Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences
Department of English Language and Literature
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A BAKHTINIAN ANALYSIS OF ROBINSONADES: LITERARY AND CINEMATIC ADAPTATIONS OF DANIEL DEFOE'S *ROBINSON CRUSOE*

Seda ÖZ

Master's Thesis

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KABUL VE ONAY

Seda ÖZ tarafından hazırlanan "A Bakhtinian Analysis of Robinsonades: Literary and Cinematic Adaptations of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*" başlıklı bu çalışma, 14 Ocak 2015 tarihinde yapılan savunma sınavı sonucunda başarılı bulunarak jürimiz tarafından Yüksek Lisans Tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

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To my mother & father...

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ÖZET

ÖZ, Seda. *Robinsonadların Bakhtin'in Kuramsal Çerçevesi İçinde İncelenmesi: Daniel Defoe'nun* Robinson Crusoe *Romanının Edebi ve Sinematik Uyarlamaları*, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2015.

Daniel Defoe'nun 1719 tarihli romanı *Robinson Crusoe*'nun yayımlanmasının hemen ardından başlayarak, bu ünlü macera hikayesinin "Robinsonadlar" olarak tabir edilen bir çok edebi ve sinematik uyarlamaları yapılagelmiştir. Robinson Crusoe hikayesinin Mikhail Bakhtin'in "macera kronotopu" olarak isimlendirdiği yapının bir fonksiyonu olan esnek yapısı sebebiyle, Defoe'nun romanının farklı tarihsel, kültürel, sosyal ve ideolojik bağlamlarda, "hakim" ve/veya "ortaya çıkmakta olan" "duygu yapıları"nın yansıtılabildiği bir çok medyalararası ve medyaiçi uyarlamaları üretilmiştir. Dolayısıyla, bu çeşitli uyarlamaların bir sonucu olan ve Robisonad olarak tabir edilen eserlerin bütününe bakıldığında, birçok farklı ve karşıt fikirlerin bir arada bulunduğu çoksesli bir yapıyı gözlemlemek mümkündür. Bu tez, öne sürdüğü tartışmayı Robinson Crusoe hikayesinin bir medyaiçi (Elizabeth Whittaker'ın "Robina Crusoe and Her Lonely Island Home" adlı eseri) ve bir medyalararası (1997 yapımı *Robinson Crusoe* başlıklı film) uyarlaması bağlamında örnekleyerek, Defoe'nun *Robinson Crusoe* romanının uyarlanabilirliği konusundaki incelemelere katkı sağlamaktadır. Giriş bölümünde, macera yazını türü üzerine kısa bir açıklamanın ardından, Raymond Williams'ın "duygu yapıları" modeli Robinson Crusoe hikayesi ve Robinsonad geleneğiyle bağlantılı olarak tanıtılmakta ve Bakhtin'in "kronotop," "macera kronotopu" ve "çokseslilik" kavramları ile bu tezde ele alınan uyarlamaların incelenmesinde kullanılan metodolojik yaklaşımın ana hatları anlatılmaktadır. Birinci bölümde, Elizabeth Whittaker'ın "Robina Crusoe and Her Lonely Island Home" adlı eseri üzerinden dönemin geleneksel kadın figürünün temsiline ek olarak, İmparatorluk ve kadın arasındaki değişerek gelişen ilişki ve bu değişimin sonucunda yine aynı dönemde ortaya çıkan Yeni Kadın figürünün nasıl sesini duyurmaya başladığı anlatılmaktadır. Ayrıca, bu durumun, metnin çağdaş okuyucu kitlesinin ilgi duyduğu belirli tema ve gerilimlere atıfta bulunabilme ve Geç Viktorya Çağı İngilteresindeki "hakim" ve/veya "ortaya çıkmakta olan" "duygu yapıları"nı yansıtabilme yeteneğine nasıl işaret ettiği tartışılmaktadır. Benzer bir yöntem kullanılarak, ikinci bölümde, medyalararası bir uyarlama olan ve sömürgecilik dönemi sonrası çokkültürlülük olgusu üzerine hem "hakim" hem de "ortaya çıkmakta olan" söylemleri yansıtan *Robinson Crusoe* adlı filmden seçilen sahnelerin incelenmesi yoluyla, Robinson Crusoe hikayesinin söylemsel ve ideolojik esnekliği örneklendirilmektedir. Ayrıca, genel bağlamda Robinsonadların bütününe atfedilen çokseslilik özelliğinin, bu metinler bütünü içerisinde başlı başına bir eser olan *Robinson Crusoe* adlı filmde de gözlemlenebildiği, metinden örnekler verilerek tartışılmaktadır. Sonuç bölümünde, Robinson Crusoe hikayesinin esnekliğinin ve heterojenliğinin, bu hikaye yapısının Bakhtin'in "macera kronotopu" adını verdiği "edebi kronotop"a ve içerisinde farklı ideolojik söylemlerin yansıtılabildiği "çokseslilik" kavramına uyması ile açıklanabileceği sonucuna varılmaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Uyarlama Çalışmaları, Robinsonadlar, Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, Mikhail Bakhtin, Macera Kronotopu, Çokseslilik, *Girl's Own Paper*.

ABSTRACT

ÖZ, Seda. *A Bakhtinian Analysis of Robinsonades: Literary and Cinematic Adaptations of Daniel Defoe's* Robinson Crusoe, Master's Thesis. Ankara, 2015.

Since soon after the publication of Daniel Defoe's 1719 novel *Robinson Crusoe*, there have been many different cinematic and literary adaptations of this famous adventure story, which are collectively known as "Robinsonades." Due to the plastic nature of the Robinson Crusoe story, which is a function of what Mikhail Bakhtin defines as the "adventure chronotope," there are many intra-medial and inter-medial adaptations of Defoe's novel in different historical, cultural, social and ideological contexts in which the "dominant" and/or "emergent" "structures of feeling" are represented. Thus, as an outcome of all these various adaptations, it is possible to observe a polyphonic voice in the entirety of the Robinsonades, in which many contradictory ideas and voices are highlighted. This thesis furthers the exploration of the adaptability of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* by illustrating the central argument with reference to an intra-medial (Elizabeth Whittaker's "Robina Crusoe and Her Lonely Island Home") and one inter-medial adaptation (*Robinson Crusoe*, 1997) of the Robinson Crusoe story. In the introduction part of the thesis, following a brief account of the adventure genre, Raymond Williams's "structures of feeling" model is introduced with reference to the Robinson Crusoe story and the Robinsonade tradition. Then, Bakhtin's ideas on "chronotope," "adventure time," and "polyphony" and the main methodological approach that is used in analysing these adaptations are explained. In the first chapter, Elizabeth Whittaker's serialised fiction "Robina Crusoe and Her Lonely Island Home" is dealt with to argue that Whittaker's "Robina" not only exemplifies the conventional woman character of the period, but also articulates and highlights the changing relationships between the Empire and the woman, and, in turn, gives voice to the New Woman in this same period, showing the text's ability to address certain themes and tensions which were relevant for its particular reading audience and which represented the "dominant" and/or "emergent" "structures of feeling" in late Victorian Britain. The same method is also used in the second chapter while illustrating the discursive and ideological plasticity of the Robinson Crusoe story by discussing selected scenes from an inter-medial adaptation, namely the film *Robinson Crusoe* that accommodates both the "dominant" and "emergent" discourses on post-colonial multiculturalism. Moreover, it is argued that even though the polyphonic quality is attributed to the entirety of the Robinsonade tradition, in the film *Robinson Crusoe*, there is polyphony within the work itself as well, which is explained with reference to the voices heard in the various textual examples dealt with in this chapter. In the conclusion part, it is contended that the Robinson Crusoe story's plasticity and heterogeneity can best be explained with reference to a specific type of "literary chronotope," one which Bakhtin calls the "adventure chronotope," and to "polyphony" in which different ideological positions are represented and given voice.

Keywords: Adaptation Studies, Robinsonades, Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, Mikhail Bakhtin, Adventure Chronotope, Polyphony, *Girl's Own Paper*.

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INTRODUCTION

> *Nothing is original. Steal from anywhere that resonates with inspiration or fuels your imagination. Devour old films, new films, music, books, paintings, photographs, poems, dreams, random conversations, architecture, bridges, street signs, trees, clouds, bodies of water, light and shadows. Select only things to steal from that speak directly to your soul. If you do this, your work (and theft) will be authentic. Authenticity is invaluable; originality is nonexistent. And don't bother concealing your thievery – celebrate it if you feel like it. In any case, always remember what Jean-Luc Godard said: "It's not where you take things from – it's where you take them to."*
>
> *Jim Jarmusch*

It is an undisputable fact, strongly established by modern scholarship, that Daniel Defoe's 1719 novel *Robinson Crusoe* is one of the literary works which has attained the status of "myth." However, Defoe's novel owes its mythical status not to its entirety, but to the part of its plot which gives the story of a central character who is shipwrecked and stranded on a deserted island in the middle of an ocean and eventually rescued after long years of survival. Generally speaking, it is, in fact, thanks to the exploration and exploitation of the "mutability or plasticity" (Zambreno 118) of this episode of the *Robinson Crusoe* narrative that its countless intra- and inter-medial[1] adaptations in different historical, cultural, social and ideological contexts, collectively known as the Robinsonades, have been possible. As Tara Collington argues in her analysis of the "adaptability" of the Robinson Crusoe story, deploying Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of the "literary chronotope" seems to be a useful tool for studying not only the "shifting temporo-spatial frameworks" observed in specific intra- and inter-medial adaptations but also the myriad "cultural preoccupations" attached to these different interpretations of the original literary text (184). Building upon Collington's arguments, this study furthers the exploration of the adaptability of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* by introducing additional critical terms and approaches, and by illustrating the central argument with

[1] The term intra-medial adaptation is used to define different adaptations of a source text within the same medium (i.e. print medium) such as from novel to short story or drama; while the term inter-medial adaptation is used to define adaptations across different media (Collington 184), such as from novel to film, radio, and digital media and so on.

reference to one intra-medial adaptation of the Crusoe story, namely Elizabeth Whittaker's "Robina Crusoe and Her Lonely Island Home" that is a work of fiction serialised in the *Girl's Own Paper* from 1882 through 1883,[2] and one inter-medial adaptation, that is a film titled *Robinson Crusoe* (1997), directed by Rodney K. Hardy and George Miller. The "cultural preoccupations" (Collington 184) that these texts respectively represent for scholarly analysis are the rise of a New Woman image in the patriarchy-oriented and imperialist setting of late Victorian Britain and the resonances of the post-colonial cultural politics of the 1990s which witnessed the rise of multiculturalism and the strong refutation of the cultural psychology and memory of Britain's colonial past. The main argument here is that, as a story of adventure, the Robinson Crusoe story's adaptability, allowing it to represent various discursive components at different social and historical contexts, can best be explained with reference to a specific type of "literary chronotope," one which Bakhtin calls the "adventure chronotope" (*Dialogic Imagination* 87). Furthermore, this study will argue for the attribution of a polyphonic quality to the entirety of the Robinsonade tradition, as well as positing that in the 1997 film *Robinson Crusoe*, there is polyphony within the work itself as well. Before such a discussion, however, the general characteristics of the adventure story in general and the Robinson Crusoe story in particular, as well as the Robinsonade tradition and the ways the appreciation of this tradition can be linked to Bakhtinian critical terminology need to be explained.

The Robinson Crusoe story is first and foremost an adventure story. According to John G. Cawelti, "[t]he central fantasy of the adventure story is that of the hero –individual or group- overcoming obstacles and dangers and accomplishing some important and moral mission" (39). Similarly, for Martin Green; "[i]n general, adventure seems to mean a series of events, partly but not wholly accidental, in settings remote from the domestic and probably from the civilized (at least in the psychological sense of remote), which constitute a challenge to the central character" (*Dreams of Adventure* 23). With reference to these two statements, it seems that the most essential element in a narrative

[2] The story appeared in vol. 4 of the *Girl's Own Paper,* starting in issue no.156 (23 December 1882), ending in no.186 (21 July 1883); pagination of the volume is continuous, so references are limited to page numbers. The story was accessible at the website "Mostly-Victorian.com," which offered scans of all its pages: http://mostly-victorian.com/details/robina.shtml.

that turns it into an adventure story is the overcoming of a challenge or obstacle by a central character. However, it would be incorrect to define adventure story on the basis of this element only, as the motif of the central character overcoming a challenge can very easily be observed in most other genres and subgenres of literature. In other words, even though seemingly unproblematic definitions of the adventure tale are available, when looked at in detail, there are various different components within the forms of adventure. Thus, it is not easy to give one particular definition of the adventure story.

The same ambiguity that governs the definition of adventure stories also applies to the problem of the genre's origins. However, in the most general sense, the origin of the adventure story can be "traced back to the myths and epics of earliest times and has been cultivated in some form or other by almost every human society" (Cawelti 40). Moreover, both Northrop Fry and Paul Zweig attribute the feature of being the oldest and most common literary form in which one can find human experiences and values, to adventure tales (qtd. in Burne 26) and as Green puts it, "adventures have historical functions that derive, in changing forms, from long before" (*Seven Types* 9). With reference to multiple views on the subject, the origin of the adventure story seems to vary from Homer's *Odysseus* to the Arthurian Legend, but no history of the genre overlooks Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and its numerous adaptations that belong to different periods when it comes to tracing the continuity of the adventure story.

The main idea behind adventure tales is that they always serve the masculinist way of looking at culture, politics, and literature. In other words, there seems to be an inherent relationship between adventure, patriarchy and patriarchal power. In support of this view, Green draws a parallel between these terms by stating that the core of

> [a]dventure belongs to men (and vice versa) for the profoundest of reasons. Adventure is the name for experience beyond the law, or on the very frontier of civilization. At least, adventure is the high-spirited way of naming that experience and suggests the feeling of power that can go with it. (*Seven Types* 3)

Even though it cannot be argued for every century, Western culture in general, and British culture in particular has mostly been patriarchal. One of the most significant periods in which the power of patriarchy can be observed clearly is the period covering

the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries when major transformations occurred in the British society in terms of the organization of classes, the distribution of wealth and the way the dominant mode of production was regulated. The end result of these changes was that, economics, bureaucracy and most of the other cultural norms made the aspiration to freedom beyond one's class unattainable, both in the literal and figurative sense, within the geographical borders of Britain. Thus, adventure became men's path through which they attained their freedom and manhood by claiming all their powers, outside authority and civilization. Their independence and heroic actions made these adventurers the "emblems of masculinism" (Green, *Seven Types* 65).

Notwithstanding the difficulty of a comprehensive definition of the adventure story, as an effect of its masculine character, the basic elements of adventure story can be listed as follows: Dangerous things happen unexpectedly, characters are forced to take action and make decisions and their characteristic features are courage, cunning, and ruthlessness. Endurance and leadership go along with basic survival skills and the heroes are ready to kill and be killed at the same time (Green, *Seven Types* 1-2). To all of these features, one may add the quality of fluidity, which is a consequence of the interconnectedness of the hero and the action in adventure stories. As Green has pointed out, actions and the character of the protagonist are mingled with one another, so much so that "[t]he protagonist's character may be said to 'generate' or at least characterize his adventures" (*Seven Types* 21). In other words, due to its fluid character, the nature of the adventure is conditioned according to the adventurer and his social and historical context. For example, "Robinson Crusoe's character as an adventure hero, so inventive, so busy, so unerotic, and the character of his adventures, both derive from his serving – as imaginative representative – the merchant caste" (Green, *Dreams of Adventure* 20). Thus it is possible to say that the definition of adventure and the adventurer can vary according to their times and the dominant political ideology as it is also stressed out by Green himself with reference to the Robinson Crusoe example just mentioned: "the caste character of the ideology, manifested in the adventure hero, changed as the [mercantile] empire changed" (*Dreams of Adventure*, 20).

An example to the idea of the transformation of the adventure hero depending on context, thereby revealing the fluidity of the genre, is that while in Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* the reader witnesses an imperialist middle-class Protestant English man of the eighteenth century, with Elizabeth Whittaker's "Robina Crusoe and Her Lonely Island Home," which is a nineteenth-century adaptation of Defoe's novel, the reader is introduced to a New Woman character "emerging" out of the "dominant" discourse and "structures of feeling" on femininity in the late Victorian period. Since a clear understanding of what is theoretically meant here by the term "structures of feeling" is crucial for the development of the argument at this point, Raymond Williams's definition of the term must be quoted:

> [I]t is as firm and definite as 'structure' suggests, yet it operates in the most delicate and least tangible parts of our activity. In one sense, this structure of feeling is the culture of a period: it is the particular living result of all the elements in the general organization. And it is in this respect that the arts of a period, taking these to include characteristic approaches and tones in argument, are of major importance. . . . I do not mean that the structure of feeling, any more than the social character, is possessed, in the same way by the many individuals in the community. But I think it is a very deep and very wide possession, in all actual communities, precisely because it is on it that communication depends. (*The Long Revolution* 64-65)

In other words, and as suggested by Graeme Turner with reference to Terry Eagleton's views on this subject (Turner 47), what Williams means by a "structure of feeling" is a concept closer to an encompassing "ideology" within which there are "dominant," "residual," and "emergent" (Williams, *Marxism and Literature* 121-27) elements and discourses. Defined as such, these terms will be used in this study to refer to the various discursive components that represent the contexts with which the individual adventure narratives in Whittaker's work and the 1997 film *Robinson Crusoe* interact.

Accordingly, another instance of penetration of the social and historical context into the character formation of an adventure hero can be observed in the 1997 film in which the audience is presented with an anti-imperialist, post-colonial Robinson character who aims and yearns for a multiculturalist harmony in society and who transforms his identity throughout his experiences in the "adventure time." This adventure time complies with the conjuncture of a world that had been already de-colonised by the end of the 1970s and dominated by the cultural politics of multiculturalism by the end of the

1990s. Moreover, the film in general offers a critique not only of the colonial past of the West, but also of the failure of multiculturalism in the contemporary world, which had become more visible by the time the film was produced in 1997. In other words, these texts represent various "structures of feeling." Just like Elizabeth Whittaker's serialised fiction "Robina Crusoe" that will be shown to represent both the "emergent" and the "dominant" discourses on femininity in late Victorian Britain – with an emphasis on the "emergent" New Woman type –, the 1997 film too accommodates both the "dominant" and "emergent" discourses on post-colonial multiculturalism, with the emphasis falling on the "dominant" discourse in this case. As these examples show, each adventure tale, "in relation to certain features of political history, as the energizing myth or legend of certain political forces" (Green, *Seven Types* 21), can generate new adventure formulas and definitions. Thus, it is possible to say that, under the name of adventure, the reader is offered with various stories and points of view which, in turn, help to redefine adventure tale and adventurer as the time and, accordingly, the examples change due to the political and historical events.

It follows from the above explanations that adventure stories are narratives that usually describe the social and cultural facts of their times and as for the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European culture, these facts were shaped mainly around the "motifs of expansion and self-assertion" (Green, *Seven Types* 25). Since the main aim behind the adventure tale was about manipulating and directing the mainstream culture, especially of the young generation, towards the deeds of the Empire, it was presented under various different forms to ensure and heighten its dependability and effect. To guarantee cultural legitimacy at least at the initial stage, rather than receiving the adventure story in the form of fiction, the reader was introduced with narrative forms which had less questionability or more credibility. Accordingly, in these centuries, adventure tales were written under the names of biography, journalism, and history all of which served to "the intellectual diet of men of power and action" (Green, *Seven Types* 38). That is to say, adventure tale, together with its themes and tone, became the representative figure of the imperialist men and their manliness by transforming itself into so-called realistic stories, namely creative nonfiction that found voice in diaries, traveller's tales, secret histories and similar personal writings.

Especially in the case of adventure tales that were presented in the form of creative nonfiction, adventure tale serves to construct history through literature in indefinite ways. At the centre of the main discussion about historical fiction and creative non-fiction is the question of reality, or factuality. In that sense, definition of reality (or factuality) within the texts specified above demands new approaches due to the potentially alternating modes of reception by the reader. In "The Logical Status of Fictional Discourse" John Searle points out that the separation between factuality and fictionality is not based on the statements but on readers' perception and "[t]he proper response is indicated by the type of story we think we are being told, and that decision in turn [is] influenced by factors such as our relationship with the storyteller, the social context, and the antecedent conversation, as well as by properties of the stories itself" (qtd. in Heyne 480). In other words, the perception of the fictionality or factuality of a text is mainly about how the reader responds to the story and how much biased or conditioned the reader is. Regardless of reader's perception however, in reality, it is the author who knows whether his/her story is, rather than perceived to be, fact or fiction; what can be determined by the reader is only the quality of the text. At this point, Heyne's terms "factual adequacy" and "factual status" gain importance in distinguishing those two different features: "A fictional text has neither factual status nor factual adequacy; a nonfiction text has factual status, but readers would have to resolve individually or by debate the question of its factual adequacy" (Heyne 48-81). That is to say, what matters in this discussion is not the decision regarding whether a text is fact or fiction, but how close it gets to being accepted as fact by the reader. Likewise, European adventure writers of the imperial era seem to have given their stories "factual status" by using "creative nonfiction." In this way, they were not being questioned or their stories[3] were not met with any doubt by their readers. In turn, by using these kinds of strategies, the function of adventure narrative in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was to serve the diffusion of imperialistic ideology within culture and society. So, one of the advantages of these strategies is the outreach to wider audience.

[3] In the eighteenth century, for instance, the terms story and history were synonymously used. Seperation of fact and fiction were not established.

With reference to the above points about "factual status," it may be claimed that Defoe's novel is a solid example. As Walter Allen suggests in *The English Novel*, "[i]n writing Crusoe [Defoe] was not, of course, consciously writing a novel: he was writing a spoof-autobiography which was to be taken by his readers as fact" (38). Accordingly, Defoe's construction of factuality is clearly seen in his Preface to the novel where the reader is ensured that the account was "a just History of Fact" (Defoe 4).

> The Story is told with Modesty, with Seriousness, and with a religious Application of Events to the Uses to which wise Men always apply them […].The Editor believes the thing to be a just History of Fact; neither is there any Appearance of Fiction in it: And however thinks, because all such things are dispatch'd, that the Improvement of it, as well to the Diversion, as to the Instruction of the Reader, will be the same; and as such, he thinks […] he does them a great Service in the Publication. (Defoe, "Preface")

It is to a great extent to this seemingly legitimate claim at factuality that, in time, Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* "became a myth, promoting popular colonialism, representing and legitimating the British Empire to the British people" (Phillips, "The Geography" 125), and came to be considered "a classic 'megatext' of Eurocentrism" (Jeyifo 382). Writing history by using creative nonfiction makes it easier to shape ideologies of the readers. To spread the imperial ideology, writers of the early imperial age seem to have turned their experiences, stories or thoughts into creative non-fiction. But to generalize the term non-fiction as "the expression of, reflection upon, and/or interpretation of observed, perceived, or recollected experience," it can be maintained that this experience has the power to "alter or camouflage or transform actuality" (Root 244-45). However, even a camouflaged form of actuality – and one may even call this ideology – needs a vehicle to reach out to the masses it is intended for, and education seems to have been the vehicle for the imperial ideology in the context of British creative non-fiction writing.

All these experiences that have been written in the form of creative non-fiction were spread to masses, particularly with education. Thus, education in every sense, including formal school education and non-formal social education, became a tool for transforming actuality and conveying ideologies as well. In fact, education is one of the institutions Louis Althusser has defined as an "Ideological State Apparatus" in his

discussion of how ideology penetrates into society. With reference to this strong relationship between education and ideology, it is very important to note that especially in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, "geography and history were thought in implicit relation to England's imperial career" (Green, *Dreams of Adventure* xii) and taught on the basis of that relation. In this context, a wide array of practises or texts such as map reading and writing, science education, magazines, novels, and stories of real life heroes can be listed as important features for the architecture of imperial ideology in this period.

The second half of the nineteenth century also coincides with the arrival of Education Acts that made the number of literate people within the lower class greater. Education had always been on the agenda of England, yet, for centuries access to education had remained the privilege of a very small part of the community. But in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, social reforms, parliamentary acts and related practises such as philanthropic efforts changed this situation for the better ("Schooling before the 19th Century"). For instance, in the eighteenth century Robert Raikes, an English philanthropist, started the Sunday School Movement, which was initially set up for boys and then started to accept girls as well, and gave Biblical teaching by focusing on Latin and Greek (Davies 219-25). In the nineteenth century, in addition to Biblical teachings, John Pounds helped the formation of a school system in which poor children learned to read and write (Mark K. Smith). After his attempts, the Education Act of 1833 was passed and the Parliament decided to allocate money for the construction of schools for poor children. With the Forster's Education Act of 1870, free primary education started to be funded by the state and with the Elementary Education Act of 1880, compulsory attendance to school between the ages of five and ten pushed families to send their children to school, which inevitably raised the number of literate people within the community (Phillips, *Mapping* 50). As a result, the target of juvenile magazines, newspapers, and related written materials expanded and accordingly changed. This is significant because of the fact that newspapers, juvenile magazines, and children's books were the channels through which adventure tales served the ideology of the nation effectively, especially its dissemination among the working class people who started to gain visibility in the political sphere. The young generation who had the

chance to benefit from the Education Acts, also benefited from the reform acts of 1867 and 1884 which made them voters. Thus, the ones that the Empire gave education according to imperial purposes became the Empire's future voter pool. Along with these changes, "taxes on knowledge" (advertisement tax, newspaper stamp duty and tax on printing paper) were all abolished in 1861 (Law 15) and marketing strategy of making these materials available with affordable prices for the lower class people helped the efforts of ideological indoctrination as well.

As mentioned above, it can be deduced that juvenile magazines, such as 'boy's reading' and 'girl's reading' which "were written for adults, read by them, and handed over to children later" (Green, *Seven Types* 38) were ideologically functional. The ideological function of children's reading as it relates to imperialism has been aptly pointed out by many critics: Roderick McGillis has explicitly argued that "Children and their books are ideological constructs" (106); Perry Nodelman has asserted that "child psychology and children's literature are imperialist activities" (33); and Stahl has pointed out that "children's literature [is] one of the most forceful means of acculturation [and] reflects the cultural aims of imperial policy" (qtd. in Kutzer xv). Moreover, Patrick Brantlinger has argued that "imperialist discourse, like the actual expansion of the Empire, was continuous, informing all aspects of Victorian culture and society" (190) and the late Victorian juvenile magazines were not exempt from this ideological intrusion.

Boy's Own Paper for instance, was a juvenile magazine that promoted imperial thought and conditioned the minds of the young generation according to the dreams and wishes of the Empire. Similarly *ABC for Baby Patriots,* which was a nursery rhyme book about the Empire through which the most important tokens of the Empire were taught to abecedarian children from their very early ages. In his essay "The Birth of the Boys' Story and the Transition from the *Robinsonades* to the Adventure Story," Dennis Butts indicates that "[t]here were approximately 150 abridgements [of *Robinson Crusoe*] published for children between 1719 and 1819 alone" (446), which shows the inclination towards young readers and the massive amount of effort in the relevant circle not only about availability of the written works but also their effect in the minds of young people. Related to the idea of written material's effect on the life of young

people, Stephens states that seeing the children as the target while writing is generally intentional, and "[s]ince a culture's future is, to put it crudely, invested in its children, children's writers often take upon themselves the task of trying to mould audience into 'desirable' forms" (3).

