British Children's Adventure Novels in the Web of Colonialism

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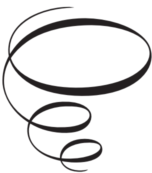
By

Nilay Erdem Ayyıldız

Cambridge Scholars Publishing



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For My Little Daughter Serra

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PREFACE

This book appeals to undergraduates, lecturers and academicians who are interested in Victorian England, British imperialism and children's literature. It provides an understanding of the Victorian children's adventure novel genre and its association with the British imperialist ideology. The work asserts that the nineteenth-century British children's adventure novels are products and perpetuators of the imperialist ideology. It examines three children's adventure novels, i.e. Roland Ballantyne's *The Coral Island*, William Henry Giles Kingston's *In the Wilds of Africa: A Tale for* Boys and Henry Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines*, from a postcolonial perspective. The study focuses on the postcolonial theories of Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, and Frantz Fanon's anti-colonial approach.

The late Victorian colonialist authors produced mostly adventure stories primarily to justify British imperialism and perpetuate it mainly among children, who are considered as potential imperialists of the future. Furthermore, the postcolonial theory puts forward the notion that postcolonial readings of colonialist texts may help in deciphering colonial discourse, creating a dichotomy between the colonisers and the colonised, besides the country colonising and the one colonised. From these two points, the postcolonial theory has been applied to analyse the novels in question.

The study reveals that all three selected novels follow a similar pattern through colonial discourse, even though they vary in details. All of them have a linear plot structure through which the reader learns at the very beginning that the heroes are safe in their homeland and have already achieved their mission. Thus, progression in imperialism through the ambitious nature of the British characters is in harmony with the linearity of the plot. The novels are set in "exotic" non-Western settings, which are depicted as the exact opposite of the "civilised" Western world, as they are home to "mysticism" and "barbarism." All three novels revolve around a few British characters who are involved in various adventures in a remote non-Western setting. One of the heroes is the narrator, who is the mouthpiece of the imperialist ideology and manipulates the reader through his/her colonial discourse. In addition to the stereotypical setting, the British characters and the indigenous people are stereotypical constructions of colonial discourse because the former represent the "idealised" Western values, whereas the latter represent

their negations. Throughout the novels, the natives are othered and the civilising impact of conversion to Christianity is emphasised. Nevertheless, even the converted and mimic natives are humiliated. The two sides of the cultural binary are other to each other. The colonisers gaze at the indigenous people, and the colonised natives bestow an admiring glance upon their colonisers. On the other hand, the colonisers' violence is responded to with the violence of the colonised. The narrators justify British violence upon the natives while at the same time signifying the colonised as "savage." Set off with a domestic issue on the surface, material reasons in reality, the British heroes end their journey by achieving their imperialist ends; they benefit from the lands and "civilise" the indigenous people. Furthermore, all the mentioned novels are addressed especially to boy readers, not girls who were relegated to the domestic world in the Victorian age. The novels are also dominated by male characters who are regarded as the main actors of the imperial world.

The study concludes that in the Victorian period, the authors of children's literature wrote with imperialist concerns. It also suggests that the authors in question both reflect their imperialist points of view and intend to shape their children as promising colonisers of the British Empire. The study indicates that the adventure novel as a genre serves these authors' imperialist purpose quite well because it helps in fortifying and conveying the imperialist ideology through colonial discourse in all of its parts — from plot structure, setting, narrative voice, and characterisation to content. Thereby, the postcolonial readings of the novels reveal colonial discourse, which is employed in all these mentioned parts of the novels. Therefore, this study discusses how Said's, Bhabha's and Fanon's notion of "stereotyping" and "othering," Bhabha's concepts of "mimicry" and "hybridity," Fanon's ideas of "colonial gaze" and "violence" are exemplified throughout the aforesaid novels.

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INTRODUCTION

Postcolonial critic Gayatri Spivak analyses Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847) and notes: "[i]t should not be possible to read nineteenth-century British literature without remembering that imperialism, understood as England's social mission, was a crucial part of the cultural representation of England to the English" (113). Like Spivak, another significant postcolonial scholar Edward Said also states: "Nearly everywhere in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century British and French culture we find allusions to the facts of empire, but perhaps nowhere with more regularity and frequency than in the British novel" (*Culture and Imperialism* 62). In light of Spivak's and Said's arguments, it may be claimed that there is a close relationship between imperialist ideology and the literary products of the nineteenth century. Children's literature of this period is noteworthy in that it is both the product and perpetuator of the imperialist ideology. In this respect, as products of imperialist ideology, children's literature authors are also perpetuators of this ideology. They appeal to the colonising society's children who were regarded as promising British colonisers of the future. The celebrated children's literature critic Clare Bradford asserts that children's books are the embodiments of a variety of ideologies, and notes that colonial representation is abundant in children's books (*Unsettling Narratives* 3).

