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Full Name of Author — Nom complet de l'auteur

Elisabeth June Rogers

Date of Birth — Date de naissance

05/06/26

Country of Birth — Lieu de naissance

Canada

Permanent Address — Résidence fixe

Apt. 2, 608 Bessinger St.
Ottawa, Ontario
K1N 6C9

Title of Thesis — Titre de la thèse

Attitudes to Children in English Literature
Prose Fiction, 1740-1840

University — Université

Carleton University

Degree for which thesis was presented — Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée

Doctor in Philosophy

Year this degree conferred — Année d'obtention de ce grade

1982

Name of Supervisor — Nom du directeur de thèse

Dr. A. Bryan Laver

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E. June Rogers

Attitudes to Children in
English Children's Prose Fiction

1740 to 1840

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A Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Carleton University
Department of Psychology

July 1982

The undersigned recommend to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies and Research acceptance of the thesis
"Attitudes to Children in English Children's
Prose Fiction 1740 to 1840"
submitted by
Elisabeth June Rogers
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

...B. Laver.....
Thesis Supervisor

...H. G. White.....
Chairman, Department of Psychology

Carleton University
September, 1982

ABSTRACT

This is an interdisciplinary investigation into fictional prose written for children in England between 1740 and 1840. It began as an investigation of the usefulness of children's fiction for illustrating contemporary concepts of the nature of the child, and childhood. Its conclusions, however, question the legitimacy of the use of children's fiction as a source material in the history of childhood. A detailed examination and content analysis of 195 books, a sample of fiction from the Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books (located in the Toronto Public Library), was carried out to examine attitudes towards children in this source.

In Chapter 1 previous studies of early children's fiction are examined and literary and historical studies using similar sources are described. Two chapters relating to the historical background of the period follow. Chapter 2 outlines the development of publishing as a commercial enterprise, and provides an account of literacy rates at the time. It examines existing educational institutions and their relevance to the development of children's fiction. Chapter 3 describes ideological beliefs of the day, so that the preoccupations of authors of children's fiction may be understood in context.

Procedures for sampling and for the description and analysis of authorship, readership, style, and content characteristics are described in Chapter 4. Chapters 5 and 6 provide the results of this analysis. They indicate that children's fiction changed little in its view of the child during the years of

this study. Similarities resulted, however, not from an understanding of the child but from a shared view of the role of fiction for children, and the fact that the medium was dominated by an homogeneous group of predominantly female writers for more than thirty years. In a period of economic, social and political unrest, they perpetuated traditional values. Only at the end of the period, was there a more tolerant attitude toward childish misdemeanours.

Chapter 7 examines reviews of early children's fiction, before 1840 generally uncritical. Mrs. Trimmer, sole author and editor of the Guardian of Education (1802-5), defined what was acceptable reading matter for children and critics deferred to her. From approximately 1820, a change was perceptible, as eminent men of letters challenged a traditional ban on fairy tales, and asserted the antiquarian and historical value of folk lore, legends, and fairy tales.

Chapter 8 compares children's fiction with adult fiction of the same period and notes that similar stylistic conventions prevailed. As new media, both suffered the embarrassments of beginnings. Standards were achieved earlier in adult fiction because of critical appraisal. Children's fiction, protected by moral purpose, took longer to reach maturity. Some differences between adult and children's fiction were marked. Fantasy and emotional excess occurred frequently in early novels but were unacceptable in children's books. A major distinction was the minimal presence of children in adult fiction.

Chapter 9 discusses the use of imagination in children's

books. Because the goal of early fiction was to instruct, there was no place for imaginative writing. Children's fiction of this period cannot be described as "literature".