First modern examples of the adventure tale worked as tools for constructing history by shaping the thoughts of the future generations as well. In the context of boys' reading, for instance, Green pointed out that "adventure was and is the *rite de passage* from white boyhood into the white manhood" (*Seven Types* 41). As it is seen, the idea of the Empire found itself in many different forms and expression not only in literature but also in politics, education, science and technology "that were also the food of further pride and the tools of further conquest" (Green, *Dreams of Adventure* 5). As Lemke puts it, "the social control of children's behaviour, beliefs and values is the single most significant means of inhibiting fundamental social change," and, in another statement, schooling, and education with its various techniques and tools have been used in "culturally European societies" for purposes of "cultural domination and social control" (141-143). To express this idea differently, by shaping the minds of the children that would be the next generation of imperialists and colonialists, different forms of adventure tales in a way shaped the history and the social character of man according to the interests of the Empire and shed light to further conquest for further generations. So, one particular function of the adventure tale in this period was to construct reality, construct it mainly for the young reader and do this through the formal and non-formal education he/she was receiving. Not completely separate from this reality construction function, the adventure tale also had a political function.

One of the triggering forces behind the adventure tale has been the political force itself. As Martin Green observes: "adventure tale and that political force have worked reciprocally together" (*Seven Types* 6). With reference to the perception of the political force in the present discussion, national consciousness is the main force that needs to be dwelled upon. The relationship between the adventure tale and the nation has been explained by Martin Green who maintained that "[t]he great adventure tales are those acts of imagination and narration that constitute the imagined communities called

nations. There has been a link between the nation as a political form and the novel as a literary form . . .” (*Seven Types* 7). In this kind of environment “the arts, science, and ideas, become charged with the same energies as the politics, and can be called in some sense imperial” (Green, *Dreams of Adventure* 4). Similarly, Kutzer has argued that “[s]tories of individuals and of individual experience nonetheless are part of a large body of stories, which together can form a kind of national allegory, an imaginative picture of the dreams, desires, and fears of a particular culture” (xiii). Thus, adventure stories can be considered as political documents in which all the constructed ideas, such as imperialism, of the white nation can be seen clearly. For example, Robinson Crusoe, who is seen as the most outstanding character of the adventure tale “is a manifestation of a national destiny, as those destinies were fondly imagined by the people who shaped and enforced actual [imperialist] policy” (Green, *Seven Types* 24), and all these examples lead to the idea that literary works are inseparable from the political. Furthermore, Green states that “adventures of respectable kind reveal themselves to be political documents. They reflect, and are reflected in, all the white nations’ feeling about their status as nation states and about the imperial venture they were jointly engaged about their national and international destinies” (*Seven Types* 24). By looking at the adventure stories, one can trace the footprints of a nation’s past, present, and intended future.

Most of the writers “took the adventure narrative to be the generic counterpart in literature to the Empire in politics and by writing such narratives, [writers like Defoe, who considered the Empire as the place in which adventure took place,] prepared the young men of England to go out to the colonies, to rule, and their families to rejoice in their fates out there” (Green, *Dreams of Adventure* 38). Internally, young imperialists followed their already chosen path and during their voyage, the adventure tales they read became their consort by giving them the feeling that they were replicating what their ancestors did. So another particular function of the adventure tale in this period was its political function by the operation of which the adventure tale contributed to an imperial national identity formation through what young people read, and this can best be explained with this dual cooperation between education and politics.

As mentioned earlier, an important quality of the adventure tale was its fluidity which was the result of variations of cultural and political contexts. This inherent fluidity of the adventure tale is also the basis on which different types within the adventure writing tradition were defined. Accordingly, Martin Green categorised seven different types of adventure tales based on the same variations of the cultural and political contexts (*Seven Types*, 47-187). The first and most important of these seven types of adventure tales was named as the 'Robinson Crusoe Story' which was developed onto Defoe's novel, and belongs to the group of 'island stories.' It is mainly about eighteenth-century England, economic individualism and scientific and technological development. Second type of the adventure story is 'The Three Musketeers Story' which is mainly a branch of historical novels and deals with issues such as state nationalism of nineteenth-century France and historical glamour. Third type of adventure tale is named as "The Frontiersman Story' by Green and can be seen as another part of 'Western' stories. "The Frontiersman Story's" mood is generally melancholic and highlights the issue of America's national identity. Fourth type of adventure story is called 'The Avenger Story' and leans back to the gothic novels of the eighteenth century. It deals with nation-states and tells the story of the oppressed while denouncing evil characters. Fifth type of the adventure tale, namely "The Wanderer Story" is the least place/geography-oriented type and is seen both as a part of picaresque novel and travel writing. Sixth type of adventure story, in Green's definition 'The Sagaman Story,' belongs to a group called 'Viking Romance' and its roots go back to the eighteenth-century Icelandic sagas. In the Sagaman Story, the triggering force has been searched in the past and the main feature of the type is that most of the time there is reconciliation between the sides, and it is considered to have a link with nineteenth-century Germany, and the times of Second and Third Reich. Seventh and the last type of adventure story is 'The Hunted Man Story' which is relatively modern when it is compared with the first six types, not only in terms of setting and characterization but language as well. It belongs to the group of 'thriller' and rather than being significantly connected to one country, its effects and roots can be seen equally in various parts of the world.

The root of the first type of adventure tale, Daniel Defoe's novel *Robinson Crusoe* has maintained its position as one of the most influential works of literature since its first

publication. It was translated into almost all the languages and has been read by generations. The Robinson Crusoe Story in general and Robinson himself as a character in particular stand as a "cultural image as it got expressed in literature" (Green, *Dreams of Adventure* 204) and therefore represent the eighteenth-century British culture. As for Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, "imaginative importance of tools and techniques," "the imaginative predominance of reason and prudence," "the literary achievement of formal realism," "the striking lack of interest in erotic feelings," and "the role of religion" (Green, *Dreams of Adventure* 75-76) can be listed as the most prominent features and basic elements of the story and the genre itself. However, perhaps a more important feature of Defoe's novel is its adaptability, which, in turn, is perhaps the most outstanding and most concrete example of the fluidity associated in this study with the adventure tale as a genre. Thus, the adaptability of Defoe's novel and the profusion of this adaptability together constitute the strength of the Robinson Crusoe story, which has been most authoritatively expressed by Tillyard who states in *The Epic Strain in the English Novel* that one "can describe the plot of *Robinson Crusoe* in several ways; and this possible multiplicity is one reason why the book holds us so strongly" (33).

In affirming the adaptability of *Robinson Crusoe*, Michael Seidel claims that "no single book in the history of Western literature has spawned more editions, translations, imitations, continuations, and sequels than *Crusoe*" (8). As a matter of fact, as Donna Landry observes in another context, even the last name of the character Robinson Crusoe was a derivation from his father's originally German last name Kreutznauer (118), thereby rendering Robinson himself a form of adaptation. Moreover, not only the novel itself, but also the story has survived in different versions, creating the tradition of Robinsonades. As Louis James explains, "[t]he term 'Robinsonade' was coined by J. C. Schnabel, whose *Die Insel Felsenberg* (1731-42) was the first European work to be inspired by Defoe's narrative. It is significant that it emerged not in Britain, but in Germany, where the story was read with a utopian emphasis" (James 37). To provide a wider set of definitions of the Robinsonade, Nikoleishvili's (3) work has referred to Karin Siegl, who offered the phrases "desert-island romance," "survival story," or "castaway story" to define the Robinsonades (8); and to Janet Bertsch who described a Robinsonade as "a story or an episode within a story where an individual or group of

individuals with limited resources try to survive on a desert island" (79). Similarly, in their account of the rise of adventure fiction in the mid-nineteenth century, Knowles and Malmkjær pinpoint *Robinson Crusoe* as the root of the adventure novel tradition and refer to the adventure novels of the period as "Robinsonades" (5); and Carl Fisher defines a Robinsonade as a text that "repeats the themes of *Robinson Crusoe*; usually it incorporates or adapts specific physical aspects of Crusoe's experience and is an obvious rewriting[4] of the Crusoe story" (130).

As such, the story has been naturalised as German, French, Dutch, Saxon, and Prussian Robinsons, male and female Robinsons, and Robinsons in different stages of their life. Although there are many different retellings of Defoe's story, the title that is consecrated to the genre is the Robinson Crusoe Story. The genre has survived throughout the ages, it has been observed in different geographies, languages, and cultures. Even though the main structure manages to stay similar, the ideology that is reflected in the narrative changes in line with the conjuncture of the historical moment of each adaptation of Defoe's novel. After all "the Robinson Crusoe story has been so entwined with the key ideas of modern politics, economics, exploration, science, and so on, it can be retold again and again, and each time with a different point" (Green, *Seven Types* 49). Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Emile* (1762), J.H. Campe's *Robinson der Juengere* (1779), Johann David Wyss' *The Swiss Family Robinson* (1812), Captain Frederick Marryat's *Masterman Ready* (1841), R.M. Ballantyne's *The Coral Island* (1857), Jules Verne's *The Mysterious Island* (1874), William Golding's *Lord of the Flies* (1954), Tom Godwin's *The Survivors* (1958), J. M. Coetzee's *Foe* (1986), and Terry Pratchett's *Nation* (2008) can be given as important examples of the literary adaptations of Defoe's novel in different languages and cultures. As Pat Rogers states, by the end of the nineteenth century, "at least 200 English editions, including abridged texts; 110 translations; 115 revisions and adaptions; and 277 imitations" (Rogers 11) of Defoe's novel appeared and according to Smith, "the robinsonade developed in the nineteenth century into one of the most popular genres for child readers" (Smith, "Microcosms" 161). Under different forms and names, "[t]he production of Robinsonades peaked in

[4] As Carl Fisher's remark also illustrate, the terms "adaptation" and "re-writing" may at times be used as equivalents of each other. However, these terms are still disputed and for the purpose of this study, the term "adaptation" is taken as the basis in the body narrative.

the Victorian period, with an average of more than two per year. In addition, 110 translations appeared in print before 1900, alongside at least 115 revisions" (Phillips, *Mapping* 24-25). Moreover, in *The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature*, Humphrey Carpenter and Mari Prichard also maintain that in Victorian Britain, the Robinsonade was "the dominant form in fiction for children and young people" (458).

In the preface to *Robinson Crusoe: Myths and Metamorphoses*, Brian Stimpson asserts that "[t]he strength and fascination of the story, encapsulated by Defoe but not restricted to his telling, is that it escapes all ideological strictures and continues to suggest alternative readings and prompt rewritings from alternative vantage points . . ." (ix). In other words, the adaptations of Defoe's novel vary according to the cultural forces that are prevalent at the time of the production of the individual adaptations. As a matter of fact, not only the adaptations but also the source text was constructive and reflective of the conjuncture of its own historical moment of production; "[t]he fiction that Defoe made out of the English facts, is, like those facts themselves, in the purest spirit of the modern system; it is a story of individual enterprise, Protestant piety, hard work, and self-help" (Green, *Dreams of Adventure* 25) and the superiority of Robinson over everything in his surroundings, whether human or non-human, was an eminent feature both of the character and the work itself. The point about the narration of human domination over colonial environment is explained by Hermann Wittenberg as follows:

> [t]he representation of colonial terrain is a form of control which organizes space in ways appropriate to the demands of a particular phase of domination. These landscapes and the arrangement of colonial bodies within their pictorial and textual spaces are expressive of the subjectivities generated by the ideological needs and constraints of particular colonial moments. (128-29)

Thus, it can be maintained that *Robinson Crusoe* as a text is a form of domination, and the act of reading it and most of the other colonial adventure tales is a colonialist practice on the part of the reader. Also the argument goes along as follows: "The shaping of landscape [in other words the writing of landscape] is thus informed by ideologically charged cultural codes . . ." (Wittenberg 129). In addition to the ideologically charged cultural codes, for Mitchell, landscapes can be seen as spatial constructs which "circulate as a medium of exchange, a site of visual appropriation, a focus for the formation of identity" (2) in which the central character of the adventure

tale interacts with his/her surroundings which are alien both in the psychological and physical sense, both of which are components of the reshaping of identity and also of the reforming of the tale itself.

As the above discussion and the reference to identity formation suggest, the Robinson Crusoe story evolved, an evolution apparent in its transformation from the nineteenth century to our time. In the nineteenth century, the strongest voice in England was Evangelical and imperialist but especially after the First World War and during the course of the twentieth century, themes of gender, colonialism, imperialism, post-colonialism, anti-imperialism, and contemporary preoccupations such as anger, horror, and violence have become the other issues that have been represented by various Robinson Crusoe stories. These different points of view and different interpretations which were shaped by "the external events, serve merely as clues [that] can be interpreted in many ways" (Balazs 11) and open paths for the portrayal of the society that is under discussion.

Against the above-given background, this study aims to revisit one intra-medial and one inter-medial adaptation of Defoe's novel from a contemporary adaptation studies perspective. Accordingly, in shaping a theoretical approach for the purposes of the analysis to be presented here, the most recent, and so far the most decisive, conclusion about a theory for adaptation studies needs to be accounted for. Kamilla Elliott argues for a more formalistic cultural/ideological study of adaptations, as well as a more cultural/ideological-oriented formalistic study of adaptations (37). According to her approach, adaptation studies needs to have a comprehensive scope nourished from various points of view and fields. Thus, the scope of adaptation studies should not be restricted to one single branch but should be interdisciplinary. In fact, Elliott's call has already been in place through the work of Robert Stam, one of the earliest and definitely the most influential adaptation studies scholar in the incorporation of Bakhtinian thought into adaptation studies. For instance, in the seminal *Subversive Pleasures: Bakhtin, Cultural Criticism and Film* that was published as early as 1989, Stam explains the nature of Bakhtin's association with Russian Formalism as follows:

> Although Bakhtin has himself occasionally been labeled a "Russian formalist," in fact his attitude toward that movement mingles appreciation and critique. *The Formal Method* credits the formalists with "posing the essential problems of literary scholarship," but criticizes them for isolating the study of literature from the other arts and from social context. The literary phenomenon Bakhtin argues, is simultaneously determined from without (extrinsically) and from within (intrinsically). From within it is conditioned by language and literature itself, and from without it is influenced by the other spheres of social life. […] And while formalism saw the artistic text as closed within some "permanent contemporaneity," Bakhtin sees every utterance, including artistic utterances, as social and historical "events" resonating not only with their actual time and context but also with the echoes and reverberations of their past usages. (*Subversive Pleasures,* 6-7)

What these observations suggest is that Bakhtin himself made the call for an interrelated approach to the study of texts that takes into account not only the formal and linguistic texture of texts, but also their context. Therefore, it is not surprising that a Bakhtinian approach has been central to the development of contemporary adaptation studies through the work of Stam. Another influential adaptation studies scholar Thomas Leitch explains the centrality of a Bakhtinian approach, mostly through the work of Stam, in the development of adaptation studies as follows:

> After years of being stuck in the backwaters of the academy, adaptation studies is on the move. A decade's worth of pioneering work by Brian McFarlane, Deborah Cartmell, Imelda Whelehan, James Naremore and Sarah Cardwell on the relation between film adaptations and their literary antecedents culminated in the publication of Robert Stam's three volumes on adaptation, two of them co-edited with Alessandra Raengo, in 2004 and 2005. The monumental project of Stam and Raengo sought to reorient adaptation studies decisively from the fidelity discourse universally attacked by theorists as far back as George Bluestone to a focus on Bakhtinian intertextuality — with each text, avowed adaptation or not, afloat upon a sea of countless earlier texts from which it could not help borrowing — and this attempt was largely successful. (Leitch 63)

That is to say, the culmination of contemporary adaptation studies - as it evolved from simplistic fidelity criticism[5] to a more sophisticated approach to the study of text to text and text to screen adaptations - has a strong element of Bakhtinian thought. However, as Leitch explains above, until the culmination represented by Stam's approach, the major

[5]Fidelity criticism refers to the more conventional study of text to screen adaptation in which the literary text is seen as the core to which the non-literary adaptation should be faithful in terms of text, tone, ideology and characterisation. According to Robert Mayer, discussion of fidelity "seems almost inescapable in discussion of adaptation: the very word, after all, suggests alteration or adjustment in order to make something fit in its new context or environment without, however, changing that something into something else –one 'adapts,' that is, one does not 'transform' or 'metamorphose'" (5).

concern in contemporary adaptation studies has been the issues of intertextuality which also can be found in Bakhtin's theory.

For example; Bela Balazs, who is a significant theorist of cinema, argues that although an adaptation uses the source text as its core, the work that is produced has a different content and form. In 1977 she argued that: "while the subject, or story, of both works is identical . . . their *content* is nevertheless different. It is this different *content* that is adequately expressed in the changed form resulting from the adaptation" (7-8). According to her, every "serious and intelligent adaptation," is "a re-interpretation" (11). Supporting Balazs's idea, George Bluestone has asserted that the filmmaker "becomes not a translator for an established author, but a new author in his own right" (62). Similar to Balazs and George Bluestone, Brian McFarlane is another critic who has criticized the issue of fidelity and has seen "fidelity criticism [as] unilluminating" (9). Moreover he thinks that the fidelity to the source text "undervalues other aspects of the film's intertextuality" (21). According to him, one who disregards the intertextual capacity of the adaptation "is guilty of undervaluing the film's cultural autonomy as well as failing to understand the process by which the novel has been transposed to film (200). Last but not least, Roland Barthes who has favoured "the intertextuality model," considers the literary text not as the core but only as a part of the adaptation process and argues that adaptation is a "multidimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash" (146). According to Barthes, every text is "a tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centres of culture […] [quotations that are] always anterior, never original" (146). However, all of these remarks, together with Leitch's point (63) which foregrounds "Bakhtinian intertextuality," miss the point about what may be called 'Bakhtinian contextuality,' that seems not only to lie at the heart of the theorist's concept of the chronotope, but also is a significant quality of the adventure tale. Similar to the point that has been made about the necessity of assigning a major role to contextuality in analysis, in the article entitled "Bakhtin, Translation and Adaptation" Dennis Cutchins criticises the tendency of theoreticians to mention only the intertextual relationship between the texts while disregarding other complex and detailed models: "[C]omplexity has led some scholars . . . to label adaptations simply as 'intertextual', and thus to wash their hands of the question of what is being adapted"

(43). In other words, only by highlighting the simple connections between the text, namely intertextuality, scholars miss the importance of what is being adapted contextually.

To briefly explain what is meant by 'Bakhtinian contextuality' here in relation to adaptation studies, one may argue that texts are not only in a dialogic relationship with one another but also there is a strong, dynamic and continuously evolving relationship between the texts and their contexts. This approach on adaptation is built upon Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of dialogism. According to Bakhtin, writers of the texts are in a dialogical relationship with their world, with their work and with themselves. Thus, a work of art in general and an adaptation in particular should be considered as "some kind of spatial whole, possessing not only boundaries but an inner territory. A cultural domain has no inner territory. It is located entirely upon boundaries, boundaries intersect it everywhere, passing through each of its constituent features" (*Dialogic Imagination* 274). Developing his argument based on this Bakhtinian approach, Cutchins also argues that adaptation scholars should "strive to understand not the text or the context, but the ways interrelated texts and contexts work together or against each other at their boundaries" (Cutchins 51), which again affirms the validity of the argument in this study for the adoption of an approach with the prosed name of 'Bakhtinian contextuality.' To provide another angle on the dialogical relationship of writers with their world and with themselves, one may refer to Laurence Raw's observation, though it is articulated in another context, that "adaptation is a *psychological* process: only by coming to terms with other people and other cultures can individuals . . . 'examine themselves' and their existing beliefs" (3). That is to say, one needs to understand the culture of the source text and needs to adapt oneself to be able to re-adapt the source text into another context "which is inevitably partial, personal, conjunctural" (Stam, *Literature* 4) and cognitive.

With respect to above explanations, it can be asserted that there has always been a strong Bakhtinian element in contemporary adaptation studies and this element still resonates in the most recent attempts at theorisation in the field represented by Elliott's 2013 call for a more formalistic cultural and ideological studies. In view of the essential

and central place of Bakhtinian theory in contemporary adaptation studies, this study will first explain the adaptability of Defoe's adventure narrative with reference to Bakhtin's discussion of "chronotope," in general, and of "adventure chronotope," in particular.

As has been explained above, it is possible to see the Robinson Crusoe story being revisited and replicated in many different contexts with different adaptations. In fact, James has also related the Robinsonades to Bakhtinian terminology but argued that the adaptability of the story is a result of Defoe's lack of artistic skill:

> the comparatively 'naïve' artistic structure of *Crusoe* creates an unstable and sometimes conflicting authorial perspective which produces, in Bakhtinian terms, a 'polyphonic' narrative, full of tensions and ambivalence. Instead of detracting from the work, this complexity, if largely unintentional, lies at the root of *Crusoe*'s continuing power to challenge and to inspire imaginative derivations. (35)

James further claimed that it was "[t]he very inconsistencies in Defoe's original" which gave it "the flexibility to adapt to the issues that it explores" (James 45). However, as it will be discussed in this study, the adaptability of the Robinson Crusoe story can be better explained with reference to Bakhtin's "chronotope." In *The Dialogic Imagination*, Bakhtin defines the chronotope as the reflection of inherent relationship between 'temporal' and 'spatial' time in literature. As a part of his discussion, the first type of novel Bakhtin deals with in his analysis is "the adventure novel of ordeal" in which he identifies what he calls "adventure-time" or "adventure chronotope" (*Dialogic Imagination* 87). According to Bakhtin's ideas, adventure chronotope has always been in the structure of literature and there have not been any differences since Classical Greek adventure. Thus, the novels that use this chronotope have mostly the same features. The essence of the adventure chronotope lays the plot's beginning and end. Since adventure time is seen outside reality, what happens between the two poles of the story line or how long it lasts does not matter. Thus, the plot is structured on the basis of the adventure time that lies between these two poles. This is in fact the main reason for the adaptability of the Robinson Crusoe story, and hence the tradition of the Robinsonades. In turn, the resulting Robinsonade tradition allows for the expression of various discourses, which may be either "emergent" and/or "dominant" – again, in the

sense Raymond Williams uses these terms (*Marxism and Literature* 121-27) – in their historical contexts, thereby creating a polyphonic structure.

In *Dialogic Imagination*, Bakhtin defines the chronotope as "the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature" (86). In the chapter entitled "Forms of Time and Chronotope in the Novel" he analyses "the major chronotopes that endure as types and that determine the most important generic variations on the novel in the early stages of its development" (*Dialogic Imagination* 243). Michael Holquist has argued that the chronotope is "the master key to [Bakhtin's] whole theory of dialog" (9) and that in Bakhtin's understanding the "time/space coordinates serve to ground what is in effect a first philosophy: they are the fundamental constituents of understanding, and thus provide the indices for measuring other aspects of human existence, first and foremost, the identity of the self" (10). According to James Lawson, "[b]etween centripetal fixity and centrifugal flux, between the Being and Becoming of meanings, Bakhtin emphasizes flux and Becoming" (388). In fact, Lawson's remark about Bakhtin's emphasis on "centrifugal flux" rather than "centripetal fixity" and on "Becoming" rather than "Being" suggest another evidence of how fitting the Bakhtinian theory is for the analyses of a centripetally fixed source text, which represents a centre, in relation to its adaptations that represent a flux moving outward from the fixed centre; in other words for the study of the Being of the source text in its relation to its adaptations that are the Becoming of the source text. As such, the larger frame of dialogism and the particular concept of the "chronotope" that is "the master key" (Holquist 9) to the former, provide effectively useful theoretical tools for contemporary adaptation studies. Likewise, reading Holquist's contention that the chronotope is the core concept which informs all the other concepts in Bakhtin's philosophy, together with Lawson's argument that the relationship between the real-world chronotope and the literary chronotope is not always one of "close correspondence" (396), one may argue that the literary chronotope may at times subvert the real-world chronotope and conform to it at others. The rationale for such a coupling is the "representational importance" (250) Bakhtin attaches to the chronotope in the following: "All the novel's abstract elements - philosophical and social generalizations, ideas, analyses of cause and effect - gravitate toward the chronotope and through it take

on flesh and blood, permitting the imaging power of art to do its work" (*Dialogic Imagination* 250). While building creative works that do or do not represent the real world chronotope which is a result of the "power of art," the inclusion of human perception can be considered as an important element in terms of Bakhtin's ideas. For Bakhtin "time and space are in essence categories through which human beings perceive and structure the surrounding world . . ." (Bemong 4). In turn, the relationship between the real world and the fictional world which was indicated by Bakhtin "has shown how literature can help us to appreciate the fact that, in the course of cultural history, transformations of time concepts and spatial representations reflect radical changes in cultural attitudes and lived experience" (Bemong iii). Through the idea of chronotope, which in itself has the idea of reflecting real life time in different contexts, it is possible to say that Bakhtin's chronotope "addresses not only the perception of the fictional world but also points at the spatial and temporal embedding of human action in order to offer a better understanding of how humans act in their biotopes and semiospheres" (Bemong iv). Related to this idea, Bakhtin himself emphasises that

> [t]he work and the world represented in it enter the real world and enrich it, and the real world enters the work and its world as part of the process of its creation, as well as part of its subsequent life, in a continual renewing of the work through the creative perception of listeners and readers. Of course this process of exchange is itself chronotopic: it occurs first and foremost in the historically developing social world, but without ever losing contact with changing historical space. We might even speak of a special *creative* chronotope inside which this exchange between work and life occurs, and which constitutes the distinctive life of the work. (*Dialogic Imagination* 254)

This is why the discussion of fact and fiction, ideological discourse, structures of feeling and contextual study should be situated around the "chronotope" as the centre. Due to this connectedness between the two worlds, namely fictional and real, it can be maintained that there is a cross-affected relationship between the work of art and the surrounding in which it was produced. The work is affected by the real world, its history, ideology and vice versa. Like it is in the relativity theory (which is also one of the most important ideas that Bakhtin flourishes his ideas on –chronotope and its relationship between temporal and spatial time which was seen as the fourth dimension –) two worlds are in a flux-like relationship that cannot be determined in how much sense or to what degree they affect each other. Also the decodings of the reader/audience is another dimension on top of that problematic which intensifies the

plurality of the stories in terms of context and understanding. The reason behind the plurality of contexts and understanding can vary; such as time, culture, geography, and gender. Yet, in its very core;

> if we conceive of genre in terms of chronotope, then a shift in medium may or may not occasion a shift in genre. The important changes in a narrative take place not when the medium shifts but when the chronotope changes. Within a new chronotope the events may be the same, but the probability and the significance of events happening in a certain way will have changed. There is a change in the evaluative aspect, the moral quality, of the narrative. (Emerson 8)

Thus, "[s]pecific chronotopes correspond to particular genres, which themselves represent particular world-views. To this extent, chronotope is a cognitive concept as much as a narrative feature of texts" (Morris 246). Chronotope's being a cognitive concept makes it possible to flourish under different contexts and times, hence the various adaptations. As Collington argues in her analysis of the "adaptability" of the Robinson Crusoe story, deploying Bakhtin's "literary chronotope" seems to be a useful tool for studying not only the "shifting temporo-spatial frameworks" observed in specific intra- and inter-medial adaptations but also the myriad of "cultural preoccupations" attached to these different interpretations of the original literary text (184). Accordingly, the main argument in this study is that the Crusoe story's plasticity can best be explained with reference to a specific type of "literary chronotope," one which Bakhtin calls the "adventure chronotope." Likewise, Collington further argues that

> [f]or Bakhtin, the lived chronotope of the author becomes reflected in the fictional chronotopes of the work of art. This assimilation of a historical consciousness by a work of art is, to my mind, absolutely crucial in the field of adaptation studies. Why after all, do we persist in reworking and retelling familiar tales? Perhaps because we have a basic need to see canonical stories re-framed in such a way as to reflect changing values, changing self-perceptions, and a changing understanding of the world around us. (192)

The first type of novel Bakhtin deals with in his analysis is "the adventure novel of ordeal" (*Dialogic Imagination* 86) in which he identifies what he calls adventure-time or adventure chronotope. According to Bakhtin, the use of the adventure chronotope had so firmly been established in the literature of ancient times that "in all subsequent evolution of the purely adventure novel nothing essential has been added to it down to

the present day" (*Dialogic Imagination* 87). Accordingly, the myriad of novels using this chronotope are "in fact composed of the very same elements (motifs): individual novels differ from each other only in the number of such elements, their proportionate weight within the whole plot and the way they are combined" (*Dialogic Imagination* 87). This is in fact another way to understand the rationale behind Martin Green's assigning the name "The Robinson Crusoe Story" to the first type of adventure tale he analyses and also to make better sense of the tradition of the Robinsonades.

