

ON THE HISTORY OF CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

Alexandra TOMA,
PhD student, "Aurel Vlaicu" University of Arad

Abstract: Children's literature has a history as long as childhood itself, but for the longest time, it has not been recognised as a fully formed literary system or as worthy of being studied, possibly because of the delay in the printing and publishing of books for children or maybe due to the general disregard for children. Nevertheless, its history is convoluted, interesting, dominated by the English language and culture and co-dependent to the history of children and childhood itself. Children's literature was not a response to the philosophical ideas, political interests or the general development of societies and their values, but a mirror of how adults' perspective on children and childhood has changed. Children's literature is written by adults for children in accordance to what the authors believed children needed, but through their reading choices, children had the final say. This paper is far from a complete presentation of the history of children's literature, but rather an attempt at presenting a shortened version of it, with the hope that it will make for an easier understanding of its development.

Keywords: history, children's literature, childhood, fantasy, evolution

Children have loved stories since the very first fairy-tales, myths and legends were told to them. To listen to a story, amazed at the characters, actions and scenery depicted is the quintessential childhood experience, but in order to better understand the history of children's fantasy literature, one must first define it. The most suited definition for the purpose of this paper comes from Carol Lynch-Brown and Carl M. Tomlinson, that define children's literature as 'good quality trade books for children from birth to adolescence, covering topics of relevance and interest to children of those ages, through the prose and poetry, fiction and nonfiction.' (1999: 2) Another way to define it is to say that children's literature is made up of trade books that are about the experience of childhood, may it be good or bad. While this definition includes exclusively 'trade books', for the longest time, the only books dedicated, written and published especially for children were textbooks. The difference between the two categories is that, by content, design and purpose, textbooks are instructional while trade books are informational and entertaining.

Even before the booming industry of textbooks and trade books, literature existed in oral and theatrical forms. In Greek and Roman antiquity, the theatrical traditions found roots in poetry and drama. Following that, Aesop's fables populated classrooms and home libraries for the next two millenniums, but trying to understand the history and boundaries of children's literature can't be done without the full comprehension that children's literature is inseparable and fully intertwined with the history of childhood. (Lerer, 2008: 1) This interdependency means that not only are children brought up through the literature they hear, read and study, but also that children's literature is written for children, and the adult authors' perspective of children and childhood is everchanging.

The question that follows is: What is childhood? While some may argue that childhood is a category of existence shaped by social values and historical experience (Ariès, 1962), it is important to remember that, though they had an immensely important role in defining the modern concept of childhood, the modernists, such as Locke, Rousseau, the Puritans, the Romantics or the Victorians did not invent it. Childhood is an evershifting, everchanging category with a meaning in connection to the other stages of 'personal development and family life'. Thus, children's literature is made up of books that are co-dependent to childhood, that encourage social communication and interaction, and that, in their interaction with their readers, writers, owners, sellers, publishers, collectors, and so many others, teach and please above all else. (Lerer, 2008: 2)

The system of literature dedicated to children did not come to be in the same way or in the same time frame as literature itself was formed. It came to be much later, evolving at the same time as the view on children and childhood shifted and changed, and was influenced by factors such as the educational theories in fashion at one moment or another, the birth rate and the number of children in the family and the Church's view on the proper upbringing of children. What is clear is that in general terms, all across the world, children's literature followed the same stages of evolving from exclusively textbooks, ABC's and books on manners for children belonging to a high social class, to include moral tales and stories and then to a vast and differentiated system of trade books, fiction and nonfiction propelled forward by a total reform in the public perception of children and childhood firstly brought about by romanticism.

In England, the educational system before and in the seventeenth century, that of the apprenticeship, did not ask for books, as it involved learning a trade through practice. Because of that almost no books were written and published specifically for children, since not many children were taught how to read and the ones that were taught usually shared books with the adults surrounding them.

Even two hundred years after the invention of the printing press, very few books were written and printed for children and even those, the ABC's and the 'courtesy' books dedicated to children belonging to a high social class, were not regularly or steadily published, printed or written. Only around the seventeenth century did literature for children become culturally recognised, pushed forward by the puritan writings for children. The books issued in the period were textbooks with the sole purpose of meeting the educational needs of children, of teaching them how to read, with the ultimate goal of spreading the knowledge of the Scriptures among the young generations.

