Unsettled Norms and Unstable Positions: Miniature People in Children's Literature

by

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Abstract

From the earliest miniature narratives in English literature, there has been an insistence on miniature people's inferiority to and dependence on big people and the big world, and the conclusion that big people will always be dangerous and destructive to miniature people because of this innate hierarchy built into their differences in scale. This narrative residue permeates miniature people children's literature, affecting the representation and presentation of narrative voices, fictional worlds, the position of the child, relationships between characters, and perceptions of otherness The miniature world is constantly pressured from all sides by the oppressive perspective of the big world. However, the big world is also influenced by the miniature eyes. Miniature people see and perceive simultaneously from within both the big and miniatures worlds, creating points of unsettledness and instability in miniature narratives and subverting assumptive norms and hierarchies. These holes created in miniature narratives by miniature people's interrelationship with big people reveal the constructed nature of the supposed innate hierarchy that still has strong residues in miniature narratives today.

I argue that with a focus on miniature people's voice, unsettled positionality, and interrelation with the big world, the hierarchy of scale that first appears so ingrained and absolute is unveiled, and in some cases even unraveled. Using a timeline of miniature narratives that I constructed, I track the residues of big people's dominance over miniature people, how it is manifested in miniature narratives, and how space can be created for miniature people to subvert the hierarchies imposed on them. As I progress through my timeline, the influence of these residues becomes more subtle but no less influential, and the miniature's voice must become louder and more confrontational to continue to redirect the typical trajectory of the miniature narrative. Yet, even in texts that deplete the miniature people's voice, these characters leave points of unsettledness and contradiction in their narratives that unearth the entrenched myth of the hierarchy of scale.

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Introduction

What is the position of miniature people in their narratives and what is the resulting effect of this positioning? I attempted to answer this question by categorizing and labeling miniature people using a variety of critical lenses and metaphors, including race, colonisation, disability, and childhood, but these characters did not fit well into any one place or category. Instead, miniature people characters hold many positions, with different versions of the miniature brushing the bounds of a variety of roles, including contradictory ones. Miniature people unsettle their narratives because they cannot be pinned down. However, the riddle of miniature people in children's literature is not solved by boxing them in, but in listening to their voices and perspective – a call that many miniature people characters make from within their narratives.

At the beginning of my project, I constructed a timeline (see Appendix), spanning publications from Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* in 1728 to miniature narratives in children's literature published in the 2010s, to help me evaluate the broader reaches and aspects of miniature people characters, as well as discover points of interest. My "miniature people timeline" has been a foundational part of my research since I began assembling it. I found a significant increase of miniature people children's literature being published beginning in the mid-twentieth century. My efforts to discover what this increase means and its consequences led me to consider the historical moment at the end of the Second World War, of the resulting unsettledness and fear from years of total war and the new atomic age – especially in the UK and USA where many of the English-language texts in my timeline were published and/or written – as well as the 'end' of colonialism and the efforts of many marginalized groups around the world to break free of oppression. I wondered if the miniature narratives of the twentieth century (and even moving into the twenty-first century) reflected anxieties or new perspectives around these

changes with miniature people in the place of the "other." That question led me to approach these texts through several lenses in an attempt to discover what kind of "otherness" miniature people embodied and if these narratives accepted or rejected them. I would find that it was not one but many lenses and approaches that were needed to fully reveal the unsettled positions and subversive possibilities of miniature people characters.

From the earliest miniature narratives in English literature, there has been an insistence on miniature people's inferiority to and dependence on big people and the big world, that in turn can only threaten the miniature people and their miniature world. Even more recently published children's texts, which condemn big people's control and possession of miniature people, have narratives that conclude that big people will always be dangerous and destructive to miniature people because of the innate hierarchy built into their differences in scale. The oppressive norms of this hierarchy of scale persist throughout my miniature people timeline and are perpetuated through what I call "narrative residues." These residues are specific narrative elements and concepts that can be tracked through miniature narratives over time, and although they may undergo some alterations, they continue to uphold the norms of their narratives of origin. Not all narrative residues in miniature narratives support the hierarchy of scale. New residues can work against it, along with the acknowledgement and resistance to old residues. However, most of the residues that I track and continue in miniature narratives today are related to the hierarchy of scale and its oppressive norms. These narrative residues permeate miniature people children's literature, affecting the representation and presentation of narrative voices, fictional worlds, the position of the child, relationships between characters, and perceptions of otherness. The miniature world is constantly pressured from all sides by the oppressive perspective of the big world.

However, the big world is also influenced by the miniature world. It is filled with miniature homes, miniature voices, miniature worlds, and miniature eyes. It is these miniature eyes and voices, who see and perceive simultaneously from within both the big and miniature worlds, that create points of unsettledness and instability in miniature narratives and subvert assumptive norms and hierarchies. Miniature people cannot be easily or simply categorized because they do not fit into the binaries, such as self/other, adult/child, White/Black, or colonizer/colonized, which critics and readers alike (myself included) have tried to place them. From their place in a world within a world, miniature people are in interweaving positions between and outside these binaries. The holes created in miniature narratives by miniature people's interrelationship with big people, inherent in their unsettled position, reveal the constructed nature of the supposedly innate hierarchy that begins with early miniature narratives and still has strong residues today.

Miniature people's interrelation with big people and their position between binaries puts them in a position to reveal these binaries and the hierarchies of power they support, as well as question the validity of the norms that surround them. Miniature people's unsettled position and resistance to categorization opens holes in miniature narratives. The more the miniature voice is heard, through focalization and perception, the more evident these hierarchal residues become, and the more opportunities miniature people have to speak back to these systems that attempt to oppress them. However, if there is no miniature voice and perspective, the narrative can undermine its own resistance to these residues, silencing miniature people and supporting the hierarchy of scale by not interrogating the position and motives of big people. When miniature people are heard, the result is competing voices existing uncomfortably, but productively, together. I argue that with a focus on miniature people's voice, unsettled positionality, and interrelation with the big world, the hierarchy of scale that first appears so ingrained and absolute is unveiled, and in some cases even unraveled. Using my miniature people timeline, I track the residues of big people's dominance over miniature people, how it is manifested in miniature narratives, and how space can be created for miniature people to subvert the hierarchies imposed on them. As I progress through my timeline, the influence of these residues becomes more subtle but no less influential, and the miniature's voice must become louder and clearer to continue to redirect the typical trajectory of the miniature narrative. Yet, even in texts that deplete the miniature people's voice, these characters leave points of unsettledness and contradiction in their narratives that point to and upend the entrenched myth of the hierarchy of scale.

Each of my chapters considers different points of contact between big and miniature worlds where a variety of residues from the hierarchy of scale are supported or challenged. My first chapter creates the foundations of my overall analysis, linking norms and voice with narration and focalization to investigate how miniature people can be heard and how they are silenced. Chapter two analyses the connections and separations between big and miniature fictional worlds, adding a focus on persistent norms of the hierarchy of scale that leave residues throughout my timeline, especially on the possibility for co-existence. Chapter three critiques the simplified comparison between the child and miniature people, and discusses how the multiple positions from which miniature narratives. Chapter four analyses the types of big people characters that miniature narratives admonish and support, and how these choices can lead narratives to undermine their own resistance to the hierarchy of scale by unknowingly silencing miniature voices and insisting on miniature people's dependence. Finally, chapter five emphasizes the need for more diverse miniature people and how current representations and positions of racialized miniature people characters often uphold the hierarchy of scale in their narratives but can also create unsettledness by presenting alternative ways to encounter the big world.

My Journey to (Un)categorize Miniature People

I needed to do a lot of exploration, and have many false starts in my approaches, to realize that miniature people resist categorization and that their resistance to othering and oppressive norms is tied to their unsettled positions in their narratives. For several iterations of this project, I was determined to find the metaphor of miniature people and relate their 'othering' to a single position or theoretical lens.

I began with approaching miniature narratives with post-colonial theory and criticism. I found helpful insights concerning the relationship between colonizer and colonized, and the work of 'othering.' However, it is difficult to draw a direct correlation between miniature people and colonized peoples. For example, miniature people are often portrayed as White and middle-class. Some do have their own languages and norms separate from the big world, but the miniature world is also often deeply imbedded into the big world, even before the initial encounter that makes the miniature world known to big people. Miniature people characters can also be categorized as both colonizer and colonized, as they live off the resources of big people¹ and often view themselves as superior, but often become slaves and commodities once they are discovered.

¹ Ariko Kawabata (2006) considers *The Borrowers* ' colonial connections while discussing the boy's disconnectedness and displacement in his position as a British boy born in colonial India, and the presentation of the Borrowers as the Other that the boy temporarily joins to feel belonging. She also notes how the Borrowers can represent the coloniser as much as the colonised (130), a reading that Sarah Godek (2005) also supports, noting that the Clock family can be "read as representatives of the British Empire, which was dependent on humans, and which, like them, was under threat" (99).

I found the limit to a post-colonial approach to miniature people, so I turned to other lenses to fill the gaps. Next, I attempted to view the miniature people as disabled. I began from the position of understanding two primary models of disability: the medical model, in which the disability is seen as the impairment of an individual person, and the sociopolitical/minority model, in which it is the environment that is the cause of disability (Joeckel 358; Scotch 177). Lennart Nordenfelt's definition of disability has the potential to define miniature people as both disabled and abled; if there are accommodations within the environment that allow a person to reach their vital goals, then that person is not disabled (qtd. in Edwards 22-5). Within their own homes and their own world, miniature people are abled, but once they encounter the big world, they can potentially be seen simultaneously abled and disabled. Again, the complexity of miniature people's position and their dual relationship with both the big and miniature worlds meant they do not fit nicely into a category.

I then turned to consider the relationship between miniature people and the big child as a representation of the relationship between the child and the adult. Most of the texts I focus on are children's literature and there are similarities in the positions of miniature to big people and children to adults. So, I considered Maria Nikolajeva's concept of "aetonormativity" and arguments from critics such as Jacqueline Rose, who say that the fictional child in the text is an adult creation and made only for the adult to contain the real child. Although I found interesting parallels, the connection between miniature people and big children was too simple and ignored the important differences between these two types of characters. It not only overlooked the fact that there could be both miniature adults and children, but that the big child can take on multiple positions in their relationships with the big and miniature worlds.

Once again, I had failed to pin the miniature down, so I tried yet another lens. I investigated the possible hidden racialization of miniature people. I borrowed the approach from Philip Nel's *Was the Cat in the Hat Black?* where he states that his book "explores how past power dynamics inhere in present ones" and "zeroes in on the ways in which racism persists in the cultures of childhood and the culture industry – both of which of course intersect with the marginalization of the colonized" (24). I began examining how past iterations of miniature people characters reflect a racialized character, and how that history continues. It was at this point that I began to think about norms and how they continue through narrative tropes. I also drew on Clare Bradford's approach to two areas of textuality in *Unsettling Narratives*: "language, and treatments of space and place" (13). I started to consider the place of the miniature world and how language affected the position of miniature people through narration and world building.

However, I was still unhappy with my narrow lens and focus. There were certainly miniature people who were racialized, but I could not find a clean connection with so many miniature people coded White. It was at this point that I read Lynne Vallone's work on scale, which led to a realization that I did not have to use one lens or metaphor for miniature people; miniature people were othered and resisted that othering in unique ways onto themselves. As I explored miniature people's positioning through scale, I saw how many of my other lenses and approaches fit in and intersected with their miniature scale to form many and mixed positions that remain unsettled. I realized that miniature people cannot be easily categorized, and it is to the benefit of subverting the oppressive tropes that can linger, even in recent miniature narratives.

White and Racialized Miniature People: Terms and approaches

Choosing terms to distinguish racial and cultural groups without furthering oppressive rhetoric is difficult. A term I use, "racialized," has similar issues to others. By denoting everyone except White people as "racialized," we falsely suggest that to be White is to be without race. In truth, a White person is just as racialized as anyone else. In *Was the Cat in the Hat Black?*, Philip Nel refers to Karen Field and Barbara Fields' term "racecraft," or "a linguistic sleight of hand that conceals racial assumptions" to discuss how "common phrases often hide racial ideologies" and point to our "need to listen for it, examine it, and question it" (207-8). Nel gives the example of the term "people of color," which he uses in his book because "these are currently accepted terms for non-White people" (208). However, he notes that these words perform a "magic trick" as they "efface race from White people (suggesting that, somehow, White is not a color)" and that although he "intend[s] these phrases to be racially inclusive, they locate White people outside of race" (208).

I find myself in a similar dilemma with the term "racialized." I use "racialized miniature" in reference to Lynne Vallone's use of the term in her discussion of race and small bodies. Vallone uses the term to specify a particular type and method of othering that she sees in miniature BIPOC, noting that "By 'racialized' I mean that color, primitiveness, and savagery are emphasized and critical to the construction of the miniature" (25). Vallone also points to the racist residues attached to Western concepts and narratives of the "pygmy" (as well as other Indigenous peoples) that intertwine with the history of children's texts and miniature people. Given the prevalence of miniature people characters in children's literature, those residues continue today: Children's literature provides a particularly sensitive instrument both for reflecting core cultural values as well as for radically challenging them. Hence, even in late twentieth-century children's books, the figure of the pygmy – or its metonymic counterpart, the Lilliputian, Native American, or Celt, to name a few incarnations from recent children's books – remains visible in revisions of older texts and in awkward textual apologies. (Vallone 26)

Nel makes similar connections between racist ideologies and children's literature in general, which I will expand on in chapter five. Since its first publications, Western children's literature has been dominated by White authors, characters, and publishers, and that continues to this day. It is difficult for White authors who live in a White supremist and racist society not to include some racist ideology in their texts, and these narrative residues continue to trickle down to current children's texts.

My preference is to denote the race of each miniature person or people, whether they be a White miniature person, a Black miniature person, a Latino miniature person, etc. However, in most miniature narratives in my timeline (or English-language texts from Western countries), miniature people characters are not overtly distinguished as White or Black (or Indigenous, Latino, Asian, or other group included as BIPOC), but instead their Whiteness or "colored-ness" is coded in more subtle ways that does not denote a specific race because the racialization of the miniature is used to emphasize otherness and difference. In this way, it truly is a racialization that encompasses the issues I outlined about the term. These otherings are meant to present the big White child and White miniature people as neutral and normal, while miniature people who are racialized are raced, othered, and distanced. Thus, I will use the term "racialized miniature" when discussing miniature people coded non-White but not given a specific race, as they truly are being "racialized" in the worse sense of the word, leaving these miniature characters in the position of vague racial other or stereotype.

There is also an ongoing debate about whether or not to capitalise "White" in reference to race. The publishing industry, including news and media outlets, began discussing the choice to capitalize Black and White in 2020, but a consensus has yet to be reached. Kwame Anthony Appiah's article in *The Atlantic* from June 2020, "The Case for Capitalizing the B in Black," outlines the arguments behind capitalizing or not capitalizing both these racial terms, including how both options (as well as capitalizing one and not the other) have potential benefits and harms. Appiah's conclusion notes that a deliberation over the current arguments for and against have yet to be determined, and in the end, a new consensus will be formed by "a larger community of users." Appiah ends, "As those deliberations continue, though, let's try to remember that black and white are both historically created racial identities—and avoid conventions that encourage us to forget this." As my discussions around White and racialized miniature people, especially in chapter five, will be around racial erasure and the normalizing of Whiteness as universal and unraced, I have chosen to capitalize White, and other terms that refer to specific races, to acknowledge and emphasize the racial nature of Whiteness, as well as the constructed nature of the concept of race.

The racialization of BIPOC, as well as the fact that most miniature people characters in my texts are coded White, is a symptom of my focus on English-language children's texts, which are generally published in the UK and USA. The fact that miniature narratives are part of the fantasy genre also increases the likelihood that miniature and big characters alike will be White, because children's literature publishing has a history of relegating BIPOC characters to historical

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and realistic fiction, and even within those genres, diversity and representation is low.² Thus, although when I use the term "miniature people," I am referring to all racial representations within the English-language children's texts of my timeline, it does generally refer to White-coded characters because they make up the majority.

In a similar vein, I think it is important to acknowledge that I am a White, heterosexual, cis-gendered, middle-class, English-speaking, female adult who works within a White, Western, patriarchal, heteronormative dominant discourse, because my placement of privilege within that dominant discourse can lead me to overlook oppressive norms, even with careful analysis. Hence, my placement within this particular set of norms can affect my discussion and analysis of children's literature that includes miniature people. A good example is the blind spot, noted above, that I needed to acknowledge and move beyond: my determination that the miniature must be a metaphor or representation of some form of oppression, instead of being its own unique condition that has its own set of challenges and potentials.

Why "Miniature People"?

In my research, I have come across several terms used for small-scaled characters, including little, miniature, small, dwarf, and pygmy (for racialized miniatures). These terms are often used interchangeably, along with the specific names that different narratives give these characters (for example, Borrowers or Lilliputians). These terms are also used to refer to differing scales of miniature, from Oompa-Loompas and Hobbits, to tiny fairies or Seuss's Whos who live on a speck of dust. The dispersity and variety of uses for these terms, along with considerations of the associations with them, led me to choose the single term "miniature people" to reference the specific characters that are the focus of my research. I do also use the

² I discuss the issue of diversity in children's literature further in chapter five.

terms for miniature and big people used by the texts themselves when referring to specific characters, such as "nomes," "Littles," and "Tinies," for miniature people, and "human beings," and "Bigs" for big people.

When I use the term miniature people, I refer to a particular type of literary character. They are nonmagical, are usually just a few inches tall, and present visually as human but in miniature form. Early versions of these characters include Lilliputians and Tom Thumb. The term 'literary' is important here, as miniature people are not the magical and trickster folktale fairies, although they do share some connections. Unlike fairies, miniature people are within or alongside our big world. They are also different from dwarf-like characters because miniature people are small enough that they can exist outside the knowledge of big people.

I use the term "miniature people" to separate these fictional characters from people of small stature in the real world, including people with dwarfism, both in size and in representation. As Betty Adelson notes, terms such as "little people" or "dwarf" connect fantastic characters to real-life people, and in turn these people feel the consequences of being equated to these well-known characters, such as the simple-natured seven dwarfs of Disney, the evil-natured dwarf minions in pop culture, or even the racial implications of pygmies (88). People with dwarfism must live with these associations which narrow others' understandings of their diversity as human beings. Although I know I cannot completely separate the miniature people characters I am studying from these real-life people, I wish to make the distinction clear through the term I have chosen. I focus on miniature people characters, and in turn, people with dwarfism.

Although some critics discuss dwarfs and Lilliputians interchangeably, I see these two types of characters are very distinct. Their difference is most obvious in the relation between miniature people and their bigger counterparts, as opposed to dwarf characters. Dwarf characters are small, but big enough that they are known to the big people and must exist within the big world. Miniature people, however, usually begin as an unknown to the big people and have their own miniature world.³ The more extreme differences in scale open up opportunities for miniature people to unsettle the hierarchy of scale and assumed positions, as they are dually within the big world and their own miniature world, allowing them more influence and perspectives than small-scaled characters who must live only in the big world.

Along with dwarfs and fairies, I also generally avoid the miniature character of the 'toy come to life.' Although I partially made this decision to make the breadth of my dissertation manageable, there are also some differences between miniature people and toys come to life. The main distinction is that the big child has a claim of ownership over the toy that is more legitimate than that over miniature people because even though they are now alive, the toys' past inanimate selves were owned by the big child. This dynamic requires different considerations from miniature people who can generally make claims of their personhood and liberty, even if norms and expectations in miniature narratives undermine them. I decided there are enough positions and norms around the hierarchy of scale to analyse without including more variations. The one exception I make is with Lynne Reid Banks' *The Indian in the Cupboard*, but as I explain in chapter five, the text's description of how the toys become animated and insistence that they become real people, who lived their own separate and full lives in the past, makes them more akin to miniature people than the typical toy come to life.

³ This is not always the case with miniature people in the position of the single miniature, which I detail below. These miniature characters do not have a miniature world to interact with, and thus must live in the big world. As for encounters with big people, they do usually have encounters with big people outside their families who do not know of their existence, and this is where they are more connected to their fellow miniature people than dwarf characters.

I also want to acknowledge that although many of my texts include illustrations, which are adept at showing space, scale, and even perspective, my focus is on how words describe miniature people and their worlds. Yet, it should be noted that some books, like *The Littles*, rely just as much on their illustrations as textual descriptions to set up the scale of the miniature world. For example, the illustrations show the Littles' furniture is made of items from the big world, like pins for chairbacks and nuts for stools, while the written text generally avoids describing their home (Peterson, The Littles 21, 15). The Borrowers uses illustrations to set up Arrietty's miniature perspective, as the images are often positioned from an angle that suggests a miniature viewpoint. Examples are illustrations of the boy "mountain" looking at Arrietty through the grass in the garden (Norton, The Borrowers 72-3), and the boy looming over the Clocks as he takes off the roof to their home (124). I do not have the space to give these visual aspects of world building and scale the focus and detail needed, so I generally ignore illustrations and have not included recent children's films such as Arthur and the Invisibles (2006) and Epic (2013) in my discussions. These visual elements certainly have an impact on readers and future research including analysis of them could be fruitful.

Three Common Positions of Miniature People

Miniature people resist categorization and can take up many unsettled positions throughout their narratives. However, there are some common positions that miniature people move through in miniature narratives. I will name these positions as a shorthand to help build the complex positions and placing of miniature people characters. These positions are the remains of my attempts to categorize miniature people, but I find they are still helpful grounding to consider the residues of the hierarchy of scale that are presented in the expectations and tropes around these general groups of characters. Miniature people may or may not stay within one of these common positions throughout their narrative, and some will move through or encompass two or all three.

The three general positions of miniature people are the miniature world, the single miniature, and the shrinking child. The single miniature is the lone miniature human, often born to big parents, who has their own individual adventures through navigating the big world. Tom Thumb is a popular example of the single miniature. The miniature world includes such examples as Lilliputians and Borrowers. These are groups of miniature people who have formed their own societies separate from the big world, but who usually still encounter or live alongside big people and must navigate this relationship and connection. The shrinking child is a big child shrunk down to the size of miniature people. They usually interact with both the big and miniature world in their shrunken state. This shrinking often leads to questions of identity. An early example of the shrinking child is Alice from *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, while more recent versions of these characters can be found in the movies *Epic* and *Arthur and the Minimoys*. The shrunken child character can be seen as a mix of the single miniature and the miniature world but combining big and miniature perspectives.

Caroline Hunt discusses her own distinction between three similar miniature people categories in "Dwarf, Small World, Shrinking Child: Three Versions of Miniature," but our categories and distinctions have important differences. What I refer to as the single miniature, she calls "the dwarf" (116). Hunt sees the dwarf as emphasizing a "one-against-the-world" mentality and articulating "in adult language the humiliation and powerlessness felt by dwarf and child alike" (116, 133). Like many critics, Hunt is equating the child and the miniature without considering their distinct differences and roles within the texts. For me, the important distinction of the single miniature is that they lack a separate miniature world or society to ground their own norms, and thus it can be more difficult for them to work outside or against the hierarchy of scale. However, that is not to say it is impossible, or alternatively, that other miniature characters escape these oppressive norms.

Hunt also links her dwarf category to the questioning of personhood – and being a nonperson (122) – but from my investigation into miniature people, such questions of humanity are present in all versions of the miniature. Marah Gubar agrees in her discussion of the "species trouble" in miniature characters whose "status . . . is always problematic" because they are "neither fully human nor entirely animal" (99), and that can be seen in the variety of ways that big adults and children treat all miniature people, as friends and family, or as pets and property, or even as vermin to be exterminated.

My miniature world equates with Hunt's "small world" or "miniature society." I agree with Hunt's observations on this position giving "at least *a* norm that challenges the values of the larger world" (or even "where the world of the little person becomes the norm"), as well as multiple options for identification, including miniature people and big child characters, by providing different focalizations or perspectives (123). What interests me is the miniature world's equal separation and interrelation with the big world that has the potential to unsettle expected positions and the norms of the hierarchy of scale.

I disagree with Hunt that the miniature world does not change and is reassuring in its consistency and manageability for the child (127). Hunt suggests that the miniature world is unchanging, but many texts in my timeline suggest that the miniature world – whether that refer to the character's position or the fictional world – is unstable and dangerous, with the constant threat of discovery by big people hanging over the narratives. Gubar agrees, arguing that in children's literature with miniature people, "the act of expulsion, coupled with the threat of

extermination and extinction, drives the narrative" that puts these characters "into positions of utter abjection" (99). Gubar references *Stuart Little* – a single miniature – and *The Borrowers* – a miniature world – and shows that both the big and miniature world are unstable and unsafe for many miniature characters.

Both Hunt and I call our third sub-category "shrinking child." Hunt sees this category as addressing "fundamental questions of body image and perception, of origins and annihilation" (117). Hunt calls the shrinking child the most powerful form of miniature as it "plays to the universal uncertainties about the human body" (133). The shrinking child "must constantly confront the questions of what is real and whether his or her perceptions are actually valid" (133). I agree with Hunt that the shrinking child brings up questions about the body, but I am most interested in how this can further unsettle the positions of miniature people. An example of the shrinking child questioning their perception and understanding of self is in Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. When Alice grows and shrinks, she wonders if she has turned into someone else (Carroll 60-1, 83-4).

My Miniature People Timeline

I started my miniature people timeline early in my project and added to it over several years. The timeline follows of the occurrence of miniature people characters in all English-language texts before the twentieth century and in those published for children in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Although I focus on children's literature, it was necessary to include earlier texts not published for children to track the origins of these characters and the potential residues that came from outside children's literature. I chose to switch to only children's texts in the twentieth century because the number of texts exploded after the Second World War and

suggested a possible shift in the characters' place in literature and a focus point for children's literature.

Although my interest is in what I term 'miniature people,' my timeline also includes fairies, toys-come-to-life, larger dwarf-like beings, and other characters that fit in between these categories in order to give a broader representation of smaller-scaled characters. My timeline (see Appendix) colour-codes the texts by their country of publication, beginning with Jonathan Swift's Gulliver's Travels in 1726 and ending with the most recent publications I have found into the 2010s. The purpose of the timeline is to visualize the presence of miniature people and similar characters throughout the past three hundred years to look for trends. My own language and time limitations meant I included only English-language children's literature and those translated into English from other languages. The result is that many of the texts in my timeline are written and published in the UK and USA, which has likely skewed the texts to have more miniature people characters presented as White and reflecting norms of Western cultures. I have kept this imbalance in mind and my conclusions only relate to English-language texts from the UK and North America. However, this focus has also allows me to consider how the assumed Whiteness of miniature people characters can itself be unsettled and in turn unsettle the hierarchy of scale and oppressive norms.

The Borrowers: A central touchstone

Mary Norton's *The Borrowers* and its four sequels are the texts that initially drew me to study miniature people characters in children's literature. The series was a major focus of textual analysis in my MPhil thesis, and it was my exploration and analysis of the series in the earlier stages of my PhD dissertation work that led me to find my research questions and focus. Norton's series is a touchstone for my project. Not only is it an important text for me personally and a starting point for much of my textual analysis, but it is popular with readers and critics alike and its publication spans a large section of my timeline from 1952-82, making it a part of the explosion of miniature people narratives in children's literature after WWII. This extended time of publication and the differences I saw in the first and last books, were the beginnings of my investigation into the residues of the hierarchy of scale and how they remained and evolved over time.

The Borrowers' influence on later miniature narratives is evident in its narrative residues still present in recent texts, in the many adaptations of the series, and in the body of critical work that surrounds it. The concept of miniature people living secretly inside big people homes, which *The Borrowers* introduces, occurs in John Peterson's *The Littles* series (1967-2003), Terry Pratchett's *The Bromeliad* (or *The Nome*) *Trilogy* (1988-90), Tomiko Inui's *The Secret of the Blue Glass* (1967),⁴ and Charles de Lint's *Little (Grrl) Lost* (2007), ⁵ among others. Norton's books also call back to earlier miniature people, including references to the performer General Tom Thumb in Arrietty's Tom Thumb edition books (Norton, *The Borrowers* 18-19) and describing Miss Menzies as taking "Gulliver-like strides" through the model village (*The Borrowers Aloft* 75). Norton's series has also received several recent TV and film adaptations, including a live-action BBC TV series that closely follows the first two books (1992-3), two live-action film adaptations called *The Borrowers* (1997 and 2011), and the well-known 2010 animated Studio Ghibli movie *Arrietty* (or *The Secret World of Arrietty*). While all these

⁴ Inui's family of miniature people in Japan immigrated from Britain with an English teacher. With these origins and the reference to a miniature woman living in a clock, the connection to Norton's Borrowers is clear, even if Inui's miniature people have a different set of societal rules.

⁵ In de Lint's book, the big girl T.J. does an internet search when she discovers the miniature teen Elizabeth. One of the search results is Norton's *Borrowers* books.

adaptations take their own spin on the source material, the basic concept and story of the Borrowers still resonates with audiences and creators today.

Norton's *Borrowers* series does not only continue to interest audiences, but also academics. Over the years the series has been covered by critics from both within and outside of the children's literature field, including multiple articles in prominent journals, plus several chapters in academic books. My own literature review found 25 publications with specific focus on the *Borrowers* series (mostly the first book) by 22 different authors that date as far back as 1956 and as recent as 2012. A connecting thread through many is an attempt to find metaphors and analogies that relate the Borrowers to real-world experience. Major topics around the *Borrowers* series include the books' reflection of the atrocities and aftermath of WWII, ⁶ the representation of class⁷ and gender,⁸ the place and symbolism of the home,⁹ the relationship of power between human beings and Borrowers,¹⁰ and the books' complex narrative frame.¹¹ Thinking through the intersections of all these lenses and positions for the Borrowers helped me to move past my one-lens approach to realize the importance of the unsettled nature of miniature people that first drew me to the Borrowers. Returning to the unstable world and position of the

⁶ Lois R. Kuznuts, "Diaspora" (1985); Margaret Rustin and Michael Rustin (1986); Gillian Avery (1995); Deborah Cogan Thacker (2002); Sarah Godek (2005); Ann Alston (2008); Reynolds (2012)). Several critics have also found an analogy between the Clock's hidden lives and attempted extermination with the Jewish population of Europe during the Holocuast (Kuznuts, "Diaspora"; Virginia L. Wolf (1990); Caroline C. Hunt (1995); Deborah Cogan Thacker (2002)).

⁷ Lois R. Kuznuts, "Diaspora" (1985); Margaret Rustin and Michel Rustin (1986); Margaret Thomas (1992); Andrew O'Malley (2003); Madelyn Travis (2007).

⁸Patricia Pace (1991); Margaret Thomas (1992); Jon C. Stott (1994); Caroline C. Hunt (1995); Chris Hopkins (2000); Madelyn Travis (2007); Ann Alston (2008); Kimberley Reynolds (2012). Most of the discussions are feminist readings focusing on the patriarchal structure of the Clock family and Borrower society, and how it is connected to Arrietty's desire for freedom and independence.

⁹ Margaret Rustin and Michel Rustin (1986); Virginia L. Wolf (1990); Maria Nikolajeva (2000); Chris Hopkins (2000); Sarah Godek (2005); Ann Alston (2008).

¹⁰Jon C. Stott (1976); Margaret Rustin and Michel Rustin (1986); Patricia Pace (1992); Jon C. Stott (1994); Caroline C. Hunt (1995); Deborah Cogan Thacker (2002); Perry Nodelman and Mavis Reimer (2003); Ariko Kawabata (2006); Ann Alston (2008).

¹¹ Julia Davenport (1983); Lois R. Kuznets, "Permutations" (1985); Margaret Rustin and Michel Rustin (1986); Barbara Wall (1991); Patricia Pace (1992); Jon C. Stott (1994); Ariko Kawabata (2006).

Borrowers and other miniature people characters allowed me to look to other points of unsettledness in miniature narratives that came to structure this dissertation.

Chapter 1: Miniature Worlds and Miniature Eyes

A powerful norm influences miniature people narratives. Not all the texts I will discuss uphold this norm, but they all must work within, around, or against it. This norm is the (supposedly) innate hierarchy formed from differences in scale, with the biggest at the top and the smallest at the bottom. The hierarchy of scale makes miniature people into inferior others and its place as a norm hides its constructed nature – and its very existence – under the guise of being a rule of the world or human nature. However, oppressive norms can be revealed through the voice and perspective of the other. In the context of miniature people narratives, the hierarchy of scale that influences every part of a text can be pointed to and potentially challenged by the voices of miniature people. One overarching questions of my dissertation is whose norms do these texts present and support? I begin by determining if miniature people can truly see and speak in their narratives. What does it take for a miniature person to be able to give their perspective and present their own norms without them being undermined or dismissed?

I include only miniature world texts in this chapter, which are texts with a group or society of miniature people who live separately from the big world to some extent. Miniature people speak in all the texts in my timeline and there are other positions from which these narratives are focalized. I choose to focus on the miniature world position in particular because these characters are part of a society separate from the big world, which gives them more opportunity to build and voice differing norms and perspectives. As the miniature world is often placed within the big world, these characters are best positioned to compare the two, as well as give an alternate voice and perspective because they (potentially) have some measure of escape from the influence of the big world and its hierarchy of scale. Of course, there are other narrative voices at play besides miniature people that can influence the norms of a text. Although the miniature people may focalize the narrative and give their point of view, that does not guarantee that the hierarchy of scale will be revealed or challenged, or even that the miniature people's perspective will be accepted as a viable alternative or supported by the overall narrative. The narrator and narrative can intervene to undermine their voices. I select texts from throughout my timeline to explore the ways miniature voices can be heard, as well as the ways that narrators and narratives can undermine attempts to challenge and question the hierarchy of scale that call on the reader to consider their privileged position.

Norms, Othering, and the Unstable Miniature Position

When investigating the position of miniature people in children's literature and the possibility of the miniature perspective, the concept of the other – or othering – and its connection to constructed binaries and norms is helpful grounding. The terms "norms" and "other" (or "othering") are tied to the binaries that groups or societies create for themselves to form a shared identity to distinguish them from everyone else. The 'self' is formed in opposition to the 'other,' and that binary is used to support hierarchies of power and control. Norms are also tied to the binary of self and other, as a set of rules and expectations a particular group has for its members that are viewed as 'right' and 'natural,' and anything (or anyone) that does not fit into these norms is 'different' and 'wrong.'

This binary is a foundational concept to the ideologies of colonial powers, which places the White, Western – and generally male – world view and experience as superior to all others, and positions the colonized 'other' as uncivilized, immoral, and alien. By presenting their position as right and the 'truth,' colonizers not only create a myth of superiority that justifies their colonizing efforts, but they also present that 'truth' as universal, further downplaying the competing norms of the colonized through discounting their differences (Xie 5-6). The dominant group can oppress others in this way because it assumes a central position of moral superiority and power through truth and the production of truth, by determining how truth is verified (Ashcroft et al. 165-70). So, not only is the 'truth' of the colonizer's norms imposed on the colonized, but those truths are verified and supported by the imposed norms that place the colonizer as the moral and intellectual authority. To enforce their truth and make it an "ordinary acceptance," the colonizers use totalizing strategies, setting up their norms by suggesting that everyone is the same or "like us" (Bradford 23-4). The dominant norms in colonized societies express a story of progress and civilization that the colonizers have created to justify their actions and power (24).

Sam Gayton's *Lilliput* (2013) illustrates how dominant truths and norms are used to oppress miniature people. In this book, Gulliver returns to Lilliput to take a Lilliputian back to London as proof that his adventures were real. On his return to London, he keeps Lily trapped high in a birdcage while he finishes writing his book. Before his redemption at the end of the novel, Gulliver is a prime example of a White man speaking for oppressed people. He follows the colonizer's playbook, claiming that he is doing what is best for Lily, and that he has "protected" and "civilized" her, teaching her to speak, read, and write English, and that he has punished her 'misbehaviour' for her own good (Gayton 43-4). What he is really doing is trying to assimilate Lily into his own norms and truth. Her escape attempts are seen as wrong in his eyes because they cause trouble and take away his proof. Gulliver even dehumanizes Lily when she refuses to accept his norms, saying, "Perhaps I am foolish to expect something so small to understand" (39), changing her resistance to ignorance and blaming that "ignorance" on her

difference. However, Lily is also a good example of the miniature other resisting dominant norms and fighting back with her own. She argues for her own humanity and intelligence, responding, "I'm not a *something* I'm a *someone*" (39). Lily resists Gulliver's attempts to colonize and assimilate her through education and control by using language, along with her own arguments and norms. She fights back by using rude words in the Lilliputian language and not speaking English (46).

The colonized can never actually share in the supposedly universal position of the oppressor and are stuck in their place as other in the binary. Western powers need that binary to uphold their concept of self that is right, good, civilized, and deserving of its dominant position. Thus, there is a paradox in the justification of colonization being for "native development, civilization, Europeanization, [and] Christian conversion" while never actually being able to fully integrate or "civilize" the colonized, as that would undermine their authority; civilization and progress had to happen without equalization to keep the divide in place (Boehmer 78). At the same time, the colonizer's dominant discourse creates a scale of othering, placing those who assimilated best into Western culture into positions of power. Those most assimilated are seen as closest to the Western self and those most different as furthest and considered most alien and uncivilized. The other is not just one group or "white against black, or colonizer versus colonized," but has "multiple distinctions" (Xie 78-9).

Miniature people can also be seen to fit along a spectrum of otherness, as different characters – even within the same book – are influenced by and integrated into the big world and the hierarchy of scale differently. The variety of ways miniature people can be both like and unlike big people, and the miniature world both like and unlike the big world, is one indicator of the unstable positions that miniature people take up in their narratives. Their unstable positions also destabilize the binary of self and other, because neither has a distinct definition or place. As I will expand in later chapters, miniature people elude labelling and categorization because they are positioned both inside, outside, and between binaries, which in turn creates holes in the hierarchy of scale, even if their voice is not fully heard. Thus, miniature people can uncover and challenge constructed binaries as well, as their unstable positions resist such categorization.

In her book Big & Small: A Cultural History of Extraordinary Bodies, Lynne Vallone makes a distinct connection between norms and the othering of people at the extremes of size and scale. She argues that size difference is a "central organizing principle of culture" and that "we use human scale to judge normality, goodness, and beauty, as well as to assign preciousness and otherness" which in turn means that "adult perceptions of size and scale significantly impact our ways of thinking, feeling, and constructing the world around us" (1). Vallone notes that "in ascribing values to those bodies that challenge us – the very big and the extra small – we also seek reassurances in the ordinary, the norm" (2), but also explains that different types of small bodies are given different values. She describes the "cute effect" connected to small children and perfectly proportioned miniatures that "quiet difference's noise" in their implication of "preciousness and encourag[ing] protection" (7). The child and the perfect miniature here are "other" but in a way that makes them "both us and 'not-us" (7). The cute effect creates a connection between the big and miniature that removes some of their difference and separates them from the racial difference that is related to small bodies not considered cute, such as the "dwarf" throughout history whose differently proportioned limbs related them to the racialized other as "deformed races" (7, 25).

Vallone's positioning of small bodies along a spectrum of otherness and placing the miniature both inside and outside of both sides of the us/not us binary again show the unstable

nature of miniature people and our inability to label them. As I will discuss further in chapter 3, the child is also related to the miniature and their position within, between, and outside of the self/other binary. The child's position can allow them, as reader or character, to be open to and understand the miniature people's struggle to have their voice heard. The child is in the paradoxical position of being small in the big world and big in the miniature world, and the duality of their position must be kept in mind in attempts to categorize miniature people in relation to them. The child may be better placed to allow the miniature voice to be heard, but they are equally positioned to silence it or claim it for themselves. If the big and miniature worlds are separated, then the child's relationship with the adult world may be equated to the miniature people's relation to the big world. However, that separation is not possible, as the big and miniature worlds must always be connected and influence each other for these miniature narratives to form. If there is no big world for comparison, then the miniature world is no longer miniature, or at least does not exist in the same way as those in my timeline. The big child is never outside their relationship with both the big and miniature world, and so they are always in a paradoxical position that has influence over the miniature voice, which is concealed if the big child's duality is ignored.

Who is speaking? Who is being heard?

With the colonial norms firmly in place in English literature and society, it can be difficult to present other norms as viable alternatives. Those of the minority who are most assimilated into the dominant norms may be too influenced by them to be true representatives of their group or community, but they are also the ones with access to the means to disseminate potentially subversive norms and perspectives. To determine whose norms and voice are being heard in miniature people children's texts, it must be determined who is representing and speaking for the miniature people and how assimilated they may be into the norms of the hierarchy of scale.

Miniature people are fictional characters that have no real-world counterpart or representative who can truly speak for them. The authors of all the texts I cover are big and will always be representing the other in their narratives. Thus, it is difficult for the authors not to subconsciously support their own norms, including the hierarchy of scale, as they may not even be aware of them. Yet, that does not mean that theses authors cannot create a miniature focalization or narration that challenges or questions these norms and asks the reader to consider their own position in hierarchies of power.

The issues with a member of the dominant group representing and speaking for a marginalized group, as well as in what circumstances that marginalized group can speak and be heard themselves, is taken up in Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's well-known essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?"¹² Although Elleke Boehmer notes that many postcolonial theorists use the terms "subaltern," "colonial other," or "simply the other" interchangeably (21), Spivak's use of the term "subaltern" (especially in relation to the female subaltern) can be distinguished from the term "other" in a helpful way for my discussion of miniature people characters. The simplest definition is that the subaltern is a subset of the other, tied to a lack of representation and communication. Although all those who are othered are made so by a dominant discourse and norms that oppress them, the subaltern are also outside this system, in that they have no place or recourse within it. The colonized other is never fully trapped within dominant norms and from

¹² I am using the version of Spivak's essay that appears in *Can the Subaltern Speak?: Reflections on the History of an Idea,* edited by Rosalind C. Morris. The book notes that "This iteration of the essay, 'Can the Subaltern Speak,' appears as the closing section of a chapter entitled 'History' in Gayatri Spivak's *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 244–311. The text appears unchanged except where specific reference has been made to earlier sections of the chapter, the most substantive of which concern the account of the Rani Gulari of Sirmur" (Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" 66).
the beginning has means to work against and undermine them, even if they stay dominant. The other can speak and be heard. The subaltern, however, speaks but is not heard.