The essence of the adventure chronotope is that all action in the novel happens between starting point and the ending point of the plot movement. The novel is built upon between these two poles in which the story takes place. Yet, in its essence, there is not any need for a story between these poles, because, adventure time leaves no trace not only in the story but also in the life and personality of the hero. Thus, when the hero/heroine returns to his/her original surrounding, everything, including the feelings, thoughts and even the age of the character, stays as it was, as if he/she has never left. Because of the stability in the biographical time of the hero/heroine, the adventures can be extended as much as the writer wants. For all these reasons, adventure chronotope is "characterized by a technical, abstract connection between space and time, by the reversibility of moments in a temporal sequence, and by their interchangeability in space" (*Dialogic Imagination* 89-100). Hence, the fluidity, plasticity, and adaptability of "The Robinson Crusoe Story."

As James Lawson puts it, "the chronotopes of a narrative are 'bridges' that engage with parallel space-time frames in the real world" and the relationship between the two is that "narrative sheds a unique light on the real world" (385). In Bakhtin's own words, "the real and the represented world" are "indissolubly tied up with each other and find themselves in continual mutual interaction; uninterrupted exchange goes on between them" (*Dialogic Imagination* 254) and he maintains the argument by saying that "[o]ut of the actual chronotopes of our world . . . emerge the reflected and created chronotopes of the world represented" (253). With reference to the adventure chronotope, Lawson explains that "[t]he classic Greek adventure novel, for instance, like the modern James Bond film, has lead characters with unchanging personality traits (the temporal side),

exhibited all the more clearly in dizzying transitions in location (the spatial side)" (389). Related to the idea of unchanging personality of the adventure hero, "[t]he hammer of events shatters nothing and forges nothing - it merely tries the durability of an already finished product. And the product passes the test" (Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination* 107). In the "abstract-alien world" of the adventure novel, "a man can only function as an isolated and private individual … [b]ut at the same time this private and isolated man . . . quite often behaves on the surface, like a public man" (Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination* 108). However, "[c]haracteristically it is not private life that is subjected to and interpreted in light of social and political events, but rather the other way round - social and political events gain meaning in the novel only thanks to their connection with private life" (Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination* 109).This is how the hero of the adventure novel and the literary chronotope communicate and interact with the real world. This is also the way in which both Whittaker's "Robina Crusoe and Her Lonely Island Home" and the film *Robinson Crusoe* (1997) address the "emergent" / "dominant" structures of feeling in their respective moments of production. There is not a precise link between the space/time events and their re-tellings. All of the factual narratives can be considered as the versions of its real form, "constructed, as all versions are, by someone in particular, on some occasion, for some purpose, and in accord with some relevant set of principles" (Barbara Smith 218). As Bakhtin states, "[c]hronotopes are mutually inclusive, they co-exist, they may be interwoven with, replace or oppose one another, contradict one another or find themselves in ever more complex interrelationships. . . . The general characteristic of these interactions is that they are dialogical . . ." *(Dialogic Imagination* 252). In the most general sense, it may be argued that such mutual inclusiveness, co-existence, and interwovenness of entities that may be in harmony or contradiction with one another are also the qualities of source texts and their adaptations. Therefore, it is by no means surprising that Daniel Defoe's novel *Robinson Crusoe*, which can be exemplified as the most significant adventure novel with countless adaptations since its publication, contains the most important features of Bakhtin's "chronotope" theory. Hence, it has different adaptations, which contain different discourses in their adventure-time.

As has been explained earlier in this chapter, perhaps the most effective expression of the adaptability of Defoe's novel is the term Robinsonade. In Green's words in this period "there was the unending sequence of reissues and adaptations of *Robinson Crusoe"* (*Seven Types* 2). This period also coincides with the time in which juvenile magazines were very popular, influential and in great demand in society. Thus most of the adaptations of the Robinson Crusoe story were created particularly for children and "[a]imed at the young, Robinsonades both generated a market for children's literature and popularized abridgements of *Crusoe* . . ." (Free 107). As has been explained in Kevin Carpenter's *Desert Isles & Pirate Islands: The Island Theme in Nineteenth Century English Juvenile Fiction,* working as a tool to structure the minds of the young generation, Robinsonades were "regarded as a pedagogic instrument to be applied to inculcate piety, and to teach ideas about society . . ." (qtd. in Free 108).

To fulfil their main goal as pedagogic instruments, Robinsonades took many different shapes as "*Robinson Crusoe* adaptors have metamorphosed Defoe's castaway into a dog, a woman, a child, a family, a doctor, and an idyllic lover, among many others" (Nikoleishvili 3). Green states that "common sense is as conventional as [art] theory, and its conventions are heterogeneous" (*Seven Types* 2); thus, the works of art which display society, such as Robinsonades, have different discourses and various thematic preoccupations even though they belong to the same historical period. For instance, while Johann David Wyss' *The Swiss Family Robinson* (1812) situated the importance of moral and family life in its centre, in Captain Frederick Marryat's *Masterman Ready* (1841), which was written as a response to Wyss, rather than portraying being shipwrecked as a romantic adventure (Brackett 285), Marryat foregrounded Christian values and the benevolence of God. "[I]n the nineteenth century, this literature changed its character somewhat, as did more serious literature, in response to changing cultural forces, and also found new forms of expressions" (Green, *Dreams of Adventure* 204). Therefore, to make a generalization about the nineteenth-century Robinsonades, one may state that the most significant characteristic of the Crusoe adaptations of the period is the transformation of the story in accordance with the message that is intended by the writer. This transformative character can also be observed in the twentieth-century

Robinsonades, though they were relatively a lot less didactic than their nineteenth-century equivalents.

In the twentieth century, in addition to the conveying of different discourses from and approaches to the Robinson Crusoe story, the genres, the forms and the methods associated with the Robinsonades changed as well. From biographies to novels, short stories, poems, films, comic books, and commercials, the twentieth century produced a much wider array of adaptations of the Robinson Crusoe story. In other words, as Britain retracted from being a colonial empire spanning across a geography of adventure in the nineteenth century to its national borders in the twentieth, especially during the period of de-colonisation, "[t]he form of adventure lived on after the spirit of adventure had died" (Green, *Dreams of Adventure* 334). As was the case in the nineteenth-century Robinsonades, this form of adventure as it survived in the twentieth century was also reflective of various themes and ideological voices, which inevitably creates a polyphonic effect on the entirety of the Robinsonade tradition. As Erik Martiny observes "[w]hile eighteenth- and nineteenth-century [Robinsonade] versions tend to remain optimistic, twentieth-century revisions generally lay emphasis on the more sombre possibilities of the genre, its potential to explore the ravages of solitude or colonisation" (669). For instance, while William Golding's *Lord of the Flies* (1954) is a depiction of the post-war trauma and the inherent violence within the human psyche, in J. M. Coetzee's *Foe* "linkage of language and power, the idea that those without voices cease to signify, figuratively and literally" (McGrath) is on the foreground. As can be seen in the examples from different centuries, the Robinsonades are characterised most typically by their ability to accommodate formalistic and ideological transformation. This observation justifies the study of the Robinsonades as ideal texts in view of the contemporary adaptation studies approach with its particular emphasis on the need for the exploration of both formalistic and ideological/discursive aspects of adapted texts. But then, it has already been established in the previous parts of this chapter with reference to Kamilla Elliott's and Dennis Cutchins's remarks about theorisation in adaptation studies that this approach is considerably Bakhtinian in its nature, especially with reference to chronotope, which has already been explained above, and to polyphony in general.

In *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, Bakhtin has defined polyphony as "the plurality of independent and unmerged voices and consciousnesses [which form] the genuine polyphony of full-valued voices" (4). With reference to Dostoevsky's novels, Bakhtin has explained that, as different from homophonic or monological texts, what "unfolds" in polyphonic texts is not "a multitude of characters and fates within a unified objective world, illuminated by the author's unified consciousness, but precisely the plurality of equal consciousnesses and their worlds, which are combined here into the unity of a given event, while at the same time retaining their unmergedness" (*Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* 4). The phrase "equal conciousness" in the above quotation should be understood as referring to equal not in the sense of their similarity in meaning and discourse, but in the sense of value that they hold, as each Robinsonade represents a different voice. As such, polyphonic texts are also characterised by a principle of not merely an inclusion, but more importantly, an "affirmation of another man's 'I'" (Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* 7).

Such a polyphonic quality can easily be observed when a comparative study of Elizabeth Whittaker's "Robina Crusoe and Her Lonely Island Home," and *Robinson Crusoe* (1997) is undertaken. In "Robina Crusoe and Her Lonely Island Home" one can observe the emergent ideas on gender roles and hear the voice of the New Woman figure. Whittaker's work is one of the most outstanding stories in the *Girl's Own Paper.* Notwithstanding the discursive ambivalence the work also represents, rather than representing only a traditional female figure who is generally considered as mother and wife, and attached to her domestic duties, with Robina, readers also see a New Woman figure who is educated not only in domestic duties but also in pragmatic and scientific knowledge. Also, with Robina there is a self-sufficient woman who chooses not to marry and she even raises her own adopted black daughter Undine. Thus, it is possible to argue that in a juvenile magazine which had the mission of educating children according to the norms and traditions of the late Victorian period, Whittaker gave voice to a New Woman figure through which emerging discourses about gender roles could easily be traced.

On the other hand, the film *Robinson Crusoe* (1997) aligns itself with the post-colonialist discourses that were dominant in the moments of its production and consumption, namely the peak of multiculturalism in the 1990s. In the film, Pierce Brosnan – who is generally known for his performance as James Bond, an agent of MI6, that is Her Majesty's Secret Intelligence Service – plays the Robinson character, which creates a contrast with Defoe's original Robinson who represents the imperialist and colonialist middle-class English men. In the 1997 film, the audience witnesses a relationship between Robinson and Man Friday that is based on equality, which directly articulates the multiculturalist discourses of the decade. Although at the beginning of the film Robinson asks Man Friday to call him "Master" and chains him like his slave, as the plot proceeds, Robinson changes his attitude and apologises to Man Friday. Also, religious, traditional, and technological differences are questioned not only by Robinson but also by Man Friday as well. Moreover, during an important episode in the film, which comes after a long time of comradeship between the two men, Robinson cross-dresses, thereby illustrating the Bakhtinian idea of "affirmation of another man's 'I.'" As a result, different voices are represented through the "Robinson Crusoe Story" again. Furthermore, the film *Robinson Crusoe* not only contributes to the polyphonic quality of the Robinsonade tradition, but it also has a polyphonic quality in itself as a text.

Thus it is possible to hypothesise not only that Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe's* rich potential for adaptability can be explained with Bakhtin's "adventure chronotope" theory, but also that as a result of this characteristic, different voices and discourses, in other words a polyphonic quality, can be observed in different literary and cinematic Robinsonades. In consideration of the discourses observed in the selected texts, paralleling Bakhtin's remark on polyphony in Shakespeare, which is mainly based on the argument that "if one can speak at all of a plurality of fully valid voices in Shakespeare, then it would only apply to the entire body of his work and not to individual plays" (Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* 34), the same idea can be applied to the Robinsonades. Even though it is not possible to observe that every single Robinsonade has a polyphonic structure, it will not be wrong to posit that the entire corpus of the Robinsonade tradition seems to have a polyphonic structure, in which it is possible to

see diverse points of views and discursive voices from various angles. As Collington herself also states;

> while the chronotope may be a useful tool for examining inter-medial adaptation between novel and film, it also provides a tool for studying intra-medial adaptations. Adaptation can thus be understood not only in terms of a shift of medium, but also in terms of shifting temporospatial frameworks within the same medium. A change of the dominant chronotope, the overlapping of chronotopes, or the introduction of a new chronotope in subsequent versions of the same story reflect different cultural preoccupations and can account for the diversity of audience reactions to retellings of the same tale. (184)

This structure of the chronotope which has the quality of change in itself, inevitably causes a polyphonic quality when the adventure stories interpreted generally.

In the light of the theoretical and methodological background that has been explained above, this thesis furthers the exploration of the adaptability of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* by illustrating the central argument with reference to one literary (Elizabeth Whittaker's "Robina Crusoe and her Lonely Island Home") and one cinematic adaptation (*Robinson Crusoe*, 1997). In the first chapter, Elizabeth Whittaker's "Robina Crusoe" will be analysed by highlighting the changing tone in the discourse on gender roles in the late Victorian period. The same method will also be used in the second chapter while analysing the 1997 film *Robinson Crusoe* that represents the changing ideas about colonialism and imperialism in the age of multiculturalism. After the analyses of the selected texts, it will be concluded that the adaptability of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, and thus the existence of the Robinsonade tradition, can be explained with the Robinson Crusoe story's fitting into the structure which Bakhtin calls "adventure chronotope," that this adaptability of the Robinson Crusoe story, in turn, creates a polyphonic Robinsonade tradition, in which the dominant and/or emergent discourses of a given historical period are represented and given voice.

CHAPTER I

THE CONTESTATION OF THE CONVENTIONAL AND THE NEW WOMAN IDENTITIES IN ELIZABETH WHITTAKER'S "ROBINA CRUSOE AND HER LONELY ISLAND HOME"

> *Imperial adventure novel is the twin star of the New Women novel: [they] both revolve around one another, affected by the other's gravitational pull as well as by the influence of larger ideological constellations.*
>
> *LeeAnne M. Richardson*

Adaptability has been an essential part of the Crusoe myth from the first moment of its creation as the identity of its central character was the adaptation of an originally German last name as suggested by Landry (118). Therefore, when the readers of the *Girl's Own Paper* were introduced to a Robina Crusoe and her adventures in 1883, the reception of a fictional character with yet another adapted name, Robina, was most probably not very difficult on the part of the target reading audience. On the contrary – and as will be explained and discussed in this chapter – Elizabeth Whittaker's work soon became very popular among its intended readership due mostly to its ability to address certain themes and tensions which were relevant to this particular reading audience and which represented the "dominant" and/or "emergent" "structures of feeling" in the late Victorian Britain.

Based on Raymond Williams's understanding, in a study of the "structures of feeling" of a given historical period, which can also be observed as influencing the discursive context of any work of adaptation, what is important is to find the elements in texts that are conflicting or in tension with one another and relating those features to their period, rather than to make a comparison which results with the decision of an inferiority or superiority among the texts and elements. Another important point here is that the acceptability of the texts by the audience relies on their identities which should share common values and identities that are recognisable by the audience. That is why "Robina Crusoe and Her Lonely Island Home" has a double-sided nature which can

enter into dialogue with both the "emergent" and the "dominant" "structures of feeling" of the late Victorian British culture and society. Since the "structures of feeling" are the conceptual media that enable communication, without this duality it would have been extremely difficult for Whittaker to make her story readable. In this sense, "Robina Crusoe" is an ideal example of an adaptation, more specifically an intra-medial adaptation, to observe and scrutinise the tensions between the "dominant" and the "emergent." In a society, what is called "dominant," in other words "hegemonic," also reveals what is "emergent." Emergent characteristics of a culture are the discourses which represent the new values and ideas, and sometimes even the future dominant discourses of the society. That is to say, the emergent discourses are essentially born out of the dominant ones. As such, the "emergent" may at times conform to the "dominant," but at other times represent an opposition to the "dominant," thereby creating a tension. When describing the "emergent," Williams himself clarifies this aspect as follows:

> By 'emergent' I mean, first, that new meanings and values, new practices, new relationships and kinds of relationship are continually being created. But it is exceptionally difficult to distinguish between those which are really elements of some new phase of the dominant culture (and in this sense 'species specific') and those which are substantially alternative or oppositional to it. (*Marxism and Literature* 123)

Thus, Elizabeth Whittaker's serialised fiction "Robina Crusoe and Her Lonely Island Home," which is different from Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* not only in terms of the ideology and the discourses it represents, but also in terms of tone and narrative technique, is an example both of an intra-medial adaptation and a Robinsonade, representing the tension between the "dominant" and the "emergent" characteristics within the late Victorian British society. Robina's story not only exemplifies the conventional woman character of the period, but also highlights the changing relationships between the Empire and the woman, which, in turn, gives voice to the New Woman in this same period.

Even though the origins of the term "New Woman" are still disputed, it is accepted by the majority that it entered into the language with Sarah Grand's article titled "The New Aspect of the Woman Question" in 1894 (Utell). However, it is possible to observe the characteristic of the New Women in literature and culture of 1880's. With the new

opportunities for women in terms of education and employment, the New Woman, was "liberated from the domestic ideology that governed women's place in the Victorian era" (Utell) and became a cultural phenomenon. As it is also argued by Sally Ledger, "The New Woman was a very fin-de-siècle phenomenon. Contemporary with the new socialism, the new imperialism, the new fiction and the new journalism, she was part of cultural novelties which manifested itself in the 1880s and 1890s" (1). There are different characteristics of the New Woman that are ascribed to the term by different critics with different approaches. While some considered this new figure as free-spirited, educated, and self-sufficient and admired the concept, others considered the new type of woman as decayed, unchaste and mannish and despised it. Thus, because of these different approaches,

> In society she was a feminist and a social reformer; a poet or a playwright who addressed female suffrage. In literature, however, as a character in a play or a novel, she frequently took a different form – that of someone whose thoughts and desires highlighted not only her own aspirations, but also served as a mirror in which to reflect the attitudes of society. (Buzwell)

That is to say, no matter how differently perceived, the New Woman was a fact of the late Victorian British social and cultural context and was featured in the texts that communicated with this context in increasingly visible ways.

On the background given above, Whittaker's intra-medial adaptation of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* represents an ideal text which may be analysed with reference to both its formal and ideological aspects by adopting the 'Bakhtinian contextualization' approach proposed in this study. A similar approach is suggested by Jørgen Bruhn, Anne Gjelsvik and Eirik Frisvold Hanssen, who state that "adaptation is viewed within a more comprehensive understanding of the cultural and textual networks into which any textual phenomena is understood" (8). Since one of the social phenomena in the nineteenth-century Britain was juvenile magazines, a brief account of the Religious Tract Society, which published the *Girl's Own Paper,* thereby becoming a major contributor to the late Victorian "cultural and textual networks" (Bruhn, Gjelsvik and Hanssen 8), is necessary.

The Religious Tract Society was founded in 1880 by men of religion who were well-known in their time and amongst them were "Rowland Hill, of Surrey Chapel . . . Rev. David Bogue, of Gosport, so well-known for his Essay on the Inspiration of the New Testament. And there is one who has brought them all together—the Rev. George Burder, of Coventry" (*The Story of the Religious Tract Society* 3). The main aim behind the formation of the Society was the diffusion of religious doctrines within the community via religious tracts. It was believed by the founders that they were "guided by the 'wisdom from above,' in all the steps which led to [the Society's] formation; and that its labours for the long period of fifty years have been the means of widely and beneficially spreading Divine truth in the British dominions, and among many of the nations of the world" (Jones v). Evidently, the founders' strong belief in and dedication to spread the evangelical truths to the world, which they believed was a mission that was given to them by God, created immense impact in terms of the distribution of the tracts as "five hundred millions of copies of tracts and books have been circulated in one hundred and ten languages and dialects" (Jones vi) with missionary intensions during the lifetime of the Society.

Spreading evangelical truths through different geographies and cultures, the Religious Tract Society acted as the agent of large scale missionary activities of the Empire. To be able to diffuse into various cultures more comprehensively, the Society invited representatives of the countries like India, China, Polynesia, and other countries from Africa and Continental Europe to its Tuesday morning meetings and discussed the works of the Society and how they should work in the future. As part of their activities, for instance;

> In Africa and Madagascar the Society has published works in over thirty African languages. America, North and South, Canada and the West Indies all share in the Society's help. Australia, New Zealand, and the Islands of the Pacific have largely benefitted by the Society's operations. The Society has assisted to publish literature in 224 languages. (*The Story of the Religious Tract Society* 16)

In addition to the Society's own works that were published around various parts of the world, "[i]n Asia, numerous Societies and Missions in India, China, Japan, etc., g[o]t grants from the Society. These grants [we]re chiefly devoted to assisting the production of Christian literature in native languages" (*The Story of the Religious Tract Society* 15).

Thus it is possible to say that the Society did not limit itself only with the evangelical tracts; "volumes of from fifty to a thousand pages, in the form of commentaries, Bible dictionaries, histories, theological works, and educational literature of a Christian character, [were] issued" (*The Story of the Religious Tract Society* 16) and added to the collection of the Society. Praising the missionary works of the Religious Tract Society in 1817, the Emperor Alexander of Russia, to whom was sent a volume of a tract, wrote down his impressions as follows:

> The object of this volume, the promotion of Christian charity and truly religious sentiments, renders it most interesting and valuable in the eyes of the Emperor, who desires nothing so much as to see the principles of the Gospel of Jesus Christ our Saviour more and more universal in his dominions, and in the whole world. (*The Story of the Religious Tract Society* 12)

Attempts at universalising the teachings of Christianity took various forms. The role that was played by the Religious Tract Society in this larger effort was to spread those teachings through writing, namely literature. By publishing numerous tracts, the Society believed that it was speaking in the name of those who were not able to:

> Every one . . . has not the talent of talking to others on subjects of religion. Some have a diffidence which they cannot overcome. But it is not so hard to take a tract and say, 'My friend, read that, and tell me what you think of it.' It is a cheap way of diffusing the knowledge of religion; it is not so likely to give offence as some other methods of doing good; it is more extensive in its use than any other method; and it forms an excellent accompaniment to other methods of doing good. (*The Story of the Religious Tract Society* 4-5)

To justify missionary work through writing, in the very first sermon that was preached for Religious Tract Society, Dr. Bogue stated that "Man . . . has a hand to write as well as a tongue to speak, and God has employed the pen of the ready writer, as well as the tongue of the learned, to convey a word in season to him that is weary" (qtd. in Jones 1). Furthermore, writing was seen as the tool that was used by God and the Society represented itself by following God Almighty's method to convey His messages. Related with their missionary work and its parallelism with God, in the *Jubilee Memorial of the Religious Tract Society*, the following assertion was made:

> Nay, to do the greatest honour to this way of diffusing divine truth, God himself becomes the author of a short religious tract: with his own hands he wrote the Ten Commandments of the law. What high, what early authority can thus be shown for writing, as well as speaking, the great truths of God. (Jones 2)

As a general observation on the Society's strategies, it seems that their guiding principle has been that while diffusing the knowledge of religion, there are some significant elements that should be contained by every single tract. First of all it should contain pure Christian truth in the path of God, eternal life and salvation. Also it should be plain which can be understood by everyone without differentiating one's age, education, sex, class and culture. Furthermore, it also seems like the Society has made it certain that each tract is impressive and delightful to motivate the reader in reading more and is full of ideas that make guidance to the readers.

While one of the most important missions of the Religious Tract Society was to spread Christian teachings around the world and do missionary work, another important mission was to raise its own children in Britain according to the ideology of the Empire. To be able to make the tracts available for as many British children as possible, professional and personal intermediaries were used. In this way, the tracts were circulated not only within private spheres but also around public spheres. They were distributed among families, schools, hospitals, workhouses, and prisons. Moreover, they were distributed among soldiers and sailors who were away from their home, to help them remember and/or to teach them their duties to their nation, a function that was especially important in the heyday of British imperialism.

The Society collaborated informally but closely with different educational institutions to accomplish its task of disseminating the discourse and the ideology of the Empire especially among lower-middle- and working-class people. Raikes's Sunday-School movement, Lancaster's the British and Foreign School Society, and Andrew Bell's Madras System were the pioneering systems that helped poor children to be educated and gained by the Society (Jones 11-12). Right after the formation of these schools, the Religious Tract Society was formed and supplied "wholesome and scriptural aliment to the appetite created and stimulated by education" (Jones 12). Thus, it is possible to observe that the inculcation of the "dominant" "structures of feeling" through education were accomplished at various parts of the education system including school books, juvenile magazines, nursery rhymes and tracts. Related to the idea of a mutually

informing process between education, religion and in turn, their being used as ideological state apparatuses, in the *Evangelical Magazine* which dated back to July 1799, it was pointed out that

> Thousands who would have remained grossly illiterate, having through the medium of Sunday-schools been enabled to read, it is an object of growing importance widely to diffuse such publications as are calculated to make that ability an unquestionable privilege. . . . awaken mankind to an impressive knowledge of their character, their duty, and their prospects. (qtd. in Jones 17)

To be able to reach more people, the Society used many different methods including the donations of books to various institutions such as schools, prisons, hospitals; the changing of the appearance of books to represent religious materials; and the publishing of separate titles and issues for different age and sex groups. The Society "issued about 53,700 libraries or collections of from 25 to 500 volumes at a time, at a cost of over £214,000" (*The Story of the Religious Tract Society* 15). The main themes maintained in these issues were aligned to the principles of Christianity such as spreading charity, good will and Christian virtue that went hand in hand with the ideals of the Empire.

Also, the Society's discourse did not limit itself only to the writings in the issues but also to the material formation of the products as well. They published "[t]he first yearly volume of *The Child's Companion* [a]s a little book, about the size of a small prayer book" (*The Story of the Religious Tract society* 17) and children were walking around reading the Religious Tract Society's works like they were reading the Bible. Producing these small sized books obviously was a strategy used by the Society in their efforts to target children. Moreover, the Society widened its target group; in 1814 they started to publish children's books and in 1825 they began to publish books for older people *(The Story of the Religious Tract Society 13*). It seems that the Society had an established tradition of producing publications targeting both children and adult readers from its early years on. However, considering the rates of literacy among the general public before the introduction of Education Acts in the late nineteenth century, it would be wrong to assume that these publications could be read by the majority of children or adults. Yet, as an improvement on the 1870 Forster's Education Act, the 1876 Elementary Education Act, particularly Article 11, has changed the readership profile

by making it compulsory for all children older than 5 years of age to attend school. In the Article 11 of the 1876 Act it is declared by the government that,

> If either -
> (1.) The parent of any child above the age of five years who is under this Act prohibited from being taken into full time employment, habitually and without reasonable excuse neglects to provide efficient elementary instruction for his child; or
> (2.) Any child is found habitually wandering or not under proper control, or in the company of rogues, vagabonds, disorderly persons, or reputed criminals;
>
> it shall be the duty of the local authority, after due warning to the parent of such child, to complain to a court of summary jurisdiction, and such court may, if satisfied of the truth of such complaint, order that the child do attend some certified efficient school willing to receive him and named in the order, being either such as the parent may select, or, if he do not select any, then such public elementary school as the court think expedient, and the child shall attend that school every time that the school is open, or in such other regular manner as is specified in the order. ("Elementary Education Act 1876")

So by the early 1880s, there emerged in Britain a new reading population consisting mainly of teenagers and the Society was not late in responding to the emergence of this new group.