Despite the lack of consensus over its advent, it is accepted that children's literature was born as a distinct product of print culture in the late seventeenth century. Until the nineteenth century, it underwent many changes in accordance with changes in the approaches to children and childhood. Furthermore, while up until the eighteenth century is taken as the early period of children's literature (Stevenson 182), the period covering the years from 1850 to the early twentieth century is called "the golden age in children's literature" (Ang 15; McCulloch 35). Accordingly, the late Victorian period in particular witnessed an explosion in children's literature. In this period, one of the prevailing ideologies was the imperialist one. Taking into consideration this fact, the study claims that children's literature is a product and perpetuator of the prevailing imperialist ideology of the late nineteenth century. Although there are such genres as fantasy stories, realistic domestic stories, adventure stories and school stories, adventure stories occupy a significant place among them because the framework of this genre is a suitable

vehicle for colonial discourse and therefore serves imperialist purposes. Set in remote "exotic" places and revolving around British protagonists who are ordinary in life but "noble" in race and values, adventure stories are used to justify imperialism, perpetuating binary oppositions between the colonisers and the colonised. That is why adventure stories are chosen for this study.

To achieve the end just mentioned, the study will use the postcolonial theory, especially in reference to Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) and *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), Bhabha's *The Location of Culture* (1994), and Fanon's *Black Skins, White Masks* (1952) and *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), to decipher the colonial discourse in these selected adventure stories from nineteenth-century British children's literature.

Among the selected postcolonial critics, the Palestinian American scholar Edward Said (1935-2003) is regarded as "the father of Orientalism." His main focus in his primary works, such as *Orientalism* and *Culture and Imperialism*, is on Western imperial politics, particularly in the nineteenth century. He contributed to postcolonial criticism through his theory of Orientalism, through which he argues for the concepts of Oriental, Occidental, otherness, and stereotyping.

Secondly, the Indian critic Homi K. Bhabha (1949-) is another significant theorist. He is significantly influenced by Western poststructuralists such as Jacques Derrida, Jacques Lacan, and Michel Foucault. His work *The Location of Culture* is one of the most prominent sources in postcolonial criticism. Bhabha has contributed to the postcolonial theory with his discussion of such concepts as hybridity, mimicry, ambivalence, stereotype, and otherness. His theory is based on the interaction between the coloniser and the colonised and on how their identities are restructured as a result of this interaction. In this context, his ideas will illuminate my analyses of the colonisers' and the colonised's identities in the selected novels.

Another thinker involved in this study is the Martinique-born French psychologist Frantz Fanon (1925-1961), who has also contributed much to postcolonial studies. In his noteworthy works entitled *Black Skin, White Masks* and *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon emphasises the psychological impact of colonialism upon native people. In his studies, he underlines the concepts of otherness, violence, and colonial gaze.

The common ground that postcolonial critics have is that they all point to the significant impacts of colonialism on politics, art, religion and many other aspects of culture in colonised societies. The works mentioned above will be particularly beneficial because these critics argue that colonialism is not an innocent phenomenon and can never be justified, and they reveal the contradictions of colonial discourse. In this way, they help create postcolonial readings of colonialist texts.

In this study, the first part of Chapter One entitled "Children's Literature" will provide background information about children's literature, ranging from arguments about its definition, primary purpose, and arrival in the literary world as a separate print culture to the changes it has undergone. The next part will provide a historical overview of the development of children's literature under the title "A Brief Historical Account of the Development of Children's Literature." It will cover the development of children's literature from the Middle Ages. This section will focus on the nineteenth century — the pinnacle of British Imperialism. The changing concepts of 'child' and 'childhood' will be investigated according to the changing climate of life due to the Industrial Revolution so as to reveal the relationship between these changes and children's literature.

The next part in Chapter One is titled "Colonialism & Imperialism: British Colonialism in the 19th Century, Postcolonialism and Postcolonial Reading." This part will introduce the key concepts of the study, such as colonialism and imperialism as well as the arguments related to the difference/s between them, along with colonial discourse, postcolonialism and postcolonial reading. This part will also examine the advent of postcolonialism and postcolonial reading. More importantly, it will examine Said's, Bhabha's and Fanon's postcolonial approaches with their parallel and different contentions by concentrating on the concepts the critics discuss in their works. The selected novels will be analysed in light of these postcolonial concepts, such as Said's orientalism, otherness and stereotype, Bhabha's mimicry, hybridity, otherness, stereotype, and ambivalence, and Fanon's colonial violence, gaze, and otherness.

The last part of Chapter One is titled "The Role of Textuality in British Colonialism and Children's Adventure Stories." As may be understood from its title, this part will discuss the role of colonialist texts in British colonialism, particularly in the nineteenth century. This part will then investigate the role of children's adventure stories in the imperialist ideology. Comparing earlier adventure stories with the ones written in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this part aims to reveal that there is a common framework underlying children's adventure stories that was used by the authors of that period. Thus, the last part of the first chapter will draw a path for the analyses of the selected children's adventure novels and will help demonstrate that these novels were significant products and perpetuators of the imperialist ideology in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Respectively, Chapters Two, Three, and Four will analyse R. M. Ballantyne's *The Coral Island* (1858), W. H. G. Kingston's *In the Wilds of Africa: A Tale for Boys* (1871), and H. R. Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* (1885)

as examples of children's adventure novels by taking into consideration the concepts of the selected postcolonial critics mentioned earlier. These chapters will indicate how the postcolonial criticism of the mentioned works match up with these scholars' approaches. Thus, the conclusion of the study will underline that the postcolonial analyses of the representative works selected for this study seem to corroborate that they are both products and perpetuators of the imperialist ideology.

