

# Philosophies of Education and Fairy Tales In British Children's Literary History

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## Introduction

The history of British children's literature began as early as the 8th century with books of instruction in Latin. Religious instruction and teaching of the Alphabet had already begun in the 16th century using tablets of wood called horn-books. For their amusement, children read such books as Aesop's fables and legends of King Arthur, Robin Hood and romances printed for grownups. In the 17th century these legends and folk-tales came to be read in chapbooks at a reasonable price. However, popular literature of this kind, now called fairy tales in general, had been considered superstitious and poisonous. Then Puritans started writing books for children with moral fervour and sense of duty to turn the child's eyes away from chapbooks. Writing with such intention was in parallel with the anti-fairy movement. Ironically fairy tales survived and were to become synonymous with juvenile literature.

The aim of this paper is to examine the correlation between the philosophy of education and the growth of fairy tales in British juvenile literature.

Firstly John Locke's treatise on education [29] and Jean Jacques Rousseau's *Emile* [35] will be discussed as writings which influenced the idea of education and writings for children as a result. Secondly the way how fairy tales came to take root in British children's literary world and how they developed in it will be traced [7]. Thirdly the growth of the anti-fairy-tale movement will be testified.

## 1. Philosophies of Education : Locke vs. Rousseau

The most influential book written in the educational field appeared in England with John Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693). The treatise beginning with the famous "A sound mind in a sound body" emphasised the importance of education by reason. It was reprinted again and again in the 18th century and influenced publishers and writers for children.

Locke's idea on education is characterised by the expression as "white paper, or wax, to be moulded and fashioned as one pleases" in his description of the child. The child here is totally an object under the control of grownups. As the founder of the empirical school of English philosophy, Locke details his ideas on how to bring up the child.

In order to get a strong mind and body, children should be trained. Thus wearing little clothing, eating simple wholesome food, and enduring hardships are recommended. Locke maintains the mind needs the same training: "As the strength of the body lies chiefly in being able to endure hardships, so also does that of the mind. And the great principle and foundation of all virtue and worth, is placed in this, that a man is able to deny himself his own desires, cross his own inclinations, and purely follow what reason directs as best, though the appetite lean the other way." But at the same time Locke was concerned about the possibility of abasing the child's spirits through too much strictness. The true secret of education lay in succeeding "to keep up a child's spirit, easy, active, and free, while avoiding the danger of overdoing it." Locke called it "the great art" to know how to reconcile these seeming contradictions.

According to Locke, religious instruction should be given at an early age but children should not be told tales about "Sprites and Goblins" until they are old enough not to be frightened by them. Children should learn to read as soon as they can talk, but reading should not be felt like a task. An element of play is recommended: "There may be Dice and Play-things, with the Letters on them, to teach children the Alphabet by playing." As to what to read, Locke said the primer and the Bible are not suitable for their early age and they should be given "some easy pleasant Book suited to his Capacity. . . wherein the entertainment, that he finds, might draw him on. . . and yet not such as should fill his head with perfectly useless trumpery, or lay the principles of Vice and Folly." Then Locke recommends the Aesop's fables with pictures as best suited for the purpose.

The introduction of amusement into reading and the idea of combining instruction with entertainment were totally new when children were given primers. If there is any preceding work in this point, J.K. Comenius's *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (1658) [12] appeared in English in 1659 and is considered the first textbook for children with pictures. While Locke used pictures as a means of teaching, however, Comenius was aware of the importance of exercising the senses in learning.

After the appearance of Locke's treatise on education, publishers began to put entertaining elements in instruction. For example, the first English alphabet book *A Play-Book for Children* with the sub-title: *To allure them to Read as soon as they can Speak Plain* was published in 1694. Locke's ideas also seem reflected in John Newbery's publications and other booksellers' of the mid-18th century.

What was there behind the quick reaction to this treatise at this time? Though the history of British juvenile literature is considered to begin in 1744, ahead of the rest of the world, when John Newbery opened a book shop at the precinct of St Paul and started selling books for children by the side of those for grown-ups, there was growing concern about children. Four years earlier Thomas Boreman specialised in books for children in the City of London, though on a much smaller scale. He was also an advocate of Locke when he wrote "During the Infant-Age, ever busy and always inquiring, there is no fixing the attention of the mind, but by amusing it" in his *A Description of Three Hundred Animals* (1730). The growing concern about the upbringing of children could be explained

in relation with the Industrial Revolution at its birth. The prospering middle class coincided with the flourishing publication for children.