As a result of these efforts that are mentioned above, the *Boy's Own Paper* (*B.O.P.*) and the *Girl's Own Paper* (*G.O.P.*) can be considered as significant juvenile magazines that affected the society for which they were published. They were juvenile magazines which contained different serialised fictions and stories that promoted the dominant discourses in terms of roles and duties of the young people in the Empire. At first, the *B.O.P.* was founded in 1878 and published issues, especially for a lower-middle-class and working-class audience, to educate the public in the main discourses of the Empire and to instruct the young generation to become beneficial subjects for the society. The success of the publication as perceived by the Society was such that

> [i]t has been most gratifying to the Committee and the Editor to know that not only has the *Boy's Own Paper* supplanted much of the low-class literature and become a profitable publication, but that it has also won the hearts of thousands of boys and helped them in the paths of wisdom and goodness. . . . Many a lad it "has saved from ruin" is the testimony of countless letters. (*The Story of the Religious Tract Society* 24)

By publishing literature of this influential kind, the *B.O.P.* taught patriotic values to young men of the Empire and "brought Henty, Ballantyne, Michael Fenn, and W.H.G. Kingston to large audience, and, as *The Literature and Art of the Empire* says, made patriots of its readers" (Green, *Dreams of Adventure* 222). Another testimony to the influence of the *B.O.P.* is offered by Jeffrey Richards in his review of Kimberley Reynolds's book *Gender and Popular Children's Fiction in Britain*. Richards maintains that, Reynolds, who comments on the *Boy's Own Paper*, "rightly argues for the emergence of a tougher brand of masculinity in the last decades of the nineteenth century, eliminating or downplaying the emotionality of mid-Victorian juvenile literary heroes" (138). The potential of the format of this juvenile publication for young boys seemed so promising that soon after the success of the *B.O.P.* the Society decided to publish a magazine for girls who were increasingly becoming a valuable and relevant group of readers to be targeted. As a result, the *Girl's Own Paper* that aimed at teaching domestic values to "young angels in the house" was founded in 1879 an "doubled the readership (260,000) of the *B.O.P.* after its first year" (Michelle Smith, "Shaping the 'Useful' Girl" 25).

Although the *G.O.P.* began to be published after the *B.O.P.* and the number of literate girls in the population was smaller when compared to boys, its success not only exceeded that of the *B.O.P.* but also reached universal level. As claimed by the Society, thousands of young girls from various parts of the world that belonged to different cultures and social classes were mentioning in the letters that they sent to the editor about how much that they had learned from the issues of the magazine: "The mother as well as the daughter, the peeress as well as the cottager, the invalid as well as the healthy schoolgirl, have found the *Girl's Own Paper* a help in the duties and pleasures of the home, and a guide in those things that make for their eternal peace" (*The Story of the Religious Tract society* 27). To influence the women of the not so distant future as intensely as possible, in addition to the regular writers of the *G.O.P.*, the magazine also featured contributions in various issues by extraordinary figures such as "Queen of Romania, the Duchess of Teck, Countess of Aberdeen . . ." (*The Story of the Religious Tract Society* 26). Queens, duchesses and countesses were acting as role models for young girls in showing how to be a perfect woman in the traditional sense. Williamson

has commented on this particular aspect of the *G.O.P.* by observing that "[t]he practical purpose of the literature was to teach the girl child by means of distinctive role models, particularly those of virgin and wife. These literary lessons were expected to augment the practical experience provided by the sisters of girlhood" (Williamson 54). Thus, the *G.O.P.* was playing the role of being an imaginary sister for the young girls of the Empire to instruct them, as Charles Peters who was the editor of the magazine from 1880 to 1907 put it, "in moral and domestic virtues, preparing them for the responsibilities of womanhood and for a heavenly home'" (qtd in. Rodgers 278).

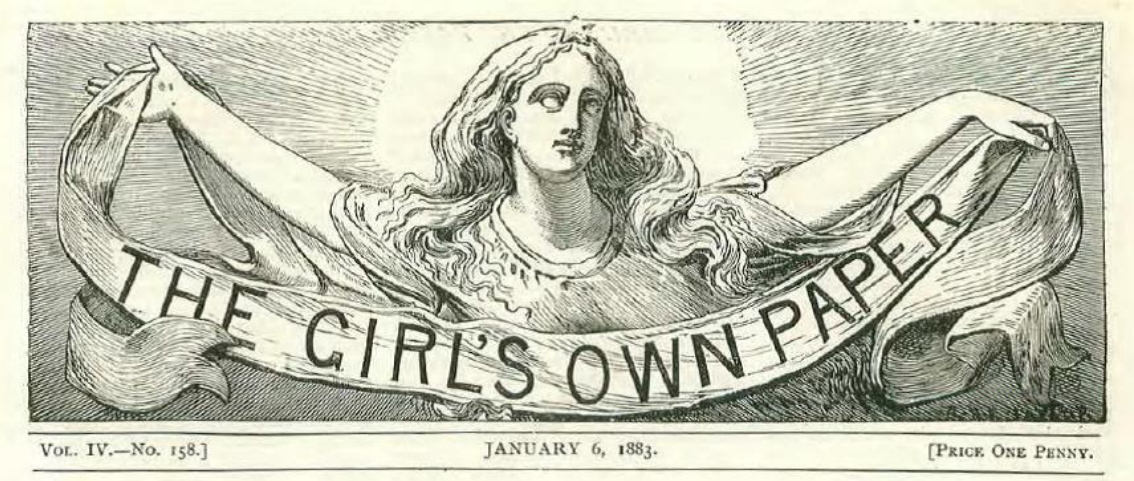

Figure 1: The front page header illustration of the *G.O.P.* (Whittaker 209).

However much the magazine tried to promote Victorian ideal femininity, between 1880s and 1890s a new emergent "girl culture" was evolving and the *G.O.P.* was trying to stay relevant to the cultural shifts to be able to meet the market demand without losing its dominant discourse. As Amy Murphy suggests, "[t]hese periodicals catered to the interests and concerns of young women, yet also by functioning prescriptively to define their interests and their values, these publications demonstrate the qualities and traits of ideal girls" (76). For example, in the book *Selections from the Girl's Own Paper* edited by Terry Doughty, sections were divided according to the area of interests which is also displaying the different tendencies in the society. While the "contents" part of the book included sections such as "Household Management," "Self-Culture," "Education," "Work," "Independent Living," and "Heath and Sport," the articles and stories that were selected display the cultural differences in the society as well. Writings titled "Good Mistresses" and "Etiquette for Ladies and Girls" were side by side with

writings titled “Pharmacy as an Employment for Girls” and “On Recreations for Girls” (qtd. in Doughty 5-6). Nonetheless, the entirety of the given *G.O.P.* issue ultimately aimed at preserving the superiority of conventional femininity over the New Girl. Whatever appeared to have contradicted, at least initially, this conventional attitude, did not last long and eventually gave in to the power of the “dominant”:

> The editor of *The Girl’s Own*, Charles Peters, was particularly skilled at containing the new girl by providing content that fed into the development of an idealized girl culture while still seeming to direct girl readers away from the more “dangerous” aspects of that culture. This ability to respond to market demand yet still appear to serve the conservative aims of the Religious Tract Society contributed in no small amount to the success of *The Girl’s Own Paper*. (Doughty 9)

Thus it will be appropriate to maintain that even though the *G.O.P.* was reflecting the “dominant” conservative and conventional feminine discourse, it was also representing a certain amount of the “emergent” and slightly aggressive tone that “cater[ed] to the New Girl’s desire for guidance on how to negotiate the changing social status and identity of women” (Doughty 9). By this means, this tension between the dominant/traditional women writing and the emergent/New Women writing made itself visible even in the works of one of the most religious and conservative publishing companies.

Since the juvenile magazine culture of the late-Victorian period acted as the medium in which “meanings are contested and made” (Beetham 5), contradictions and conflicts that were in the society could easily be seen in the works as well. According to Beetham this duality “exploited to the full the heterogeneity of the magazine formula which allowed different models of the self to sit side by side on the page without interrogating each other’’ (183). Also, these two different and distinct ideas about femininity in the late Victorian period were not only contradicting one another in the works of different authors but the ideals and the ideas of the girl culture “could certainly be classified as both progressive and threatening within the same issue, or indeed within the same contradictory article” (Liggins 230). Thus, even the works of a given writer would be found to try and to adapt themselves to the changing ideals of the time, which, in turn, would result in duality and ambivalence. The “mixed messages offered by the *Girl’s Own Paper* as combining the “radical with the domestic and reactionary” and as

promoting "numerous eclectic, and frequently contradictory, notions of ideal femininity" in response to the uncertain place of women in late Victorian society" (Patton 114) shows the ambivalent position of the *G.O.P* as regards the New Woman culture and "demonstrates how girls' magazines frequently occupied an ambivalent position between instruction and entertainment as well as between adherence to traditional values and the promotion of certain aspects of advanced womanhood" (Rodgers 283). Some examples of the *G.O.P.'*s promotion of conventional values can be observed in the following figures.

Figure 2: At College. Congratulated (Doughty 10).

Figure 3: Waste of Time (Doughty 11).

Figure 4: Wedded (Doughty 10).

Figure 5: Reading Her Own Printed Philosophy (Doughty11).

Figure 6: Maternity (Doughty 10).

Figure 7: Discontent (Doughty 11).

With reference to the ambivalence mentioned above, before dealing with Elizabeth Whittaker's work which represents the "emergent" New Woman character of the late Victorian period, though it represents certain ambivalent attitudes too, it is necessary to explain the two conflicting notions of femininity in this general period. These two notions stand for the "dominant" and "emergent" "structures of feeling" reflecting the constructions of femininity and womanhood in the late Victorian period. The first is the conventional femininity and how it was represented and understood by the society. The second, that is the "emergent," is the New Woman which is "a significant cultural icon of the of the *fin de siècle*, departed from the stereotypical Victorian woman. [A woman who] was intelligent, educated, emancipated, independent and self-supporting" (Diniejko), and new women writing, its motives and the social changes that received attention with the help of these works. In other words, in what follows, "literature-as-a-system, and . . . that system in a different relation to culture as a whole" (Green, *Dreams of Adventure* 339) will be explained from two different points of view.

To understand the position of women in their different stages of their lives in the late nineteenth century, one can study the books of the author Sarah Stickney Ellis, who wrote prolifically in the mid-nineteenth century and whose works were acknowledged by the society. She wrote more than fifty books ("Online Books by Sarah Stickney Ellis") and gave instructions to the women of England and dedicated her books to the Queen. Her sequential books *The Women of England Their Social Duties and Domestic*

Habits (1839), *The Daughters of England Their Position in Society Character and Responsibilities* (1842), *The Mothers of England Their Influence and Responsibilities* (1843), and *The Wives of England Their Relative Duties Domestic Influence and Social Obligations* (1843) all portray the position of women in the society, their duties, obligations, manners, attitudes, and all the relevant ideas that represented their socially or culturally constructed identity according to the dominant ideologies or "structures of feeling" of the time.

Ellis's book *The Women of England* was dedicated to "Her Majesty the Queen" who was seen as the supreme woman character representing her nation and culture. Although the title makes the reader sense that the book is only about women, Ellis does not hesitate in this work to talk about the national characteristics of England, its resources, culture, economics, law, and politics as well. While trying to provide guidance for women in the society, she legitimises her ideas by leaning onto these public spheres that cannot be experienced and possibly understood by women. She argues that the spheres of England that belong to the public "may not improperly be regarded as within the compass of a woman's understanding, and the province of a woman's pen. It is the domestic character of England—the home comforts, and fireside virtues for which she is so justly celebrated" (*Women of England* 10). As it was stated elsewhere in Ellis's book, the most important duty of an English woman was perceived and promoted to be the creation of a macrocosmic domestic comfort in the country by the creation of the same comforts within the microcosm of their family homes:

> The true English woman, accustomed to bear about with her, her energies for daily use, her affections for daily happiness, and her delicate perceptions for hourly aids in the discovery of what is best to do or to leave undone, by this means obtains an insight into human nature, a power of adaptation, and a readiness of application of the right means to the desired end, which not only render her the most valuable friend, but the most delightful of fireside companions . . . (Ellis, *Women of England* 28-29)

To be the companion in the home, releasing oneself from the selfish interests and hobbies and dedicating herself to others was seen as the most honourable thing that a woman could do and she was expected to maintain her characteristics, influence, education, manners, domestic habits, and social intercourse in the light of these duties. According to Smith, "the domestic, maternal contribution was an important element of

girls' imperial role" and this role was "formulated for girls in late Victorian and Edwardian print culture" (Michelle Smith, "Imperial Girls" 3).

In line with Catherine Driscoll's argument that girlhood is "articulated in relation to future role – who or what the girl will be or do as woman" (108), in *The Daughters of England,* the main ideas and teachings revolve around the education of a young woman who is going to be a future wife and mother. For most of the nineteenth century, womanhood was understood mostly in religious terms, and a firm education in religion was also considered essential for a woman's education. Accordingly, Ellis points out that "the profession of Christianity as the religion of the Bible, involves responsibility for every talent [women] possess" (*Daughters of England* 12). As a result of the Christian teachings, the position of a woman, who was believed to have been created out of Adam's rib, was seen as being always inferior to that of a man, and thus, as her first advice Ellis points out that "[a]s women . . . the first thing of importance is to be content to be inferior to men—inferior in mental power, in the same proportion that you are inferior in bodily strength" (*Daughters of England* 8). Thus, even though Ellis finds it necessary for women to educate themselves, her approach to the idea does not come from the ideals of the New Woman character but from a "predetermined paradigm of gender" (Jenkins 147), which, in this context, is Christianity. Related to this idea she concludes her remarks on the education of women by stating that

> I must now take it for granted, that the youthful reader of these pages has reflected seriously upon her position in society as a woman, has acknowledged her inferiority to man, has examined her own nature, and found there a capability of feeling, a quickness of perception, and a facility of adaptation, beyond what he possesses, and which, consequently, fit her for a distinct and separate sphere ; and I would also gladly persuade myself, that the same individual, as a Christian woman, has made her decision not to live for herself, so much as for others; but, above all, not to live for this world, so much as for eternity. (*Daughters of England* 11)

When the daughters, who were educated mainly to devote themselves to others and to the after-life, became wives and mothers, they took on the responsibility of raising the future generation. In her book *The Mothers of England,* Ellis significantly dwells upon the duties of a mother and sees the mother as the one who should govern the family which is the first place in which the dominant ideologies are imposed. Thus, "the ideology of home and family was consistently employed to oppose emergent feminism.

Women were told that "to keep the family true, refined, affectionate, faithful, is a grander task than to govern the state" (qtd. in Stubbs, *Women* 7) and to be able accomplish this task, a woman had to educate herself first. In her book, Ellis describes the general duties of a mother, gives hints on education separately for boys and girls and on religious influence. She sees the mother figure that assisted the child during the process of education, in other words during the process of formation of the mind. To accomplish their duty as mothers and wives, especially in the nineteenth century which is the era of changes, they should "turn their attention more earnestly to the preparation of individual character for such private and social revolutions, as there appears every reason to anticipate" (Ellis, *The Mothers of England* 66). A mother's influence on her children is immense and since infants are open to receive impression continually, a mother should prepare her children to this world and to the other world. Since "[t]he sphere in which man has to act, is not more different from that in which woman finds her appointed duties" (Ellis, *The Mothers of England* 280), while educating their sons, one of the most important things is to raise those boys to be good patriots. While choosing a profession or a business, sons should be directed to think of the interest of their country. The ability of mothers to influence their sons is explained as follows:

> We cannot doubt but that Christian women might so exercise this power [of influence], as to inspire in the hearts of their sons, a profound and thrilling sense of patriotism, for instance; and if they could be made to prefer the interests of their country, to the indulgence of mere personal gratification, might not the same influence be extended to the religious interests of mankind in general? (Ellis, *Mothers of England* 319)

When it comes to the education of daughters, the path that a mother should follow differentiates from the education of boys. Mothers should create replicas of themselves and prepare their daughters for the education of their future children. It is recommended for girls to take active participation in the areas of botany, geology, nature and art to have an "opportunity of experiencing, and the ideas they will by this means acquire" (Ellis, *Mothers of England* 30). In this way, girls are invited to become engaged in the activities that typically belong to men not for the sake of their own good, but for the sake of men again. After all, they will be the future mothers of those men that they will influence and educate. As an expression of this dominant idea, in an issue of *The*

Fortnightly Review which was an influential magazine in the nineteenth century, Frederick Harrison asserted that

> [t]he true function of women is to educate, not children only, but men, to train to a higher civilization not the rising generation but the actual society. And to do this by diffusing the spirit of affection, of self-restraint, self-sacrifice, fidelity and purity … as mother, as wife, as sister, as daughter, as friend, as nurse, as teacher, as servant, as counsellor, as purifier, as example, in a word – as woman. (qtd. in Stubbs, *Women* 7)

Within these dominant ideologies and discourses, the position of the women in the society was normalized by the cultural indoctrinations, hence "not all women felt the need to challenge the patriarchal hegemony of their culture; in fact, not all women even believed that patriarchal hegemony existed" (Jenkins 146). That is why the role that was ascribed to them was welcomed by most women without dissent. The *G.O.P.* was also predominantly promoting this conventional role of women. But, besides these traditional and conservative ideas about the position and the identity of women within the society, one could also hear and recognise the footsteps of the New Woman in the late nineteenth century. In this context, juvenile magazines such as the *G.O.P.* functioned as the "aesthetic organizers of contradictory experiences" (Drotner 4), the "angel in the house" on the one side, the new emergent woman on the other.

Emergence of the New Woman, which eventually led to the Suffragette Movement, has a historical background to itself which gradually leads to its own formation. In general terms, women's suffrage refers to the rights of women to vote and stand for their equal civil rights in the society. Feminist ideas began to flourish throughout Europe in the nineteenth century. Activists like Harriet Martineau, Emily Davies, Frances Power Cobbe, Josephine Butler, Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon and Millicent Garrett Fawcet fought for both women's rights and influenced women in the areas of politics, education, economy, and culture. They "revived the Woman Question debate in their campaign for women's rights, including the right to higher education, property, employment and suffrage. The effects of the campaign were positive although gradual and delayed in time" (Diniejko). While some advocates of women's rights particularly focused on gaining political power through the suffrage movement, others were campaigning for women's sexual rights. In its earlier times, women's political groups

did not primarily aim to achieve the right to vote; however, their existence gave rise to suffrage activities and the eventual acceptance of women in the political and public arena.

When the Reform Act of 1867 was vetoed after it passed its second reading, feminists decided to found the *Women's Suffrage Journal* to be able to reach more people and capture more attention (Fernando 2-6). In addition to these activities of women to gain more rights in the public, the changes in the education system supported the cause as well. In 1868 Girton College was founded under the leadership of Emily Davies and later on in 1881 Cambridge started to apply the same exams to both boys and girls, which was followed by Oxford in 1884 (Fernando 2-6). Although these changes helped women to take active part in society, the beneficiaries of these changes were representatives of only the emergent characteristics of the Suffragette Movement which initially included only a small part of the community, namely the middle- and upper-class women. The priorities of the great majority of British women were very different, and the issues that were debated regarding the emancipation and feminism were thus tied to social class: "middle-class women worried, for example, about their property rights in marriage, but the working class, and those in other classes who strove on their behalf, grappled with the severe penalties of poverty, such as the high infant mortality rate amongst mill-working mothers" (Nigel Bell 80). Before active political engagement there were more conservative and conventional activities among women's groups. For example Primrose League was set up in 1883 to spread conservative values among the society through communal activities (Cooke). As Lloyd Fernando explains "[e]ven as late as 1884 we find Millicent Garrett Fawcett, a leading suffragist, declaring that they wanted the vote only 'for householders in boroughs, the owners of freeholds, and the renters of land and houses, above a certain value in countries'" (6). Thus is possible to say that

> [a]lthough the militant phase of the suffrage campaign was still to come, the urgent sense of radical challenge which the movement evoked in these years was never recaptured. The 'New Women' learned the familiar, sad lesson that establishing the justice of ideals was only the first step –a comparatively simple one– in setting a social process in motion. (Fernando 25)

To accelerate the process of suffrage and make the idea of "New Woman," which is also called "a rush of new ideas and behaviour" by Jacques Barzunhas (qtd. in Nigel Bell 88), accepted by the society, different methods were used including distributing journals in the streets, publishing newspapers, juvenile magazines, and novels, making demonstrations, public meetings, strikes and staging plays. In other words, to manage and draw attention to their newly demanded position in the society, women needed to get over their "underclass epistemic status" (Code xiii) and endeavoured to create a space for themselves in which they can put their "epistemic authority" (Code xiii) which is a status of knowing and producing intellectually. Related to this idea, Henri Lefebvre points out that

> [a] revolution that does not produce a new space has not realized its full potential; indeed it has failed in that it has not changed life itself, but has merely changed ideological superstructures, institutions or political apparatuses. A social transformation, to be truly revolutionary in character, must manifest a creative capacity in its effects on daily life, on language and on space. (54)

Stemming from this argument, "as European women capitalized on their situational opportunities, and moved beyond the domestic cage, they undertook a struggle to define both public and private space. . ." (Carlson, "Portable Politics" 335), which, in turn, creates an "interpretive framework for women's history, namely, the way in which history affects women differently from men and the way in which women as a social group have shaped history" (Degler 742). While defining their public sphere, writing is an important tool for women. In the nineteenth century it was a common idea that women should not write for self-expression, "in most criticism, what is virtue in a man is weakness in a woman. For instance, where a man's writing may be praised for its philosophic complexity . . . a woman's may be damned for its pretentiousness . . ." (Tuchman 177). In his essay "The New Woman Fiction' of the 1890's" A. R. Cunningham deals with two different kinds of the New Woman novelist (qtd. in Nelson 96). The ones which belong to purity school who dealt with the marriage questions and the problems of the women in daily life and the radical ones that portray aggressive and emotionally charged heroines. Although Cunningham does not think that these writers "produced works of lasting merit," he emphasises that "their contribution to both the feminist cause and the development of the English novel of the period should not be underestimated. The way was paved for a more realistic characterization of women in

fiction to match their increasing social emancipation" (qtd. in Nelson 96). With reference to the idea that the women writers and their works were important tools for the formation of the New Woman character, David Rubinstein states that "at no time in the history of English women's struggle for emancipation can fiction have played such an important part as in the 1890's" (24). Yet, those works were considered as "improper" because they were "perceived as invading a masculine world of rationality and impartiality with feminine feeling and intuition" (Nelson 99) and criticised because of degrading artistic potential of the works for the sake of representing personal thoughts which were emergent. The redefinition and the representation of women in texts "was only one aspect of the cultural upheaval which characterized this period, but it was certainly one of the most interesting of the many breaks with Victorian ideology which took place at the end of the century. . . [W]hat took place was an evolution, not a revolution in the portrayal of women" (Stubbs, "Introduction" xv). One of the most significant examples of these writings was Elizabeth Whittaker's serialised fiction "Robina Crusoe and Her Lonely Island Home" which represents the emergent New Woman character of the period and questions the cultural ideology within the society against the position and identity of women, while occasionally also maintaining an ambivalent attitude as the "dominant" and the "emergent" cannot really completely be isolated from each other.

Although the *G.O.P.* was "firmly grounded in work, home, and motherhood," it was also "a site where several important intersections between gender and imperialism coexist[ed]" (Michelle Smith, "Shaping the 'Useful' Girl" 58). In fact, in the context of such an intersection between New Woman writing and imperial adventure fiction, LeeAnne M. Richardson has introduced a new perspective in her book *New Woman and Colonial Adventure Fiction in Victorian Britain: Gender, Genre, and Empire* (2006) and argued that the traditions which met at this intersection were mutually supportive by borrowing settings and metaphors from one another. Elizabeth Whittaker's serialised fiction "Robina Crusoe and Her Lonely Island Home" was one of the most important works of the magazine in which the changing ideas about imperialism and gender were displayed. Published from 23 December 1882 to 21 July 1883 in the *G.O.P.*'s 28 issues, it consists of 45 chapters that tell about the life of Robina Crusoe who is a "*descendant*

of the world-famed Robinson Crusoe" (Whittaker 184). The story starts when Robina is a 16-year-old young daughter of the Empire and ends with her adulthood. She is a female Robinson Crusoe character who becomes stranded on an island and survives through her own efforts. As a female Robinsonade fiction, Whittaker's work situates itself in the context of newly emerging ideas about womanhood from the first issue and has influenced the young generation of the Empire for many years to come. In this context, as Stubbs has argued, although

> all the familiar images of women in fiction are derived – the virgin heroine, the wife and mother, the prostitute, the spinster, the mistress, the redundant middle-aged woman, the single mother . . . we may deplore this narrow range of 'types' of women represented in fiction, it is important to recognize that they are rooted in the very origins of the form and that they are part of a very strong tradition. This tradition has grown to some extent out of the historical reality of women's experience, but it owes more to the ideology which developed to disguise that experience. ("Introduction" xii)

Yet, what the readers witnessed with "Robina Crusoe" was the expression of an experience that had been suppressed and hidden for ages for the sake of Victorian feminine ideals. Robina, with her character and story, displays two important features of the late Victorian period. Firstly, she embodies the New Woman figure in her, and secondly, she displays the women's changing relationship with the Empire. She becomes an imperialist woman character whose duty is not only to raise the next generation of colonialist boys, but she herself as a woman becomes one of them, which must have been seen as a challenge to the patriarchal ideals of the era. With reference to such a subversive challenge by the New Women, Richardson also asserts that New Women fiction and colonial adventure fiction, "were responding –not symmetrically, but in equal engaged way–to a complex of cultural forces typically identified (depended on one's vantage point) as 'cultural decline' or 'cultural evolution'"(1). In order to explain the parallel relationship between the two genres Richardson further argues that "[o]ne [colonial adventure fiction] expects the empire-builder to speak of enlarging territory and creating wider sphere of action; yet the New Woman uses the same metaphor for her excursion out of the domestic sphere" (2).

Based on that position, one can again argue that "Robina Crusoe" has a double mission by corresponding to both of the two genres at the very same time. While the New

Woman opens up new space for herself with the new women fiction and novel, middle-class man opens up a new space for himself with colonial adventure fiction. Thus, these emerging and challenging characteristics of the story not only make it a significant and influential work for the girls but also a threat for the men as well. The threatening aspect of the "Robina Crusoe" story is most probably the explanation for the disappearance of Whittaker as a writer of the G.O.P. after the completion of "Robina Crusoe." As Stubbs has explained, in this period "[i]f a novel violated social and sexual conventions it was not just frowned upon or ignored. Society operated an extensive apparatus for banning . . . if a novelist did step out of line he or she was likely to be silenced by publishers, editors or librarians" (*Women* 19), and Whittaker's voice was silenced in due time for the daring fictional character she created. Robina as a late-Victorian woman character

> was a cultural figure more than a reality, and she was shaped by challenges to Victorian conceptions of ideal femininity . . . The juvenile equivalent of the emancipated woman, which Gillian Avery terms the 'modern girl', was also disliked for her challenges to convention displayed by . . . having 'forthright and independent views on topics which the old- fashioned girl would never have tackled'. (Michelle Smith, "Imperial Girls" 15)

Figure 8: First illustration of "Robina Crusoe" (Whittaker 184).

Related to the changes in the conception of gender roles with the emancipation movement of women and the idea of the New Woman which affected the women's role in the Empire, Levine observes that "[w]hile the Empire may still seem a very stuffy and masculine environment . . . that apparent stuffiness and masculinity are themselves now under scrutiny from a gendered perspective" (12). In the *Critical History of Children's Literature* it is explained that "[d]uring the years from 1840 onward, boys were exploring remote regions, sailing the high seas, escaping from cannibals or redskins in the company of heroes . . ." (Meigs 237). The "energizing myth" for boys to act was the idea of adventure and its fictional representations in literature. As Green has pointed out: "Adventure took the place of fable; and adventure took on the characteristics of romance. Children's literature became boys' literature; it focused its attention on the Empire and the Frontier; and the virtues it taught were dash, pluck, and lion-heartedness, not obedience, duty and piety" (*Dreams of Adventure* 220). But what the new generation of readers, namely girl readers, came across in Elizabeth Whittaker's story was a female character that pushed herself into the sphere of men as an adaptation of the Robinson Crusoe character that typically represented the patriarchal, imperialist, masculine ideals of the Empire.