The distinction I make here between the other that can be heard and the subaltern that cannot is made most clear in Spivak and her critical respondents' discussions of representation and how (or if) the subaltern can speak. In her introduction to Spivak's essay, Rosalind C. Morris describes "Subalternity [as] less an identity than what we might call a predicament" as Spivak's definition of the subaltern is "the structured place from which the capacity to access power is radically obstructed" (Morris 8). Thus, when the subaltern escapes that place and "the muting of subalternity," they are no longer subaltern, which is the desired outcome (8). The muting of the subaltern comes from their simultaneous inability to be heard and impossibility to be spoken for or represented.

Claiming to speak for the subaltern does not help their oppression but continues "the civilizing mission of benevolence while occluding the question of audibility" (Birla 92-3). The claim to speak for the subaltern only oppresses them further because this "voice" of the subaltern becomes an instrument created by authority to give perceived agency to this created voice (or subject). The voice is never the subaltern's own, and the agency is always someone else's (Birla 89). Spivak explains this process through the example of widow sacrifice in India which created two discourses of those claiming to speak for these subaltern women: 1) the colonial discourse in which "white men are saving brown women from brown men" and 2) the male nativist discourse which claimed that "the women wanted to die" (Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" 50). In both cases, a supposedly subaltern voice gives power and agency to a discourse in which the true subaltern has no agency. In all these cases, speaking for the subaltern upholds the norms and worldview that continue to oppress them.

In miniature people children's literature, the big person speaking for the other can come in the form of the narrator or the big character. Sam Gayton's *Lilliput* shows a big character thinking they know best and supporting their own position through the norms of the hierarchy of scale. Gulliver believes he knows what is best for Lily – which is really what is best for him – and what she wants. He tells her that she will "live like a princess, adored by everyone" once she is revealed to the world (44), with no thought to if that is the life she wants. I will expand below on examples of how narrators speak for miniature characters. The most obvious example would be a text completely focalized through a big person, which I do not include in this chapter, but other examples include texts that present the narrator as both a big person and the authority on the miniature world, or whose narrator undermines miniature norms and worldview.

Since the initial publication of her essay, Spivak has clarified, and other critics have argued, that the claim that the subaltern cannot speak is not tied to their ability to speak but to be heard "by the privileged of either the First or Third Worlds" (Zembylas 115) or "in ways that we can immediately understand" (Paulson 91). For Spivak, the way forward towards the subaltern being heard is through specific forms of education that allow the subaltern to move out of their position and on the path to hegemony, while still being able to understand (and hear) the subaltern so they do not become "suboppressors" themselves ("In Response" 229-32). For other critics, hearing the subaltern begins with understanding how subjects are formed and othered (Birla 95), and acknowledging and deconstructing the entitled position of the representing subject so we can engage with an other that challenges our current understandings and "calls us out of our enclosure in our accepted systems of knowledge" (Cornell 104). Similarly, for miniature people to break free of a subaltern position and truly be heard, their voices and perspectives must be presented as truths and viable alternatives, so they in turn can uncover the

constructed nature of the hierarchy of scale and form new ways of approaching the relationship between big and miniature people outside of it.

For my discussion, the miniature subaltern is a miniature character whose subjectivity and individuality are completely lost in the norms of the hierarchy of scale. Their voice cannot be heard in the structures of the dominant norms that form the narrative, narration, and focalization. The miniature other is a miniature character whose perspective can be heard to some extent. It is unlikely that they can break down the hierarchy of scale entirely, but they can speak against those norms and to their own worldview. The miniature other has the potential to challenge the big character or reader to analyse the structures of their world and see that their norms and perspective are not universal, inherently right, or the 'truth.'

Can the Miniature Other Subvert the Hierarchy of Scale?

The miniature other's opportunity to destabilize and challenge the norms around the hierarchy of scale, or just make those norms recognizable, is not guaranteed. In her discussion of White authors writing children's literature about Indigenous people, Clare Bradford notes that it is impossible to represent someone without giving value and making judgements (71). Those from the dominant discourse and culture must be aware of their privileges and how their position can affect their representations of those in different subject positions (72). However, it is difficult to work against the dominant culture as one within it, as norms and "naturalized assumptions and expectations . . . exist in most cases below the level of conscious thought" (72). Thus, it is not enough for the miniature world to be shown as different and for part of the story to be shown through miniature focalization. If that difference is presented as alien or wrong, or if the big world is presented as better or more desirable, then no challenge or recognition of the hierarchy of scale and its norms will be successful.

Several critics discuss how texts can work against othering and dominant norms. These strategies focus on the recognition of difference as well as the existence and construction of binaries. Shaobo Xie argues the need for children's literature to celebrate differences so otherness can be "recognized, accepted, and appreciated" (4). Texts also need to show how cultural difference was made into marginality and how Western imperialism worked to keep it there (4). Xie argues that marginalized groups can regain "legitimacy and sovereignty" by insisting on radical difference and refusing to be assimilated and made a part of false ideologies of universalism (9). By insisting on difference and upending the 'norm' through emphasizing and insisting on their own, marginalized people expose and work against the dominant discourse. Blanka Grzegorczyk points to children's books that "attempt to shake easy perceptions of ethnic and cultural difference" and forwards the idea that ethnicity is just as much a part of being White as being 'other' (94). Grzegorczyk sees children's literature as an important basis for decolonization because it both speaks to future generations who can make change and creates "a meaning-giving experience" that builds "moral and ethical dimensions of human experience" to show us we have choices and can overcome oppression (126).

Texts alone are not going to decolonize the world or reshape dominant norms and ideologies. What they can do is set up counter-discourses that force the dominant discourse to be recognized. As Bradford notes, the counter-discourse works to "detect and map" and then subvert the things that the dominant discourse has normalized and naturalized to maintain its hold on power (24). Although the counter-discourse may not upend the dominant discourse, it "niggles away at the illusion of certainty" by which "dominant institutions" maintain their power and bring norms into question, thus "destabiliz[ing] the illusion of certainty that permeates the dominant discourse" (26). However, a text using "counter-discourse textual strategies" must be

careful not to fall into "an uneasy complicity" with the dominant discourse (29), for example, in the use of cultural stereotypes (30). The norms that formed and uphold the dominant discourse and White superiority from the history of colonialism are so ingrained in Western culture today that even recognizing it can be difficult. Peter Hunt and Karen Sands give a good example in their discussion of animal fantasy for children in Britain following World War II, noting common themes such as the dangers of the outside or "wide" world, that outsiders are enemies, and that the only means of acceptance of an outsider is through assimilation (46-7). The influence of imperialism and colonialism runs deep.

Narration and Focalization

Narration and focalization are key to determining who is "speaking" or "voicing" particular ideas and norms, and how they connect to the other voices or perspectives in the text. In *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, Mieke Bal recognizes that for the narrative to be told, there must be an agent who relates it (9). If all narratives must have a teller, then they also cannot be objective, because everyone brings their own norms – whether explicit or underlying – to the story. John Stephens supports this claim in *Language and Ideology in Children's Fiction*,¹³ arguing that "[a] narrative without an ideology is unthinkable: ideology is formulated in and by language, meanings within language are socially determined, and narratives are constructed out of language" (8). Although it is not feasible to discover the ideology of an author, it is possible to investigate the norms of the narrative itself through the narrator(s) and focalizer(s). These narrative voices frame what is presented to the reader and can affect the

¹³ Stephens uses different terminology and structure in his conversation around the narrator than Bal, whose terms and structure I will be using to frame my conversation around narrators and focalizers. Also, although the translation of Bal's text that I used spells the term "focalizor," I will be using the more common spelling of "focalizer."

reader's perception of the narrative, characters, and what is seen as 'true' or 'right' within the narrative.

A narrator does not need to be visible or explicit to influence a narrative. The narrator may be "perceptible (p)" and refer to themself, or "non-perceptible (np)," but either way the narrator's effect on the reader is determined by how much the narrator "infiltrates" the narrative (Bal 28), meaning how much the narrator – explicitly or implicitly – attempts to influence the reader's interpretation of the narrative. Beyond narration (or the portrayal of events), the narrator presents opinions, descriptions, and disclosures that do not relate directly to the story events but can often help "to assess the ideological or aesthetic thrust of a narrative" (9). Bal argues that it is in non-narrative comments "that ideological statements are made" and it is through examining differences between the explicit ideology in non-narrative comments and "its more hidden or naturalized ideology, as embodied in the narrative representations" that the full underlaying ideology of the text is revealed (31).

Bal makes a distinction between focalization and narration, as the focalizer is only one part of the narration and presents one character's point of view of the story that "colours" it in a specific way (18). The narrator and a particular focalizer may not share the same norms or ideology. However, the narrator can have an influence on how a particular focalization is perceived. To understand whose norms are being presented, we need to determine if the focalizer, from whose vantage point the story is being told, is the same voice that is commenting on, interpreting, and responding to what the focalizer is "seeing" (Stephens 27). So, is the focalizer both seeing and perceiving, or is the narrator commenting on and interpreting what the focalizer is seeing?

Stephens notes that implicit ideology in narratives is especially powerful because by subtly enforcing 'truths' about how the world is organized and structured, implicit ideology develops norms based on the assumptions of the author that are not necessarily deliberately placed within the narrative, as the author is likely unaware of these assumptions (9). Stephens suggests how a text can resist creating such norms by working against the effect of the reader's "unqualified identification" with a focalizing character by which "a text socializes its readers" (81-2) through writing techniques that distance the reader, such as having shifting or unappealing focalizers (70). Having multiple focalizers from a variety of perspectives can be beneficial in exploring relations between "the formation of subjectivity and the social and cultural positioning of the characters" (Grzegorczyk 75). When done well, using two or more focalizations can prevent either narrative perspective from being privileged over the other and highlights the limitations of both; "multiple points of view have the potential effect of interrupting any illusion of single meaning and of making the reader into an active collaborator, not just a passive observer" (85). In miniature people narratives, switching between the focalization of miniature and big people can both unsettle the narrative and expose the norms of the hierarchy of scale by showing differing perspectives and norms.

The Miniature World and Miniature Focalization

My discussion about point of view will be focused on the miniature world. Characters in this position have their own societies separate from the big world but must still navigate a relationship with the big world because of their proximity to, and often dependence on, it. The miniature world is still connected to the big world and open to its influence. However, influence also flows in the other direction, even if the big world is unaware, because miniature people are perceiving it. These characters can have their own norms and as such the miniature world can be unique or divergent from the big world.

Such a degree of separation is not possible for the single miniature or shrinking child. The first, who is a lone miniature and often born to a big family, adventures in the big world. They must adapt to the big world and function within its norms, which generally include the hierarchy of scale. The second, a big child who shrinks to have adventures in either the big or miniature world, is in a similar predicament. They begin and end the narrative as part of the big world, which they are encouraged to assimilate into even if their experience has given them alternative norms to help them question the hierarchy of scale. The shrinking child must also function and live within the big world. There are also miniature world texts with big children as their main focalizer, but I will include those with shrinking child narratives in later chapters. As I investigate the miniature's perception and voice, I focus on texts the present at least half of their narrative through the miniature people's point of view.

Early Miniature People Narratives: The beginnings of miniature inferiority

The early texts in my timeline are not about miniature perspective or experience. Instead, the focus is on the big people and their use of the miniature world to comment on the big world. In these narratives, the miniature is a means to creating adventure, mischief, and fun, and the reader is not generally led to sympathize or connect with them, only to be amused by their stories and antics. The miniature in these texts is a simple oddity that is the catalyst for adventure. These early miniature people are the miniature subaltern, who are spoken for by a big person and whose own voice is not heard. It is not until the twentieth century that a shift towards miniature focalization and identification becomes prevalent and allows the miniature other the opportunity to emerge.

My timeline begins with Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), whose Lilliputians are a literary forerunner of my miniature world category. The separation between the big and miniature worlds is made very clear in the story of Lilliput. It is shown in the physical division of Lilliput from big civilization through their unknown existence on an uncharted island, as well as textually, through Gulliver's sole focalization as a big character. The reader only has an outsider's view of the Lilliputians, who are perceived through Gulliver's norms and expectations. A later group of texts that continue this trend are those that return to the Lilliputians' story. Novels such as T.H. White's *Mistress Masham's Repose* (1946) and Henry Winterfeld's *Castaways in Lilliput* (1958), keep the Lilliputian society separated on an island, although they are much closer to the big child's home. These stories are also from the big person's point of view, and they view the miniature people as a whole and when a miniature person does speak, it is usually as a representative of the group and not as an individual with a unique perspective.

Although the Lilliputians do speak, through Gulliver's focalization they cannot be heard and his norms become the indicator of what is right. Lilliput is so separate from the big world that the Lilliputians have their own language which Gulliver must learn (English is not imposed here) and they even give Gulliver a new name "Quinbus Flestrin" (which Gulliver translates to "the Great Man Mountain") (Swift 29). This big person compliance is a rare occurrence in my timeline, with most miniature people either speaking English from the start or learning it to communicate with or understand big people. However, in the text of *Gulliver's Travels*, the language is being translated by Gulliver into English, so his choice of words influences the reader and presents his own norms. For example, in Gulliver's translation of his Lilliputian name, he chooses to use "great," which is much more positive and suggestive of power than a more neutral choice such as "big." The Lilliputian language is fictional, and the native words appear infrequently in the text, so the reader cannot learn the language themselves and must trust in Gulliver's translations, giving him a lot of space to impose his own norms. Gulliver, as narrator and focalizer, has all the influence.

Although the Lilliputians may argue their own understanding of the world, Gulliver's perspective presents a very particular – and often unflattering – way for the reader to view them. The Lilliputians' belief in their own superiority is made very clear. The intellects of Lilliput reject Gulliver's information about other places filled with big people (Swift 42-3), much as Arrietty will do over 200 years later in Mary Norton's *The Borrowers*. They argue that the world would not be able to sustain so many big people and their history makes no mention of big people (42-3). The Lilliputians will only believe the world and history they know and cannot accept that Gulliver is anything but an anomaly. Since the reader views this passage through Gulliver, who knows of the outside world that the reader also belongs to, he is right and the Lilliputians are wrong. Gulliver's norms take hold, and a hierarchy of scale is forming.

Palmer Cox's *The Brownies: Their Book* (1887) has group of miniature people who have their own norms and comment on – or even challenge – those of the big world. The main plot of most of the stories is that the Brownies see humans doing something that seems fun, and at night they borrow the equipment needed to try the activities themselves – including roller skating, ice skating, tobogganing, singing lessons, and going to school. Although different from later miniature world characters, as the Brownies only visit the human world and have no real connection to it, they certainly have echoes in later miniature worlds that exist within the big world. Brownies can be helpful and leave more than they used – a fairy trait reflected in characters like the Littles, who secretly maintain the Big family's pipes and wires as compensation for unknowingly sharing their home (Peterson 10). What results is miniature world characters that are both invested in and indifferent to the big world. The Brownies do help deserving big folk when the mood strikes, but they are generally out for their own fun and see the big world as a source of entertainment.

The Brownies, much like the Lilliputians, are mostly used to comment on the big world. Throughout the stories, the Brownies help an injured farmer bring in his crop (30-1), a widow spin her wool into yarn (101-3), and a parson chop wood (126-8). All these people think that their neighbours have secretly helped them in the night, and those neighbours learn a lesson from their guilt after receiving misplaced thanks. The Brownies speak a lot in the text and it is their voice that chastises the neighbours of the farmer; "Now here 's a case in point, I claim,/Where neighbors scarce deserve the names" says one Brownie, going on to explain that the farmer was injured saving the lives of local children and now lies in bed while his crops wither in their fields (30). The Brownie continues, "His neighbors are a sordid crowd,/ Who 've such a shameful waste allowed;/ So wrapped in self some men can be,/ Beyond their purse they seldom see;/ 'T is left for us to play the friend/ And here a helping hand extend" (30-1). The perceptible narrator steps back to let the Brownies speak to the humans' faults, presenting an outside view of human relationships.

Yet, the Brownies are still in the miniature subaltern category, because while they speak, they do not perceive. Instead, these miniature subalterns are used to give voice to the narrator's norms and morals. The Brownies comment on humans a lot; humans and their activities fill most of the Brownies' conversations. Even when they do comment on each other, the Brownies discuss how well suited they are to perform their human imitations and exist in the big world, for example, who will be a good teacher and what makes a good teacher (Cox 3).

The narrator is both perceptible and infiltrates the narrative. The narrator separates themself from the Brownies and identifies themself with the reader. One obvious example is when the narrator speaks directly to the reader about the Brownies' fearless trapeze stunts: "But fear, we know, scarce ever finds/ A home within their active minds,/ And little danger they could see/ In what would trouble you or me" (40). The "you and me" of the narrator and reader are clearly separated from the Brownies. This separation allows the narrator to point to the Brownies' cruelty, just as the Brownies do to humans. The Brownies seem especially indifferent to the welfare of animals. The narrator shows their displeasure with the Brownies' treatment of Mag the mare with the lines "Now down the road the gentle steed/ Was forced to trot at greatest speed" and "Without a rest they drove the beast,/ And then were loath enough to rein/ Old Mag around for home again" (11). These lines, especially the words "forced" and "without a rest" show the misuse of the mare. The narrator juxtaposes this cruelty with the Brownies' joy in their nighttime cart ride: "A merrier crowd than journeyed there/ Was never seen at Dublin Fair" (11). While the Brownies only think of their fun, the narrator turns the reader's attention to Mag and her ill treatment. With the narrator's position as a human watching the Brownies watching humans, we learn little about the Brownies and mostly about ourselves.

These early miniature people narratives have elements that will return in later texts to support the hierarchy of scale. In both texts, the miniature people are parodies of big people. These narratives speak to problems in the big world and use the miniature people's actions or voice to identify these problems. Although this approach can alter the reader's perspective, it is not through them hearing the miniature voice. Instead, these miniature subalterns are utilized for the big narrator's message. The Brownies' world is not even shown or described, silencing them further by not allowing an alternative world. Although elements of their narratives position these early miniature people as inferior to big people, the hierarchy of scale, which links the unquestioned inferiority of miniature people and big people's danger to them, has not yet fully formed. These narratives build the foundations that will expand to fully form the hierarchy of scale that is so influential in miniature narratives after the turn of the twentieth century.

Early Twentieth-Century Miniature Narratives: The hierarchy of scale takes hold

As they entered the twentieth century, miniature world narratives shifted their focus from focalization through big people and a commentary on them, to beginning to see narratives through the eyes of miniature people as individuals with distinct personalities and views of the world. It also marks the point when miniature people children's literature is fully influenced by the hierarchy of scale. Miniature focalization alone cannot resist these norms, as seen in miniature focalization bringing a new, but equally adamant, insistence on the danger of big people and the big world to miniature people. Although it is a perspective that can come from miniature focalizers – although, tellingly, big children also often voice it – the notion that big people will always cause harm to miniature people, who should thus stay hidden and unknown to the big world, continues the illusion that the hierarchy of scale is a universal truth and cannot be changed. Similarly, a big narrator can infiltrate a miniature narrative and help the reader see multiple perspectives to reveal the hierarchy of scale, but they can also easily silence the miniature voice by taking it as their own.

B.B.'s (Denys James Watkins-Pitchford) *The Little Grey Men* (1942), like other texts around this period such as J.R.R Tolkien's *The Hobbit* (1937), shows a shift to miniature focalization and identification towards the miniature, but with a perceptible and intrusive narrator that infiltrates the narrative heavily at times. From the introduction onwards, *The Little Grey Men*'s narrator is present, making judgements, and placing themself as the expert: "This is

a story about the last gnomes in Britain. They are honest-to-goodness gnomes, none of your baby, fairy-book tinsel stuff, and they live by hunting and fishing, like the animals and birds, which is only proper and right" (B.B. introduction). The narrator immediately makes a distinction between 'real' gnomes and those from fairy tales, separating creatures of the woods from those of magic and tinsel. The narrator uses this distinction to build camaraderie with the reader and create a club of big people who know better: "That sort of make-believe is all right for some people, but it won't do for you and me" (introduction). The narrator goes on to explain that "the birds and wild animals *are* the Little People!" (introduction, original emphasis) and directly instructs the reader on how to make themselves small and still to watch for these creatures. The narrator has a strong voice and pushes a particular message of the importance of nature, using the gnomes' voice for their own cause.

The Little Grey Men emphasizes the importance of conserving nature, appreciating its beauty, and not needlessly harming animals. Although the gnomes' story is used to portray this message, it is most linked to the narrator, who takes time to describe the beauty of nature and the lives of the creatures who live in it. The narrator also makes it clear in the introduction and first chapter that the gnomes are closely related to the birds and animals. The gnomes are closer to wildlife than to big people: "being halfway between animals and our unhappy selves, they appreciated the beauties of the world far more than a great many mortals" (43). The narrator further emphasizes the gnomes' connection to nature when they explain twice that while the gnomes, birds, and animals speak to each other in English in the book, that is only for the reader's understanding. The animals and birds have their own language that the gnomes understand (introduction, 4). Much like Gulliver, the narrator's influence grows in their translation of miniature voices and their positioning as the expert.

However, the fact that the gnomes are distinct characters with different appearances and personalities (B.B. 3-6) is an important development from earlier miniature world texts like *Gulliver's Travels* and *The Brownies, Their Book*, which describe their groups of miniature people as one mass with the same general goals and aims. The gnomes' differences cause a major disagreement at the beginning of the book about whether to go adventuring in search of their long-lost brother Cloudberry. Yet the inner thoughts and private lives of the gnomes are passed on through the voice of the narrator and not those of the gnomes. For example, when Dodder disagrees with Baldmoney and Sneezewort about building a boat and going up the river to find Cloudberry, he gives the others the silent treatment in protest. The narrator lets the reader in on Dodder's thoughts since he refuses to speak: "Poor little gnome; secretly he wished that he was going too, for in all his life he had never been alone and the idea of the long summer months without his companions would not bear dwelling on" (25). The author is perceptible in their expression of sympathy for Dodder, and what follows is the narrator's perception.

With such a strong narrative voice belonging to a big person, it is not surprising that the story of the gnomes is used to show the faults of big people, most notably our destruction of the woods and wilderness and how we negatively affect the animals that live there. The gnomes and their animal friends are used to create sympathy from the reader to their plight, as we are introduced to their families and the stories of their lives. The major example of the harm big people can do to nature and gnomes is the Giant Grum. He lives in Crow Woods and hunts what he sees as pests that steal his pheasants and their eggs. However, from the animals and gnomes' view, he is a terror who kills everything in his path and hangs them on his gibbets.

The narrator makes it clear that the Giant Grum is not out-of-the-ordinary or particularly vengeful by shifting focalization between the Giant Grum and Dodder during their encounter.

The reader sees that the Giant Grum has a wife who is concerned for his health, that he sees the birds and animals he has killed as those "who came to rob him of his precious chicks" (140), and that he appreciates the cool water and peaceful sleeping spot under a tree (141). Yet, although the narrator shows the reader that the Giant Grum is not that different from ourselves, they also make it clear that the gnomes are in the right when they kill him for his crimes against the forest. Not only does the narrator continue to call the man by the name given to him by the animals, but Pan, the Woodland God, grants the wish of the Giant Grum's death after hearing from both sides, from the woodland creatures and the man's pheasants (137-9). The narrator uses the animals and gnomes to emphasize the cruelty of those who harm wild animals and nature.

The Little Grey Men makes notable moves towards giving miniature people a voice but falls short. The miniature people are shown to be individuals who have differing perspectives, and focalization switches at parts of the narrative between miniature and big people to emphasize each sides' norms and challenge the big perspective. However, the big narrator is still the one perceiving and takes the miniature's voice as their own. The narrator is present and influential, and speaks to the child reader as a member of their in-group who believes in the miniature people and understands them, while also making judgements of these miniature people and using them to express the failings of big people. Although the miniature voice is emerging, it is still being spoken through the big narrator and remains the miniature subaltern. Thus, although the narrative pushes back against the hierarchy of scale by placing the needs of the gnomes and their animal friends first, the silencing of miniature voices for the means of the big narrator leaves that hierarchy in place, because the gnomes cannot truly speak for themselves.

The Borrower Perspective

Mary Norton's *Borrowers* series (1952-82) is a miniature narrative that also struggles with balancing big and miniature perspectives while allowing the miniature voice to be heard. However, unlike *The Little Grey Men*, the *Borrowers* series moves its miniature people out of the subaltern and into the miniature other, even if the hierarchy of scale is left mostly unchallenged. The main story is focalized through a miniature girl, Arrietty, as well as her parents Pod and Homily. The stories are shown through Borrower eyes and, for the most part, their experience is at the forefront, encouraging readers to relate to them. Still, the full picture of the Borrowers' story comes from both Borrower and human being¹⁴ characters. The first three books in the series have a framing narrative that presents the Borrowers' tale being told by a human being, and the series relies more heavily on human being perspectives and characters as it progresses. The result is the Borrowers' precarious position between the miniature subaltern and other. Although they see and perceive in their narratives, and their voice can be heard, it is competing against an overarching narrative that relies on big people focalization and narration to verify the Borrower's existence that brings that voice into question.

Borrowers have a complicated relationship to human beings. Although they generally need human beings and their goods to survive, Borrowers also see them as a threat. At the same time, Borrowers see themselves as superior to human beings. Arrietty tells the boy on their first meeting, "Human beans are *for* Borrowers – like bread's for butter!" (Norton, *The Borrowers* 84). The Borrowers also believe that human beings are "dying out" so that there will be "just a few . . . to keep us," because there are not enough resources in the world to support a large population of human beings (78-9). The amount of goods it would take to make all the food,

¹⁴ I will be using "human being" to refer to big people in my discussions of the *Borrowers* series because it is what they are referred to in the text, with the Borrowers sometimes calling them "human beans."

furniture, and clothes for a large population of human beings is unimaginable. Just as with *Gulliver's Travels*, this logic does not hold, and the boy soon contradicts Arrietty by telling her about all the human beings he has seen, all the large structures they have created, and the large events they attend (86).

The Borrower focalization is tempered by a narrator who is clearly a human being, especially in the earlier books, which have Mrs. May and Kate telling the Borrowers' tale. The story of *The Borrowers* comes from the boy who Arrietty befriends at Firbank. He tells the Clocks' story to his older sister, Mrs. May, who as an elderly woman tells the story to young Kate. In the fictive world of the series, Kate is the books' writer, but she is also a fictive character in that fictive world, created to replace the childhood self of the adult 'Kate' who narrates (Norton 3). Even when the multi-layered framing narrative falls away in later books, a small trail of sightings of the Clocks by human beings continues to provide witnesses for Kate to potentially follow. This narrative frame and its narratee, child Kate, struggle to convince the reader if the Borrowers' tale is fact or fiction in its own narrative world.

Questions about the truth of the Borrowers' story are created by both the narrator and the narrative frame. The story has been passed down through several people over two lifespans. While Mrs. May has personal accounts and evidence, like Arrietty's diary, it is also specifically mentioned that Kate must also guess at some things to complete her story (*Afield* 3). Even evidence, like Arrietty's books and the stories of those who claimed to have met her, are brought under suspicion. *The Borrowers* ends with Mrs. May admitting to Kate that she found Arrietty's little *Memoranda* book that the young Borrower had written in, but Arrietty's handwriting has similarities to that of Mrs. May's brother (179-80). Kate's two witnesses, the boy and Tom Goodenough, are also suspicious, with the first being described as "a tease" known for making

up "impossible things" to tell his sister (6-7), and the second being known as "the biggest liar in five counties" (*Afield* 20). While the reader is primed to believe the boy and Tom, we are also encouraged to "sift the evidence for ourselves" by the narrator (39).

However, the narrator of the main story is neither Mrs. May nor the perceptible and infiltrating narrator of the frame narrative said to be adult Kate. As Barbara Wall notes, after the text moves to the Borrowers' story, the narrator is "now a third-person voice, omniscient and partisan, possessed of far more knowledge of the Borrowers than Mrs. May could have, or conceivably guess," who narrates with focalization through the three Borrowers until near the end of the book when the focus moves towards the boy to transition back to Mrs. May's narration (Wall 261). This deliberate move between narrators gives the Borrowers' voice and experience more authenticity and authority. The focalization through Arrietty (and occasionally her parents) allows her to both see and perceive, suggesting not guesswork but a truthful representation of her experiences.

Arrietty's focalization puts Borrower norms, and her perspective on them, at the forefront of the series, but that does not mean they stay firmly in that position. The influence of human beings on Borrowers goes beyond the potential destruction of home and self, and into norms. For example, when the boy and Arrietty first meet, he challenges Arrietty's claims about human beings by reversing her logic to claim that it is Borrowers who are dying out: "I've only seen two Borrowers but I've seen hundreds and hundreds and hundreds and hundreds . . . of human beings. . . . I bet [the other Borrowers are] dead . . . And you'll be the very last because you're the youngest. One day . . . you'll be the only Borrower left in the world!'" (Norton, *Borrowers* 86-7). The logic of both Arrietty and the boy is unsound, since their assertions that the other is dying out are only based on their personal experience in seeing the other's people and both are proven wrong as the narrative continues. Although the boy can be confident that Arrietty is wrong because he has seen many other human beings, Arrietty has seen few other Borrowers. After this point, Arrietty's fear of extinction and being alone drive every choice and action she makes in relation to the boy and venturing into the big world.

Yet, Arreitty does not give into the boy's norms that are built on the hierarchy of scale. She continues to challenge him throughout the rest of the book to the point that the pair comes to an equal understanding. During their first meeting, Arrietty continually disrupts the boy's assumptions and biases towards her. When he asks if she can fly, thinking she is a fairy, she replies, "No, . . . can you?"(76). Arrietty's retort shows the boy's question to be foolish and assumptive, and points to the norms that formed them. He should not assume Arrietty can fly any more than she should assume the same of him. The boy makes a similar stumble soon after, asking, "Are there many people like you?" to which Arrietty replies "None. We're all different" (78). She insists on her individuality and resists any prejudice the boy tries to form about Borrowers. The individuality of Arrietty's perspective is also shown in her resistance to the Borrower norm that only men go borrowing. She lives within the miniature world and its norms, but her perspective questions those norms as well.

The boy is also influenced by Arrietty and her Borrower norms. He first thinks that borrowing is "stealing" and Arrietty explains that borrowing is when Borrowers take things from the big house while stealing is when Borrowers take from each other (84). By the end of the story, the boy has taken the word 'borrower' as his own. When Mrs. Driver discovers his connection to the Borrowers and calls them all thieves, the boy claims that he is a borrower and that the Borrowers are not thieves (154-5). By Borrower norms, he is right. The Borrowers have only taken from the house and he has only helped the Borrowers in their borrowing, since he has taken nothing for himself. It is while he is helping to borrow that the boy and Arrietty reach their compromise to equalize their norms. Arrietty reads books to the boy and is "made to realize once and for all that this earth on which they lived turning about in space did not revolve, as she had believed, for the sake of little people. 'Nor for big people either,' she reminded the boy when she saw his secret smile" (132). They have come to see that Borrowers and human beings are equally important in the world, and Arrietty's focalization and perception is in place to affirm it.

Arrietty demands her personhood and Borrower norms be respected, but she does not always represent a typical Borrower discourse. Arrietty has a special connection to human beings and an understanding of their world beyond other Borrowers that suggests a level of assimilation into human being norms, but also a unique perspective from which to view both big and miniature worlds. This connection is made clear through how her education and relationships with human beings affect her thinking and understanding of the world. Arrietty's education is based on human being texts and information. She teaches herself to read and write using "a set of those miniature volumes which the Victorians loved to print" (*The Borrowers* 18). Arrietty's education is expanded when she spends her afternoons reading to the boy and learning about the world of human beings (132). In *Avenged*, the Clocks discover ghosts in the old rectory. Most Borrowers think nothing of ghosts and act as if they are not there, seeing them as simply something that keeps human beings away (43-4, 99-100). Arrietty approaches ghosts with fear that Homily attributes to "read[ing] too much of all that human stuff" (43). Arrietty has gained human fears from the books that educated her.

As the series unfolds, Arrietty becomes more confident in her Borrower identity. For example, near the end of the series, Arrietty considers her personhood and stakes her own claim to her Borrower identity: "Was she a 'being'? She must be. But not a human one, thank goodness! No, she would not like to be one of those" (*Avenged* 63). Arrietty determines that she is indeed a being – with all the rights and selfhood that come with it – but also decides she is not the human kind of being and that she does not want to be. She sees Borrowers as distinct from human beings and expresses that as a good thing. She is happy with who she is and being a part of the Borrower community. Arrietty's connection to both the big and miniature worlds, as well as her focalization and perception, allows her to emphasize her difference and challenge norms of the hierarchy of scale that say being human (or big) is better.

Arrietty's unique perspective also allows her to stay confident in the human beings she chooses to befriend and fiercely argue for their goodness, even though she experiences human beings doing dreadful things to her and her family throughout the series (*Aloft* 186). Arrietty cries at the end of both *Aloft* and *Avenged* because her promise to never speak with human beings again means she cannot tell Miss Menzies that they are safe. She believes Miss Menzies will be worried and sad, showing her empathy. Arrietty spends the entire series defending the goodness and humanity of human beings. Her education and relationships with human beings allow her to see them in a different light than other Borrowers and she in turn gives them the benefit of the doubt.

Arrietty's defense of human beings could support an unsettling of the hierarchy of scale by showing multiple norms and perceptions, but there are other elements at play in the *Borrowers* series. As I will discuss further in chapter 4, the human beings that Arrietty befriends cannot move beyond the influence of the hierarchy of scale. Beyond her initial conversations with the boy, Arrietty does not call on them to change. In these circumstances, Arrietty is the other defending those in power and giving space to allow for their mistakes and harms. She is reassuring big people of our goodness while we are the ones who should be evaluating ourselves and supporting her humanity – although Arrietty does fiercely defend her own personhood and identity. It is here that we should remember the narrative frame that suggests the stories are ultimately from the human being perspective and even questions the Borrowers' truth. The Borrowers' focalization and norms may be at the centre of the books, but it is always framed by the focalization or narration of human beings. The Borrowers never get the first or last word, and as such their voice is quieted. These miniature people have a voice – and unique voices among them – and point to the hierarchy of scale, but the presence of human being voices and norms that continue to support the hierarchy of scale means they cannot challenge its innateness or structure in any major way.

Seeing Ourselves through Miniature Eyes: Miniature focalization in the 1960s-1980s

As we continue along my timeline to search for miniature voices in miniature world narratives, some new larger trends emerge and some old ones continue. However, I do want to emphasize that every miniature narrative has a unique combination of narrative techniques and tropes, as well as differing versions of miniature people. Although there are some overall trends, that does not mean every miniature narrative or character at the time follows those trends, and even if they do, it is often done differently. Just as miniature people cannot be categorized and labelled, my intention here is not to make broad, sweeping strokes that lock miniature narratives into a monolithic category or description. By finding their similarities and some overall trends, I can focus on their differences and how that affects if miniature voices are heard and if the hierarchy of scale is revealed and unsettled.

In the 1960s-1980s, one larger trend in miniature focalization is a move towards having miniature people as the only focalizers of a narrative and away from big people focalizers and the perceptible and/or heavily infiltrating big narrator. One example is John Peterson's *The*

Littles series (beginning 1967), whose narrator is usually perceptible only at the beginning of the text. However, their influence is felt with the lack of certainty around focalization and perception. The narrator clearly addresses a big reader when describing the Littles at the beginning of each short novel, such as in *The Littles*: "The Littles looked almost like people you see everyday. But they were very much smaller" (7). The narrator is speaking to a "you" who is big, as the Littles are small in comparison.

The main distinction made between the Littles and big people besides their size is the Littles' tails. The discourse around these tails both points to and conceals the hierarchy of scale. These tails are symbols of difference and the big people's assumption that small things are inferior animals, but the significance of this difference is downplayed by both the narrator and the Littles themselves. The narrator describes the Littles as proud of their tails, which they groom regularly, but which also have no function or use (*The Littles 8, The Littles Take a Trip 6-7*). Their tails are like hair that you style to express yourself. When the Littles' daughter Lucy says that the big people look silly without tails, her brother Tom tells her it is not important to have a tail or not, and that "We're the same as they are, only smaller. People are people" (*The Littles Take a Trip 7*). The function of the Littles' tails unsettles suggestions of inferiority in connection to animals because their tails go against expectations and their humanity is emphasized. The tails are also used to show differences in norms, as big people become silly for not having tails, instead of the other way around.

However, the duality of difference emphasized through these tails – beyond difference of scale – and the insistence on sameness between big and miniature people, is hard to resolve. The unsettledness here is not the same as most other miniature positions, because the insistence on sameness in the face of physical difference leads towards supporting the hierarchy of scale by

ignoring it, in a similar vein to a White person claiming to be "colour blind." The discomfort of this blindness towards difference, as opposed to celebrating it and differing perspectives, appears in another discordant moment later in Tom and Lucy's conversation. Tom attempts to explain to Lucy why they cannot contact the Biggs and must stay hidden at all costs. Tom says big people "might not like the way we take the things we need from them," might "put us in a museum . . . or a *circus*," and "maybe they'd kill us . . . they might think we were some kind of animal" (10, original italics). Tom quickly walks back his claims, saying "Gee – I don't really know what they'd do. I . . I'm sorry I said that. They probably wouldn't *kill* us" (11, original italics), and it feels like the narrative is doing the same, apologizing to the big reader for suggesting they might harm the Littles. Tom momentarily points to the hierarchy of scale, but quickly moves on to brush is aside and ignore it. The structures of power and influence from the big world that affect the miniature world is depleted and reconcealed. The Littles are, after all, 'just like us.'

The *Littles* series is focalized entirely through the miniature people. Although the Littles' perception is working against the narrative's insistence on sameness, the narrative also encourages the reader to see the world through the Littles' eyes and understand the negative impacts big people can have on them. The narrative perspective of the series feels authoritative and truthful through its external presentation. This perception comes dually from it generally not being clear which miniature person is the particular focus of a focalization and from a narrator that usually stays non-perceptible. Only characters' outward actions and speech are shared, and it is usually uncertain if a particular Little is focalizing because they are always accompanied by another family member. Similarly, it cannot be easily determined if a big person is focalizing because the Littles are always listening or part of the action, making them privy to all information shared.

Thus, it is not the focalization that suggests who the reader should relate to and support, but the narrative decisions around who is allowed to speak and be heard at certain times and around certain events. For example, when the Newcombs rent the Biggs' house, where the Littles live, the needs of the Littles take precedence in the story. The Newcombs wish to have a relaxing vacation to focus on their writing and painting, so they decide to be lax on their housekeeping duties (Peterson, *The Littles* 18). While that would generally seem minor and unharmful, for the Littles, the lack of cleaning and cooking results in the arrival of mice to terrorize and potentially harm them (26-7). The Littles compare the Newcombs to the Biggs, who took good care of the house, and the Newcombs are criticized and become accomplices to the mice (22). As the narrative follows the Littles and the danger they face from the mice, and later the cat that the Newcombs get to deal with them, the reader understands the Littles' plight and the dangers big people unknowingly cause miniature people. Thus, the Newcombs come across as self-absorbed, lazy, and unaware.

The narrative is on the Littles' side and requires the reader to consider how their position as a big person could affect them. It calls on the reader to move outside their norms. At the same time, it upholds and hides the hierarchy of scale that places the miniature people as inferior to big people. The Littles are more dependent on big people than any other miniature world characters in my timeline. They do not even cook for themselves but rely completely on what the big people cook (20). The Littles' exceptional dependence reflects norms around the hierarchy of scale, that positions miniature people as inferior and thus depending on big people to survive. The narratives' insistence on sameness and dismissal of difference between its big and miniature characters in turn hides the presence of the hierarchy of scale. Thus, although the Littles have a voice and even point to the hierarchy of scale at times, it is muffled because this voice only appears in unsettled moments that the overall narrative resists.

Carol Kendall's *The Whisper of Glocken* (1965) also focalizes entirely through its miniature characters, who each has their own voice with unique strengths and failings. These differing miniature voices set up a different dynamic than the *Littles* series, that allows norms of both the big and miniature worlds to be questioned. In this book, a group of five (unlikely) heroes travel beyond the Minnipin lands to discover the cause of a flood that is consuming their homes and find a massive dam built by big people they call the Hulks. Throughout the narrative, the narrator is generally not perceptible or infiltrating, while the focalization switches between the five Minnipin protagonists, Glocken, Silky, Scumble, Gam Lutie, and Crustabread. The five Minnipins have varying personalities, skills, and values, and these differences lead to conversations and debates that present a main theme of the text around how we determine the worth of others and the effects of our prejudice. Although there is no doubt that the Hulks are the antagonists and in the wrong, the narrative also suggests that the Minnipins share some similarities with them, and not good ones.

At the beginning of the novel, there is a set hierarchy among the five protagonists, based on their family heritage and their ancestors' place in history. The importance of family notoriety is emphasized by each character being called by their family name. Those at the top of the hierarchy, like Gam Lutie, generally go unchallenged, while those at the bottom, like Scumble, must do as they are told, even if Gam Lutie insists Scumble exchange his place on a boat for her treasure, or carry that treasure across a desert (Kendal 13-14, 105). Throughout the story, the protagonists learn to appreciate their own and each other's special skills and worth, and they must question the prejudices they hold. What will challenge them the most is also the main cruelty of the Hulks: not understanding people unlike themselves and thus not properly appreciating their worth, value, and humanity.

Although there is a hierarchy of privilege among the Minnipins, there is also a sense that all Minnipin lives have worth and should be saved at all costs. When the Minnipins meet the Diggers in the desert, the question of whether that care should be extended to all beings is brought to the forefront. The Diggers are lanky and fuzzy, with "wizened little face[s]" and although they are friendly and caring, the Minnipins view them as unintelligent and primitive, as the Diggers imitate everything the Minnipins do, often to dangerous extremes (81-4).