More detailed background information about each author will be provided before analysing his work. However, it will be useful to emphasise the outstanding features that make them significant enough to be chosen for this study. Apart from being part of nineteenth-century British literature, the selected authors have other common grounds. For instance, they are all categorised under children's literature and have mostly produced adventure novels for child readers. Also, all these authors are male. In the Victorian period, it was widely admitted that women belonged in the domestic sphere while men belonged outside, therefore to the world of colonialism. Consequently, most adventure stories were written by male authors and addressed to boy readers of that period. For instance, Ballantyne's *The Dog Crusoe and His Master* (1861), *The Battles with the Sea* (1883), *The Big Otter* (1887), Kingston's *Adventures in Australia* (1885), *The Regions of the Bird of Paradise: A Tale for Boys* (1879), *Adventures in Africa by an African Trader* (1899), Haggard's *She* (1886), *Allan Quatermain* (1887), *The People of the Mist* (1894) are all adventure novels dedicated especially to boy readers.

Another significant feature of the selected authors is that they were part of the colonial service at some point in their lives and acquired a lot of first-hand material for their works by observing or even getting acquainted with the indigenous people. For instance, the Scottish author, Robert Michael Ballantyne (1825-1894), worked in Canada, trading with the Indians for six years (Rennie, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*). Secondly, the English author, William Henry Giles Kingston (1814-1880), spent most of his life in a colonised Portuguese city called Oporto. He also worked as a member and later secretary of the Colonisation Society. Thereby, he gathered material for his works and published more than a hundred novels in the second half of that century (Bratton 116-117). As for the English adventure novelist Henry Rider Haggard (1856-1925), he lived for several years in South Africa as a functionary of the British government, and there began to work for the Cape Colony at an early age. He also worked for the British colonial administration in Africa. Later, he became a special commissioner for the colonial office. In this, he was able to observe the indigenous people in Africa which became the primary setting of his adventure stories (Cohen

158-178). Thus, all these authors were adventurers in remote places at some time in their lives and benefitted from their experiences and observances which later shaped their imperialist ideology. Therefore, it may be claimed that the works of these selected authors convey imperialist ideology.

As for the selected works by Ballantyne, Kingston, and Haggard, they are adventure novels dedicated particularly to boy readers. They are a product of the authors' colonialist ideology, and it seems that the works aim to shape the boy readers' perception towards a colonialist outlook. They include enough material to analyse from a postcolonial perspective. The works will be examined using the key conceptions that will be investigated in the second part of Chapter One.

Ballantyne's *The Coral Island* is a children's adventure novel, which will be analysed in Chapter Two. It relates the adventures of three British boys named Ralph, Jack and Peterkin who land on a remote island in the Pacific Ocean after a shipwreck. They occupy the island and make it their own. They benefit from all the plants and animals on the island while disregarding the marks of its local dwellers. Their joy on the island is interrupted by two groups of indigenous people. They observe that one of the groups is being attacked by the other one. The boys succeed in defeating the enemy group of indigenous people heroically, making them leave the island. One day, a pirate ship arrives on the island, and Ralph, the narrator, is taken away. He understands that the British trader travels to the islands in the Pacific Ocean by camouflaging his ship as a pirate ship and by enlisting the help of pirates to pacify the indigenous people for commercial reasons. On the islands, the narrator accompanies the crew and can observe the indigenous people and compare and contrast the indigenous people converted to Christianity under colonialism and the ones who have not been converted. He is reunited with his friends and meets the group of indigenous people they once defeated on one of the islands. They teach them some British cultural values and leave the island, hoping to return later. Taking into consideration the details and the first-person narrative voice describing the boys' adventures, the novel is a colonialist one and an embodiment of colonial discourse. Accordingly, when the novel is examined from the postcolonial perspective, the study will reveal that some of the key concepts which are investigated in the study are reflected throughout the novel. Among these concepts are Said's, Bhabha's and Fanon's concepts of stereotyping and otherness, Bhabha's mimicry, and Fanon's colonial gaze. The postcolonial reading of the novel will help highlight that the "civilising" effect of Christianity and Western superiority in values, technology and culture are underlined through the novel's colonial discourse.

