

# For the Amusement of the Merry Little Subjects: How British Children Met Don Quixote in the Long Eighteenth Century

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As a masterpiece that has crossed all borders, Don Quixote has become part of what could be termed our global general culture or, employing James Iffland's terminology, it has become an ideologeme<sup>1</sup>, a myth easily recognizable in the collective mind, reduced to certain very identifiable traits: madness, idealism, wise foolishness or foolish wisdom. This quixotegeme<sup>2</sup> is moreover built on certain well-known passages of the story which the general public is aware of even without necessarily having read the book. The tilting at windmills, Sancho being blanketed, Mambrino's helmet, or the flying horse are scenes that have acquired an iconic status, and so has Don Quixote himself<sup>3</sup>. This is true of other landmarks of literature, such as *Aesop's Fables*, *Robinson Crusoe*, or *Gulliver's Travels*, just to mention a few. What all these works of fiction have in common is their impact on later authors, novels or trends, and their current standing as children's classics, even if they were not aimed at a young audience at first. Proving that readership can determine the fate of any work of fiction, Don Quixote, Crusoe and Gulliver –both the books and the eponymous characters– seem to appeal to a child's mind just as much as they do to an adult's imagination.

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1. IFFLAND (1987: 26).

2. IFFLAND (1987: 30).

3. RILEY (1988). Accessible on <http://www.h-net.org/~cervantes/csa/articw88/riley.htm>

If this is the case with Defoe's work, as proved by the myriad of robinsonades that have appeared since its publication in 1719, it definitely rings true for a novel whose main merit relies on its multiple layers of meaning, its subtexts, its blending of genres, its ambiguity and its mixture of the farcical and the ideal. A novel which can be read as one of the knightly or pastoral romances it parodies, or as a metafictional masterpiece.

Cervantes himself might have been aware of this universal appeal, disregarding the reader's age. Interestingly, when his characters learn of their success in print in the second part of the novel, he states that the work is clear and appeals to everybody. This idea is voiced by Sanson Carrasco, one of the most thorough readers of the first part, and reads as follows:

... es tan clara, que no hay cosa que dificultar en ella: los niños la manejan, los mozos la leen, los hombres la entienden y los viejos la celebran; y finalmente, es tan trillada y tan leída y tan sabida de todo género de gentes, que apenas han visto un rocín flaco, cuando dicen: 'Allí va Rocinante'<sup>4</sup>.

Of course, one should be careful when taking the author's claims at face value, especially when he is advertising his own success and vindicating his own production against Avellaneda's spurious second part. It is, at best, anecdotal evidence. In addition, the verb associated with child readers, *leaf through* as opposed to read, understand or celebrate, points at a superficial approach to the work itself, which places the novel not at the level of intentional children's literature, but rather as literature that might have ultimately been read by children. Nevertheless, it is still interesting that Cervantes mentions children as one of the forces behind his present status as a popular writer. After all, those scenes mentioned above, which have become the universally known events of the novel and the most recognisable traits of the quixotic myth, are the ones that appear in most versions intentionally aimed at children throughout the centuries.

If one were to enter any bookshop in Spain nowadays, in all probability there would be at least one copy of *Don Quijote* for children. Several are the editions available, the number having increased after the recent centenary of the publication of the second part of Cervantes' masterpiece. Libraries and schools own the work in different forms, and the original text was compulsory reading in secondary education syllabi until recently. The assumption is that children do read *Don Quijote*<sup>5</sup>. The same could be said of British children, for example, for whom one might find numerous versions published from the early 1900's to the present. In addition, one can learn how they read it, what editions they use, if they read picture books or abridged editions, if they read it in Spanish or in translation. The picture is not as clear when one looks back into the early

4. RICO (2001: 652-653).

5. On the matter of *Don Quixote* as an institutionalized text for children, see, for example, MARTIN ROGUERO (2007: 77-90); SÁNCHEZ MENDIETA (1999: 471-480).

reception of Cervantes, especially prior to the appearance of books specifically written for children, usually dating from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. Whether British children in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries could have access to or read *Don Quixote* and, if so, how they encountered the text will be the basic questions that the present article aims to answer. When talking about “children” it will consider the wider concept of the term, including those that have passed middle childhood, to the age of fifteen or sixteen<sup>6</sup>. It will take into account the testimonies of readers themselves, as well as recent research on the concept and context of the child reader in the long eighteenth century, paying particular attention to what children might have read before and after the dawn of what is now specifically identified as children’s literature. This will necessarily include an approach to popular forms of literature, as well as texts intended for adults that children might have had access to.

In this regard, it is essential to keep in mind the necessary distinction between “literature produced and intended for children” and “literature read by children”<sup>7</sup>. Both fall into what is termed children’s literature and both provide a more comprehensive idea of the ways in which *Don Quixote* became a popular children’s book, probably transitioning from a classic for adults read to or by children to a text intentionally created with them in mind. This leads to another important idea: children’s books have –and had two-hundred years ago– a dual audience. Firstly, in the eighteenth century the distinction between readers was not always clear, as publishers were at first not keen on limiting the age of their targeted audience. And even in the case of books deemed for children, they could be thought suitable for an adult readership and advertised as such<sup>8</sup>. Secondly, children were not always the agents buying and selecting their readings. Whether it was through their parents, their tutors, their teachers, or the editors, children’s choices were very often mediated by adults who selected their readings for them and could even go as far as guiding their perusal of the text<sup>9</sup>. In fact, one should only think of *Gulliver’s Travels* or the more recent *Harry Potter* series to see how a certain text can appeal to readers beyond its intended audience, one way or the other. This popularity in turn often leads to a rewriting of the said text in order to better suit the taste or needs of this brand new readership. Hence the dawn of children’s books in the eighteenth century, many of which were rewritings of adult books, in particular those that were considered classics, and hence the multiple rewritings of *Don Quixote* for a young audience.

6. This frame is based on evidence compiled by scholars on the ages at which children’s books were bought, taking as reference inscriptions, memoirs or booksellers’ ledgers. See FERGUS (2006: 140-141); GRENBY (2011: 37-57), especially page 46.

7. OITTINEN (2006: 35).

8. GRENBY (2011: 47-50).

9. GRENBY (2011: 178-86 and 242-247). Grenby discusses at length this mediation and the idea of a dual audience in books for children in the long eighteenth century. See also OITTINEN (2006: 35) for a discussion on contemporary mediation.

This rewriting only confirms the acknowledged status of Cervantes' masterpiece in British literature and culture. As a huge body of scholarly work evinces, the long eighteenth century brims with translations, editions, and rewritings of *Don Quixote*, and how it was interpreted evolved from a mere parody or burlesque to one of the great novels of all time<sup>10</sup>. For that reason, the present article will examine some interesting editions and highlight both their common places and their original traits, thus aiming to contribute to the understanding of Cervantes' importance in British literary history and its lasting presence in the field of literature for children<sup>11</sup>.