The problem that commenced soon after was that once the children knew how to read, it was almost impossible to control the material they read and to determine what they should or, more important, what they should not read (Shavit, 1995: 30). After learning to read, most of the children turned to adults' literature as a form of entertainment, a process eased by the fact that the earliest printed literature, the most common books contained traditional stories, which had assured their survival through oral storytelling due to their elements that appealed to every age group.

What filled the vacuum created by the children's demand of reading material was an unexpected source: the vestiges of the Middle Ages and the non-official adult literature for that time, the chapbooks. Found very appealing by children and considered improper by both parents and the church, chapbooks were in fact bawdy ballads, frivolous romances and adventures, criminal stories, ghost stories and fairy-tales. Their purpose was to entertain and not to offer moral education.

Once the establishments responsible and involved in the children's education discovered what the young minds indulged in and once the commercial publishing discovered this new and overflowing with opportunities business niche, a competition was born. The commercial publishing aimed for profit, while the religious establishments were trying to offer children alternative reading materials with didactic value. Both the commercial publishing and the religious supporters applied the same tactics: they tried to copy the chapbooks' genres, titles, structure and narrative styles and techniques, even the woodcut illustrations, while adapting the content to their goals.

Supporter of the Sunday School and philanthropist Hannah More was one of the writers who put pen to paper in order to give children of all classes and social status 'proper' reading materials. She published in 1795 the first *Cheap Repository Tract*, a book that challenged all possible elements of chapbooks by copying techniques such as serialization and adding a moralizing element to the story that was so valued. As replacements of the ballads, poem-like texts were written, to replace the romances and the adventure stories, histories were published, criminal and even ghost stories were transformed by presenting the tragic fate of the heroes of the chapbooks as a consequence of immoral behaviour (Shavit, 1995: 35).

The fairy-tales were not as easy to adapt, presenting a problem for these writers. Strange as it sounds, they were considered even more dangerous than criminal stories or sometimes indecent romances, and consequently their open use by the religious tracts was impossible. Wanting to profit on their popularity, a solution to this problem was soon found: fairy-tales, as they were, did not make an appearance in the tracts, but their literary model was used and on it was modelled an instructive tale. Thus sins and immoral behaviour such as dishonesty, alcoholism, gambling and violence replaced the giants, the beasts, the monsters and the fantasy beings, and the fairy-tales became a force of religion (Shavit, 1995: 35).

The book trade on the other hand had no motif but to profit, so their tactic was to take what attracted the children to chapbooks and combining it with just enough morality as to appeal to the parent. A typical writer of this process was John Newberry, whose most noticeable strategy was the use of illustrations. This element borrowed from chapbook attracted attention and became from this point onwards an indispensable element of children's books (Shavit, 1995: 34).

This competition over children's reading habits and free time resulted in the publishing of numerous books and thus in improving the literary system, enriching it and making it more heterogeneous and diverse, but it was still a small fraction of what the literary system it is today. Because of this competition with chapbooks, that ended up being won by morality and literature at the same time, and because the main stream

of child-rearing which practised moderations in all things, the stimulation of imagination was not a priority. Educationalists such as Rousseau and Locke even encouraged and supported the idea of not giving children reading material that had the pure purpose of exciting imagination. (Carpenter, 1985: 7)

This situation was about to slightly change due to the new perspective on child and childhood brought by the romantics. From the complacency and the routine of the eighteenth century a lone voice was declaring louder and louder that the true artists, the men of vision had to be alienated from the society and the community so that they will be able to pursue their private dreams. From viewing the child as a mini-adult, needing nothing else but moral education, a new perception that was going to climax in the next century emerged. This new view on children, first showcased in Blake's *Songs of innocence* and later reinforced by Wordsworth's *Lyrical Ballads* and *Recollections of Early Childhood*, depicted the child as having to an exclusive access to a "visionary simplicity that is denied to adults" (Carpenter, 1985: 7).

The idea that children have a more acute spiritual perception that the adults due to their closeness to birth and to a pre-existence in Heaven was not a new one, but it made waves. Growing up consequently became a synonym to the Loss of Eden, a symbol of the enchanted place or of the secret garden (Carpenter, 1985: 9). Still, the religiously moral school dominated the literature of that time and this can be notice in the fact that the representative books of this period managed to mix excitement with some kind of didactic message. Such books were *Robin Crusoe* and *Gulliver's Travels*, of course suitably abridged in accordance to the age of the readers targeted. Their success was based on the balance between the excitement and the innovation of the tales told and the moral message.