Kingston's *In the Wilds of Africa* is the second children's adventure novel to be analysed in Chapter Three of the study. Similar to *The Coral Island*, this novel fits well into the framework of nineteenth-century adventure novels. It revolves around a British boy called Andrew and his cousins Stanley, David, Leonard, Kate, and Isabella. On the surface, they have domestic reasons for departing for Africa. However, their real purpose is colonial. Andrew's purpose in travelling to the Cape Colony is to make up for his father's loss due to bankruptcy. On the other hand, his cousins intend to meet their parents, who are already settler-colonisers in the Cape Colony. They are accompanied by a native servant named Timbo from beginning to end, and by two other native people they meet on the way. The crew has to leave the ship when the captain dies and there is some kind of chaos among the passengers on the ship. Some of them including Andrew, the captain's little boy Natty, and Andrew's relatives leave the ship and intend to arrive at the Cape Colony by other means. However, they encounter many misfortunes and have many adventures with wild animals and indigenous people. By means of Timbo, they have the opportunity to learn about the native people's culture and develop strategies to overcome their violence. They also manage to gain the sympathy of some indigenous people like Igubo by helping them through their reason, courage and Western technological power. Some of the natives they encounter imitate their manners and try to behave like them, but they fail to meet the Western standards in the crew's eyes. As a colonialist work, the novel 'others' the indigenous people and their culture. Another significant feature of the novel is that it criticises the Portuguese colonisers' violence on the native people in the region and they are othered as much as the indigenous people there. The crew observes that some natives collaborate with the Portuguese slave traders and they are involved more or less in the exploitation of their own land in return for some Western items such as clothes and cigarettes. At the same time, it elevates the British colonisers and justifies their politics of colonisation. At the end of the novel, each member of the crew is alive and they continue exploiting the region either by travelling or settling there. Christianity is also in the foreground throughout the novel as an inseparable element of colonialism. The British colonisers and the black native Timbo keep the Bible close by during their journey. They build houses wherever they go and keep hunting and collecting some plants both to survive and to sell later. They meet a British colonialist trader Donald Fraser, and the British crew helps Donald with hunting, while Donald supplies them with enough equipment to survive in those tough conditions. The postcolonial reading of the novel reveals that it is not an innocent children's adventure novel but rather a vehicle

for conveying imperialist ideology to younger generations, particularly to British boys.

Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* is another children's adventure novel, which is analysed in the last chapter of the study. Just like the other selected novels, this work is also about the adventures of the British protagonists in a remote "exotic" region. In this novel, their adventures in Africa are narrated by the British hunter and trader, Allan Quatermain, who sets off for Africa with Sir Henry Curtis and Captain John Good. Their primary goal at first sight is to find Curtis' brother, who has been lost on the way to the legendary King Solomon's Mines. However, their colonialist urge motivates their travel as they seek to obtain some treasures in the mine. Some natives, including Umbopa, accompany them on this journey. Umbopa, though appears to be the British trio's native slave, is, in fact, the rightful ruler of the African region called Kukuanaland. Umbopa helps the British trio find the way to King Solomon's mines. In return, the British men help him dethrone Twala, who is Umbopa's uncle who has acquired the throne by killing Umbopa's father and chasing Umbopa to the desert. To achieve this purpose, the British men make use of the eclipse of the sun as proof of their lie that they have divine powers as being "white men from the stars." They finally get into the cave, which is full of treasures left behind by King Solomon decades ago. The British men also get rid of Gagool, by simply leaving her to die in the cave. She is a strange witch woman who falls into the pit that she herself prepared for the British men. The men are thus able to leave the cave and return to Britain with some pieces of diamonds, which make them very rich. On their return journey, they also find Curtis' lost brother. He seems to have led a Crusoean life in the middle of a vast desert for years. He also has a native servant, whom he called Jim, just like Robinson Crusoe's Friday. The novel is representative of nineteenth-century children's adventure novels as evidenced in all its features — from its characterisation, narrative voice, and setting to its plot. By emphasising Western superiority in race, technology, knowledge and values, British Imperialism is justified on all occasions throughout the novel. Through colonial discourse, the author conveys the imperialist ideology to its child readers, especially to boys. Therefore, analogous to *The Coral Island* and *In the Wilds of Africa*, the work fits in well with the postcolonial perspective.

To sum up, the study begins with the necessary background information about children's literature, British imperialism in the nineteenth century and postcolonial theory, and then tries to establish the relationship between colonialist ideology and the nineteenth-century children's adventure novels. This background will help to decipher the colonial discourse within the chil-

dren’s adventure novels selected from the “golden age” of British children’s literature. Furthermore, exploring the key concepts of the postcolonial critics Said, Bhabha and anti-colonial thinker Fanon, the study will indicate, through the analyses of the selected works, that children’s adventure novels were both the products and perpetuators of British imperialist ideology in the late Victorian period.