When Silky saves a baby Digger, the Wafer, she and Gam Lutie are at odds about his importance and worth. Their main argument is over the use of a special healing salve on the Wafer's injured leg (98). Gam Lutie puts her people and their future safety first, saying to save the salve because their lives are more important, while Silky thinks they should help all those in need (98). Underlying both arguments is the worth being placed on the Minnipins versus the Diggers. Gam Lutie does eventually see the worth of the Wafer, but only after he proves useful. Through Gam Lutie's focalization, the reader sees her genuine concern for her fellow Minnipins when they fall ill and her attitude towards the Wafer changes when she realizes he has saved them from a flesh-eating plant (132-4). Still, Gam Lutie's change of heart only comes after the Wafer has proven his worth in saving the Minnipins' lives, in which Gam Lutie already saw value. Her attitude foreshadows that of the Hulks, who put their own needs, safety, and wealth above all else, and only take care of others who are useful to them.

To the Minnipins, the Hulks are big, loud, and oblivious to the damage they cause. The first encounter with the Hulks is focalized though Glocken, who describes them as taking "squashing footsteps across the desert, heedless of what was crushed beneath" (158). Glocken

observes that such big creatures cannot care for small creatures and could crush them without any thought or notice (159). The Hulks prove Glocken right; they see the Diggers only as pests that should be killed. When the Minnipins confront them about the Diggers, the head Hulk – who the Minnipins refer to as Red Carrot – "dismiss[es] the whole race of Diggers with a shrug" (164).

The Hulks immediately see the Minnipins as amusing and put value in their novelty. The Minnipins are in danger from the curious and rough Hulks who stick "their broad faces directly into the Minnipins' faces and laughed braying laughs that deafened them" and snatch at the Minnipins to take their clothes and belongings as souvenirs, seemingly unaware that the Minnipins are "in danger of being torn limb from limb" (171). The Red Carrot believes he is being friendly, but it is only at his convenience and from his limited experience. Glocken makes an astute observance when he thinks, "Folk so large and coarse couldn't help but smash little things, no matter how friendly they thought themselves. They were big, and they lived big" (165). Not only does the Hulks' size mean they do not understand the damage they can unknowingly cause the Minnipins, but by living big, they are also focused on their big world and big needs. The Minnipins are secondary, and the Hulks believe they know the best solution for their problem, which is to move the Minnipins from their flooded lands and give them monetary compensation (220). When the Minnipins discover a house-cage where they are set to be imprisoned and taken to the Hulk homeland, it becomes clear that the Hulk's value their own wealth and self above all else.

In the end, *The Whisper of Glocken* shows that the Hulks, Minnipins, and Diggers do not understand each other enough to know what is best for the other. The Hulks value themselves over all others, but the Minnipins have the same tendencies, destroying the Hulks' dam to save their lands. The Minnipins are on both sides of these misunderstandings, having failed to initially see the value in the Diggers and their skills, while also having been undervalued and underestimated by the Hulks. At the end of the story, the Minnipins decide that the Red Carrot did want to help them, but he did not know how and instead caused harm (299). As Glocken notes, "it is hard to help somebody else without doing it your own way" and points out if they wanted to help the Diggers, they would try to make them clothes, houses, and other things that are not what the Diggers want or need (299). Unless you have taken the time to learn about and understand another group of people and listen to their wants and needs, you will never be able to help them because you can only use your own experience and expectations. Thus, just as the Minnipins had to escape the Hulks to return home and be happy, it becomes "impossible" to convince the Diggers to come through the mountain with them, and they must be left to live in their desert (300). At this point in their understanding of each other, the Hulks, Minnipins, and Diggers cannot live together happily.

The result is a miniature people narrative that makes the hierarchy of scale clear, but also makes it natural and unchangeable. The multiple miniature people focalizers allows for differing understandings and challenges to the norms of the miniature world, and shows the individuality of each miniature character and their experience. These questions are reflected in the Minnipins' perception of the big people and big world, so the challenging of those norms also rings true. The narrative makes it clear that both the big and miniature people have the potential to be unknowingly cruel to those they see as lesser than themselves and needing their help. However, although these focalizations make the Minnipins miniature others who have a voice and speak to the hierarchy of scale, they just acknowledge its existence and danger without giving solutions or challenging its existence. Instead, it is seen as natural reaction and the reason to keep the big and miniature worlds separated.

Miniature Focalization to Multiple Focalizations

Terry Pratchett's trilogy, *The Bromeliad* (1989-90), has a mix of narrative techniques and choices that reflect both texts that come before and after it. It is mainly focalized through the miniature people but complicates the miniature perspective by making the miniature focalizer an outsider who does not understand the norms of the miniature society he joins. The narrative also has a big narrator and a character, the Thing, who offer perspectives and norms outside of those of the miniature people, while also being critical of both big and miniature worlds. Thus, *The Bromeliad* has the focalizing and narrating structures of texts earlier in the twentieth century, in that is has mostly miniature focalization along with a perceptible big narrator, but it also balances these competing voices better to reveal the constructed nature of the hierarchy of scale and other oppressive norms in the big and miniature worlds.

The trilogy follows a miniature people called the nomes. The nomes were shipwrecked on Earth thousands of years ago but have spread across the planet and have long forgotten their space travelling past. The nomes learn about their history from the Thing, which is the computer AI from the nomes' spaceship that is revived partway through the first book. The nomes view humans as slow and stupid, because from their miniature view time passes faster and humans are slow, lumbering, and speak in low unintelligible noises (Pratchett, *Truckers* 48-9). The trilogy is focalized through the nomes, and the main focalizer for the first and third books (*Truckers* and *Wings*) is Masklin.

Masklin, as focalizer, becomes a stand-in for the reader. Unlike most other nomes, Masklin questions the norms of his own clan and other nome communities they find on their adventures. Masklin spends most of *Truckers* as an "Outsider" to the society of Store nomes. When Masklin's clan arrives at the store, he and the reader are suddenly placed in the same position; they are outsiders who must try to interpret this nome community that does not understand the world Masklin or the reader inhabits. The Store nomes believe that nothing exists outside the store and do not accept that Masklin and his clan travelled from outside (*Truckers* 28-9). The Abbot goes as far as to pretend that he cannot see them to question their existence and truth (63). Masklin finds himself in the same position as humans, an anomaly that must be ignored to maintain the Store nomes' belief system.

However, the narrator also separates the reader from Masklin and the other nomes. At the beginning of all three texts in the trilogy, the narrator places themself and the reader in the position of big people when they introduce the nomes. In *Truckers* there is an introductory note called "Concerning Nomes and Time" that explains that nomes live faster than humans and have shorter lives because of their small size. The introductory note ends, "It's all a sort of relativity. The faster you live, the more time stretches out. To a nome, a year lasts as long as ten years does to a human. Remember it. Don't let it concern you. They don't. They don't even know" (Truckers 7). The narrator not only distinguishes themself and the reader as big but positions themself as an authority on nomes. The narrator uses the reader's norms and big perspective to highlight the misinformed nomes' understanding of the big world, beginning every chapter in Truckers with an excerpt from the Store nome's version of the Bible, The Book of Nome, which in Wings is replaced by misinformed definitions from A Scientific Encyclopedia for the Enquiring Young Nome. These entries are humorous to the reader because they are encouraged to see the mistakes and misunderstandings. However, it also opens the reader to what their own world and norms look like from another point of view.

The Thing acts as an accomplice to the narrator, using the reader's norms and understanding of the world to make humorous observations of the nomes. Masklin emphasizes the importance of experience to understanding the world: "The Store nomes *couldn't* understand what the Thing was saying, because they had no experiences to draw on" (*Truckers* 107). However, he is also unknowingly commenting on his own lack of knowledge and experience, as he too misinterprets the Thing's words. A reader who understands the Thing will find humour in the Thing's frustration with the nomes' inability to comprehend it. This reaction is encouraged as the Thing's attempts at communication become more humorous and blatantly sarcastic as the series progresses. When it discovers that the store will be destroyed and the nomes do not understand its first communication, "Vitally important I communicate information of utmost significance to community leaders, concerning imminent destruction of this artifact" (55), its next attempt is "Big-fella Store him go Bang along plenty soon enough chop-chop?" (56). By *Wings*, the Thing is making jokes it must then explain to Masklin and sarcastic comments about the nomes' lack of knowledge.

However, the Thing does not leave its comments for only nomes, which lessens the effect of the reader feeling more knowledgeable than or superior to the nomes. It is happy to point to human faults and absurdities as well. One example is near the end of *Wings*, when they are at NASA and the Thing monitors communications after Masklin is captured and the nomes' spaceship is discovered. It comments that "Humans haven't met anyone from another world but they've still got experts in talking to them" (*Wings* 112). This comment on the humans' own lack of knowledge about the planet continues as the Thing tells Masklin that humans "think they're the most important creatures on the planet," which both it and Masklin find amusing (121). Humans and nomes are both misinformed about the world they live in, their place and importance within it, and their relationship to each other.

Meanwhile, the nomes' belief in their superiority to humans is questioned throughout the trilogy and is guided by Masklin's focalization. He gets frustrated when other nomes claim that humans are stupid and nomes are in control. He sees how the nomes' actions and lifestyles are more in line with the humans having the power and control. When the Store nomes explain how they steal food from the "stupid" humans, Masklin thinks, "if humans are so stupid, how is it that they built this Store and all these lorries? If we're that clever, then *they* should be stealing from *us*, not the other way around" (*Tuckers* 38). He has similar thoughts when his clan discusses the stupidity of humans while watching them roam the store: "But Masklin wanted to say: if they're so stupid, why isn't it *them* hiding from *us*?" (49). Masklin points to the nomes' fear of and dependence on humans. He undermines the beliefs of his fellow nomes. He also points to the hierarchy of scale that the nomes try to ignore but whose norms they live within.

Masklin's curiosity with humans and his belief in their intelligence leads him to eventually sympathize and communicate with them. At the end of the trilogy, when the nomes are preparing to leave Earth on their spaceship, Masklin tells Grimma that they should come back after they find their new home and speak to the humans. He points to humans' need to make up stories about miniature people because "They think it's just themselves in the world . . . They're terribly lonely and don't know it" (156). Masklin concludes that humans need nomes to talk to them, so they no longer feel alone (130-1). Although the nomes must leave because the humans are encroaching on their homes and ability to live safely, Masklin feels sorry for them and their loneliness. The hierarchy of scale is being tested, as instead of miniature people being dependent on big people, Masklin insists that big people need miniature people. Although overall the miniature world gets more criticism and the nomes' lack of knowledge about the big world and its influence on them creates a lot of the humour in the trilogy, there is some counterbalance between Masklin's critical miniature focalization and the narrator and Thing's criticism of big people. The hierarchy of scale does stay intact at the end of the trilogy, as the big world causes dangers that forces the nomes to seek a home off Earth, but it also leaves open the possibility of future co-existence that could result from joint communication and understanding.

Seeing Ourselves through Miniature Eyes: Mixed focalizations in the 1990s-2010s

As the twentieth century moved into the twenty-first century, the trend in miniature people focalization changed from almost fully focalized from the miniature perspective to being focalized through a mix of big and miniature perspectives. Much like with earlier texts, miniature world narratives in the 1990s-2010s may follow this trend of mixed focalization but have differing outcomes in uncovering and unsettling the hierarchy of scale because of other narrative elements at play. Narrators still have a lot of influence on the norms of a text, as do the choice of the placement, length, and voice of both miniature and big people focalizations.

W. J. Corbett's *The Ark of the People* (1998) is about navigating differences to come to understand one another, which makes its mixed focalization key to its message. The novel follows the Willow Clan, who are members of a larger group of miniature people called the People. When humans build a dam that floods their valley, the Willow Clan build an ark from a bough of their tree home to survive the disaster. They soon have a variety of passengers onboard, including friendly animals such as magpies, water-voles, badgers, squirrels, and dormice, survivors of the enemy Nightshade Clan, and even three shrunken human children. The peace of the ark can only be maintained by forgetting deeds of the past and judging those aboard based on their current actions and motives. The Old Elder negotiates these many "truces" (Corbett 152) and those on the ark who work together for a common goal, which leads to a better understanding of others, end the story having survived the journey and labelled as "good."

Generally, the narrator is non-perceptible and allows the focalizing characters to see and perceive. Characters from all groups are focalized, including members of both clans, animals like the magpie and the water-vole, as well as the three human children. These focalizations give insights into different characters' motivations and choices. While the Nightshade Clan leaders are evil and do not change, all other characters are focalized to show the reasons behind their actions and nuance the good characters. For example, the three human children are introduced through their own focalization and the reader learns that they are torn about the dam and the flooding of the valley. Their parents helped to build the dam and they are proud of them, but the children also feel regret when they see the damage the dam has caused (83-4). When the children discover the ark caught near shore, they continue to focalize to show their curiosity, but the focalization switches back to two Willow folk, Fern and Robin, on the ark after one boy throws an investigative stone, to show the damage and danger he has created, and that the arrow the boy receives to the ankle is well-deserved (88). The switching focalization presents the scene from both sides and builds understanding for the actions of all. In doing so, both sets of norms and expectations are balanced against each other.

The narrator is most visible and infiltrating when making judgements of good and bad. One example is at the beginning of the novel, when the Willow and Nightshade Clans are introduced. When describing the Willow Clan, the narrator focuses on their love of nature, their peacefulness, and their kindness (2-4). The introduction of the Nightshade Clan shows the narrator's negative attitude towards both the Nightshade Clan leaders and the humans that influenced them: "Not only the Humans who clashed and smashed on the earth below, but
enemies who lived downstream in another oak, where the waters curled like a snake around the bend. These enemies also belonged to the People, but were of a different clan. A clan who loved nothing better than to raid and steal from their gentler cousins" (11-12). Both the Nightshade Clan and humans are presented as destructive and dominating. The narrator goes on to use words such as "lolling," "idling," "sneering," "boastful," and "savage" to describe this enemy clan (12). With so many negative words, it is made clear to the reader that the leaders of the Nightshade Clan are bad. The narrator and the People also consistently call humans their ultimate enemy and consider them even worse than the Nightshade Clan. Although the shrunken human children are presented as good characters who think differently than the humans who damaged to the miniature world, the narrator supports the Old Elder's decision "to opt between kindness and caution," allowing the children to sail with them and making them part of the crew but requiring them to have an escort (168). Humans have caused too much harm for any to be fully trusted.

Although the narrator does not suggest a particular association with any group in the text, they are certainly on the side of the People. The narrator agrees with Old Elder's decision to save the Nightshade Clan from the flood, saying, "The saving of all life was important, whether those lives were good or evil" (71). The narrator also emphasizes the bond between all clans of the People, as "whether they lived in trees or caves, all belonged to the race known as the People. There would always be that bond between them, no matter how different their lifestyles or the distance between them" (16). The preferred group to belong to is the People, and especially the good among them. The Willow Clan and their allies are presented as right and good throughout the text. The story centers around these good People and their dreams and happiness come before that of anyone else. This focus is made clear at the end of the text, when the human children are forgotten in the Peoples' excitement of finding their renewed valley, and it is only because of

comments from the dormouse and water-vole that the People remember the children and discover that they cannot stay in this new land (279-80, 286-88). In this text, the miniature people come first, and the humans are on the sidelines and even become an afterthought. The human children can never belong with the miniature people and the goodness of big people is never fully assured.

The voice of the miniature other is the norm in *The Ark of the People*. Their focalization and norms are emphasized through the intervention of the narrator, who infiltrates the narrative to declare who is good and bad. The narrator tips the scale so one perspective overrides all others and is seen as the most truthful because it is designated as good. The People certainly have a voice, even multiple voices, that center their norms and emphasize individuality. However, the narrator's influence also keeps the hierarchy of scale in place. The People's ultimate decision to live separately from the big world, and the shrunken children's inability to join them, supports the idea that big people's lack of care and endangerment of the miniature people is natural and unchangeable. Although the narrative challenges some norms related to the hierarchy of scale by centering the miniature voice and experience, it cannot escape it fully.

Charles de Lint's *Little (Grrl) Lost* (2007) is an example of a text that utilizes mixed focalization between big and miniature characters to uncover and challenge norms on both sides, and in turn unsettles the hierarchy of scale through a move towards mutual understanding and co-existence. The story is told through the focalization of two teen girls, T.J. (a "Big") and Elizabeth (a "Little"), who accidently meet when Elizabeth runs away from her home in the walls of T.J.'s bedroom. As the focalization switches between the two, the narrative shows both teens' misunderstanding of each other and the world, but also does not shy away from highlighting the very real danger all Bigs are to Littles – even nice ones like T.J.

The first part of the novel is focalized through T.J. in the third person. The narrator is non-perceptible, and all thoughts, descriptions, and opinions are presented as T.J.'s. The focalization stays with T.J. until the pairs' adventures diverge when T.J.'s backpack is stolen by bullies with Elizabeth inside. The narration then shifts to first-person focalization through Elizabeth, and the chapters switch back and forth to follow the two teens separately until they finally meet again briefly at the end of the novel. The result is that the reader experiences the pair's initial interactions from the big perspective and relate to T.J.'s reactions and choices, before shifting to the miniature point of view that shows the reasons behind Elizabeth's own reactions and choices. The more easily identifiable big person is focalized in third person to create distance, while the miniature character is focalized in first person to create a sense of authenticity. The narrative is sympathetic to both T.J. and Elizabeth, so neither teen is favoured as both present their norms and experience to the reader.

From T.J.'s focalization, Elizabeth is confident and snarky, with hard edges softened by kindness. T.J. shows understanding and sympathy for Elizabeth, especially once they have become friends. However, T.J. also must unlearn her own assumptions and norms. For example, on the night they first meet, T.J. makes a bed for Elizabeth on her night table and asks if Elizabeth needs a hand up. Elizabeth is insulted by T.J.'s underestimation of her abilities and proceeds to use a hook and rope to climb up herself, explaining that all Littles learn these skills from a young age (de Lint 11). T.J. must also learn that Elizabeth does not like the idea of T.J. fully providing for her, as that would make her a pet through dependence (14). In return, T.J. challenges Elizabeth's assumptions. When Elizabeth says T.J. cannot understand her loneliness, isolation, and feeling misunderstood by her family, T.J. tells her that she is not the only one in the world who feels that way, and the reader knows that T.J. just moved to the city from her

family's farm and left the life she knew behind (29-30). From Elizabeth's perspective, being a Big makes everything easier, but she only knows about the big world from TV and overheard conversations, so she has little experience in the complexities of the big world and its rules and laws (39, 103).

When the narration moves to first-person focalization through Elizabeth, the reader sees what is behind her tough exterior and how the world looks to her. Elizabeth's narration speaks directly to the Big reader, explaining her views of the world and what she must do to survive. She describes how a miniature person sees the world, both visually and perceptually. For example, she explains how terrifying it is to be cornered by a cat: "If you want some perspective, it's like a Big being stalked by a cat the size of a bus" (90). She tells the reader how she must always be looking for cover and know which direction the wind blows her scent (89). She must be constantly vigilant and when she fails, she has no option but to stay still and face down a bussized cat.

Elizabeth also explains her complicated perception of Bigs. She does not agree with her parents' lifestyle of hiding in houses and rebels against their extreme care, but she also understands the need to stay hidden and unnoticed. She does not present a flattering picture of Bigs when she explains the precariousness of her situation, lost in the Big suburbs:

Being a Little in the world of the Bigs, everything's pretty much always out of my control whenever I'm anywhere around a Big. Which wouldn't be so bad, I suppose, expect that Bigs are always trouble. You don't need to spend much time observing them to realize that the one thing they love to do the most is be mean . . . they especially seem to gravitate to putting the screws to anyone smaller and weaker than themselves. (83)

Elizabeth's experience with one friendly Big does not change her mind about them. However, T.J. has opened her perception of the Big world beyond a place only filled with bullies and those who use their power and size to get ahead (83). Elizabeth says that Bigs do most things they do "Because they can" (99) and does not allow even T.J. a complete pass, as she explains that "All [T.J.] has to do is get mad at me once and she could just stick me in a jar. Or squash me without even having to think about it" (100). The story about Elizabeth's uncle being killed inadvertently when he is accidently knocked off a table while playing with a Big boy, only emphasizes this fact (109). Big people can easily break the balance between help and harm. Yet, Elizabeth follows her statement about T.J. harming her without thinking with, "I'm not saying she would – because I sure don't think she ever would – but the point is that she *could*" (100), which points to the possibility of harm but also that it can be avoided or unlearned. Overall, Elizabeth's voice is her own and she does not worry about consoling the feelings of big people. Elizabeth is not always right, but neither is T.J. The narrator and narrative do not undermine the miniature other's voice.

Elizabeth is not immune to her own misplaced and harmful prejudices. Her time in the fairy world and Goblin Market reveals her own biases that the narrative counters. The Goblin Market is filled with fairies of all shapes and sizes, and not only humanoid ones but those that look like plants, animals, and other things entirely. Elizabeth calls it all "beyond weird" (129). When she meets the gnome Hedley, who will become her friend and guide, she describes him as having "just the right number of everything: one mouth, two eyes, no vines growing out of his shoulders, no horns on his brow" (134). Elizabeth is making judgements about "rightness" – which underneath refers to "goodness" – based on her own expectations and norms. Elizabeth's norms are also shown in her assumption that Hedley's job as ratcatcher involves killing rats,

which is what she has seen as the Bigs' solution (145). Hedley explains that he speaks to rats and other 'pests' to find solutions to their infestations and the problems they cause for people. He says, "You just need to find a commonality with them. Most anything will leave you alone if you can manage that" (145). Hedley's message is for Bigs and Littles alike.

The lack of narrator interference in *Little (Grrl) Lost* allows the focalizing characters to speak and perceive for themselves and counteract each other's norms both in and out of focalization. Both T.J. and Elizabeth develop as characters to unlearn their expectations so they can encounter each other's norms and world with more understanding, and in the process reconsider their own norms. T.J., in particular, models an unlearning of the hierarchy of scale as she learns to let Elizabeth be independent and only give help when asked. In turn, Elizabeth is critical of norms of both the big and miniature worlds, as well as having her own misconceptions and prejudices. Again, she is shown to learn and evolve to adjust her view of both the big and miniature worlds to fit the more complicated nature she discovers. These mixed focalizations and unlearning of norms both uncover the hierarchy of scale that positions miniature people as dependent and inferior to big people and unsettle it through complicating big and miniature relationships beyond that set hierarchy. Although the narrative acknowledges the danger of big people to miniature people and does not hide away from it, the text also does not make it an absolute or truth. The relationship between the big and miniature world is shown to be complex and malleable. The narrative leaves the potential – and even the reality – of coexistence through unlearning norms and expectations on the parts of both big and miniature people.

Conclusion

As my timeline progresses, there is a general shift from focalizing through big people and commenting only on the big world, to focalization through miniature people who speak for themselves, and finally to mixed focalizations of both big and miniature people. Narrators can still infiltrate these later narratives and lessen the power of the miniature voice, leaving them to teeter between miniature subaltern and miniature other. Those texts that do succeed in creating a miniature other that speaks for themselves still face challenges from other narrative elements that can modify the miniature voice and narrative to support the hierarchy of scale. Although miniature voices are key to uncovering the hierarchy of scale, they are not usually enough for the narrative to unsettle its 'natural' position, and thus other voices and perspectives, such as big focalizers, narrators, or multiple and diverse focalizations, are needed to give alternate perspectives and break down the singular story of the hierarchy of scale. Those narratives that point to the possibility of co-existence between the big and miniature worlds and refuse the narrative of separation unsettle the hierarchy of scale and its norms. My next chapter will move to discuss how miniature worlds can be allowed to exist and co-exist within and alongside big worlds, and how the hierarchy of scale continues to drive many narratives to conclude these outcomes are impossible.

Chapter 2: Possible Miniature Worlds and Narrative Residues

My first chapter discussed the effects of focalization and narration on the uncovering and unsettling – or alternatively the concealing – of a hierarchy of scale that influences miniature people narratives. Now that I have begun to explore the complex and interweaving narrative pieces at work in miniature narratives that either give miniature people a perceiving voice as the miniature other, or silences them as the miniature subaltern, my next chapters will analyse other pieces that are a part of the unsettling or upholding of the hierarchy of scale.

In this second chapter, I turn to the encounters and relations between the big and miniature worlds. I build on my last chapter's discussion of the continuing and altering influence of the hierarchy of scale on miniature narratives throughout my timeline with the concept of narrative residues that linger and transform as miniature narratives evolve over time in the shadows of and speaking back to those that came before. The hierarchy of scale has many residues that influence miniature narratives, even those that work against the overt residue of big people's superiority over miniature people. In this chapter, that focuses on how miniature worlds are formed and defined and how they relate to the big world, the residues I follow are those that place the miniature world as dependent on the big world, make the miniature's existence within the big world impossible, and determine that the miniature world is only safe when it is separated from the big world.

As in my last chapter, I analyse the unique complexity of each miniature narrative to find the interrelated narrative aspects at work and how the hierarchy of scale can undermine what overtly appears to be a narrative giving miniature people voices and agency. I will also consider how these complexities can succeed in unsettling the hierarchy of scale and its norms, particularly through texts that portray the big and miniature worlds as influencing each other and having the means to co-exist. Thus, the question, 'what allows the miniature world to exist?' is placed alongside, 'what allows the miniature voice to be heard?'

Possible Miniature Worlds

Since I use the term miniature world to refer to a specific miniature position, a different term is required for a fictional world in which miniature people exist. In the introduction to *Possible Worlds Theory and Contemporary Narratology*, Alice Bell and Marie-Laure Ryan outline the ways in which possible worlds theory has been applied to narratology and literary analysis. In possible world theory there is "one actual world (AW)" and "many (perhaps an infinity) nonactual or alternate possible worlds (APWs or PWs) where things are different" (3). For the PW to be possible (and not an impossible world), it must exist within the basic logic of the AW, with some logical alternations to rules, events, outcomes, etc. causing it to be different from the AW (3-4).

There are several theories and approaches to allocate AW and PW distinctions between the 'real' world and potentially multiple fictional worlds. In my analysis of miniature fictional worlds, I use the basics of possible worlds theory in a way closest to what Bell and Ryan call the "genre theory" approach. In this approach, the AW is the world that the reader inhabits and PWs are fictional worlds. However, these PWs are big worlds and do not automatically allow the miniature world to exist within it, so I will need a further term, possible miniature world (PMW), to distinguish the fictional world of miniature people. For my analysis, the PW is one in which big people exist and is often closely tied to the AW. Although some PWs in miniature narratives can bend their rules to allow for the PMW, most only allow slight alterations that exclude magic, fairies, and other fantasy elements beyond the existence of a previously unknown miniature society. The PW and PMW can be (or become) one and the same, but the narrative may also end with the PW and PMW being or remaining separated.

In relation to the genre theory approach, Bell and Ryan outline "a guideline for imagining and interpreting fictional worlds" called "the principle of minimal departure.' According to this principle, we construe fictional worlds as conforming as far as possible to our representation of AW" (16-17). What this guideline means is that unless it is explicitly stated in a text, the reader assumes that the rules of the fictional PW follows those of their AW. Thus, unless the PW contradicts it, the reader's assumption will be that the norms of their world apply. The author will also make this assumption about the fictional worlds they create, expressing only the difference between the AW and PW. This principle of minimal departure can be applied to PWs and their relation to PMWs to point to assumed norms in the PW.

Describing the Miniature World: Big and miniature perspectives

World-making forms the norms of a text because the narrator's descriptions create assumptions about what 'goes without saying' in the PW and PMW. PMWs often start as being mostly separate from the PW, but after the big and miniature encounter each other, either the PW of the text changes to accept the rules of the PMW and allow miniature people to exist, or the PW rules stay firm and the PMW's existence is refused. I will be focusing on three ways that the PW can reject the existence of the PMW: 1) the PMW is stagnant without the PW and only advances when in contact with big people, 2) the existence of the PMW is questioned or impossible in the PW, and 3) the PW is too dangerous for miniature people. I will use Mary Norton's *Borrowers* series (1952-82) as an example of these three ways the PW rejects the PMW, but also as an example of how miniature narratives can work against and complicate them. Description and comparison are foundational for creating a PMW, whether it is stagnant or progresses independently of the PW. In her book, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, Susan Stewart discusses how "the depiction of the miniature works by establishing a referential field, a field where signs are displayed in relation to one another and in relation to concrete objects in the sensual world" (45). Describing the miniature involves "a method of using either implicit or explicit simile," in which the "fictive sign" (the miniature object or character) is connected or compared to "a sign from the physical world" (its big world equivalent) and this method makes the fictive sign "both remarkable and realistic" (46). This means of describing the miniature, for example describing a miniature person using an acorn cup as a cradle, simultaneously compares the miniature object to the mundane 'real' world and "transforms the context" of the fictive sign to make it remarkable, by changing the use of the miniature object and making it into something new (46).

Stewart argues that to stop the narrative from "becom[ing] grotesque," the description of the miniature must "continually assert a principle of balance and equivalence" (46). She gives an example of Gulliver describing the land of Lilliput where all plants, animals, and structures are properly scaled to the miniature Lilliputians and using comparisons to the big world – for example a lark being the size of a fly – to emphasize the equivalence (47). By describing Lilliput by corresponding the miniature to familiar (big) things, a "proper principle of proportions" is established so the reader can imagine the rest. To connect back to the PW/PMW structure, by setting this principle, the reader is given the changed rule(s) of the PMW that they assume holds for all miniatures in the text, following the logic of the PW and making its scale the norm.

The Borrowers is a good example of how different focalizations and viewpoints of the PMW can determine whether big or miniature norms are favoured. If the PW is favoured, then its

norms hold and the PMW stagnates in description, and if the PMW is favoured, then the scale of the miniature people becomes the norm and the narrative slows to describe the miniature people's experience in the PW. Although her account is not as excessive as that of *Gulliver's Travels*, Norton does take the time to describe the Borrowers' world. The narrator explains the big items that each piece of the miniature home is made of, for example, handwritten letters are turned sideways for wallpaper, postage stamps as wall decorations, a trinket box used as a settle, and a match box as a chest of drawers (*Borrowers* 15). A principle of proportions is set from the beginning of the series and such descriptions continue throughout between the action. However, because Arrietty is the focalizer for much of the series, the scale is often set from her point of view. Although the example of the home shows scale from a big perspective, as everyday big items are used in the PMW, scale can also be shown in the opposite direction, with the big world being presented from the perspective of the miniature people.

When the PW gets the same treatment from the miniature's view as the PMW does from the big view, the norms of each world are presented through the viewpoint of a different world, and thus these norms can be equalized. For example, when Arreitty goes borrowing with her father for the first time, her focalization presents her inexperienced view of the big world. Having lived her whole life under the floor, Arrietty's description of her first view of sunlight streaming through the open front door of the big house has an air of magic: "She saw the gleaming golden stone floor of the hall stretching way into distance; she saw the edges of rugs, like richly colored islands in a molten sea" (Norton, *The Borrowers* 61). The hall is beautiful and vast; the floor is a sea, and the rugs are islands. Narrative time slows as Arrietty describes the big world, just as it slowed for the narrator's description of her miniature home. The miniature focalization can unsettle the PW norms set by earlier descriptions.

Arrietty's first thought focuses on the bigness of the outside world, but her second shifts to her own smallness as she watches her father run across the hall: "suddenly she saw him as 'small.' 'But,' she told herself, 'he isn't small. He's half a head taller than Mother . . .'" (61). The big world makes Arrietty adjust her understanding of scale, but she also requires the same from the reader. Pod becomes both big and small in Arrietty's eyes. He is small in the big world, but not in the miniature one. Arrietty refuses to reset the norms of scale to the big world and challenges it with her own concept of scale. She does the same when she meets the boy. He is "a great mountain" who causes earthquakes when he moves and is "a monster . . . dark against the sky" (71-5). Through Arrietty's eyes we see the boy as monstrous and abnormal, emphasizing her miniature norms. She unsettles the proper principle of proportions by challenge the big perspective from which it was set.

Stagnation and Movement in the Possible Miniature World

For Stewart, the proper principle of proportions creates a static nature for miniature narratives, as she argues that the description of the miniature "move[s] away from hierarchy and narrative" because "it is caught in an infinity of descriptive gestures" that does not leave space for much to happen (47). Stewart continues that "the miniature offers a world clearly limited in space but frozen and thereby both particularized and generalized in time" as descriptions focus on a single instance that can also stand for many other instances (48). So, in narratives about miniature people, the description of the PMW's space, objects, and people becomes the focus and narrative time is slowed. For Stewart, the "state of arrested life" in the miniature narrative is a "hesitation to action" (54). One type of character that Stewart sees moving past this "hesitation to action" in children's literature is "the toy come to life" (55). I see the same movement from

inaction to action in miniature people characters. Narrative time may slow to describe and create the miniature world and its inhabitants, but it gains momentum through either the miniature interacting with big characters and the PW, or by miniature people's own active motivations. The first continues the hierarchy of scale, while the second unsettles it.

For much of Mary Norton's *Borrowers* series, human beings are the catalyst for the major events of the Borrowers' lives. When the Clocks are first introduced in *The Borrowers*, Arrietty is bored of her stagnant life under the floor, and nothing has changed in the house in her memory. The change and movement in the Clocks' lives occur because Pod is seen by the boy. The encounter happens just before the events of the novel and is recounted by Pod to his family (Norton, The Borrowers 27-34). While in the end their discovery does not lead to emigration – at least at this point – it does result in Homily's decision to let Arrietty go borrowing and learn about the big outside world (50-2). Arrietty's borrowing adventure leads to her encounter with the boy, which leads to the boy befriending the Clocks and helping them borrow, and finally to their discovery by Mrs. Driver and the Clocks' escape. The PMW is happy to stay settled and stagnant until the next human being encounter. Pod and Homily decide it is safe to stay at Firbank so they can continue their lives and borrowing. Then they settle into their new arrangement with the boy and the constant upgrading of their home, which again becomes a cycle, now of furniture arriving and room rearranging (130-31). Pod and Homily choose the path that will result in the least change and will allow them to quickly fall back into a repetitive existence.

The cycle continues throughout the series, with the Borrowers finding a new home and the actions of human beings forcing them out. There are some hints that the PMW has movement and dangers outside of the PW, such as the Clocks almost freezing to death in their boot home in *Afield* and Homily suggesting they would never have stayed with the Hendrearys permanently in *Afloat*, but both situations are resolved by big people – the first when Mild Eye finds the boot and the second when the Gamekeeper's cottage is shut up (*Afield* 165-9, *Afloat* 56-61). Life for the Borrowers is mundane and cyclical until they are discovered, and the big child and big world (PW) drive them into action. Stewart argues that "the miniature always tends toward tableau rather than toward narrative, toward silence and spatial boundaries rather than toward expository closure" (66). The miniature world focuses on space rather than time, which is emphasized by the observer being trapped outside the miniature world, whose stillness "emphasizes the activity that is outside its borders" (66-7).

There is a tension between the PMW existing on its own and the need for a big person to confirm its existence within the narrative world and frame. Without big people relating the Borrowers' story, it cannot be told. The frame narrative makes the need for big storytellers clear as Kate follows the story from Mrs. May to Tom Goodenough, and then through the diary that Arrietty left behind. Even after the narrative breaks away from the frame narrative and there are no longer human beings explicitly telling the story, there are still human beings within the story who see the Borrowers and confirm their existence. Sightings continue until the end of *Avenged* when the Platters see and chase young Timmus. The confirmation goes further when the narrator explains that Peagreen's little paintings are found "some sixty years later, when repairs were being done to the house . . . they aroused great wonder and were put into a collection" (*Avenged* 226). The Borrowers need to be seen to exist in and be part of the PW. The story of the novels only continues until the Borrowers are last sighted by human beings.¹⁵ The final book, *The*

¹⁵ The short story "Poor Stainless" differs from the books here, as no Borrower is 'seen' by a human being. The story is focused on the relationships and interactions between Borrowers, instead of between Borrowers and human beings.

Borrowers Avenged, ends with Arrietty keeping her promise not to speak to human beings and with no human beings knowing the Borrowers' location. When Arrietty severs her link to big people, the PW also loses its knowledge of the PMW.

I argue that miniature people and PMWs can move past the stillness and inaction that Stewart describes, at times with the intervention of big people, but also on their own. Miniature narratives can build on those that came before to create PWs and PMWs that merge and have miniature characters logically exist both separate from big people and alongside them. If the miniature people and PMW have their own narratives, goals, and drives beyond and outside of the PW, then the PMW can move forward and avoid stagnation without encounters with the PW moving it forward.

In *The Borrowers* series, it is not until the final book that the PMW has forward movement without the influence of the PW. In *Avenged*, the Borrowers still need human beings for shelter and food but have moved towards being less reliant on human beings by making everything for themselves and foraging outside so they do not have to access the larder. The Clocks have also found a small community of Borrowers, including two other households and the travelling Spiller, so Arrietty no longer needs human beings for company. Being connected to the big world is risky and as the Borrowers become more independent and insular, they have less contact with human beings until we no longer know of them or their story. Yet, at the same time, this separate PMW is no longer static without the influence of human beings.

Although the plots of the first four books are driven by encounters between the Borrowers and human beings, or at least the actions of human beings causing upheaval for the Borrowers, in *Avenged*, the plot is driven by the Clocks' encounters with other Borrowers, as they find and build a new home and community. The Borrowers still venture into and interact with the big world, but now only rarely encounter big people. Although other miniature narratives separate the PMW and PW completely, the Borrowers still live in both the PW and PMW, and they can exist in both because their hidden nature allows them to stay within the rules of the PW.

Even the climactic scene in the novel, in which the Platters break into the church in search of Timmus and are discovered and arrested, is more to conclude the big people's story than the Borrowers'. The episode has little effect on the PMW, besides reminding Arrietty that she promised never to speak to big people again and thus cannot tell Miss Menzies that they are safe (Norton, *Avenged* 294-7). The novel has an unsettled ending for the Borrowers, with the last line being Peagreen wondering if Borrowers are ever really safe (297). The result is a Borrowers book that is not driven by big people encountering and influencing the PMW, and the suggestion that the Borrowers' story continues – they just have not told big people about it. The Borrowers are no longer trapped by big eyes and big description. However, the PW and PMW are also not really coexisting. The PMW is left in the space of imagination, and although that may suggest a continuation of the PMW, it is one without the PW and big people.

(Im)possible Miniature Worlds: Residues of the hierarchy of scale

In the book, *Circulating Queerness: Before the Gay and Lesbian Novel*, Natasha Hurley discusses the importance of the circulation of texts in creating literary worlds where specific characters can exist. As queer texts circulate amongst queer communities, and in turn are read and curated, they lead to the creation of new texts that refer to those earlier circulations, "framing and reframing" them and their history (3). Hurley notes that "analyzing circuits is not so much about recovering and re-creating the moments in which one worldview seemed to give way to the other as it is being attentive to the residues of what is, in the process, being left behind," and

those "overwrit[ten] or replace[d]" circuits are "the signs of forgotten or discarded worlds" (3). In other words, as particular texts are shared, curated, and possibly discarded by a community, they become an evolving circuit that allows the worlds, and specific characters that exist and make sense in them, to evolve as well.

As Hurley rightfully notes, "a protagonist requires a fully realized social world in prose – a world in which that protagonist makes sense, a world in which her movement and change unfold across time and in social space" (8). If there is no realized or logical space for the miniature people in the PW, they cannot exist there. However, there can still be residues left from early versions of the circuit in the worlds of later texts, and these residues can portray "literary, cultural, and historical norms" of early versions of the circuit, and the circuit at any point is affected and limited by the norms of its time, even if does not conform to them (10-11). Thus, earlier versions of PMWs and their relations to the PW can affect later versions, as the PMWs are refined but also reflective of their inspirational PMWs.

The residues from earlier PMW and norms in miniature people narratives that I am tracking are those attached to the hierarchy of scale. Miniature people and PMWs have long struggled to exist and find space in a PW. As I discussed in chapter 1, the *Borrowers* series relies on big people to confirm the Borrowers' story while the PW simultaneously undermines its support for the existence of the PMW through questioning evidence and first-hand accounts. These norms around big people's superiority to miniature people have trickled down through miniature narratives.¹⁶ The residue of the PMW's struggle to coexist with the PW includes the

¹⁶ Although continuing tropes and residues is one way to see miniature narratives referencing back to and being influenced by earlier miniature narratives, some also directly reference earlier texts. Examples include: Mary Norton's referencing to Tom Thumb from Arrietty's books in *The Borrowers* (18-19) and the big Miss Menzies as taking "Gulliver-like strides" through the model village in *The Borrowers Aloft* (75); Charles de Lint's T.J. doing an internet search after meeting Elizabeth with results including Norton's books, Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, T.H. White's *Mistress Masham's Repose*, Palmer Cox's *Brownies*, and John Peterson's *The Littles (Little (Grrl)*

stagnation of the PMW without the PW and the impossibility of the PMW's existence in the PW, which I have already covered. A final piece of these residues that I will track in this chapter is the normalizing of big people's destructive behaviour towards miniature people, which in turn makes the PMW impossible in the PW.

The Borrowers series is filled with examples of the dangers big people pose to miniature people. The Clock family are almost murdered, are kidnapped twice, and must leave four homes because of human beings, and that list does not include much of the unintentional harm or distress they endure from the PW. Although Arrietty argues that the human beings she befriends are good, there are still many that the series labels as bad, and all other Borrowers believe human beings are dangerous. Borrowers view human beings like unpredictable wild animals that can attack at any moment. For example, when discussing the big boy Tom, Arrietty's Aunt Lupy comments that "He's nearly fully grown! And that, they say, is when they start to be dangerous" (Afield 206). Later in the series, Arrietty claims to have "tamed Miss Menzies," which Pod rebukes, saying that human beings can never be tamed and one day will "break out" and harm them (Aloft 184). Pod continues that "[human beings] don't mean it . . . They just does it. It isn't their fault. In that, they're pretty much like the rest of us: none of us means harm; we just does it" (184). Pod is quite insightful here about intentions and outcomes. Still, his stern advice to Arrietty throughout the series is that no matter how nice human beings seem or what they promise, nothing good comes to Borrowers who befriend them (The Borrowers 19; Aloft 190). Although at first glance these conversations may appear to bring Borrower norms and perspective to the forefront, they actually support the hierarchy of scale.