With small steps, by the middle of the nineteenth century, the society's image on child and childhood completely shifted. Children had more and more freedom to be themselves with the receding, in time, of the view of children as moral chrysalises. Children characters appeared in adult books such as *Jane Eyre* and *Wuthering Heights* and both presented them as having a clear, even heightened in some cases, perception of the world. Even more than the Bronte sisters, Dickens was able to fully perceive and fully represent in his novels the value of the child's-eye-view. Following this strand of writing, by 1860s and 1870s the book market was overflowing with tales about orphans spiritually leading and teaching what the true love of God means to the adults in their lives.

Dickens' and later Mayhew's novels depicting heart-wrenching stories of the suffering orphans, the growing awareness of the society of the hardships of the urban poor and the social unrest led to a new form of religious fiction. It was mirroring the realities of that time and it dealt specifically with the slum life and the touching and tragic stories of innocent and poor children. As clearly as they showcased the misery of the urban poor, these stories did not encouraged or preached relief through changes and reforms in the earthly life, but instructed that the poor's destiny was to tolerate their lot on Earth with the belief that better things were to come in the afterlife. (Carpenter, 1985: 6) These were the only riches these authors were willing to allow their characters.

However, the religious message was not the most favoured and many parents wished the books were produced by less extreme factions of the Church. Before the 1850 a development of the imaginative writing for children was not something that happened, even if the soil had been ready in many aspects since 1830. (Carpenter, 1985: 11) For the writers to observe and understand the qualities of a child's mind, of their point of view and of their imagination was not enough. For anything to result out of this new perception on children and childhood, the adult writers had to be first attracted towards a child reading public, a transition that took place only after 1860. One of these authors was Charlotte Yonge who wrote tales about spirited daughters that belonged to a high social class, who were attracted by the Oxford movement and volunteered their time in collecting money for the building of churches in the poor areas. (Carpenter, 1985: 6)

The second half of the nineteenth century on the other side, the 'Golden Age' of the literature for children, or the Victorian period is one of the most prolific periods, many more books than in the previous years being published and most of them being nowadays considered classics. In this period, the children were considered to be and depicted as clever, mischievous and perceptive and they were finally given books worthy of their attention and appreciation, books with characters that they could relate to and exciting and interesting plots.

In recent years, critics have argued against naming the Victorian period, the 'Golden Age' of children's literature. Their argument is that there is no single golden age, no movement or period in which literature was better, more effective or precise than in other moments. Children's literature, just like any other subcategory of literature, is not an ideal category that can be reached during a certain age, but a system with vast social and aesthetic value, value determined by the relationships that are formed between the creators, the distributors and the consumers of literature. This point of view argues that there is no literary canon, but rather literary works of art that have reached canonical status through their consistent and active participation in this system of literary values. (Lerer, 2008: 7)

It is believed that the attention children got from their families, scholars and authors in the Victorian and Edwardian ages is due to the falling of the birth rate, the high rate of children's mortality and consequently the small average number of children in a family (Carpenter, 1985: 18). Even though the general tendency was that of an increase in hygiene, the scarlet fever continued to take victims and the inevitable attention the parents lavished upon their few children had one surprising literary result: childhood's sentimental idealisation. Overall, the general climate was one of introspection, the adults and the children alike finding the comfort, security and stability the turbulent outside world was not providing in the middle of their own families.

Another literary result of the turmoil of the reality of that period, of financial uncertainty, even depression, was the apparition of 'escapism literature'. This phenomenon appeared with a striking suddenness and found a welcoming reading public and a sympathetic audience quickly. Up to 1862 nothing of the sort happened, but

by the end of that year two novels were already composed while a third, *The Water-Babies*, was being published and attracting numerous readers (Carpenter, 1985: 19).