In the late Victorian period, especially with women's efforts' to be able to actively participate in the public sphere, "[t]he absence of women from [R]obinsonades is somewhat transformed . . . [and the efforts contributed] to the creation of girl- Crusoe protagonists in contrast with the peripheral girl characters of earlier children's novels and eighteenth- century female Crusoes" (Michelle Smith, "Microcosms" 163). Even though there were stories of women who were shipwrecked that can be considered as different examples of the Robinsonade tradition, their discourse and plot were limited to the conventional feminine ideals. Accordingly, O'Malley has argued that "the prominence of the domestic in robinsonade adventures" suggested "the instrumentality of domestic ideology to the imperial project" (55). However, the publication of "Robina Crusoe" reveals "how the genre was reshaped to support new ideologies of femininity" (Michelle Smith, "Microcosms" 161), namely the ideology of the New Woman. Notwithstanding this new tension, the appearance of female Crusoes whether they are

limited with the conventional norms or challenge them, hints at the transformation of the dynamics within the society:

> [G]irls' robinsonades cumulatively approve of modern, capable girlhood, reinforcing the idealised femininity that is evident in a range of print culture at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. More specifically, these texts show the competent girl castaway as a product of acceptable British femininity, further entrenching a broader definition of femininity that was encouraged on imperial grounds, rather than lamenting gendered restrictions in place in civilised countries such as England. (Michelle Smith, "Microcosms" 162)

Thus, the castaway story created a new space and sphere in which the New Girl could experience her own adventures that could not be accomplished within the restrictions of the imperial culture and domestic geography. As it is also stated by Owen, female castaways are used while "creating a new space in which a way forward can be articulated" (109). Representing the changing cultural forces, "Robina Crusoe" as a story "creates a female role-model for its readers, a role-model who knows more and can do more than Robinson Crusoe was able to achieve on his desert island" (Petzold 360). Thus, in the following analysis of Whittaker's story, representation of the New Woman character and her relationship with the Empire will especially be highlighted.

On the contextual background explained so far, Whittaker's "Robina Crusoe" effectively illustrates the workings of the adaptation process enabled by the "adventure chronotope," by means of filling the space in between the beginning and the end of Defoe's original story. Furthermore, in Whittaker's adaptation, only the most memorable and key events of the story of Defoe's shipwrecked traveller are preserved as those are the formative elements of the Robinson Crusoe Story as defined by Green (*Seven Types of Adventure Tale* 47-68). For instance, even though in Defoe's novel there is a lengthy account of the pretext for Crusoe's most eventful voyage as well as brief accounts of other minor incidents, Whittaker's Robina gives her account of the pretext in the first few opening paragraphs and is already shipwrecked on "Her Lonely Island Home" by the end of the first chapter, which corresponds to the first two pages. In this way, Whittaker, as the agent of this intra-medial adaptation process, seems to have distinctively marked the beginning of Robina's adventure at the outset, so that what she herself will contribute to the Robina Crusoe Story can immediately enter into

the text and start filling out the gap in the adventure chronotope until the ending of the story.

Accordingly, Whittaker's story starts when a sixteen-year-old Robina takes a journey with her family to one of the colonies because her father is appointed to a new post. Even though the outbound voyage from England to the un-named colony and Robina's "four ensuing years" end uneventfully, "[a]t the end of that period" she sets out for another voyage:

> two of our friends, an officer and his wife, being about to take a trip to England, and to spend a few months on the Continent, invited me to accompany them; and my parents, thinking it would be beneficial for me in many ways, consented to part with me; and now began, indeed, a life of real adventure, and of danger, seldom if ever surpassed …. (Whittaker 184)

Predictably enough, this second journey results in "real adventure" and "danger" in the form of her being a castaway and the victim of an unfortunate sea accident. Being the first-person narrator of the story, from the very beginning Robina constantly mentions her love of adventure and how she has always yearned for a life like her ancestor. She declares:

> I am a descendant of the world-famed Robinson Crusoe, and it was my father's pride in this fact that led to the choice of the name of Robina for his only daughter. As a matter of course, I had, at a very early age, read the history of my renowned ancestor; and deeply I regretted that my sex precluded me from a seafaring life, which I regarded as the only one likely to gratify the love of adventure, seemingly inborn with me. (Whittaker 184)

and continues by telling her desires as follows: "One of my favourite amusements was that of forming an imaginary island in a corner of our extensive grounds, and then wandering for hours, in fancy making wonderful discoveries" (Whittaker 184). It is worth noting that before anything else, Robina introduces herself with her relation to Robinson Crusoe, in other words, as an adventurer by blood. Furthermore, Robina's first person narration gives the work an autobiographical quality and the claim to factuality that comes with creative non-fiction. Whittaker's choice of first-person narrator, in other words, Robina's being self-conscious about her writing makes the story believable in the eyes of the readers. Robina Crusoe as a story can be described as a focaliser in terms of narrative technique. Focalization as a term is "the relations

between the elements presented and the vision through which they are represented" (Austenfeld 295), and in this context "the vision" in which the ideas are represented through is the Arnoldian view of culture. "Victorian Britain believed that the civilising effects of 'the best that has been thought and known' would act as a deterrent to the growing unrest among diverse groups, both at home and abroad" (Giles and Middleton 27), and Robina as a product of the 1870 Forster Education Act, teaches the values of the society to different social classes within the community. As the story unfolds and when the easily anticipated storm breaks out and all the passengers are awaiting their destiny, just like her ancestor, Robina decides to take with her the effects that have the most value for her:

> In the hope of preserving something I loved from destruction, and partly from an instinctive feeling that I too might be entering on a life similar to that of my noted ancestor, I slipped a small volume of Shakespeare into my pocket, placing my Testament for greater security inside the bodice of my dress; the latter instinct urging me to secure my good old-fashioned housewife, by no means small in its dimensions (my belongings were always more useful than ornamental), also a clasp knife and a flask. (Whittaker 184)

Intrinsically knowing her fate, Robina prepares herself for her new life, which she very well knows is going to be different from her former one and her taking with her "a small volume of Shakespeare" and the "Testament" while she was leaving the boat in the storm indicates her position in the Arnoldian view of culture[6], as discussed in *Culture and Anarchy* (1869).

After the ship is wrecked and Robina finds herself on the island, she creates an agreeable habitat for her immediate survival on the island and begins to speculate about "lighting a fire on some elevated spot in order to attract the attention of some passing vessel," however, later changes her mind as the fire "might draw … foes instead of friends" (Whittaker 244). But then this New Girl also remembers the adventurer spirit in herself:

[6] In the Victorian Age, authors were conveying their messages and criticism about the society by moving within the spheres of religion, namely the Church of England. By the time Whittaker's work was published, Matthew Arnold's work had decisively established the close affinity between religion and (high) culture. Since the Victorian audience already had an established understanding of the religion of the era, authors like Whittaker, who were the contemporary agents of cultural production, most probably knew that if they operated within the spheres of this already defined and accepted system, they would not only avoid the risk of alienating their readers but would also create a sphere for themselves to explore and explain the problematic aspects of the society. In this way, in late Victorian Britain religion seems to have been used as a tool to link the reader to a familiar cultural domain.

> Besides, was this not the life I had always longed for? Had I not dreamed for many years of all the wonderful things I would do in such circumstances? . . . What books of travel and adventure had I not perused, what names of trees, fruits, and roots suitable for shipwrecked travellers, had I not stored in my mind! (Whittaker 244)

Clearly, Robina was a born adventurer and had anticipated the fulfilment of the promises that were associated with having the name Robina Crusoe. When Robina is stranded on the island she is twenty years old and leaves the island almost twenty years after the shipwreck. Throughout her life on the island Robina manages to survive with the help of her education, "part of [which] was self-imposed" (Whittaker 244), and a better replication of what her ancestor did while transforming the island into her own little empire. As her father told Robina, she remembers of her name and proves herself "worthy of the name" (Whittaker 196). She says: "and now began, indeed, a life of real adventure, and of danger, seldom if ever surpassed, and a description of which will, I believe, interest my young readers" (Whittaker 184) and starts to tell her story during her castaway life and what happens afterwards.

When she opens her eyes for the first time on the island she finds a fresh water source and while drinking water she says: "I seemed to drink in new life as I took the refreshing draught, afterwards bathing my face in the clear, cool water" (Whittaker 197). As a symbol of the beginning of her new life Robina develops her character throughout the years.

Robina as a character has a double feature; she displays ambivalent attitudes in her story, and therefore, both the "dominant" and the "emergent" characteristics of her era can be observed in her actions. While her dedication to adventure, her approach to the land as an empire builder and as a coloniser, and her Christian piety, morals and godliness represent the dominant "structures of feeling" of her society; her dressing style, use of tools and techniques, the things she sees as her labour and her approach to motherhood and education methods make her the representative of the New Woman type in this fiction of colonial adventure. The colonial setting gives her the capacity to make her voice heard beyond the restrictions of the Victorian culture by creating herself a new space.

Figure 9: Robina drinks in new life (Whittaker 196).

One of the most important features of Robina is her imperialistic attitude. All her life on the island, while surviving on her own by fulfilling the necessary needs she also does not hesitate to tame the flora and the fauna as well. She is an energetic explorer who does not satisfy herself with basics and she is always after improvement and cultivation: "[A]fter some days of repose, I prepared myself for a further inspection of the coast, being most anxious to discover a more convenient resting place" (Whittaker 260). During her journey she tames a wild cat, a parrot, a herd of chickens, and pigs. Also she cultivates the land according to her necessities. Another important indication of Robina's imperialistic attitude is her naming and defining the places in the island. She gives the name "Cave Castle" to the place where she lives, and as indicated by the name "castle," she sees herself as the monarch of the place. Also she gives the name "Mount Desire" to the mountain on which the habitat is flourished and gives the name Egypt to one of the valleys on the island. Also, when she sees the river that is running through the island what she thinks is that: "On my side the shore was not precipitous outlet to the waters of the river, which I suspected to be the source of the 'Nile'" (Whittaker 357). Since finding the source of the River Nile was a famous part of the British expeditions in Africa, it is possible to argue that Robina, with this allusion, exploits the

imagery and mythology of the Empire and creates new space for her New Woman identity to develop. Moreover, another indication of Robina's seeing herself as the monarch of the place is that she quotes from the former kings of what is now the British Empire while displaying her thoughts about the island. While looking at the island's beauty and charm she reflects:

> "And what a scene were here," I cried, quoting the words of Scotland's king, "For princely pomp or Churchman's pride. On this bold brow a lordly tower, In that soft vale a lady's bower, ln yonder meadow far away, The turrets of a cloister gray." But neither cloister nor tower added their picturesque charms to the landscape before me; in this El Dorado nature was seen in her wildest mood, unsubdued and glorious; nor was I likely to meet, as the royal James did, with a guide to lead me to shelter and repose. (Whittaker 340)

Yet, Robina admires the island as much as she sees herself as the monarch of the place. While looking at the island she displays her thoughts as follows: "I could not but admire, as I wended my way along, the exceeding beauty of the land, where Nature followed unrestrained the laws by which her Creator governs her, and lost in meditation over these thoughts, I was startled by the sight of some most glorious hues" (Whittaker 428). These two different ideas that were represented by the same character show that, on the one hand Robina tries to govern Nature, but on the other, she admires its unrestrained beauty. This dilemma in Robina herself represents the clash in her identity between the New Woman and the conventional woman character of the late nineteenth century.

Other ambivalent attitudes in terms of womanhood in Robina's character are about her Christian piety and morality on the one side and love of adventure on the other. Robina, who is a daughter of the Empire, does not hesitate to explicitly state her Christian piety and morality in every possible incident. For example, when she walks around the island to discover this new habitat, she comes across a beehive and is lured by the possibility of tasting honey. Having decided to collect some, Robina lights a fire and with its smoke the bees leave the hive, which gives an opportunity to Robina. But achieving her goal in such a cunning way, and taking something that she does not need, Robina thinks that she commits the act of robbery. After she gets some honey, she sees some eggs near the top of a hill and attempts to collect them, which causes her to get injured. As a result of these incidents, Robina admits to herself that "I turned thief and am punished"

(Whittaker 321), which shows the moral and religious aspects that she preserves in her character. Also, she "thanks to God for His merciful preservation of [her] life" (Whittaker 196) not only for her survival but also for God's being more giving to Robina than he had been to her ancestor Robinson, as well as for letting her to live the life of an adventurer she has always dreamed of.

Figure 10: Robina steals honey (Whittaker 321).

Since adventure is also about killing and braving the wild, and Robina as a girl can manage to do this, which shows the new aspects of her girlhood, and its relationship with the imperial identity and the Empire. This aspect of Robina which is about killing and braving the wild puts her into a position in which she is not a typical girl, in that she is unnatural to feminine nature in the conventional sense. At her first act of killing she takes the life of a snake that she sees as a threat to her life: "[A] snake coiled near the

barrel . . . I might kill him . . . he gave two or three convulsive movements of the body and then remained still . . .” (Whittaker 209). In time she gets used to the idea of killing and starts to take life on the island for food and preservation of her own life, which results in her shooting an English person with an arrow to help another person. In addition to her adventurous side, it seems that Robina has already been encoded with colonialist impulses in her before her arrival to the island. In certain scenes, she acts as a replica of colonialist/imperialist English man although being a woman.

Figure 11: Robina killing a snake (Whittaker 209).

An important example of her colonialist attitude in the story is the part where she confuses a monkey with a native which seems to be a common trope in this kind of adventure fiction.[7] When she figures out what she thinks a native is actually a monkey she says: “I then saw he was nothing more formidable than a mischievous and grinning monkey” (Whittaker 278). This indicates that Robina is well-versed about the stories of English explorers meeting natives in colonies which explicitly shows her colonialist attitude, a part of the dominant discourse. Another accomplishment which shows

[7] For example; a similar scene, in which the protagonist mistakes an infant native of an African colony for a baby monkey, is commented upon by Sinan Akıllı in his account of the colonialist discourses in George Alfred Henty’s *By Sheer Pluck* (1884), a late Victorian novel of imperial adventure (192).

Robina's colonialist and imperialist attitude is her efforts of creating the living conditions that resemble the ones in England. She does not satisfy herself with the basics, but builds many different houses around the island for different usages. Thus, it will not be wrong to argue that these efforts overlap with the idea of colony/empire building in the context of colonial adventure

Figure 12: Robina confuses a monkey with a native (Whittaker 261).

Although her attitude during her life on the island seems ambiguous, when she is rescued by her brother as the story unfolds, the imperial woman identity inside Robina becomes a lot more explicit. When she is rescued, among the first things she thinks about is the gold reserves on the island which she sees as inefficient in her former circumstance. She admits:

> Confession is good for the soul, they say; so now I am about it, I may as well mention another naughtiness of mine, which rather increased-the love of amassing gold, knowing what an instrument for doing and getting good this shining metal is when rightly used. So you see, my young friends-you who have been ready to think Robina Crusoe a horribly strong minded woman-that she was not altogether devoid

> of weakness, albeit the latter-mentioned phase of it cannot be said to be essentially feminine. (Whittaker 653)

With her words, Robina not only expresses her imperial identity but is also aware of her attitude's inappropriate stance when compared to the conventional Victorian woman. Related to the position of Robina, Smith puts forward the idea that

> [t]hese girl- Crusoe texts therefore make a fitting close to this study of British girlhood and empire, marking the endpoint of a trajectory in which girls not only might be imagined sailing boats, wielding weapons, and surviving in the elements without male assistance, but also might remain unmarried and make their own fortune, or indeed their own empire. (Michelle Smith, "Microcosms" 163)

However, in Robina's story, though she stays unmarried and turns back to the island, the colonisation process is accomplished not by herself but her son-in-law Henry whom she previously saved from the hands of pirates. When Robina, her adopted daughter Undine and Henry are rescued and turn back to England, Henry spends two years of his time to plan his return to the island as a coloniser: "He had passed these two years at home in learning as much as he could of any manufacture and handicraft likely to be useful to an early colonist, always hoping to return to Cerisia . . ." (Whittaker 668). Thus, the story itself, like the *G.O.P*'s tone, stays ambivalent in terms of changing cultural norms as regards colonisation.

Notwithstanding Robina's imperialistic attitudes that are closer to the "dominant" discourses on late Victorian Britain, the more important feature of Robina is the way she represents the "emergent" characteristics of the New Woman. With her dressing style, her use of tools and techniques and the works she does on the island, she pictures a different, a new kind of woman when compared to the conventional Victorian feminine type.

While adapting herself to the life conditions on the island gradually, Robina not only changes but also develops herself and her skills. During her twenty years of solitude on the island, she builds and manufactures quite a lot of things including a boat, a fireplace, gunpowder, bricks, clothes, arrows, bows, candles, pots, ink, a flour mill, soap, needle, hut, fishing lines, baskets, and several houses in different locations of the island. After all, even she herself is astonished with her accomplishments and says: "and at last one

afternoon I sat down in comparative idleness to admire the work of my hands" (Whittaker 430). Moreover, what she accomplishes with her own hands is also supported by her self-education in geology, chemistry, physics and other practical knowledge areas which later she also educates her daughter in. As Stubbs has pointed out, "[t]he separation between domestic life and production, and the consequent identification of men with the external world of work and women with the internal world of feeling, was intensified and exaggerated in the Victorian period through the absolute exclusion of middle-class from any form of labour" ("Women" 5). Yet, with Robina as a middle-class woman character, the reader witnesses a woman who goes outside and does what the men of her class does without hesitation, which again shows the "emergent" and the challenging characteristic of the story that merges together the public and private spheres.

Figure 13: Robina with her new clothes and weapons (Whittaker 317).

Figure 14: Robina making her own clothes (Whittaker 380).

While adapting herself to her new identity, Robina starts with her clothes. First indication of this is the moment when she is about to leave the ship; she cuts the skirts of her dress with her knife, in order not to hinder herself in necessity of swimming. After a considerable time on the island and having met the essential needs, Robina makes herself dresses not for show but for use. However she cannot help feeling proud of herself because "as more common-sense in style than some of the ever-varying phantasies of fashion" (Whittaker 381), she makes a skirt that is below the knees and trousers with pockets which is challenging to the ideal physical appearance of a Victorian woman. In addition to the clothes that she tailors, what takes the place of ornaments in Robina's style is her weapons: "I equipped myself for a journey, having on a short skirt and pantaloons, and a straw hat, knife and pistols in my belt, my staff in my hand, and my bow and arrow slung on my back" (Whittaker 260).

According to Martin Green, "[i]n the modernist adventure, that kind especially representative of the modern world system and its imagination, the adventurer defeats

the challenges he [or she] meets by means of the tools and techniques of the modern world system" (*Dreams of Adventure* 23) which can be easily traced in Robina's adventure:

> I found, on the next morning, a small canister of powder and another of shot, which I did not hesitate to open, and loading my two pistols, I felt more secure than I had done on the previous day. Then arming myself with a crowbar, and placing a hammer in my belt, I presented a very formidable appearance. (Whittaker 261)

Commenting on characters like Robina, Michelle Smith suggests "[t]hese girl Crusoes actively seek adventure, often have the capacity to defend themselves physically, and, as a result, constitute the core of these texts rather than inhabiting their periphery as did the girls and women of earlier children's robinsonades" ("Imperial Girls" 21).

Figure 15: Robina killing rabbits for sport (Whittaker 389).

In terms of the use of weapons, Robina acts like an English man who uses his weapon not only for self-defence but also for hunting and sports as well, which is another indication of her creating a replica of the imperialistic English culture on the island she

inhabits. It is possible to see the changing identity of Robina when her childhood and her life on the island are compared. While Robina mentions how she was let by her father to shoot a weapon she describes her experience as follows:

> I had sometimes been permitted by my father to take a shot, when out with him on some of his shooting expeditions, so that notwithstanding a certain shrinking from taking life, natural to the feminine nature, I could, if necessity compelled me, make some efforts towards self-preservation. (Whittaker 261)

As the quotation suggests, taking life was considered unnatural to the feminine nature in her expression but as she gets used to using weapons as part of her new life and identity, she widens their place in her life from just being used as self-defence tools to enjoyment about which she remarks as follows: "[O]n these I discovered a host of rabbits, their holes burrowed in avery direction. My dog and I had splendid sport. . ." (Whittaker 390).

In addition to the tools she uses, what is manufactured by Robina is an important indicator of her character as well. Besides daily used products such as candle and soap, Robina also makes things that have a significant value while preserving and shaping the island. Her unconventional curiosity and self-education in chemistry make these discoveries possible. Robina herself indicates the importance of her self-education which is not a part of the conventional woman characteristic. She says: "and my knowledge of botany teaching me what was useful and what [was] hurtful . . ." (Whittaker 381). As can be seen in this example, throughout the story she constantly expresses the benefits of her self-imposed education in areas that are typically and conventionally reserved for men. To illustrate this point, in one scene Robina reports that

> Springing from rock to rock and aiding myself with branches of tree; or tufts of grass, my attention was caught by the brilliant yellow colour of the soil. On looking around, I remarked that it was only in paths this hue prevailed, and judging that I might have met with some useful product, I arrested my course for a closer examination. My knowledge of chemistry and geology soon enabled me to decide that it was sulphur. . . (Whittaker 317)

Another important achievement by Robina during her stay on the island is her manufacturing of gunpowder. Thanks to her practical knowledge, she gradually manages to combine the elements she finds on the island to that end:

> Arrived at the snow fields. I found the ground covered with a hard substance, totally unlike the soft yielding one I had taken it for, excepting in its colour. At first I was at a loss to determine its nature, but conveying a piece to my mouth, I recognized by its salt taste that it was saltpetre or nitre. “Now," I thought, having found both this and sulphur, and charcoal being easy of production," what is to hinder me from manufacturing gunpowder?" (Whittaker 390)

After manufacturing gunpowder, Robina uses it both to defend herself and to re-shape her surroundings, exploding mountains and caves to create new houses for herself. By this means, as a typical coloniser, Robina uses the modern world techniques to tame the place in which she lives.

While using modern world techniques, what Robina consults is her self-education and practical knowledge which is different than her formal school education. Robina Crusoe as a character, criticises the deficiencies of the education of women in England and puts forward her own ideas and methods regarding the issue. First of all she advises her readers to invest some of their time, like she did in her youth, in areas like geology, chemistry, botany, cookery, and medicine. She gives the following advices not only to her young readers but also to mothers and teachers:

> [L]et me assure you that, far from being dry or irksome, you will find more beauties and wonders, more thrilling excitement in the pages of the book of Nature than in the most fascinating volume of fiction. This early penchant of mine for diving into subjects which have far too long been considered not a necessary part of a woman's education, proved most advantageous. This may make me feel more strongly on the matter than I otherwise should have done, but I cannot but wish that teachers and parents would strive to awaken a taste in their girls as well as their boys in natural science and history, as an intelligent interest in such is one means of preparing useful and common-sense wives and mothers. (Whittaker 244-45)

Although the ambivalent attitude of Robina is represented through this quotation which eventually arrives at the conclusion that it prepares “useful and common-sense wives and mothers,” she also adds that “my studies in them had been carried on in such hours when, thankful to escape from the confinement of the schoolroom, I hid myself with a favourite book in my imaginary desert isle. And here I would strongly advise my young readers to devote some portion of their time to similar study” (Whittaker 245). It is with this self-imposed education which she mentions that Robina manages to survive in her castaway life. If the castaway life is seen as a representative of the space which is being created for the New Woman, this education can be considered as an important element

in terms of surviving in the new sphere which was being formed in the late Victorian period. According to Petzold's argument, Robina's advices to young readers regarding education and her criticism about the issue

> could be read as an advertisement for *The Girl's Own Paper*, which regularly covered most of the topics she suggests for study. Particularly interesting in this respect are articles that combine scientific knowledge with practical application or advice, like "The Chemistry of Food and Cookery" (2 parts, vol.3, 1882, no. 121& 141), "On the Virtues of Simple Herbs and Flowers" (vol. 3, 1882, no. 138), "Useful Plants" (vol. 3, 1882, no. 144), or "Domestic Poisons" (2 parts, vol. 4, 1883, no. 168 & 184), all of which were printed during or shortly after the serialization of "Robina Crusoe." (359)

In addition to her own self-imposed education, Robina uses her different approach to education while raising up Undine, her own daughter; which will also lead to a new method of education that will be tried in the whole island as an example: "It is plain and unpretending- looking, but here throughout the week the little ones of the island meet to be instructed, and here some of my so-called Utopian theories on the subject of education are being tried, and I believe are proving their practicability" (Whittaker 669).

But before that, as a mother Robina teaches her own daughter according to her approach to education, which also can be seen as a test for the practical and utopian thoughts that are mentioned above. Robina teaches Undine to talk and the alphabet. While raising her up she mentions her "pet theories" which can be followed easily since she witnesses the subject from her first-hand experience that a more simple education is possible. She explains:

> I had some pet theories of my own on the subject of education, which I could now put to the test, and my experience with this one pupil of mine certainly proved that a more simplified and interesting method of educating the young than that generally adopted might be followed with advantage. My plan was really to aim at drawing forth the latent powers, giving them something to feed and grow upon, rather than hinder their development by burying them beneath a heap of dry facts, little understood and speedily forgotten, since their "why and because" were things unthought of. (Whittaker 526)

What is criticised by Robina, in other words what is criticised by Elizabeth Whittaker through Robina, is the problem of not letting daughters to attend formal school education and the gendered curriculum of the schools. As Heggie propounds, "[a]t the core of the problem was the fact that, by attending school, girls were removed from the

home and were not only unavailable to support their mothers by doing household tasks but were also prevented from learning important housewifely and maternal skills" (274), thus what is proposed by Robina is a combination of these two spheres.

Figure 16: Robina teaches Undine to read and write (Whittaker 525).

She mentions the importance of a well-educated woman that can bring happiness into a home as a wife and mother. As Doughty puts it, "New Girls interested in new educational and professional opportunities had to negotiate the tensions between these two mythical creatures, the monstrous New Woman and the sweet Angel in the House" (8). That is why we see Robina somewhere in between the New Woman and the traditional woman. Although she did not end up as a conventional woman and stayed single, her daughter did and she helped her in this path. To refer to Petzold's comment, "in terms of gender-politics, 'Robina' may seem somewhat baffling to the modern reader: on the one hand, Robina clearly leaves the female sphere and succeeds as

'Robinson' in an almost unprecedented manner. On the other hand, the text is full of indications that point to a traditional concept of gender roles" (362-63).

As a mother Robina also questions her qualities and asks herself: "My two children, would my influence over them be all it should be?" (Whittaker 636), which is an example of the idea that

> [t]he adaptation of the genre for girls is accompanied by a shift in perceptions of middle-class femininity, in which adventurousness and physical strength can be comfortably reconciled with an appropriately feminine concern with external appearance and maternal feelings. (Michelle Smith, "Microcosms" 163)

Just like Robina acts as an influential figure for her children, the *G.O.P* in general, and the "Robina Crusoe" in particular are positioned as influential resources for young girls when they seek help and advice. When the "Answers to Correspondents" sections of the magazine are analysed it can be deduced that, while the *G.O.P.* was positioned by the girls as an elder sister or mother in terms of taking advice, the influence of Robina can be seen even after fifteen years of the story's publication. As Jochen Petzold mentions in his article, in the "Answer to Correspondents" sections of the *G.O.P.* there were five people who directed their comments and questions with the name of Robina Crusoe even two years after the story was finalised. Also, after fifteen years from the publication of Whittaker's story, there was a person with the nickname of "Lover of the *G.O.P*." who wishes from the editor to publish "Robina" as a separate book (360). At a first general glance at the magazine,

> as seen in the correspondence columns of the *Girl's Own Paper*, [there] was a readiness to seek out advice from decidedly untraditional authorities: not parents or elder siblings, not teachers or clergymen, but the faceless editors and contributors of the new niche periodicals aimed at girls. This attitude had elements in it that crossed class lines, and it is worth remembering that, at the beginning of late Victorian girls' culture, the *Girl's Own Paper* consciously fostered a sense of girls' shared experiences and values in spite of class differences. (Patton 113)

Thus it is possible to argue that the *G.O.P.* was not only bringing together women from different classes but it also helped with their problems in their "Answers to Correspondents" sections. While formerly it was the sisters and mothers and siblings who taught to act and live to the girls, it is now the *G.O.P.* itself that is doing this not only ideologically but in the social and practical sides of life as well. When the *G.O.P.*

was founded in January 1880, the editor of the magazine Charles Peters explained the purpose and the role of the section by saying: "When our girls need information that would be of real service . . . we shall consider it a privilege to supply it" (qtd. in Patton 118). Since the late Victorian period was a time in which the New Women and the conventional women were coexisting with different qualities and ideals,

> [f]ew late Victorian and Edwardian mothers seem to have acted as counsellors or confidantes, helping to solve their daughters' key conflicts. Only a minority of women were able to pass on advice culled from personal experience on how to tackle problems at school, how to choose the right kind of career, or how indeed to reconcile the contrary demands of work and marriage. Most mothers raised their daughters to become good Victorian wives and mothers at a time when the Victorian ideal of domesticity was being undermined. The adolescent girl, lodged between feminine docility and intellectual independence, found her mother no model of identification, and [in this period of shrinking family sizes] she rarely had an elder sister or cousin close by whom she might emulate or consult. (Drotner 135-36)

Because of these reasons the *G.O.P.* helps to cover this gap which is a result of the tension between the traditional mothers and the emergent new daughters in times of necessity for advice. This two sided relationship between the *G.O.P.* and its readers can be described, as Henry James states, one in which the writer "makes his reader very much as he makes his characters...When he makes him well, that is makes him interested, then the reader does quite half the labour" (qtd. in Booth 302). Thus, it was not only that the young girls of England were shaped by the teachings of the *G.O.P.*, but also the magazine itself was shaped according to the needs of the community and the market demand.