Lost 17); and the many sequels, follow-ups, and reimagining of Swift's Lilliputians, including White's Mistress Masham's Repose, Henry Winterfeld's Castaways in Lilliput, and Sam Gayton's Lilliput.

Early Miniature People Narratives: PW and PMW relations at their extremes

The majority of the texts in my timeline published after the turn of the twentieth century must balance a PMW that is both separate from and closely connected to the PW. In these texts, the miniature people live hidden from but among the big people, and once the big encounters the miniature, the two worlds must reconcile their differing rules for the PW and PMW to co-exist, or separate completely when the PW cannot accept the existence or humanity of the miniature people. The early texts in my timeline have their relations between the PMW and PW at its extremes. To one extreme is a PMW that is completely separate from the PW, like Lilliput on a far-off, inaccessible island. The other extreme is a miniature person without their own PMW who must exist in the PW, as seen in single miniature characters like Tom Thumb.

Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) spends long stretches of text on description to set the scale and proper principle of proportion for the PMW. What results is the stagnation of narrative that Stewart describes that is only broken by the influence of a big character entering and interfering with the PMW. *Gulliver's Travels* presents Lilliput as a perfectly miniature PMW, complete with plants, animals, and infrastructure in perfect scale to its miniature people inhabitants (Swift 51). It is its own place distinct from the big world and with no connection to it before Gulliver's arrival.

Gulliver's narrative is filled with descriptions of the PMW. Stewart uses Gulliver's description of the Lilliputians and their lands at the beginning of chapter six as an example of how "[t]he arrested life of the miniature object places it within a still context of infinite detail" (46-7), which both sets up "proper principles of proportion" for the reader's imagination but also slows the narrative as the narrator takes the time to describe the PMW into existence through scaled comparisons and details. Gulliver takes time to explain how everything in Lilliput, from

animals to tools, is perfectly proportioned to the miniature people (Swift 51). Stewart's observation that "Indeed, [Gulliver] has left little to imagine!" (47) is not an exaggeration. Gulliver's tale of his time in Lilliput is so filled with descriptions that there is little time left for plot. For example, chapter six is filled with descriptions of Lilliputian institutions, politics, laws, and customs, while the following chapter is mostly the article of impeachment brought against Gulliver. The text is heavy on information and light on action.

The result is the tableau effect that Stewart describes, in which the PMW is left static in representation. The descriptions show a snapshot of the PMW, but not an active one. Although the narrative explains their history, social structures, and scale, it rarely shows Lilliputians in action and living. The main thrust of the plot is around the Lilliputians' attempts to control Gulliver, but even these actions and discussions happen off-screen. Gulliver must act for the PMW to advance. It is Gulliver's appearance that shifts the balance of power between Lilliput and Blefuscu and causes the first true advances in a conflict that has lasted generations. Gulliver's descriptions create a static world, and his own actions are what bring it to life. Thus, the big character and the representation of the big world are necessary for the existence of this PMW. The big person is put first and made a catalyst to movement that the PMW did not have on its own. Again, the hierarchy of scale whose norms put big people above miniature people, are being set.

The PMW of Lilliput is not compatible with big people. Gulliver decides to leave both Lilliput and Blefuscu because he finds himself on the wrong end of political controversy and wishes to escape being used or executed as the two miniature nations squabble (Swift 69). The separation of the PMW and PW is so great in this text that there is no way for Gulliver and the Lilliputians to find common ground, and thus Gulliver must leave. In this and future texts that involve big people visiting Lilliput (a PMW) or Lilliputians, the big people find themselves in danger from desperate Lilliputians attempting to stop them from causing harm. Thus, the big people do not belong and cannot stay in the PMW.

Later texts will have big child characters deciding to keep the PMW a secret from the PW because they fear other big people finding Lilliput and causing harm knowingly to far greater extent than they did accidentally. Although Gulliver does not purposefully keep Lilliput a secret, his forced departure from Lilliput to regain his freedom and safety begins the residue still found in miniature people narratives today that positions the encounter between big people (as well as the PW) and the PMW as ultimately destructive and concludes that the PMW and PW cannot coexist. Big people visiting Lilliput generally leave at least partially in concern for their own safety, but this concern always leads back to the Lilliputians' concern for their own safety or stability. Big people disrupt the PMW in destructive ways and are forced to return to their PW. The norm set by the hierarchy of scale, that big people will always be a danger to miniature people and thus they cannot coexist, is forming.

In narratives with a lone miniature character, the PMW and the PW are as close as they can be because the single miniature becomes an exception to the rule of the PW, which makes it impossible for a PMW to exist. This closeness can be dangerous for the single miniature character, as the logic and rules that allow them to exist can easily slip away and lead to their demise. Thus, these miniature characters are outsiders in the PW, because they are always fighting to exist or their miniature nature is ignored. The struggle of the single miniature to exist in their PW is clear in Tom Thumb tales. These tales have their miniature characters existing because of special magic and fairy wishes, but Tom never truly belongs in the PW, made evident by his story usually ending in death or a trip to fairy land. A miniature person being born into a

big family is not a rule in these PWs but an exception to the rule that miniature people cannot exist. Tom Thumb is not the norm.

The History of Tom Thumb, printed in the early 1800s by Derby¹⁷, does not give Tom an easy life in the PW. He falls ill after returning home from the King Arthur's court carrying treasure for his parents, so the fairy queen comes to the rescue and takes the ailing Tom to fairyland to heal (20). When Tom returns to court afterwards, he saves his mouse mount from a cat and the fairy queen again takes an injured Tom to fairyland to heal (26-7). When Tom returns a second time, years later, he finds everyone he knew is dead and joins the court of Arthur's successor. Tom's new position does not last long as he must escape from a death sentence brought on by the queen's jealously, only to fall into the web of a spider and die after battling it (27-30). Although Tom does his best to fit into the PW and Arthur's court, it is not a place he can stay and survive. For his story to continue, he must be taken to fairyland to recuperate away from the PW. Although he returns twice, the cycle just continues, and Tom's only ending is death.

Grace C. Floyd's *Tom Thumb* (1800) further suggests Tom's inability to live in the PW. In this version, when Tom is poisoned by the spider, the fairy queen comes to save him a second time and carries him off to fairyland, "where there were no angry Queens, nor heavy money and no cruel spiders. And the fairies loved him and took care of him, so Sir Tom made up his mind to stay with them, and no mortal ever saw him again. And thus ended the strange adventures of Tom Thumb" (Floyd 6). The PW is full of vengeful people, great toil, and dangerous beasts. The only safe place for Tom is in an entirely separate world, a PMW, where he is truly loved and

¹⁷ This and the following Tom Thumb tale by Grace C. Floyd are housed in the University of Alberta's Bruce Peel Special Collections. They follow a common structure for these tales, beginning with Tom having little misadventures before ending up in the king's court, where he becomes an entertainer and pleases the king so much that he is knighted. Tom usually perishes fighting a cat or spider, sometimes after having fallen out of favour with the king because of the jealous queen and having escaped imprisonment.

cared for by the fairies. Yet, in the other version of Tom Thumb, fairyland is not a place Tom can stay. Fairyland is a retreat, but Tom wants to return to the PW. The fairies have their own world of safety where they belong, but Tom must live in the PW in the end, because his big family connects him to it. It is staying in the PW that causes Tom's death, suggesting that it is not a world meant for him. Again, a norm is being created that the PW can only cause harm to miniature people, so they cannot exist there and must find their own separate PMW.

Mid-Twentieth Century Texts: Differing degrees of separation between the PW to PMW

By the mid-twentieth century, when miniature people narratives began to gain popularity in children's literature, texts were beginning to explore more complicated dynamics between the PW and PMW. Although co-existence was still generally not available, big people – and especially big children – were beginning to fully acknowledge their danger to the PMW and worry about the consequences of their discovery or integration into the PW. This is also the point when PMWs were not only separated from the PWs completely or nonexistent but were placed near or within the PWs. Now the PMW has at least some influence on the PW, even if they are unknown and hidden, and the PW in turn influences the PMW. Coexistence is now much more within reach. As a result, the norms of the hierarchy of scale shifted to insist on the PMW's dependence on the PW to exist, since many miniature people now live off the big people, and that when they are discovered, they need "protection" from a benevolent big person.

Henry Winterfeld's *Castaways in Lilliput* (1958) follows closely to the PW and PMW relations of *Gulliver's Travels*, but with a more aware big child at the center of the encounter. The text continues the story of the Lilliputians and focalizes through its big child characters. The result is a return to the longer descriptions of the PMW, creating scale based on the norms of the PW. The narrative is about three Australian children, Ralph, Peggy, and her younger brother,

Jim, who find themselves adrift at sea on a rubber raft that lands on the hidden island of Lilliput. Descriptions of Lilliput are from the big children's perspective and generally their scale is normalized. When they first arrive, before they know they are in Lilliput, and find small footprints, a small rubber raft, and a small road, Ralph comments, "It looks likes a highway in miniature. But everything seems to be crazy in this crazy country" (26). Even the child most sympathetic to the plight of the miniature calls their scale "crazy" because it does not match his norm. It is different and thus it is not right.

Scale continues to be perceived and normalized from the position of the PW in later descriptions of Lilliput. A miniature village is described through comparisons to the PW: "The church spire was no higher than a dunce cap, the house no larger than dollhouses, and the railroad tracks no wider than an ironing board" (30). Later, when they finally see Lilliputians for the first time and realize they are in a PMW, the narrator explains, "It was a world of miniature. Nothing was bigger than a toy" (57). The Lilliputians and their world are no more than playthings in this narrative, and there are many times the big children treat them as such – especially Jim, who plays with people and things without any concern to their safety.

The norms of the hierarchy of scale are not left unchallenged in the text. The Lilliputian farmer, Mr. Krumps, presents the children with his own perception and sense of scale. When Peggy introduces them and references Jim as "the smaller one," Mr. Krumps says, "You call him small? . . . He's as tall as a flagpole" (72). The four soon begin discussing scale and if the children are big or the Lilliputians small. In the end, Mr. Krumps suggests, "Well, I always say everything is relative . . . When most people are tall, the short ones are called dwarfs, and when most people are short, the tall ones are called giants" (76). Although the children seem happy with this explanation, it does not shift their thinking. They continue to see themselves as the

norm and Lilliputians as small and toy-like to them, and as their adventure continues, they cause more and more damage in their thoughtlessness to the Lilliputians' size and humanity.

Castaways in Lilliput draws the conclusion complacent to the hierarchy of scale, that big people only cause havoc to miniature worlds and do not belong in them. The PMW and PW do not overlap. Lilliput is hidden by a mirage (Winterfeld 207) and even after the Lilliputians discover that the giants are children who mean no harm, it is never an option for them to stay, not only because of the amount of food they eat, but because of the damage they cause, even when they try to be careful (158, 175, 186). The Lilliputians immediately begin preparing for the big children's safe return home in a big yacht that had washed onto their shores (176). The PW and PWM stay separate once the children are found and rescued by a big ship, as Ralph makes the decision to lie about their adventure and keep Lilliput a secret. When Peggy asks why, he says, "If they find Lilliput, they'll ruin it" (220). He deems the PW, and especially big adults, bad for the PMW.

John Peterson's *Littles* series (beginning in 1967) has a PMW completely unknown to the PW, but still has the PW influencing, and even endangering, the PMW because of the Littles' reliance on it. The big people never know or even suspect that Tinies exist. Although this situation could allow the miniature people more freedom and to further critique the PW, instead the Littles are some of the most dependent miniature people in my timeline when it comes to needing big people to survive. For example, the Littles do not cook for themselves and simply eat whatever leftovers the big people cook (*The Littles* 20-22). They also cannot officiate their own weddings but must wait for a big wedding to sneakily join (*The Littles Have a Wedding* 34-5).

The PW's influence on the PMW is especially evident in the first book, when renters in the big house where the Littles live change their lifestyle and cause a dangerous invasion of mice (*The Littles* 26). Although the Littles are not narratively slowed by description or the need for big people to progress their narrative, every novel has their plans interrupted by the PW. For example, *The Littles Have a Wedding* includes cousin Dinky saving another Tiny family from a big house fire, Dinky's glider crashing because of a big boy's balloons, and the family rushing to a wedding because they learn about a big wedding late (11-13, 39-40, 42-3). While the Littles generally try to live within their PMW, the PW always interrupts even their best laid plans.

The Littles do have some influence on the PW, although the big people do not realize it. They keep the electrical wires and pipes working in the house, and young Tom even dresses up as a mouse so the Newcombs will realize their rodent problem (*The Littles* 10, 49). The Littles can influence the PW without revealing the PMW. Yet, they are also the most invested in the lives of the big people. The Littles spend time listening and watching the big people to know the goings-on of the big house (24, 31), but they also form one-sided bonds with the big family. Young Tom and Lucy even secretly attend big Henry's birthday party, and Lucy's feelings of friendship to Henry results in Tom having to retrieve a birthday card she has left for him (*The Littles Take a Trip* 5-7).

The very reason that Lucy forms these feelings of friendship is because she has no friends due to Tiny families needing to live in separate big homes to stay hidden and it is seen as too dangerous to travel between them. This PMW cannot remove itself from the PW and wish to be a part of it but must also stay unknown and not reveal any influence they have on the PW, which itself is minimized by the big peoples' assumptions that the influence is not there at all. The Littles are also very rarely critical of the big people and PW, and the dangers of the PW are presented as natural and include animals along with people. The Littles have the opportunity to unsettle the hierarchy of scale but fall into the norms of miniature dependence and the dangers of the PW instead.

Mistress Masham's Repose and the Complexities of PW and PMW Relations

It is difficult for PMWs that are connected to the PW through some form of dependence to not be influenced by it. The only way to avoid that influence is for the two worlds be completely separated. However, this influence is not necessarily bad, and if the PW and PMW can influence each other equally, it can lead to a challenging of the norms of the hierarchy of scale, such as the example from chapter 1 of the boy in *The Borrowers* taking the name 'borrower' for his own. Generally, the miniature people texts in my timeline either have PMWs that are heavily influenced by the PW while the PMW remains unknown to the PW, or the PW and PMW have no influence on each other because they are separate and relatively unknown to each other. However, with miniature focalization and perception, the PMW can have influence if the miniature people can comment on the PW and the norms of the hierarchy of scale. These types of PW and PMW relations generally do not leave the PMW fully unknown and allows a select group of big people to act as ambassadors that begin the work of allowing the PMW and PW to coexist.

T.H. White's *Mistress Masham's Repose* (1946) is one of the more complex miniature narratives in regards to the interweaving elements that both support and unsettle the hierarchy of scale, especially around it allowing the PMW and PW to coexist at the end of the narrative but still leaving questions around the miniature people's autonomy and big people's potential harm. In White's novel, orphaned big girl, Maria, finds the Lilliputians living hidden on an island on her family's crumbling estate. Descriptions of the PMW are abundant, but they do not focus on

comparisons to big objects to set scale. Instead, the size of the Lilliputians and their livestock are quickly noted in inches (46-7), and then the descriptions of their lives and world focus on their ingenuity. For example, the Lilliputian schoolmaster explains to Maria how the Lilliputians have created a hidden home inside the temple on the island of Mistress Masham's Repose, hallowing out the pillars and domed roof and digging below to create a grand room for parliament and special gatherings, and large spaces to keep their animals (55-6). The Lilliputians are presented as fully independent of big people. Although their PMW is within the PW, they find and create their own resources and supplies. They have made themselves a frigate for fishing, and have skilled workers in trapping, foraging, cooking, and carpentry (White 68). These Lilliputians look after themselves and have their own existence separate from Maria. They even tell Maria about their history and lifestyle before meeting her, emphasizing that this PMW does not need a PW to develop and exist.

However, at first, Maria is as ignorant and damaging to the Lilliputians as her counterparts in *Castaways in Lilliput*. Throughout *Mistress Masham's Repose*, Maria takes advantage of her size and tries to control the Lilliputians. As in other texts, this behavior, which endangers the Lilliputians, is rebuked and Maria is punished by the Lilliputians and her faults pointed out by the Professor and the narrator (83-4). However, she quickly regains the Lilliputians' trust, and the novel suggests that she has learned her lesson. Yet, she continues with the same mindset as before. One of her initial faults is insisting that the Lilliputians should try learning to fly toy airplanes. They refuse because of the danger and impracticality, but she persists and convinces one Lilliputian to be her pilot. He is badly injured (85-8). Her refusal to listen to the Lilliputians' needs and experience causes harm and leads to her expulsion from the island for some time. Once she is back in their good graces, Maria continues to make plans for the Lilliputians, thinking she knows what is best for them.

At one point she ponders how she can protect the Lilliputians from other big people. She decides if she had lots of money, she would buy a loch with lots of little islands where the Lilliputians can live. She would pretend the houses she builds there are for dolls, even allowing the public to visit once a week with a donation to the Red Cross (118). Maria contemplates how to make sure the Lilliputians hide when they need to and decides there would have to be drills and punishments set by herself (118). She plans their future lives and punishments without their input or consent. While at this point in the narrative these are just thoughts of fancy, there is a surprising return at the end of the book. When the narrator describes how the narratee can visit Maria at her estate now that she has her riches returned, a familiar description appears: "you will see ... a wonderful Japanese garden, shown to visitors each Friday on payment of I/- for the Red Cross, with stunted tress and little houses and Hornby trains which really run" (253). Maria's plan to hide the Lilliputians has been realized. Although it is not made clear if her rules and punishments are also in place, it suggests the control Maria now has over the Lilliputians. While they are her friends and the ending is presented as a happy one, the text has made it clear that it is difficult for Maria to not exert her power over the Lilliputians.

Although the PW and PMW stay together at the end of *Mistress Masham's Repose*, it still shows that when the PW knows about the PMW, it is dangerous for the Lilliputians. The miniature population on Maria's family estate are descendants of thirteen Lilliputians, who survived a war between Lilliput and Blefuscu that began because of Gulliver's departure and left both countries and most of their population destroyed, only to be kidnapped by Captain Biddel, the captain who rescued Gulliver and learned the location of Lilliput (57-9). After being made

slaves and forced to perform for Biddel's profit, they were able to escape and found the island where they now live (60-4). The dangers of big people continue when Maria's cruel guardians who have been stealing her inheritance, her governess Miss Brown and the vicar Mr. Hater, learn about the Lilliputians and plot to capture and sell them (134). The hierarchy of scale still has influence in this narrative, even if these big characters are antagonists. The danger they pose to the Lilliputians is not unique, since Maria and the Lilliputians worry about the PMW's discovery and exploitation by the larger PW.

At the end of the story, Maria's guardians are in jail and Maria has recovered her inheritance, which will be managed by her new teacher, her friend the Professor. In the unveiling of Miss Brown and Mr. Hater's nefarious plans, which included saving Maria from the dungeon, the Lilliputians revealed themselves to Maria's friends the Professor and Cook. These two, plus the blundering Lord Lieutenant and P.C. Dumbledrum, who come to help Maria at the Cook's request (237), all learn that the Lilliputians exist but keep their secret (249). It is no longer a lone big child who can interact with the PMW, but a group of big people who represent the PW. On the surface, not much has changed for the PMW. They continue to live hidden within the PW, which still holds many dangers, and their existence is unknown to the greater world. However, they have become much more reliant on big people and the PW for both their survival and safety. Yet, this is one of the few texts that suggest that attentive big people can work alongside the miniature people to allow the PW and PMW to coexist.

Mistress Masham's Repose is a complex web of unsettling and adhering to the influence of the hierarchy of scale. Although the story is focalized through the big child, the scale of the PW does not become the norm in descriptions of the PMW and the PMW has movement and autonomy beyond the influence of the PW. However, the PW is also a dangerous place and its overall influence on the PMW is shown to be destructive. Still, there are indications that change is possible for big people and coexistence can happen. *Mistress Masham's Repose* leaves the PMW and PW connected at the end of the story, allowing the Lilliputians to exist without needing to fully isolate themselves from the PW. However, this conclusion is only available because of the power and riches inherited by the big girl, Maria, and although she has made progress in learning to treat the Lilliputians equally, she still has much to learn about cohabitating with the PMW. This text leaves true coexistence and interrelations between the PW and PMW possible, but not fully realized.

Late Twentieth Century Texts: Continuing norms and residues

As we continue through my timeline of miniature people children's literature, the shift towards miniature focalization gives miniature narratives the opportunity to position scale from the miniature perspective as the norm and push against past narratives' centering of big people. This new focus shows the PMW's influence over the PW through the miniature's perception. At the same time, these texts also still reflect residues of the hierarchy of scale that naturalize the PW as harmful to the PMW. Now, these norms are more hidden as they are voiced by miniature people and the choice of separation is made by the PMW.

Terry Pratchett's *The Bromeliad* (1989-90) trilogy uses miniature focalization to highlight differing views of the PW and PMW. Since Masklin and other nomes are the focalizers of the trilogy, descriptions of the PMW and the adjacent PW are presented through miniature eyes. The result is the defamiliarization of the reader, who must piece together how certain elements of the PMW relate to the PW and their own AW. One good example is Masklin's description of the janitor with her vacuum: "it looked as though she was holding back a sort of roaring thing, like a bag on wheels. It kept rushing forward across the carpet, but she kept one hand on its stick and kept pulling it back" (*Truckers* 96). While the store nome, Gurder, soon realizes it is a "carpet-cleaner," the defamiliarization still occurs. Masklin experiences a similar transition when he tries to converse with the store nomes, as he must find words that they understand, such as calling the sky, "the ceiling," and grass, "green carpet" (*Truckers* 28). Masklin shows the reader different views of the PW and PMW.

The nomes are in a similar situation to the Littles. Their PMW stays unknown to the PW but they are also heavily influenced and dependent on the PW, especially in the first book when the nomes live in the store. The store nomes' society is a result of their connection to the PW. They have created a religion and myths based on the founders of the store, "Arnold Bro (est. 1905)," and its human employees, such as the janitor and security guard, who they call "Bargains Galore" and "Prices Slashed" (*Truckers* 96-7). They believe Arnold Bros (est. 1905) made the store for nomes and that nothing exists outside the store (63). These nomes think the signs in the store are messages to them from Arnold Bros (est. 1905) and each family, known as "departments," has taken their name from different departments in the store (78). The store nomes' PMW is even more related to the PW than the Littles' because the very structure of their society and beliefs are fully influenced by the PW. While in the PW the nomes do not exist, their PMW cannot exist without the PW. They are completely reliant on the store to survive and when the store is slated for demolition, it takes a massive effort to convince the store nomes that a world exists outside and that they can escape.

However, with the outsider nome, Masklin, as focalizer, the store nomes' PMW is criticized and questioned. Masklin knows of a larger PMW and PW outside the store, and the store nomes are positioned as an extreme example of the PW's influence on the PMW. This oneway influence is not seen as acceptable by the text. As the trilogy continues, the nomes become more known to the PW and have dynamic influences on it, such as when they cause a political and scientific uproar when they park their newly found spaceship near NASA. Combined with the influence of the miniature people's focalization, the narrative makes it clear that the PMW within the PW will always have influence. Yet, these moves towards equality between the PW and PMW are hampered by the nomes' decision to leave Earth to find a new home because big people encroachment and development is affecting their ability to survive. Masklin does want to return to connect the PW and PMW in the future, but the trilogy ends with the separation of the two worlds and only a chance for coexistence at some undetermined point in the future. The relationship between the PW and PMW in the *Bromeliad* trilogy cannot escape the residues of the hierarchy of scale.

W.J. Corbett's *The Ark of the People* (1998) plays with the option for the PW and PMW to coexist but discards it in the end. The narrative symbolically connects the PW and PMW with a rope that tethers the big children's boat to the People's ark, but these two worlds have not been in contact before and will not be after the story ends. Although the PW has one great influence on the PMW when its dam destroys the People's valley home, afterward the PMW focuses on its own challenges and dangers that have little to do with humans and their PW. Much of the plot focuses on the warring clans of the People and the truces made between the different clans and animals that are on the ark. This PMW does not need an encounter with the PW to keep it moving or to forward the action. It is also a PMW that does not need the PW in any way to exist or survive. The People are a fully formed society who are proud of their heritage and can look after themselves (2, 4-5, 9). They do not need assistance from humans. In fact, when the big children sail their boat out thinking they can help the PMW, they end up being the ones who need saving. The major focalization through different miniature people in the text shows that the

People's concerns are more about each other than humans. The main influence of the PW is the PMW's need to escape them entirely to find the safest home possible.

The PMW of the People and the PW of the humans remain separated, mostly on the insistence of the People, and this choice continues residues of the hierarchy of scale. The only connection is made when the shrunken human children briefly enter the PMW. When the three big children connect their boat with the People's ark with an anchor line to save themselves in the storm, they create a tether between the PW and PMW. The text makes this moment of connection clear: "The act of throwing the anchor to link the two vessels had mysteriously bridged a huge gap between two very different worlds. Worlds that had never met, except through myth and legend. The girl's lucky throw had united the People and the Humans for the first time in their long histories, for good or ill" (Corbett 139). Up to this point, these two worlds have only caught glimpses of each other at the distance, but the big children have now created not only a physical tether, but one of emotional connection and understanding that will grow through their adventure.

Unlike many other big children in my timeline, the three in *The Ark of the People* are quick to understand their potential to harm the PMW. Although both sides begin the encounter with misunderstandings, the children's shrunken state allows them to accept the miniature point of view quickly and they agree with the caution taken towards them and acknowledge the damage their parents have done by building the dam (146-7). The narrative shows that connecting the PW and PMW gives big people the opportunity to reassess their place in the world and how their behaviours affect others. It points to how the PW and PMW can work together towards coexistence.

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However, although a bond between the two worlds is created, the big children do not belong in the PMW and they cannot stay. When the People's new home is found, the big children are kept on the ark by "a strange force" and the children quickly understand. The friend says, "It's as if something is telling us we don't belong in your valley," and the girl adds, "it's plain we don't belong any more. We three can never share your lives, and now we feel lost and alone, and we just want to go home to the flooded valley of our families and friends" (288). The big children belong in their PW and cannot stay in the PMW. Just as the single miniature cannot survive in the PW, so too can the big child not live in the PMW. They are not compatible. As a result, the big children must sever their connection to the PMW and break the rope that anchors them to the ark (289-90).

The big children return to the PW with their memories of the PMW, but like other big child characters before them, they agree amongst themselves to keep the PMW a secret because of big people's destructive power over the PMW (293). They do not believe other big people can connect to the PMW as they did. Thus, *The Ark of the People* shows residues from Lilliputian narratives that eject big people from the PWM, and from miniature world narratives, in which the miniature people choose to separate themselves from the PW. Both these narrative outcomes support the hierarchy of scale by rejecting the possibility for the PW and PMW to coexist based on the dangers of the PW.

Twenty-First Century Texts: Complex interworld relations

It is difficult for a miniature narrative to shake the norms of the hierarchy of scale. Even texts that unsettle these norms must still speak to them because of their prevalence and pervasiveness. The most recently published texts in my timeline are similar to those that came before them; some fall into these norms with ease while others work against them. For this final
section, I will focus on three twenty-first century miniature people children's texts that, to varying extents, build on the complexities and unsettledness in earlier narratives to challenge the assumption that the PW and PMW cannot coexist. However, the hierarchy of scale is a powerful force, and even new and expanded means of unsettling or removing it from a miniature narrative can often fail.

Sam Gayton's *Lilliput* (2013) is a good place to begin because it is successful in expanding on past narrative techniques that center the PMW, but also makes the common conclusion that the PMW and PW cannot coexist. Like the following two miniature narratives I will discuss, *Lilliput* combines and blurs the lines between miniature people positions that are fairly distinct in earlier texts to form new miniature positions and possibilities. The story is a cross between the miniature world and single miniature. The PMW of Lilliput is introduced briefly in the prologue, when Gulliver arrives to kidnap young Lily and take her to London, as proof that his *Travels* is real. The rest of the narrative follows Lily's journey to escape Gulliver's clutches and leave the big world to return to her own. The combination of Lily coming from a tangible PMW and being the main focalizer of the narrative gives her a strong voice that is set up as the truth and the norm to challenge and unsettle the PW in ways other single miniatures cannot.

Lily's memories allow her to hold onto the PMW and use its norms to shape the descriptions her focalization provides. The prologue sets up the PMW, its rules, and its differences from the PW. When Gulliver arrives to steal Lily away, she does not see herself as small but him as big. Gulliver is described as "A giant. A mountain of a man" and he has "an enormous pair of spectacles, the size and shape of a bicycle" (Gayton 5). Lily will insist on her size being the norm later during her argument with Gulliver about her kidnapping. When he calls

her small, she responds, "And don't call me *small*, either. . . *You're* big" (39). Lily's words have echoes of Arrietty from *The Borrowers* and shows how it is not only the hierarchy of scale that leaves residues that affect future miniature narratives. Past texts' methods of unsettling norms and putting miniature people and the PMW first are being reused and repurposed.

Lily's focalization compares the PW to her scale and the PMW. It is the PMW that is generally the norm in this text, which gives the miniature's experience and voice validity. The only time when Lily's focalization favours the norms of the big world in description is when she is still trapped in the birdcage preparing for "Escape Plan Thirty-Three" (12). In her trapped state, Lily's cage is described through the big objects she uses in her miniature way: "Lily gulped half a dewdrop from one of the thimbles and rushed over to the penny, which was her plate. She scoffed down the crumbs of food, wriggled out of her nightie and into her dress. She had made it herself from Gulliver's silk neckerchief, stitching it together with cobwebs" (12). Lily does not have a glass of water, but a dewdrop in a thimble, she does not have a plate but a coin, and her thread is cobwebs. The scale here is presented through the eyes of big people because Lily is trapped in the norms of the hierarchy of scale that Gulliver is attempting to force upon her.

However, once she has freed herself from the cage, Lily's descriptions return to normalize her size and scale. Gulliver once again becomes "A faraway mountain of rumbling snores" and her birdcage prison looks "distant and small . . . from the floorboards, like a bell in a church tower" (23). Similar descriptions are given when Lily later escapes with Finn to the market: "The giants stomped past, and Lily peeked out at them. They carried entire fields of food on trays: walnuts like boulders, whole forests of carrots, leeks and spinach" (117). Lily is not small but the PW giant, with food as big as boulders and as wide as forests. These are comparisons to what is typical in the PMW, and thus the PW is outside the norm. Yet, even with such a clear miniature voice and norms, *Lilliput* ends by supporting the hierarchy of scale as it draws all-to-familiar conclusions about the dangers of big people and the need to keep the PMW separate and hidden. At the story's conclusion, Lily's existence is known only by her three "safekeepers," – two good big people and a parrot – three young girls, the jailed Mr Plinker, and the dead Gulliver. This small group of people, who will all keep Lily's secret or not be believed, ensure that Lilliput remains a fantasy in the PW, just stories in Gulliver's book. Lily's place in the PW ends as the single miniature who is an anomaly and does not belong; Lily says so herself, and as Gulliver's "proof," she is an oddity that must be seen to be believed (30, 39). Lily is in the same position as Tom Thumb. She is an exception to the rule and the PW is only one of danger where she is not supposed to exist. Lily does have a PMW where she can return, but it must be kept secret to ensure its safety.

Mellissa Glenn Haber's *The Heroic Adventures of Hercules Amsterdam* (2003) is a unique text that moves from the single miniature, to the miniature world, and finally to the shrinking child. Following miniature narratives that came before, it uses miniature focalization to make the miniature voice and PMW the norm. Hercules is very vocal about the problems of the PW but also learns that the PMW is not simple or safe either. As a miniature person, Hercules does not belong in either the PW or PMW, and his position in the narrative creates a possibility for both worlds to be presented equally. Although they are for a time, the narrative insists that Hercules does not belong in the PMW and thus must grow to fit into the PW. However, the hierarchy of scale is still partly unsettled, even with this ending, because Hercules opens holes in his own narrative as he is never truly convinced that he does not belong in the PMW.

Hercules begins his story as a single miniature, a miniature boy born to a big family and forced to live in the PW. Hercules is misunderstood and feels that he does not belong in the PW.

The world is not made for him, and he understands that it "ma[kes] things difficult for his family," as shown through the example of a family breakfast, when Hercules must be served using eyedroppers and tweezers, and he is in constant danger of being "knocked over by elbows and cereal boxes and coffee cups" from his little seat on the big table (Haber 3-4). Although it is not said explicitly, his family suggests that there is something wrong with Hercules and set the blame for his difference on his young shoulders, with his father saying his size is due to a lack of exercise, his grandfather saying it is a lack of milk, and his mother thinking "he could be as tall as other children, if only he wanted to" (3). These suggestions all tell Hercules that his family believes his size is his choice and do not understand his needs.

Although Hercules says that his parents love him, their underlying animosity is further shown through their inability to adjust their expectations and provide accommodations. Hercules' parents wish he was like a big child, and Hercules knows that they "would have been a lot happier if he'd been more like other children" (8). The norms of the PW already make Hercules an outsider and his parents' lack of understanding cements it. Hercules understands that his parents "have never really understood what it was like to be only three inches tall" (8) and they do not appear to seek out an understanding, as they continue to insist that Hercules participate in the PW as a regular child despite his many, and genuine, fears for his safety. It takes a lot of effort for Hercules to convince his mother to keep the family cat out of his room because he fears being eaten (4) and she insists he should attend a big school, not seeing the obstacles that are so obvious to Hercules, who does not expect accommodations there either – how would he use a big desk, or a big text book, or a big bathroom (10)? In his small form, Hercules sees the cruelties of the big world that his parents overlook, especially how big children bully those smaller than them, be it other children or animals (9). It is the cruelty he witnesses at

the school his mother takes him to for enrollment, where "his mother [is] oblivious to the nastiness and cruelty all around them" (12), that leads to Hercules' decision to run away to the mouse city.

Hercules lacks true companionship, understanding, and safety in the PW, so he seeks it in what he perceives to be the peaceful and perfect PMW. He settles into a life in the mouse city to escape the terrors of the big world and for a time it works. However, as in many miniature worlds, the PMW is soon revealed to be dangerous and unstable. Hercules never truly belongs in the mouse city. He wants to talk about the PW he has come from and cannot forget the differences between them, which his friend Sangster reminds him he must not do if he wants to assimilate and be a part of the PMW (29). While he does his best to fit in, Hercules' major difference from the mice cannot be changed: they grow up in just a few short months and can live out their entire lives in less than a year of Hercules' time (31). Hercules becomes "exhaust[ed from] hav[ing] to make a whole generation of new friends every few months" and spends more time alone (32). He adventures outside the mouse city and discovers the dangerously cyclical and static nature of the PMW (55-6). Although most mice are kept ignorant to live carefree lives, the truth is that "no mouse is safe within the walls or without" (57) and that every several generations, without fail, the rats attack without warning and the few mice who survive recreate their city anew (57-8).

Without Hercules, the PMW will stay cyclical and static, with the mice's fate sealed and their future always in jeopardy. The mice cannot count past three, so they cannot see the pattern that Hercules discovers that the rats attack every seven years (75). Although it is not Hercules that makes the ultimate choices, decisions, and sacrifices that will save the mouse city from its fate, his discovery of the rats' pattern and encouragement of his friend Quangster to explore and learn, leads Quangster to make those decisions and sacrifices. Hercules begins the change and pushes the PMW out of its cycle. However, it will only be momentarily, because the ultimate solution that Quangster finds is to trade his life for a favor from the fairy, Kitty Joas, to move the mouse city out of time, so it will be invisible to all but the mice and allow them to continue in a safe, cyclical fashion forever (190).

Hercules never belonged in the PMW. He is told this very early on by his friend Sangster, and near the end of the text by his big friend Juna Loch (35, 186). It is the Tugot (or fairy) Kitty Joas who confirms his alienation and forces him to leave. When Hercules first meets Kitty Joas, she says, "For you are not from within the walls. You do not belong here – you will never see what we see" (109). Hercules' fate is sealed when he accepts seven juminy juminy from her (110, 151). The pills allow him to grow big and small, and although he does not know it, he has exchanged his miniature size for this fairy gift.

When Hercules uses the juminy juminy to become big, he sees beyond the bad of the PW and discovers all the joys he is missing (121, 179-80). When Hercules and his new friend Juna Loch shrink to return to the PMW, the lack of the PMW's perfection and safety is emphasized through Juna's perspective (134, 151). Later, when Hercules is told to leave the PMW and return to the PW by Quangster, he has little to argue against the reasoning that the mice are saved, his duty is complete, and he can return to the PW as a big child and belong (193, 197). Hercules reveals that he is scared to be in the PW, but he finds his courage to leave the PMW behind to save Juna from the plague rat (197). The PW and PMW are left forever separated by time and space. Even if he were able to be small again, which he cannot after taking the final juminy juminy, Hercules can never return the mouse city which is now only the realm of mice.

The Heroic Tales of Hercules Amsterdam has residues from both the single miniatures and miniature worlds that came before it. Hercules is a miniature in a PW and does not belong. The norms of the PW do not accommodate him, and it becomes too dangerous and frightening to exist in the world of his family. Yet, Hercules' escape to the PMW is also fraught with danger and alienation. Hercules may be miniature, but he is not a creature from behind the walls. He never fully understands their ways, their differing lifespans cause him great sorrow, and he cannot let go of the norms of the PW that will allow him to feel more accepted. As a single miniature and shrunken child, Hercules does not belong in either the PW or the PMW. He can help progress the PMW, but the PMW must return to its cyclical nature, and in its new space of safety cannot keep him anymore. Thus, Hercules' only option is to become big so that he fits the norms of the PW and can return to it.

Hercules' story does a lot to unsettle the hierarchy of scale. Both the PW and PMW are shown to be equally dangerous and unaccepting of his differences. Also, although the PMW has dangers, they are not from the PW. Hercules may set the change of the PMW into motion, but his narrative holds residues from *The Ark of the People*, whose PMW has its own conflicts and obstacles unrelated to the PW. Both PW and PMW are shown to have good qualities too, so their equality in Hercules' eyes grows as the story progresses. Hercules' miniature size allows him to have these dually complicated relationships with the PW and PMW, and his ability to move between being big and small expands his perceptions of both. His free movement between PW and PMW makes him the point of coexistence that unsettles the hierarchy of scale. However, the two worlds and the narrative are resistant to Hercules' changing positions and work to reinstate the norms that will separate the PW and PMW. Hercules' hand is forced by his limited juminy juminy and his decision is not truly to leave the PMW but to save his friend. The narrative insists that Hercules must change and assimilate into the PW or PMW instead of these worlds adjusting to accommodate him, and the final solution is to make him big so he fits into the PW. The hierarchy of scale retakes its place at the end of the narrative, but Hercules' lasting resistance and uncertainty about where he belongs opens holes into these norms.

A text that does keep PMW and PW connected and influencing each other is Charles de Lint's *Little (Grrl) Lost* (2007). The PW and PMW stay connected at the end of the text, but it is different from White's *Mistress Masham's Repose* because the big people who know about the PMW and keep the connection have no leverage over the miniature people. Once Elizabeth becomes a baker's apprentice in the Goblin Market, she and T.J. continue to communicate through email, text, and phone after she is gifted a PDA (de Lint 270). Elizabeth and T.J. keep the connection between the PMW and the PW, but as long-distance friends, and Elizabeth is no longer living the lifestyle of a house Little, so she is not dependent on the PW to survive. Instead, she is learning a trade to support herself. Since Elizabeth's family moved right after she was discovered, T.J. no longer has the knowledge of where any Littles live, so any further encounters she has with the PMW will be at Elizabeth's choosing. Other than Elizabeth, who runs into T.J. accidently, all other members of the PMW reveal themselves to T.J. by choice. The PMW chooses how and when it influences the PW.

The equity of influence and the challenging of norms and assumptions between the PW and PMW is not only in how they influence each other. There are still residues of the hierarchy of scale, with the majority of big people remaining ignorant of the PMW and most miniature people's adamant argument that big people are dangerous and unpredictable. However, as I discussed last chapter, Elizabeth's focalization gives a miniature perspective that criticizes both PW and PMW. Joined by T.J.'s focalization, the two teens create more equality between the two worlds as both reveal and question norms from the PW and PMW.

The narrative also rejects the norms that the solution to the danger of the PW to the PMW is to completely detach them and keep the PMW a secret. For big girl T.J., other big people's openness to considering her claims of being friends with a miniature girl helps her navigate who to trust as she searches for Elizabeth. Having an open mind and being willing to rethink your understanding of the world is a lesson that all the major characters learn. For example, when T.J. expresses that, even after meeting Elizabeth, it is hard to believe that Littles are real, Elizabeth responds, "Get used to it. The world's a big and strange place, my dad says, and just because you haven't seen a thing doesn't mean it doesn't exist" (de Lint 11-12). Elizabeth will soon have to "get used to it" herself, when she learns about the existence of fairies and goes to the Goblin Market to get help finding city Littles who can turn into birds (121). When Elizabeth meets Mina, a small Big whose home is a midpoint between the Big and fairy worlds, Elizabeth says that fairies are not real, to which Mina responds, "You could say the same about a Little" (121). Adjusting beliefs is essential to the teens' success in accomplishing their goals. T.J.'s new friend Jaime, who joins her to search for Elizabeth, having never seen a miniature person, becomes the symbol of not allowing your own experiences form your whole viewpoint, calling himself "the designated open mind" (204).

The secret of the PMW is open to anyone who is willing to believe T.J.'s story. Although she chooses carefully who to tell – although even that does not always go well – the secret is not hers alone. T.J. is not the only big person who Littles and fairies choose to meet. Various members of the PMW reveal themselves to different big people during the book. One is Sheri Piper, an author who has written children's books about the Littles, who come to her apartment because it is the only place where the bird transformation magic works (de Lint 204). There are also characters like Mina, who live between the PW and PMW. This overlapping, although controlled, suggests that the PW and PMW have the potential to coexist and that big people can interact with the PMW without causing harm if they are willing to adjust their norms and perceptions.