The two main strands of children's writing in this period were the ethic and the introspective. The ethic referred to stories that showcased heroic stories that openly preached on heroism for heroism's sake and that condemned cowardice. These stories encouraged the belief that the British were the best race in the world and some critics believe that the reading of such stories during childhood by the adults that lived through the First World War had a contribution to the causes of the war. (Carpenter, 1985: 16)

The introspective strand of writing for children was also described as 'fantasy' because the stories almost always involved impossible happenings and beings such as magical and inexplicable events and talking animals and toys. This type of writing did not have an overtly realistic quality to it and it did not claim to have anything to say about the real world, but it managed to encompass profound observations and reflections on the contemporary society, the human character and often enough religion. (Carpenter, 1985: 16) Most of these stories dealt with utopias and suggested the existence of an Arcadian society that was secluded both from nature and from the concerns and problems of the daily world. Curiously enough, this choice of dealing with utopias was actually a comment on the real life, oftentimes sarcastic and critical.

Even though the first original fantasy, F.E. Paget's *The Hope of the Katzekopfs*, was published in 1844, the true valuable fantasies, the one that made this current to take root quickly and deeply in England were Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and Hans C. Anderson's tales. (Lynn, 1948: xxx) They made the conscious choice of departing from the cultural portrayals present in that period of time and of removing some layers of didacticism. The authors incorporated the element of here and now into their tales, creating worlds filled with magic and enchantment whose existence could be believed by its readers. This element of belief and of creating new worlds is the element that sets the literary fantasy apart from the tales written in the past.

Overall, almost without exception the English authors that wrote outstanding books after the 1860s rejected or at least had doubts about the conventional religious teaching of that time. In the works of the authors of the 1860s to 1890s these doubts are less visible, but the group of writers that followed later, that marked the end of a century and the beginning of another, a group that included Barrie, were conscious of their rejection of what was considered conventional Christian religiousness. Undoubtedly, another cause of this atmosphere of uncertainty in matters of belief and religion was the publication of Darwin's *The Origin of Species* and the controversy it consequently stirred.

The fantasy was about to cement as a genre at the very end of the nineteenth century with the publication of Edith Nesbit's literary works. Through her books, published in the nineteenth and in the twentieth centuries, she managed to establish guidelines for the writing of fantasy, for the mixing of fantasy and reality and she offered solutions for the problems this mix caused in terms of plot and coherence, such as the problem of the time passing in time travels. The success of her entertaining and consistent mix of fantasy and realism encouraged other authors to follow her direction and, in this way, mixed fantasy eventually became the dominant form of children's

fantasy. Her choices in writing marked not only the culminant point of the nineteenth century fantasy and children's literature, but the starting point of the twentieth century fantasy and children literature, her guidelines and solutions to possible problems being today referred to as the Nesbit legacy.

The history of twentieth century children's literature is a tale in which not readers, educators or writers are the main characters, but institutions such as: libraries, prize-awarding associations, big publishing houses. The twentieth century was a time of debates among libraries regarding the appropriateness of literature for the audience, of medal and awards that reflected social values and commercial interests, of tie-ins, toys, replicas in a varied range of media, of characters from children's literature that reached stardom. Even though literary marketing was a fact of literary life since the eighteenth century, when booksellers offered potential readers single-sheets of illustrations from popular stories, the twentieth century surpassed every expectation in terms of the media phenomena, which made of children's literature one of the most profitable area of publishing in both the twentieth and the twenty-first centuries. (Lerer, 2008: 8).

Just as the twentieth century was a century of debate, it was a century of attempted censorship. As history shows, adults have tried to control children's literature and its production and the achieved their goal most of the time, no matter how subversive the children may be. This censorship permeates the literary process and operates both before and after the texts are produced, becoming an integral part of the literary system. The adults who have tried to censor children's literature, indifferent of their ideological differences, have on commonality: they share the same romantic perspective on books and their power over children. (West, 2004: 689) They believe in fact that books are such a key influence in the formation of children's morals and attitudes that every word a child reads must be closely monitored. This is the reason why so many tried and failed to censor chapbooks, which kept on pouring from the presses well until the nineteenth century, when they were successfully succeeded by the Penny Dreadfuls. (Carpenter, 1985: 2)

Most of the forceful censoring actions taken in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have been taken in the United States of America by right-wing organisations, most of them having a fundamentalist-Christian origin. These organisations petition, lobby and argue against books that include themes and characters they consider unsuitable for children. Cases of local banns that have made the news include complete censorships of books such as: *The Diary of Anna Frank*, *The Wizard of Oz*, *The Catcher in the Rye*, Rowlings 'Harry Potter' books, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *Captain Underpants*, *Moll Flanders* and many others (Hunt, 2005: 5-6).