### DID BRITISH CHILDREN READ DON QUIXOTE?

Some scholars have claimed that *Don Quixote* was read by children from the moment it was first published owing to its nature as a story particularly appealing to a young reader's mind. Leo Spitzer, in a well-known talk on the meaning of Cervantes' novel, famously claimed that *Don Quixote* is, first of all, a children's book in Europe. He analysed the charm that the work has for a child and how it appeals to the man in the making<sup>12</sup>. That the novel was considered merely a children's book in the eighteenth century in Europe is an idea easily dismissed in the light of the serious scholarly work written on it by critics of the time; that the average European most certainly encountered the novel as a child is harder to prove, as would be difficult even now. However, Spitzer's reasons—the sense of justice, the fairy world that still inhabits Cervantes' pages, the resilience of men in the face of adversity, and the humour that allows critical detachment and the necessary catharsis—seem plausible as an explanation for the fascination children and adults experience when they read the novel, and for the life lessons they might acquire from doing so<sup>13</sup>. If not a book written for youngsters, it is undeniable that it had the substance of a children's classic in the making. Gillian Lathey agrees with this idea, and highlights its “unbeatable combination to attract child readers: that of adventure and humour.” This critic rightly points out how children might enjoy these elements in the original novel, even before publishers' “tailor” it

10. Classic studies include AVALLE-ARCE (1989: 58-66); FITZMAURICE-KELLY (1905); KNOWLES (1940: 103-115); KNOWLES (1947: 267-293); HAMMOND (1998: 247-68); STAVES (1972: 193-214). For more contemporary studies see, for example, ARDILA (2009a); BARRIO MARCO and CRESPO ALLUÉ (2007); FERNÁNDEZ-MORERA and HANKE (2005); GONZÁLEZ MORENO (2007: 203-16); and PARDO (2006: 73-111).

11. In recent years, several articles and books have provided researchers with invaluable knowledge on the multiple appropriations of Cervantes' texts in Great Britain, focusing on many different genres or forms of rewriting. Relevant examples would be ARDILA (2009a) and (2009b: 239-50); BORHAM-PUYAL (2015).

12. SPITZER (1962: 113).

13. SPITZER (1962: 113-115).

to suit what they perceive as children's needs or tastes, and how Cervantes' novel possesses all the elements that conform to the idea of "childness"<sup>14</sup>. Nieves Sánchez Mendieta also concurs with the idea that children appropriated the classics, especially those that appealed to their imagination and that followed the exciting pattern of leaving home, experiencing adventures, and returning safely at the end. The paradigmatic examples would be, once again, *Don Quixote*, *Crusoe*, or *Gulliver*<sup>15</sup>; paradigmatic as well in their ability to combine *dulce et utile*, fantasy and moral, satisfying children and parents alike, and fulfilling the two main characteristics of children's literature according to eighteenth-century moralists and educators. Along this line, she also suggests that *Don Quixote* was a text used by tutors or parents in their children's early education, precisely owing to its status as a classic, and cites the example of the Duke of Anjou, later Philip V of Spain, who at the age of ten wrote a continuation of *Don Quixote*<sup>16</sup>.

The existing memoirs that allude to Cervantes' text are evidence of the appeal of the novel, together with its status as a recognized classic and educational text. They also show that young readers approached the text in various ways and at different ages. While most children would have encountered the classics after they had learnt their first letters, the admission by Gustave Flaubert (1821-1880) that he knew *Don Quixote* by heart before he even learnt to read tells the story of adult mediation, of a child who was read the story at an early age<sup>17</sup>. Together with this well-known testimony, there are other relevant examples in the long eighteenth century, first, of children learning Spanish by studying the text, secondly, of young readers developing their taste for literature by an early perusal of *Don Quixote*. The writer Hester Lynch Thrale (1740-1821), for example, remembers how her father made her translate the Life of Cervantes prefixed to their edition of the novel in order to learn Spanish when she was fifteen or sixteen<sup>18</sup>, which goes to prove that the text belonged to her father and was probably not an abridged translation. Another woman, Elizabeth Missing Sewell (1815-1906), claims to have taught herself Spanish by translating *Don Quixote* with the help of a grammar and a dictionary, when she was around fifteen years old<sup>19</sup>. This idea that the text was a popular learning instrument is reinforced by the presence of works such as Pedro Pineda's *A new dictionary, Spanish and English, and English and Spanish*, published in London in 1740, which claims in its title that it

14. LATHEY (2012: 197, 198, 200).

15. SÁNCHEZ-MENDIETA (2007: 17).

16. SÁNCHEZ-MENDIETA (2007: 17-18).

17. Letter to Louise Colet, dated 1852. Flaubert writes: "Je retrouve toutes mes origines dans le livre que je savais par coeur avant de savoir lire, Don Quichotte".

18. LYNCH THRALE and C. BALDERSTON (1951). Accesible en [http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/record\\_details.php?id=22486](http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/record_details.php?id=22486). It could have been earlier, she seems to have already been fluent in spoken and written Spanish by the age of sixteen (see D'EZIO, 2011).

19. MISSING SEWELL and SEWELL (1907: 43). Accesible en [http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/record\\_details.php?id=17197](http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/record_details.php?id=17197)

offers an “explanation of the difficult words, proverbs and phrases, in *Don Quixote*, and others”<sup>20</sup>.

There are even more testimonies of an early reading passion triggered by or leading to Cervantes’ masterpiece. William Wordsworth (1770-1850) remembers spending his summer holidays in the early days of his schooling reading Fielding, *Don Quixote*, Gil Blas and Swift<sup>21</sup>. Moving into the Victorian era, which inherits the quixotic passion of the previous century, one finds a very similar list in Charles Dickens’ *David Copperfield* (1850); a list scholars consider autobiographical, dating his reading of *Don Quixote* at the age of eleven or twelve<sup>22</sup>. Joseph Conrad (1857-1924) knew it at the age of ten in “abridged editions”<sup>23</sup>, while the bookbinder Frederick Rogers (1846-1915) recalled reading it at the age of sixteen, and while not appreciating its greatness until much later, he remembered how its “stories of adventure and its romance and honour (sic)” appealed to him “strongly enough”, somehow validating Spitzer’s and Lathey’s ideas<sup>24</sup>. Arthur Symons’ (1865-1945) passion for reading was “awakened” by reading a copy of *Don Quixote* found in a warder’s house, finding it the “most wonderful book [he] had ever seen”<sup>25</sup>. And in the late nineteenth century, Rose Macaulay’s (1881- 1958) father read *Don Quixote* to her as a child, sometime between the age of six and thirteen<sup>26</sup>. These testimonies are revealing not only of the passion that the novel awakened in young readers, but also of the fact that only Conrad mentions an abridged edition of it. Children, approaching the text for pleasure or learning, did not necessarily require a simplified version of it, not even as the nineteenth century advanced and there were more editions aimed specifically at a young audience.

Even in literary accounts of youth’s education one can find *Don Quixote* mentioned as an essential part of a young man’s or woman’s literary instruction. This is the case of Adelaide’s reading list as compiled by Madame de Genlis in her famous *Adelaide and Theodore* (1783). Richard Graves, in the preface to *The Spiritual Quixote* (1772), asserts that *Don Quixote* will provide more

20. The complete title is *A new dictionary, Spanish and English, and English and Spanish: containing the etymology, the proper and metaphorical signification of words, terms of arts and sciences, names of men, families, places and of the principal plants in Spain and the West Indies; together with the Arabick and Moorish words now commonly received in the Spanish tongue, and an explanation of the difficult words, proverbs and phrases, in Don Quixote, and others*, London, Printed for F. Gyles, 1740.