The 18th century is often said to have found the child [25]. Certainly it was the age in which children became a topic of importance and also a target of business.

Jean Jacques Rousseau was another figure who influenced people's ideas on education in the 18th century. His *Émile ou De L'Éducation* was translated into English soon after its publication in France. It was read as *Emile, or Education* (1762) in England. It was condemned by the French government as against government and religion. Rousseau himself was persecuted for this and left the country. He was received warmly by David Hume in England but they eventually parted after quarrelling. Still he had quite a few advocates and serious ones such as Thomas Day and R.L. Edgeworth and many others in Europe and in Asia as well. The two different views on *Emile* have continued into the following centuries and have been responsible for the opposing images of the child and evaluation of education based on the book.

*Emile* was a model set down to succeed in what Rousseau thought was the ideal of education. Rousseau asserts that human beings start their lives as a child which is weak, helpless and foolish, or so made by God according to the order of nature to grow up to be a strong and independent man who loves liberty above all things. Education itself is but habit. The only habit the child should be allowed to have is that of forming no habits, except natural ones. True education is in practice and experience rather than in preach and instruction. The best educated are those who can best endure the good and evil of life. The child does good or ill without knowing it and there is no morality in his actions. In early childhood the child should be taught according to what it really needs, but not what he asks. The distinction should be made by making careful observation of the child and by the study of nature. Education comes from nature, men, and things. Among those three nature is the only thing beyond control and therefore to be followed. The child should not be taught at school, but guided by a private teacher at home in the countryside "far from the vile morals of the town".

Born in France much later than Locke, Rousseau points out where they differ. Differences range from minor details to major ones. The latter are as follows. Rousseau criticises Locke for his introduction of reason at an early age. Reason is in his belief a totality of all abilities and it is wrong to use reason to develop the abilities. Childhood is the state in which reason is asleep. It should be gained at the end of education. To learn to think the child must exercise bodily organs, above all his senses which are the tools of the intellect. To make the best use of those tools the child should be trained to have a strong and healthy body, though he agrees with Locke and other predecessors in that the child must harden the muscles to strengthen the mind. Rousseau's physical training, however, unlike Locke's, is deeply rooted in training the senses including the sixth sense (by this Rousseau meant common sense) at the later stage of childhood. Practically he proposes games

in the dark and discusses the meaning of human perceptions. Rousseau claims that fancy decks reality and imagination lends charm to what we know by our senses.

Transformation of the child's sensations into thoughts should take time. "Let the senses be the only guide for the workings of reason." Therefore, books are preferred not to be given soon:

People make a great fuss about discovering the best way to teach children to read. They invent "bureaux" and cards: they turn the nursery into a printer's shop. Locke would have them taught to read by means of dice. What a fine idea! And the pity of it! There is a better way than any of those, and one which is generally overlooked— it consists in the desire to learn. Arouse this desire in your scholar and have done with your "bureaux" and your dice — any method will serve.

Present interest, that is the motive power, the only motive power that takes us far and safely.

Rousseau considers books as the tool to bring unhappiness. If the child depends on books, then he will learn to use other people's acquired knowledge, not his own. It is always the actual foot, hand, and eye that teach him truly.

Unlike Locke who recommended Aesop's fables as reading material, Rousseau argues that all fables never teach morals to children. Children require the naked truth and if they read La Fontaine's fables they do not understand what they meant are to teach.

*Robinson Crusoe* [14] is the only book that "supplies the best treatise on an education according to nature" and the first book Emile will be given.

Writing is also excluded from his teaching.

Rousseau's teaching is in his own words "the art of being ignorant". He writes: "Ignorance never did any one any harm, error alone is fatal, and we do not lose our way."

After his death, Rousseau emerged as a saviour of christianity from its dissolution and destruction [11]. People came to realise a clear implication of emotion in contrast with reason which prevailed in the 18th century. It is in this view that Rousseau became considered as a herald of Romanticism. He was also regarded as an anarchist.

