs became for the middle-class, nuclear family 'eternal children, whose care absorbed the family' (77). Second, and more germane perhaps to the robinsonade, is that domesticity is concerned with overcoming the baser human instincts through the civilizing influence of the home and the mother. The tame, obedient, pet dog, then, acts as a perfect example of the successful domestication of the wild. In establishing their home-life on the plains, the children are also conquering and subduing the wilds around them, and the addition of their dog Wolfe – presumably named for General James Wolfe but also suggesting a Canadian wildness tamed by domesticity – to the family group reinforces this idea.

Children's abridgements likewise pay significant attention to Crusoe's domestic animals, casting his menagerie as pets, even family. The movement of the pet into the domestic sphere as a new member of the nuclear family is marked in illustrations such as Figure 2.1, and perhaps even more explicitly in such (suitably domestic) items as the Staffordshire pearlware dishes made for children in the 1840s (Figure 2.3). The image has a similar composition to Figure 2.1, with the addition of Crusoe feeding his parrot a tidbit and of a pot steaming invitingly in the bottom right. The caption, 'Robinson Crusoe & Family Dining' confirms the domestic comfort

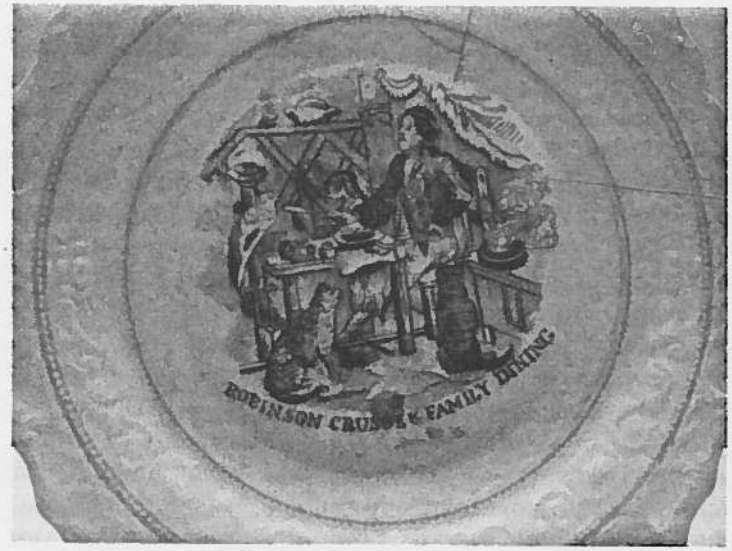

Figure 2.3 Staffordshire children's dish depicting '*Robinson Crusoe* and Family Dining,' *c.*1840. From the author's personal collection.

suggested by the scene, and the familial status granted pets. While Crusoe describes his menagerie as a family in the original novel as well, he does so with a sense of irony at being reduced by his circumstances to having to settle for this humbler version that is generally absent from the children's editions. As well, Defoe maintains the hierarchy of Crusoe's family more explicitly, frequently describing them as subjects or servants and Crusoe as king or master.

The importance of Crusoe's pets is elsewhere emphasized in children's editions as well, most of which retain from the original some version of Crusoe's expression of pleasure at the companionship his dog provides: '[he] was a trusty servant to me many years, nay he was so good a companion, that I was at a loss for nothing he could fetch me; and he only wanted the power of speech to become a most agreeable friend' (London 1816: 13). Even the goat he captures and tames becomes a pet under Crusoe's powerful domesticating influence: 'the poor creature . . . followed me home like a dog. From this time it became one of my domestics also, and would never leave me' (16–17). The attachments he forms with his animals are clearly

deeply emotional; an edition printed in Edinburgh *c.*1825 has Crusoe mentioning the family plot he has kept for his beloved cats: 'they had been dead long before, and interred near my habitation by my own hands' (17). This is indeed a far cry from the Crusoe of the original novel controlling the feral cat population on his island by killing them off as vermin.

For the Canadian Crusoe, the arrival of Wolfe adds another crucial figure in this reconstituted nuclear family, who then go on to build yet another home. This dwelling is still rudimentary, even by the standards of 'the poorest English peasant' (89) but nonetheless manages to provide a humble setting for an idealized vignette of domestic life reminiscent of the illustrations for the children's editions of *Robinson Crusoe*: the family sitting around the fire at the end of the day; 'How cheerful was the first fire blazing up on their hearth! It was so pleasant to sit by its gladdening light, and chat away of all they had done and all that they meant to do' (89). Although simple and sparse, this house resembles closely enough what the children of European settlers understand as home that they 'even entertained decided home feelings for their little log cabin' (94). These home feelings bring with them the harmony and close, nuclear, familial bonds emphasized by domesticity: 'They were now all the world to one another' (94). This is in many ways the essence of the middle-class nuclear family. Being 'all the world to one another' stresses the insular and controlled environment the home needs to be in order to provide nurturing and cultivation free from potentially dangerous outside influence, a sensibility and attitude towards childhood that, somewhat paradoxically, was perfectly accommodated by Crusoe's narrative.[14] Once Indiana completes the family circle, the Crusoes build one last home that is similar to their previous one, only bigger, better appointed, and more comfortable.