21. WU, Duncan (1993: 25-26). Accesible en [http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/record\\_details.php?id=991](http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/record_details.php?id=991).

22. GRENBY (2011: 114).

23. CONRAD and KALNINS (1998: 73). Accesible en [http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/record\\_details.php?id=27288](http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/record_details.php?id=27288)

24. ROSE (2001:374). Accesible en [http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/record\\_details.php?id=5234](http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/record_details.php?id=5234)

25. BECKSON (1987:7-8). Accesible en [http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/record\\_details.php?id=12144](http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/record_details.php?id=12144)

26. CRAWFORD (1995:159). Accesible en [http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/record\\_details.php?id=2721](http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/record_details.php?id=2721)

hints for correcting follies and regulating the morals of “young persons” than serious precepts could, and will ingrain them better in their minds. Moreover, in a further twist, in Eaton S. Barrett’s quixotic novel *The Heroine* (1813), Cherubina, only fifteen, is cured from her deluded ideals by reading *Don Quixote*, a text recommended by her husband-to-be as part of her new and better education. Despite depicting youthful reading, none of these examples specifically mentions, praises or recommends an abridged or adapted version of the text, so it is safe to assume that, although in translation, these authors envision the reading of the adult text.

Given all these considerations, it is possible to state that even if it was not a book aimed at them, children of different conditions and backgrounds could read and enjoy *Don Quixote*. The editions available for them to do so in the original or in translation were numerous throughout the long eighteenth century<sup>27</sup>. Scholars agree on the matter of this early approach to the novel in the light of the tradition of what has come to be accepted as the books that children read, before the eighteenth century gave birth to children’s literature. However, they also emphasize the presence of an important number of editions intended for children and the particular characteristics these texts presented. Lathey, for example, points out the role of adult mediation in the adaptation of the different translations for children and the consequences it has for the text: the parody of the original is domesticated, slapstick comedy highlighted, and morals accentuated, whereas the idealistic tone is usually maintained<sup>28</sup>. Eduardo Urbina, to whom we owe the excellent Cervantes Collection at Texas University, and Fernando González have catalogued an extensive number of editions for children and have addressed the particular characteristics of some of these abridgments and translations, for example, the emphasis on the farcical and comic or the knight’s idealism. They have also provided scholars with invaluable knowledge on their illustrations, whether original or derivative<sup>29</sup>. José Manuel Lucía Megías, Elisabet Magro García and Nieves Sánchez Mendieta<sup>30</sup>, in what is one of the most comprehensive studies of juvenile versions of *Don Quixote* in Spain, describe the extension to which the novel was abridged, adapted or even rewritten for young readers, providing a useful, yet brief, list of works in England, France, and Germany from the late eighteenth century onwards.

What the testimonies of readers and scholars suggest is that Cervantes’ novel has some qualities that appeal to the child’s mind, precisely those traits

27. MORO, Alfredo (forthcoming: 701-7); ARDILA and PARDO (2005). These editions prove ubiquitous and several monographs on the topic of eighteenth-century readers have found recordings of *Don Quixote* in translation being borrowed from libraries all over the country, as well as evidence of its presence in private collections. See ANDERSEN and SAUER (2002: 145); KAUFMAN (1960: 91, 124); TOWSEY (2007), unpublished PhD Thesis, Accesible en <http://hdl.handle.net/10023/412>, pages 83 and 87.

28. TOWSEY (2007: 198, 200).

29. URBINA and GONZALEZ MORENO (2011: 47).

30. LUCÍA MEGÍAS (2007).

that have become the quintessence of the quixotigeme, the iconic status of the knight in Western culture: adventures, humour and idealism. In this sense, it is important to highlight the intertextuality, or at least the similarity, of the seventeenth-century texts and the later editions for children as it gives strength to the idea that popular genres and children's books are connected, and that a potential dual readership can never be discarded in any of the British eighteenth-century translations or editions. It also allows us to talk about a textual tradition that provides unity and continuity to the eighteenth-century ideologeme, preserving the humour while allowing for the later Romantic exaltation of the quixotic hero, responding to the changes that have been described in the reaction to Cervantes' novel and therefore helping to complete the picture of his reception in Britain, as well as developing the essentially Romantic quixotigeme that XXI<sup>st</sup>-century readers have inherited<sup>31</sup>.

Therefore, the texts addressed –which are described in the table below– have been selected because they show that certain characteristics run through all of them and that even those editions that do not seem to address a child reader could have had them in mind in the selection of language or episodes. They also serve the purpose of highlighting the variety of texts available that might have fallen into a child's hands, together with the unquestionable presence of Cervantes in the early stages of British readers' approach to literature.

Date of publication & Abbreviated Title	Illustrations (or main episodes when no illustrations are available)	Pages
<b>1686</b> <i>The famous history of Don Quixote de la Mancha</i>	No illustrations, but characteristic episodes that will be reproduced in later versions: the knighting at the inn, the battle with the carriers, the defence of the little shepherd, the beating by the merchant's servants, the burning of the books, the tilting at windmills, the combat with the Biscayan, mistaking the maid for a lady at the inn, the blanket-tossing of Sancho, the adventure with the army of sheep, the fright of the mourners, the fulling mills, Mambrino's helmet, the liberation of the galley slaves, the loss of Dapple, the story of Cardenio and Lucinda, the fight with the wine skins, the trick played by the innkeeper, Sancho as governor, the trip home in an enchanted cage.	20
<b>1695 [?]</b> <i>The history of the ever-renowned knight Don Quixote de la Mancha</i>	Episodes included in the 1686 edition, plus encounter with the duchess in the woods, the reception at the castle, the adventure of the wooden horse.	24

31. KNOWLES (1947: 267). Knowles described the different stages of Cervantes' reception in Britain thus: "[...] that of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which emphasized only the surface farce; that of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which, while enjoying the comic values, chiefly esteemed the serious satire; that of the 19<sup>th</sup> century romantic period, which deprecated both the comedy and satire in order to exalt the deep spiritual implications". IFFLAND (1987: 12). Iffland emphasizes the Romantic inheritance of the quixotigeme.