In relation to the conflicting images that Rousseau arose there are seen to be two divided opinions. One is to accept him as a contradictory person. This attitude is well-expressed in Ernest Barker's following words [4]: "The truth is that Rousseau was a romantic caught in the toils of a classical conception (if the idea of natural law may be called classical) in which he had dressed himself but in which he did not believe. He is two things in one, and he may be said both to belong and not to belong to the School of Natural Law." Barker also does not consider Rousseau as a philosopher. He writes that Rousseau was: "rather a litterateur of genius and an acute sensibility, who drew ideas from the surrounding air by the magnet of his intuition, and proceeded to make himself their incomparable exponent." The other interpretation of Rousseau is seen in Ernest Cassirer's *Rousseau Kant Goethe* [11]. Here Rousseau the philosopher is described as a pur-

suer of religious truth. Only what he strove for was religion without any pressure including tradition, which caused a lot of misunderstanding. Cassirer recognises Rousseau's achievement of his goal through his undergoing different phases until he wrote *Confessions* (1782), in which he realises one's own conscience is the only source of religion.

## 2. Fairy Tales in British Juvenile Literature

During the late 16th and early 17th centuries there was a fashion for fairies in England and without this climate the growth of fairy tales in literary form in juvenile world could not be discussed. However, it was through France that they became recognised as respectable reading material.

The word "fairy tale" itself was the English translation of the French contes des fées which were fashionable in French high society towards the end of the 17th century. At their birth fairy tales were not necessarily designed for children. They were rather enjoyed as fresh material for those sophisticated people who had been satiated with novels.

The French "fées" derived from a mythology, Hesiod's *Theogony*, in which there were three daughters of Night, the three Fates. They were half-goddesses and became the Fata, the origin of fées. They came into England in the Arthurian romances as "fays". The term "fai-ery" or "fay-erie" meant a state of enchantment and came to be used for someone who cast the spell. Hence sprung the succeeding use of fairy in connection with supernatural being [ 5 ].

In 1699 d'Aulnoy [ 3 ]'s *Contes des Fées* appeared in England for the first time and with additional stories in 1707: *The Diverting Works of the Countess D'Anois* under the name of *The History of the Tales of the Fairies; newly done from the French* in 1716. She is considered the first writer to use the title "fairy tales" for a literary writing. Her stories have been translated from time to time since then. The source of her stories were basically the folk tales and legends she heard as a child in Normandy and also heard from her servant. In *Collection of Novels and Tales* published in England in 1721 included her "Finetta the Cinder-girl", the first Cinderella story that appeared in England.

By 1773 Francis Newbery published d'Aulnoy's tales under the title of *Mother Bunch's Fairy Tales* with the subtitle of *Published for the Amusement of. . . Little Masters and Misses: who, by duty to their parents, and obedience to their superiors, aim at becoming great Lords and Ladies*. The effect of substituting English names for the French original was magical. Mother Bunch became a fashionable name to such a degree that the 1807 Christmas pantomime was performed with its title: *Mother Bunch and the Yellow Dwarf*. Mother Bunch was a familiar name used in the 16th century works by Thomas Nash, a collection of comic anecdotes in the 17th century, and in a chapbook in the late 17th century.

Translation of d'Aulnoy's stories in mid-19th century appeared in J.R. Planche's writing in 1855. As a pantomime writer, he translated for the stage. Pantomime, which is a variety show and highlights Christmas entertainments today, was a name for a type of theatrical performance combining a popular tale with the traditional Italian Harlequinade

in early 18th century. Planche's use of fairy tales for his subject matter was a new phase of pantomime which prevailed in the beginning of the following century.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries Andrew Lang retold d'Aulnoy's stories in his Fairy Books.

Also from France, Charles Perrault [34] made his first appearance in English in 1729. It was with his *Histories, or Tales of Past Times*, the original title of which was: *Histoires, ou Contes du temps passé, avec des Moralitez* (1697) with the words in the frontispiece: "Contes de ma mere L'Oye," which in English read as "Mother Goose's Tales". It included such well-known fairy tales as "The Sleeping Beauty", "The Little Red Riding Hood", "Bluebeard", "Puss in Boots", "Cinderella", "Hop o'My Thumb". It did not include the morals which the original French version had at the end of each story. The stories were based on traditional folk tales and became the standard versions of the stories on these themes. In 1768 Newbery re-issued Perrault's *Contes* only in English. Then the tales from the book began to be read by children in the form of chapbooks. Thus the fairy tale started to take root in the world of children.