Chapter One

1.1 Children's Literature

When it comes to children's literature, it should first be pointed out that it is very difficult to define such literature. Therefore, still open for debate is the question: does the term include books written specifically for children-readers or the ones children read? For instance, according to Grenby, children's literature is called "children's literature" not because it is written by or about children, but because it appeals especially to child readers (199). On the other hand, Adams argues that since Roman times or even before then, children have also been encouraged to read texts written primarily for adults as well as the ones produced specifically for them. Thus, children's literature includes texts meant for adults but read by children, too (1-24). Hunt seems to disagree with Adams, claiming that children's literature consists of the works which were written specifically for readers who are recognisably children (*Criticism, Theory and Children's Literature* 60-61). When looking at nineteenth-century children's literature, it appealed not only to children but to adults as well. On this, McGavran notes that Victorian children's books are addressed both to adults and children, and he adds that the children's literature of this period provided adults with tranquillity which they had been seeking for a long time (9). Another point concerns child and adult relationships in Victorian children's books. The boundaries delineating children's books were often blurred in the nineteenth century. By illustrating that Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* (1885) is dedicated to boy readers, Grenby even claims that many children's books were first intended for adult readers until they reached "a cross-over readership of adults and children" (171). Thus, the arguments over the target readers of children's literature indicate that literary historians do not include a literary text in children's literature only because children have read it or found it appealing due to works which they call "crossover books," as those seem to appeal to adult readers as well as possible reading material for children, too. Of those, classics such as Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) and Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), which were not initially written for adults but have been accepted as works of children's literature, still exist. Those kinds of works, as Darton argues, are placed prominently in the history of children's literature by most historians (vii).

In addition to the arguments over the intended readers of children's literature, its purpose (whether for amusement or teaching) is also a point of contention. Darton defines children's books as works which are printed primarily to give children pleasure rather than to teach them what is good and bad (1). Also, he regards children's literature as the accommodation of the conflicts between teaching and pleasure, limits and freedom (vii). Furthermore, according to Stevenson, children's literature is a genre for children and its main goal is to provide child readers with pleasure (181). On the other hand, critics such as Robert Leeson focus on children's literature's instructiveness and sensitivity of its authors, as evident in their texts (69-70).

Notwithstanding the implications regarding the definition and function of children's literature mentioned above, there is one point that is hard to be denied. As Grenby argues, it should be acknowledged that children's books never really become the products of children, but of adults who produce them to lead children in accordance with their own purposes (199). This is saying that children's works are the adult author's products through which s/he conveys attitudes and beliefs, even ideologies. As Rockwell states, fiction has an influential role in politically and culturally manipulating children, that is, in shaping the future of society (4). The reason is that as the smallest growing unit of any society, children learn in time how a variety of signifying codes are approved by the society in which they live. Thus, they become the embodiment of their society's ideologies in the future. Therefore, as claimed by Gilead, children's literature reflects the viewpoint of the adult writers and satisfies the needs of the society to which children belong (27). Children's literature may be accepted as an influential vehicle for adults to transmit their approved ideologies to the next generation. The target is to shape children who are the promoters of the society's approved ideologies. For that reason, Hollindale highlights ideology as an "inevitable, untameable and largely uncontrollable" factor in relation to books and children (27), because, according to him, writers cannot conceal their ideologies even in children's texts just as in texts intended for adults (Hollindale 30) and demonstrate them to a certain extent in their works, either explicitly or implicitly. Thus, as McCallum and Stephens claim, children's literature constantly deals with social issues and values (361; my emphasis).

An ABC for Baby Patriots (1899), the work of Mary Ernest Ames (1853-1929), exemplifies exactly how a text is used to shape children in accordance with the prevailing ideology. Its publication date coincides with the colonial period, and it is clear that the work is shaped by the imperialist ideology. The British author wrote and illustrated many children's books, with *An ABC for Baby Patriots* aiming to teach children the alphabet. The

patriotic author teaches each letter by associating it with imperial elements through lines, and even supplies a cartoonish illustration for each letter to support its lines. Here are some examples from the work:

> B stands for Battles
> By which England's name
> Has for ever been covered
> With glory and fame. (Lines 5-8, p. 6)
>
> C is for Colonies.
> Rightly we boast,
> That of all the great nation
> Great Britain has most. (Lines 9-12, p. 6)
>
> E is our Empire
> Where sun never sets;
> The larger we make it
> The bigger it gets. (Lines 17-20, p. 10)

In this way, she seems to provide an effective learning tool for children that allows them to easily retain the letters in child learners' mind and in accordance with the colonialist ideology.

In this context, John Stephens also points out that narratives are pathways to the construction of ideologies which take shape within language through discourses (8). With the help of discourses that have linguistic and narrative structures, while developing plot, creating characters, depicting them and their actions by drawing contrast to the villains, and drawing attention to the morals in the stories, ideologies operate throughout a child's book, too. As far as nineteenth-century fiction is concerned, it is difficult to encounter "an anti-sexist, anti-racist or anti-classist" (Hollindale 26) British novel in the period. For instance, as exemplified by Hollindale, a number of nineteenth-century children's books created girls and women who are restricted to domestic roles (19). Klein exemplifies the class issue in the British children's novels, claiming that English writers for children are drawn almost exclusively from the middle class—and generally write for it, too — [in their novels], adults [are] portrayed by middle-class authors with a middle-class confidence in their own superiority (5). Drawing attention to the fact behind the title 'children's literature,' Hollindale claims that it seems to embrace "kids" as a "Kid" who is "sexless, colourless and classless." And it is defined as being for "Kid" not "kids" (26-27). However, the authors of children's literature write with the consciousness that they can transmit the values of their time to the coming generations. Therefore, as mentioned by

Nodelman in *The Hidden Adult*, there is a shadow text in children's books, aimed at manipulating its vulnerable readers.