<p><b>1699</b> <i>The much-esteemed history of the ever-famous knight Don Quixote de la Mancha</i></p>	<p>Don Quixote and the windmills, the tossing, the charge against “ghosts”, the galley slaves, Sancho as judge, the battle with the Yanguesian, the caging of the knight, the ride on Clavileño.</p>	<p>191</p>
<p><b>1721</b> <i>The most admirable and delightful history of the achievements of Don Quixote de la Mancha:</i></p>	<p>Don Quixote falling after his encounter with the windmill, Don Quixote’s trip in a cage, the knighting, the fight with the carriers, Sancho’s tossing, the encounter with the undertakers, the liberation of the slaves, the chariot of the parliament of death, the fight against the bull, Sancho’s fall into the pond.</p>	<p>168</p>
<p><b>Ca.1755</b> <i>The much-esteemed history of the ever-famous knight Don Quixote de la Mancha</i></p>	<p>No illustrations. Follows after the 1699 edition.</p>	<p>118</p>
<p><b>1776</b> <i>The entertaining history of that famous knight</i></p>	<p>Don Quixote sets out in search of Adventures, Don Quixote being knighted; Sancho’s tossing; Don Quixote seizes Mambrino’s Helmet, Don Quixote sets the Thieves at Liberty, Don Quixote wants to see the Dutchess, Sancho departs to his Government, Sancho almost starved at a Feast.</p>	<p>103</p>
<p><b>1778</b> <i>The life and exploits of the ingenious gentleman Don Quixote</i></p>	<p>The knighting of Don Quixote, Don Quixote after achieving Mambrino’s helmet, Dorothea leading the knight out of his penance, Don Quixote and Sancho talking to the three country wenches, Don Quixote attacking the puppets, Sancho as governor.</p>	<p>263</p>
<p><b>Ca. 1795</b> <i>The adventures of Don Quixote, de la Mancha,</i></p>	<p>The knighting of Don Quixote, a trick of the inn-keeper’s daughter, the enchantment of Dulcinea, Don Quixote destroying the puppets, his combat with the knight of the White Moon.</p>	<p>70</p>
<p><b>1806</b> <i>The life and exploits of Don Quixote, de la Mancha</i></p>	<p>Don Quixote dub’d a Knight by the Inn-keeper, Sancho toss’d in the Blanket, Don Quixote at the Fulling Mills, Don Quixote securing Mambrino’s Helmet, Don Quixote and the Country Girls, Don Quixote offers Battle to the Lion, Sancho’s fears when called to defend his Island</p>	<p>228</p>
<p><b>1806</b> <i>The much-esteemed history of the ever-famous knight Don Quixote de la Mancha</i></p>	<p>Frontispiece: the episode with the little shepherd boy</p>	<p>94</p>

<b>1820</b> <i>The Spirit of Cervantes; or, Don Quixote abridged</i>	Don Quixote being knighted by the inn-keeper, the dispute between Sancho and the barber, the examination of Don Quixote's library, Sancho as governor of Barataria	310
<b>Ca. 1824</b> <i>Langley's adventures of Don Quixote</i>	Don Quixote being knighted at the inn, Don Quixote and the windmills, Don Quixote piercing the wine skins, Don Quixote in the enchanted cage, Don Quixote charging against the strollers, Don Quixote in front of the cage of lions, Don Quixote being attacked by cats, Don Quixote speaking to the talking head.	8

## ABRIDGMENTS AND CHAPBOOKS

In the seventeenth century, despite the ample reception of Cervantes' text in England, one does not find texts which claim to be written for a young audience. However, readers did have access to several abridged versions, some of which gained enormous popularity and could have found their way into the hands of children or even have been read to them by parents, relatives or tutors. Unfortunately, evidence of this has not yet been found in the documents of the age, either in readers' accounts or in the advertisement of the publishers. One can only speculate, although with some basis. It is now almost universally acknowledged that abridgments or chapbooks bear an important relationship to the study of children's literature. Whether considered a proto-form of books for children, the origin of a hybrid or "transitional" form of juvenile literature, or one of the means through which children's literature came to flourish, it seems safe to assume that chapbooks were read to or by children and that through them they came to know some of the texts that would later reach the status of classics, including, of course, *Don Quixote*<sup>32</sup>. In the case of Cervantes' text, there is a circumstance which supports this claim: the fact that later versions of the novel which identify their target audience as children are rewritings of seventeenth-century abridgments and chapbooks, creating a sense of an intertextual continuity in British children's encounter with the Spanish knight.

Cervantean scholars have identified four abridgments in the late seventeenth century, all published between 1686 and 1700<sup>33</sup>. Before that, one must assume that all readers approached the text in its original version or in the multi-volume translations undertaken by Thomas Shelton or John Phillips, a claim supported by the imports of the work in Spanish for libraries such as

32. O'MALLEY (2003: 17, 21). O'Malley talks about transitional or hybrid literature. See also GRENBY (2007: 277-303) and GRENBY (2011: 71, 103, 107, and especially 108). Grenby acknowledges and proves the fact that chapbooks were read by children and found their way into children's books. FERGUS (2006) notes a transition from buying chapbooks to purchasing children's books by Newbery in the second half of the century, maybe a natural development.

33. See RANDALL and BOSWELL (2009).

the Bodleian and the numerous editions of the translations, all recorded by the abovementioned scholars. As for the abridged versions, the first one follows Shelton's translation, it is twenty pages long, in 8°, and was issued in 1686 with the title *The famous history of Don Quixote de la Mancha: containing an account of his many strange adventures and wonderful exploits in encountering supposed armies, giants, enchanted castles, knights, and other adventures, his love to ladies, with the merry humours of Sancho Panca his squire: pleasant and profitable, &c.* The definition "pleasant and profitable" will be repeated in subsequent versions, highlighting the entertainment and instruction to be derived from its reading. The second abridgment was published in 1689 as *The delightful history of Don Quixot, the most renowned Baron of Mancha: containing his noble achievements and surprising adventures, his daring enterprises and valiant engagements for the peerless Dulcinea del Toboso, and the various and wonderful occurrences that attended his love and arms: also, the comical humours of his facetious squire Sancho Pancha, and all other matters that conduce to the illustration of that celebrated history, no less pleasant than gravely moral.* This edition has recently been attributed to Sir Edwin Sadleir who, although employing Philips farcical version, improves his version enough to be able to say it is "gravely moral"<sup>34</sup>. An anonymous edition appeared in 1699 entitled *The much-esteemed history of the ever-famous knight Don Quixote de la Mancha: containing his many wonderful adventures and achievements: very pleasant and diverting with the comical humours of Sancho Pancha his remarkable 'Squire &c.: in two parts, being an entire history of all the memorable transactions recorded of them.* This abridgment has a preface in which the author states that the work displays "Moral Solidity, by exposing Folly, that Men might learn to shun it" and that it has been praised by "all Conditions of People." This edition also advertises on its cover that it is "illustrated with Copper-Plates, representing Eleven of the most remarkable Passages in the History, curiously Engraven." The choice of illustrations and the passages they refer to will certainly become paradigmatic in later editions for children. The last of these abridgments could have been published as late as 1700 in the form of a twenty-four page chapbook with the name *The history of the ever-renowned knight Don Quixote de la Mancha: containing his many wonderful and admirable achievements and adventures: with the pleasant humours of his trusty squire, Sancho Pancha: being very comical and diverting.* This assumption is based on the similarities between this version and that of 1699, and the fact that the woodcuts of this cheaper version follow the copper plates of the longer one<sup>35</sup>. In all these versions the jocularity of the original is still stressed, as can be derived from the very title

34. RANDALL (2009: 468-482).

35. This assumption is supported by Edwin B. KNOWLES (1955: 19-36). Despite Knowles' opinion, the National Library of Australia and the Bodleian have 1695 as a possible date, probably based on Wing's suggestion in his revised *Short-Title Catalogue*, New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1994.

which gives a prominent mention to Sancho Panza, but a more serious moral purpose is equally acknowledged, two elements of the *dulce et utile* that will be predominant in the later conception of children's literature.