The centre of the Crusoe's home life is, of course Catharine, who has taken on with natural ease the role of mother. Perhaps the most telling outward sign of her commitment to the feminine ideal of domesticity is her extraordinary attachment to her apron over the course of their three years in the wilderness. When Louis suggests they tear her apron into strips for kindling, Catharine's 'ideas of economy and neatness [are] greatly outraged' (26). Louis later proposes to use her apron as a fishing net; again Catharine refuses, as this is not the garment's proper domestic use: 'It is to keep our gowns

clean, Louis, when we are milking and scrubbing, and doing all sorts of household duties' (33). The fact that, at this point, as Louis observes, 'you have neither cows to milk, nor house to clean' (33) is irrelevant, as the apron signifies what was lost and what the children must attempt to recuperate in the wilderness. Months and years in the woods take their eventual toll on the apron, but, tellingly, the last use she finds for it is providing succour to a wounded Indiana: 'She bathed the inflamed arm with water, and bound the cool healing leaves of the *tacamahac* about it with the last fragment of her apron' (110).

With the Crusoes having by now achieved domestic stability and comfort, Traill's narrative tracks the salutary effects of domesticity as it is exported beyond the walls of their little home and into a nearby Native community. Near the end of the novel, Catharine, who has been a veritable avatar of domesticity throughout the Canadian Crusoes' adventures, is captured by the tribe who had earlier orphaned Indiana and left her to die. While in captivity, Catharine busies herself by trying to reform the woeful domestic economy of her keepers. Compared to the continuous improvements she, Hector, and Louis achieve in their various homes, the state of Native dwellings is shocking to Catharine. She wonders at how her captors erect their wigwams at low elevations where water collects, instead of moving them up a few feet to drier soil: 'This either arises from stupidity or indolence, perhaps from both, but it is no doubt the cause of much of the sickness that prevails among them' (194). With this remark, Traill suggests that a lack of attention to domestic matters is the cause of many of this culture's woes.[15] The primitive state of Native housekeeping also receives unfavourable mention, preceded by the colonial trope of description through negation, which defines Native life in terms of the absence of European practices and technologies:

> Of the ordinary household work, such as is familiar to European females, they of course knew nothing; they had no linen to wash or iron, no floors to clean, no milking of cows, nor churning of butter.
>
> Their carpets were fresh cedar boughs spread upon the ground, and only renewed when they became offensive from the accumulation of fish bones and other offal, which are carelessly flung down during meals. Of furniture they had none, their seat the ground, their table the same, their beds mats or skins of animals, – such were the domestic arrangements of the Indian camp. (195)

To remedy these deficiencies, Catharine tries to teach the Native women of the camp by example how to tend properly to their homes, sweeping the front of her own tent and replacing the cedar flooring regularly. A footnote Traill provides suggests that efforts at domestic reform such as Catharine's have had their desired effect: 'Much improvement has taken place of late years in the domestic economy of the Indians, and some of their dwellings are clean and neat even for Europeans' (fn. 195).

She ultimately wins the hearts of the Native women, however, with the attention she shows their children; she cares for them tenderly and washes them regularly. Catharine takes pity on the 'dark-skinned babes' whose mothers neglect them, at least by European standards of child-care; she is shocked to see the babies in the Native camp swaddled and hung from branches, left 'helpless and uncomplaining spectators' (193). By the eighteenth century, the practice of swaddling infants was widely condemned in British and continental medical and educational writing, as injurious to the health of children. In large part, this was because swaddling was out of step with the ideals of maternal affection and attention promoted in the emerging domestic ideology. As well, the health and vigour of the child was increasingly linked to the health of the nation in pediatric and pedagogical discourses. Catharine's care for the Native babies can thus be read in a few registers: as an indication of her superior maternal sense; as a foil for the unenlightened state of Native women; and in the context of early child-care's role in the forming of future subjects in the colony.