Chapter 10 suggests caution in drawing inferences about the psychology of children from children's fiction. If this source is to be used, its limitations must be understood. At the time, it was an elitist means of communication, created by a very few authors who held narrow and restrictive views about children and their behaviour. Preliminary investigation into other sources concerned with children suggests their use requires safeguards as well. The conclusion is reached that it is not possible to generalize about attitudes to children from any of these specialized sources. A comparison of perceptions of childhood in a variety of sources suggests, indeed, that in this century there was no single concept of childhood. The viewer and his particular frame of reference determined the view of the child.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research would never have been possible without the helpfulness and patience of professional librarians . My particular gratitude is directed to the staff of the Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books , of the Toronto Public Library : Margaret Maloney (present Head) , Judith St. John , (former Head) , Jill Shefrin , Dana Tenny and Millie Dufek ; also to Doris Cole and Diane Gavin of the inter-library loan section at Carleton University Library in Ottawa .

I owe a special debt to Bryan Laver , who first introduced me to historical research , and then persevered over seven long years in the careful supervision of this dissertation . I am grateful to other faculty members at Carleton University for their on-going encouragement and support , in particular Thomas J. Ryan , and Bruce Ferguson . My special thanks go to Norma Rankin for her painstaking care in typing and correcting what turned out to be a lengthy manuscript . It goes without saying that my family , friends and colleagues have been long-suffering throughout .

I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness to what was then the Canada Council , now the Social Science Research Council of Canada , for their financial support during the first year of this research .

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INTRODUCTION

Knowledge doesn't come from chewing the cud;
it comes from finding new pastures.

A.B. Laver, 1976¹

Original Purpose of the Study

The possibility of using children's fiction as a source material for the study of the child in history became apparent in the early 1970s when the history of childhood gained considerable interest as a separate field of research. At that time it seemed possible that the books which adults wrote for children of the past reflected the attitudes that society held about the child at the time of writing. The dominant concerns of the period in relation to child-rearing might also be revealed through a study of this source material.

When this study was first contemplated there was a need for a description and summary of a representative sample of early children's books. This became the original focus of the research. Before Pickering's comprehensive account of the first sixty years of early children's fiction, based on material in the British Library, there had been no previous attempts to do this.² The present study examines the same ground as Pickering's, but extends the coverage to 1840. It also draws on a different library pool, and so, while many of the books were analyzed in both studies, some are unique

to each.

Initially, this research was intended to be a descriptive summary of the children's fiction of the period to provide information as to how the child was viewed within the source material in this particular one hundred year period. The question of change within the source material over the one hundred year period selected was examined according to a number of objectively defined variables. It was then necessary to explain what the changes implied in terms of attitudes to the child, and also to put the explanation into a historical context. A secondary purpose was to assess the validity of using children's fiction as a source material in social history and in the history of ideas.

A Contribution to the History of Childhood

The history of childhood falls under the jurisdiction of psychology. Any subject matter which is a part of the study of psychology today is a part of the history of psychology when it is looked at across time. Changing attitudes to the child are, legitimately, a part of the history of psychology. The history of childhood as a subject area poses unique problems because children leave few traces, historically speaking. Interest in the history of childhood has escalated since Aries's book Centuries of Childhood (1962) first received widespread attention.³ An important addition was made by the ten historians who contributed to The History of Childhood (1975), edited by Lloyd deMause.⁴ The Journal of Psychohistory, of which deMause is the editor, is a

continuing contribution to this historical field.⁵

Much of Ariès's and deMause's work has been criticised by both psychologists and historians, and the criticism has served to stimulate new research in the field. Recent researchers in the history of childhood include specialists in literature, art history, psychiatry, sociology and psychology.⁶ Some have examined the child through an analysis of original sources (as this study does) while some have devised summary schemes to classify and describe trends in child-raising practices through time; still others have served as critics.⁷ The abundance of recent studies indicates that there is more material available relating to the history of childhood than was initially supposed. Unfortunately there is an unevenness of quality in much of the published work. The fault lies not in inadequate source materials but in inadequate research strategy. The source materials remain as artifactual evidence of their period, but they should only be evaluated within the context of their times; when taken out of context or interpreted in the light of present-day theory their usefulness is questionable. Moreover, conclusions based on original sources are worthless unless some effort has been made to establish their representativeness.

While this study was originally intended to be a study of attitudes towards the child over one hundred years viewed from one source, children's fiction, it also offers some

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suggestions about the use of unobtrusive materials in social history.⁸ In the study of the child in time, some guidelines for good research practices are long overdue. The attempt to provide a detailed and objective investigation of one data-source about the child has revealed a number of general methodological hazards which are discussed in Chapter 1.