Sadleir's text is the least relevant for our purposes; it is the longest and the least reproduced in later times –maybe because Philips' translation has often been described as *racy*, logically making it a less appropriate source for a juvenile version. The other three versions, on the contrary, have in common that they derived from Shelton's translation, the earliest known and the most plagiarized by later translators, and that they gave birth to several relevant reprints and rewritings in the eighteenth century. The 1686 version is different from the other two: it focuses almost solely on the first part, remaining more "pleasant" or humorous than profitable, and it has no illustrations. In the early reception of Cervantes, it has been recorded how the farcical and the humorous prevailed over the more serious reflections provided by the second part, later highlighted in the eighteenth century. These early versions respond to that interest in emphasising the entertainment and laughter of the knight's first adventures. Therefore, this 1686 edition already shows an important tendency in its accent on the first part of the novel and on the more comically adventurous events, those that would become easily identifiable for later readers: the naming of Don Quixote and Dulcinea, the knighting at the inn, the fight with the carriers, the defence of the little shepherd, the beating by the merchant's servants, the burning of the books, the tilting at windmills, the battle with the Biscayan, the encounter with Marcela, the episode with the mares, mistaking the maid for a lady at the inn, Sancho's blanketing, the adventure with the army of sheep, the fright of the mourners, the fulling mills, Mambrino's helmet, the liberation of the galley slaves, the trip to the mountain, the loss of Dapple, the story of Cardenio and Lucinda, the knight's penance in the mountain, the trick they play on Don Quixote by stating there is a giant, the fight with the wine skins, the trick played by the innkeeper, Sancho as governor, the trip home in an enchanted cage, and the knight's death, with a little poetical licence of being "much lamented of his fair Dulcinea"<sup>36</sup>. Many of these episodes will find their way into nineteenth-century adaptations for children, and are certainly present in later abridgments.

The twenty-four pages of the 1700 abridgment drop the claim of having a moral and unashamedly state its sole purpose of providing a "very comical and diverting" work. This piece closely follows the events described above, with some interesting additions. First, it develops some episodes in more depth: in the burning of the books it goes into some detail of the works being purged by the fire, and even includes a reference to the contemporary *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, a quixotic rewriting itself, while the incident with the inn maid in the middle of the night is described more accurately. Secondly, it introduces scenes from the second part of the novel, even if only briefly: the encounter

36. *The Famous History of Don Quixote* (1686: 20).

with the duchess in the woods, the reception at the castle and the adventure of the wooden horse are now included, after which the knight returns home, repents and dies. Once again, these particular episodes of the novel will be recurrent in later eighteenth- and nineteenth-century children's versions.

The 1699 version is much longer and is capable of summarizing the main events of both part one and two of Cervantes' original novel. In addition, it seems to be the most popular version taking into account the number of reissues and rewritings of it that appear throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Megias and Ardila, two well-known Cervantean scholars, have traced the life of this 1699 version and the additions and changes in the different editions<sup>37</sup>. The trace of this abridgment will also be apparent in later editions intentionally addressed to children. Parenthetically, these scholars analyse another important element of these early versions that can be traced in children's editions: their illustrations. It is relevant to see that some of the 1699 illustrations will find their way into versions later catalogued as for children. In particular, the paradigmatic image of Don Quixote in his fight against the windmills is important because, while in the 1689 version Don Quixote was seen about to charge, in 1699 the reader now sees the result of his battle. Don Quixote is now ludicrously defeated, and he will be seen in this position, usually flying in mid-air, in later children's books. The 1699 version has more relevant illustrations in common with other seventeenth-century editions<sup>38</sup>; however, it also possesses some original episodes and images that appear over and over again in later books for a young audience: the fight with the Yanguesian, the caging of the knight and the triumph after the ride on Clavileño. These will find their way into eighteenth-century illustrated abridged editions, including picture books and books printed by well-known publishers of children's books.

The number and popularity of these texts, their possible appeal to a dual readership, the similarities to be found with later editions for children, and the fact that early children's books borrowed many of their stories and illustrations from these forms of popular literature suggest that these abridgments could have already been popular among children and were the inspiration of the publishers who were looking for profitable stories to be printed for a young audience.

37. LUCÍA MEGÍAS and ARDILA (2009: 135-65).

38. The iconic nature of the blanket-tossing, the charge against "ghosts", the episode of the galley slaves and Sancho as judge appear to have started from the beginning of the reception of Cervantes in Britain as seen in this abridgment. The 1700 version also has illustrations, seven woodcuts that highlight the more iconic, and farcical, scenes of the novel. Although it offers cheaper reproductions of the 1699 engravings, there is already the intention of making this short book more attractive and it anticipates the woodcuts and layout of the chapbooks that will fill the streets and homes of eighteenth-century readers.

## ALELUYAS AND PICTURE BOOKS

As early as the seventeenth century, there are albums and books of engravings in France that are devoted to the Spanish knight's adventures, and they appear in England the following century<sup>39</sup>. The figures of Don Quixote and Sancho become easily recognizable ones. Given their iconic power, it is not surprising that Don Quixote's adventures were brought to children by another form of popular, ephemeral publication: the precedent of picture books or comics. These picture sheets or folios were very popular in Europe, and there are many examples to be found in Germany, France, Italy and Russia<sup>40</sup>. In Spain, there are traces of them already in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, part of the *literatura de cordel*, or chapbook literature, that was increasingly popular on both sides of the English Channel. They were the *aleluyas*, cheap folios (*pliegos sueltos*) given away during religious festivities and which started as religious publications that ended with the word "hallelujah", hence their name. In the following century, there are also *aucas*, similar publications with a more profane content matter. All of these were later assimilated under the name *alehuya* and they became increasingly popular throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century, probably read by adults and children alike. They included games for children, humorous matters and satirical stories, which were sold on the streets and which looked very much like present-day comics; there were usually 48 pictures with a small caption underneath, often in the form of rhymed lines. The variety of subjects widened, and these cheap readings introduced traditional costumes, nonsense such as "the upside-down world", or rewritings of the classics. Among them, *Don Quixote*. Although none of the earlier versions seem to have endured, several 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century *alehuyas* with the knight's story have survived<sup>41</sup>.

In England picture books were also a means by which children could read *Don Quixote*. A relevant example would be the production by the publisher Edward Langley. In the early years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Langley published three picture books based on popular tales that had found their way into ordinary chapbooks or collections by other publishers such as Newbery or Harris: *Robinson Crusoe*, *Cinderella*, and *Don Quixote*, plus a book that presented sports from the four quarters of the globe. On the back cover he advertised a series of "sixpenny coloured books", all available in other formats and from other publishers, of which those four were the first. However, either he did not print the whole list before his house was auctioned or all copies have been lost. These later titles included, for example, *Whittington*, *Cries of London* or the *Beggar's Petition*. Langley's were not ordinary chapbooks or abridgments, they were probably intentionally addressed to a young audience for a number

39. URBINA and GONZÁLEZ MORENO (2011: 50).

40. CERRILLO and MARTÍNEZ GONZÁLEZ (2012: 16).

41. One of the most extensive collections now belongs to the *Biblioteca Virtual Cervantes*, with over one thousand *alehuyas* in their online archives, among them interesting copies of Cervantes' masterpiece.

of reasons: the emphasis was on the illustrations; captions were often reduced to some lines in very prosaic metre, sometimes with a moral at the end; all pages except the first also included the alphabet (four letters per page, one in each corner); they were easy to read and remember. The fact that this edition is a pedagogical presentation of the alphabet points at the young age of the intended readers. Langley, a producer as well of cut-out toys, attached his name to the title, identifying it probably as a very characteristic production in comparison with other editions.