This part of the text, dedicated to Catharine as agent of domestic reform, clearly demonstrates the colonizing power of domesticity. The somewhat modified European model of domesticity that Traill's book disseminates is a powerful colonizing agent precisely because of its deployment as a mode of social reform – in other words precisely because of its ability to effect change outside of the closed, disconnected domestic sphere with which it purports to concern itself exclusively.

Children's editions of *Robinson Crusoe* also rewrite colonial contact in a domesticated light, as the ways in which they deal with

Friday's famous act of submission to Crusoe's authority demonstrate. In Defoe's original account, Friday places Crusoe's foot on his own head immediately after witnessing Crusoe dispatch one of the cannibals with a fowling piece. Here, Friday's submission is clearly motivated by both gratitude at being saved and awe at his liberator's deadly technology. Several of the children's editions revise this scene extensively; Crusoe rescues Friday, takes him to his home, feeds him and puts him to bed. After Friday wakes up from his nap, he seeks out Crusoe, who is busy in his 'enclosure' at the sublimely domestic task of milking the goats, and then offers his head to stand on as a token of submission (London 1816: 23; Newcastle-on-Tyne *c.*1850: 21).[16] Such domestic recoding of this pivotal event in the narrative serves to distance Friday's 'voluntary' subjection from the context of violent colonial contact.

Peter Hulme has noted that one of Crusoe's defining characteristics as colonial agent and modern subject is his perpetual mobility, an attribute that epitomizes the restless energy needed to seek out the new lands and markets on which colonial expansion relied (214–15). On his return to England, Crusoe settles, marries, has three children, loses his wife and sets off again, all in one paragraph. This is decidedly not the case in the children's editions, almost all of which end with a permanent return to England, a promise never to travel again, and an expression of regret at ever having left in the first place. The final lines of the Derby edition, for example, inform us that once he arrives in England, Crusoe 'settled and lived a religious life, after all the misfortunes and hardships I had undergone' (35). The Edinburgh edition ends on an even more definitive assurance of these plans, not to mention a more definitive linking of religious virtue and domestic life: 'Having . . . been taught the value of retirement, I resolved to harass myself no more, but to look forward to the blessing of ending my days in peace, and in the true worship of that God who has protected and delivered me in all my troubles' (36).

Robinsonades, for their part, tend to end with the reunion of the disrupted nuclear family and often with marriages, reconfirming and guaranteeing the perpetuation of the domestic sphere into the future. The Canadian Crusoes finally rejoin their families after their time in the wild; Hector eventually marries Indiana at the end of the story (after she has been baptized), and Catharine and Louis also wed. Even one of the children's editions of Defoe's novel manages to

include the joyful reunion scene typically found in robinsonades by curtailing the length of Crusoe's time on the island to twelve years, which allows him to find his family still alive on his return: 'All Crusoe's family were overjoyed at seeing him again, and every one was eager to make him forget what he had suffered, by shewing him marks of attention and friendship. Friday and his father soon became part of the family, where every one wished to serve as their guides and protectors' (J. Harris 1823: 175). Having established so thoroughly the intersections between colonialism and domesticity, the children's abridgements of *Robinson Crusoe* do not require a protagonist who keeps adventuring. They and their robinsonade counterparts manage to dispense with the wanderlust many parents and pedagogical theorists found a worrisome trait in the original protagonist, imagining instead a Crusoe who can explore, tame, and domesticate the exotic 'away' and still return home where he belongs.

boosted the demand for pedagogic services associated with fashionable recreation and which led parents to introduce their offspring to the world of elite leisure from an early age' (60).

18 Penny Brown draws attention both to the similarities between dialogue and theatre for children and to the supervisory power of both forms, in which 'the child reader or participant was still very much subject to the controlling voice of the adult author . . . In performances, the child "actor" spoke lines written for him or her by an adult and was subject to the control of the monitoring adult responsible for the direction of the piece' (I: 174).

19 Chapter 2 describes at greater length the nature and extent of these alterations in 'children's chapbook' editions of the novel.

20 Barbara Hofland's *The Young Crusoe*, discussed at greater length below, also stresses the need for the child to recognize its dependence on a larger social network. Here, the protagonist, 10-year old Charles Crusoe (no relation), who has been raised in luxury in India, is reminded by his mother of broader social relations and obligations when he expresses the desire to live like his hero, Robinson, alone on an island: '[she] took pains in pointing out to him the obligations he was under to the friends and servants by whom he was surrounded, and how impossible it would be, for a person accustomed like himself to the comforts and elegancies of life, to subsist in a state of utter destitution' (4).

21 'Children require . . . *tableaux*, vivid and natural images that can strike their imagination, touch their heart, and engrave themselves in their memory' (author's translation).