Some Difficulties Encountered in This Study

To an historian of psychology, interested in how the child was viewed over time, any opinions about his innate capacities, his ability to learn and methods believed to be effective in "training him up" are of importance. But assumptions about the nature of the child are not always explicitly stated. They may be a part of a larger philosophical view of the nature of man or of the nature of mind. If they are implicit then it may be that they are only accessible through an examination of the long term goals which parents and educators held for their children. An analysis of children's fiction provided a possible route for tapping these goals.

In retrospect, it appears a naive assumption that one could hope to gain a general view of the child through a single source. Books written for children reflect the views of their authors--nothing more. To speak of society holding a viewpoint is to personalise a hypothetical construct. "Society" as such does not exist, nor can its views be determined from one source. Further, any topic in the history of

ideas based on literary material is only interpretable with a knowledge of the literacy rates of the general population. Children's literature in this early period was a product of the literate few writing for their own kind.

The purpose of the study was to examine attitudes to children expressed in books written for children. It is evident that in fact children of the time read whatever they could lay their hands on, but an analysis of fairy tales, legends, and ballads, which date from a different time period and are intended for a different readership does not tell us about attitudes to children between 1740 and 1840. In fact there were frequent expressions of adult disapprobation of imaginative works of all kinds. The frequency of admonition concerning fantasy and romance reinforced the view that children, in fact, read such material whenever possible. Adults' acceptance of imaginative works for children in the closing years of the research period marked a significant change in the concept of childhood. While the child himself has probably not changed much over time, adult views of what constituted suitable reading material for children undoubtedly have. It is obviously a simplification to infer attributes of the child from characteristics of the material he was permitted to read. One cannot say the child was unimaginative because he did not read imaginative stories, or humourless because the stories included few light touches. It would be equally simplistic to infer that the child was rational

because he only read books which stressed the development of reason and rational behaviour.

In this source material, children's fiction, there are no accounts of what the child was really like; only what certain adults--those who wrote fiction for children--thought he should or might be like. It is not possible in historical research to arrive at a description of the real child of the past. However, by comparing the descriptions by adults who wrote children's fiction, a composite picture of the "ideal" child may emerge which reflects the views of one group of people at one period of time in one particular medium. Hence, another aspect of this study was to determine to what extent this composite view, should such exist, could be generalized.

It should also be noted that in some cases the manner in which the child was portrayed was influenced by the nature of the medium itself.⁹ The stereotyped depiction of children and the heavy emphasis on contrast and exaggeration were a result of lack of experience with the fiction medium. An analogy may be drawn to children's television programming in the early years, when young children were presumed to be willing and able to sit still for long periods to be harangued by adults lecturing "from the box" in didactic style. So it was with children's fiction. The methods by which new authors attempted to come to grips with the medium are described in Chapter 8.

It is easy to be judgmental about books of the past.

Some early books appeared to condone violence or even cruelty to children. At the time of writing they were perceived differently. Today, too, some researchers have noted that the deathbed accounts of the Reverend Legh Richmond and Mrs. Sherwood, among others, were inappropriate for young and tender minds. But apprehension about the emotional well-being of the child is a 20th century phenomenon. Its counterpart in the late 18th and early 19th century was a concern for his moral and religious welfare.

Children's Fiction - A Changed Role

The analysis of one source material, children's fiction, provided insight into the purpose served by children's fiction. It is clear that at first children's fiction was an educational tool but that its purpose changed during the years of this study, albeit barely perceptibly. From its changed purpose some conclusions may be drawn about changes in the way the child was perceived.

Children's fiction, as an educational tool could certainly be described as intrusive. But as the purpose of writing for children began to switch from "instruction to delight", children's books came to fill a wider role.¹⁰ Initially the authors of children's books were a highly selective group of people, upper middle class ladies in the main, who believed that exemplary tales would provide children with an inducement towards good behaviour. The switch, in Avery's terms from "The Child Improved" to "The Child Amused", permitted a

more diverse group of authors to enter the field.¹¹

The shift in authorship patterns affected the form and content of children's fiction and therefore needed description. The first purpose of this study remained to provide a description and summary of children's fiction, through an analysis of authorship, readership, style, and content characteristics.