*Langley's Don Quixote* remains a wonderful example of how the fascination for the classic was kept alive. In its eight pages it had lavishly coloured images of Don Quixote being knighted at the inn, Don Quixote and Rocinante flying through the air with a windmill in the background, Don Quixote piercing the wine skins, Don Quixote in the enchanted cage, Don Quixote on horseback charging against the company of players, Don Quixote in front of the cage of lions, Don Quixote being attacked by cats and Don Quixote speaking to the talking head among a whispering crowd of ladies and gentlemen. Each page but the first had, besides the four letters, six lines in rhyme, two before and four after the picture, explaining what the readers were seeing. The first page is mostly occupied by the illustration of the knighting and by the title, also coloured. This first illustration is the only one with an accompanying caption underneath, the rest are explained in the lines. Looking at the paradigmatic example of the tilting at windmills, Langley writes the following:

Mounted on a sorry horse,  
Our new made Knight a heath did cross,  
He windmills did for giants take,  
And vowed he'd make the monsters quake,  
The sails whirled him and his steed round,  
And in sad plight they reached the ground<sup>42</sup>.

Both the picture and the text focus on the comical results of this adventure. While other illustrators would choose the moment before the defeat, Langley follows what is found in the 17th century chapbooks and the different versions of the *Much Esteemed*, aiming for the reader's laughter. Most episodes in this little book were already popular in abridged versions, although it is noteworthy that Sancho has disappeared and that Langley includes the episode of the waggon with the parliament of death, the lions and the talking head, which appear in the second part of Cervantes' novel. This could be explained by the number of longer well-known versions that had appeared throughout the century, and which had popularised the second part more. The ending is original as well, where Don Quixote returns home on the head's advice: "For truth go home my friend,/ Then the enchantment it will end,/ And so it did.

42. *Langley's Don Quixote* (ca. 1824: n.p.).

La Mancha's pride, / To reason came, and shortly died"<sup>43</sup>. As happens with many of these very short versions, the tale comes to an abrupt conclusion. It is also a characteristically moral one, emphasising Don Quixote's cure, his return to reason and his home. Owing to its concision, the reader is expected to fill in the gaps that have been left between the different episodes and in this ending. However, imaginations would have been enlivened by these very characteristic scenes and the spirit of this form of picture book is present in many contemporary editions of this classic for young readers.

## LONGER BOOKS FOR CHILDREN

Another trend in contemporary editions for children is to present an abridged version of the original *Don Quixote*, which reduces the knight's digressions and focuses more on his adventures, this time including both parts. In the eighteenth century one could already find abridged versions that, although they did not state their status as children's books, displayed some signs that lead one to believe that they could have been enjoyed as well by a young audience. An example would be *The most admirable and delightful history of the achievements of Don Quixote de la Mancha: containing his many wonderful adventures, noble exploits, and undanted engagements for the matchless princess Dulcinea del Toboso: with the various occurrences that attended his love and arms to his death: likewise the merry humours of his unfortunate 'squire Sancho Pancha, who follow'd the chimerical knight in all his encounters: illustrated with several moral reflections: and adorned with cuts*. Printed in London for D. Pratt, it was an edition of 168 pages in 12°, claiming to be "Done from the Spanish Edition." Its proclaimed moral instruction and illustrations unite the education and entertainment demanded from an abridgment that could have been read by children<sup>44</sup>.

The 1699 *Much-Esteemed History* was not only reissued in later centuries but, as stated before, it was also abridged and parts of it rewritten. An interesting case is a version entitled, once more, *The much-esteemed history of the ever-famous knight Don Quixote de la Mancha: containing his many wonderful adventures and achievements, very pleasant and diverting: with the comical humours of Sancho Pancha, his remarkable squire, &c.: being an entire history of all the memorable transactions recorded of them*. It is printed for Henry Woodgate and Samuel Brooks, and, although it is not dated, the

43. Langley's *Don Quixote* (ca. 1824: n.p.).

44. Illustrations included the now recurrent vision of the knight falling after his encounter with the windmill –used twice, also in the frontispiece, proving how important that image had become for the audience–, his trip in a cage –also twice, in the frontispiece and in a later chapter–, his knighting, his battle with the carriers, Sancho's tossing, their encounter with the undertakers, the liberation of the slaves, the chariot of the parliament of death, the fight against the bull, and Sancho's fall into the pond.

fact that it advertises “The Christian Memorandum-Book: or, Family Instructor” as just published, would situate it around 1755. It is 118 pages long and has no illustrations. This is an abridged version of the 1699 and later 1716 editions, which still preserves even the preface, and it is no longer divided into two parts, now chapter IX would be the first one describing the events of the second part of Cervantes’ novel. Once more, the emphasis is on the adventures of the first part, and in the second, secondary plots such as the Duenna’s, Altisidora’s or Sancho’s adventures as governor just disappear. It is catalogued in the Opie Collection for children, probably owing to its length and the fact that its publishers printed other “chapters books,” as seen in the final catalogue: together with *Don Quixote*, they advertise *Robinson Crusoe*, *Robin Hood*, *Tales of the Fairies*, *Young Man’s Guide*, or *Youth’s Divine Pastime*, identifying them as publishers of books for youth.

In 1806, another book which springs from the seventeenth-century text appears under the title *The much esteemed history of the ever-famous knight, Don Quixote de la Mancha: containing his many wonderful adventures and achievements: very pleasant and diverting. With the comical humours of Sancho Pancha, his remarkable squire. Being an entire history of all the memorable transactions recorded of them*. Printed and sold by Mozley, it is a 12<sup>o</sup> volume of 94 pages, with only one illustration, the frontispiece<sup>45</sup>. The text includes the 1699 preface and the structure of the episodes follows previous eighteenth-century versions. Although not catalogued as for children, and not explicitly acknowledged as a book for the young, its length and its similarity to the mid-eighteenth-century version described above makes it possible to assume that it was indeed a good alternative to longer editions for young readers. It could be said to be merely a further abridgment of the ca.1755 one, probably looking for a cheaper and more accessible edition.

A most interesting and important example appears in 1776 under the name *The entertaining history of that famous knight, Don Quixote de la Mancha: with the humours of his comical squire Sancho Pancha*. Printed for H. Turpin and sold by Bladon and Bew, it comprises 103 pages and 7 leaves of plates<sup>46</sup>. The length of the novel and the quality of its images again suggest that it was a book suited for young readers and, maybe for the first time, this nature of the text as a children’s book is acknowledged. The subtitle reads: “Translated

45. This frontispiece shows the little shepherd boy, Andres, tied to a tree and Don Quixote speaking to his master. The engraving is beautifully accomplished.