There is also another connecting point between the PW and PMW that is not fully explored at the end of the text: Jan. He is the city Little who helps Elizabeth and who is made big by her magical wishing coin in a bid to save his life (245). He is last seen by T.J. heading to stay with her friend Jaime, whose family will house him for a few days while he learns about being a Big (252-5). Jan is the opposite of the shrinking child; he is the miniature person grown big to join the PW. He is amazed by his new experience and excited at the new freedom he perceives, but will soon learn that the PW has different rules and expectations than his own, as Jaime suggests when he tries to explain to Jan about not stealing, getting a job, and getting an ID (252). While the PW will have a lot of influence on Jan going forward, he also has the potential to bring his own miniature norms to his experiences. A novel that follows a character like Jan, who comes from a miniature world and grows to live in the big world, has a lot of potential to challenge the hierarchy of scale.

Little (Grrl) Lost has elements of the miniature world, single miniature, and the shrinking child, like *Hercules Amsterdam*. The difference is the Elizabeth begins within and belonging to the PMW, and thus her voice has support and grounding as she criticizes both the PW and PMW, while also learning about her own misplaced norms and assumptions. The PW and PMW are connected throughout the narrative and shown to influence each other while also having their own separate drives and obstacles. The result is an equal representation of both the PW and

PMW, which in turn leads to the two worlds not being separated at the end of the narrative. The residues of the hierarchy of scale still weigh heavily on the text, as big people's ability to harm miniature people cannot be ignored and is a part of the conflict of the narrative. However, the text is able to draw on the work of past miniature narratives to unsettle these norms and the residues are visible in the complexity of the PW and PMW relationship in the story.

Conclusion

Travelling through my timeline, we can follow how the narrative residues of the norms of the hierarchy of scale, and of miniature narratives' resistance to them, evolve in the relationship between the texts' PWs and PMWs. However, this is not perpetually forward movement, but cycles, stops and starts, and adjustments. As miniature narratives build on the efforts of past texts to unsettle and challenge these norms, both old and new residues of the hierarchy of scale persist. These residues include making the PMW dependent on the PW (whether for survival, plot, or existence), making miniature people's existence in the PW impossible, and concluding that the PW will always be dangerous to the PMW and the only solution is separation. Each text I discussed in this chapter has its own unique complexities that both uncover and hide the norms of the hierarchy of scale, but these complexities also allow for new ways to unsettle these norms and create a different set of narrative residues. These residues can be found in narrative elements such as miniature focalization normalizing the PMW's scale, miniature voices criticizing both the PW and PMW, the PMW having its own obstacles and conflict unrelated to the PW, and leaving the PW and PMW connected at the end of the narrative. These methods can create an equality between the PW and PMW that undermines the "natural" and "unchanging" positions of the hierarchy of scale, so that PMWs are able to exist beside PWs and not only in absence of them.

Chapter 3: The Child and the Miniature

This chapter continues my discussion of the residues that remain in miniature narratives from both the hierarchy of scale and the narrative elements that unsettle these oppressive norms. My first two chapters focused on the miniature people and miniature world, but another major component of miniature people children's texts is the encounter with and participation of the big child. The child and the miniature are connected in many ways, including their unstable positions between childhood and adulthood and the big and miniature worlds, as well as their oppression by the hierarchy of scale. By bringing the big child into consideration, new and unacknowledged means of continuing and unsettling the hierarchy of scale can be discovered.

My exploration continues into the push and pull between the narrative forces that hide and uphold the hierarchy of scale, and those that seek to uncover and unsettle it. Chapters three and four focus on the place of the child and their relationship to the PMW. Chapter 4 will investigate how the positioning of the big child can remove the voice and agency of the miniature people and implicitly support the hierarchy of scale. Chapter 3, however, while also analyzing the position of the big child, will consider the benefits both big children and miniature people receive in their relationship with each other, and how together they create unstable positions that disrupt the hierarchy of scale that oppresses both in their respective worlds. Their interactions and interrelations complicate their positions in the text and uncover the mixed roles that the child and miniature people hold. This unsettledness works against simple comparisons between the two that make miniature people a metaphor for the child. Instead, the comparison adds complexities to the big child and miniature people's relationship that reject binary categorization and stable positioning. The result is an uncovering of the hierarchy of scale at work to challenge its authority.

The Child and the Fairy

An early concept of the miniature that imposes the hierarchy of scale onto both child and miniature alike is the 'cute' fairy. In *Troublesome Things: A History of Fairies and Fairy Stories,* Diane Purkiss describes the popularity of fairies in Victorian culture and their close connection to the child. Carrying on from the Romantics, the Victorians and even Edwardians connected the fairy to the idyll rural past and the innocent child. Fairies became a way for adults to return to an imagined idyllic childhood. While the Romantic conception of the child as innocent was also challenged by ideas of the sinister or savage child in the Victorian era, the image of the innocent and happy child became more prevalent (Purkiss 228). It was seen as important to hold onto childhood for as long as possible. This notion spoke to adult fears of mortality, for "[t]o grow up fully is to die," and thus childhood became a fantasy for adults where "Victorian children [were] little mummies, bathed in the nitre of their parents' longings for immortality" (240).

Fairies became synonymous of childhood imagination and fancy. As Diane Purkiss notes, "To this day, we tend to see children's imaginations as sacred and liberating, but of course they are invariably well stocked with materials placed there by adults. In the mid to late Victorian era, imagination became a necessary feature of childhood, and the child had to demonstrate it by believing in fairies" (254). It was adults who encouraged children to see and believe in fairies because that meant they were sufficiently childlike. Of course, it was not the complex fairy of folklore that children were supposed to see, but "cute" fairies that were equated to happiness (255). Purkiss sees the cute fairy and perpetually happy child reflected in child characters in literature (256). She echoes Jacqueline Rose's arguments around the adult creating a nostalgic version of the child to control in children's literature by stating that Cute fairies are adults' attempts not to recover but to repair their childhoods, to make them over as simpler and nicer than any real childhood can be. We do not long for what we had, but for what we never had, which is why fairies always seem so hideously disjunct from real childhood, real children. Adults who indulge in cases of the cutes often believe they are entering into a child's world, but the opposite is the case; the Cute World exists just for the adult, and the child must play along. (Purkiss 256)

The need for children to see fairies was driven by an adult desire. Adults encouraged children to be happy and see fairies because it allowed adults to imagine that their own childhoods were similar. Although many children have great imaginations in which they can play and explore, it cannot be denied that the outside world imposes itself on these fantasy worlds in some fashion.

The adult nostalgia of the cute fairy and its beguiling of imagination onto childhood has its residues in miniature people children's literature. In most of these texts, it is only the child who can encounter and believe in the miniature world (PMW). Adults who do encounter the PMW are either childlike, dismiss their experience, or are positioned as the villains of the text. Only the big child (or the childlike) can befriend and understand the miniature people. This connection between the child and miniature people is a norm of the hierarchy of scale, because it sets up both in the same position to big adults, who have power over the big child and miniature people through a nostalgic construct that forces both to meet the adult's desire and expectations. The adult's position of power and control over children and their position at the top of the hierarchy of scale are interconnected, as their size, age, and authority in the PW combine to place the adult as superior to the child and the miniature people. Of course, as in my earlier discussions, just because these norms are present does not necessarily mean that texts accept them and let them go unchallenged. Even when the cute fairy was at its height of popularity in the Victorian era, there were texts and characters unsettling the norms it represented.

Willful Fairies and Shrinking Children: Challenging miniatures

Since the publication of Jacqueline Rose's *The Case of Peter Pan, or, The Impossibility of Children's Fiction*, J.M. Barrie's *Peter Pan* (1904) has become the best-known example of the child kept in childhood by the desire of adults (Rose 3-4). The concept of the cute fairy and the idealized child who believes in them is both encapsulated in and broken up by the character of Tinker Bell. She does not appear to be the typical 'cute' fairy; she is certainly not always kind and helpful. She quickly becomes enraged and is so jealous of Wendy that she plans – and almost succeeds in transpiring – the girl's demise (Barrie 36-7, 77)¹⁸. Tinker Bell often uses "offensive language" and throughout the tale insults (and sometimes assaults) most of the other characters she comes across (39). She does what is best for and will benefit her, often being self-absorbed. Even her bedroom is described as "though beautiful, looked rather conceited, having the appearance of a nose permanently turned up" (94). Tinker Bell appears as a trickster fairy; she may help you or harm you, depending on her mood. Even the hints of her desire for Peter and her dress being "cut low and square, through which her figure could be seen to the best advantage" (28-9) moves her further away from the cute fairy's ties to childhood innocence.

Yet, Tinker Bell exists in the world of Peter Pan where fairies are indeed the "cute" fairies that Purkiss describes, whose job is to connect the child to an idyll, innocent childhood epitomized by imagination. Peter tells us that Tinker Bell is a "common fairy" who "mends the pots and kettles" (Barrie 37). Her commonness may suggest that she is not a true representation of the fairies in Neverland. This suggestion is furthered by Peter's other descriptions of fairies.

¹⁸ I will be referring to Barrie's novel *Peter and Wendy* (1911) in by discussion of Tinker Bell instead of the original play.

The fairy language sounds like "[t]he loveliest tinkle as of golden bells" and although "ordinary children" cannot hear it, it reminds them of something they heard before (29). Only extraordinary children like Wendy, who have big imaginations and fully believe in fairies, can hear their language. Those who are not ideal children recall the sound from when they were infants and as close to innocence as possible. The connection of infants, fairies, and innocence is made clear when Peter tells Wendy that fairies are created from babies' laughs and that they die when children say they do not believe in fairies (35-6). Fairies are born when children are their most happy and innocent, and die when they lose their imagination and wonder.

Between Peter Pan's endless childhood and the classic scene of Tinker Bell being saved by children believing in fairies, the connection between *Peter Pan* and the Victorian adult's wish for immortality through childhood is undeniable. Nicola Bown uses the example of Peter asking the child audience to clap if they believe in fairies to make a similar argument to Purkiss. Bown notes that Peter is asking the children to prove they are children – as children who do not believe in fairies are not "proper children" – and that the children do not clap for themselves but for "the adults who take them to the theatre who want them to clap their hands, in order to evoke for them a nostalgic remembrance of the childhood they have left behind for ever" (173). Barrie's fairies promote a very particular Victorian childhood.

At the same time, there is still Tinker Bell, the common fairy who seems to contradict the fairy world that Peter Pan has created. Tinker Bell resists the nostalgic childhood created for adults, just as she resists Peter's rules around fairies – and her not being able to be "his fairy" (Barrie 37). The very explanation for Tinker Bell's "badness" opens up the possibility for her character to challenge the overarching message many critics see in *Peter Pan*: "Tink was not all bad: or, rather, she was all bad just now, but, on the other hand, sometimes she was all good.

Fairies have to be one thing or the other, because being so small they unfortunately have room for one feeling only at a time. They are, however, allowed to change, only it must be a complete change" (60-1). The idea that smallness can dictate the complexity of thought and feeling is certainly limiting. In this description, Tinker Bell's size simplifies her, and reflects the similar simplification of the child when connected only to imagination and innocence.

However, the description also gives Tinker Bell agency and choice. There is a possibility that she could be all good all the time, but she is not. She allows her impulses to fully drive her and thus becomes unpredictable. The simplicity of her emotional range in one moment makes her more complex overall and less easy to pin down. Peter, as the eternal child, tries to define Tinker Bell, but she does not allow it. She must live in the world Peter has created, but she can bend the rules. Tinker Bell may be one of the first miniature characters whose unstable position within her narrative uncovers and unsettles the hierarchy of scale. The residues of her instability will appear later in my miniature people timeline.

While Tinker Bell pushes back against notions of the innocent child and cute fairy, Lewis Carroll's Alice is faced with both the concept of childhood innocence and questions around her own personhood and existence. Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) has a shrinking child protagonist whose changing size brings her to a new land of bizarre characters that constantly question her perception of reality and the rules of her education. After she first shrinks and then grows big, Alice questions if she is herself anymore. She contemplates if she has switched places with someone in the night and thinks of other children that she may have become (Carroll 60-1). Alice's uncertainty of self continues when the Caterpillar asks her "Who are you?" and she can only respond "I know who I *was* when I got up this morning, but I think I have been changed several times since then" (83-4; original italics). Alice connects her changing

size to a change in self. For her, changing size means she has become someone else and she must return to her "right size" to be herself again (91). Her concept of size and change speaks to the position of the shrinking child character later in my timeline, whose changing size allows them to also change their perspective. These changing viewpoints and positions can allow future shrinking children to uncover and unsettle the norms of the hierarchy of scale.

Alice's 'growing' also expresses a common Victorian anxiety, connected to the cute fairy and childhood innocence, that Diane Purkiss describes as a concern over whether "it would be possible to grow up while retaining some elements of childhood" (239-40). Purkiss even gives Alice as an example of the Victorian ideal, as she "is congratulated on her power to retain the heart of childhood when an adult" (240) at the end of the book, when her sister pictures a future Alice, who "would keep, through all her riper years, the simple and loving heart of her childhood" (Carroll 156).

This concept is actually introduced far earlier in Alice's story. When she first grows big and finds herself stuck in the White Rabbit's house, Alice plays with the meaning of "grown up" (76-7). She plans to write a book about herself when she has "grown up" – or become an adult – but then comes to the realization that she is "grown up now" (76). Alice goes on to consider whether she will age anymore, since she has physically grown bigger, and decides that there is a comfort in knowing she will never be an old woman but also does not wish to have to always learn her lessons (77). By physically growing up, Alice has stopped herself from growing out of childhood, emphasized by the perpetual school lessons that are ahead of her; she will forever be a child. Yet, although her changing size has allowed her to gain the immortality that Victorian adults yearn for in childhood, that change also leaves her uncertain about her identity. In her immortality, Alice's identity has become unstable and the world around her equally so. Wonderland may be a dream, but while she is there, it is not a safe place, only one of questions and uncertainty. Any comfort brought by her newfound 'immortality' is taken by the confusing world and her lost self. Alice's growing and shrinking is unnatural and uncomfortable, and turns her potential position as the innocent immortal child into a sinister one of fear and uncertainty.

Unsettling Fairies in Twentieth- and Twenty-First-Century Miniature Narratives

Susan Stewart makes a clear connection between the cute fairy and miniature people when she states, "The miniature, linked to nostalgic versions of childhood and history, presents a diminutive, and thereby manipulatable, version of experience, a version which is domesticated and protected from contamination" (69). The miniature is perceived as manageable and safe, and thus connected to a safe, immortal childhood. Like the child character, they are created to be innocent and speak to adult nostalgia. However, equating carefree, innocent childhood to miniature people is usually not that simple. Much like Tinker Bell, miniature people characters can work against the norms of childhood and scale by staying in unsettled positions that escape categorization and simplicity. However, such positioning takes more than insisting that miniature people are not fairies. To stop their symbolism for adults' nostalgia and control over childhood, miniature narratives must shatter visions of their immortality and the safety of the PMW.

Like other authors of miniature narratives around the Second World War, Mary Norton explicitly disconnects her Borrowers from fairies. In multiple books in *The Borrowers* series (1952-82), it is made very clear that Borrowers are not fairies. In *The Borrowers*, Arrietty's first visit to the garden outside of Firbank is set up as a magical experience. The open door to the garden is described as "a glory of sunlight – like a dreamed-of gateway to fairyland" (Norton 61). However, the spell is quickly broken when the boy sees and threatens her. Their conversation about power and extinction certainly breaks any illusion of a playful fairyland or

magical childhood immortality. The final piece of separation comes when the boy asks Arrietty if she can fly, which leads to both declaring they cannot because they are not fairies, and more than that, they do not believe in fairies (76).

Later books in the *Borrowers* series also shatter nostalgic visions of fairies. In *The Borrowers Afield*, Arrietty makes a game out of dressing up in flowers and leaves. She quickly decides that her costume "might look all right on gnomes, elves, brownies, pixies and whatnot, but she had to admit that it looked pretty silly on a common-or-garden borrower" (*Afield* 147). Even the magic of the flower clothing is dispelled, as Arrietty bemoans the work it takes to get a flower bell without the grace and flight of fairies (147). In *The Borrowers Aloft*, when Miss Menzies first observes the Borrowers, she quickly decides that "this lot couldn't be fairies – not on second thoughts and sober reflection. Why, this little fellow had a tear in his trousers, and there he was – panting and puffing and toiling up the hill" (*Aloft* 37). Miss Menzies' observation solidifies the message of the series: Borrowers are real people who undergo the hardships and labour of everyday life. They are not magical. They are real and they can suffer.

The dispelling of the relation between fairies and miniature people returns in more recent texts in my timeline, and the residues from past narratives are visible in the use of this point to emphasize alternative norms and perspectives, along with the mortal condition of the miniature people and PMW. In Charles de Lint's *Little (Grrl) Lost* (2007) the scene of the first encounter between T.J. and Elizabeth is a callback to the encounter between the boy and Arrietty. Like the boy, T.J. is curious but unsure, while Elizabeth is confident and challenging like Arrietty (de Lint 6-7). T.J. asks if Elizabeth is a fairy with the question, "So, do you have wings?" Just like Arrietty, Elizabeth throws the question back at T.J., calling her assumptions into question and forcing her to look beyond her limited experience (de Lint 8). The difference in de Lint's novel is

that while neither girl believes in fairies in this moment, by the end of the narrative both have discovered that fairies do exist. De Lint's fairies are not cute and innocent. Elizabeth is warned against taking anything from a fairy and the burden of being in their debt, which can be the cost of one's freedom (146-8). These fairies are not cute but ominous. It seems appropriate that these fairies and Littles, like Elizabeth, live alongside a big urban landscape. There is no escape to safety and innocence in this text. Big and miniature alike exist in a modern city, and it is equally dangerous for all, including big people like T.J. In this more recent YA text, the miniature is split completely from nostalgic childhood. Instead, fairies are used to question individuals' understanding of the world and their own norms and expectations.

Melissa Glenn Haber's *The Heroic Adventures of Hercules Amsterdam* (2003) has a similar message and a similar take on fairies. The miniature boy, Hercules, discovers the joys and perils of both the big and miniature worlds on his adventures. He learns that the big world (PW) is not all danger, and the miniature world (PMW) is not as peaceful as it first appears. The same can be said for the power of the Tugot (or fairy), Kitty Joas, who grants wishes to the creatures of the PMW in exchange for something important to them (Haber 108-9). She takes Hercules' smallness in exchange for pills that make him grow and shrink, giving him just enough so he is forced to stay forever in the big world to save his friend. She also takes Quangster's life in exchange for hiding the mouse city from attack. Kitty Joas does not take sides – she is no one's personal magical helper. These newer fairy characters are just as complicated and perilous as the big and miniature worlds the child characters must navigate. In their place near the end of my timeline, these texts show the result of miniature children's texts moving away from viewing the miniature as innocent and safe. These fairy characters unsettle both the PW and PMW, as well as the positions of the miniature and child characters they encounter. As with Tinker Bell

and Alice, immortality – now associated with untrustworthy fairies and magic – is sinister and unnatural. In removing the cute fairy and childhood safety and innocence, these miniature people narratives use the norms of the hierarchy of scale against it by challenging expectations.

The Adult, the Child, and the Miniature

Several critics see a connection between miniature people and the child. Perry Nodelman and Mavis Reimer believe that miniature people can be read "as metaphoric representations of children" and describe "miniature beings" as "much smaller than the creatures who control them," but unlike animals "have no instinctual defenses, no innate ability to cope with the dangers of life in the wild" (195). They see miniature people as giving children a "potent version of the typical underdog story" (195) and that scaling down the people who the child character – and in turn child reader – must interact with makes the relationship more manageable for their youthful limitations (196). Andrew O'Malley relates these ideas to Mary Norton's *The Borrowers* in his discussion of class in the series, noting that "[w]hat links children with borrowers—along with physical size, and a close-up perspective of the minutiae often overlooked by adults—is certainly their shared state of dependence on adults/'human beans' for their survival" (75). What these critics suggest is that the big child controls the miniature and that both, in turn, are dependent on big adults. These simplistic connections between the big child and miniature people, and their place within the PW, reflect the norms of the hierarchy of scale.

However, miniature narratives can set up a more complicated relation between big children and miniature people that removes them from a single oppressed position and into a complex web of positions. Both the child and the miniature are "out of scale" in a world made for "the so-called 'average' size" adult (Vallone 2). Although this average adult is likely not affected by the scale of the world, "those taller, shorter, or wider than the typical adult man or woman, may find their size presents daily challenges" (2). While they have differing relationships to the scale of the world, both the child and the miniature are impacted by it and can reveal the challenges of these physical norms that many adults never notice or consider. Hercules Amsterdam highlights the challenges of big adult physical norms near the beginning of his narrative, as he points to the difficulties he would have at a big school because of his size – such as being unable to reach a big desk, manage a big textbook, or use a big bathroom – that his mother has not considered (Haber 10). However, the differences in scale between the big child and miniature people are also important, as they can open more and varied perspectives around their shared but differing positions.

The child character's encounter with the miniature world can lead them to question the hierarchy of scale and point to its flaws and misconceptions. In their smallness, the child and the miniature see things differently than big adults; they can closely examine objects and places, but also relationships and norms. Such a view from the miniature perspective is also shown by Hercules Amsterdam. When his mother shows him the big school, he sees children being bullied in the playground and in the halls, while "his mother [is] oblivious to the nastiness and cruelty all around them" (Haber 12). His mother is focused on other adults and getting to the school office, but Hercules notices the bullied and sad children all around (10). The big world looks very different viewed through the eyes of the miniature, just as the adult world looks very different when viewed from the eyes of a child. It is in shrinking child and adult miniature characters that the complexities of age and size intertwine to form more unsettled positions and perspectives.

The hierarchy of scale can be unsettled by mutual relationships between the big child and miniature people that present the possibility that both sides can be equally dependent on each other. In Norton's *Borrowers* series, Arrietty's friendships with big people are based on mutual

exchange. All the human beings that Arrietty befriends are equally as in need of companionship as herself. The boy, Tom Goodenough, and Miss Menzies are all lonely, and in their shared loneliness, these child(like) human beings come to their relationship with Arrietty with a mutual need that creates an equality in their exchanges. It is this equality of need that allows Arrietty to ignore any danger that these friendships may bring, because their shared secret is equally important to both.

At the beginning of *The Borrowers*, Mrs. May explains that her brother was often sick and was sent to recover at the almost-empty Firbank, where he had no child companions (Norton 7). These details set up the boy as isolated and lonely. Kate presents Tom Goodenough similarly when she imagines him as a child: "the firelit cottage, the lonely boy at his whittling and, almost invisible in the shadows this tiny creature, seating maybe on a matchbox" (*Afield* 35-6). Like the boy, Tom lives in a quiet house, with only his grandfather. Miss Menzies' loneliness is revealed in her one-sided conversations with Mr. Pott, who barely listens to her chatting (*Aloft* 34). While telling Mr. Pott about how she would love to share her home with the Borrowers, Miss Menzies adds, "Not that I'm lonely, of course. My days . . . are *far* too full ever to be lonely. I've so many interests, you see. I keep up with things. And I have my old dog and the two little birds" (43). In Miss Menzies' protestations, her days are filled with crafts, work, and animals, but not human companionship. Throughout the series, Arrietty's feelings of entrapment and lack of community drive her to connect with human beings, but the human beings she befriends are just as lonely.

Another option is for big children and miniature people to work together, finding some common ground and understanding so they can challenge the hierarchy of scale, or foil evil big adult plots. There are several texts in which the big child(ren) and the miniature people come to understand each other and work together towards a shared goal. In White's *Mistress Masham's*

Repose (1946) and Sam Gayton's *Lilliput* (2013), the big child and miniature people partner to defeat their shared big adult oppressors. White's big girl, Maria, is kept in poverty by her cruel guardians, Miss Brown and Mr. Hater, who are stealing her inheritance and plot to take it from her fully (White 11, 111). Miss Brown and Mr. Hater know that Maria is keeping a secret and lock her in her room without food as punishment. The Lilliputians help her keep their secret by bringing her food (124). Once they are discovered and Maria refuses to reveal the Lilliputians' location, she is thrown in the dungeon while the two crooks plot to capture and sell the miniature people (134-5, 151). The Lilliputians team up with two big adults, the Professor and Cook, to break Maria out and expose her guardians' crimes to the authorities. With the pair out of the way, Maria regains her fortune and provides a secret home for the Lilliputians on her estate (253-5). Both big child and miniature people have worked to defeat their oppressors and regain their freedom, and one side would not have succeeded without the other.

Gayton's text sees a similar unveiling of cruel guardians. Gulliver kidnaps Lily from Lilliput and brings her to London, where he keeps her caged in his attic room over the shop of Mr. Plinker, the nasty clockmaker. Mr. Plinker has an apprentice, the orphaned Finn, who he keeps in line with the "Waste-Not Watch." The watch keeps track of his "wasted" time not working for Mr. Plinker and tightens painfully around his wrist (99-101). Both Lily and Finn are prisoners to greedy men who think nothing of their charges and only of their own fame and fortune. Finn first helps Lily escape by slipping Gulliver sleeping drops in his breakfast and whisking her away while he is unconscious (71, 92). When Lily learns Finn cannot leave with her because of the Waste-Not Watch, she reaches in with her tiny hands and lets all the wasted seconds escape, releasing the watch (105-7). The pair return to Mr. Plinkers shop to release the swift trapped in a clock so Lily can fly home. The daring escape results in Gulliver being the victim of one of Mr. Plinker's murderous clocks and Mr. Plinker being charged with his murder (261). Both children end the narrative free from their captors and finding new homes, which only resulted from them working together and prioritizing each other's freedom.

Unstable Worlds and Unstable Positions

In her discussion of the "species trouble" in *Stuart Little*, Marah Gubar argues that miniature characters, including the Borrowers, are symbols and explorations of the adolescent, as "another creature caught between two categories" (98). Gubar says that such characters "blur the line between the animal and the human, they also tend to inhabit the fraught frontier of adolescence, that unsettling period during which the boundary between childhood and adulthood is constantly breached and reasserted" (98). Although Gubar notes her claim is controversial, "since most critics associate the trials and tribulations of miniature heroes with the plight of children" (Gubar 98-9), it hits on an unease I have experienced with children's literature critics equating miniature people to the child and claiming the stories of miniature people are about empowering the child through the miniature or through the comfort of a stable, unchanging, and manageable miniature world (such as Nodelman and Reimer 196, and Caroline Hunt 127). For me, such readings of miniature people narratives do not account for the dangerous and unstable nature of miniature homes and worlds, and the equally unstable positions of both the miniature people and the big children they encounter.

The PMW is not the safe, magical, and peaceful land of the fairies. A shift occurs in my timeline around WWII, as the lives of miniature people become perilous, and the PMW is no longer a safe haven without consequences. Like Norton's Borrowers, miniature people characters become mortal beings who toil and suffer, emphasized through the move to miniature focalization. They have no magic or safe fairyland for escape. The lives of miniature people are

in turmoil and filled with uncertainty. Norton, White, de Lint, Gayton, and Haber's texts, along with others such as Carol Kendall's *The Whisper of Glocken* (1965), Terry Pratchett's *Bromeliad* trilogy (1989-90), and W.J. Corbett's *The Ark of the People* (1998), all have miniature characters who must flee their homes because of the danger of either their PMW or the PW, and some are even kidnapped and removed from their homes by greedy big people.

The instability and danger of miniature people's lives comes from both the PW and PMW. Although this influence from the PW continues the norm of the hierarchy of scale that insists on big superiority and their inability to change, it can also unsettle a different norm around scale that positions the PMW as a manageable and safe space for the big child to learn and grow. An unstable PMW is one the big child cannot control to 'save' or 'protect' the miniature people to a productive or satisfying end. A good example of unsatisfying PMW instability are narratives that end with the miniature people still in search for a permanent and safe home, such as in Norton, de Lint, and Pratchett's texts.

In such texts, no matter how big child(like) characters attempt to assist the miniature people, they are unable to take control of the miniature people or their world to hold it to their expectations and desires for their safety under the child's protection. *The Borrowers, The Borrowers Afloat,* and *The Borrowers Aloft* all end with the Clock family journeying to their next potential home. Both *The Borrowers* and *The Borrowers Avenged* finish with the narrator uncertain of what has become of the Borrowers. *Wings,* the final book in the *Bromeliad* trilogy ends with a group of nomes leaving on their spaceship in search of their home planet while others stay on Earth to find all the other nomes. Finally, *Little (Grrl) Lost* finishes with Elizabeth starting a new life as a fairy baker's apprentice, but in a temporary home; she has yet to reconnect with her family. These endings may suggest future stability, but it is not yet in place.

Also, this future stability will not come from the assistance of a big child or the PW, because these miniature people have gained independence or created separation from the PW. The hierarchy of scale is unsettled when the PMW is less dependent on the PW.

Uncertainty around safety is a major part of many PMWs. At the end of the final book in the *Borrowers* series, Arrietty comments that she wishes she could let Miss Menzies know that they are safe, and Peagreen responds with "Are we? Ever?" (Norton, *Avenged* 297), echoing his answer to Arrietty's earlier question about the safety of the big house they settle in, "How can one tell?" (93). Peagreen highlights that Borrower homes are never truly safe and, in turn, Borrowers themselves are always in potential danger. They live their lives in a world that always contains some very real danger to them and they simply learn to live with it. Most miniature people must accept these same dangers in their own PMW. Chris Hopkins notes that *The Borrowers* shows that anxieties around safety are not just concerns of children, but adults as well (21). He sees Borrowers and human beings living in equally unstable worlds:

If the Borrowers work in a world that is paradoxically both familiar and terrifying, so too do all humans. Those who work in the houses inhabited by Borrowers are as subject to forces beyond their control as the Borrowers themselves . . . In this sense all humans can be made small, can be treated as children, can be gendered 'feminine,' can be made homeless, do need homes. Indeed, the very possibility of imaginative engagement with the Borrowers suggests that we are not locked into a stable world of absolute positions . .

. The situation of the Borrowers is, in fact, familiar to both children and adults. (24) The positions of the Borrowers that Hopkins describes are reflected in many other miniature narratives, and these narratives can reveal the equal instability of big people and the PW. As the big child encounters the PMW and miniature focalization opens concepts of characters' uncertain safety and place within it, child characters and readers alike are introduced to the insecurity that is present in their own lives. The similarities that big children and miniature people share in their place within their worlds erodes perceptions of safety that the innocent childhood of cute fairies and the hierarchy of scale attempt to impart. The PMW is not safe and manageable, and neither is the PW.

Gubar points to the frequency in which miniature characters are "plunge[d] . . . into positions of utter abjection," referencing how "in both *Stuart Little* and the *Borrowers* series, the act of expulsion, coupled with the threat of extermination and extinction, drives the narrative" (99). For Gubar, "the status of miniature beings is always problematic" because they are "neither fully human nor entirely animal" and how to treat such characters is unclear – which explains why their treatment by big characters varies from vermin to friend (99). This "species trouble" works as a metaphor for "the adolescent's struggle to negotiate the gulf that separates childhood from adulthood" as "[t]he radical reversals these characters undergo – from empowerment to abjection, from autonomy to dependence – evoke the vicissitudes of puberty, a perilous period during which independence and power sometimes turn out to be gratifyingly real, and sometimes depressingly illusory" (99).

Equating all miniature people with either the child or adolescent is too simple, and the fact that miniature people themselves can be children, adolescents, or adults troubles these comparisons. As I mentioned above, Gubar argues that "the popular notion that miniature figures represent children" and "can be read as wish fulfillment" does not account for the true peril and danger Stuart Little (and other miniature characters) face in their narratives as they try to navigate the big world (102). She goes on to say that Stuart's big family home holds many dangers for him and does not follow the tendency for child-centred narratives "to portray home

as a space of safety, and the outside world as overwhelming and dangerous" (102). For Gubar, Stuart's story appeals to adolescents because of its "fantasy of not needing a home" (105). Gubar uses examples of adolescent miniature characters in Stewart Little and Arrietty, but there are many non-adolescent miniature people who are similarly positioned simultaneously between and within the status of children and adults. However, these non-adolescent miniature people are not usually chasing the fantasy of not needing a home, and in fact are searching for the opposite.

The difference between having and not having a stable, safe home to return to certainly shows a distinction between the big child and miniature people characters, although even that distinction does not always hold, especially if child comes to see the equal instability of the PW. The miniature home is generally unstable and often lost, but it cannot be argued that miniature people in general do not need a home or wish to leave their world. Although adolescent miniature people, like Arrietty from the *Borrowers* and Elizabeth from *Little (Grrl) Lost*, want to escape their home and family dynamic to explore the exciting (but ultimately dangerous) outside world, there are also miniature adults and miniature worlds that search desperately for a new home when their old one is lost. The gnomes in B.B.'s *The Little Grey Men* and Lily in Gayton's *Lilliput* return safely home after their dangerous adventures, the People travel back in time to return to their original home in Corbett's *The Ark of the People*, and Pratchett's nomes in *The Bromeliad* trilogy end the series searching for their home planet.

Even Arrietty ends her story with her family unit and enjoying her new home in the old rectory that provides her with the freedom and friendship she sought throughout the series. Although Arrietty may appear to crave an out-of-door life and freedom, as far back as the first book she shows a contradictory need for safety and freedom. When she lies in bed waiting for her parents' decision on emigrating, Arrietty realizes that she does not want to lose her home: "She did not want to lose [her home], she realized suddenly, lying there straight and still in bed, but to have all the other things as well, adventure and safety mixed – that's what she wanted. And that (the restless bangings and whisperings told her) is just what you couldn't do" (Norton, *The Borrowers* 120). Arrietty wants stability with her adventure and freedom, and she is not the only miniature teen who discovers life outside the safety of a big home is not all freedom and fun. After Elizabeth runs away from home in *Little (Grrl) Lost*, she tries to live like a ranger but soon accepts T.J.'s offer to be roommates when she discovers how difficult it is to find food and comfort (de Lint 28-32). She also decides not to try to turn into a bird because although it first sounds like freedom, she soon learns there are many potential dangers (225-6). Elizabeth wants freedom, but not if it is too risky. In general, lost or displaced miniature people find homes and stay with family, even though safety is never ensured and homes remain unstable.

Miniature Adults and Big Children

The child, adolescent, and miniature people can all experience some slippage from "empowerment to abjection, from autonomy to dependence" as they navigate the hierarchy of scale. The big child enters this dual and unsettled position in their encounter with the PMW and their relations to miniature people place them in similar, yet different, positions. The differences come from the fact that there are miniature adults, adolescents, and children who encounter and interact with the PW and the big child. Each of these miniature groups perceives the PW from different positions in the PMW and thus their response and interactions with the big child can vary. Although many miniature people narratives include miniature adults, I want to focus on the complexity that forms in the relationship between the miniature adult and big child (and their PW), and in its comparison to other miniature and big people/PW relations. White's *Mistress Masham's Repose* includes encounters between a big child and miniature adults, as well as big adults and miniature adults. The authority of age and scale collide in the relationship between the lone big girl, Maria, and the whole society of miniature adults, the Lilliputians. The position of power in this relationship is in delicate balance, and it tips back and forth in the first half of the novel as each side imposes their will onto the other. The result is Maria and the Lilliputians being on opposite ends of a seesaw, swinging between the extreme positions of child and adult, until they eventually find a balanced equality that places both sides somewhere in the middle and outside the binary. This outcome is only possible because Maria learns to respect the Lilliputians' wishes and the Lilliputians in turn give her their trust and acceptance. They move beyond age and size to find an equal partnership.

Reaching this balance is not easy or simple. When Maria first discovers the Lilliputians, she immediately uses her size to impose control by kidnapping a miniature mother and baby (White 18-21). The Lilliputian woman does not accept the (adult) role of control and care that Maria takes for herself. The miniature mother is aggressive, refuses to eat, and constantly resists Maria (22-7). In her frustration, Maria brings the miniature pair to the Professor and tells him, "She won't do anything" and "She isn't any fun" (33). The Professor retorts by questioning why Maria should expect the Lilliputian to be fun or do as Maria pleases. He asks her to think how she would feel in the woman's situation (33). He eventually convinces Maria to return the miniature pair and take a more measured approach to gaining the Lilliputians' friendship.

However, Maria's new approach is short-lived. Once she befriends the Lilliputians, she once again attempts to use her size to gain control and force them to do as she wishes. The relationship between the adult miniature people and big child is one of insisting and refusing to play. The Lilliputians use their own authority and experience as adults to resist Maria. When she will not listen and causes harm, they begin to ignore and avoid her to continue their regular lives unhindered. When Maria does not listen to instructions and insists on helping catch a large pike, only to lose it, the Schoolmaster soon quits being her guide as he sees her obstinateness continue (84). Soon, all but one Lilliputian are ignoring Maria when she insists, against their judgement, that they should fly a toy plane (85). The one 'favourite' Lilliputian that is left is injured attempting to fly the plane, after which the Lilliputians refuse to be in her presence and bar her from their island (88-9). Even with their small size, the miniature adults can impose their authority and refuse to interact with the naughty big child. The Lilliputians can retake control from Maria because their PMW has separation from the PW and they can expel her.

An upset Maria returns to the Professor for help. From his position as a big adult, the Professor explains the "exceedingly curious situation" that has formed, as Maria is "a child, but very big" and "they are grown-up, but very small," and attempts to see from the miniature adult's point-of-view (92). He asks Maria to imagine she is "a grownup whose head was bothered with the affairs of a family," off to an important appointment for family finances, and misses her train because she is carried off by a giant girl to play (92-4). Maria does not understand the issue, as she "only played with a few of them," but the Professor reminds her that every miniature adult, like every big adult, has "a living to earn" and "they would never have been able to call their souls their own, and their economic life would have been upset in order to play" with her (94). Although they are miniature, the Lilliputians are still adults, and they have adult worries, concerns, and responsibilities. It takes Maria time to understand this lesson. Once she has, she must first prove her remorse and willingness to change before the Lilliputians show themselves again. Maria writes a note of apology that includes her new understanding of their complex relationship, writing, "I am young but tall. You are old but short," and brings gifts for the injured Lilliputian for three nights (96). After her lesson is learned, the Schoolmaster, appropriately, welcomes her back (96). From this point, the Lilliputians and Maria work to build a relationship of trust and equality that goes beyond the distinctions of big/small or adult/child.

Such a balanced relationship is made possible by Maria's status as big child and the Lilliputians' as miniature adults, because it disrupts norms around the power structures of age and size. The Professor makes this point clear when he refuses to visit the Lilliputians himself because "he could not see how beings who were only six inches high could hope to be independent, when they were associated with people who measured as many feet . . . He felt, if you can follow the idea, that the fact of his visiting them would be an inroad on their proper freedom, because he was so much bigger than they were" (White 173). The Professor does not approve of any association between big and miniature adults because he believes it can only end in a master-slave relationship (174). He does go against this stance when he joins forces with the Lilliputians to save Maria, and in turn suggests that big and miniatures adults can also have a balanced relationship when they bring equal value and support. However, the big child still seems necessary, as Maria is their connecting point that allows equal participation and power to occur.

Norton's *The Borrowers* has encounters between the big child and miniature adult, and the big child and miniature child. As miniature adults, Pod and Homily are similar to the Lilliputians in their focus on supporting their family and their own PMW. Their interest in the PW is in the goods they borrow, and they learn about the big people in Firbank to know their patterns and make their job easier. Homily is occupied by her homemaking and Pod by his borrowing and shoemaking. Even Pod's excursions into the PW are regulated carefully to avoid suspicion and over-borrowing (Norton 55). Their family's safety is their main priority, and their decisions and actions support it. However, Arrietty, as a miniature child (or possibly adolescent, depending on the book and extent of her childlike tendencies) is more self-centered and sees the PW as a place of potential freedom, excitement, and friendship.

As I noted in chapter 1, Arrietty's decisions and actions are grounded in her fear of being alone in the PMW. She has the luxury of believing in the goodness of big people that her parents do not because her major concerns are with herself. Pod does have some relation to a big adult, as he borrows from Great Aunt Sophy's room when the old women is drunk on Madeira. She thinks Pod "comes out of the decanter" and they even have conversations (81). However, these encounters are much more measured and planned than Arrietty's and are not detrimental to the Borrowers' secret. Also, unlike Arrietty, when the Clock family must leave Firbank because their relationship with the boy leads to their discovery, Pod never speaks to or befriends a big person again.

Arrietty takes on the risk her parents are not willing to make because of their responsibilities. Pod even acknowledges the difference between child and adult thinking when he makes Arrietty promise never to speak to human beings again at the end of *The Borrowers Aloft*. Pod explains, "Say, one day, you had a little place of your own. A little family maybe – supposing, like, you'd picked a good borrower. D'you think you'd go making up to humans? Never . . . And I'll tell you for why: you wouldn't want to do nothing to put that family in danger. Nor that borrower either" (189-90). Pod's adult position as father and husband makes his interactions with big people and the PW different from those of a child. The narrative follows Arrietty's excitement for the PW, but her parents are the voices that steady that enthusiasm to remind her and the reader of its dangers.

Pod and Homily's position as adults does not stay as firmly in their grasp as the Lilliputians. The boy holds a lot more control over them because he holds their secret and their safety. That does not mean that the Borrowers are simply the child and the boy the adult in their interactions. The boy and Arrietty both show the weight they give to the hierarchy of age when they first meet and compare ages, with both inflating their own (Borrowers 74). Later, when the boy removes the Clocks' roof and forces himself into their lives by urging them to take his gifts, there is a play between his insistence and his desire for approval from Pod and Homily. Homily is both fearful and indignant. She glares at the boy and demands he put their roof back at once (125). Instead of following her demands, the boy shows them the dollhouse furniture he brought to try to persuade Homily to accept him. He ignores Homily's coolness and takes Arrietty's enthusiasm as permission to place the furniture into their home. Pod attempts to please the boy to get him to leave and encourages Homily to do the same (126). They have little recourse in this interaction. Even at the end of the encounter when Pod and Homily tell the boy to nail down their floorboard roof, he questions them by mentioning he can bring more furniture (128). Although Homily decides to have the boy "nail us down lightly," if she had said otherwise, it seems unlikely the boy would have listened (129). The boy wants the miniature adults' permission and acceptance, but he uses his size to force it from them. As a result, Pod and Homily's position between adult and child is unsettled and unstable.