Explanations for change must be looked at within the context of societal change. There is what Leslie Stephen described as "a correlative relationship" between societal and intellectual forces.¹² Some were technological changes: improvements in printing, reproduction, and distribution, which made for a wider readership. There were also less visible changes in the alteration of publishing policies. General factors such as economic and political conditions, social legislation, and religious, educational and philosophical concerns form a necessary background for a study such as this. These are described in Chapters 2 and 3.

Lack of Congruence in Views of the Child

Having looked for an explanation of change within the context of social history, a third proposal was to compare the attitudes to the child expressed in children's fiction with those expressed in other sources. This project was an unwieldy one and became so time-consuming that it was laid aside to be completed as a part of a larger study of the child in the years between 1740 and 1840. The areas

examined included the study of games and toys, costume and dress, social legislation as it affected the child, pediatric evidence relating to the child, the child in artistic representations, and the study of educational treatises and children's instructional texts. Some of this research material is referred to in the chapters which follow, where it provides clarification or background information.

The initial investigation of this material demonstrated that the view of the child in children's fiction was more, or less unique, although there were similarities in three other source materials which were also educational in intent: toys and games, children's text books, and educational treatises written for adults. While it was initially expected that there would be congruence amongst the sources named above, the lack of common themes suggested that each viewer saw the child through his own lens and focussed on those aspects which were of interest to him. Thus the artist saw one image, the social reformer another, the Calvinist and Evangelical a third, and fourth.

Where It All Began - An Overview of Publishing For Children

Fiction works for children made their first appearance in England in the 1740s. The main impetus was provided by three book-sellers-cum-publishers and sometime authors, Mrs. Mary Cooper, Thomas Boreman, and the publisher John Newbery.¹³ Their role and the role of later colleagues was crucial in the development of an independent children's literature.

Mrs. Cooper issued a primer and a couple of songbooks for children. Boreman's works might best be described as guide books to London, and Newbery's first books were compilations of materials taken from other sources such as chapbooks, fables, school primers, and the Bible. To these he added material written either by himself or by hackwriters he employed. Authorship was rarely acknowledged and in the absence of copyright laws it was possible to adapt successful items from other sources (particularly anonymous ones) and reprint them with or without amendment.

The first purveyors of children's books were involved in all facets of book production. Most had other sidelines. Newbery for example dealt in patent medicine, printing labels on his presses and including advertisements for remedies in his children's stories.¹⁴ Both Newbery and Boreman made use of advertising techniques which appealed directly to the child. Newbery's first children's book included this proclamation:

According to Act of Parliament (neatly bound and gilt): A Little Pretty Pocket-Book, intended for the Instruction and Amusement of Little Tommy and Pretty Miss Polly, with an agreeable Letter to read from Jack the Giant-Killer, and also a Ball and a Pincushion, the use of which will infallibly make Tommy a good Boy and Polly a good Girl. To the whole is prefixed a Letter on Education humbly addressed to

all Parents, Guardians, Governesses, etc.,
 wherein Rules are laid down for making their
 Children strong, healthy, virtuous, wise and
 happy...¹⁵

Newbery's books were attractively presented in coloured Dutch paper with gilt flowers and both he and Boreman provided illustrations in the form of woodcuts. These were sometimes crude but were relevant to the text and were a welcome innovation for child-readers. Boreman added to each of his publications a list of "subscribers" so that a child could see his name in print.¹⁶ Both used "puffs" within the text to encourage readers to buy others of their products, a tradition continued by their successors, Richard Johnson and John Marshall.¹⁷