46. These seven illustrations are evenly distributed among the six chapters. They include a frontispiece with the caption “Don Quixote sets out in search of Adventures”, in which a young and handsome version of the knight sets off from his house, while the by-now famous windmill appears in the background. Chapter one has an illustration of Don Quixote being knighted; chapter three depicts Sancho’s tossing; chapter four has two images: “Don Quixote seizes Mambriño’s Helmet” and “Don Quixote sets the Thieves at Liberty”; chapter five includes “Don Quixote wants to see the Dutchess”; chapter six focuses on the squire with “Sancho departs to his Government” and “Sancho almost starved at a Feast”. These images have become iconic moments in the story and recognisable elements of the myth.

by the Order of the Emperor of LILLIPUT, for the Amusement of his Merry Little Subjects.” The transformation of the old knight into a handsome and young hero in the illustrations could indeed respond to this wish to engage a younger audience, looking for an adventure book. In addition, each chapter starts with a short stanza, a comical summary of the chapter in just four lines that might be easily remembered by a child, much in the way that Langley would later do in his picture books. For example, chapter two starts with the following lines: “Our Don of his first Action boasted,/ But after got himself Rib roasted;/ His Niece, to cure him of such Fancies,/ Burns all his best below’d Romances”<sup>47</sup>. The tone of the chapters match that of the stanzas, and the impression is that of a light and entertaining work where the emphasis is on the knight’s adventures, and the plot has been simplified by excluding all other stories. In fact, the language has been adapted to suit the sensibilities of young readers much more than in other versions, and in the end Don Quixote does not die, providing children with a much happier conclusion, which is a recurrent turn of events in editions for young readers. In addition, it is a fairly original rewriting, as it does not seem to spring from any pre-existing translation. This text, then, emphasises the role of mediation that the adult translator is developing in order to adapt the text for a younger audience beyond merely abridging prior versions for adults<sup>48</sup>.

If the existence of these three works is not enough to suggest the appeal *Don Quixote* might have had for a younger audience, the fact that two important publishers for children, Francis Newbery and John Harris, printed abridged versions of Cervantes’ text should be an indication that it was indeed a work of fiction that at that time was considered fit for a youthful readership. Newbery published *The life and exploits of the ingenious gentleman Don Quixote, de la Mancha. With the humorous conceits of his facetious squire Sancho Panca. Abridged* in 1778. Based on Charles Jarvis’s translation, it is a 263-page book, published in 8° and with six leaves of plates, six illustrations copied after Francis Hayman’s designs for a 1755 version, and newly engraved by Royce, although only the first plate is signed<sup>49</sup>. The structure of the content is original as well: the editor has decided to include forty-one chapters, closely respecting Cervantes’ novel. The length of each one varies, but the tendency is for them to remain short, around six or seven pages long,

47. *The entertaining history of that famous knight* (1776: 20).

48. Lathey compares it to previous translations and also to later ones, once more indicating the role the adult mediator has had on adapting the text. For more on this matter, although not applied to eighteenth-century texts, see RODRÍGUEZ RODRÍGUEZ (2014: 191-209).

49. Its frontispiece depicts the knighting of Don Quixote, while other engravings include Don Quixote after achieving Mambriño’s helmet, Dorothea leading the knight out of his penance, Don Quixote and Sancho talking to the three country wenches, Don Quixote attacking the puppets, and Sancho as governor. Newbery then exploits already popular scenes, although the presence of Dorothea and the wenches is original. An invaluable resource is the database “Textual iconography of *Don Quixote*”, created by the Cervantes Project and Texas A&M University, where most engravings and illustrations of this classic are catalogued and analyzed: <http://cervantes.tamu.edu/V2/CPI/iconography/pres.html>.

and to highlight the action in them. Although some of its features remain problematic when cataloguing it as a children's book<sup>50</sup>, Newbery's version is an abridgment that remains faithful to Jarvis's translation –which many children might have had access to in its original format, as explained above– while at the same time it highlights those episodes that might have amused children or less demanding audiences.

As the successor of Elisabeth Newbery at the Juvenile Library, Harris published his own version in 1806: *The life and exploits of Don Quixote, de la Mancha with the humorous conceits of his facetious squire, Sancho Panca. Abridged*. Once more using Jarvis as inspiration, the text follows Newbery's edition, but with revised punctuation and spelling, without the chapter headings and with new plates. It is 228 pages long and has eight leaves of plates. The value of this version lies mainly in its beautiful and detailed engravings, all of them accompanied by a caption. They are unsigned, but they imitate Thomas Stothard's. The frontispiece depicts an extremely young, almost boyish, knight riding a healthy white horse as he sets out in search of adventures. Later engravings will portray an older knight; however, the child's imagination and his sympathy towards the Spaniard has probably already been awakened by this image of a boy as knight. Harris chooses other popular images to sustain this appeal throughout the book and to illustrate by now equally popular scenes<sup>51</sup>. In some of these images, for example, the illustration of the knight confronting the cage with lions, Don Quixote bears once more a youthful resemblance. There is little of the ridiculous in him, and all the images depict him in a most advantageous light: before embarrassing himself, displaying his bravery or after a *victory*. Sancho is ubiquitous, always as comic relief. The positive reading of the knight, developed in the Romantic period, seems to have had an impact on children's books as well, favouring the possible identification of the child reader with the hero.

The longer translation by Jarvis was still being reprinted in the early stages of the nineteenth century, so Newbery and Harris must have had a younger audience in mind for their abridgment. Their own version was still popular in the later century, with reprints of Newbery's edition appearing in 1839 under the same title, although with double the number of illustrations: twelve engravings after the French fashion.

Some years after Harris's, a new abridgment appears: *The Spirit of Cervantes; or, Don Quixote abridged. Being a selection of the episodes and in-*

50. Lathey indicates the references to prostitution and scarcity of engravings as reasons to doubt its intended audience (LATHEY 2012: 202-203). Although I agree that a dual readership should be considered for this edition, and many others, I believe its length, its illustrations and the importance given to Sancho would have made it a popular choice for children.

51. Illustrations include: "Don Quixote dub'd a Knight by the Inn-keeper", "Sancho toss'd in the Blanket", "Don Quixote at the Fulling Mills", "Don Quixote securing Mambriño's Helmet", "Don Quixote and the Country Girls", "Don Quixote offers Battle to the Lion", and "Sancho's fears when called to defend his Island".

*cidents, with a summary sketch of the story of that popular romance*, printed for F.C. and J. Rivington in 1820. There seem to have been two editions: one with engravings, and another without them. The illustrated edition advertises its condition as “In two parts, with superior coloured engravings”. It has 310 pages, in 8°, and, as it claims, it has a very brief summary of the plot plus a sketch of Cervantes’ life. The preface acknowledges its aim is to render the classic “properly accessible for our domestic circles” and the need to “soften and change many passages” to achieve this objective<sup>52</sup>. The preface anticipates the intention to focus less on the more comic and popular episodes, which might answer to the intention to provide those domestic circles with worthier texts for their instruction, hence, once more, indicating the shift in taste taking place in the British reception of Cervantes. This edition anticipated the longer abridgments of the Victorian period, which eliminated much less than their predecessors and which were not as intent on presenting only the entertaining passages of the original novel. It preserves the division in two parts, and it has 44 chapters, each one of them introduced by a brief summary of the plot. It presents four hand-coloured chapter illustrations, all unsigned, but of great quality<sup>53</sup>. The engravings are indeed superior, which indicates that the cheap woodcuts have been abandoned when it comes to books destined to be read by children within that domestic circle the publisher hopes to reach. They also give prominence to Sancho as governor, for example, one of the episodes from which more moral instruction can be derived.