As explained above, child readers may become the products and promoters of adults' ideology. This fact leads us to question the status of children in the authors' perspective. Hunt states in the "Introduction" to his work that the relation between children and authors of children's literature is similar to the relation between native people and colonisers. The reason is that the colonisers' aim is to convince the colonised about the colonisers' superiority in every respect, such that the colonised are expected to adopt the colonisers' superiority. Similarly, authors seek to conform children to the approved pattern of the adult culture through their works. From this perspective, both the colonised and the children share the position "other" (*Literature for Children* 2). Rose claims that "[l]iterature for children is...a way of colonising...the child" (26). Similarly, Nodelman, throughout his influential essay "The Other: Orientalism, Colonialism, and Children's Literature" (1992), argues that children's literature deals with childhood and children as Orientalism deals with the Orient. In the essay, Nodelman draws on Said's characterisation of Orientalists and uses the pronoun "we" for the children's authors. Thus, "we" adults are said to love gazing at children and so objectifying them (30); "we" silence children by speaking for and about them; and "we" dominate children by exerting power over them. Therefore, following Rose, Nodelman also has the notion of a unified child and thinks that adult writers share common desires regarding this child. Therefore, it may be claimed that according to Rose and Nodelman, child readers are the consumers of children's books and target of publishers. McGillis and Khorana also state that adults speak for and manipulate children (8), and it is children who are subjected to the teachings and authority of adults. McGillis and Khorana associate the condition of children as readers of the works written by adults with the condition of the colonised (8). Children and the colonised are both exposed to an authority which claims supremacy over them; children to their parents or any other person who plays a role in their growth, and the colonised to the colonisers. In this context, according to McGillis and Khorana, what postcolonial critics do is not to free child readers from exposure to adult writers, but rather indicate that they only decipher the significant impact of Eurocentric preconceptions. On the other hand, Bradford rejects this approach in her article "Reading Indigeneity: The Ethics of Interpretation and Representation." She dissociates the otherness of the colonised and child readers from the perspective of adult writers. For her, their condition is not the same, because colonisers label the colonised as "other" without exception and consider them inferior no matter how well they imitate colonisers. On the other hand,

Bradford points out that regarding colonisers' children, child readers are not "other," but are rather potential British colonisers of the future. Therefore, for Bradford, in contrast to the colonised, child readers of the colonisers, from the perspective of colonialist authors, are regarded as not only the "betters" but also the future "stars of the British nation" (12). For instance, as discussed in detail in Chapter Two, despite the three British colonising heroes' young age in Ballantyne's *The Coral Island*, they are represented as so superior in terms of courage and rationality that the reader does not even feel that the protagonists are just teenagers. In addition, in children's literature, Orientals/the colonised, in contrast to the Orientalists/colonisers, occupy an inferior space that can never ever change, whereas children, especially British children, occupy a superior space. Children, especially British ones, are the adults of the future and are unquestionably "civilised" after all, whereas the colonised's identity is marked as "primitive" all the time.

1.2 A Brief Historical Account of the Development of Children's Literature

Looking at centuries past, it may be inferred that differences in the definitions of children's literature or its limitations also gave rise to the difficulty of identifying the first ever children's book that would have thus heralded the advent of children's literature. However, some critics such as McCulloch, Grenby, and Stevenson suggest that in Britain, it dates back to the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, because children's literature only became a separate part of the print culture during those times. Grenby also takes the second half of the seventeenth century or the period of time following 1660 as the beginning of a culture of children's literature (4). Therefore, according to Stevenson, the period until the eighteenth century may be called a "prehistory" of children's literature (182).

In the medieval period, British children used to read "fables, courtesy books, journals, ballads, saints' lives, romances and chapbooks, which were short cheap books sold by peddlers" (McCulloch 29). However, when the printing press was introduced in the fifteenth century (1485), stories children read were not in book form like today's because in the medieval period, they were mostly handwritten manuscripts which did not include the author's name as they were told and spread throughout many generations (McCulloch 29). Then, with the introduction of the printing press, many more books or wonder tales were published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thus, children became much more dependent upon the written form, and indirectly on the ideology behind them.

In the medieval period, according to Cunningham, children did not have a place in philosophical debates. However, then, they became the central figure in Christian life (28). The reason is that when Britons' faith changed from Catholicism to Protestantism in the sixteenth century, the concept of childhood underwent great change as well (McCulloch 30). In the Catholic faith, children were innocent subjects due to baptism that helped them get rid of original sin from birth. On the other hand, in Protestantism, baptism was not considered to be enough. Therefore, it was believed that only through religious education could children guarantee their innocence by having consciousness of sinfulness and the need for repentance. In this sense, conduct books giving moral lessons had a great impact upon them.

McCulloch argues that three main cultural influences affected the concept of and approach to 'child.' They are the Enlightenment, Romanticism, and Evangelicalism in British history. With the Enlightenment, which gave importance to reason and progress, the optimistic and progressive approach of the society led people to regard children as an embodiment of a potential for intellectual development. For instance, John Locke (1632-1704) underlined the significance of education and environment in shaping children, as he believed that they were born with a 'blank sheet,' and thus could be shaped by their family, environment and education (6-10).