The miniature adult, miniature child, and big child take up multiple positions of power and control along the spectrum of child to adult, and depending on the dependence and interaction between the PW and PMW, these positions can create balanced relationships or controlling ones. There is no singular relationship or position for the big child and miniature people in miniature narratives. Each text has different complexities that open different options,
and both the big child and miniature people can have their position shift and change even within a single narrative. The result is unsettled positions for both that uncover the construct of the hierarchy of scale and challenge fixed notions of how relationships are formed based on age and size.

The Shrinking Child: Uncertain identities and new viewpoints

When the shrinking child becomes a part of the PMW, they take on the same unsettled positions as miniature people and the questions of humanity (are they human or animal? are they themselves or someone else?) that the miniature people can also face. The shrinking child also experiences the duality of the miniature that Caroline Hunt points to, as their size means they are not taken seriously by adults, but also not noticed by them, and thus they are able to avoid surveillance and experience more freedom (Hunt 129). The shrinking child does not stay in this state of freedom and danger forever, as the shrinking of a big child is always temporary. The result is a character that can take on the positions and perspectives of both miniature people and big children, further adding to the intertwining complexities of age and size to form more unsettled positions and perspectives.

The shrinking child can be apart of the miniature world and understand what it is to be miniature, but they eventually must return to the PW and its hierarchy of scale. Hunt argues that shrinking child narratives deal with "the inescapability of change, the unreliability of perception (both the hero's perception of others and theirs of him or her), and the unpalatable fact that life has a beginning and, thus, an ending" (133-4), which are concerns for both children and adults. Hunt's observation points to the shrinking child's connections to the hierarchies of age and scale, and their potential to unsettle both. While the shrinking child's eventual return to the PW

suggests a reinstating of miniature dependence and inferiority, the child's experience and new perspective challenges these norms.

Hercules Amsterdam doubles down on these themes as it includes Hercules and his friend Juna shrinking and growing multiple times over the course of the story. Hercules' struggle between choosing the big or miniature world is related to both belonging and safety. He runs away from the big world because he sees the dangers of his miniature size (Haber 14-15). However, he also finds he does not belong in the mouse city because he lives on a different timeline. Hercules belongs nowhere until he gains the ability to grow big and sees the wonders of the big world that he missed while miniature (179).

Hercules' liminality is threefold: first, his perceptions of safety and belonging in the big and miniature worlds change throughout the text; second, his continual growing and shrinking moves him between worlds and positions of power; and third, he moves between childhood and adulthood, as his mouse friends' faster growth means he moves backwards from adult to child in their eyes, but he also moves in the opposite direction in his societal position, as he grows from playing with the young mice to taking the adult job of Steward. Hercules' positions are complicated further when he reverts from his adult role, in which he holds the mice's grave secrets and is in charge of their safety, back to a child when the mice no longer need him and he returns to the big world. Hercules lives through several generations in the mouse city and lives a full mouse life before entering the big world to start again. He is acutely aware of the passage of time and mortality, and it is the speed of the mice's lifespan that pushes him out of the PMW to seek stability and life-long friendship. However, in doing so, he is once more a child, returning to his family and their expectations. Hercules is in the unstable and shifting position between child and adult, and pulls down this binary as he takes up both roles at once.

Unsettling the Hierarchies of Scale and Age

The hierarchy of scale is uncovered and challenged by the unsettled and multiple positions of miniature people that break down the simplistic concept of attributing power and autonomy by scale. The variety of relationships between big people (both adults and children) and miniature people (both adults and children), can give any of these characters authority, given the circumstances, and similarly disempower any of them in turn. The variety and complexity of these narrative positions show that there is more at play than just norms of size, or even of age, and that these constructed hierarchies do not hold up under scrutiny.

Every miniature narrative has its own complex interplay between the hierarchies of scale and age that can create paradoxical relationships. For example, in Castaways in Lilliput (1958), the big children are pleased by the attention and praise they get from the adults of the PMW, but they also use their size to get their way. They both respect and disrespect the authority of miniature adults. All three children enjoy the treatment they get from the adult Lilliputians. Their size gains them respect, and it is noted that "At home the grownups were not nearly as accommodating as the Lilliputians. There was something to being a giant after all" (168). At the same time, the youngest big child, Jim, takes advantage of his size to combat the hierarchy of age and refuses the authority of the older children and miniature adults. When he first sees how small the Lilliputians are, he immediately relates it back to the norms of the hierarchy of scale, that gives power to the big and grown, saying enthusiastically, "Now I can lick everybody!" (Winterfeld 63). He no longer fears punishment or repercussions because he has the most strength. Later, when he runs away from the older children and Lilliputian police, he exploits his size to put policemen who anger him on a roof and atop a rollercoaster, and to spin helpless Lilliputians around a Ferris wheel (183-4).

Yet, Jim's authority does not last. He is immediately threatened with guns because the Lilliputian police chief has "no patience with naughty children" and forces the other children to run away to save him (Winterfeld 184-6). Although Jim never intends to accept the authority of the Lilliputian police, the other children will not allow it and also reimpose their authority over him. Ralph tells him at the police being miniature is "neither here nor there. A policeman is a policeman whether he is a midget or a giant. We've got to do what he tells us" (126). In this play between the authority of size and the authority of age, the norms that support both are unbalanced.

The Ark of the People (1998) has the authority of the big and the adult shifting and reversing. The three shrunken human children are immediately regretful for the actions of their parents, who helped to build the dam that flooded the People's valley. Even before meeting the People, the children are torn, feeling pride in their parents' work but regretful for the destruction it caused (Corbett 83-4). The three children set-up is identical to *Castaways in Lilliput*, as they are an older sister, younger brother, and older boy friend. Like Jim, the younger brother does not immediately accept the worth and authority of the miniature people like his sister and friend. When they first see the ark, he throws a stone at it because he sees something moving (85). Then, when they are shrunk and brought onto the ark, he clams that the People are magic fairies who have tricked them and wish them ill (147-9). However, at this point, the brother does not have size or perspective on his side. He cannot enforce the norms of the hierarchy of scale because he is not the majority or authority. His sister and friend contradict him immediately, saying he deserved to be shot with a miniature arrow for hitting the ark, and they are thankful to the People for saving them, even saying they wish to "make amends for all the wrongs our race has done to

you" (147-8). The other big children reject the brother's push for authority and take up an unsettled position between worlds and scale.

There are also narratives in which the big or miniature adult can unsettle norms of authority by rejecting the hierarchies of scale and age. Sam Gayton's *Lilliput* sees Gulliver reversing his stance on his place of power and rightness based on size and adultness, admitting at the end of the text that he is a "monstrous" yahoo who has turned a child into a slave (240). He positions the miniature child, Lily, as the moral authority. Alternatively, Charles de Lint's *Little (Grrl) Lost* takes a more nuanced approach that does not favour any norm or perspective. Both the big teen T.J. and miniature teen Elizabeth navigate arguments over control and freedom with their parents and each other, and neither is shown to make fully good or bad decisions, and no character is ever positioned as solely in the right.

Conclusion

When PWs and PMWs interact and big children encounter miniature people, miniature narratives can create unstable positions for these characters that leave them moving through, between, and outside of the binaries of adult/child and big/miniature. These movements through positions of power highlight the constructed nature of the hierarchies of scale and age that have influence through the residues they leave throughout my timeline of miniature narratives. Miniature people do not fall neatly into the category of child, adolescent, or adult, and resist simplistic metaphors that make them a representation of the big child. Thus, new and complex positions and relationships can be formed, as big children (and even some big adults) encounter a variety of miniature people, including adults, adolescents, and children, and potentially find equal and balanced ways to interact and connect the PW and PMW.

Of course, there are also many miniature narratives that do not find a balance between the PW and PMW, or between the wants and needs of the big child and the miniature people. Generally, the outcome is the big child taking the position of control through the norms of the hierarchy of scale. In my next chapter, I will discuss how the relationship between the big child and miniature people can go wrong. When we ignore the differences between the big child and miniature people, and accept the norms of the hierarchy of scale that equate the child and the miniature, the big child is put into a position in which they "understand" and "know what is best" for the miniature people and silences them by taking miniature voices as their own to support their own expectations and desires. Although seeing the similarities between the big child and miniature people can help unsettle the hierarchy of scale, when we in turn ignore their differences, we invite those norms to take a firmer hold in more implicit ways.

Chapter 4: Possession and Control

This chapter is about big people's desire to possess and control miniature people. Many texts in my miniature people timeline include this topic and attempt to dissuade readers against seeing miniature people as inferior and possessable, either through villainizing big adults, who wish to enslave and exploit the miniature people, or through developing the big child character, who must learn to respect the miniature people and not enforce their own desires upon them. However, this issue of possession and control is not limited to the overt lessons presented by these children's texts. Beneath the obvious instances of making miniature people into possessions, through treating them as either profitable goods or personal playthings, there are big child characters presented as good, friendly, and understanding of the miniature people who fall into the same trap as villainous adults and naughty children. These big children do not explicitly demand control over the miniature people like their counterparts, but still enforce the hierarchy of scale through their expectations. While the villainous adult and naughty child may claim the miniature people as property because of their difference, the friendly big child makes their own claim on the miniatures' identity by insisting that the miniature needs assistance.

Thus, a new residue of the hierarchy of scale can be uncovered in miniature narratives in the insistence on claiming and controlling miniature people's identity. This residue goes beyond positioning the miniature people as inferior to and dependent on big people to naming and labelling miniature people in an attempt to force them into a particular place in the hierarchy, often in more implicit ways. This hidden form of control is especially present in the interactions between big children and miniature people in narratives that position that 'good' big child as understanding the miniature people and being able to speak for them because the big child 'knows what is best.' The big child is thus given permission to label the miniature people to meet

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their own expectations and their own desires and needs. The result is the silencing of the miniature voice as the big child takes it as their own. Since this chapter analyses this silencing, it takes the opposite approach to my earlier chapters, which considered how miniature narratives resist the residues of the hierarchy of scale. Instead, I will discuss how texts can subtly continue these residues and undermine their own resistance to them.

Desiring to Possess the Cute: Controlling miniature people

The want to possess does not necessarily come from malice. Both naughty and good big children often approach the miniature people with amazement and a desire built from love and affection. In *Big & Small: A Cultural History of Extraordinary Bodies*, Lynne Vallone notes that in *Mistress Masham's Repose* (1946), T.H. White's "interest is in exploring the ramifications of love, and the potent desire to possess the other; he argues that this desire must be suppressed" (Vallone 152). Love can lead to a need to control and possess, but we must stop ourselves from acting on such desires, as doing so would take away the freedom and control that the subject of our affection has over their own life and choices. Although we want to keep our loved one safe and close through control, it is a harmful impulse. Most of the texts in my timeline attempt to make a similar argument to White, but their success in supporting it varies. Problems arise because making someone your own – possessing another – is not just simply locking them in a box. Possession is heavily linked to control, and it is in the good child's attempts to manage, dictate, or influence the lives of the miniature people that a text's argument against possessing and owning the miniature is undermined.

The motives for possessing the miniature people in the texts I discuss can be split into three categories: the villainous adult that insists on otherness, the naughty child that insists on dominance, and the good child that insists on assistance. The final option is only available in these texts because of the type of miniature character involved and their representation of a child-like nature. In my last chapter, I discussed the connection between the miniature and the child. Many critics misuse the miniature people as a metaphor of the child and childhood, and although my last chapter showed how the unsettled position of miniature people – partly based on their place within, outside, and between the spectrum of child, adolescent, and adult – dispels this simple metaphor, it is still utilized by miniature narratives. Below, I will expand on how narratives' acceptance of this metaphor can lead to texts undermining their own warning against controlling miniature people through the big child's imposed influence over them. For now, I want to use the equation of children and *particular types* of miniature characters as a foundational point for how love and possession have become intertwined with miniature people characters that are presented as White. I will pick up this theme again in my final chapter when I discuss the differing relationships and means of control that narratives allow for White versus racialized miniature people.

People and objects related to cuteness and children can elicit maternal care and desire that leads to a need to possess. In *Troublesome Things: A History of Fairies and Fairy Stories*, Diane Purkiss discusses how the cute fairy of the Victorian era, and the child's belief in that fairy, became essential to the adult concept of childhood and the happy child. Adults' insistence that children perform imagination in a particular way was "designed to gratify adults and to mould children" (Purkiss 255). The cute fairies thrust upon children's imaginations represented happiness and "soppy joy" that parents desired to see in their children because "[c]ute fairies are adults' attempts not to recover but to repair their childhoods, to make them over as simpler and nicer than any real childhood can be. We do not long for what we had, but for what we never had" (256). Purkiss connects this desire to a want to possess and own the 'cute' object, which is

"a profound maternal desire to nurture, a maternal longing, a desire to rescue the cute object and put it within a family context" (256). However, in the end, the desire to take home and care for the "needy" is in fact a desire to possess (256). Purkiss likens the maternal desire to possess the cute to shopping: "the drama is about acquisition, not about care. In fact, it is about shopping" (256). Once to cute thing is obtained, it is taken home and added to the home, where it must stay (256).

The desire for the cute object is the same for the happy child; the desire is to take it home to be cared for and controlled, safe in our possession. Miniature people characters can have a similar position to the cute fairy, as a belief in both is often connected to the same childhood imagination and happiness that adults desire children to perform. Just as it is a particular type of fairy that represents this concept of childhood, so too is a particular type of miniature people. The 'cute' fairy that elicits the maternal desire to possess is in many ways a reflection of the White miniature characters that elicit that same desire in the good child. This link between cute fairy, good child, and miniature people, that leads to desire and a need to protect, can only come from a miniature other that big, White children see as reflecting themselves. This reflection is generally a construct and the unsettled positions of miniature people – that place them inside, outside, and between binaries like adult/child, self/other, White/racialized – uncover it in their resistance to the labelling the big child attempts to force upon them.

Lynne Vallone explains a similar distinction between types of otherness in her discussion of Charles Sherwood Stratton, who performed as General Tom Thumb under P.T. Barnum. Vallone explains how Barnum used his "dwarf performers" to solicit "the maternal affection and protective instinct for small bodies and appreciation of their cute appearance" (113). Vallone echoes Purkiss here in her link between the miniature and maternal affection and protection. Stratton's "performances elicited admiration and wonder rather than cruel stares and mocking laughter" because his "miniature perfection reassured audiences rather than alarmed them" (111). Although General Tom Thumb was different, he was seen as "natural" because audiences were "very familiar with tiny humans – they are called children" (111). Stratton's General Tom Thumb is positioned to fill the place of the child and can do so because he reflects norms around Whiteness and childhood that make him feel 'safe.' However, underneath there is a unsettled position as well, especially as Stratton grew into adulthood and was balanced even more delicately between the binary categorizations of adult/child and self/other. Yet, his otherness and difference, like that of miniature people, is stifled by our labelling that insists on sameness and connection.

Not all others – or even miniatures – get this same treatment. Vallone notes Barnum's other "freaks" such as "the bearded lady, dog-faced boy, or Zip (also known as the 'What-Is-It?')" were seen as fully other and alarming (111). A similar insistence on difference and refusal to acknowledge the humanity in some miniatures over others is particularly clear in the racialized miniature. Vallone highlights the dehumanizing of racialized miniatures in her exploration of the life of Ota Benga, an African "pygmy" who was "incarcerat[ed] and display[ed] with apes" at the Bronx Zoo in 1906, only to be released to the care of an orphanage as a grown adult (141-2). The White, perfect miniature of General Tom Thumb is linked to maternal affection and the desire to possess and protect that comes from love, while the imperfect dwarf and Black pygmy are only seen as objects and slaves to be possessed for profit. The White miniature is in a privileged position compared to the racialized miniature. The big adult who captures the White miniature for profit is a villain. The big child who wishes to possess the White miniature must learn to resist this desire. The sameness associated with the child and White miniature people allows this

type of miniature to claim a right of control over their own lives, even if their narratives do not necessarily give it to them.

Thumblings and the Worth of the Miniature

Just as miniature people unsettle other binary positions, they blur the lines between the White and racialized miniature characters I just outlined. The White miniature is related to the cute child to be loved and cared for, and the racialized miniature is an alien other that is treated as an object of profit. However, both these positions are ones of possession by those who claim dominance and control over the miniature people. The maternal desire to protect and care for the child that comes from love still works within the hierarchy of scale and imposes norms around control and possession similar to those that claim ownership over miniature people – and displayed by big children and adults alike who control the lives of miniature people with the intention to protect and care for them. In my early timeline, Tom Thumb tales show how the positions of beloved and valued child, and monetized 'it' are two sides of the same coin, and how these seemingly distinct positions can blur together as the single miniature makes their way through the PW.

Tom Thumb is wished into being by his parents who love him unconditionally as their son, but at the same time, the big world of Tom's narrative views him as an oddity that brings amusement and profit. Diane Purkiss views the act of showing the other as what changes them from a person to an 'it' (195-6). The process of dehumanization is generated both by those who seek out the other and those who display them: "[t]he freak show is one instance of what has been called domestic orientalism – tourism without the tour, looking at scenes at home for their strangeness, seeking out the strange within a familiar setting in order to marvel at it, goggle at it, for 'it' becomes an it through the process of being looked at as one" (196). It is the very displaying and viewing of a "freak" that makes them into an "it" and takes away their humanity. The play between valued child and monetized 'it' appears in Tom Thumb tales and other miniature texts. At home with his parents, Tom is a son and valued because of their love, but outside the home he becomes an oddity, a performer, and a freak, to be displayed and transformed into an 'it.' These two positions are not opposite, but intricately connected. The difference is that the first allows him to keep his humanity and avoid becoming an object. The result is that the means of possession and control over Tom become more subtle than if he were an object, but also that his chance for freedom, or at least a claim to it, is still valid.

The Brothers Grimm's version of "Tom Thumb" (1812) begins, like most Tom Thumb tales, with a couple desperate to have a child. The poor countryman's wife says to her husband, "if only we had a child, just one, however small, even a child no bigger than my thumb, then I'd be happy, and we would love it dearly!" (1). These parents will love any child, but it is their desperation that allows them to accept a child as small as Tom. Still, it does not change the fact that Tom is very loved and cherished by his parents. At home he is their child and not an object of profit. Two passing strangers do see potential profit in Tom and ask to buy him, but his father refuses, saying "he's the apple of my eye, and I wouldn't part with him for all the gold in the world!" (Grimm 5). It is Tom who convinces his father to sell him because he has a scheme to escape and return with money. When Tom returns at the end of the story, his parents emphasize his humanity, but also his worth and their possession of him, saying, "And we'll never sell you again, not for all the money in the world!" (23). Tom is greatly loved and wanted, but once he is known to the larger PW and made an object for profit, his parents must also acknowledge his dual position and place monetary value on him, even if that price is high.

Although Tom's parents see his humanity, it is not so for other characters in the tale. The most obvious example is when the two strangers see Tom and instantly want him as a way "to make [their] fortunes!" by putting "him on show in some big city, and make people pay to see him" (5). Their immediate decision to acquire a miniature person for profit shows that, Tom, as a miniature person, is seen as an object to buy and sell. The immediate response from the outside world is to commodify Tom and make him into an 'it' through display. Tom's connection to the child, both in his miniature perfection and Whiteness, allows him to also take up the position of cherished child to big parents that is not available to all miniatures, even while he is being commodified and possessed.

The Life and Adventures of Tom Thumb (1849) differs from other Tom Thumb tales not only because it depicts Tom's miniature adventures as intellectual discoveries along with acts of bravery, but also because it makes Tom's dually possessed position as cherished son and commodity very clear. The narrative depicts his mother as distinctly aware of her son's position in the outside world and overly controlling as a result. In this tale, Tom's parents work tirelessly to keep him safe. His mother understands her son's value to the rest of the world. The narrator explains that she is worried that Tom will be stolen away as "his diminutive stature (he was then three inches in height) rendered him such an object of curiosity, that many attempts had been made by dishonest persons to steal him from her, in order to make a show of him" (9). Tom's mother is so concerned that she convinces her husband to move far across the country to hide Tom's existence (9). She keeps Tom hidden away from visitors and refuses to let Tom leave her sight for long periods of time, often locking him in boxes or cupboards, or limiting his movements by tying him to a length of string. Tom's mother goes to the extremes of maternal desire to keep the cute miniature safe and under her control. She is stopping him from being shown and dehumanized, but she is also moving well into the territory taken up by the good big child in later texts, who, believing they need to protect the miniature people and know best, attempt to control them.

At the same time, Tom's mother hopes her son will someday be able to use the value of his rare size to gain a fortune and noble title from the king (11). She wants her son to use his value for his own benefit and not others. Her wish does come true at the end of the book, when Tom's existence is discovered and the queen summons him to the castle (117). In typical fashion, Tom wins favour with the royals, amusing the princes and princesses with tricks and charming the queen "with his polite behaviour, and his agreeable and witty conversation" (117). Tom is knighted Sir Thomas Thumb and given a very good pension so that he returns home to "dignified retirement and philosophical contemplation" in the comfort of a nobleman's life (118-120). The Tom Thumb in this tale ends his life wealthy and alive, happy at home with his parents. His position as commodity is still very real, but he uses it to his advantage to escape death and end his story with his family who value his humanity.

Thumbling tales are early examples of how miniature people characters are possessed and controlled. Even though his family does so to protect his humanity and stop him from being an object or commodity, it still leaves Tom unable to speak for himself and his desires. The possessive nature of parental love and desire is hidden behind the more obvious commodification and objectification of Tom Thumb by those outside his family who seek only profit. The residues of these two types of possession, and how the more obvious commodification of miniature people makes the more implicit controlling of them seem good, right, and natural, appears in later texts in my timeline that include villainous adults or naughty children alongside the 'good' big child.

The Villainous Big Adult

It is not difficult to see the villainous big adult, who aims to enslave miniature people to exploit for profit, as a metaphor of the European colonizer. As I touched upon in my discussion of the other and subaltern in chapter 1, capitalism and profit have a crucial role in colonization, as it is a major part of the colonizing dominant discourse. Capitalism, along with Western science, not only led to Western countries having technological advancements that allowed them to expand their empires, but also drove that expansion in the search for natural resources to build wealth and make goods, all hidden behind a rhetoric of 'civilizing' that was supported through the assumed superiority of Western thinking and way of life (Xie 7). Civilization was the justification, wealth was the motive, and the "energizing myths" of European dominance and superiority "were used to give colonial masters virtually unbounded rights over the lands and subjects they claimed" (Boehmer 23, 37). It is through emphasizing their superiority and othering the miniature people that the big adult classifies them as property. The big adult argues that they have the right to use these 'non-humans' they have 'found' or 'acquired' for their own profit.

Such overt assertions of the hierarchy of scale are generally presented in a negative light in miniature narratives, especially those from the twentieth century onward. Mid-century texts are very clear about possessive and profit-minded adults being villainous. T.H. White's *Mistress Masham's Repose* (1946) and Mary Norton's *Borrowers* series (1952-82) have their adult antagonists' villainy reach extremes for both humour and didacticism, with the adults who use and abuse the miniature people also being exploitative of – all are involved in some form of thievery or fraud – and cruel to fellow big people as well. The narrators and narratives of these texts are against the villainous adults and use them to juxtapose the good big child who learns to understand, befriend, and help the miniature people. As I will discuss below, this type of extreme adult villain can detract from an attempt to nuance the interactions between the big child and miniature people, because the adult is so wrong that even if the big child attempts to control the miniature people in less obvious ways, it is always in relation to the extremes of the big adult, which can lead to the big child's actions being brushed aside or even ignored.

It would be difficult to find adults more villainous in a miniature people children's text than Mr. Hater and Miss Brown in T.H. White's *Mistress Masham's Repose*. Mr. Hater is a vicar and orphaned Maria's guardian, and Miss Brown is Maria's governess, whom he appointed (White 10). The pair are introduced on the second page of the novel and the narrator makes their villainy clear from the start. Their description begins, "Both the Vicar and the governess were so repulsive that it is difficult to write about them fairly," and continues to describe this repulsion in both appearance and character (10). The pair treat Maria cruelly, keep her inheritance from her, and plot to ultimately take that inheritance for themselves.

The humour in Mr. Hater and Miss Brown's characters only grows as their actions and plans become more extreme. Once they discover the existence of the Lilliputians, Mr. Hater and Miss Brown quickly escalate their efforts to capture the miniature people by imprisoning Maria in the dungeon for not telling them the Lilliputians' location. They even begin contemplating murdering Maria and framing the Professor when they see that their ill treatment of the child will soon be discovered (221-3). While Mr. Hater and Miss Brown's evilness goes to extremes, their threat is downplayed by the narrator and the many displays of the pair's incompetence, which is a trait of both good and evil big adults alike in White's text.

The main lesson of *Mistress Masham's Repose* is that owning and controlling others is wrong. The narrative instructs the reader to resist enacting power onto others, whether that be

adults to children or big people to miniature people. Although the narrative follows Maria's education in how to resist her desire to control the Lilliputians, the misuse of power that she needs to avoid is exemplified through the adults who wish to enslave the Lilliputians. The first example is Captain Biddel, who saved Gulliver and later returned to find Lilliput to capture the Lilliputians. Captain Biddel forced the Lilliputians to perform for his profit until their escape and, in the Schoolmaster's words, viewed them as "Creatures not possessed of human Rights, nor shelter'd by the Laws of Nations. Our Cattle were for his Profit, because we could not defend them; our very Persons were an Object of Cupidity, for he had determined to show us in his native Land, as Puppet Shews and Mimes" (58-9). The Captain saw the Lilliputians as objects to be obtained for profit and his villainy comes from putting greed before all else, to the point of refusing to acknowledge the Lilliputians' humanity.

Mr. Hater and Miss Brown have already been set up as bad people, and the Lilliputian Schoolmaster's description of Captain Biddel sets up expectations for bad responses to and interactions with the miniature people. Thus, it is not surprising when Mr. Hater and Miss Brown follow the same trajectory as the Captain. They immediately focus on the wealth they can gain from selling the Lilliputians to a circus or Hollywood, and plot to keep the money for themselves by claiming the Lilliputians were found at the Vicarage (134-5). The Lilliputians are property to be claimed, owned, and sold for profit. To leave no room to question the pair's perception of the miniature people, when Mr. Hater briefly notes, "If they are human it may be illegal to sell them," Miss Brown instantly confirms his underlying question by answering, "They are not human" (135). These villainous big adults have confirmed that viewing the Lilliputians as nonhuman is wrong by their very act of doing so. No one wants to be "repulsive" like them. It seems natural that Mr. Hater and Miss Brown end the story in jail (244).

Mary Norton's *Borrowers* series also makes the villainy of its big adult antagonists very clear. Just like Mr. Hater and Miss Brown, the villainous big adult characters of Mrs. Driver and Mr. and Mrs. Platter reject the humanity of the miniature people and make plans that will harm the Borrowers for their own benefit. The Platters appear in the final two books of the series and are practically Mr. Hater and Miss Brown reborn; they are a pair of villainous adults who wrong both big and miniature people out of greed (*Aloft* 19-21, 64) and who are tricked by the miniature people to humorous ends, concluding with their arrest when they break into a church to catch a Borrower at the end of *The Borrowers Avenged* – the very title of the book foreshadowing this conclusion. The Platters also reject the humanity of the miniature people by viewing them as possessions to be obtained and used to profit. When the Platters capture the Borrowers to add to their model village, they treat the Clocks like animals, leaving the Borrowers food and a saucer of milk, and assuming they cannot understand language or care for themselves. The Borrowers' humanity is ignored. When Mrs. Platter wonders what the Borrowers are, Mr. Platter answers simply, "They're a find . . . They're a gold mine!" (84-5). The Borrowers are a means to riches and nothing more.

Mrs. Driver, however, is a more sinister figure whose threat feels the most real of all the adult antagonists in the series. She appears mainly in the first book and her aim is not to capture and sell, but to destroy. The Borrowers are a threat to Mrs. Driver because she does her own form of borrowing, taking small items like a handkerchief or gloves, or a glass of Madeira, which she feels "were within her rights" (*The Borrowers* 136). Both the Borrowers and Mrs. Driver view the items they take from the house as their right, but Mrs. Driver's argument falls short because she is not fully confident in this right. Mrs. Driver knows that if her small takings are discovered, she will be accused of thievery and "dishonesty" (136-7).

Mrs. Driver also follows the trend of other villainous big adults by dehumanizing the Borrowers to justify her actions towards them. She sees the Borrowers as a threat to her livelihood and is determined to be rid of them. While she is unsure of what the Borrowers are at first, calling them "mice dressed up" (143), she later tells Crampfurl that "they were more like *people* than mice" (*Afloat* 188). Mrs. Driver further shows her acknowledgement that the Borrowers are human when Aunt Sophy makes fun of her for seeing little people. Mrs. Driver becomes even more determined to have the rat-catcher gas the Borrowers and claims, "She'll change her tune, like enough, when I take them up afterwards, laid out in sizes, on a clean piece of newspaper" (*The Borrowers* 163). It is a horrible image suggesting the Borrowers are nothing but lab rats or exotic animals to display.¹⁹ While Mrs. Driver acknowledges that the Borrowers are people, she is far more concerned with her own reputation than the Borrowers' humanity and chooses to ignore their personhood.

This general instinct of big people to capture and display miniature people is expressed in many texts in my timeline. These texts suggest that big society's likely response to miniature people will be to display them like animals in a zoo, 'natives' at the world's fair, or performers in freak shows of the past. Even John Peterson's *Littles* series, which is generally kind to big people and their actions, cannot avoid the possibility. As Tom explains to Lucy, if big people knew Tinies existed, "they might not like the way we take the things we need from them" and might put them in a museum or circus, or even try to kill them because "they might think we were some kind of animal" (*The Littles Take a Trip* 10). Tom is sympathetic to the Biggs and tells Lucy that he does not think big people will kill them, but Tom sounds uncertain (11). Again, the

¹⁹ Kuznuts sees a direct comparison to the Jews killed in concentration camps during WWII, specifically noting "Mrs. Driver's Nazi-like ferocity in her need for extermination, and her wish to see the gassed bodies 'laid out in sizes on a clean piece of paper" (201).

expectation is that miniature people will be seen as property or animals and put on display as oddities.

As we move later in my timeline, miniature narratives begin to move away from overtly villainous adults to create antagonists with more nuance and complexity. These texts make it clear that big people do not need to be 'evil' to treat miniature people poorly and suggest that any misguided big person can take on the role of the villain. This change continues in some recent texts that have big child characters encountering miniature people and PWMs without any big adult antagonist for comparison, meaning the big child's actions can be questioned and challenged because there are no villainous adults to distract from their more implicit uses of the hierarchy of scale. This trend away from clearly villainous adults and towards a more nuanced approach to big children's interactions with miniature people begins with texts that have more complex big adult antagonists. Although the big adult is often still the focus point of criticism around the treatment of miniature people and an example of what to avoid for a positive and equal relationship, character development is added that allows the big adult to acknowledge their errors or for the motivations of the big adult to be nuanced so as not to come from malice but misunderstanding.

Carol Kendall's *The Whisper of Glocken* (1965) has one of the most nuanced presentations of the big adult's desire to possess miniature people. As I discussed in chapter 1, a main message of this text is around the assumptions we make about others and what they want and need. If we base our interactions and assistance on our own experience and needs, and do not take the time to communicate with the other and discover what is truly good for them, we will always make harmful decisions, even if we mean well. When the Minnipins first encounter the Hulks, Glocken observes that "Folk so large and coarse couldn't help but smash little things, no matter how friendly they thought themselves. They were big, and they lived big" (Kendall 165). The Hulks do not understand the potential harm they can cause the Minnipins with their carelessness and, in the end, they are focused on their own needs. The Red Carrot offers to help the Minnipins affected by the flood caused by the Hulk's dam, but only offers a solution that does not affect the Hulks. He insists that the only option is compensation and relocation (220).

At the end of their journey, the Minnipins decide that the Hulks were trying to help, "[i]n *their* way" (299, original emphasis), and that they could have made the same mistakes if they tried to "help" the Diggers. However, it is not just choices but motivation that is key to the difference between the Minnipins and the Hulks. The Hulks, like the other villainous adults, let greed determine their actions, which again leads to the desire to enslave and display the miniature. Although the Red Carrot says the Minnipins are guests, it is clear they are prisoners. When the Minnipins discover a house-cage being made to take them away, they escape onto the mountain. The Red Carrot gives a final attempt to convince them to come with him, saying he and all the Hulks want to be their friends and can "be like big brothers" to the Minnipins and "We can make your lives easier and at the same time richer. There are wonderful things in my land, greater than anything you have seen at this poor place. . . . Come with us and be happy" (251). The Minnipins do not agree with the Red Carrot's description of 'a happy life,' and Glocken tells him they "would rather die on the mountain than be caged in your land" (253).

Although *The Whisper of Glocken* still leaves enslavement and display as the default reaction to miniature people and shows the false logic that the big adult uses to support their actions, it also suggests that no one is immune from these desires. The text ends with the Minnipins, as the heroes of the text, discussing how they could end up in the same position. One does not have to be evil, or even just greedy, to cause harm to others if they base their actions on

their own experience and desires. The Hulks share a lot of similarities to 'good' big children who believe the miniature people need their help and that they know how best to provide it.

Sam Gayton's *Lilliput* (2013) has a big adult that insists he knows what is best and right for miniature people, but he is not allowed to sit comfortably in his position of control and claim the miniature voice. Gulliver has created a false logic to argue for the goodness of his crimes but unlike many 'good' big children, his attempts to use the hierarchy of scale to set up norms and expectations do not stick. The difference is that he must argue with his Lilliputian captive, Lily, who refuses to accept his position. Gulliver's twisted logic is not portrayed as humorous or shown to be false through the narrator or narrative intervention but is challenged directly by the miniature person. Their arguments are a fight for freedom and recognition. Gulliver claims that "science" and "reason" are on his side and that he needs Lily as "proof," thus she is not kidnapped and imprisoned (Gayton 39-40). Lily is quick to point to Gulliver's selfish motives to the reader: "All Gulliver wanted was for people to buy his book. He might talk about *truth* and *reason*, but really he had kidnapped her out of greed" (42, original emphasis). She points to the same motivation that drives all villainous big adults.

Gulliver's confrontations with Lily force him to reconsider his stance and he admits to his wrongdoing at the end of the novel. When Gulliver finds Mr Plinker trying to capture and enslave Lily and her friend Finn, a big child forced to be Mr Plinker's apprentice, Gulliver observes, "Look at us *yahoos*. We kidnap children from their homes. We keep them in cages. We turn them into slaves. We are monstrous. Monstrous" (240, original emphasis). He now accepts Lily's argument that she was kidnapped and enslaved, and he was wrong to take her from her home. He also reverses his claim that the big world should know about Lilliput: "I thought Lily would change us . . . And she has. But not for the better. We have become even more selfish and

cruel than ever" (240). He has seen the selfishness of himself and other big people. This is a lesson that big child characters will not learn until the end of the twentieth century.

The Dangers of Desire: Loving the miniature to death

Not all big adults who attempt to control and possess miniature people do so for profit. In Eve Bunting's The Lambkins (2005), Mrs. Shepherd kidnaps, shrinks, and imprisons children in a dollhouse out of a misplaced and deluded sense of love and care. Her desire is for the child, but more importantly for the manageable child that she can easily control and force to be her envisioned perfect family. After the protagonist, Kyle, is kidnapped by Mrs. Shepherd at the beginning of the story, he awakens to find he has been shrunk and locked in a dollhouse with two other teenagers, Mac and Tanya, a little girl named Lulu, and a dog, Pippy. After Mrs. Shepherd turns them into Lambkins, - her name for her captives after miniaturization - she calls them her children and says she loves them and would never hurt them (13-15). However, it is immediately evident that these claims are false and fanciful. Kyle was kidnapped to replace another teen, John, who Mrs. Shepherd killed during his escape attempt when she swiped at him and sent him flying into a wall (72-3). Mrs. Shepherd seemed genuinely sad about John's death, saying she was "sorry" and "devasted" because she loves her Lambkins, but she is still not willing to set them free (73). She only wants to know "what else she could do to make [the Lambkins] accept the way things were now" (74). She is only concerned with her own wants and needs.

Mrs. Shepherd wants the Lambkins to be good, obedient, happy children. She cannot understand why they are not so, even though she loves them and sees herself a giving them the opportunity to peruse their dreams. She chooses her kidnap victims by finding talented young people who she believes are being held back by their circumstances and thus will be happier with her. For example, Kyle is a budding painter who is quitting his lessons because his single mother cannot afford them. Although Mrs. Shepherd claims she is giving the Lambkins better lives, her actions are all for her own desire and pleasure. Everything they are allowed to do is for her benefit. She forces one of them to have dinner with her every evening, she is upset when they do not work on their talents, and any attempts to escape are met with confusion and fury.

Mrs. Shepherd's anger and displeasure at the Lambkins disobeying her and refusing to be her ideal children goes to further extremes by the end of the novel. When a message the children paint on the dollhouse wall almost reveals their existence to a plumber, Mrs. Shepherd decides that the three teens are "too difficult" and that she will "exchange" them, making it clear she intends to kill and replace them (164). The children manage to escape, and the story ends with them waiting for the police to arrive (180). Mrs. Shepherd is just as extreme as earlier villainous adults and will meet the same fate and pay for her crimes.

Yet, although Mrs. Shepherd is presented as crazy, she represents how easily giving into the possessive desire to care for the miniature can become sinister and dangerous. Her position is not altogether unimaginable. Even Tanya, who resists Mrs. Shepherd the most, notes, "You know I hate her. But I sort of understand her, too. She's lonely. She's empty. We fill her life. I was lonely a lot of the time in the foster homes" (129). With the right circumstances, any love and desire for companionship can become a controlling and possessive relationship. The big child can also allow their desire to possess and care for the miniature to overcome them and lead to harm, even if they may not reach the extremes of Mrs. Shepherd. They can also convince themselves that they are 'helping' the miniature people and making their lives better, just like Mrs. Shepherd, when they are really motivated by their own desires and push their expectations onto miniature people. The instinct to possess is in all big people, including both naughty and good big children, but it is made more obvious and wrong when attached to big adults, while 'good' big children often go unchallenged.

The Child-Imperialist and the Miniature

Some big children attempt to control miniature people though overt acts of possession and ownership, much like the villainous adults. These naughty children use their size difference to try to dominate the miniature people and force them to follow their will. Some even go as far as capturing miniature people and perceiving them as pets and toys. However, there are subtler ways, which are displayed by 'good' big children, that also place expectations and demands on the miniature people. Both naughty and good big children attempt to control the miniature people through an insistence on the norms of the hierarchy of scale.

In "Alice the Child-Imperialist and the Games of Wonderland," Daniel Bivona outlines his concept of the "child-imperialist" to analyse how child characters attempt to set and enforce their norms onto the other. Bivona argues that Lewis Carroll critiques "ethnocentric premises" in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* through Alice's actions as a child-imperialist who attempts to comprehend the other by imposing her own systems of understanding (170-1). Alice approaches the residents in Wonderland with a drive to comprehend their rules and social system, but only through the lens of her own rules and systems of Victorian England, which leads to a "complete disruption of Wonderland society" and Alice's assimilation of Wonderland into her norms (147-9). For example, when Alice is frustrated at her inability to comprehend the rules of the Queen's croquet game, she determines that the game must not have rules, projecting "her exasperation with her own ignorance or lack of skill . . . onto the 'creatures,'" a name she has given to the residents of Wonderland that diminishes their status below her own (Bivona 147, 149). Alice cannot comprehend a system radically different from her own and when her attempts to use her own system in Wonderland fail, she blames Wonderland and its residents, determining they are inferior to her system (150). In "producing her own self-justifying evidence" (149), Alice supports her own norms.

Alice treats the "other" of Wonderland "as a screen on which she may project her own idea of the other" (153-4), categorizing all those who do not adhere to her own logic and system as wrong. Alice does not understand that although she is "outside of the 'creatures' social system," she is still within one of her own, which she "elevate[s] into a universal interpretive system called upon to explain all behavior everywhere" (159). Alice assumes ("like any good imperialist") that her "undismissible presence" within the social system of the 'creatures' means "she can thereby dominate it, and successful domination must be the inevitable reward of 'comprehension'" (158). As she is participating in Wonderland's social system, she feels she can push her own 'right' system onto it. Alice, as child-imperialist, fails to comprehend the 'creatures' of Wonderland, but she does not recognize this failure as she imposes meaning onto them, thus converting her failure "into a 'successful' act of imperial appropriation" (165). Alice recenters herself in the action and imposes her norms, which views the social system and rules of Wonderland as 'wrong' and in need of her righting.

The naughty child is an overt child-imperialist who insists that their norms are correct, thus the miniature is wrong, and they can dominate with their 'rightness.' Much like Alice in Wonderland, the naughty child's actions often come from a desire to comprehend and interact with the miniature, but their refusal to move outside of the hierarchy of scale allows only a dominating position for them and forces the miniature people to break ties to keep their freedom and security. The good child seeks to fully understand and befriend the miniature people, and although they appear to resist the desire to control, their insistence on their understanding of the miniature and knowing how best to help them, reveals a controlling nature that centers and insists upon the same norms of the hierarchy of scale as the naughty child.

The big child forces the miniature to meet their own expectations and desires. The child justifies their actions with an insistence that the miniature people need help that only they can provide, but the result is the child-implicitly enacting their superiority through the hierarchy of scale, in which they become the voice of the miniature people because they know best. These actions put the big child in a position of speaking for the other and thus confusing their big norms and understanding with those of the miniature people, which in turn maintains the child's dominant position. This false understanding of the miniature reflects my discussion of dominant discourse and norms in chapter 1, in which colonialism and oppression are upheld with the colonizer 'speaking for' the colonized, or White men 'speaking for' brown women (Bradford 78; Spivak 48-50). Although the big child may not be aware that they are forcing the norms of the hierarchy of scale onto the miniature people, and even believe they are being benevolent and unobstructive, the result is still the same. Kendall's *The Whisper of Glocken*, as discussed above, gives a clear example of how deluding yourself into thinking that you understand the other and know how to help them leads to harm.