22 The popularity of this story in England is suggested by the fact that it was issued – without credit to Genlis – in abridged form by J. Harris of London in 1804 (and later by Johnson and Warner of Philadelphia in 1809) as *The Little Islanders; or, The Blessings of Industry*. This thirty-six page version is transplanted from Poland to Westmoreland, and the benevolent Count Sulinski is renamed Sir Robert Bonitas; otherwise the main details of the story remain essentially the same.

23 Hofland's novel ends with the joyful reunion of the Crusoe nuclear family, a standard ending in the children's robinsonade genre as discussed in Chapter 3. We learn in this scene that Mrs Crusoe's uncle, Mr Robinson, has recently passed away, leaving to her an estate and a name that will eventually – once he has legally attained adulthood – come into Charles' possession. Only then will he have fully and rightly gained the name '*Robinson Crusoe*', along with the status of fully-articulated, self-sufficient, adult subject that comes with it, and for which his previous adventures have so admirably prepared him.

24 Another later example of this sort of musical home theatre is A. J. Foxwell's and B. Mansell Ramsey's *Robinson Crusoe. A Cantata or Operetta for Boys* (1896). Here, though, the performance takes on the more triumphantly imperialistic tones of late nineteenth-century robinsonades. Crusoe declares, for instance, his intentions to go to sea in these noble terms: 'Why, if foreign countries had never been found out, we couldn't trade with them, could we? And what would become of our navy and our sailors?' (9). Crusoe-inspired theatricals also went in the popular direction of pantomime, discussed at length in Chapter 4.

2 Crusoe Comes Home: Robinsonades and Children's Editions of *Robinson Crusoe*

1 For the purposes of analysis, I group children's editions and children's robinsonades together as versions of the *Robinson Crusoe* story contrived to address child readers and expressing adults' concerns and ideas about 'the child.' The main difference, of course, is that robinsonades cast different characters in adventures similar to those of Crusoe, while children's editions retain the original protagonist and plot elements, altering Defoe's narrative to suit the perceived needs and capacities of young readers.

2 Perhaps the most famous of the animal robinsonades is R. M. Ballantyne's *The Dog Crusoe and His Master: A Story of Adventure in the Western Prairies* (1860). Beatrix Potter also has an entry in this particular sub-genre: *The Tale of Little Pig Robinson* (1930).

3 See also McInelly's 'Expanding Empires, Expanding Selves.'

4 Armstrong's observations seem to have been borne out by child readers and the adults who gave them their books. In his study of child readerships between 1700 and 1840, Matthew Grenby looks at book inscriptions by and for boys and girls to determine who was typically reading what books. In the case of *Robinson Crusoe*, 'and its many variants (including abbreviated editions plus J. H. Campe's *New Robinson Crusoe* and J. D. Wyss's *Swiss Family Robinson*) . . . this prototypically boys' book was inscribed almost as often by boys as by girls' (2011: 56).

5 See esp. chapter Eight, 'Private Order and Political Virtue: Domesticity and the Ruling Class.'

6 The 'reality' of separate spheres has been vigourously questioned, especially in the 1990s, by a number of scholars who rightly point out the impossibility of clearly and absolutely differentiated spaces and practices along gender lines. See, for example, Lawrence Klein's 'Gender and the Public Private Distinction in the Eighteenth Century: Some Questions About Evidence and Analytical Procedure' (*Eighteenth-Century Studies* 19.1 [1996]: 97–106), Michael McKeon's 'The Secret History of Domesticity: Private, Public, and the Division of Knowledge,' and for the American context, Cathy N. Davidson's 'No More Separate Spheres!' (*American Literature* 70:3 [1998]: 443–63).

7 See, for example, the children's chapbook *Robinson Crusoe* ([Otley]: Yorkshire J. S. Publishing and Stationary Co. Ltd. [*c.*1840]).

8 We see a similar degree of regret as well as mention of Crusoe's suffering mother in J. Harris' edition of 1823: 'It was this day seven years . . . yes, seven years ago this very day, when, by the vilest ingratitude, I abandoned the best of fathers, and the fondest of mothers' (2–3). This edition also

alters the family make up of Defoe's original, in which Crusoe was the youngest of three sons, to heighten the pathos of his disobedient act: 'I was his only child, and in me all his dearest affections were centred' (4).

9 The Dundalk edition contains a very similar passage, although it stresses even further Crusoe's culpability in his parents' demise: 'at this moment I believe myself the most miserable object living, and heartily repent giving way to the restless disposition, which made me leave my parents to grieve and die' (28–9).