The first two decades of the 20th century of children's literature began to be written under the influence of Freud's *The Interpretations of Dreams* and his warning of the dangers of fantasy getting out of control and posing as a threat to real life. Thus, F. Anstey's *The Brass Bottle* plays with the idea of fantasy getting out of control and other writers such as L. Frank Baum, through his *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, suggest that the grass may be greener on the other side of the barrier, in the fantasy world (Stableford, 2005: XXV). The same problem is still debated and the psychological effects of escapism

into fantasy universes are explored a decade later through J.M. Barrie's invention of Peter Pan and the play and novel that tell his tales. A premiere of the period was the first publication of the first-time travel fantasy written for children in 1906, *The Story of the Amulet* by Edith Nesbit, thus the escapism transferring into the past.

The changes that soon came to be made in the fantasy literature for children were brought about by the changes in the real life. The Great Depression reinforced the literature of escapism through the nowadays considered a classic *The Hobbit* and the figure of the saving adult hero that brings joy into the dreaded adult life through the magic of *Mary Poppins*. The First World War and the period following it brought with it a lull in both the writing and the publishing of children's fantasy, a lull induced by the focus of attention being strongly and decisively placed on the conflict that took over Europe. The period that lacked in publications ended with the beginning of the second decade of the century (Lynn, 1979: XXXII). Starting with the 1920s a period of relative prosperity started, a period in which light-hearted fantasies were produced. These stories most often included talking toys and animals as well as journeys into imaginative lands. While many books were published in this period, a later closer examination of the reading material of the period showed that a surprisingly big number 'old' books coming from the past centuries still continued to be read.

From the point of view of illustrating the childhood, the first third of the century continued to portray it as an idyllic period, a time to be prolonged and hold onto. In this way, Peter Pan represented all the children that wished for one more day of role-playing and one more night of storytelling. In the same way Wendy and her brothers were kept away from the adult life and spent their days and nights in their nursery, the childhood was thought as best to be kept separate from the adulthood and sheltered. Still, in J.M. Barrie's *Peter and Wendy* (1911), left on their own, without mentoring or education, the children are turning to their natural selves and that is not the wise angels depicted by the Romantics, but savage, violent beasts. Peter and the Lost Boys are all able of doing great harm, of violence and of killing, and even Wendy, though she does not actively participate in the battles, finds excitement and joy in the conflicts (Hudson, 2006: 319).

The Second World War's period was different from the First World War period both in the number of noteworthy books being published and the portrayal of childhood and adulthood. In this period the childhood as a period of preparation for adulthood came to be illustrated in a number of books such as C.S. Lewis's *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*. The heroes of this book, Peter, Susan, Edmund and Lucy, are clever and resourceful, war-heroes and saviours, afraid and brave at the same time. They travel into a fantasy world, Narnia, in order to discover the road to maturity, but they return to their childhood selves when returning into the 'real' world and the maturity they have achieved there becomes a goal to be reached through struggle and hard work.

At the same time, while the heroes are preparing to soon be adults through living fantastic adventures, the adult characters are peripheral in the books of this era, having almost no role. In Lewis's novel the heroes' parents are completely missing, not even mentioned to have existed and the could-have-been parental figures, such as the Old Professor, Mr and Mrs Beaver are too weak and have no influence over the wiles of the

child-heroes. Another weakness of the books of the period is the lack of proper evolving of the characters, the child-heroes never growing up or evolving, never actually maturing. As mentioned earlier, even though they are presented as matured Queens and Kings, the four heroes of Narnia do not actually prove their maturity and the readers get to enjoy it for only half a chapter before they are reduced to children by their return home.

Another element common to the books of the period to be mentioned is the lack of children, characters in general, with 'problems' or real-life difficulties. From this point of view, the characters are upsetting in their repetitiveness in their happiness and safety (Lynn, 1979: XXXIV). Even when they are isolated in the countryside in order to be saved from the London bombings, the heroes of *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* are blissfully happy in their exploration of the old manor.