Following the Enlightenment, Romanticism took a further step in the approach to children's innocence, which was believed to be attained and maintained through religious instruction. It brought forth the belief in children's intrinsic innocence. Children were believed to be close to God until birth. However, it was believed that when they grew older, they lost their closeness to God, thus their innocence. The reason was thought to be that adults failed to maintain their natural innocence (McCulloch 10-15). Accordingly, Romantic poet William Blake (1757-1827) presents two distinctive periods of children in his two sets of poems titled *Songs of Innocence and Experience* (1789). The child figure in the first set of poems, *Songs of Innocence*, loses his innocence by adopting a mature voice as a result of his experiences in the urban life of London in the second set of poems, *Songs of Experience*.

Through the ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), and with the impact of the French Revolution in the eighteenth century, children, as well as adults, were regarded as distinct cultural figures. Pointing out the natural goodness and value of children in his *Emile* (1762) and *The Confessions* (1782), Rousseau paved the way for child-centered education in contrast to the traditional religion-based education. Then, children were regarded as privileged because of their imagination and creativity. As a result, moralists

and pedagogues in churches highlighted the importance of children; thus, they advocated the idea that children were required to be kept away from any kind of corruption through writings which were thought to be inappropriate for children's development. Furthermore, in the eighteenth century, fairy tales played a role in preparing children for their place in society in terms of gender and social class. For instance, Charles Perrault was regarded as one of the earliest authors of these didactic fairy tales. His *Little Red Riding Hood* (1697) is claimed to reflect gender and class issues. Perrault wrote from around the 1690s on 1703 and gained popularity in the eighteenth century when his tales were translated into English and disseminated in chapbooks. He became a trend for male writers responsible for the dominant fairy tale form of civilising and moralising, which included the German Brothers Grimm and Hans Christian Andersen from Denmark in the nineteenth century (McCulloch 33-36). French poet Jean de La Fontaine's *Fables*, which was published in twelve volumes with its first publication in 1668, also gained popularity among both child and adult readers. His work was a collection of instructive and entertaining poems and fables from different Western and Eastern sources. The fables have been read in schools for centuries. In addition, Musgrave reckons that Mrs. Trimmer's *Fabulous Histories: Designed for the Instruction of Children Respecting Their Treatment of Animals* (1788) was a series of fables intending to impose moral and Christian values on children. Furthermore, Mrs. Barbauld and Dr. Aiken published *Evenings at Home or The Juvenile Budget Opened* (1796) with the subtitle "Consisting of a Variety of Miscellaneous Pieces for the Instruction of Young Persons." The work also contained a mixture of moral and religious stories and facts. Maria Edgeworth's *The Parents' Assistant* or *Stories for Children* was published in the same year. All these works had "one main objective: to protect, discipline, and teach good manners and morals" (Musgrave 21–23). In fact, moralistic books continued to be published in the nineteenth century as well. Among them were Mary Martha Sherwood's *The History of the Fairchild Family* (1818, 1842, 1847) and Maria Edgeworth's tales. As Stevenson confirms, "didacticism" became "a synonym for overt preachiness of the kind that imbued much of children's literature prior to the 20th century" (181).

The advancing printing press in the eighteenth century gave rise not only to novels but also to the production of children's books. In his essay "Children's Literature: Theory and Practice," Hughes associates the history of children's literature with the history of the novel and explains that historians of children's literature often regard John Newberry's *A Little Pretty Pocket Book* (1744) as the first children's book. He also states that it was no

coincidence that this book was published around the time that Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* (1740) was published. He considers the novel as a genre and children's books as both emerging from similar social conditions because, for him, the development of children's literature as a separate genre is closely related to that of the novel, both of which significantly influenced by each other (71).

It may be claimed that printing technology, knowledge about children, and further significance given to them up until the nineteenth century provided a framework for children's literature. However, as confirmed by Shavit, it began to flourish at such a high speed, and this development coincides with the period of British empire-building during the second half of the nineteenth century (3–7), upon which this study will focus.

Children's literature seems to have been affected by the changes in the nineteenth century. These changes significantly influenced the approach to children and childhood, and thus brought forth a new duty for them. This led to the development of children's literature, which was enriched by the growing number of children's books addressing not only children but adults as well.

The nineteenth century may be called an era of evolution and revolution, as Britain witnessed the Industrial Revolution and Darwin's theory of evolution. While the Industrial Revolution affected Britain demographically, the impact of Darwin's theory was philosophical.

As is known, as a result of the Industrial Revolution, many people migrated from rural areas to the cities to seek employment. It resulted in poor living conditions and various social problems in Britain's cities. Children were a huge part of the population who suffered under these conditions. With the 1833 Factory Act, children aged 9 or older were made part of the work force. Also, with the Poor Law of 1834, children had to leave their parents to stay and work under difficult conditions in workhouses. However, within these tough conditions, education for children gained importance in time. While the Factory Act proposed a two-hour education every day, with the Education Act of 1870, education became compulsory for all children. Moreover, education until that time had been under the control of religious organisations. It is also obvious that education gained significance towards the latter half of the nineteenth century and became much more secular. The need to educate children for Victorians was derived from the dream of maintaining British power through the centuries by means of children and the Victorians' fear of having an idle generation. Therefore, education was privileged especially for boys, as girls were kept at home and restricted to domestic roles (McCulloch 13-15).