10 Sun-worship served as a colonial trope in the period for primitive and false religion. In *The Female American*, for example, the protagonist Unca Eliza Winkfield comes across and manages to convert and civilize the sun-worshipping natives of a neighbouring island by duping them into believing the Sun-God had sent her with the instructions that 'You must . . . do everything that she commands you' and 'You must all believe and do as she shall instruct you' (111).

11 At the risk of belabouring the point, I will mention perhaps the most extravagant of Tytler's fantasies of castaway comfort. For her birthday, Leila's father presents her with an ornate, functioning, wicker coach, drawn by a wild goat he has painstakingly tamed and trained for this purpose (194).

12 Fleming makes this point in a variety of ways in his article 'Supplementing Self.' See, for example, 209, 216, 217.

13 The building of more 'permanent' houses can be understood, along with tilling the soil, as the kind of investment of labour into the land that constitutes rightful ownership according to Locke's theories in *Two Treatises of Govenrment*: 'As much Land as a Man Tills, Plants, Improves, Cultivates, and can use the Product of, so much is his *Property*. He by his Labour does, as it were, inclose it from the Common' (290–1).

14 While *Canadian Crusoes* is not set on an island, most robinsonades are, and the island's geographical separation from the rest of the world resonates symbolically with the idea of the nuclear family as refuge from the outside world and as world unto itself. Perhaps the most famous example of a robinsonade 'islanding' its nuclear family in this way is Wyss' *Swiss Family Robinson*.

15 Such a claim, of course, takes on a terrible irony given the impact on Native populations of, for instance, infections and diseases brought by European settlers.

16 London: Marks and Sons [*c*.1876].

3 Poaching on Crusoe's Island: Popular Reading and Chapbook Editions of *Robinson Crusoe*

1 Preston critiques Martin Green's study of Campe's *The New Robinson Crusoe*, *The Swiss Family Robinson* and other robinsonades for ignoring 'chapbook (and other) variants – for other classes and other age groups' with the result that 'Green recounted just the *Robinson Crusoe* story within bourgeois culture' (37).

2 Some indicators I have found useful for making distinctions include: publisher names, when available, and the other texts with which examples have been bound in such archives as the British Library. Some abridgements indicate that they are part of a 'juvenile library' or provide lists of other children's titles for sale by the publisher on their back page, as well.

3 Grenby provides, in *The Child Reader, 1700–1840*, some strong anecdotal evidence of children reading the unabridged *Robinson Crusoe*; for example, Jane Du Cane recounted that her grandson, to whom she had given the book, read it aloud in 1726 when he was only thirteen years old (114).

4 For a discussion of the anti-chapbook backlash in the late eighteenth century, see Pederson, 'Hannah More Meets Simple Simon,' and my own *Making of the Modern Child*, especially chapter 1. As Dennis Denisoff remarks, anxieties over children's consumption of the chapbook's nineteenth-century equivalent, the penny dreadful – a format in which *Robinson Crusoe* also appeared – produced similar anxieties: 'pulp fiction held the potential not only for imaginative escapism but for generating discontent among the young with their position in the economy' (18).

5 Victor Neuburg adds to this list of authors whose works 'enjoyed considerable popularity in their own day' and were adapted to the chapbook format: Thomas Delaney, Robert Burns, Allan Ramsay, and Pierce Egan (6).

6 Ian Watt, in *The Rise of the Novel*, quotes from Defoe's essay on Marlborough's funeral in *Appleby's Journal* (1722), in which he criticizes popular literature for demeaning the histories of great men, who are 'to be hereafter turned into ballad and song, and be sung by old women to quiet children; or, at the corner of the street, to gather crowds in aid of the pickpocket and the whore' (77–8).

7 Rose's figure for chapbook editions of *Robinson Crusoe* needs some qualification: certainly not each of these editions was unique or original, and many are exact reprints of earlier editions merely produced in different locations and at different times. Robert Barnard, in his introduction to his facsimile edition of J. Ferraby's *The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner*, in *A Hull Chapbook*, claims 'There were about 150 London and provincial printings of the abridged Crusoe between 1719 and 1819 but apparently only four variations in the text' (8). Certainly more variations exist, especially when nineteenth-century chapbooks directed specifically at child readers are factored in.

8 According to Chartier, in 'Culture as Appropriation,' the common people 'appropriated' elements of elite culture to generate alternative and unauthorized meanings more congruent with their own beliefs and experiences. Michel de Certeau, in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, uses the term *tactics* to describe a similar form of popular usage that acts in opposition to the *strategies* employed by dominant culture to assert meanings and ensure conformity.

9 The chapbooks on which I focus in this chapter conform mostly to Simons's definition. While undated, they were quite certainly all