With the middle of the 1960s, children's books, and not only fantasies at that, became more open to depicting what were considered in that period 'adult' problems, feelings and emotions. Books such as Roald Dahl's *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory* (1964) not only presented poverty, death, anger and true grief, but also had child-heroes that lived them. In this novel poverty is not a problem that the hero easily solves, but the life they live and bad behaviour and traits to be discouraged such as greed, violence and absenteeism are not due to a spell, curse or any magical potion, like it is in *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* where Edmund's greed and evil is due to his eating of the magic Turkish Delight, but the character's personality.

With the end of the twentieth century the technology boom has made its way even into the fantasy novels, in books such as J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* (1997) and Pullman's *The Golden Compass* (1995) and even the aforementioned *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory*. In the first example the character finds joy and relief in the world lacking of modern technologies that he had no access to before, while in the second one technology is depicted as an instrument used by the villains, the most significant image being that of the *intercision* a pseudo-medical torturous procedure that severs the tie the characters have with their other half- the daemons- in a desperate attempt of avoiding the thoughts, worries and overall troubling feelings associated with adulthood. The third one also portrays the evils of technology through the dramatized and exaggerated effects television has on one of the characters.

The childhood receives a new face, all the heroes in the books referenced above living unhappy, unlucky lives, without being appreciated by their peers and the adults surrounding them. They are all drudging through life, their childhood a miserable mess of consequences of the adult world's choices. All three of them, Charlie, Lyra and Harry manage to escape the unhappy lives they live with the help of a protector, a dash of good luck and courage, cleverness, spontaneity and perseverance.

Another important change worthy of being mentioned is the way in which adults are depicted. While at the beginning of the century they are sensible, loving, but stand no threat to the adventures the children live through and in the middle of the century they are virtually non-existent, the end of the century presents them as opposite ends of the spectrum. Some of them are the perfect, idolised parent, while the other ones are cruel,

harsh and abusing. There is no wrong the idyllic parent/ parental figure can do and no right the cruel one is able of achieving. This unforgiving split brings drama and contours the idea that the childhood is the period in which one's character and personality is formed, while adulthood offers no chance at changing or redeeming.

The limits not only of this paper, but of any attempt at trying to fully comprehend the history of children's literature is most often incomplete, since not only most of them are anglo-focused, but also because with the exception of the rare few, all of the histories are male-centric, white-centric and completely ignore queer, indigenous, or minorities communities. The reason why the histories of children's literature are mainly discussing English books is because those were the ones that were firstly and mostly published. Even though it is generally considered that first children's books were those published by Mary Cooper and John Newberry, before that there was John Cotton's *Spiritual Milk for Boston Babies*, the first book 'especially prepared for North American youth' (Grimswold, 2004: 1270). The dominance of English language and literature continued: the publication of the very first children's books in Calcutta was initiated by the establishing of the School Book Society by missionaries, the earliest children's books in Malayalam contained stories translated from English and half of the books published in France were translations from English. Even nowadays, the traffic between English and other languages moves in the same one direction.

Bibliography:

- Ariès, Philippe. *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*. U.S.A., New York: Knopf, 1962.
- Carpenter, Humphrey. *Secret Gardens, A Study of the Golden Age of Children's Literature*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1985.
- Grimswold, J. *Is History Real? A Multimedia Meditation on 'Sleeping Beauty'*. San Diego: Campanile Press, 2004.
- Hudson, Glenda A. "Two Is the Beginning of the End: Peter Pan and the Doctrine of Reminiscence." *Children's Literature in Education*. Vol. 37, No. 4, December 2006.
- Hunt, Peter. "The expanding world of Children's Literature Studies." *Understanding Children's Literature*. Peter Hunt (ed.). U.S.A.: Routledge, 2005.
- Lerer, Seth. *Children's Literature: A Reader's History from Aesop to Harry Potter*. U.S.A., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- Lynch-Brown, Carol and Carl M. Tomlinson. *Essentials of Children's Literature*. U.S.A., Massachusetts: Ally and Bacon, 1999.
- Lynn, Ruth Nadelman. *Fantasy for children: Annotated check-list*. New York: R.R. Bowker, 1979.
- Shavit, Zohar. "The Historical Model of the Development of Children's Literature." *Aspects and Issues in the History of Children's Literature*. Nikolajeva Maria (ed.). Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1995.
- Stableford, Brian. *Historical Dictionary of Fantasy Literature*. Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, 2005.
- West, M. *Trust Your Children: Voices Against Censorship in Children's Literature*. New York: Neal-Schuman, 2004.