However, the Religious Tract Society could not meet the demands of the *fin-de-siècle.* That is why *the G.O.P.* soon lost its popularity and new magazines evolved. "Unlike the Religious Tract Society that . . . allowed its once-dominant publications such as *Boy's Own Paper* and *Girl's Own Paper* to become hopelessly dated, D. C. Thomson [the editor of a new magazine] maintained its market share by responding flexibly to changes in public demand" (LeMahieu 569), which eventually resulted not only in the emergence of other magazines that could meet the demands of the new era but also in the appearance of other new adaptations.

To conclude, it is possible to state that “Robina Crusoe and Her Lonely Island Home” “serves as a key example of how Crusoe mythology is adapted for girl readers during a period of British imperial strength and, later, the Empire’s initial movement toward dissolution” (Michelle Smith, “Microcosms” 169). Since adaptations are seen as creative products and examples of an interpretative process of the time that they are produced in, Robina can be considered as a critical interpretation of the late Victorian period, in which the Empire and gender were undergoing alteration. Thus, it is necessary to situate “adaptations within a broader framework, relating to political, economic and legal circumstances, and defining the participants contributing to the adaptations: the ‘adapters’, the audience and the cultural context” (Bruhn, Gjelsvik and Hanssen 10), just like it happened in newspapers, magazines and their “Answers to Correspondent” sections, thereby revealing the changing dynamics of the society.

CHAPTER II

COUNTERING THE SOURCE: POSTCOLONIALIST ROBINSON CRUSOE ON SCREEN

Robinson: "My name is not Master! My name is Robinson Crusoe."
Friday: "Robina Cruz? What name is Master?"
Robinson: "White Man."

Robinson Crusoe (1997)

"If an answer does not give rise to a new question from itself, it falls out of the dialogue.

Bakhtin. Speech Genres and Other Late Essays

As an effect of the adaptability and the fluidity of the Robinson Crusoe story, itself an effect of the "adventure chronotope," Daniel Defoe's novel has obviously created an ongoing discursive dialogue that has given rise to the polyphony of the Robinsonade tradition. Perhaps the interconnectedness of the individual texts that create this discursive polyphony is observed in one of its most intriguing embodiments in the film *Robinson Crusoe* (1997) where Friday first misunderstands Robinson's first name as "Robina." This utterance of the name Robina, by connecting the film to another entity in the Robinsonade tradition,[9] actually "give[s] rise to a new question from itself" and opens yet another chapter in the Robinsonade dialogue, thereby not "fall[ing] out of the dialogue" (Bakhtin, *Speech Genres* 168). This "coincidental," in other words, "unintentional" interplay of texts is also argued by Dennis Cutchins in the context of adaptation studies as follows:

[9] In an e-mail correspondence dated November 07, 2014, Chris Canaan, the screenwriter of the film, rejected any deliberate reference to Whittaker's work by first calling it a "coincidence" and then suggesting that the name Robina was "misheard" ("Canaan"). However, since the present study is partly on the "polyphonic" aspects of the Robinsonade tradition in general, and since Whittaker's "Robina Crusoe" is the subject of a separate chapter in the thesis, the "hear"ing of the name Robina by an intertextually-informed spectator may be considered as yet another evidence of the ontological possibility of a "polyphonic" network among the Robinsonades, and spectators' active position in the adaptation process.

> '[A]daptation' implies that the influence of one word upon another, or one text upon another, is both intentional on the part of the speaker, performer, writer, and acknowledged by the listener/observer/reader. Thus while suggesting that something is an adaptation does not rule out either intentional or unintentional interplay of texts in general (intertextuality proper), it does indicate that at least some of the interplay is by design and with a specific predecessor text (adaptation). (44)

A similar logic about the multiple participation of various words/texts in the creation of a renewed text is also expressed by Bakhtin himself: "the reality reflected in the text, the authors creating the text, the performers of the text (if they exist) and finally the listeners or readers who recreate and in so doing renew the text participate equally in the represented world in the text" (*Dialogic Imagination* 353). Nonetheless, regardless of the agent from which it originates, the interplay between Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and the two Robinsonades analysed in this study does give rise to new questions and the new question to be explored in this chapter would be centred on the possible discursive elements in the film *Robinson Crusoe* (1997) which may counter the colonialist discursive composition of the literary source text, in the same way as "Robina Crusoe and Her Lonely Island Home" did about a century before the film. However, considering the historical context into which the film was produced, a brief account of the de-colonisation of the British Empire, as well as an overview of the literary and theoretical developments which ran parallel to the de-colonisation process must precede any in-depth engagement with the new question.

The publication of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* came at the beginning of the eighteenth century, during which Britain slowly but steadily grew into a visible Empire; Elizabeth Whittaker's "Robina Crusoe" was born into an age when the British Empire had effectively become the global superpower. *Robinson Crusoe* as transposed to screen by Rod Hardy and George Miller in 1997, however, was produced in a period when Britain's global colonial Empire had already been dissolved into independent nation states. In other words, the Robinsonades may be said to have accompanied almost all of the major turning points in the life of the Empire; its birth, maturity, and the eventual passing away through the process of de-colonisation.

Although the most significant change that comes to mind when de-colonisation is mentioned is the termination of colonial rule and the birth of independent states, there are various definitions of de-colonisation that are formulated according to different political approaches and stances. On this wide spectrum of definitions, the term de-colonisation has been equated with "the legal-constitutional event of a transfer of sovereignty," "experience of a tropical independence," and the "breakdown not just of colonial rule but of a much larger complex . . . 'global colonial order'" (Darwin 524-43). The main idea in all of these phrases is the fragmentation of an imperial entity. In other interpretations, however, de-colonisation has been seen as just a mere formality that maintains the imperial influence in its essence; that is to say, a change of model not a change in corpus. As John Darwin states as regards this argument:

> Decolonization could be regarded as the pursuit of a modified imperialism by other means: as an extra twist in the tortuous saga of collaboration designed to install moderates and pre-empt extremities in the struggle to control the (ex-) colonial state. In this view, independence was no more than a new collaborative bargain. (542-43)

History of the British de-colonisation began after the ending of the First World War that had caused economic and political unrest around the world and resulted in the shifting of global power relationships. According to historians, even though there are many significant reasons that triggered the British de-colonisation, "political dissidence at home" and the "plausibility of what might be called 'vulgar Leninism' – the inevitability of colonial revolt against imperialist exploitation" (Darwin 34) are considered as the most definite ones. As a result of these significant pulses that worked as the triggering forces, alongside British de-colonisation, a Commonwealth culture and a neo-colonialism also appeared. In explaining the necessity of neo-colonialism for a de-colonising Empire, in 1957 Paul Baran stated that in this new form of informal imperialism, "colonial policy was geared to the political requirements of big business which lost interest in maintaining old-style colonial rule" (qtd. in Darwin 545). In other words, to some extent, a new colonial order was created and maintained through the Commonwealth culture, even though it historically ran parallel to the de-colonisation or the dissolution of the British Empire. As Roger Louis explains, "British imperialism remained constant from the nineteenth century and flowed or were channelled into a more informal empire of influence by means of the Commonwealth in the latter part of

the twentieth" ("Introduction" 1). In the context of the Commonwealth, the ties between the former colonies and the Mother Country were maintained through cultural, economic, political, and even ideological bridges. In the general discourse about de-colonisation it seemed that the burden of the administration of the colonies were left to themselves because of the belief that colonial subjects were now able to manage their own affairs. Yet, besides what was outspoken at the surface about the achievements of the former colonies that enabled them to manage their own affairs, perhaps more pressing reasons for British de-colonisation were the rise of the social-democratic political views especially after the 1950's that were mainly intolerant to racism, a "shift in political thinking at home" (Darwin 546), and most importantly, the changes in Britain's political and economic strategies that required mutual collaboration with the United States of America – and not with the underdeveloped former colonies – to be able to stand against the threat posed by the Soviet Union.

In fact, in the aftermath of the Second World War, Britain found itself in a very modest position between the new global superpowers, namely the United States and the Soviet Union. In addition to the political and economic requirements of the Cold War context; Britain's de-colonisation efforts were also in tune with the global public opinion as represented by the United Nations, which, on 14 December 1960, issued the "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" ("Declaration on the Granting of Independence"). In the Declaration, the United Nations General Assembly "proclaim[ed] the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations" and in the Article 5 of the Declaration, it is emphasised that

> [i]mmediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom. ("Declaration on the Granting of Independence")

By 1960, however, the political climate in Britain had already been changing into a state of readiness for the action called for by the United Nations. The stance of the Labour governments between 1945 and 1951 was based on social equality, which could only be

achieved through fair treatment of the peoples of the colonies. Thus, the "necessity to transform the Empire into a multiracial Commonwealth became an article of faith" (Louis, "Introduction" 27) in this period. As a result of these international and national pressures, "old-style imperialism was no longer acceptable and . . . Britain was too weak to maintain its influence by other means" (Darwin 548). Thus, in a de-colonisation process that had already begun with India's becoming an independent state in 1947, the global British Empire began to dissolve: Burma achieved independence as a republic in January 1948, Ceylon became independent in early 1948, Malaya received independence in August 1957, the same year in which the Gold Coast, as well as Ghana, became sovereign states, to be followed by other African colonies (Louis, "Dissolution" 35).

However, this fast dissolution of the Empire also had to be explained to the British public, as the Empire had for a long time been a foundation stone of their national identity. Therefore,

> [s]uccessive British governments up to 1968 made every effort to reassure domestic opinion that, whatever form decolonization took, it was reconcilable with Britain's survival as a great world power: an anaesthetizing rhetoric in which the Commonwealth idea was an indispensable painkiller. (Darwin 547)

In other words, "[t]actfully disguised, the British Commonwealth was to be a satellite system in all but name" (Darwin 551), that means the de-colonisation process for the British Empire was a strategy to maintain colonisation via de-colonisation. "The goal was not that Britain should sustain the Empire but that the Empire, in a new form, should continue to sustain Britain" (Louis, "Dissolution" 330). Yet, whatever the intention of the British politicians was, the Mother Country was not capable of controlling every single outcome of this strategy and after the de-colonisation, former colonies started to gain more visibility in the world not only in terms of politics but also in terms of intellectual and cultural production. The newly-found, or re-gained, independence and self-respect on the part of the peoples of the former colonies of the European nations, including, of course, the British Empire, gave birth to the emergence and rise of the post-colonial theory and, in due time, the ascendency of multicultural societies across Europe, as well as in Britain. This new state was mostly a direct result

of the migration of people from former colonies to the now-multiculturally-composed European imperial centres as equal citizens.

Multiculturalism, which will be elaborated on later in this chapter, can be regarded as a political program that "involves a claim for *recognition* which goes beyond merely accepting the difference. . . . Recognition is about the self-denied identity of others" (Clark xii). In other words, multiculturalism, in theory, was "not the misrecognition derived from the re-assertion of the hegemonic power of dominant groups in the form of an ascribed difference" (Clark xii), but the "affirmation of another man's 'I'" (Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* 7) that can represent different contexts and discursive positions. The most significant event that can be considered as the beginning of the post-colonial and multicultural society in Britain was the arrival of the Windrush Generation to the Mother Country. With the "open door policy" of the Nationality Act of 1948, immigrants from the formerly colonised lands began to arrive in Britain with the hope of a better life and expectations of fair and equal treatment. However, the immigrants who came to Britain with great expectations soon found themselves in "an imagined city that was both magnet and nightmare for its new colonial citizens, a promised land that despite its lure turns out to be an illusion" (Nasta v). Due to the different social, cultural, linguistic, and economic obstacles and the unavoidable "colonial past of the islands [which] haunted the daily lives of the . . . immigrants," the immigrants "suffered from racism, discrimination and humiliation in Britain due to the colour of their skin and prejudices of the British people" (Töngür 46-47). Despite their trust in the existence of intimate connections between Britain and its former colonies, it seemed to the immigrants that the legacy of the imperialist discourses remained mostly unchanged. In this sense, the interpretation of de-colonisation as a new and informal practise of imperialism deliberately pursued by British politicians gains some validity.

However, as already mentioned above, Britain was not in control of every single outcome of this deliberate effort, which can be observed in the emergence and rise of the post-colonial theory and literature as an outcome of the process of de-colonisation. One of the most notable products of this period, namely the rise of post-colonial literatures and theory mainly involve "'writing back', 're-writing', 'canonical counter-

discourse', 'pre-text', and 'con-text', all of which can be seen as conceptualisations of postcolonial resistance to canonical discourse" (Ashcroft et al., *Empire*, 196). Similarly, as one of the key figures in the emergence of postcolonial literary theory, Edward Said argues that "[t]he real potential of post-colonial liberation is the liberation of all mankind from imperialism . . . [and the] reconceiving of human experience in non-imperialist terms" (Said, *Culture* 274-76). In other words, the post-colonial era is a time in which multiple voices are being heard and represented with multiple points of view. It is also a period in which new discourses, that are mainly against the established and accepted imperial identities of the colonial era and that aim to deconstruct those hegemonic discursive constructions, are allowed expression. In relation to the idea of multiple voices, that is a polyphony, post-colonial theory and literature in general have made it possible for the formerly colonised people to be heard; and therefore can be considered as a "major step forward in the process of decolonization" (Nasta 70), accompanying and complementing this process.

In exploring the intersection of post-colonial literary theory and adaptation of literary texts that constitute the literary canon of European colonial imperialism, deploying Saidian terminology seems appropriate. In what may be called an effort of "reading back," instead of "writing back," Edward Said uses the method of "contrapuntal reading" (*Culture* 59), which is a form of literary analysis that is targeted to find out the significant elements of the repressed cultures and discourses in the canonical Western texts. Said's method is a way of "enabling the emergence of colonial implications that might otherwise remain hidden" (Ashcroft et al., *Key Concepts* 55-56) from these texts. As such, contrapuntal reading "extend[s] our reading of the texts to include what was once forcibly excluded" (Said, *Culture* 79). Although Bakhtinian terminology is not referred to in Said's work, some of his comments allow for bridging the idea of "contrapuntal" with Bakhtinian "polyphony." Since the term "contrapuntal," – referring, just like the term "polyphony," to "a melody played in conjunction with another" ("Contrapuntal") – is borrowed from the field of music, Said elaborates on his critical position as follows:

> As we look back at the cultural archive, we begin to reread it not univocally but *contrapuntally*, with a simultaneous awareness both of the metropolitan history that is narrated and of those other histories against which (and together with which) the

> dominating discourse acts. In the counterpoint of Western classical music, various themes play off one another, with only a provisional privilege being given to any particular one; yet in the resulting polyphony there is . . . an organized interplay that derives from the themes, not from a rigorous melodic or formal principle outside the work. In the same way . . . we can read and interpret English novels. (*Culture* 59-60)

Based on Said's argument, it is possible to maintain that contrapuntal reading is a contextual reading strategy, which highlights the ideological affiliation between texts; denies "the homogeneously utopian domain of texts connected serially, seamlessly, immediately only with other [canonical] texts"; and, instead, seeks to "make visible, to give materiality back to the strands holding the text to society, author and culture," including its "diffusion and reception, values drawn upon, values and ideas assumed, a framework of consensually held tacit assumptions" (Said, *World*, 174-175). As Ashcroft and Ahluwalia draw the same parallel between polyphony and contrapuntal reading, they comment as follows: "Contrapuntal reading takes both (or all) dimensions of . . . polyphony into account, rather than the dominant one, in order to discover what a univocal reading might conceal about the political worldliness of the canonical text" (93). Thus it is possible to say that the essence of Said's concept of contrapuntality as a reading strategy enables the readers to look at the past by positioning themselves in the present, that is, in reading the major works of imperialism "retrospectively and heterophonically with other histories . . . counterpointed against them" (Said, *Culture* 195). What is suggested by Said's remarks is, in fact, the creation of a polyphonic structure. Similarly, related with the idea of "reading back" and highlighting the repressed voices in the canonical works of European literature, Tiffin argues that "[l]iterary revolution in post-colonial worlds has been an intrinsic component of social 'disidentification' from the outset," [its discursive strategies involving a] "mapping of the dominant discourse, a reading and exposing of its underlying assumptions, and the dis/mantling of these assumptions from the cross-cultural standpoint of the imperially subjectified 'local'" (Tiffin 23).

If the strategy of "reading back" is essential to post-colonial theory and criticism; what constitutes a similar fundamental element in post-colonial literature is the strategy of "writing back." John Marx, in his article entitled "Postcolonial Literature and the Western Literary Canon" categorises the reasons for the creation of a counter-discourse

through post-colonial writing under three headings. According to Marx the first reason is that post-colonial re-writings are there to "*repudiate* the canon" so that "readers have become well practiced in treating work from Europe's former colonies as the antithesis of canonical writing and as an instrumental component in efforts to recover oral and print traditions that imperialism threatened to obliterate" (Marx 83). Secondly, postcolonial re-writings function to "*revise* canonical texts and concepts," to offer a "critique of Western tradition involving the rewriting of specific works . . . and the appropriation of entire genres" (Marx 83). The third reason creates what is called by Marx the "mainstreaming of postcolonial literature" (95). In general, Marx argues that post-colonial re-writings are not there just to create a counter-discourse; but their existence is an evidence of the heterogeneity of the canon, which is also subject to transformation in the post-colonial context:

> The fact that a writer's capacity to represent a place and its people is widely considered relevant to determining canonicity suggests how dramatically postcolonial literature has changed what we mean when we say "the canon." . . . Even newly celebrated work that emerges from the former colonies or from the migrant populations engendered by imperialism helps to transform the canon into a more heterogeneous archive. Instead of opposing or revising it from outside, postcolonial literature increasingly *defines* a new sort of canon from an established position inside its boundaries. (Marx 85)

Similarly, John McLeod considers canonical texts as "resources," or "points of departure" with which post-colonial writers can "enter into a productive critical dialogue": "[w]riters have *put literary 'classics' to new uses* for which they were scarcely originally intended" (McLeod 143). Re-writings or, in other words, adaptations thus go further than only "'fill[ing] in' the gaps perceived in the source-text" (McLeod 168), "they also make available new ways of dealing with the 'classics' which make new meanings possible" (McLeod 143). When re-writings "*resist* or *challenge* colonialist representations of colonised peoples and cultures perceived in the source-text and popular readings of it," these may then be considered "post-colonial," "implicat[ing] the reader as an *active agent* in determining the meanings made possible by the dialogue between the source-text and its re-writing" (McLeod 168). Connected to McLeod's comments, John Thieme, in *Post-Colonial Contexts: Writing Back to the Canon* uses the terms 'pre-text' for the 'source-text' and 'con-text' for its postcolonial re-writing. According to Thieme's view, postcolonial re-writings harbour in themselves

the discursive positions, namely the contexts that have no intention to connect with or touch the pretexts namely the source texts, and uses them only as a starting point to point out more wider and different ideas and concerns (5). As a culmination of what has been explained so far in the context of post-colonial reading strategies and re-writings of texts that represent the canon of the literature in the age of European imperialism, it may be argued that the adaptations, whether intra-medial or inter-medial, of these works from a post-colonialist position aim at countering these source texts, sometimes by revealing hidden essentialism, sometimes by deconstructing them, and at other times, by way of re-contextualising them to allow for the inclusion of alternative and/or counter discourses.

Consequently, postcolonial theorists have frequently drawn attention to the colonialist and imperialist connotations of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. Edward Said argued that Crusoe "is virtually unthinkable without the colonizing mission that permits him to create a new world of his own in the distant reaches of the African, Pacific, and Atlantic wilderness" (*Culture*, 75). While supporting his view in terms of the emergence of the novel in the eighteenth-century England, he continued his argument by emphasising that the novel was introduced to England by *Robinson Crusoe*, a work that contains almost all the reclaims for imperialism which connect itself with the narratives of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century exploration voyages that laid the foundations of the great colonial empires (*Culture* 83). Having also been attributed an inaugural status as such, Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* has become one of the most commonly scrutinised texts from post-colonialist critical positions. Moreover, the genre that *Robinson Crusoe* represents, that is the novel, the genre that has been almost the signature of British literary and cultural production in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, became one more front in terms of the post-colonial scrutiny of Defoe's work. The main rationale for such genre-based critique from a post-colonial position was the idea that the novel, by the nature of its form, was a monophonic construct that allowed for the existence of only one discursive position, only one identity, and only one "I," instead of multiple ones. As Azim puts it, the novel

> was part of a discursive field concerned with the construction of a universal and homogeneous subject. This subject was held together by the annihilation of other subject-positions. The novel is an imperial genre, not in theme merely, not only by

> virtue of the historical moment of its birth, but in its formal structure – in the construction of that narrative voice which holds the narrative structure together. (21)

However, as de-colonisation unfolded during the twentieth century and as new forms of cultural production besides the novel emerged, there appeared new texts with a potential to contribute new discursive perspectives to the conversation in a post-colonial world. It may be argued again that the emergence of these new texts and discursive positions were encouraged by, as well as contributing to, the policy of multiculturalism, which became the "dominant" and official cultural and social policy in Western societies, especially in the ones with imperial pasts.

As an outcome of the technological advances in the twentieth century that made possible alternative modes of adaptation, inter-medial adaptations, especially the cinematic adaptations of the works in the European literary canon, began to appear in growing numbers. In the heyday of multiculturalism that is also the "specific aspect of the broader movement of 'political correctness,' which is itself a product of the dynamics of the collective construction and reconstruction of identity" (Spencer 548), the agenda of the adaptations introduced to the readers the new "dominant" discourses of the era, namely post-colonialism, and added to the polyphonic structure of the re-evaluations of the canonical works.

Thinking post-colonial studies and cinema studies on an interdisciplinary platform brings the reader to the understanding that cinema, which can be considered as another tool for a critique from the post-colonial position, provides readers and writers with new approaches and possibilities in terms of representing new and different voices in different ways. As Sandra Ponzanesi has already mentioned, "[d]ifferent perspectives and approaches are offered with the goal of sparking further postcolonial readings of cinema while using cinema to expand and deepen postcolonial critique" (9). Similarly, a significant analysis is made by Matthias De Groof who sees cinema and post-colonialism in a mutualist relationship. He argues:

> Postcolonialism is a lens. As such, postcolonial cinema is not a rigid category, nor a genre, nor a category to point out a certain group of people or geography. Postcolonialism – as an interdisciplinary optic through which to address questions

> of postcolonial historiography, geography, subjectivity and epistemology – has therefore to be distinguished from the postcolonial condition. (323)

Through cinema, visual and narrative strategies are used to open new paths for new representations that investigate and evaluate canonical prototypes and as a result, "'Postcolonial Cinemas: Postcolonial Aesthetics', [become tools that] 'investigates the aesthetic frameworks and rhetorical strategies that the postcolonial cinematic optic has had to create and through which it becomes accessible' (Ponzanesi 11). With the inclusion of different techniques through cinema, which add different forms to the "writing back" process, repressed voices also started to be heard, which is also called, in a different sensory perception metaphor, the "returned gaze" (51) by Paula Amad. In her analysis of the cinematic technique that goes parallel with the post-colonial studies, Amad argues:

> Hermeneutic of the returned gaze as postcolonial theory's gift to film studies—an interpretive sleight of hand which (by magically restoring sight to the previously only seen objects of the Western imperial eye) allowed visual studies scholars to elide the historical and contemporary oppression of neo-colonizing regimes of vision. (52)

Besides her general standpoint, in her definition, Amad categorises the term "returned gaze" in two different ways that support one another. First of all, for her, the term refers to the significant moment in which the repressed looks directly at the camera, in other words at the spectators, who mainly make hegemonic interpretations regarding the work. Direct look of the repressed "connotes the now-common interpretation of that look as a refusal of the assumed monolithic, unidirectionality of the West's technologically mediated structures of looking at cultural Others" (Amad 52). In her second approach, Amad argues that with the returned gaze, the oppressed that addresses the spectator creates a counter discourse, a counter look, which is a "specific photo-cinematic translation of a broader postcolonial imperative to decentre, decolonize, and provincialize any number of European imperial constructs (present as early as the now-canonical *The Empire Writes Back)*" that aims at "recovering resistance or at least a trace of agency for the nameless masses trapped like insects within modernity's visual archive" (Amad 52). Thus, by its nature, through the returned gaze, not only the repressed ones gain visibility, but also the hegemonic power and its discourse are shaken.

According to former screen theories "the relation of the film to the world it represents; the internal organization of filmic discourse and the reception of the film by the spectator" (Nowell-Smith 8) walk on the same path with Althusserian ideology. By accepting film as a discourse, screen theorists try to understand the codes of representations, and the relationship between audience and the film. Parallel to these ideas, Comolli explains:

> [W]hen we set out to make a film, from the very first shot, we are encumbered by the necessity of reproducing things not as they really are but as they appear when refracted through the ideology. This includes every stage in the process of production: subjects, 'styles', forms, meanings, narrative traditions all underline the general ideological discourse. The film is ideology presenting itself to itself, talking to itself, learning about itself. Once we realized that it is the nature of the system to turn the cinema into an instrument of ideology, we can see that the filmmaker's first task is to show up the cinema's so-called 'depiction of reality.' (46)

Yet, contrary to some cinema theorists' approach, both with the post-colonial and multicultural environment and the appearance of the Third Cinema, what has already been mentioned before with Amad's explanations, the returned gaze "ushered in the possibility of the annihilation of the Western self while ethically intending to supplant the passive spectator of apparatus theory with an active witness—a witness not just to history, but to a history of the gaze in cinema" (Amad 62). The returned gaze also becomes an interpretative tool that has the potential of "disrupt[ing] spatiotemporal conventions by exploring cinema's censored locations, at the intersection of the memory of colonial space and the geography of postcolonial time" (Amad 74). In this way, postcolonial cinema and adaptation, rather than just being a "so-called depiction of reality," position themselves in a space where multiple voices are being heard and, as a result, create multiple realities according to different points of view.