The expectation that the good big child will understand and help the miniature, and that the big will dominate over the small, are so entrenched in miniature people children's texts that even some critics take these outcomes for granted. In "Miniature Adults Compel the Growth of Children," Michael Groberman discusses how child characters' encounters with miniature people leads them to growth and maturity through their newfound position as "caretaker" and "protector" that is inherently an adult role. Groberman depicts characters like the boy in *The Borrowers* and Max from Pauline Clarke's *The Twelve and the Genii* as taking on "this protective role, in opposition of the large and mainly adult society, out of a sense that only he knows what is right and only he can be certain that right is done." Groberman concludes that the child matures because of their adult role towards the miniature and that by the end of their narratives, "[t]hey have grown into responsible protectors of the weak, challengers of social rules, independent determiners of right behaviour." From this view, the miniature people are only tools for the growth of big children. The question to ask is do the miniature people need the big child to be their protector and determiner of rightness?

The big child's assumed position as protector and helper needs to be questioned and assessed for its potential harm to the miniature people, not brushed aside as part of an inevitable power imbalance as Groberman does at the beginning of his article, claiming "[t]he children cannot get past the power imbalance of size. . . . And that power relationship will never change. Perhaps that is why the stories must end with a permanent separation, because the power imbalance simply cannot go on for long no matter how friendly the relationship becomes." Groberman's argument is based on the hierarchy of scale and built on the residues I followed in earlier chapters, including the insistence that big people will always be dominant of and dangerous to miniature people. Two new residues also emerge out of the normalizing of miniature people's dependence on the PW and the simplistic comparison to children and miniature people. From the first comes the insistence that miniature people need protection, and from the second that the big child can understand the miniature people's wants and needs. The result is a normalizing of 'good' big children enacting control over miniature people in the name of assistance, care, and protection, with the justification that they know what is best. The big child takes over the voice of the miniature people, ignores their wants and needs, and forces themselves and their expectations onto the PMW.

Questioning the Protective Child: The Borrowers vs. the 'good' child

The encounters between child(like) human beings and Borrowers have subtle hints of how easily good intentions become bad. There are some brief references to naughty big children who are as overtly possessive over Borrowers as big adults. Homily recalls that her "mother-inlaw had an uncle once who was kept in a tin box with four holes in the lid and fed twice a day by an eye-dropper" (Norton, Afield 193) and Lupy's cousin was captured by children who "made a regular kind of world for him in the bottom of an old tin bath . . . they knew he couldn't get out" (194). These big children fully understood that they have trapped the Borrowers and treat them as pets rather than fellow people. However, these are passing comments on just two pages of one novel in a 5-book series. The vast majority of child(like) big people are 'good' children, who befriend the Borrowers and come to understand them, or at least Arrietty. Yet, the narrative shows the Borrowers' continuing fear of human beings and their doubts that the big child can be any different or less dangerous than big adults. These underlying fears are supported by the big child(like) characters' actions and words, in which they make demands, think they know best, and treat the Borrowers as pets and possessions. These alternate perspectives on the Borrowers' relationship with 'good' big children unsettles their positions and creates holes in the norms and narrative that point to the hierarchy of scale.

The boy, Tom, and Miss Menzies are child(like) characters who are described as having Borrower traits and thus appear to understand the Borrowers and treat them as fellow humans. However, even with these connections and understandings, the boy, Tom, and Miss Menzies cannot escape a part of them that views the Borrowers as inferior and wishes to treat them as pets or possessions. The boy's possessive instinct towards the Borrowers is the least overt. The boy does not directly use possessive language in relation to the Borrowers, but upon consideration of the traits of the child-imperialist, the pressure he places on the Borrowers to accept his friendship and decisions becomes clear.

From the very beginning, the boy's relationship with the Clock family is one he pushes upon them and dictates. The boy's first encounter with Arrietty does not put him in a good light. He is afraid of her, so he uses his size and a threat to her safety to try to control their interaction (*The Borrowers* 71-3). Although the boy will come to learn from Arrietty and understand her worldview enough to take on the name of borrower for himself, he continues to be dangerous to the Borrowers. Arrietty seems to sense the danger and avoids telling the boy where her family lives. The boy does not respect the Clocks' privacy or safety. He discovers their home on his own, lifts off their roof in the middle of the night, and brings miniature furniture to try to please them. He does not consider the Borrowers' wellbeing in his choice. The episode is focalized through Homily, who is too terrified to move as a big person breaks into their home and indelicately places furniture, ignorant of the care he should take to avoid harming them (121-5). Pod and Homily nervously accept the boy's first gift in the hopes he will leave, but he excitedly insists on adding more furniture (125-7).

The boy forces his presence and friendship upon the Borrowers. Groberman argues that the boy's size means that he "is always operating from a position of kindness towards his power inferiors, to those whom are not only in need of his 'borrowing' but also of his protection. . . . He alone is the caretaker of these small human beings. He is hiding them from the normal-sized adults whom he believes would not accept them and would try to destroy them." However, these claims are not true. Although the Clocks are eventually won over by the beautiful furniture and other items that the boy can borrow for them, they do not need his help to obtain the items they require to live comfortably, as they have done independently for years. Also, although the boy saves the Clocks from death by breaking the grating so they can escape the ratcatcher's gas (Norton, *The Borrowers* 169-70), it can be argued that his own actions and choices led to this dangerous outcome. If he had respected the Borrowers' wishes to keep their home hidden and not begun borrowing for them, the Borrowers would not have been discovered. The expensive items would have stayed unborrowed in the glass cabinet, Mrs. Driver would have stayed ignorant, and the Clocks would have continued living their lives. The boy has forced his way into the position of carer, keeper, and protector because he is lonely and views Arrietty as his only opportunity for friendship and connection at Firbank. His actions are for his own benefit, not the Borrowers. Although the boy's relationship with the Clocks does benefit Arrietty and she enthusiastically accepts his friendship and gifts, it is not the same for Pod and Homily. Their relationship with the boy has been completely forced upon them and they do not need him.

Tom Goodenough and Miss Menzies' underlying views of Borrowers as pets and possessions are more obvious. Although Spiller seeks help from Tom to rescue the Clocks from Mild Eye, it is soon apparent that Tom also presents an underlying threat. Tom uses his size to attempt to make himself superior and enact control over the Borrowers. He wishes to examine the Borrowers and attempts to reach them while they travel in his pocket. Although Tom argues he just wants to see if they are alright, Spiller must tell him to stop twice (Norton, *Afield* 192). Then, while the Clocks wait with Tom for Spiller to return from the Hendrearys' home, Tom is described as "staring with great interest, as a collector would stare at a new-found specimen. His hand hovered above them as though he longed to touch them, to pick one of them up, to examine each more closely" (195-7). Homily upholds Tom's position as collector when she thinks that Spiller must be "the boy's curator: the go-between of this rare collection" (197), and Tom himself says, "I got six altogether in there . . . Six borrowers . . . I reckon I got the best collection

of borrowers in two counties" (197). Although Tom resists touching the Borrowers without permission and does prove himself a good help to them in the future, he clearly claims ownership over the Borrowers in his home and feels some entitlement to enact control over them. He enforces the hierarchy of scale.

Miss Menzies has a similar relationship to the Borrowers. Although she appears to understand them in many ways and sees herself as a benevolent assistant and carer, her words and actions also have an undertone of possessiveness. It begins with Miss Menzies making the Borrowers clothes and other items that she leaves for them to borrow (*Aloft* 41). Much like the boy, she is taking it upon herself to interfere in the Borrowers' lives. She may be giving them nice things to borrow, but they do not need those items or her. She says she loves the Borrowers (41) and wishes she could share her own home with them, so she can spend all day "mak[ing] them things" and "buy[ing] them things" (43-4). Miss Menzies' wish for the Borrowers to live in her home and be cared for by her would make the Borrowers pets. Pod makes a similar observation near the end of *The Borrowers Aloft* when Arrietty argues that Miss Menzies loves them. Pod says that maybe Miss Menzies does love them, but "like [human beings] do their pets" (186). Although pets are loved and cared for, they are not free and are under the control of their owner. Miss Menzies' possessive nature towards the Borrowers is also shown at the beginning of the final book when she calls them "her little people . . . for whom she had made a home" (Avenged 13). Her language echoes Tom and claims ownership – not friendship or partnership – over the Borrowers, and like the boy, she forces her help onto the Borrowers to relieve her loneliness.

The boy, Tom, and Miss Menzies all love the Borrowers but give into the desire to possess and control that their love creates. They force their presence into the lives of the

Borrowers and in turn make them more dependent on them, as well as big people in general. Jon C. Stott points to Pod's conversation with Arrietty at the end of *Aloft* about human beings loving them like pets and Pod's comparison of a human being's love of Borrowers to a Borrower's love a of pet mouse – you can care for the mouse as much as you wish, but it always wants to escape (92). Stott links the loss of freedom not only to physical entrapment, but to assistance from human beings: "when Borrowers are seen by human beings, they run the danger of being treated like pets and enslaved . . . Because being given things rather than borrowing them robs Borrowers of independence" (Stott, *Norton* 92). The Borrowers' freedom and personhood comes from their ability to support themselves.

The series supports the Borrowers' search for more independence from big people. At the end of *Avenged*, the Clocks have settled in the Old Rectory, but keep their borrowing mostly to the out-of-doors and construct their new home from unwanted items and scraps. Less contact with the PW means more freedom and choice for the Borrowers. Yet, even with this conclusion, the dangers of the good big child believing they know best and forcing their friendship upon miniature people is somewhat lost, since these child characters exist alongside villainous adults like the Platters, who take over the interactions between big people and Borrowers for the final two books in the series. This narrative shift from the Borrowers interacting mainly with 'good' big children to villainous big adults, suggests it is villainous adults and not good children that push the Borrowers to find more independence and freedom. The possessive nature of the big children is never fully addressed as a problem, and Miss Menzies continues to be 'good' in the final two novels, presented (along with Mr. Pott) as the opposite of the Platters. Thus, the more obvious enactments of the hierarchy of scale mask the subtler ones.

The Naughty vs. the Good: How comparisons weaken nuance

The Borrowers is not the only text that struggles to present nuanced big child characters because they become at least partly lost in the presence of villainous adults or naughty children. When a text has a bad big character to juxtapose with the good big character, it detracts from the concern a reader or the narrative may have about the actions of the 'good' character, because they will always be better than those of the bad character. What often results is the good child's understanding and friendship with the miniature people being highlighted, while any mistakes or harm – whether intentionally included in the narrative or not – are overlooked or forgotten, often by the narrator, child character, and miniature people alike. Even texts that show the best intentions can lead to harm are challenged to emphasize the need for the good child to continually learn and check themselves when they think they know what is best. The befriending and acceptance of the big child by the miniature people is not the end of the good child's need to be vigilant of their own possessive and controlling desires. The big child's motivations, approach, and mistakes must be interrogated.

T.H. White's *Mistress Masham's Repose* has its big child protagonist transform from a naughty child to a good one. Maria begins her interactions with the Lilliputians by kidnapping a mother and baby, and is upset when they are not "any fun" and refuse to obey her (White 33). The Professor admonishes her for forcing her expectations and will onto the Lilliputians. When he tells Maria that she must release her prisoners, she fears she will lose the Lilliputians altogether (34). She tells the Professor that she can help them, to which he responds that they must do things for themselves, and when Maria claims she has "nobody to love," the Professor answers, "If they love you . . . very well. You may love them. But do you think, Maria, that you can make them love you for yourself alone, by wrapping prisoners up in dirty handkerchiefs?"

(34). This conversation between Maria and the Professor is a perfect example of a big child who aims to control and possess miniature people out of a desire for companionship and love. The errors that the Professor outlines for Maria are the same taken by the boy, Tom, and Miss Menzies in *The Borrowers*.

The Professor must remind Maria that the Lilliputians are not toys but human beings with lives and wishes of their own, and he will have to do so several times more before Maria learns her lesson. After Maria returns her captives and befriends the Lilliputians, she continues to impose her will and "help" onto them, resulting first in the failure of a fishing expedition (White 81), and escalating to her treating the Lilliputians as toys (84) and ignoring their knowledge and experience, that leads to a Lilliputian being injured when she insists that he fly her toy plane (85-8). Maria is still the naughty big child at this point, and it is not until the Lilliputians exile her from their island and the Professor again explains that she cannot try to own and dictate the lives of the Lilliputians that Maria accepts her mistakes and seeks forgiveness from the Lilliputians by bringing gifts and messages of apology over three nights (92-6).

Now that Maria is a 'good' big child and has learned her lesson, the Lilliputians reaccept her friendship quickly and the narrative suggests that she comes to understand and respect the Lilliputians. Maria is now juxtaposed to her earlier self and the villainous adults of Mr. Hater and Miss Brown. Although Maria is certainly loyal to the Lilliputians and keeps their location secret, and the text suggests that her relationship with the Lilliputians as equal, her controlling instincts remain – the narrative just overlooks them. The narrator and the Professor are present and clear in pointing out Maria's errors in her relationship with the Lilliputians. Yet neither appear to raise alarm about Maria's controlling nature after she becomes a 'good' child and daydreams about how, if she were rich, she would relocate and reorganize the Lilliputians' homes and comes up
with punishments for those who do not follow the (her) rules (116-20). Maria's plans reappear at the end of the novel as the solution to hide the Lilliputians so they and Maria can live happily together (253-5).²⁰

Although it is briefly mentioned that the Professor cannot see how miniature people can be independent when they associated with big people (173), the text ends with him and Maria living with the Lilliputians, suggesting that his experience working to save Maria alongside the Lilliputians has changed his mind. However, to get to this point, Maria had to impose her friendship and help onto the Lilliputians. Just like with the Borrowers, the Lilliputians are living peacefully and well before they are discovered. Once their encounter begins and the child discovers the miniature people's home, they become dependent on the big child to keep their secret. Any help or assistance Maria provides is unnecessary – even if it seems necessary, it would not have been if Maria did not meet the Lilliputians. Vallone notes that Maria matures and comes to understand the Lilliputians so she "comes to marvel not *at* the People . . . but who they are as a culture" (154). Although it is true that Maria comes to understand the Lilliputians better and resists her desire to possess them, she cannot shake the child-imperialist within her that continues to dictate the Lilliputian's lives and insists on 'helping' them because she thinks she knows best and wants someone to love.

The comparison of the naughty and good big child is also in Henry Winterfeld's *Castaways in Lilliput* (1958). Young Jim is the naughty child on the adventure to Lilliput. While Ralph and Peggy are upset to find themselves suddenly giants and have everyone fleeing from them, Jim thinks it is "great" and "enthusiastically" declares, "Now I can lick everybody!" (Winterfeld 63). Jim is pleased to be big and sees it as an opportunity to impose power and

²⁰ I give a more detailed version of this example in chapter 2 on page 94.

control. It is not surprising that the youngest child would have this reaction, since he has been feeling controlled himself as Ralph and Peggy spend much of the story scolding him. The two older children want Jim to follow societal rules and not damage other people's property (36, 126). Their attempts to control Jim only escalate his behaviour as he begins to ignore their demands.

Jim's naughtiness is mostly tied to his ignorance of the danger of his size. When he feels left out when the Lilliputian crowd gazes astonished at his sister, Jim "seek[s] attention" by doing somersaults, but almost accidently "squash[es] to death" three policemen (154). Later, when Jim learns there is an amusement park nearby, he ignores the Lilliputian authorities and the older big children to run off to see it (180-1). He thinks it is just fun and games to put policemen on high roofs and spin the Ferris wheel rapidly with Lilliputians inside (183-5). When Ralph and Peggy run after Jim and tell him they must escape because the Lilliputian police want to shoot him, the boy is confused, saying, "Why? I've done no harm!" (190). Jim may understand the power of his size, but he does not comprehend his destructive capability, nor can he move beyond seeing the Lilliputians and their world as toys for his enjoyment.

However, Peggy and Ralph, although more aware of the harm they can bring to the Lilliputians, also make mistakes and cause damage. For example, when Peggy and Ralph run after Jim to save him from the Lilliputian police, Ralph accidently tears a balcony off a building, and blames Jim instead of his lack of care, and Peggy later accidently sits on the tiger's cage at the zoo and sets it free (186, 195). Earlier in the narrative, Ralph drives a Lilliputian train when the engineers run away and almost crashes it into a station (112-22). They are also focused on themselves and their wants above the Lilliputians.

Yet, the narrative presents Ralph as the child who best understands the Lilliputians' humanity, which he asserts to both Peggy and Jim. When Peggy says it was almost like the Lilliputian farmer was "a real human being," he tells her that "Lilliputians *are* real human beings They're just small" (82). Not long after, when Jim wants to chase and catch the train engineers, Ralph angrily says, "Shut up! ... As though Lilliputians were a lot of mice!" (111). Ralph is also the child who decides to hide the Lilliputians from the big adults because "If they find Lilliput, they'll ruin it" (220). Ralph is set up as the good big child who respects and understands the miniature people, but he also forgets the harm of his size and the will of the Lilliputians when it is convenient for him. Ralph – and the narrative as a whole – may try to blame Jim for all the children's problems in Lilliput, but he and Peggy are also guilty of harmful behaviour. However, because Jim is there to be the bad example, Ralph's actions and motivations are left uninterrogated, so his enforcement of the hierarchy of scale is concealed.

Calling Out the Big Child: Miniature people speak back

Villainous adults, naughty children, and uninterrogated 'good' children appear throughout my timeline and continue in miniature narratives today. Much like other residues of the hierarchy of scale, the more recent the text, the more likely it is to move away from overt assertions of the hierarchy of scale and towards less obvious ways to normalize superiority based on size. The same general trend can be seen around the relationships of big people and miniature people. As more miniature narratives were written and spoke back to earlier texts, the motivations and actions of both big adults and big children had more complexity and were interrogated further. Purely villainous big characters – whether they be adults or children – are less frequent in recent texts, so that the conflict is related to big people and the PW in general, and not a specific bad person. Texts published close to or after the turn of the twenty-first century often have this conflict relate to miniature people pushing for independence or the big child learning about their harmful actions and tendencies, so that there is no longer a main antagonist to take the blame but a careful consideration of how the big child character interacts with and relates to the PMW. When there is no villainous big character, the big child does not have to be only 'good' in comparison and their motives can be more complicated and their faults pointed to, and even corrected.

As I discussed in chapter 1, Charles de Lint's *Little (Grrl) Lost* (2007) acknowledges that even though good big teen T.J. works to understand and help her miniature friend Elizabeth, she is not immune from the harmful norms of the hierarchy of scale. Elizabeth sees T.J. as a friend and a good person, but that does not negate the fact that she is a Big and that Bigs are unpredictable (de Lint 83). Although Elizabeth does not believe T.J. would hurt her, "the point is that she *could*" and "All [T.J.] has to do is get mad at me once and she could just stick me in a jar. Or squash me without even having to think about it" (100, original emphasis). The possibility that T.J. could become controlling, possessive, or even physically harm Elizabeth, is always there, so Elizabeth stays alert.

Elizabeth pushes back against T.J.'s actions that could lead to control and possession. Elizabeth refuses T.J.'s offers for help as much as she can because she does not want to be dependent or treated as a pet (de Lint 10-11, 31). The narrative also rejects the norm of miniature people's dependence and that they require the help and protection of the good big child. Not long after the big and miniature teens meet, they are separated, and although their stories continue to be related, they have little influence on each other going forward – if anything, Elizabeth's journey and encounters impact T.J.'s and not the other way around. T.J. does take on the position of the average good big child. When she loses Elizabeth, she is concerned for her miniature friend's safety and spends the rest of the narrative searching for her. Elizabeth, however, demonstrates that she does not need T.J. and continues her objective to find other Littles and learn about their ability to turn into birds. She does not actively search for T.J., nor does she need T.J.'s help. The ending finalizes the message that the miniature people do not need the assistance and protection of the good big child. While the two teens reunite briefly at the end of the narrative, Elizabeth chooses not to return to T.J.'s house and instead becomes an apprentice baker at the Goblin Market (250). She does not want to be dependent on any Big, even T.J. The good big child is not necessary or needed, and thus is not allowed to be controlling or possessive.

Raymond Briggs' *The Man* (1992) is even more direct in its challenge of the good big child's motivations and perception of miniature people. Man takes the position of the single miniature in this text, although he does suggest that there are a few others like him. Man is a miniature person trying to survive in a big world and is constantly balancing the need for help to navigate that PW and his own independence and personhood. Man tells the big boy, John, several times that his size means he cannot have a job, or own a home, or get a proper education. He struggles with everyday tasks like cooking or using the toilet because the world is not made for him, as shown in the episode when he tries to make his own breakfast after a fight with John and almost falls off the counter into the broken glass of a marmalade jar.

At the same time, Man refuses to be seen as needy and helpless. From the moment he reveals himself to John, Man makes demands and gives instructions. When John argues that he "took in" Man or that Man relies on his kindness to live, Man refutes him. In one instance, Man argues that John is actually "attracted . . . fascinated . . . by [Man's] size," since if he had "been woken up by a naked starving man six foot tall," he would have run to his parents and called the

police.²¹ When John agrees that would have been the case, Man says John accepted him for "just my <u>size</u>" and "Not <u>me</u>" (original emphasis). He finishes by saying that to John, he is "not a person at all" but a toy and a pet. Man challenges John to consider his motivations and accept that their relationship is beneficial for both.

Man also rejects the labels John tries to push onto him. John is obsessed with putting Man into a category. Throughout the first part of the book, John asks Man if he is a fairy, a gnome, a Borrower, or from space like ET. When Man is upset with those suggestions, John moves on with attempts to force other labels onto him. First, he says that Man "must be an endangered species" and "must be an <u>undiscovered</u> species" (original emphasis). He suggests that Man should be conserved in a Nature Conservancy. The pair argue and John cannot understand why the Man sees being conserved as being put "in a jam jar," or "zoo," or "museum," and worse than "dying out." John sees Man's reaction as rejecting help and thinks Man's declaration, "I want to <u>live</u> my life!" is "a joke" because he is a "beggar" (original emphasis). John reveals his misunderstanding of Man's position. John assumes that Man wants and needs help. When Man becomes burdensome, John considers ways to pass on his perceived role as 'helper' for Man onto someone else.

Through all John's attempts, Man resists his child-imperialist notions. Man rejects being labeled and categorized and insists on his individualism and personhood. He refuses to perform expected roles, such as grateful dependent. Vallone summarizes Man's resistance and unique position as a miniature character very well: "Man has refused to perform for John in any minstrel or pygmyfied way; he rejects all the dwarf labels and conventions of tinyness in children's books ... While he is dependent upon John for some of his bodily needs, he is not helpless and does

²¹ Raymond Briggs' *The Man* is a cross between a picturebook and comic. All quotations come from Random House's first American edition from 1995 that does not have page numbers.

not need a champion, a master, or a father" (176-7). Man rejects the hierarchy of scale and will not allow John to uphold a child-imperialist concept of himself as protector and helper, and Man as needy and dependent. *The Man* does not let the big child take any ownership or control over the miniature, not even in the subtle ways of the good big child.

What John does not realize is that Man is carefully balancing his dependence and control. In this way, Man is different from most other single miniature characters – and even miniature people characters overall. He uses his position as a miniature person to his advantage to gain control in his relationship with the big child and the big world. Man came to John with a specific plan and approach. He uses John's struggle between perceiving him as human or possession to disrupt John's notion of himself as helper and caregiver. John in never in control, even if he thinks so. Man says he can leave when he wishes, and it is true. When John says that Man needs someone to look after him and asks where Man would be without him, Man simply says, "Somewhere else, of course" (Briggs). John is not unique. There are other children and homes Man can turn to. Man does not need John to 'save him' or protect him. John does not like this answer and suggests that Man is "exploiting" him. Again, Man turns the tables. He asks a series of questions that leads to John admitting that he does not feel exploited, that he wants Man to stay, and he likes having Man around. Man shows that their relationship is an equal transaction.

Man's major technique for survival and control is to challenge the child-imperialist instinct within John. John often tries to push his expectations and norms onto Man, but the miniature man will not accept them. John comments that he "thought tiny people had squeaky voices" but Man's "sounds almost like a normal person." Man angrily responds, "I <u>am</u> a normal person!" and "I am <u>not</u> tiny! My voice is <u>not</u> squeaky!" (original emphasis). Man will not allow John's norms to stand firm. He has no intention of meeting John's expectations. He is not automatically grateful for John's help, which frustrates the boy. John expects recognition and thanks. On another occasion, when John says that Man is "not normal," Man argues it depends on "what you mean by normal." When John responds, "You're not like <u>us</u>, are you?", Man challenges him on who "us" is and why he and his family should be "the normal by which everyone is to be judged?" Man will not allow the hierarchy of scale to take hold.

Eventually, John's insistence that Man is completely dependent on him and needs help comes to a head in the pair's final confrontation of the narrative. John continues his efforts to label Man. He declares that he is Man's "social worker" and that Man is "at risk" and "in need of care and protection." John tries to use the threat of calling the local authority to gain control. At first, Man begs for John not to call and promises to be good, but Man retaliates when John moves to hold the threat over Man's head indefinitely, saying "But remember, I've only got to pick up the phone." Man uses his own threat of burning down John's home to attempt to regain some control. Their fight ends with each calling the other "a murderer." They have come to a stalemate, but it is over threats instead of motives and positions. John cannot see beyond what he perceives as Man's dependence, and Man will not have further success pointing to John's true motivations. It is at this point that Man leaves. It is a sad departure for both. As Vallone notes, the pair are "trapped in mutual affection, need, and distrust" (175). When that precarious balance tips, their relationship cannot work any longer.

The interrogation of both John and Man's motives and perceptions unsettles their positions in the narrative, and neither is good or bad, nor is either shown to be more dependent. John's attempts to control Man through categorization, expectations, and insisting on his dependence all fail because Man has his own voice and uses it to speak against the hierarchy of scale hidden behind John's claims of benevolence. John, as the big child, is never allowed to sit comfortably in his assumptions that he is good, can understand and speak for the miniature, or that the Man relies and depends on him.

Conclusion

The desire to possess the cute, and in turn the child, is linked to the desire to rescue and care for the needy, which in the end is really about control and making them meet the expectations and norms set by the hierarchy of scale. Big children force themselves into the position of carer and keeper to control their perception of the miniature people. They attempt to label the miniature people to position themselves as the authority and power, and the miniature people as dependent. They become the child-imperialist, insisting on their expectations of what the miniature people should be, which in turn upholds their misplaced notions that they are necessary for the miniature people's survival and safety.

Generally, the texts in my timeline are invested in relaying to the reader the harm and cruelty of possessing miniature people and their narratives attempt to encourage mutual understanding and freedom. The big adults who want to enslave miniature people and use them for profit are villains, and the big child who uses their size to dominate miniature people and abuse their position are naughty and punished. It is made clear in texts with villainous adults and naughty children that possessing the miniature and forcing your will onto them is wrong. However, the good big child, presented in these narratives as an understanding friend of the miniature people, may also impose influence and control, just in a less physical and obvious way. The good big child gives themselves the role of carer, protector, and keeper of the miniature people, even when it is unwanted and unneeded. Thus, narratives that point to and challenge the hierarchy of scale can undermine their own efforts in their failure to interrogate the position and relationship of the good big child to the miniature people. Texts that do succeed in pointing to the good big child's imperialist and controlling tendencies are those that have miniature people speaking back to the big child and refusing to let them solidify their imaginary position as carer and keeper. These texts remind the big child that they are always a potential danger to the miniature people and that their efforts to 'help' them are not only motivated by kindness. They also speak to how easy it can be for big children to claim the voice of miniature people for their own and the dangerous silencing that results. A miniature narrative that calls out the hierarchy of scale while silencing miniature people or reducing the power of their voice and perspective will not successfully challenge the norms it tries to subvert because the residues remain.

At the same time, not all types of miniature people characters are able to be in a relationship with the good big child, let alone challenge the good big child's misconceptions about their interactions with miniature people. For a relationship between the good big child and miniature people to form, the big child must come to some understanding of the miniature people, and that often results from similarities that the big child perceives between themselves and the miniature people. This perception of sameness is generally only available to those miniatures that are 'cute,' meaning they reflect the big people and adhere to at least some of the norms of the big (White) world. These miniature people live in big houses, use big items, and eat big food. In texts like *The Borrowers*, the miniature people even take on big names and follow the structure of the big people's class system. These miniature people have miniature homes within big homes. They reflect our world back at us, at least partially.

However, miniature people who live outside of the boundaries of the big home and dependence on big people, who live in the "wild" and are independent – or at least whose survival does not depend on big people – are not given the same opportunities for understanding

and equality. The 'wild' miniature is often presented are foreign and beyond comprehension, even by their fellow miniature people. In many texts, the more independent a miniature person is and the farther away they are from home-dwelling miniature people, the more racialized their depiction in the narrative becomes. This observation leads into my final chapter, where I will examine the implications of the Whiteness of the miniature people encountered by big children in the texts of my timeline and the unsettled position of racialized miniature people.

Chapter 5: Race and the Unstable Positions of Miniature People

This chapter continues my observation from my last chapter of the differing treatment of miniature people coded White and those further othered by descriptions that connect them to racial (and often racist) stereotypes. White miniature people are allowed into spaces of mutual understanding and sameness dictated by the big child. The racialized miniature cannot be 'cute' and equated to the child. However, the position of the racialized miniature removes them from the big child's fantasy of being needed and the possessive control the big child attempts to impose onto White miniature people. Their difference grants them distance and independence, and this position of difference appears just as much chosen by the racialized miniature as it is a category dictated by big people.

In fact, the racialized miniature is more of an extreme version of the White miniature. They push even further away from big expectations and the hierarchy of scale, being more resistant in their voice but also in their place within both the PW and PMW. The racialized miniature is generally not focalized, which makes it difficult for their voices to be heard, even when they are viewed through White miniature focalization, because they exist further from the PW and even further into the PMW. It is difficult for White miniature people to exist fully independent of the PW and its shows in the big norms that seep into their lives and viewpoints. Thus, the racialized miniature, who is fully independent of the PW, presents the possibilities for White miniature people to escape big people's influence, but also becomes other to them. Racialized miniature people are distant from the PW and White miniature people alike, but that distance and difference can allow them to challenge big norms and expectations that White miniature people, in their relatedness and possessed state, cannot. The otherness that positions the racialized miniature as different also gives them the distance to resist, challenge, and break free of big power and control.

However, that is only possible when the racialized miniature has a more complex positioning that removes them from pure stereotype or racist depiction, and instead gives them a voice with at least some validity and a place in the PMW that has some draw or interest to White miniature people. If not, racialized miniature people are locked into an additional set of residues from a history of colonialization and White supremacy that trap them within further expectations and norms to silence their voices.

All types of miniature people refuse to be pinned down. White and racialized miniatures all generally insist on their difference from big people, and even those coded White often move towards the narrative positions of racialized miniatures by the end of their narratives. Vallone argues that "the idea of the pygmy," which was created by the dominant discourse, can be challenged, "as radical new visions of the racialized other emerge in conversation with the complicated nexus of racial and size difference. The pygmies, and other racialized miniatures, provide irresistible moving targets for competing fantasies of lack and excess, childlikeness and gravitas, need and independence" (26). The very attempt to code race into miniature people characters emphasizes their liminality and unstable positions.

My previous chapters discussed the competing norms and narrations in miniature people children's literature, and how miniature narratives can allow them to exist together as differing voices, albeit not always comfortably or equally. Even in texts in which the residues of the hierarchy of scale overpower the miniature voice or world, the miniature is not fully controlled. The White coding of the majority of miniature people, the diminishing of difference, and the positioning and descriptions that racialize certain miniature people, are examples of norms that continue in residues throughout my timeline. However, the complexities of the miniature, that cannot be pinned down and categorized into a single metaphor, symbol, or position, challenge these attempts to control miniature narratives.

Many miniature people presented as White never truly fit the norms of the hierarchy of scale and the big child's expectations. Miniature people blur the lines between White and racialized, and insist on their difference and the dangerous power of big people. The multi-facetted and complex outcomes of PMWs, miniature focalization, miniature voices, and the relationship between the big child and the miniature, can simultaneously challenge hierarchal residues and further authenticate them, and these complexities come together in the positioning of race in miniature people texts that show the inherent inability for miniature people narratives to be controlled. Although there are many approaches and lenses to miniature people characters, such as race, space, size, and colonial relations, miniature people are difficult to define. Narrative allows us to see how the PW and PMW are unsettled as they speak to and perceive each other, and the racialized miniature can add more ways to view both these worlds.

The Need for Diversity in Children's Literature

Although I will discuss the unstable positions of miniature people characters that resist White-coding and racialization, it should not be ignored that the texts in my timeline of Englishlanguage miniature people narratives for children, mostly from the US and UK, still have their main protagonists, both big and miniature, being coded White, while miniature people who are presented as more different and distant from the PW (and even the main PMW) are described and depicted in ways that are racialized, stereotypical, and harmful. Although miniature people narratives can challenge and subvert the norms and expectations of the hierarchy of scale, these texts lack diversity in representation. The White-coded miniature people generally take up the place of difference, leaving true diversity aside.

The call for more diversity in children's literature is not new, but it has gained more focused criticism in recent years. From the #WeNeedDiverseBooks hashtag that sprung a non-profit organization (https://diversebooks.org/), to new academic journals such as *Research on Diversity in Youth Literature* (https://sophia.stkate.edu/rdyl/), the push for more diverse representation in children's literature is growing among academics, teachers, librarians, parents, authors, illustrators, and publishers, and partially comes from the stagnation in the growth of representations of BIPOC in books for children and young adults. Philip Nel, writing in 2016, notes that in "the last dozen years, the percentage of children's literature featuring people of color has stayed fairly constant, from 13 percent (in 2002) to 15 percent (in 2015) of the total number of children's books published annually, even though half of US school-age children are now people of color" (2).

In *Was the Cat in the Hat Black? The Hidden Racism of Children's Literature, and the Need for Diverse Books,* Nel points to racist ideologies and practices within the publishing industry, and in the texts of White authors and illustrators, as some of the key factors to the lack of diversity in children's literature. S.R. Toliver adds academics and academic journals to this list in her article on expanding representations of Black girls in literature. Both she and Nel note that the publishing industry has relegated BIPOC authors and characters to the genres of realistic and historical fiction, becoming "the new Jim Crow – a 'post-racial' way of regulating the literary experiences of people of color" (Nel 169) or the "apartheid of literature" (Toliver). Toliver calls the publishing industry the "gatekeeper" that determines "which mirrors are used to reflect Black girlhood and which windows are available for others to see various representations of Black girl experiences."²² However, she notes that even critics and academics researching diverse books privilege contemporary realistic and historical fiction from well-established, well-known, and award-winning authors, and thus further limit representation by limiting focus and notability to a small set of experiences and representations of Black girlhood instead of expanding knowledge and notice to lesser-known and unconventional books.

In recent months, especially in the United States, a new and troubling trend has emerged to limit diversity and representation in children's literature. Schools and libraries are being pressured to ban or remove books from shelves by parents, organizations, and politicians who claim certain representations and topics in texts are inappropriate for children (or really, White children). A recent open letter published by We Need Diverse Books and signed by 1300 children's and young adult authors, published May 19, 2022, expresses the concerning outcomes and harms of these targeted removals. The letter notes that "This current wave of book suppression follows hard-won gains made by authors whose voices have long been underrepresented in publishing" ("Letter from 1,300 Children's and YA Authors on Book Banning"). Just as the stagnation in representation has begun to improve, "The current banning efforts are part of a strong and purposeful backlash against books written by BIPOC authors" and "Books with characters who are LGBTQIA+." These bans continue the message to BIPOC, LGBTQIA+, and children from other marginalized groups, that they and their stories do not matter. As the letter states, "When books are removed or flagged as inappropriate, it sends the

²² Toliver references Rudine Sims Bishop's mirrors, windows, and sliding glass doors metaphor for representation in children's literature. Toliver summarizes the metaphor as follows: "Specifically, Bishop (1990) stated that books should offer mirrors to reflect readers' multilayered and complex identities, windows to show readers real and imagined worlds, and sliding glass doors to enable readers to enter creative worlds using their imaginations. The point of the metaphor was to acknowledge the limited, small, or broken mirrors that marginalized children were often forced to look through as they searched for themselves in literature, but it was also a way to highlight the opaque or boarded windows and locked doors that formed when there were misrepresentations or omissions of specific groups."

message that the people in them are somehow inappropriate. It is a dehumanizing form of erasure. Every reader deserves to see themselves and their families positively represented in the books in their schools." These latest attacks on increased diversity of representation in children's literature highlights the continued importance and immediacy of this issue.

White Normativity and Structural Racism in Children's Literature

Intertwined with the lack of diverse representation in children's literature and the racist practices in and around the children's publishing industry are the insidious notions that the White experience is universal and that a book without BIPOC characters cannot be racist; both are extensions of the misinformed "colour-blind" approach to race and diversity. Philip Nel devotes a chapter each in *Was the Cat in the Hat Black*? to two forms of structural racism that hide in children's literature books and publishing: whitewashing and racial erasures.

Nel notes that whitewashing in children's literature is most prevalent on the book covers of fantasy, science fiction, and other speculative fiction texts. Many publishers do not show BIPOC characters on the covers of their children's and young adult books because of a racist and unproven belief that doing so will impede book sales (Nel 136). Instead, publishers either change the race of a BIPOC protagonist on the cover to appear White, or hide their race by representing them in silhouette or making the cover more abstract (without people) (136-7). Whitewashing a book cover hides diverse characters from BIPOC readers looking for characters like themselves, allows White readers to overlook the race of the protagonist and assume Whiteness, and reinforces the view that certain genres of children's literature are only for White characters and representation, even when texts in that genre have BIPOC characters at the center (137-9). Thus, whitewashing book covers upholds racist notions of White universality and tells BIPOC children that "they do not matter" (137).

One of the books I discussed in chapter 4, Eve Bunting's The Lambkins, has a whitewashed cover. The novel is very clear that the four Lambkins have different racial backgrounds because "The Shepherd likes a nice mixture" (Bunting 12). From Kyle's focalization, Tanya is first described as "a skinny African-American girl" and Mac as "an older Asian guy" (6). Although Kyle is focalizing, his race is noted by the other characters when they explain that Kyle is replacing another boy, John, who died, and that the other children's assumption, that John's replacement would "be a white boy, same as John," was correct (12). Kyle then lists and determines the other children's races: "Mac, Asian. Tanya, black. Lulu?" (13). Tanya immediately guesses Kyle's thoughts and says, "Lulu's Latina" (13). Such an obvious statement of characters' race - including a character being White - is uncommon and stands out. Thus, it is particularly obvious and jarring to see the whitewashed representations of these characters on the cover art, which depicts four miniature White children and a dog hiding from Mrs. Shepherd's terrifying and watchful eye. The whitewashing is certainly deliberate, as the children all look their correct ages and Mrs. Shepherd has her distinctive "too-red" hair that Kyle describes in the book (4). Furthermore, the illustrations that begin each chapter do not include any people but only objects that represent the different characters – for example, tubes of paint for Kyle and a dusty violin for Tanya. The book refuses to visually represent its diverse cast of characters and suggests that their race and representation is not important.

Racial erasure extends from "the tendency of mainstream children's culture to treat Whiteness as the 'neutral' color of all humankind" and occurs when texts have an "absence of characters of color from locations where we might expect to see them" (Nel 109). When "culturally unmarked White characters [are] read as 'universal' characters," it makes Whiteness the norm and representative of all while ignoring diverse experiences and telling BIPOC readers that their stories, histories, and experiences do not matter and do not deserve representation (131). By presenting texts with exclusively White characters as normal and universal, texts "reinscribe White dominance via not just the erasure of Blacks but the denial of race itself" (119).

Fantasy texts, like miniature people narratives, have by their nature, "greater possibilities for diversity" but often miss the opportunity because "the covert ideological work of White supremacy makes non-White identities invisible, leaving those young readers hidden and earthbound, as they watch other people's stories take flight" (135). The racial erasure that sustains fantasy as a genre for White characters and White readers is prevalent in my timeline of miniature people children's literature. For example, the three novels in my timeline whose narratives include Lilliputians continue the assumptive Whiteness that Swift's original text began. Not only are the miniature people White, but also the big children, just like Gulliver before them. These big White children also have roots and connections in the British empire and colonization.

In Henry Winterfeld's *Castaways in Lilliput* (1958), the children's colonial positions are related to their fathers' work to claim and tame the Australian wilderness, as Peggy and Jim's "father was one of the wealthiest sheep breeders on the west coast of Australia. Ralph was the son of the ranch superintendent" (4). The children also distinguish themselves from the "savages" they imagine encountering on the seemingly deserted island by determining that "savages" and "people who want to cut off your head don't speak English" like themselves, and later, the Lilliputians (18). These designations between themselves and the "savages" that do not speak English clearly marks the children as White colonisers. The Lilliputians, in turn, are

presented as English-speaking and having followed Western modernization. These Lilliputians are positioned as equally White and Western as the big children.

Big girl, Maria, from T.H. White's *Mistress Masham's Repose* (1946), is linked to the British aristocracy in the once grand estate of Malplaquet that she inherits and the fortune she gains along with it by the end of the narrative. She ends the novel with the privilege, power, and wealth that comes from her family ties and heritage, which are particularly British and White. The assumption of the Lilliputians' Whiteness is made clear in the description of the Lilliputian baby that Maria finds on her first visit to the island of Mistress Masham's Repose. The baby is described in its "wonderful perfection" as "its skin was slightly mauve, so that it must have been a new one," suggesting the pinkish-purple color of a newly born White baby (White 19). The Lilliputian baby is the 'cute' White miniature that rises possessive and maternal desires in the big White child.

Even the more recent *Lilliput* (2014) by Sam Gayton cannot take its fantasy beyond White protagonists. The big boy, Finn, is described from Lily's focalization as having "thick black hair, his skin tinged pink" (76). He also joins in colonial enterprises at the end of the text by becoming Mrs Ozinda's apprentice and setting sail with her at the end of the novel to travel "to the Americas, where the cocoa beans grow" to find and buy the ingredients to bring back to London for Mr Ozinda's chocolate shop (263). Lily's skin color is not described because she focalizes the narrative, but her assumptive Whiteness is shown, as in all three Lilliputian narratives, by the many in-text illustrations of her and other Lilliputians.