Finally, it is necessary to indicate that not all eighteenth-century texts for children would develop as close imitations of *The Much-Esteemed*, nor would all of them adopt the more *respectable* format of Newbery’s books. Some authors rewrote the adventures of the knight in a layout closely resembling coeval chapbooks, while also claiming to be adapting them to children’s taste<sup>54</sup>. Thus, they would adopt a highly popular format for what was becoming a highly demanded genre. Along these lines, around 1795 one could find *The adventures of Don Quixote, de la Mancha, and his humorous squire Sancho Panca*. This work appeared in two small 18° volumes of 35 pages each, with 5 leaves of plates. Its price was 6<sup>d</sup>. The back cover displays an advertisement for “Entertaining Books for children, in great variety, printed, and sold wholesale and retail, by Pratt, Smith & Lesson, Coventry,” identifying the present volume as one of them<sup>55</sup>. While still probably finding some inspiration in prior versions of *The Much Esteemed* – in the choice of adventures and in expres-

52. *The Spirit of Cervantes* (1820: IV).

53. Three of them are copied, once more, from Francis Hayman’s designs in the 1755 edition. The frontispiece shows Don Quixote being knighted by the inn-keeper; chapter illustrations present the dispute between Sancho and the barber, the examination of Don Quixote’s library, and Sancho as governor of Barataria.

54. Grenby (2011: 110) asserts that a new form of chapbook developed at the turn of the century, a “children’s chapbook”. This edition would be an example of that new form of popular literature.

55. This book is not catalogued as part of the Opie collection at the Bodleian, which might explain why it has been ignored as a version of the novel for children.

sions such as “indigested garlic” to describe the breath of one of the country girls or the same typo concerning Don Quixote’s name “Alonza Quixada”—<sup>56</sup>, this short version finds space to be original from other simplified versions. An important difference is the division into two volumes, which correspond to the first and second part of Cervantes’ novel, respectively. As the title suggests, this version will offer adventures and humour to appeal to its young readers. Sancho has a more relevant presence in this version, as does Cardenio, by then a very popular story. Don Quixote’s sally to Saragossa is included, as is the battle with the Knight of the Looking Glasses or Maese Pedro’s puppet show. The adventure of the boar and Merlin’s enchantment are described, and the knight’s final defeat in Barcelona, at the hands of the Knight of the White Moon, leads to his return home, hence including an ending that more closely resembles Cervantes’. In the end, the characters talk about becoming shepherds, “Quixotiz and Pancino”<sup>57</sup>, and the knight’s final fever and repentance is introduced. The spirit of Cervantes’ original text permeates this conclusion<sup>58</sup>.

Therefore, in spite of the emphasis on the ludicrous adventures of Don Quixote that is still present in this edition, the instruction derived from this story is also highlighted both in the ending and in the preface, where it states that “the fame of this renowned hero has been spread through every country in Europe: and his history will prove acceptable as long as learning shall endure”<sup>59</sup>, again echoing the preface to the *Much-Esteemed* and the focus on a balance of the *dulce et utile* principle. This hybrid text, entertaining and moral, small and cheap, but more carefully printed than chapbooks, thus resembles Langley’s approach to children’s literature as a popular production that could be mass produced and still be published with special care, hoping to make it attractive for children.

## CONCLUSIONS

The long eighteenth century has been termed the “Golden Age” of the reception of *Don Quixote* in England, owing to the quality and quantity of the productive and reproductive responses to Cervantes’ masterpiece<sup>60</sup>. Although

56. *The adventures of Don Quixote, de la Mancha, and his humorous squire Sancho Panca* (ca. 1795: II, 34).

57. *The adventures of Don Quixote, de la Mancha, and his humorous squire Sancho Panca* (ca. 1795: II, 31).

58. The illustrations are also representative of the entertaining nature of this little book. In the first part, the frontispiece depicts the knighting of Don Quixote. It also includes a very original image: a trick of the inn-keeper’s daughter leaves the knight suspended by the wrist at a considerable height. In the second volume, the frontispiece now shows the enchantment of Dulcinea, and it has two other illustrations: Don Quixote destroying the puppets and his combat with the knight of the White Moon.

59. *The adventures of Don Quixote, de la Mancha, and his humorous squire Sancho Panca*, vol. 1, A2.

60. PARDO (2007: 133-58).

this definition did not take into account those versions written for or read by children, a first approach to the latter type of texts only reinforces the idea that this particular time was especially prolific in its quixotic craze and saw a wide variety of imitative styles and printing layouts. From the late seventeenth-century chapbooks, to the early nineteenth-century books by Harris or Langley, one can assert the existence of a consistent and recurrent presence of texts suited to introduce the quixotic myth to children owing to their accessible length and style, their choice of episodes and their focus on the universally appealing traits of the classic. In addition, it is possible to trace an important intertextual link among these texts, with the early abridgments serving as a source for latter texts openly acknowledged as works for the young. The quixotic tradition, then, reinforces the idea that chapbooks and abridgments bear a strong relationship to children's literature.

This strong presence of Don Quixote in texts more suitable for children would find its continuation in the Victorian period, and even beyond that, in acknowledged versions for young readers. By means of these early texts, and their progression from literature that could be read by children to that written specifically with a child reader in mind, it is possible to trace the increasing presence of the Spanish knight in popular literature and his transformation into that iconic European image for children that Spitzer envisioned. Nowadays, the existence of new apps and digital editions of Cervantes' classic novel proves that Don Quixote still fascinates new generations and will probably do so for centuries to come.

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**Abstract**

As a masterpiece, *Don Quixote* has become an easily recognizable myth, sometimes reduced to well-known episodes such as the tilting at windmills or the blanket-tossing of Sancho. These elements are emphasised in editions of this classic for children, highlighting the importance these versions have for the understanding of the widespread popularity of Cervantes' novel, in general, and of certain scenes, in particular. The present article explores the relationship of the child reader to *Don Quixote* and provides an overview of how English children might have encountered it in the long eighteenth century (1660-1832). It connects chapbooks, abridgments and children's books to suggest that children might have been among its earliest readers and to emphasise the intertextual continuum and the richness in the reception of *Don Quixote* in England, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century.

**Keywords:** Don Quixote; children's literature; child reader; reception; intertextuality.

**Título: Para la diversión de los felices pequeños sujetos: Cómo los niños ingleses conocieron Don Quijote en el largo siglo XVIII.**

**Resumen**

En su condición de obra maestra, *Don Quijote* se ha convertido en un mito fácilmente reconocible, aunque en ocasiones reducido a conocidos pasajes como la lucha contra los molinos o el manteamiento de Sancho. Estos elementos son particularmente recurrentes en las ediciones para niños, lo que sugiere la importancia que estas versiones pueden tener para comprender la extensa popularidad de la novela de Cervantes, en general, y de esos fragmentos en particular. Este artículo explora la relación del lector infantil con *Don Quijote* y proporciona una visión panorámica de las maneras en las que los niños ingleses del siglo XVIII (1660-1832) pudieron llegar a conocer el texto. Con este objetivo, relaciona literatura de cordel, compendios y libros infantiles para sugerir que los niños pueden ser considerados lectores tempranos de la obra, así como para resaltar el continuo intertextual y la riqueza que existe en la recepción de *Don Quijote* en Inglaterra, desde el siglo XVII hasta el XIX.

**Palabras clave:** Don Quijote; literatura para niños; lector infantil; recepción; intertextualidad.