In this chapter, an inter-medial adaptation of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* will be elaborated on with regard to the formerly mentioned post-colonial and multicultural perspectives and the idea of the returned gaze. Even though they are not as many in number as the literary adaptations, there are also quite a few cinematic adaptations of the Robinson Crusoe story. The film industry has been using the Robinson Crusoe story with diverse and distinct voices in which the tone ranges from comic to tragic. Among

these cinematic Robinsonades, there are *Mr. Robinson Crusoe* (1932), *Robinson Crusoe* (1954), *Robinson Crusoe on Mars* (1964), *Lt. Robin Crusoe, U.S.N.* (1966), *Robinson Crusoe* (1997), *Cast Away* (2000), and *Castaway on the Moon* (2009). As an example of this cinematic Robinsonade tradition, the film *Robinson Crusoe* (1997) aligns itself with the anti-imperialist and post-colonialist discourses that are "dominant" in the moment of its production and consumption. In the movie, Pierce Brosnan, who is generally known for his performance as the English spy James Bond, plays the Robinson character, which creates a contrast with Defoe's original Robinson, because in the film the audience witnesses a relationship between Robinson and Man Friday that is based on equality. Although at the beginning of the film Robinson asks Man Friday to call him "Master" and chains him like his slave, as the plot proceeds, Robinson changes his attitude and apologises to Man Friday. Also, religious, traditional, and technological differences are questioned not only by Robinson, but also by Man Friday as well. Moreover, during a climactic episode in the film, which comes after a long time of comradeship between the two men, Robinson cross-dresses, thereby illustrating the Bakhtinian idea of the "affirmation of another man's 'I'." As a result, different voices are represented through the Robinson Crusoe story again. Furthermore, the film *Robinson Crusoe* not only contributes to the polyphonic quality of the Robinsonade tradition, but it also has a polyphonic quality in itself as a text. However, before dealing with the significant moments of the adapted text and its counter position against the source text, a brief summary of adaptation theory and the methods of approaching and applying its relevant tools in this context should also be briefly mentioned.

Although Martin Green mentions adaptations as "compulsive retellings (*Dreams of Adventure*, 93), there are various approaches to the theorisation of adaptations. By many diverse critics, adaptations are situated in different positions. These different interpretations of adaptations are not only based on comparisons between the source text and the adapted text, but also it is possible to observe different approaches that take different modes of adaptations as reference point and question the "fidelity and fertility" (Andrew 99) of the newly formed texts.

When the cinematic adaptations of literary works started to appear in significant numbers, directors positioned themselves either at the side that favours the novel over the film or vice versa. Some directors, such as D. W. Griffith who states that movies are "picture stories; not so different [from novels]" (qtd. in Ross 1) and Robert Natham who argues that the film "is like a novel, but a novel to be seen instead of told" (qtd. in Ross 5), maintain that there is not so much difference between the source text and the adapted text. However, there are also other critics who see the adaptation process as a form of literary criticism and a formation of a new product. For example; Neil Sinyard argues that filmmakers in general and directors in particular use cinematic techniques, simply the camera, to interpret rather than illustrate the source text. In his argument, Sinyard claims that "the best adaptations of books for film can often best be approached as an activity of literary criticism, not a pictorialisation of the complete novel" (117). While comparing film and novel, he proposes the idea that adaptation should be seen as a critical essay in which new alternatives are offered and puts forward his ideas by emphasizing that "the process [of adaptation], like the best criticism . . . can throw new light on the original" (117), thus creating new voices.

In addition to their assertions of the positions in which the critics situated themselves, they also proposed or observed three distinct modes of adaptation. Even though the terms are used differently by the critics, the main idea behind stays similar. The first mode of adaptation is the one that mainly aims at staying as close as possible to the source text. Michael Klein and Gillian Parker, who are the editors of *The English Novel and the Movies,* defined this way as "faithfulness" (9). According to their argument, because of the expectations of the audience, films "attempt to give the impression of being faithful, that is, literal translations of the text into the language of film" (9). Similarly, Geoffrey Wagner, defines this approach as "transposition," in which "a novel is given directly on the screen with a minimum of apparent interference" (222), and Dudley Andrew calls this path "fidelity of transformation" in which "the task of adaptation is the reproduction in cinema of something essential about an original text" (100) while trying to remain faithful to the source text.

The second distinct mode of adaptation is based on the idea that the new products are used as tools of criticism and commentary. Again, even though the terms are named differently by critics, their understanding of this mode is similar to one another. According to Klein and Parker, this approach "is the one that retains the core of the structure of the narrative while significantly reinterpreting or, in some cases, deconstructing the source text" (10). For Wagner, using this kind of mode makes it possible for the writer to "re-emphasis," or "re-structure," where "an original is taken and either purposely or inadvertently altered in some respect . . . when there has been a different intention on the part of the film-maker, rather than infidelity or outright violation" (Wagner 224). The term that is used by Andrew is "intersecting" that defines the way in which the uniqueness of the original text is preserved "to such an extent that it is intentionally left unassimilated in adaptation. The cinema, as a separate mechanism, records its confrontation with an ultimately intransigent text" (99). In this approach, the main aim is neither to remain faithful to the original text nor to create something completely different. Through, "re-interpretation," "re-structuring," and "intersecting," the creators of the adapted works open a possibility for them to say something new without disregarding the position of the source text.

The last mode of adaptation is the most aggressive but also the most innovative way "that regards the source merely as raw material, as simply the occasion for an original work" (Klein and Parker 10). In this mode that is called "analogy" by Wagner and "borrowing" by Andrew, adaptation "must represent a fairly considerable departure for the sake of making another work of art" (Wagner 226). Bela Balazs, who is another theorist of cinema, disregards any kind of transfer between literature and film and argues that although adaptation uses the subject of the source text, it evolves differently both in terms of content and form. He observes that "while the subject, or story, of both works is identical . . . their *content* is nevertheless different. It is this different *conten*t that is adequately expressed in the changed form resulting from the adaptation" (7-8). Thus, in this mode of adaptation, the source text is regarded "from the specific angle of . . . [an] art form as if it were raw reality," and "the form once already given to the material" (10) should not be of any concern. Hence, in this kind of adaptation mode, the success "rests on the issue of fertility not their fidelity" (Andrew 99).

As regards the fidelity versus fertility debate, contemporary theorist and critics, contrary to old-style adaptation studies, argue that, by drifting away from fidelity, one does not necessarily undervalue the source text but take into consideration the intertextuality of the newly developed work. Thus, this approach not only helps to maintain the position and the survival of the source text in different historical contexts, but also creates new discourses that are valid in times of their consumption. According to Brian McFarlane, "as soon as the cinema began to see itself as a narrative entertainment, the idea of ransacking the novel - that already established repository of narrative fiction - for source material got underway" (7), which indeed makes adaptations "lifeblood of the film and television business" (Seger xi). It is possible to say that adaptation is a continuum of flow in the same riverbed and similar to this idea, Robert Mayer argues that adaptation is a way of "alteration or adjustment in order to make something fit its new context or environment without, however, changing that something into something else – one 'adapts,' that is, one does not 'transform' or 'metamorphose'" (5). This kind of an approach to adaptation then, in terms of textuality, makes possible the "survival of the fittest" in its environment. As Paul Alkon emphasizes, "questions about fidelity to history and fidelity to particular novels, while interesting, are far less crucial than the question of whether a film, considered independently of its sources, is any good, and the question of what cultural purposes a film serves for its own time" ("Review" 2). Thus, the scriptwriter or filmmaker who manages to adapt the source text according to the culture it is produced in "becomes not a translator for an established author, but a new author in his own right" (Bluestone 62).

To summarize the ideas regarding the modes of adaptations and the criticism of fertility and fidelity, Douglas Lanier's comments on the process of adaptation, and on the relationship between the source text and the adapted text seems appropriate. He sees this continuous relationship as follows:

> First, it is rhizomatic. Deleuze's classic example of a rhizomatic relationship is of the wasp and the orchid. Both beings maintain their relative autonomy, but both evolve in the direction of the other so that the wasp can be said to be ''becoming-orchid,'' and the orchid ''becoming-wasp.'' The relationship is not symbiotic—one does not depend on the other—so much as mutually catalytic of dramatically new directions in development, what Deleuze calls ''lines of flight.'' (104-105)

That is to say, a source text and its adaptation can definitely maintain a strong and lasting bond between themselves even though they do not directly draw from one another towards a state of sameness at a given moment. On the contrary, a source text seems to be fertile only to the degree of its ability to give way to different interpretations, the "lines of flight;" and it is through these differences that the source text lives on and its adaptations "become" an aspect of the identity of the source text.

Figure 17: The furry lip of the bee orchid, *Ophrys apifera*, mimics a bee. "Bee Orchids."

To recount what was briefly explained in the introduction chapter, McFarlane sees fidelity as "the near-fixation" (194), and comments on the shortcomings of the approach and claims that "fidelity criticism is unilluminating" (9) and "undervalues other aspects of the film's intertextuality" (21). In other words, taking side with fertility is an approach that not only protects the position and value of the source text, but also develops new interpretations and discourses. In the process of an adaptation, especially in the cinematic adaptations, the cultural and political environment that the new work is produced in is a significant determinant in terms of shaping the product. Thus, one who does not take into consideration the adaptation's intertextuality "is guilty of undervaluing the film's cultural autonomy as well as failing to understand the process by which the novel has been transposed to film (McFarlane 200). For this reason, fertile adaptations "have chosen paths other than that of the literal-minded visualization of the original or even of 'spiritual fidelity,' making quite obvious departures from the

original" (22) that can be seen as a commentary, a re-interpretation, or in some cases, deconstruction or re-structuring of the source text.

In relation to the idea of adaptation's obvious departures from the original or source text, Sarah Cardwell widens her approach and sees "adaptations in terms of an everdeveloping meta-text" (68). According to her approach, adaptations not only use source texts, but can also use other former adaptations as well, and by considering the adaptation process as "everdeveloping," one naturally takes into consideration the history in which the process is developed. Similarly, Christopher Orr mentions the historical continuum of the adaptation process and states that

> [b]y placing the notion of adaptation within the theory of intertextuality, we can describe the literary source as one of a series of pre-texts which share some of the same narrative conventions as the film adaptation. This description obviously does not exhaust the film's intertextual space, which also includes codes specific to the institution of cinema as well as codes that reflect the cultural conditions under which the film was produced. (72)

Even though the critics have given significant importance to the intertextuality of the texts and the cultural and historical period in which they are produced, as well as the possible effects of these elements, no critic has so far explicitly used the term 'contextuality' when discussing the possible modes of adaptation or the process itself. Robert Stam, who is considered as one of the most important film critics, considers the process of adaptation as an "intertextual dialogism," and an "ongoing dialogical process" ("Beyond Fidelity" 64). According to this idea, reading the source text is a "partial, personal, conjunctural" (Stam, *Literature* 4) process in which one can generate infinite numbers of different suggestions. Stam's approach, obvious from his commentaries and the terminology he uses, such as "dialogic," is built upon Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of "dialogism." For Bakhtin, a dialogic work is in a continuous relationship, a continuous dialogue, with other works and this dialogue extends not only to the direction of the adapted work but includes the source text as well, which, in turn, ensures the places of both works. Related to the dialogic continuum in the process of adaptation and its effects on both the source text and the adapted text, Fishelov comments on as follows:

> The dialogic approach emphasizes ongoing processes rather than end-products; a work's greatness is no longer perceived as a static attribute (a medal given by a

> ruling hegemony or a by-product of objective aesthetic qualities), but is part of a dynamic relationship between text, readers, authors, artists, and critics. A work's consensual greatness can weaken when it ceases to inspire new dialogues (due to changing aesthetic sensibilities and/or institutional, ideologically motivated dictates). (349)

As it is already mentioned, a text's survival and its position in the time of its consumption are not attached to its "static attribute" but to its creative dialogue both with the source text and the environment in which it is produced, namely its 'contextuality.' As Andrew Bergman claims, "as films are not viewed in a void, neither are they created in a void. Every movie is a cultural artefact . . . and as such reflects the values, fears, myths, and assumptions of the culture that produces it" (xi).

Robinson Crusoe, which is considered as one of the most important milestones in literature, attained its status as a "myth" not only because of the achievement of the source text in terms of reflecting the social, cultural and political values of its time, but also with its numerous adaptations in different geographies and historical periods. Even without taking into consideration the more contemporary adaptations, by the end of the nineteenth century, "196 editions of *Robinson Crusoe* had been published, 114 revisions, 277 imitations, and 110 translations, including Hebrew, Armenian, Bengali, Persian, and even Eskimo" which indicates "the book's ability to transcend its specific time and place" (Fishelov 343). According to Stam, this ability lies not only in the story's achievement in terms of representing its era but also its narrative's being "an artifact rooted in various intertexts: the Bible, homiletic tracts, journalistic writing about castaways, and sensationalist travel literature" (*Literature* 65), which is an emphasis that dismisses the idea of seeing the source as an authoritative, "monologic" source, but, instead embracing the possibility of multivocal narrative techniques in terms of representation, even in the source text. In addition to these ideas, another significant element that makes possible various intra- and inter-medial adaptations of Defoe's novel in different historical, cultural, social and ideological contexts is its "mutability or plasticity" (Zambreno 118), which can be explained with reference to Bakhtin's "adventure chronotope."

Since the theory of "chronotope" in general, and "adventure chronotope" in particular, are explained in the introduction part of this thesis, the discussion here will be limited

only to the film *Robinson Crusoe* and its specific relationship with the theory. Since "the adventure novel of everyday life" entangles a "mix of adventure-time with everyday time" in this kind of adaptation, "the plot is in no sense an extra-temporal hiatus between two adjacent moments of real-life sequence. On the contrary, it is precisely the course of the hero's . . . life in its critical moments that makes up the plot of the novel" (Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination* 111). In the adventure novel of everyday life, adventure time "leaves a deep and irradicable mark on the man himself as well as on his entire life" as it is "a time of exceptional and unusual events" (Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination* 116). In this type, "[t]he series of adventures that the hero undergoes does not result in a simple affirmation of his identity, but rather in the construction of a new image of the hero, a man who is now purified and reborn" (117). Through a "metamorphosis" that "serves as the basis for a method of portraying the whole of an individual's life in its more important moments of crisis: for showing *how an individual becomes other than what he was*" and by "keeping with this principle, the novel provides us with two or three different images of the same individual, images that have been disjoined and rejoined through his crisis and rebirths" (115). In the case of film *Robinson Crusoe*, the tone of which is critical from a post-colonial position, the protagonist "experiences events that are exclusively extraordinary, defined by the sequence of guilt - retribution - redemption - blessedness" (Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imaginatio*n 121). Robinson not only questions his own self, and his past and cultural heritage but also finds the opportunity to meet with the Other, who is formerly repressed. To draw the parallel between Bakhtin's "adventure chronotope" and post-colonialism, in his book *The Postmodern Chronotope*, Paul Smethurst offers a new term, that is "post-colonial island chronotope" (219). According to Smethurts, in the works that can be accepted as deploying the "post-colonial island chronotope," the representation of different times and spaces lead the reader or writer to the re-evaluation of colonial times and practises; and creates critical points of view that give more significance to the perspective of the Other (Smethurst 235-41). Thus, it is possible to accept the film *Robinson Crusoe* as an example of the "post-colonial island chronotope," in which not only the voice of Robinson is heard, but also Friday's voice is introduced to the spectator as the voice of the formerly silenced Other.

According to Dennis Walder, the existence and practise of "[p]ost-colonial theory is needed because it has a subversive posture towards the canon in celebrating the neglected or marginalized, bringing with it a particular politics, history and geography" (60). To represent the shifting power relationships in different geographies, which are the results of the colonial inheritance, post-colonial texts are used to create a double awareness. Also, since the "[E]mpire's self-consciousness is uneasy" in our day because of its colonial past, this "uneasiness in the adventure tale . . . nowadays shows itself in crude, self-disfiguring violence, or in an attempt at self-satire, or in would-be blends of adventure with comedy" (Green, *Seven Types* 31). The film *Robinson Crusoe*, a product of this uneasiness, features Pierce Brosnan – known for his role as James Bond, an agent of MI6, Her Majesty's Secret Intelligence Service – as a post-colonialist Robinson who questions not how the British lost the power of the Empire, but instead how they "won it without resentment" (Green, *Dreams of Adventure* xiii). That is why the frequently discussed and analysed binary opposition between the "savage" and the "civilised," that is the relationship between Robinson and Friday, and "the actual procedures of colonization used in the last two hundred years" (Hymer 26) such as naming the Other, the teaching of language and religion, and the use of tools and techniques of the modern technology are reversed in the film. Put differently, the textual examples of how *Robinson Crusoe* (1997) fills in the gap between the beginning and the end of the Robinson Crusoe story with discursive content reveal that the adapted text is exactly the opposite and subversive of the literary source text.

As it is already explained in the above, adventure time is considered as the time in which the hero experiences not just a "simple affirmation of his identity," but a "construction of a new image" gradually. For this reason, the spectator witnesses the metamorphosis of Robinson into a "wiser man" as the film proceeds. As the voice-over narration of Robinson begins, he describes his story as follows: "And so my story begins, like so many other stories, with a woman" (*RC* 01:33-00:01:35), which is significantly different from Defoe's Robinson. Rather than with the impulses of adventure, and mercantilism, the post-colonial Robinson starts his journey because of the fact that he has to run away from Scotland to avoid being killed by the relatives of his rival, whom he was forced to kill in order to hinder the unwanted marriage of his

beloved Mary. Also, even though he kills his former friend Patrick in a duel, he hesitates to do it until the last minute. These different motivations of Robinson, which are the causes of his sea journey, give the spectator hints about how this story will be different from the original one. However, Stam indicates that, by representing a Robinson character that the modern world spectators can sympathise with, the film "makes token gestures toward a shallow political correctness" (*Literature* 97), which can be understood as different from the idea of post-colonialism.

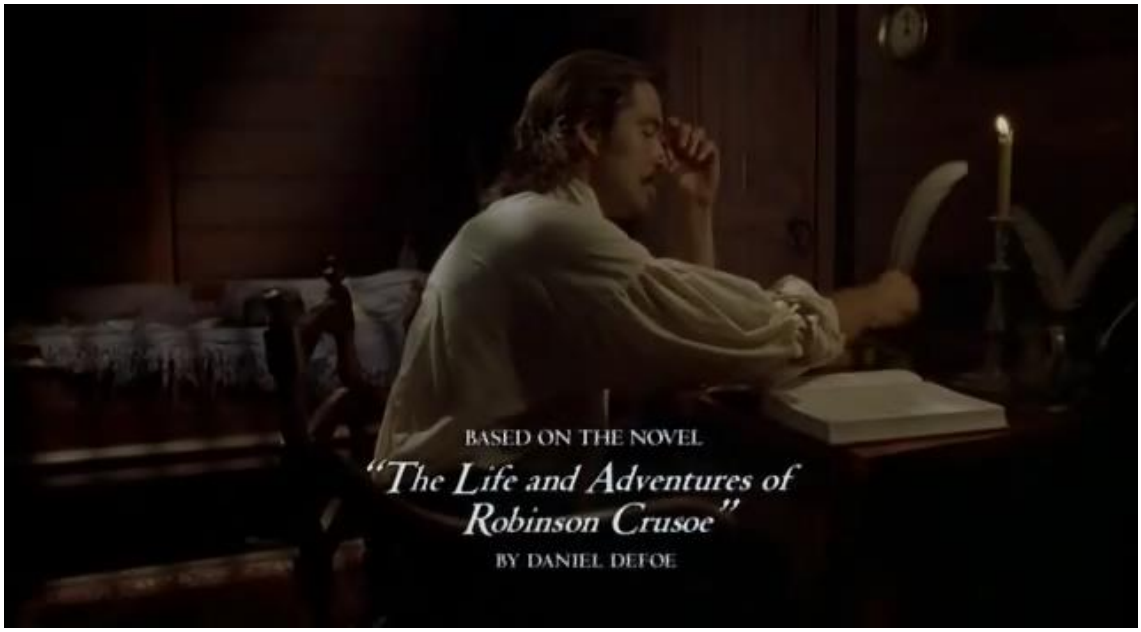

Plate 1: The opening scene of *Robinson Crusoe* (*RC* 09:57).

Although Robinson's journey before he is stranded on the deserted island is significantly short when compared with the source text, he spends this interval in "His Majesty's army," an experience the description of which represents his colonialist and imperialist attitude and his culture. With his "academic background" and "intimate knowledge of history," he is assigned the duty of keeping the "chronicle of . . . [their] journey through the written world" (*RC* 09:58-10:15). As the designated chronicler, Robinson mentions about his days on the Captain's ship as follows: "We swam with mermaids and we carried fabulous cargoes of silks and spices, jade and mahogany. And once, even we carried a human cargo of slaves" (*RC* 09:48-09:53), which is an indication of the colonialist background of the culture to which he belongs (see Plate 1).

After Robinson is shipwrecked, or, in other words, loses his ties with his native culture and society, his "adventure time," namely his metamorphosis begins. The minute he wakes at his new life, Robinson recounts: "As I took my footsteps in that unknown land a dread came over me. I began to realise in truth how terrible was my condition" (*RC* 14:35-14:39). As it happens in almost all of the Robinsonades, the first thing he does is to bury his dead friends and to go to the ship to reclaim whatever can be useful for his survival. After finding his company Skipper the dog, he finds gunpowder, weapons and provisions, namely indications of his modern life. Although he explicitly states his social class and defines himself as a gentleman, in his new condition, Robinson learns to act like a man from the labouring classes, who does his own craft: "I discovered the carpenter's chest, being a gentleman; I had little experience with the tools of the trade. Nevertheless, there and then I resolved that I would learn" (*RC* 17:14-17:25). Even though he is originally a gentleman, who is not accustomed to do even the simple tasks, Robinson manages to build a boat for himself to carry the reclaimed items from the shipwreck and calls it his "modest craft" (*RC* 17:55).

Plate 2: Robinson carrying tools from the shipwreck (*RC* 17:47).

As he sets up the basic essentials for his immediate survival on the island (see Plate 2), Robinson gets used to his new habitat and starts to investigate it: "I was now making daily excursions away from the shoreline. Penetrating further and further into the

interior of my domain" (*RC* 18: 42-19:49). With reference to the words he chooses to describe the island on which he lives, it is possible to observe that Robinson starts to see himself as the monarch of the place: "I found as time went by, I began to grow even fond of my island kingdom" (*RC* 23:00-23:04). At the beginning of his story, with his attitude towards and perception of Nature, Robinson is represented to the spectator as a colonialist and imperialist reflection of his culture. In this sense, he is very much like Defoe's Robinson who describes his position on the island in a clearly imperialistic discourse:

> My Island was now peopled, and I thought my self very rich in Subjects; and it was a merry Reflection which I frequently made, How like a King I look'd. First of all, the whole Country was my own meer Property; so that I had an undoubted Right of Domination. *2dly*, My People were perfectly subjected: I was absolute Lord and Lawgiver. (Defoe 203)

However, in time, contemporary Robinson's discourse changes and gains a post-colonial tone as the protagonist begins to question himself and his culture. As it is stated by Green too, in the mainstream structure of the colonialist adaptations of *Robinson Crusoe*, the protagonist learns to survive in his new environment "until he is monarch of all he surveys (In anti-Robinsons . . . only the first part of the plot follows the model; the ending is likely to be quite different)" (*Seven Types* 48), which can easily be observed in the 1997 film adaptation. In the film, Robinson, rather than striving to become the monarch over all he has and all he comes across, chooses to come to terms with his surrounding, especially with Man Friday. Although Robert Stam argues that the casting of Pierce Brosnan as Robinson Crusoe "inevitably brings with it the intertextual memory of the James Bond films, so that we subliminally align enterprising twentieth-century Cold War heroes with eighteenth-century colonial entrepreneurs like Crusoe, whose gun retroactively seems to foreshadow James Bond-style gadgetry" (*Literature through Film* 97), it is possible to offer another explanation for the casting choice. With reference to the deconstructive powers of adapted texts as explained above, it may be argued that, by turning the character of a well-known spy of Her Majesty's Secret Intelligence Service into a post-colonial Robinson, the film counters and subverts the colonial memory. Another strong evidence that can support this argument is the fact that the Rod Hardy/George Miller production of *Robinson Crusoe* was originally made as a US television film for Hallmark in 1996, but it was not released on television in the UK

until 2002 (“Release Info”) even though it is distributed my Miramax, one of the most powerful Hollywood studios.

As opposed to Defoe’s Robinson who sees Friday as “a Servant, and perhaps a Companion, or Assistant” (Defoe 171), Hardy and Miller’s Robinson’s first words to Friday is: “Don’t be afraid, I’m your friend” (*RC* 29:50). Even though Robinson’s first impression and comments related to Friday reflect the discourse of a colonialist and imperialist as he reflects “How could I ever imagine being a friend to this savage? I saw now he was from another world –one surely ruled by Satan” (*RC* 32:55-33:02), according to Ian Bell, “Crusoe and Friday seem to have embarked upon one of these pristine and ageless ‘buddy’ relationships which are so common in male-oriented popular fiction” (37). Indeed, this sense of potential comradeship is represented later in the film by Robinson himself: “That he was a savage indisputable and yet he seemed to be a decent fellow at heart” (*RC* 37:36-37:40). Accordingly, in the film, Robinson’s approach to and comments about Friday, the savage Other, as well as the representation of Friday, create a post-colonial tone. As regards the representation of Friday, which is significantly different from the source text, Siang Lin argues that

> [w]hen depicting the savage Other, [filmmaker] . . . highlights their similarities with the civilised, downplaying sociocultural differences to establish a common universal identity for the two groups and reduce cultural differences to “matters of lifestyle”. . . . [T]he savage Other appears physically different but is recognisably civilised, displaying familiar social qualities that Western audiences can understand and sympathise with. (36)

Thus, it is not only the eyes of the protagonist that the spectator is to adopt towards a post-colonial critique, but also the film in its entirety has the similar tone in which the post-colonial and multicultural politics and identities are questioned with reference to examples of colonial inheritance. In the film, even though there are scenes similar to the ones in Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe*; such as the naming of the savage Other, the teaching of language, the use of modern technology and the indoctrination of Friday towards the Christian religion, at the end of the film, it is indicated that the outcome is the exact opposite of the source text, which, in turn, creates a subversive and counter position.

One of most important acts of colonial domination is the naming of the Other, which gives the Western representative his superior position and the right to dominate. In

Defoe's novel, Robinson names the savage Other, Friday, and introduces himself to him as the Master: "I began to speak to him, and teach him to speak to me; and first, I made him know his name should be *Friday,* which was the Day I sav'd his Life; I called him so for the memory of the time; I likewise taught him to say *Master,* and then let him know, that was to be my Name" (Defoe 174). The process of naming proceeds similarly in the 1997 film also. Right after Robinson grants Friday his name, he chains him from his ankles with tools (see Plate 3), formerly used for the slaves in the cruise, which he has brought from the shipwreck.

Plate 3: Robinson chains Friday (*RC* 40:13).