Darwin's *On the Origins of Species* (1859) also had quite an impact on the perception about children in this period. It led to a re-evaluation of man's place in the universe, which thus shook up the prestige of human beings among living beings with the very possible idea of man's sharing a common ancestry with the apes. Although the glorious notion of the child with a sense of spiritual knowingness existed in the Romantic period, as may be sensed in Wordsworth's "Ode: Intimations of Immortality" (Lines 64-65, 309), this notion lost its persuasiveness in the Victorian age. One major reason for this is Darwin's theory, which brought forth the notion that "man is the codescendant with other mammals of a common progenitor" (1546) called "Quadrumana." Darwin states in *Natural Selection and Sexual Selection* that Quadrumana used to be "the common and still more ancient progenitor of the Old and New World monkeys" (1547). It debased the prestigious position of the Romantic concept of children. In the Romantic period, children were regarded as innocent beings, who were close to God. Furthermore, it was thought that they only lost their innocence when they grew up. Therefore, such Romantic authors or poets as William Wordsworth lament this loss and wish to regain the spiritual knowingness they had during their childhood. With the impact of Darwin's theory, the thought that children were born with spiritual knowingness was questioned while notion of the impossibility of attaining any spiritual knowingness began to spread. Thus, Darwinism challenged adult perceptions about the Romantic notion of the child and "imbue[d] children's fiction with a sense of its unattainability [the accessibility of spiritual knowingness]" (Thacker "Victorianism, Empire and the Paternal Voice" 49). In the Victorian mind, shaped by the Industrial Revolution and Darwinism, children were stripped of spiritual knowingness and became potential good or bad investments for adults in society. Therefore, Victorians emphasised education during childhood for the sake of the British Empire's future. They gave up the spiritual approach to children by holding a more secular and materialistic approach. Their main concern was the development of children, which was considered to be shaped by education and the childhood environment. They would become either better colonisers or an idle generation, whom adults did not want to have. Thus, the religious thinking on the future of children was interrupted by a secular and materialist Victorian approach. That is why many Victorian novelists, such as George Eliot with *The Mill on the Floss* (1860), Charles Dickens with *Great Expectations* (1861), Charlotte Brontë with *Jane Eyre* (1847), and Emily Brontë with *Wuthering Heights* (1847), shed light on their protagonists' childhoods to find an explanation for their actions during adulthood (Thacker "Victorianism, Empire and the Paternal Voice" 51). Ac-

cordingly, while in the medieval period, one's adulthood used to be considered to be the best time of one's life, the Victorians took childhood as the best period for determining the rest of one's life (McCulloch 15). This time, the reason did not have a divine origin. Rather, the Victorian belief was that childhood was the best time to educate in the way of societal norms for the future. Thus, for McCulloch, in the Victorian era, one's childhood became the period of time which determines to what extent the child will satisfy the desire of Victorian society and thereby diminish any anxieties about its future (15). In other words, the Victorians seem to have believed that they depended on children: they would either realise their dream by maintaining their colonial power around the world or be doomed because of the unsatisfactory colonial performance of inexperienced and inefficient future generations, particularly as authorities. Thus, education and children's literature were secularised and emancipated from the control of religious authorities.

The future of the British Empire was deemed to depend on its children. The imperialist eye regarded them as "the glimmers of hope" and the embodiment of "their promises" (Beauvais 20). Therefore, it was urgent for Victorians to educate children in order to secure an ever more powerful British Empire for the future.

In the golden age of children's literature, there were different kinds of stories, fantasy stories and adventure tales such as Frederick Marryat's *Children of the New Forest* (1847), R.M. Ballantyne's *The Coral Island* (1858), and Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883), school stories such as Harriet Martineau's *The Crofton Boys* (1841), Thomas Hughes' *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857) and F. W. Farrar's *Eric, or Little by Little* (1858); there were realistic domestic tales that combined imaginative elements which also became popular, like Frances Hodgson Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1886), *A Little Princess* (1905) and *The Secret Garden* (1911), and Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* (1868), *Good Wives* (1869), and *Little Men* (1871) (McCulloch 38). Furthermore, although "long-forgotten stories and poems' warning about the horrible fates befalling naughty children were popular in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries," they became out of fashion and were even ridiculed by Heinrich Hoffmann's *Shock-Headed Peter* (1848), Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865), and Hilaire Belloc's *Cautionary Tales for Children* (1907) (Grenby 7).

Despite these abundant children's literature, it continued to be seen as marginal among literary studies and left in footnotes or bibliographies (Hunt, *Literature for Children* 6-7) up until the twentieth century. According to Hunt, just like post-colonial literature, children's literature achieved a place in academia in the late 1990s. It had not been possible for the pub-