Perrault's contribution to the field of juvenile literature was that he was concerned with the child reader and defined folk tales as stories the ancestor had handed down to the following generations [21]. This idea was revolutionary for hitherto all the stories were written to be read by the grown-ups only. He presented them in his sophisticated style. On "La Belle au bois dormant", the original of "The Sleeping Beauty", Opie wrote [32]: ". . . it is a tale so finely told it is no surprise that the retellings which folklorists have subsequently found in oral tradition have been flat or foolish in comparison. The story of "Dornroschen", for instance, collected by the Grimm brothers in Hesse at the beginning of the nineteenth century, which is undoubtedly derived from Perrault's text, however reluctant the Grimms were to recognise it, possesses little of the quality of the French tale." Perrault's tales, however, are considered to be derived from French equivalent of chapbooks.

In 1823 appeared the Grimm brothers' fairy tales in English under the title of *German Popular Tales*. The original *Kinder-und-Hausmärchen* (1812), now commonly known as "Grimm's Fairy Tales", was the most influential book in Europe. The Grimm brothers set an example as a collector of folk tales and legends handed down from mouth to mouth, visiting all parts of the country. It contained fifty five stories from the complete collection of over two hundred stories in the original version and was illustrated by George Cruikshank. Among the best known were "Snow-White", "Tom Thumb", "Hansel and Gretel", "Puss in Boots". The book won popularity soon after its appearance.

In 1846 came out *Wonderful Stories for Children* in which Hans Christian Andersen's fairy tales were first introduced to British children. Though his fairy tales were also based on folk tales such as "The Tinderbox" and "The Princess on the Pea", he distinguished himself for his own original work such as "The Ugly Duckling" and "The Emperor's New Clothes". Adding his childhood experience in which his father read the *Arabian*

*Nights, La Fontaine*, and romances for him, Anderson seemed to have an inclination for fantasy. The original Danish word for “fairy tales” is “eventyr” and, has an implication of a short fantastic story for the reader of all ages.

Fairy tales’ close connection with folk-tales is very distinctive in Andrew Lang and Joseph Jacobs. Jacobs’s *English Fairy Tales* (1890) [24] included English-based fairy tales such as “Jack and the Beanstalk”, “Jack the Giant Killer”, “Tom Thumb”, “Dick Whittington” along with English versions of “Cinderella”, “Bluebeard”, under the title of “Cap o’ Rushes” and “Mr Fox”, respectively. His stories taken from J.O. Halliwell’s collection of nursery tales were faithful to the source and the writer’s invention seems carefully avoided. He believed in oral tradition of folk tales and tried to keep them in letters.

Lang’s handling of folk tales was different from Jacobs’. Born at Selkirk in Scotland, he was brought up with Scottish legends and folk tales told by his nurse and people round him. His inclination towards reading such writers as Sir Walter Scott and James Fenimore Cooper also explains his characteristics as a writer. The former was his grand father’s friend and his writings were popular among boys for his fictional treatment of Scottish history. The latter was called American Scott and was well known for his vivid description of American Indians in a series of five stories, among which was *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826). His strong interest in mythology and folk tales led him to tell and re-tell a lot of fairy tales in books in later years of his life. No other writers wrote more fairy tales than Lang. The most well-known books included a series of fairy books each of which had a colour in the title, beginning with *The Blue Fairy Book* (1889), followed by Red, Green, Yellow, Pink, Crimson, Brown, Orange, Olive, ending with *The Lilac Fairy Book* (1910).

Lang’s fairy books were to be criticised by J.R.R. Tolkien in his discourse “On Fairy Tales” (1938) [41] for their loose presentation of justice and mercy, and Lang’s support of the Psychical Research Society aroused suspicion in the evaluation of his works. However, he excelled in re-telling traditional folk tales in a new literary form and his contribution to the study of folk tales could not be overlooked. He asserted that folk tales were not the debased form of mythologies, but the foundation of them, and that the relationship between tales told among separate races cannot be explained from the philological point of view. He also maintained that nobody can write a “new” fairy tale and that we can only write stories by dressing the old stories. Lang’s assertion preceded the common view in the 20th century drawn from various studies on fairy tales, in which all human beings are considered to share a kind of deep well from which they drew endless water of tales. The representative literary criticism, in this respect, is seen in Northrop Frye who regards recognition of archetypes and myths as a matter of great importance [18].