However, as he becomes more familiar with Friday and gradually comes to the recognition that Friday is not just a savage, Robinson grows regretful about his behaviour and confesses: "I had wronged this poor honest savage and I was truly sorry for it. It became clear to me that I could not have found a better creature to be subject to my benevolent rule" (*RC* 41:19-41:34). Moreover, as their friendship becomes stronger, in what may perhaps the called the climactic scene in the film, the following dialogue between two men occurs:

> R: "Have you seen White man before me?"
> F: "My father told me about White man long ago. Not good. White man take much everything. Keep it, not give back. Take land, take people. Tonga people. Make

> people slaves. You are not White man, Master. You are a good man."" (*RC* 54:09-54:33)

What is striking in this dialogue is the way in which Friday is allowed, or given voice, to express his mental equation of "whiteness" with "non-goodness," which is justified from the perspective of the colonised. After Friday's criticism of colonialism, which does not "[renew] the past, [but] refiguring it as an 'in-between space'" as Mayer suggests (37), and which remains ambivalent, highlighting multiple worldviews specific to the post-colonial discourse of the film, Robinson, too, regrets by the mirror that is turned to himself, namely the "returned gaze," and not only accepts his faults as a former colonialist, but also apologises to Friday:

> R: "My name is not master. My name is Robinson Crusoe"
> F: "Robina Cruz? What name is master?"
> R: "White man."
> F: "I am slave to you?"
> R: "No. It was a mistake."
> F: "I am not your slave!"
> R: "No you are not my slave. We are friends and we can live as friends." (*RC* 54:49-55:25)

As was explained at the outset, the "coincidental" mentioning of the name "Robina" in this dialogue is suggestive of the presence of a network among the Robinsonades, at least as an ontological possibility. More importantly, however, Robinson's implication that the entire history of colonisation and slavery was a "mistake" is the point where he entirely adopts a post-colonialist position. Thus, it can be concluded from the dialogue between Friday and Robinson that the spectator is not only introduced with the voice of Friday and his criticism of colonialism as the representative of a formerly colonised people and culture, but also with the post-colonialist approach of Robinson, who seeks for a multicultural reconciliation. Since, through Robinson, the film promotes equality and a possibility of a shared destiny and life, it also represents what post-colonial theorist Homi Bhabha calls the "Third Space," which is an equivalent of "in-between spaces." According to Bhabha's theory, the Third Space is a "passage" in which "I and You" meet and, as a result, create "ambivalence in the act of interpretation" (*Cultural* 156); therefore multiple possible meanings and commentaries. The Third Space can be considered as a cultural practise in which hegemonic positions and the "hierarchical claims" of cultures are questioned and as a result of the unstable nature of the practise,

binary oppositions and polarities are undervalued, which, in turn, creates hybridity (*Cultural* 157). Hybridity as such enhances polyphony not only in its literary meaning but also in general, cultural meaning. According to Benwell and Stokoe, hybridity is about the synthesis of different cultural identities and "interethnic adoption of styles or codes of talk of an outgroup" that aims to "destabilise traditional binaries and myths of cultural homogeneity" (28). In the film, hybridity can be observed not only in the relationship between Robinson and Friday but also in their individual characters as well, which eventually challenges the ideologically established truths and power relationships. As examples of the challenging of the power relationship between the two cultures and the resulting hybridity, those scenes from the film, in which the tools and techniques of the Western culture are undervalued by Friday, Robinson's failure in educating Friday in Christianity, and Robinson's cross-dressing can be given.

First of all the relationship between Friday and Robinson is not one sided but continues reciprocally. It is not only Robinson who is in the position of a teacher, but also Friday. Both men re-construct their identities by learning from each other. In a voice-over narration by Robinson, he admits that he learns from Friday too. Thus, it is possible to say that, contrary to Defoe's Robinson who created his kingdom on his own, in the film, Robinson creates the environment he lives in together with Friday, and therefore, the island that cannot be classified as his own kingdom.

> Friday became constant and diligent in his work and proved to know a great deal about planting and harvesting our crops. Indeed to my surprise he began to instruct me. In turn I made it my mission to teach Friday the King's English. And after six months, I was astonished that he learned the language with such great proficiency. Yet other aspects of Friday's education proved more arduous. (*RC* 41:58-42:26)

That Friday begins to "instruct" Robinson, even though to the latter's surprise, is in contradiction with the traditional colonialist belief about the intellectual and cultural superiority of the White Man. For this reason, this narration can be considered as one of the moments in which the film counters and subverts the discursive position of the literary source text, also an indicator of the film's fitting into the form of post-colonial island chronotope that re-evaluates the colonial history and represents critical views of the Other. However, receiving instruction from Friday is only one of the instances of

Robinson's gradual realisation about the deceptiveness of the colonialist discourse about White Man's superiority.

In the earlier part of the film, as a Westerner, Robinson believes in the superiority of the modern world tools and techniques and he believes that by using these modern tools he can dominate everything on the island, including Friday. While setting up traps to catch the savage Other after Friday's arrival on the island, Robinson confidently boasts: "Little did this pagan know but his adversary was once trained as a soldier, so he would be facing one skilled in strategy in the military arts" (*RC* 33:15-33:28). However, in the end he himself becomes the hunted and outsmarted one.

Plate 4: Robinson hangs on a tree upside-down (*RC* 35:36).

What is telling in this scene is not only Robinson's being caught by Friday's trap (see Plate 4), but also the way in which a "post-colonialist camera" begins to record the surroundings from the view point of the outsmarted protagonist and to visualise everything upside down (see Plate 5), which is another indication of the idea that discursively constructed power relations are in fact shaky and the roles may be reversed at any time, just like the supreme position of Robinson is turned upside down and subverted in this scene.

Plate 5: Post-colonialist camera (*RC* 34:46) .

Also, right after the scene depicting Robinson as being caught by Friday, Robinson's supremacy is shaken again due to his blind conviction about the superiority and precision of his modern world technology, namely guns. In Defoe's novel "guns are directly related to natives as directly –and fatefully- as gold is related to trifles. Guns were the supreme tool, the supreme example of the modern technology, on which the modern system was built. It was the sight and sound of guns that natives fell on their faces and worshipped –as Friday does . . ." (Green, *Dreams of Adventure* 80). In the novel, the scene in which Friday witnesses with the effect of a gun for the first time is narrated as follows:

> I saw a great Fowl like a Hawk sit upon a Tree within Shot; so to let *Friday* understand a little what I would do, I call'd him to me again, pointed at the Fowl . . .and to my Gun, and to the Ground under the Parrot, to let him see I would make it fall, I made him understand that I would shoot and kill that Bird; accordingly I fir'd and bad him look, and immediately he saw the Parrot fall, he stood like one frighted again, . . . I found he was the more amaz'd, because he did not see me put any Thing into the Gun; but thought that there must be some wonderful Fund of Death and Destruction in that Thing, able to kill Man, Beast, Bird, or any Thing near, or far off; and the Astonishment this created in him was such, as could not wear off for a long Time; and I believe, if I would have let him, he would have worshipp'd me and my Gun . . . (Defoe 178)

As David Dabydeen also emphasises, "European literature is littered with blacks like Man Friday, who falls to earth to worship Crusoe's magical gun" (4). However, in the

film *Robinson Crusoe*, the scene in which Robinson tries to boast about his technological superiority by using his gun to kill a bat that is hanging from a tree, only to surprise Friday, ends with Friday's belittling the technology of the modern age. In mocking Robinson's technology, Friday kills a bat only by throwing a piece of wood and shows Robinson that the result each man gets is equal (see Plate 6).

Plate 6: Friday shows the equal result after he and Robinson kill bats with two different techniques (*RC* 37:15).

In addition to the views regarding modern world technology, the emphasis on religion in the film is also quite different from Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* as can be seen in the scene in which Robinson tries to convert Friday into Christianity. In the source text, Providence is a significant element in Robinson's life. For example, in the novel, Robinson attacks the savages who are trying to hunt Friday only because of the fact that he "was call'd plainly by Providence to save this poor Creature's Life" (Defoe 171), and it was again the call from the above which was the reason for Robinson's efforts to turn Friday into "a good Christian" (Defoe 186). At the end of the novel, Friday accepts Christianity. However, in the 1997 post-colonial film, the discussion on religion between Friday and Crusoe is not constructed so as to allow for the superiority of any one side, and it is not only Robinson's voice that is heard, but also of Friday's. Throughout the scene, both men tell each other about their faith and even though

Robinson pushes Friday to turn, he eventually regrets what he does and accepts the equality of every belief. The discussion between the two men goes as follows:

> R: "Friday, I have to talk to you about God."
> F: "God?"
> R: "Your maker. Your creator. God. He made everything. He made you."
> F: "Pokya."
> R: "Pokya?"
> F:"Pokya God. Before long time, no land – only water."
> R: "That's in Genesis."
> F: "Pokya live in the water. He make Timpopo. He make Tompopo."
> R: "He make the sun and the moon. Right?"
> F: "Sun and moon marry. They make baby, man. Make all men. Make me."
> R: "No. God made you."
> F: "Pokya."
> R: "You can't worship a crocodile!"
> F: "Why not? Teeth of crocodile." (showing his necklace)
> R: "Does this crocodile, this Pokya, tell you to eat the flesh of your enemies?"
> F: "Make strong. You eat fish, swim good. You eat lizard, climb good. You eat heart, make strong."
> R: "This is pagan blasphemy, Friday! The true God is greater and more powerful. The true God is love. He teaches us to love our enemies. Pokya is not God."
> F: "Show me God."
> R: "I cannot show you God."
> F: "I show you Pokya, you show God."
> R: "You cannot see God. He is in the spirit. He is in the soul."
> F: "I see spirit in the trees. I see spirit in fish and animals. I see everywhere."
> R: "Here. Here is God. Here is the living proof of God. His sacred word. This is the living testament to His love, His wisdom, His divine plan. Here." (showing the Bible)
> F: (Friday takes the Bible and smells and hugs) "Where? I see no God."
> R: "No, you have to read it. Now look what you have done you heathen savage! (a page is torn) This is blasphemy and your soul shall be damned to eternal torments."
> F: "I no like your God, I no like you." (*RC* 42:31-45:09)

While the two men are debating about their religious beliefs, Robinson is still thinking that his religion is the only true and supreme one. As an indicator of this position, during the discussion, the shooting angle is in a position that displays Friday as seated on the ground, eating; and Robinson at the table, in a physically higher position (see Plate 7).

So, in the film, it is not only the dialogues between the characters that represent the different ideological positioning of Robinson and Friday, but also their visual positions relative to each other. As the scene proceeds, Robinson regrets his harsh words, again, and understands the importance of giving value to different cultures' beliefs and

reflects: “In my studies of history I had chronicled the religious wars that have plagued mankind since the beginning of time and how sad I thought that in this universe of two religion had now put us at our own war (*RC* 46:06-46:16). After this heated debate they break up as “friends,” but eventually it is Robinson who goes and apologises to Friday: “We can’t carry on like this. It’s silly. The two of us on the same bloody island, not talking to each other, not sharing what we have. I’m sorry for all the things I said, everything I did. I was angry. I apologise” (*RC* 47:48-47:55). In the larger context of the multiculturalist world of the 1990s, into which the film was produced, it is possible to interpret the scene as an apology of the colonial past of the Empire and its consequences, though at a microcosmic level.

Plate 7: Robinson and Friday eating dinner (*RC* 43:11).

Therefore, when Robinson decides to accept the equality of different values, the camera angle changes accordingly and represents the two men positioned at the same level (see Plate 8). To reinforce the message, Robinson reflects: “The lessons of humility do not come easily to a stubborn soul. Once I had thought mine was the only true path. Now I was no longer sure” (*RC* 52:29-52:39).

Yet another and considerably more significant scene in the film that clearly suggests the post-colonial countering and subversion of the colonialist literary source text is the one

in which Robinson's adoption of an indigenous identity by cross-dressing (in native style) before fighting against common enemy is depicted. With reference to the idea that imitation is the highest form of affirmation, Robinson's wearing of tribal outfit can be considered as an example of the polyphony and the hybridity in the text by "affirming another man's 'I'."

Plate 8: Robinson and Friday eat side by side (*RC* 48:23)

In *The Dialogic Imagination,* Mikhail Bakhtin uses the term "hybridity" to refer to the "disruptive and transfiguring power of multivocal language situations" (Ashcroft et al., *Key Concepts* 118). According to Bakhtin's approach, hybridity ascribes the possibility of even a single utterance's double voice quality. Thus, "intentional hybridity" is "an utterance that belongs, by its grammatical and compositional markers, to a single speaker, but that actually contains mixed within it two utterances, two speech manners, to styles, two 'languages', two semantic and axiological belief systems" (Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination* 304). Reminiscent of Bakhtin's ideas, Homi Bhabha transformed the usage the term of hybridity into expressing a practical cultural experience which stays in a counter position against the dominant and hegemonic culture. Bhabha defines hybridity as "a problematic of colonial representation . . . that reverses the effects of the colonialist disavowal, so that other 'denied' knowledges enter upon the dominant discourse and estrange the basis of its authority" (*Location* 156). In other words,

hybridity can be understood as a strategy that "disrupts the clear-cut authority of colonial domination because it disturbs the simple relationship between colonizer and colonized" (Ashcroft et al., *Key Concepts* 13), which can easily be observed in the cross-dressing scene of the 1997 film, as well as in the relationship between Robinson and Friday.

Plate 9: Robinson cross-dresses (*RC* 01:03:16).

During this significant episode in the film, which comes after a long time of comradeship between the two men, a culturally-hybrid Robinson cross-dresses in preparation of the battle against the tribesmen who tried to kill Friday earlier (see Plate 9). As Bhabha argues, "in-between the designation of identity," there has never been a distinct difference between the coloniser and the colonised, and as a result, "this interstitial passage between fixed identifications opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference between an assumed or imposed hierarchy" (*Location* 4). Accordingly, in the film, it is the representative of the supposedly hegemonic culture who transforms himself. In the scene, while the two men prepare to defend themselves against their common enemy, Robinson combines both cultures and represents himself as a hybrid character with the bagpipe on his neck and the paints on his face, which is significant as an indication of the formerly-mentioned ambivalent identity and discourse that can be found in in-between spaces.

To recall the larger theoretical tools of the discussion above, it is as a result of the structure of the "adventure chronotope" that the hero constructs his new identity as he proceeds within the "adventure time." With reference to the scenes mentioned so far, this process has been exemplified by the transformation of Robinson Crusoe character in the 1997 film. Yet, the discussion in this context would be lacking a major textual evidence unless the ending of the film is commented upon. In addition to Robinson's adventures and experiences on the island he lives with Friday, the last scene of the film and the last remarks of the protagonist regarding his friend Friday, decisively indicate the hero's transformation along with his other cultural and political criticisms that are discursively aligned with the "dominant" cultural policy concept of the 1990s, namely multiculturalism.

The plot structure of the film is formulated as a circle. Just like the very reason of Robinson's journey was the bitter outcome a duel between him and his friend Patrick, which took place in the year 1703 in Scotland and resulted in the latter's death, the end of Robinson's adventure also comes with a scene in which Robinson and his friend Friday are pitted against each other in a forced duel, again resulting in the death of Robinson's friend. However, in the ending scene, Robinson's ideas and behaviours with regard to the duel with a friend are represented in a significantly different manner. For example; in the duel scene which can be considered as the beginning of the film, even though he never wants to kill his friend Patrick, Robinson accepts his friend's challenge and defends himself by asking Mary: "Would a wiser man have known better than to fight, huh?" (*RC* 06:40-06:42). Consequently, after the duel he runs away with the help of Mary who expects him to "Come back wiser for the experience" (*RC* 07:27). Accordingly, as Robinson's former identity and personality undergoes a major transformation during his "adventure time," in the final duel scene between Robinson and Friday, Robinson refuses to fight against this friend. Moreover, having eventually been compelled to fight, Robinson refuses to kill Friday when he has the advantage in the struggle by saying "I cannot kill a friend" (*RC* 01:16:50), and instead offers his own life (see Plate 10).

Plate 10: Robinson offers his own life to Friday (*RC* 01:16:34).

However, even though Robinson as a character is a representative of the post-colonialist and multiculturalist discourses that were "dominant" in the 1990s, and the film in its entirety also puts forward a criticism of colonial inheritance and the imperial past, what was eventually understood and hoped by Robinson did not apply to all members of the culture he was standing for. As a result, in the end, Friday is killed by a Westerner who comes to the island for slave trade. Although Robinson's life is saved, he does not hesitate to criticise the situation by saying "And so fate had saved her harshest trick till last. Just as a duel had caused to flee my native land so, too, did a battle between friends bring about my return. I was owe my freedom to the men who killed my friend, who had ravished his people and his family" (*RC* 01:18:03-01:18:21). It significant that Robinson who is a Westerner, refers to the people from his culture as the men that killed his friend Friday and ravished his family. Even though in the literary source text Friday travels to England with Robinson and starts a new life, in the 1997 film adaptation, since "[d]ifferent aspects or orders of the universe cannot be supposed to operate with the same chronotope" (Morson 368), Friday cannot go to England with Robinson or Robinson cannot live with Friday's tribe. As it is obvious from the visualisation of the scene, the two characters are in a kind of limbo, from which only one of them can be released (see Plate 11).

Plate 11: Robinson and Friday in a forced duel (*RC* 01:15:50).

After six years on the island, he turns back to his life in England: "And so Mary and I settled down to a marriage to a family of our own. We were blessed with happiness and prosperity. But for the rest of my days I would think often and long of the man who'd given me the greatest gift of all my life when I'd all but lost it and his friendship unto death" (*RC* 01:21:55-01:22:23). The idea that "[t]he series of adventures that the hero undergoes does not result in a simple affirmation of his identity, but rather in the construction of a new image of the hero, a man who is now purified and reborn" (Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination* 117) is not only represented by Robinson's looking at the fire and saying: "I turned back as a wiser man" (*RC 01:21:15*), but also visualised in the last scene of the film where both Robinson and Friday are standing and shaking hands under the rain, which is a symbolic representation of the hero's transformation, re-birth and purification (see Plate 12).

To contextualise this idea that surfaces at the end of the film, it may be argued that even though the theoretical aim of "dominant" multiculturalism "was to move away from celebrating difference and move towards a shared destiny and a cohesive society" (Wright 106), its failure in practice is criticised by the ending scene of the film. As such, the film may be said to leave an open door for another discourse, one which is critical of

the idea of multiculturalism that was "emerging" by the end of the 1990's as exemplified by the following:

Plate 12: Robinson and Friday hand-shaking (*RC* 01:22:21)

> [T]he rhetorical claims of multiculturalism to speak in the name of "diversity," of a "curriculum of inclusion," and the broadening of the ethnocentrism of Eurocentrism become suspect. A respectable case could be made that this is, in fact, a reversal of the actual truth of the situation, which is that it is multiculturalism that is ethnocentric and disinclined to accept diversity, in the name of the liberal value of tolerance, and that it is Eurocentrism that is cosmopolitan and inclusive. (Spencer 561)

By way of conclusion, it is possible to argue that, even though the screenwriters create a post-colonialist Robinson character who aims and yearns for a multiculturalist harmony in society and who transforms his identity throughout his experiences in the "adventure time," the film in general offers a critique not only of the colonial past of the West, but also of the failure of multiculturalism in the contemporary world, which became more visible by the time the film was produced in 1997. That is to say, just like Elizabeth Whittaker's serialised fiction "Robina Crusoe" that was shown to represent both the "emergent" and the "dominant" discourses on femininity in late Victorian Britain – with an emphasis on the "emergent" New Woman type –, the 1997 film too accommodates both the "dominant" and "emergent" discourses on post-colonial multiculturalism. Moreover, even though the polyphonic quality is attributed to the entirety of the Robinsonade tradition, in the 1997 film *Robinson Crusoe*, there is a polyphony within

the work itself as well, which is explained with reference to the voices heard in the various textual examples dealt with in this chapter. Such polyphony within the work that can be detected by what Said called a "contrapuntal" reading strategy, makes possible for the spectator to hear diverse voices and discourses. Also, because of the structural formation of the works in the Robinsonade tradition, which is explained in the introduction chapter with reference to Bakhtin's "adventure chronotope," the adventure-time in the adventure novel of everyday life "leaves a deep and irradicable mark on the man himself as well as on his entire life" (*Dialogic Imagination* 116), namely on Robinson and his life.

CONCLUSION

In the most general sense, this study has been an attempt to approach the intra- and inter-medial, in other words, literary and cinematic adaptations of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe,* a text with a mythical status that represents a foundational moment not only in the English novel tradition but also in the entire adventure literature, by applying the critical and theoretical perspectives which have been developing over the past decades under the name of adaptation studies. Breaking away from the traditional 'fidelity' criticism that has been mainly involved in the comparisons between literary texts and their adaptations into different media, but mostly to cinema, the relatively recent turn in the study of these texts focused on a variety of aspects such as the adaptability of texts and the ways in which the adapted text and the process of adaptation itself come to be affected by and communicate with the social, cultural and political dynamics of the historical moment in which they are situated. As the natural consequence of these interests, what appears to be the most decisive conclusion so far about the methodology to be used in adaptation studies has been defined as one which places equal emphasis on the formal aspects of the texts on the one hand, and to their contextual and ideological components on the other. Since this study has adopted this methodology as its general frame, the most general conclusion to be offered here is that this eclectic approach leads to an interpretive 'fertility' in the study of even those texts that have been studied for decades already.

Robinson Crusoe is one such text as not only in its own right, but also due to its many different cinematic and literary adaptations, which are collectively known as "Robinsonades." From an adaptation studies perspective, while the novel-to-novel adaptations of Defoe's text are examples of intra-medial adaptation, the novel-to-film adaptations fall within the category of inter-medial adaptation. As has been discussed in this study, it is due to the plastic nature of the Robinson Crusoe story, which is argued here to be a function of what Bakhtin defines as the "adventure chronotope," that there are many intra-medial and inter-medial adaptations of Defoe's novel in different historical, cultural, social and ideological contexts. Accordingly, it has also been illustrated in this study that Robinsonades can also accommodate and represent the "dominant" and/or "emergent" "structures of feeling" of different historical periods.

In this thesis, Elizabeth Whittaker's "Robina Crusoe and Her Lonely Island Home" and the film *Robinson Crusoe* (1997), in other words two different Robinsonades, have been analysed with reference to Mikhail Bakhtin's terms "adventure chronotope" and "polyphony" within the framework of alternating discourses on imperialist/anti-imperialist and patriarchal ideologies. Moreover, Raymond Williams's "dominant/emergent/residual" "structures of feeling" model and other conceptual tools from contemporary cultural theories and adaptation studies were also used to highlight the discursive plasticity and the polyphonic quality within the works under study.

In the first chapter it has been observed that, although all Robinsonades stem from the same origin, it is possible to observe different discourses and "structures of feeling" in these texts. The alternation of certain discourses, such as on colonial imperialism and gender, as present in Elizabeth Whittaker's serialised fiction "Robina Crusoe and Her Lonely Island Home" has been discussed with reference to the relevant historical and cultural background and textual examples. The main argument in this chapter has been that Elizabeth Whittaker's "Robina Crusoe" not only exemplifies the conventional woman character of the period, but also articulates and highlights the changing relationships between the Empire and the woman, and, in turn, gives voice to the New Woman in this same period and to the "emergent" ideas on gender roles. Notwithstanding the discursive ambivalence the work also represents, rather than representing a traditional female figure who is generally considered as mother and wife, and attached to her domestic duties, with Robina, readers see a New Woman figure who is educated not only in domestic duties but also in pragmatic and scientific knowledge. Also, with Robina there comes to the fore a self-sufficient woman who chooses not to marry and she even raises her own adopted black daughter. Thus, it has been shown through the analysis of this intra-medial adaptation of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* that even in a juvenile magazine such as the *Girl's Own Paper* which had the explicit mission of educating young girls according to the norms and traditions of the late Victorian period, Whittaker's Robinsonade was able to give voice also to the New Woman figure which was emerging in this period.

The same method was also used in the second chapter while illustrating the discursive and ideological plasticity of the Robinson Crusoe story by discussing selected scenes from an inter-medial adaptation, namely the film *Robinson Crusoe* that accommodates both the "dominant" and "emergent" discourses on post-colonial multiculturalism that were dominant in the moments of its production and consumption, namely the peak of multiculturalism in the 1990s. It has been shown that in this 1997 film, the audience witnesses a relationship between Robinson and Man Friday that is based on equality, which directly articulates the multiculturalist discourses of the decade. As such, the film has been argued to represent the Bakhtinian "polyphony," the essence of which is the idea of "affirmation of another man's 'I.' Moreover, even though the polyphonic quality is attributed to the entirety of the Robinsonade tradition in this study, it has been argued that in the film *Robinson Crusoe*, there is polyphony within the work itself as well, which is explained with reference to the voices heard in the various textual examples dealt with in this chapter. It has also been argued that, even though the screenwriters of the film have created a post-colonialist Robinson character who aims and yearns for a multiculturalist harmony in society and who transforms his identity throughout his experiences in the "adventure time," the film in general also offers a critique of the failure of multiculturalist utopia at the end of the 1990s.

As a general comment on the two Robinsonades dealt with in this study, one may refer to Kamilla Elliott who states that "[i]f adaptations have taught us how to cross boundaries, they can equally reveal boundaries that we have refused to cross and [the] hierarchical binarism we have failed to deconstruct" (34). Thus, it can be argued that, even though it is not valid for every single adaptation, adapted works can be against the source text, which, in the case of "Robina Crusoe," teaches to cross boundaries towards the "emergent," and in the case of the film *Robinson Crusoe* (1997), explores the boundaries that "we have refused to cross" in terms of colonialism and post-colonialism.

To conclude, Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe's* rich potential for adaptability can be sufficiently explained with reference mainly to Bakhtin's "adventure chronotope" theory, even though the fluidity of the adventure tale is also a factor. As a result of this

characteristic, different "structures of feeling," in other words a polyphonic quality, can be observed in different literary and cinematic Robinsonades by adopting an approach which may be called "Bakhtinian contextualisation." Moreover, by considering the discourses observed in the selected texts, and in the light of Bakhtin's view on polyphony in Shakespeare, which mainly argues that "if one can speak at all of a plurality of fully valid voices in Shakespeare, then it would only apply to the entire body of his work and not to individual plays" (Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* 34), the same idea has been applied to the Robinsonades. Even though it is not possible to observe that every single Robinsonade has a polyphonic structure, it will not be wrong to posit that the entire corpus of the Robinsonade tradition seems to have a polyphonic structure, in which it is possible to see diverse points of view and discursive voices from various angles. Within the scope of this study only two works that represent the Robinsonade tradition have been analysed. However, further studies on other examples of this tradition are necessary, not only to provide further evidence of the polyphonic character of the entire corpus, but also because of the strong potential of further studies in revealing other discursive voices heard from the works that constitute the many "lines of flight" from and to this mythical flower that seems to have eternal life.

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APPENDIX 1:ORIGINALITY REPORTS

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GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
THESIS/DISSERTATION ORIGINALITY REPORT

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Date: 05/02/2015

Thesis Title: A Bakhtinian Analysis of Robinsonades: Literary and Cinematic Adaptations of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*

According to the originality report obtained by my thesis advisor by using the *iThenticate* plagiarism detection software and by applying the filtering options stated below on 05/02/2015 for the total of 120 pages including the a) Title Page, b) Introduction, c) Main Chapters, and d) Conclusion sections of my thesis entitled as above, the similarity index of my thesis is 3 %.

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1. Bibliography/Works Cited excluded
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I respectfully submit this for approval.

05.02.2015
Date and Signature

Name Surname:	Seda ÖZ
Student No:	N11239529
Department:	English Language and Literature
Program:	British Cultural Studies
Status:	☒ Masters ☐ Ph.D. ☐ Integrated Ph.D.

ADVISOR APPROVAL

APPROVED.

Assit. Prof. Dr. Sinan Akıllı

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
THESIS/DISSERTATION ORIGINALITY REPORT

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

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ADVISOR APPROVAL

APPROVED.

Assit. Prof. Dr. Sinan Akıllı

APPENDIX 2: ETHICS BOARD WAIVER FORM FOR THESIS WORK

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ETHICS BOARD WAIVER FORM FOR THESIS WORK

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GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Date: 14/01/2015

Thesis Title: A Bakhtinian Analysis of Robinsonades: Literary and Cinematic Adaptations of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*

My thesis work related to the title/topic above:

1. Does not perform experimentation on animals or people.
2. Does not necessitate the use of biological material (blood, urine, biological fluids and samples, etc.).
3. Does not involve any interference of the body's integrity.
4. Is not based on observational and descriptive research (survey, measures/scales, data scanning, system-model development).

I declare, I have carefully read Hacettepe University's Ethics Regulations and the Commission's Guidelines, and in order to proceed with my thesis according to these regulations I do not have to get permission from the Ethics Board for anything; in any infringement of the regulations I accept all legal responsibility and I declare that all the information I have provided is true.

I respectfully submit this for approval.

14.01.2015
Date and Signature

Name Surname: Seda ÖZ
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Program: British Cultural Studies
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ADVISER COMMENTS AND APPROVAL

Approved.

Assist.Prof.Dr. Sinan Akıllı