The Whiteness of miniature people characters is another residue that has remained prominent throughout the English-language texts in my timeline and goes far beyond miniature people characters related to Lilliputians. For example, W. J. Corbett's *The Ark of the People* (1998) makes specific mentions of the hair and eye colour of many different miniature characters, often relating these differences to the three clans of the People in the story, as well as the shrunken children's position as humans. The text never specifies where the story takes place beyond that there is a wooded valley that is flooded by a human-built dam. Yet, this fantasy story, that takes time to focus on characters' differing appearances and could include big and miniature people of any skin colour or racial background, instead continues the Whiteness of the fantasy genre.

Like the Lilliputian narratives, the illustrations throughout the novel depict White characters. Skin color is not mentioned in the written text, but by not mentioning it altogether in the visual descriptions of characters, it is suggested that they are all White. The assumptive Whiteness of the miniature and big characters alike is shown when the Willow Clan member, Fern, asks the shrunken children – who the People have yet to realize are humans – what clan they belong to because their "hair [is] so fair" and their "eyes so blue" while "The People most usually have brown hair and eyes, so our history books say" (Corbett 145). The shrunken children have fair hair and blue eyes, suggesting White heritage, even without skin color being mentioned. Thus, the People are also suggested to have fair skin.

Lighter skin continues to be both indicated and preferred in other character descriptions. Later descriptions of Nightshade Clan members note one "rusty-haired boy" named Pimpernel and a girl with "raven-black hair and eyes as black as glowing grapes. Her skin was as pale as snow, highlighted by pink spots on her cheeks" (178-9). This girl, Pansy, is considered strikingly pretty with her pale skin (181-2) and points to a preference of the People for fairer skin. Finally, the Fisher Clan is described in relation to their appearances changing after moving underground: "Denied the fiery sun, their skins grew pale, their hair white-fair, their eyes the deep green of water-folk" (200). All these descriptions either explicitly state or heavily suggest White characters and emphasis pale skin being related to beauty. Whiteness is a default in this text and Whiteness is made universal since other visual differences are specified. As in most texts in my timeline, miniature people and their big child friends are White by default. These examples show how the damaging ideological residues of the hierarchy of scale and White universality can intersect, so that even when a miniature narrative reveals the norms of scale, it hides the norms of race and in turn excludes BIPOC children and readers.

The Racialized Miniature: Fairies, pygmies, and miniature people

There is a long history of scale and race being interconnected in White normativity and racist ideology. Fairies have been connected to colonized peoples in the British consciousness from almost the beginning of the British Empire. As the English encountered new peoples and cultures, they searched for something familiar in the new and found the fairy. Beginning in the Enlightenment, Diane Purkiss notes, "[t]he habits of thought used to understand native peoples and those used to describe the realms of fairy began to coalesce" (194). This connection went so far that writers began to use fairies to create a more familiar and comforting colonial people: "Fairies offer writers the opportunity to Make Your Own Colonial People. Such manufactured entities are bound to be more reassuring than the real thing" (195).

During this period, freak shows displayed both White little people²³ and people of other races. Little people were considered their own race for a time and were also connected to fairies (196). Freak shows allowed British people to gawk at difference from the safety and comfort of home, reassuring themselves of their "normality." In the history of fairies, Purkiss sees that "fairy narratives always gather in whatever place is not home" and "begin to proliferate at

²³ I use the term little people to refer to actual people who have various forms of dwarfism, distinct from miniature people who are literary characters of just a few inches in height.

precisely the moment when a culture begins to encounter other cultures" (197). Fairies are mysterious and other, but also comfortingly familiar. They became a more palatable imagining of the colonial encounter – for the colonizer – and in literature became a way to create the ideal colonial relation (203). As the oral tradition of fairies began to recede, the literary fairy became "a space for thinking about difference" (209). Fairies were different and strange, but they were also comfortingly imaginary and close. These are traits shared with miniature people characters.

The connection between the fairy and the colonized continued into the Victorian era. The relation especially grew with more sinister version of fairies, such as goblins. Carole G. Silver in *Strange and Secret Peoples: Fairies and Victorian Consciousness* discusses how real little people – both White and BIPOC – became equated to the evil fairy in Victorian consciousness. Little people in English society had been on the borders for a long time, often ostracized from their communities, treated as pets by aristocracy, or seen as freaks to put on display (117). There were two general categories for "dwarfs" by the mid-nineteenth century: "proportionate and disproportionate" (118). Little people who were proportionate were equated to fairies and magic, while disproportionate little people were considered less intelligent and "were often equated with gnomes or hobgoblins, and generally perceived as grotesque or ludicrous" (118). Again, there is a connection here to the positioning of 'cute' White miniature people and racialized miniature people.

Racist ideology of the inferiority of little and racialized people were further entangled with the discovery of "African and Asian Pygmies" in the colonies (146). As Silver notes, the result was that "little dwarf and goblin men coalesced with actual living 'savage' peoples to propagate a new Victorian racial myth" that intertwined size and race with primitiveness (146). The result was "the distorted image of the Pygmy conjoined with a devalued image of the dwarf, post-Darwinian science and belief raised and played on cultural anxieties, confirmed racial prejudice, and fortified the rhetoric and practice of imperialism" (146-7).

Vallone connects oppressive ideologies around race and scale with children's literature: "Within discourses of size, discovery, whiteness, and cultural dominance, the 'idea of the pygmy,' as well as the racialized savage 'other,' have played crucial roles in the construction of nineteenth- and twentieth-century children's literature and culture" (131). The Western "idea of the pygmy" and (White) children's literature are both "based on assumptions of immaturity and inferiority in both African (or any racialized miniature) and the 'child' – an idea reminiscent of dwarf discourse, as well" (132-3). Thus, miniature people characters, both White-coded and racialized, are positioned within racist perceptions of their inferiority and primitiveness.

Stereotypes, Paternalism, and Control: Race and the miniature in *The Indian in the Cupboard*

The residues of the hierarchy of scale and racist White norms can create challenges when racialized miniature people are included in miniature narratives. Although BIPOC, or even some racialized miniature people, can unsettle norms of scale and race like their White counterparts, their intersectionality also leaves more opportunities for these narrative residues to dominate. The more stereotypical and racist a portrayal of racialized miniature people, the less space that miniature character has to perceive the PW and have their voice heard.

Lynne Reid Banks' *The Indian in the Cupboard* (1981)²⁴ is one of the best-known examples of the racializing of miniature characters, and an example of how the intersecting of

²⁴ Although the text is generally considered to be in the narrative category of the toy come to life, the premise of the cupboard's magic and the plastic figurines' animation also places the miniature characters in the text into my miniature people category. The figurines that Omri puts into the cupboard are indeed plastic representations of generic characters, but when the magic is complete, those figurines are transformed into real people who have been plucked from their lives from a past point in time and brought, miniature people's 'realness' (or people-ness) to his friend Patrick when the other boy wants to bring more plastic figures to life: "Little Bull isn't a toy. He's a real man.

hierarchical residues around scale and race can be harmful when stereotypes are used without questions or critique. The racist stereotyping of the miniature character Little Bull (or Little Bear in some editions) in *The Indian in the Cupboard* is well documented. Rhonda Harris Taylor, as well as Opal Moore and Donnarae MacCann, have provided detailed critiques of the racist stereotyping, tropes, and ideology in the novel related to the Indigenous peoples of North America. I will summarize their main points here and add a consideration of the intersection of scale in this text to show how they build on each other to further oppress and other Little Bull.

Little Bull's voice and perspective are silenced both as a miniature person and a racialized person. He is portrayed as the typical "wild savage" stereotype from Westerns films, being aggressive, violent, childish, and animalistic in his actions and speech (Taylor 373-5; Moore and McCann 27). The novel "revives once again the ubiquitous painting, whooping, befeathered Indian *savage*" and emphasizes Little Bull's "uncivilized otherness by having the character speak English in monosyllables" (Taylor 373-4, original emphasis). Not only is Little Bull a stereotypical "Indian," but that stereotype is played for laughs and results in any legitimate protest he makes against White colonization fall flat (Moore and McCann 27-8). Little Bull's portrayal casts Indigenous peoples "as a self-destructive rather than a persecuted people" and Little Bull's protests against White people taking his people's land are "belittled as petulance and temper" because of his humorous depiction (28).

M. Daphne Kutzer also makes it clear that Little Bull's protests and resistance to Omri's control are not "Banks's way of suggesting that colonized peoples have the power and strength to overcome their oppressors" because such a reading is "undercut by [Little Bull's] essentially

He really lived" (Banks 89-90). Both narrative and characters acknowledge that these miniatures are people and have their own lives, relationships, and communities beyond their interactions with Omri, Patrick, and other big people. Thus, they are in very similar circumstances to the other miniature people characters I have discussed so far.

comic nature" (201). Little Bull's legitimate protests and demands as a miniature person trapped in the big world, and as someone forced into an oppressive relationship based on their race and history, are depicted as silly or ignorant. Omri will not give Little Bull's voice and experience any authority. He does not believe the miniature man's claim that he does not sleep in a teepee until after reading it in a book from his school library (Taylor 377; Banks 68-9). "Little Bear's own voice, even when it is about his own experiences has no credibility" (Taylor 377), not just as an Indigenous person, but as a miniature person, as Omri is set up as the "good" big child authority on what is right for miniature people.

The paternal nature of the relationship between Omri and Little Bull, as both White and Indigenous, and big child and miniature person, is problematic on both fronts, showing residues from ideologies around an 'innate' hierarchy for both race and scale. Omri's position and norms are quickly solidified as dominant and 'right,' while Little Bull (as well as Boone the miniature cowboy) are increasingly made child-like and placed under Omri's control. There is no doubt that Omri is a child-imperialist. Vallone equates the narrative of Banks's novel to "colonial children's books from the early twentieth century . . . in which the western child is made more 'superior,' more 'white' in contrast with native pygmies, [and] Omri's potential to become a sensitive man (and good father) is realized through his nurturing interaction with the miniature's 'otherness'" (165). To allow for Omri's growth and maturation, both Little Bull and Boone are "infantilized" (Vallone 168), becoming more exaggerated in their responses and actions, as well as more meekly follow Omri's "parental" authority and orders. Omri falls fully into the fantasy that the miniature people need his protection and care, and in turn takes control of them.

Omri's maturation and developing paternal relationship to the miniature people is intertwined with his feelings of ownership and control over these people he claims to view as real. Taylor notes that "there is little evidence that Little Bear is ever regarded as much more than a toy" (376) and Omri's thoughts and speech throughout the narrative support this reading. Omri continually puts his desires and needs before those of the miniature people. When he first turns Little Bull from a plastic figurine into a real miniature person in his magic cupboard, he chooses to ignore Little Bull's obvious fear and discomfort to fulfill his own desire: "He didn't want to frighten him any further, but he *had* to touch him. He simply had to" (Banks 16, original emphasis). Omri claims possession over the miniature man by calling him "my Indian" (18), which he continues to do for the rest of the novel, even after he claims to understand that the miniature people are real, have lives beyond his playthings, and can be harmed.

Although the narrative attempts to distinguish Omri's "good" behavior and understanding towards the miniature people from Patrick's dangerous recklessness and use of the miniature people, Omri's actions and choices are often hypocritical. After Patrick takes risks by trying to feed the miniature people in the middle of the school cafeteria and almost injures them when he gets into a fight, Omri determines that Patrick "quite obviously, was not a fit person to have charge of [Little Bull and Boone] . . . He simply didn't seem to realize that they were *people*" (Banks 147, original emphasis). Patrick is not fit to look after (or have control of) miniature people because he does not see them as people and "use[s] them" (158). However, right after taking the miniature people back from Patrick, Omri proves himself no better. He takes risks by having the miniature people out during art class because "He suddenly felt he must – he simply *must* get a little fun out of this somehow" (160, original emphasis). Omri is just like Patrick, risking the miniature people's discovery and safety for his own desires and amusement.

The narrative positions Patrick as the naughty big child and Omri as the good big child, but like many other "good" big children that I covered in my last chapter, Omri attempts to control the miniature people and treat them as possessions through imposing his expectations onto them in the guise of care and assistance. As the novelty of the miniature people fades, Omri makes similar claims of his relationship to Little Bull and Boone as the big boy, John, does in Raymond Briggs' *The Man* (1992). When he tires of meeting Little Bull's demands, Omri thinks, "While giving Little Bull every respect as a person, he was not about to be turned into his slave" (Banks 78). He has similar thoughts later when Boone arrives with his own demands and Omri thinks he is "beginning to be pretty well fed up with being bossed around by ungrateful little men" (126). However, both these miniature men are asking for the things they need to survive and live in their own time. Omri cannot be a slave or bossed around because he has all the control in this relationship. It is he who decides when the miniature men stay within his power and care, and even though he attempts to meet their demands to keep them happy, he can also choose to force them to do as he wishes, which he does by making them to eat together and insisting they become "blood-brothers" (124-6, 205).

Omri is so focused on his own desire to keep the miniature men that it is not until the magic key is lost and Boone is upset that he cannot go back to his own life and must stay "in a giants' world for *ever*" that Omri even considers that the miniature men may not want to stay with him (179, original emphasis). He has not been listening to their voices or perspectives. Omri often says he cares for the miniature people and wants them to be happy, but only so that he can keep them in his room without much resistance. When Omri does finally decide to send the miniature people back to their own time, it is only because he has exhausted all other options and realizes that keeping Little Bull is impossible as "whichever way he thought about it, the end was the same – disaster of some kind" (208).

Omri never considers the harm of plucking people out of their lives in the past to bring to his present. They are all treated as objects and their lives beyond Omri's present are ignored. Instead, as Vallone states, "Little Bear and Boone are transported from different pasts, from different locations, to a dominant present in which their histories have become miniaturized and diminished, just as their bodies have been reduced" (172). Omri's norms dominate, diminishing the miniature people, their lives, and their histories into stereotyped versions of what they could be, with all nuances lost. Omri's sole focalization of the narrative as a big child erases the possibility of the miniature people perceiving the PW or having a voice. Little Bull's dual position as miniature person and racist stereotype force him into a position of inferiority and supports Omri's fantasy of being needed that continues oppressive ideological residues around race and scale.

The Spiller Problem: Racializing miniature people

Although Little Bull is an obvious and specific racist representation, other miniature people characters are more subtly and less specifically racialized. This racialization becomes particularly clear when considered alongside the racial erasure and White coding of many miniature people protagonists, that positions White miniature people as universal, normal, and expected, while miniature people with racializing descriptions are positioned as other, uncivilized, and beyond understanding. Generally, these racialized miniatures live outside of big people homes and the society of house-dwelling miniature people. A good example is Spiller from Mary Norton's *Borrowers* series.

Spiller is one of the rare Borrowers who does not follow the traditional Borrower model of staying and borrowing in one place. He is solitary, nomadic, and has his own means of survival not directly connected to big people. The Clocks meet Spiller in *The Borrowers Afield* (1955), introduced as a young Borrower who lives alone in the wild. Spiller is very accustomed to and prepared for the challenges of living out-of-doors. He is a master of camouflage, hunts for food, and is always alert and prepared for danger (Norton, *Afield* 108-9). Spiller is also an excellent borrower and even Pod – who takes great pride in his own borrowing abilities – admits that Spiller is very skilled: "he was a fearless borrower; that even Pod conceded; as skillful in his own way as ever Pod had been" (*Afield* 149). Spiller borrows not only for himself, but also to trade with house Borrowers, whom he assists in travel and procuring goods.

Although Spiller may get high praises for his borrowing and many Borrower families are dependent on him for goods and emigration, he is generally treated as different and an outsider. The negative comments on and attitudes towards Spiller are generally opposed by the narrator and used to question the Borrowers' social structure and views. However, there are also problematic descriptions and treatment of Spiller throughout the series that are not challenged. The most troubling presentation of Spiller is his initial description: "He had a brown face, black eyes, tousled dark hair and was dressed in what she guessed to be a shabby moleskin, worn smooth side out" (Afield 105). Spiller's description is the only time a Borrower's skin colour is mentioned and emphasises the presumptive Whiteness of the other Borrowers. Spiller's skin and lifestyle are described because they are different from "regular" Borrowers. His association with the "gypsies," from whom he borrows, adds to the racist undertone of his description.²⁵ Also, with Spiller's quiet temperament and short speech, along with his connection to nature and being the only character to use a bow and arrow, clear connections can be made to the "noble savage" stereotype, a colonizer creation that makes "good" Indigenous people more palatable and controllable. Spiller is a helpful guide through the wilderness for "civilized" White Borrower

²⁵ Kuznets notes that the portrayal of Mild Eye is "unfortunate" as the Roma people are a "group of human beings with a history of experiences close to that of the Borrowers" ("Diaspora" 201).

families who are searching for new homes to maintain their lifestyle and privilege, but is not accepted into White Borrower society.

Tied closely to his racialization is Spiller's 'uncleanliness.' When Arrietty first meets Spiller, she reacts to his teasing by "disgustedly" remarking, "you're filthy" (Norton, *Afield* 105). While Arrietty quickly moves past her first impression of Spiller, the claim that Spiller's unwashed nature represents his lack of morality comes up again when Arrietty introduces Spiller to Homily. Homily does not allow Spiller near their home and calls him a "naughty, dirty, unwashed boy" (110). Again, Spiller is seen as dangerous and immoral because of his 'dirty' (or darkened) state. Robin Bernstein argues that the innocence of childhood is raced White, while child characters of colour are generally "libeled as unfeeling, noninnocent nonchildren" (4-6, 33). The series' embracing of Arietty's desire to live out-of-doors and have adventures while distancing and othering Spiller, who is similar in age, shows the double-standard of the White child's innocence and the racialized child's perceived nonchildness. Arrietty's out-of-doors experience is related to play and fairies (Norton, *Afield* 147),²⁶ while Spiller's is related to hunting (killing) and out-of-door dangers (106-7).²⁷

Spiller is racialized and othered from the White Borrowers, and his lifestyle is portrayed by the narrative as undesirable and not a viable alternative, and yet he has a lot more freedom and independence from big people compared to house-dwelling Borrowers. Spiller is outside the main Borrower society and norms, but also free from big people's control and influence. His name is a symbol of his unique position. It is not borrowed from big people like other Borrowers

²⁶ After bathing, Arrietty dresses up in "a skirt of violet leaves, stalks uppermost, secured about the waist with a twist of faded columbine and, aping the fairies, a foxglove bell for a hat" (*Afield* 147). She is emulating the "cute" fairies that are connected to (White) childhood innocence and imagination.

²⁷ Spiller's hunting is framed as violent and shocking through Arrietty's focalization. When they first meet, she watches him use a bow and arrow to hunt a mouse. Her reaction is to cry "You've killed it" and be "distressed," while Spiller is described as nonchalant about his actions and later offers the dead mouse and a cricket to Arrietty and Homily, respectively, to their disgust (*Afield* 106-7, 109-10).

but comes from his only memory of his mother. She once said to him, "A Dreadful Spiller, that's what you are," and so he took Dreadful Spiller as his name (Norton, *Afield* 141). Instead of being named after a room or object in a big house, Spiller is named for his own actions and self. He has no attachment to big people, but in turn he also has no connection to White Borrower society and norms. He is outside of the main Borrower society, but he is also out of big people control. Spiller is one example of 'wild' racialized miniature people who escape big people dependence and thus can exist without big people and their influence.

Spiller's unproblematized racialization hiders his ability to challenge norms from his unsettled position. He presents an alternative to big dependence that is supported through Arrietty's sympathetic (White) miniature focalization, but he is never fully accepted into Borrower society and his lifestyle is not seen as a truly viable alternative for the average Borrower. He is an anomaly that shows alternatives are available and miniature dependence is not unbreakable, but his nearly voiceless position, further silenced by his racist othering, keeps his character from uncovering the residues of the hierarchy of scale that work to oppress the Borrowers in their narrative. Yet, Spiller's unsettled position does eventually affect the Clocks and their position as miniatures within their narrative. As the series progresses, Arrietty puts more emphasis on her claims of difference to big people, and the Clock family accept Spiller's help to find their new home in the final novel that allows them to be less dependent on borrowing from big people. Although they do not go as far as the racialized Spiller, the White miniature family begins separating from the PW and moves closer to the racialized miniature's position, further unsettling their own position.

Unstable Miniature Positions

More recent texts in my timeline have miniature people characters in even more unstable positions as they combine pieces of both White and racialized miniature people. These unsettled miniature people reveal the residues of the hierarchy of scale that hide within the PMW and the influence of the PW on the PMW. These unsettled miniature positions show that independence from the PW is attainable and challenge miniature narrative norms around one type of miniature existence – one that is dependent on big people – is best and preferred.

Viable alternatives come from miniature people who live in the 'wild,' like Spiller, but who are also White-coded, so they are presented as more 'civilized.' Their lifestyles are seen as attractive – although that may only be through holes in the narrative – and reveal the independence and control that the majority White, house-bound miniature people sacrifice for their seemingly safer and more comfortable lives. The Woods Tinies from John Peterson's *The Littles Take a Trip* (1968) are a unique mix of 'wild,' racialized stereotype and 'civilized,' White miniature family who destabilize the unquestioned narrative residues of miniature dependence and open spaces for alternatives.

The text goes to great lengths to frame the Wood Tinies as almost identical to House Tinies. When Wood Tiny, Stubby Speck, first meets the Littles, he comments on how the House Tinies "look just like Wood Tinies" (Peterson 70) and the Specks' family unit and home reflects the domesticity and comfort of the Littles' own (71-3). However, the Woods Tinies are also positioned as counter to the House Tinies through their connection to nature and relying on themselves to survive. The Specks live in "a giant oak tree" that has eight rooms dug out generations before, windows made by Mr. Speck from the bottoms of glass bottles found in the brook, and carefully made steps and window shutters to hide the home from big people (73-4). This emphasis on the Specks building their home – compared to the lack of descriptions of how the Littles' home was devised – and that Mrs. Speck does her own cooking (71-2) – compared to the Littles, who take their meals from those cooked by Mrs. Bigg – reveals the dependence that the Littles have on big people for their survival and the control big people have over their lives.

The narrative cannot seem to reconcile the similarities and differences between these two groups of miniature people. When Mr. Little asks about how the Specks can live without help from anyone, he shows the dissonance between the House Tinies' dependence on big people and their inability to consider any other means to live comfortably. Mr. Little states, "We depend on the Biggs for so many things. Of course we *help* them too" (77, original emphasis). Mr. Little tries to work around their dependence to suggest their relationship with the Biggs is mutual because they look after the electrical wires and water pipes in the big house, but their dependence on the Biggs for basic needs like cooked meals leaves the claim hollow. To answer Mr. Little's question of how they do it, Mr. and Mrs. Speck can only say that they do it because they have to and that they work hard to prepare for the winter months (77-8).

In truth, the Woods Tinies are just House Tinies that got "tired of living with big people" and wanted more stability and independence (80). Yet, the narrative wants the reader to view the Littles' dependent lifestyle as preferable. One clear attempt is when Mrs. Speck notes that no new Tiny families have arrived in the woods for sixty years, so "house living must be getting better" (80), suggesting that modern upgrades and conveniences have made life in houses better for big and miniature people alike. Still, the Littles' admittance to their dependence on the Biggs for their survival unbalances the narrative's suggestion that their position and lifestyle is better.

The Specks are also not easily definable or fit into a specific label or position. Their similarity to the Littles suggests their Whiteness, as does the book's illustrations. Yet, the Speck

family is also related to the wild woods, nature, and tropes around the 'noble savage.' The Specks' tree home sets them firmly within nature, and their understanding and appreciation of it shows in their "log oak table [that] grew out of the floor. It was part of the living tree" (74) and Mr. Speck's knowledge of the woods and its creatures (82). Mr. Speck saves the Littles from an attack by sparrow hawks and guides them through the woods (68, 82-3). Although not fitting all elements of the noble savage trope, the Wood Tinies' connection to and understanding of the 'wild,' along with their narrative role of saving the White protagonists from the dangers of the wild, teaching them to appreciate it, and guiding them on their journey, places them alongside characters like Spiller, whose skills are admired and help gladly accepted, but whose lifestyle and acceptance into mainstream miniature society can never be considered. The Woods Tinies are accepted by the Littles, to an extent, but the Specks' position is portrayed as difficult and inferior to house living. However, the Wood Tinies' unsettled position undercuts this portrayal and points to its fallacy.

Bakro, the ranger that miniature teen Elizabeth meets on her journey in Charles de Lint's *Little (Grrl) Lost* (2007), plays a similar role in that narrative as Spiller and Stubby Speck do in the other texts. He saves Elizabeth from a stocking cat, gives her food and shelter, and then guides her to the next destination on her journey (de Lint 91-3, 112-15). Like the Woods Tinies, Bakro is described as a Little who chose to leave big houses to live in the wild (94). He is knowledgeable of animals and how to survive in the dangerous outdoors, including using his whip for protection, wearing clothes made of "shrew or moleskin," and having many "bolt holes" with stashed resources where he can stay when "caught outside after dawn" (92, 96, 100). Bakro's mutual friendship and respect for his dog friend Rosie, who he refuses to make a mount or pet, also reveals his connection and harmony to the 'wild' (97-9). As with the other miniature

people characters who circle the 'noble savage' stereotype, Bakro is connected to nature, but the wild and unpredictable parts of nature.

Although Bakro takes up a similar position to Mr. Speck, Elizabeth does not give him the same wholehearted admiration as the Littles do the Wood Tinies. Elizabeth sees the good and bad in both ranger and house-bound lifestyles, and she is not truly happy with either. She views the house-Little life as confining and boring. She describes rangers – or "ferals," as the house Littles call them – as those "who took to the wild and refused to be bounded by four walls. The ferals. Which is what I thought I was going to be until I realized I didn't have whatever it takes to live that kind of a life" (93). Although the rangers have freedom, Elizabeth knows their lives are hard and lonely; their only contact with other Littles is when they stay a few days with a house family "exchanging news and gossip from other families in return for a home-cooked meal and some company" (93). Again, the 'wild' life is connected to freedom and independence, but also suggested to be a hard and uncomfortable one avoided by most miniature people, who give up independence for safety and comfort.

The term "feral" also emphasises the prejudice against rangers. When Bakro tells Elizabeth he prefers the term "ranger," she quickly dismisses his choice of term and that house Littles will take it up, saying, "Yeah, and I'd like to be six feet tall instead of six inches, but what can you do?" (93). Her response shows both the unchanging nature of the house Littles' perception of the rangers as well as their rejection of that option for living. However, Bakro does not seem bothered by Elizabeth's suggestion that he is looked down upon by other Littles and insists on his freedom and independence: "No one tells me what to do . . . Especially not houseyfolk" (95). Elizabeth wants neither a 'housey' nor 'ranger' life and seeks a new way to live as a Little. Elizabeth's position changes as she tries different lifestyles and emphasizes the changing
nature of all Littles, including her now strict, "boring," housey parents who were once traveling tinkers but, in Bakro's view, chose to settle down "as a well-earned respite from an earlier life of hardship and travel" (105).

Characters that take up – or at least move through – the position of the 'wild' White miniature person challenge the dominant norms that suggest the White miniature people's position of dependence and control is preferred by presenting a viable alternative that is at least somewhat attractive, even when the narrative or narrator attempts to work against this pull. The 'wild' White miniature is not a stable position, as they share similarities and backgrounds with White miniature people but also reject living in big houses in favor of more freedom and its associated danger. However, even the connection between independence and danger are malleable, as is the image of the lone miniature person surviving in the wilderness. The Specks have a relatively safe, domestic lifestyle in their tree home that rivals the comfort of the Littles' home, but their voice and support for their independent position only appears in unsettled moments in the narrative. Bakro's life in the woods is certainly dangerous, but he has a voice and gives his perspective. Although Elizabeth, as focalizor, does not agree, she does highlight that any lifestyle chosen by a Little is dangerous and unstable, and suggests the choice is a personal preference. These miniature people, the Specks and Elizabeth in particular, do not fit into the broad positions of either White or racialized miniatures, and thus reveal both those positions and miniature dependence are imaginary constructs that limit the possibility and scope of miniature narratives.

Another character with a similarly unsettled position, although his unstable nature is of his own design, is Man from Raymond Briggs' *The Man* (1995). Vallone defines Man as a racialized figure because of his Celtic origins, emphasized by "his costume – an adapted striped

sock with red rubber-band belt that creates a kind of plaid kilt – red hair, bushy moustache and taste for Guinness beer [that] all type him as 'Celtic' and his tiny size, 'nut-brown' skin and heavy musculature as an other" (173-4). Vallone notes both Man's racialized – yet White – position as well as his resistance to racist objectification and John's attempts to racially label him. As I discussed in my last chapter, the positions of Man and John, as a miniature person and big child, are constantly being challenged in their narrative and neither character ever settles completely into any position. Man shifts from bossy guest, to companion, to lonely outcast, to thankful dependent, to harsh and argumentative critic. He floats through many positions and never settles for more than a page. Man's mixed positioning makes labelling him impossible, as he does not fit neatly into any category that John, or the reader, attempt to place on him. His origins are a mystery and never certain. Briggs' narrative explicitly destabilizes miniature narrative residues of scale and race that oppress and limit miniature people by insisting they can only take up certain spaces and positions. The unsettled and uncategorizable racialized miniature position has the best opportunity to uncover and unsettle the residue of miniature dependence.

Conclusion

Miniature people characters have unstable positions that resist categorization along the lines of scale, age, and even race. That is not to say that miniature people narratives, and the fantasy genre, do not need more diversity and representation. Miniature people characters and the big children they encounter should reflect all child readers and experiences. The long history that intertwines miniature people, racist ideologies, and children's literature, also needs recognition and awareness to address harmful residues that continue in miniature people tropes and common narrative developments. What miniature people characters can do is unsettle norms and expectations, both through narratives and narrations, and their resistance to categorization.

These characters leave their narratives unsettled and unstable, no matter their narrators' goals or narrative outcomes. Miniature people characters cannot be easily labeled, placed into a category, or approached with one critical lens, and thus will always be just out of reach of their narratives and readers alike. What results is a destabilizing of both the PW and PMW that creates a push and pull between the long-standing residues of the hierarchy of scale present in miniature narratives, and the voices and perspectives of miniature people that reveal the workings of those residues and their oppressive nature.

Conclusion

The overarching focus of my dissertation is miniature people's positions and their effect on the norms of miniature narratives in children's literature. I found that miniature people have multiple and often contradictory positions that unsettle their narratives, and that the inclusion or silencing of miniature voices and perspectives dictates how much this unsettledness uncovers and subverts the norms of the hierarchy of scale. Miniature narratives are working within, around, and against the residues of those that came before them. Many of these residues implicitly reinforce the hierarchy of scale, but others challenge these oppressive norms, even to the extent of having the big child character and reader revaluate their own perspective and position.

I followed the traces of several residues through my timeline. I saw the singular focalization and narration through big people shift to focalizing through miniature people, and finally to mixed and multiple focalizations from both big and miniature people perspectives. This shift was accompanied by a movement of miniature people from the position of the miniature subaltern to the miniature other, who has a voice and perspective that is heard. However, the miniature voice can still reflect residues of the hierarchy of scale that view the power, control, and danger of big people over miniature people as natural and unchangeable. For the miniature voice to reach its full potential and unsettle these norms, it must be accompanied by multiple and diverse perspectives from narrators and other focalizers to break down the singular story of the hierarchy of scale and present the possibility of co-existence between big and miniature people, and the big (PW) and miniature worlds (PMW).

I also tracked the different, cycling, and evolving relations between the PW and PMW. I followed the narrative residues left by the hierarchy of scale that place the PMW as dependent on

the PW, make the miniature people's existence impossible in the PW, and conclude that the PMW must be separated from the PW to be safe. Every miniature narrative has a unique PMW with a unique relationship to the PW, and these complexities can both uncover and hide oppressive norms around scale. They also open opportunities for unsettled positions and norms that can build new perspectives and PW/PMW relations to subvert old residues. As the number of miniature narratives expanded along my timeline, newer tropes and narrative approaches emerged that left their own residues on these narratives that work against the hierarchy of scale, including the normalizing of the PMW's scale, miniature voices criticizing both the PW and PMW, the PMW having its own conflicts separate from the PW, and the continuing connection of the PW and PMW at the end of miniature narratives.

The unsettled positions of the miniature people also extend to the big child. I followed how the hierarchies of scale and age interacted and overlapped throughout my timeline, and how encounters can create unsettled positions for both big children and miniature people that resist binaries and norms. The interactions and interrelations of these big and miniature characters complicate their positions further than when they are left separate. The simple comparison that relates adult/child to big/miniature is complicated by the challenge of the unstable PMW and these characters' shifting places within it that can lead to equal and balanced interactions and relationships. Generally, newer narratives build on this complexity and attempt to balance the relationship between the big child and miniature people.

However, that balance is delicate and difficult to reach, and can be undone by implicit normative residues of the hierarchy of scale. The positioning of the big child can also remove the voice and agency of the miniature people when their differences are ignored. This process is most commonly realized through insisting that miniature people need the assistance and protection of 'good' big children. These child characters force a relationship onto the miniature people that makes them dependent on the big child and removes their voice and agency, which the big child takes as their own. The big child claims the miniature people's identity to control their interactions and force the miniature people to meet their expectations, based on the norms of the hierarchy of scale. This residue of the child-imperialist appears in later miniature narratives that overtly reject the hierarchy of scale and the possession and control of miniature people, so the more implicit residues that uphold these norms becomes insidious. It is only in a few recent miniature narratives that the normalizing of the big child's dominance is being acknowledged and subverted, with miniature people's voices challenging and questioning the big child's assumptions and motivations, refusing the big child's labels and positions, and reminding the big child of their capacity for harm.

Yet even these precariously balanced relationships with the big child are only available to a particular type of miniature people. White-coded miniature people are positioned through their similarities to the big child – even in their otherness. Racialized miniature people, however, are positioned through their differences – both to the big child and White miniature people – and are left fully othered in the place of the possessable object. This seemingly binary positioning between White and racialized miniature people is actually an intersecting of the hierarchy of scale and race-based oppression, and they are just as open to unsettledness and subversion as other norms that leave residues in miniature narratives.

In truth, the racialized miniature's position is a more extreme version of their Whitecoded counterparts. White-coded miniature people are not as similar to the big child or as willing to be protected and dependent on the PW as the norms of the hierarchy of scale attempt to portray. The racialized miniature's othering and separation from the PW gives them independence and distance from it, and White-coded miniature people's desire to be in that same position unsettles miniature narratives' support of these oppressive norms.

When White miniature people encounter racialized miniature people, they are confronted by an alternative lifestyle that holds independence and separation from the PW and big people's control – but only if these racialized miniatures have complex positionings that give them a valid voice and remove them from pure stereotypes and racist depictions. Although some miniature narratives attempt to persuade the reader that White miniature people are comfortable with and prefer their current relation to the PW, the presence of an alternative opens holes in the norms of the hierarchy of scale. In other miniature narratives, the White miniature people's encounter with or similarity to racialized miniature people highlights how these miniature people do not fit into their White-coded position and the norms of the hierarchy of scale. The line between White and racialized miniature people is blurred. Future diversification of miniature people characters could blur these lines further and offer even more perspectives, complex positions, and means for unsettling the oppressive residues whose traces remain in miniature narratives.

Throughout my dissertation I have analysed how the push and pull between narrative residues that support and subvert the hierarchy of scale is realized through various narrative aspects and complexities. This struggle that plays out through my timeline leads to the question, does the unique qualities of miniature people and their scale give them the potential to break free of the binaries and norms that oppress them in relation to big people, or is the hierarchy of scale and other intersecting oppressive norms an inevitable part of these stories? My answer is that, yes, miniature people can take up an unoppressed position that escapes binaries and dominant norms, but it is a difficult position to obtain and an even more difficult one to keep.

My investigation into the position of miniature people has shown mixed results of how it affects their narratives. For the big child and miniature people to have a balanced relationship that includes both perspectives and evades all residues of the hierarchy of scale, the narrative needs many elements, which can include a diversity of voices and perspectives beyond just the miniature people, a PMW and PW that can (or at least have the potential to) exist together, miniature voices that reject categorization and expectations as well as call on big people to change and take responsibility for their harmful actions, and a resistance to or removal of the White-coding of miniature people to open up more complex and varied voices and perspectives.

Although miniature people's positions are always unsettled and have the potential to uncover the hierarchy of scale, an acute awareness of its effects is needed to truly move beyond it and its residues that remain in many elements of miniature narratives. Recent texts like Charles de Lint's *Little (Grrl) Lost* and Raymond Briggs' *The Man*, and even older texts like T.H. White's *Mistress Masham's Repose*, show the potential of miniature narratives in children's literature and the possibility for miniature people to have empowered positions. The analysis of my timeline of texts depicts narratives that are evolving, leaving old residues behind, and creating new ones, but the residues of the hierarchy of scale are still present and prevalent. The norms of the miniature narrative are heading towards a balanced relationship between big and miniature people, and the PW and PMW. However, the destination of miniature narratives is still uncertain. They are as complex and diverse as the positions of their miniature people characters, and the development of new tropes or narrative approaches that could either reject the hierarchy of scale or support it are both real possibilities.

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Appendix: Miniature People Timeline

	British Texts	American Texts	Canadian Texts	French Texts	<mark>Irish Texts</mark>	Other		
	<mark>er's Travels</mark> (1726) non Swift	Tom Thumb (1812) Brothers Grimm			The Brownies, Their Book (1887) Palmer Cox			
			<mark>The History of Tom Thumb</mark> (18) Thumbelina (1835) Hans Christian Andersen		<mark>Another Brownie Book</mark> (1890) Palmer Cox <mark>The Brownies at Home</mark> (1893) Palmer Cox			
		<mark>The Enterta</mark> Tom Thum Grace Floye	t i		Palmer Cox <mark>The Browni</mark> Palr	<mark>s Around the World</mark> (1894) es Through the Union (1895) mer Cox		
			The Life and Adventures of Tom Thumb (1849) The Brownies Abr The Water Babies (1863) Palmer Cox Charles Kingsley Alice's Adventures in Wonderland (1865) Lewis Carroll					
			72)					
				<mark>ins Thumbling and O</mark> istrated by W. Bruto <mark>n Thumb</mark> (1881) strated by Hablot Kn	n			
1700		1800						
		<mark>The B</mark> i Palme		ghts (1913) s and Prince Florimel (1	.918)			
<mark>The Wonderful</mark> L. Frank Baum	Wizard of Oz (1900)					<mark>The Hobbit</mark> (1937) J.R.R. Tolkien		
					The Lit	<mark>ventures of K'TonTon:</mark> t <mark>le Jewish Tom Thumb</mark> (1930) tose Weilerstein		
	<mark>Peter Pan</mark> (play) (1904) J.M. Barrie	<mark>Peter and We</mark> J.M. Barrie	<mark>ndy</mark> (1911)	<mark>Book of Fai</mark> Enid Blyton		<mark>The Enchanted Wood</mark> (1939) Enid Blyton		

The Magic Faraway Tree (1943) Enid Blyton The Folk of the Faraway Tree (1946) Enid Blyton				The Carpet People (1971) The Teeny, Tiny Terry Pratchett Witches (1979) e Secret of the Blue Glass (1967) Jan Wahl miko Inui The Model Railway Men (1970)		
Enid Blyton	F T (4)	J.R.R. Tolkien	(4055)	Ray Pope		
<mark>Up the</mark> Enid Bl		.951) <mark>The Return of the</mark> J.R.R. Tolkien	King (1955)		<mark>The Borribles</mark> (1976) Michael de Larrabeiti	
	The Borrowers Mary Norton	(1952) Castaways in L Henry Winterfi Horton Hears a Who (1 Dr. Seuss	eld K'tonton in Is	A Wind in th Madeleine L srael (1964) Veilerstein Three (1964)	<mark>e Door</mark> (1973) 'Engle <mark>The Power of Three</mark> (1976) Diana Wynne Jones K'tonton on an Island	
The Little Grey Men (1942) BB (Denys Watkins-Pitchford)		The Ga	innipins/ ammage Cup (1959) Kendall The Twelve and the Genii (1962) Pauline Clarke James and the Giant Roald Dahl	Carol Kendall Peach (1961)	in the Sea (1976) Sadie Rose Weilerstein The Littles Go Exploring (1965) (1978) John Peterson The Littles and the Big pple(1971) Storm (1979)	
	The Chronicles C.S. Lewis	<mark>of Narnia</mark> (1950-56) <mark>The Borrowers Afield</mark> (Mary Norton	<mark>The Borrowers Aloft</mark> Mary Norton	(1961) Terry Pratchett The Littles (1967) John Peterson		
<mark>Mistress Masham's Rep</mark> T.H. White	<mark>oose</mark> (1946)		<mark>prrowers Afloat</mark> (1959) Norton <mark>Charlie and t</mark> Roald Dahl	The Littles to the Rescu John Peterson <mark>the Chocolate Factory</mark> (1964	John Peterson e (1968) <mark>The Littles and the Trash Tinies</mark> (1977) 4) John Peterson tles Have a Wedding (1971)	
			Koald Dahi		eterson	
.940	1950		1960			
The Littles and their Amazing Friend	1950 Truckers (1988 Terry Pratchett Diggers (1990 Terry Pratchet)	1960 Artemis Fow (2001) Eoin Colfer Toby	John Pe		
The Littles and their Amazing Friend	<mark>Truckers</mark> (1988 Terry Pratchett <mark>Diggers</mark> (1990 Terry Pratche)))tt) <mark>Harry Potter a</mark> l ett J.K. Rowling	1960 Artemis Fowi (2001) Eoin Colfer Toby Timo nd the Chamber of Seco	John Pe 1970 • Alone (2006) thée de Fombelle rets (1998) Toby and the Se Tree (2009) Timothée de Fo	eterson ecrets of the	
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