It was by Tolkien that fairy tales were defined as a creation by human beings living in the world created by God. He differentiated imagination from fantasy which had been mixed up with fancy in debased form of fantasy. Fantasy was the word employed to describe something strange and wonderful and at the same time to imply human creation in

contrast with God's creation, in order to express the nature of fairy tales.

Tolkien's *The Lord of The Rings* (1954-1955) [42] is considered the greatest fantasy the 20th century has produced. The author wrote in the preface that it was the story "a tale-teller's hand wove. He refused the possibility of any message in it, in the form of allegory or anything, as often so it has been read. He only approves its likeness to a legend or history.

Before the 20th century the border was vague between fairy tales and fantasy. The word "fantasy" was more associated with something beyond reason rather than the group of stories which differentiate themselves from another type of literature by nature. The definition given by *The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature* (1984) [ 7 ] is as follows. As to "fantasy": "a term used to describe works of fiction, written by a specific author (i.e. not traditional) and usually novel length, which involve the supernatural or some other unreal element." As to fairy tales: "narratives, set in the past, of events that would be impossible in the real world. They often include magical happenings and the appearance of fairies, but the supernatural does not always feature in them, and the heroes and heroines are usually mortal human beings. Such creatures as giants, dwarfs, witches, and ogres frequently play a part, as well as talking animals." The border was made. Yet it becomes vague again when we read *Alice*, for instance. It is a fairy tale as well as a fantasy. It was originally a narrative, written by a specific author, Lewis Carroll, involving unreal element of the talking animals with a human heroine. The reason for this ambiguity is perhaps due to the fact that both are considered belonging to the world apart from the world considered real.

F.E. Paget's *The Hope of The Katzekophs* (1844) is recognised as the first fantasy ever written in English. The Katzekopfs were King Katzekopf and Queen Ninnilinda and their spoilt prince who learns in the end that it is only by the aid of discipline that any one can hope to conquer self. The teller of the story wonders whether "a race that has been glutted with Peter Parley and Penny Magazines, and such like stories of (so called) useful knowledge, will condescend to read a Fable and its moral, or to interest themselves with the grotesque nonsense, the palpable, fantastic absurdities, the utter impossibilities of a tale of enchantment". This alone claims itself a piece of work belonging to the time when fairy tales were considered illegitimate. They were certainly on the other side of such didactic magazines like Peter Parley and Penny Magazines. It also reveals the author's wavering attitude towards fairy tales. The author was a rector of Elford in Staffordshire and edited *A series for Children* (1844) to instruct in Church of England and wrote *Tales of the Village Children* (1845), a moral tale.

Following Paget's *The Hope*, quite a few of fantasy pieces were to appear, namely John Ruskin's *The King of the Golden River* (1851), W.M. Thackeray's *The Rose and the Ring* (1855), Charles Kingsley's *The Water Babies* (1863), Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) and Kenneth Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows* (1908). Considering the birth of fantasy, it is of little surprise that fantasy writing flourished in Britain as the people's interest in fairy tales revived and became fashionable.

### 3. Anti-Fairytale Movement

Another interesting fact about the process which both fairy tales and fantasy went through is that both were frowned upon and sometimes became the target of criticism. Both survived.

The first attack was by the puritan writers who were known for moral seriousness. Their attitudes were summarised in the following lines from John Bunyan's *Instruction for the Ignorant* (1675) [ 8 ]: "We are Transgressions from the Womb, and go astray as soon as we are born. . . The first things that bloom and put forth themselves in Children, shew their Ignorance of God, their disobedience to Parents, and their innate enmity to Holiness of Life." Belief in a doctrine of original sin urged such preacher like James Janeway to write. His *A Token for Children* (c. 1672) with a subtitle: *Being an Exact Account of the Convention, Holy and Exemplary Lives, and Joyful Deaths of several young Children* became an instrument for converting children who were "brands of hell" and must be saved. When the purpose of writing became to teach religious awareness, the books became didactic. Bunyan himself regretted his childhood spent in reading chapbooks, but he seemed to understand the foolishness of trying to terrify the reader into godliness. At least he introduced a little enchantment in his own books. His *A Book For Boys and Girls* (1686) was an example and his *The Pilgrim's Progress, from this World to that which is to come* (1678) was, as the title suggested, a religious allegory. Yet it contained humorous elements in the use of such characters as "Obstinate", "Talkative" and "Lord Hategood". It enjoyed general popularity. Ironically the success depended on his reading secular romances in chapbooks in his childhood. In fact, the book was to be placed among the romantic pieces by the advocates of the Romantic Movement. The book was read in abridged form by children. Part II published in 1684, however, was written for children and from the fifth edition illustrations were added. Children might, as Lillian H. Smith put, recognised in the story a fairy tale with adventures [39].

By the beginning of the 19th century moral tales became the predominant genre in juvenile literature in England. There were two stages in the development. The earlier one emphasised success in life through industry and good deeds. *Goody Two-Shoes* (1765) [31], for example, told that a poor little girl who was wearing an odd shoe grew to be a real lady through her industry. At this time fairy stories were not entirely swept away even by those moral-minded writers. Sarah Fielding, for instance, in *The Governess* (1749), inserted a tale about two giants and a story about a princess, yet the governess warned her pupils not to take those seriously. Even Marie L. de Beaumont, a fairy tale writer and French exile, was influenced by this trend and published her book *Magasin des Enfants, ou dialogues entre une sage gouvernante et plusieurs de ses élèves* (1756) with such tone. It was translated into English in 1757 as *The Young Misses Magazine containing dialogues between a governess and several young ladies*. In this book were introduced "Beauty and the Beast", and "The Three Wishes" for the first time. She used fairy tales as a vehicle for moral instruction. Fairy tales were now beginning to be used to combine instruction with

entertainment.

As time went by the anti-fairy tale feeling grew stronger. Behind that were people's growing concern on how to bring up children and their belief that children were frightened by those supernatural beings in fairy tales. John Locke's treatise on education advised parents not to let their children hear such tales until they were old enough to disbelieve them. The idea that children could understand simple and familiar things they see and experience in their daily lives began to be dominant. Anna L. Barbauld expressed such an idea in her *Lessons For Children* (1778). This book was written for her adoptive son to learn reading. It inspired R.L. Edgeworth who was impressed with the ideas of Rousseau and tried to bring up his eldest child but later abandoned his discipleship of Rousseau to start his own work. He used this book for his children's reading lesson and, since they learned to read quickly, came to the conclusion that children must be given stories based on their own experience of the world. Together with his daughter Maria he published an essay on education under the title of *Practical Education* in 1798, in which fairy tales were described as "not much read now" and there was a warning which went: "the taste for adventure is absolutely incompatible with the sober perseverance necessary to success." Their book recommendation was "the history of realities written in an entertaining manner". They were also very cautious about the power of imagination when they said: "the degree in which the imagination should be cultivated must, we have observed, be determined by the views which parents may have for their children." His book with the same title (1780) was a series of stories about two children who learn about life through asking their parents questions in their daily lives.

The second stage of the genre started with Maria Edgeworth. In her *Early Lessons* (1801), a series of story-books, the children grew to control their emotions and learn practical things necessary to live. Simple industry or good deeds are no longer their aim. She used her father's *Practical Education* (1780) as a base in one of the series. Both Barbauld and Edgeworth are now considered pioneers of the education of children by using simple stories.

In the late 18th century, another genre in this line appeared. It was called cautionary tales, for the main theme was warnings about foolish behaviour and accidents. The titles of such books as *Vice in its Proper Shape* (c. 1774), *Accidents and Remarkable Events* (1801), *Dangerous Sports* (1803) were self-explanatory.

In moral tales and alike it is almost always grown-ups who guided children. It is also characteristic that they were largely written by woman. Each had her own ideal and tried to teach it through her writing. Sarah Trimmer, however, seemed the most serious. She wrote and published *The Guardian of Education*, a periodical published from 1802 to 1806, reviewing and criticising books chosen by her, including even moral tales. For example, she criticised Fielding's *The Governess* for its frivolity and Maria Edgeworth's *Early Lessons* for its Rousseau's influence. She had a fear that the social order might be upset by following his idea of a natural man. She writes on Perrault's *Histories* [43]:

“Though we well remember the interest with which, in our childish days, when books of amusement for children were scarce, we read, or listened to the history of *Little Red Riding Hood*, and *Blue Beard*, & c. we do not wish to have such sensations awakened in the hearts of our grandchildren, by the same means; for the terrific images, which tales of this nature present to the imagination, usually make deep impressions, and injure the tender minds of children, by exciting unreasonable and groundless fears. Neither do the generality of tales of this kind supply any moral instruction level to the infantine capacity.

Criticism about Rousseau is also seen in Elizabeth Ludlow’s description of a spoiled girl in *Felissa, or the Life and Opinions of a Kitten of Sentiment* (1811) [9]: “Her mama had been advised by a Frenchman, one Mr Rousseau, to suffer her children to remain foolish till seven or eight years of age, when he said, they would grow wise of their own accord: and this her mama found so easy and delightful, that she immediately adopted his plan.” Mary M. Sherwood’s *Fairchild Family* (1818) [38] described hell as the result of sin. The moral tale reached its zenith.

There grew some doubts on the hardening of moral-tales among other writers. Charles Lamb, for example, wrote to S.T. Coleridge [10]: “Mrs Barbauld’s stuff has banished all the old classics of the nursery; & the Shopman at Newbery’s hardly deigned to reach them off an old exploded corner of a shelf, when Mary ask’d for them. Mrs B’s & Mrs Trimmer’s nonsense lay in piles about. . . Is there no possibility of averting this sore evil?”

Translation of Grimm’s fairy tales into English in 1823 encouraged the growth of interest in fairy tales again. To its translator Edgar Taylor, Walter Scott wrote on fairy tales [10]: “better adapted to awaken the imagination and soften the heart of children than ‘good boy’ stories which have been in later years composed for them. . . I would not give one tear, shed over Little Red Riding Hood, for all the benefit to be derived from a hundred histories of Jemmy Goodchild.” Moral tales began to be subdued.

Just like a counterattack against moral tales Catherine Sinclair wrote *Holiday House* (1893) in which children are presented as uncontrollable beings, breaking their toys and mocking their nanny and enjoying “a nonsensical story about giants and fairies.” The writer deplores that “All play of imagination is now carefully discouraged, and books written for young persons are generally a mere record of dry facts.”

However, the appearance of evangelical Temperance stories in the late 18th century shows the line of moral tales. Drink as one of the vices which might ruin life became a commonplace theme of children’s books. George Cruikshank, illustrator of the first English translation of the Grimm’s fairy tales began to rewrite fairy tales with a teetotal moral. In his *Cinderella* (1853) [13] the king destroyed all the strong drink in the kingdom at the request of Cinderella’s godmother. His rewriting of the fairy tales received Dickens’ strong criticism in an article in *Household Words* [16], which went as: “. . . to ‘editing’ Ogres, and Hop-o’-my-thumbs, and their families, our dear moralist has in a rash moment taken, as a means of propagating the doctrines of total Abstinence, Prohibition of the sale

of spirituous liquors, Free Trade, and Popular Education. For the introduction of these topics, he has altered the text of a fairy story; and against his right to do any such thing we protest with all our might and main.”

Combination of a fairy tale with a moral is also seen in George MacDonald’s *At the Back of the North Wind* (1871) [30]. In it the boy Diamond, a son of a coachman, is seen mending the ways of a drunken cab-driver who beat his wife. The story could be read as a parable when the North Wind (as the will of God) took Diamond away in her arms, yet it has not prevented itself from being categorised as a fantasy.

## Conclusion

The history of British juvenile literature reflects the conflicts between two seemingly opposing factors: reason and imagination: instruction and amusement; sense and nonsense; reality and fantasy. Fairy tales had been considered unreal, superstitious, therefore useless and poisonous. They became the enemy of those people who believed in principles of Church and those who believed in moral education. They wrote books for children to provide them with more desirable material. As a result the British juvenile literary world made great progress, thus establishing itself as a most successful branch of literature. On the way fairy tales found themselves surviving and developing still another branch of the genre called fantasy. In other words, fairy tales played a key role in the establishment of the juvenile literature by being an incentive for the writers.

Locke’s treatise on education proposed an idea of combining instruction and amusement, but because of his stress on reason, created the climate for the didactic use of books. Rousseau’s *Emile* had two opposing reactions; it was considered licentious and shunned; or it was read as the model of education based on true human nature. Both principles of education never met, but followers of both produced moral writings. In accordance with the rise of Romanticism Rousseau came to be considered as its predecessor. The literary movement itself drew people’s attention to the child as a pure, innocent existence in contrast with grown-ups. It also turned their eyes to fairy tales in general. People now claimed the importance of imagination, education of nature, and even moral significance of fairy tales.

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