Mrs. Cooper's name is not mentioned after 1745 and Boreman also faded from view after putting out ten books for children of which The Gigantick Histories was the best-known. His two giants, Gog and Magog, reappeared in children's books into the 20th century.¹⁸ Newbery's business expanded over two decades until his death in 1767.¹⁹ His mantle then fell on Richard Johnson, also a printer, who worked for several publishing firms as well as writing books himself. In particular he did the printing for Newbery's successors. Like Newbery he was a man of many parts; he compiled indexes, drew up wills, and wrote adult fiction. His work has been politely described as "extremely derivative", although on

his tombstone it was written that he was admired "for his moral principles in literature."²⁰ Of ninety books listed in Johnson's day-book--his pay-record for completed work--forty were children's books and, of those, twenty could be described as fiction.²¹ There has been no definitive study as yet of John Marshall's work.²² It is evident that the role of printer-publisher-book seller was an important one in the development of a new literature for children.

By 1790 there were at least six publishers other than Newbery's successors producing children's books and sectarian lines were becoming evident. The firm of Darton and Harvey, a Quaker company, began publishing instructional children's books as early as 1767. The Rivington family published for the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (hereafter referred to as the S.P.C.K.). The Religious Tract Society (hereafter referred to as the R.T.S.) entered the competitive field in 1799, providing a wide distribution for the tract stories of Hannah More. F.J. Houlston published Evangelical works, including many best-sellers by the renowned Mrs. Sherwood. By 1820 the publishers providing books for children were too numerous to list.²³

Illustrations contributed to book sales. Elizabeth Newbery's colleague and successor, John Harris, introduced engravings to replace woodblocks and, in 1800, was the first to make use of colour in illustration. It is not possible here to discuss the history of book illustration but even in

woodblock days, there were notable artists, such as the Bewick brothers. Other important artists involved in illustrating children's books were William Blake, William Mulready and George Cruikshank.²⁴

The printers and the publishers were the first to exploit the potential readership among children of the middle class and by 1800 there was a limited but well-established market. But by then the medium had already been taken over by a group of didactic ladies who adapted it for their own purposes and used it for the next forty years to advance their own beliefs concerning education and moral and religious training.²⁵ After Newbery's first light-hearted fling, parents became serious-minded, and there was a demand for morally improving books or, at the very least, informative books. The religious revival stifled Newbery's tolerance for fun, and the rationalist philosophy of Locke and his successors endorsed the ban on fantasy of all kinds.

To 20th century readers, the one hundred years selected for study was a sterile and unimaginative period in children's literature. Mrs. Field called it "the moral embers of Puritanism", Kieffer labelled the books of the period "the Mental Pabulum of Godly Children", and Meigs epitomised those years as "the age of admonition."²⁶ Between 1740 and 1840, children's stories in England were written, for the most part, by what Muir has termed "the monstrous regiment of women" and Townsend "the solid phalanx of didactic women."²⁷

In literary histories they have, until recently, received short shrift. Significantly, none of these works have survived for posterity. But if the books of this period are examined in detail, they provide a record of gradual evolution and change. They form the base for the vast new wealth of children's fiction which characterized the Victorian era, a wealth distinguished by the imaginative works of Lewis Carroll and Edward Lear. Because adults were unwilling to relinquish their original views on what was appropriate reading for children, the changes came slowly. The gradual acceptance of the notion that imagination was an important part of the child's psychological make-up is recounted in Chapter 9.

Imaginative prose writing for children flickered like a candle in the wind. First set alight by Newbery, it had no opportunity to burn clearly in the first years of children's fiction, before being extinguished in the 1780s when the message became overwhelmingly moral. Religious overtones dominated between 1800 and 1830, but imaginative prose flickered again in the 1820s, paused in the 1830s, to burn strongly in the 1840s after the close of this study.

The new permissiveness came in part from continental influence, where fairy tales and folk tales were always more readily accepted, in part from a resurgence of nationalism in England which looked to the legends and folk tales of the past, and in part

from the Romantic poets whose idealistic views of the child conflicted with evangelical and utilitarian perceptions. It may well have been assisted by the popularization of faculty psychology, the successor to association theory, which allowed a place for imagination as a legitimate function of the brain. And so, by default, the stories which fed the imagination also gained acceptance.

An Interdisciplinary Study

This research is an interdisciplinary study in the truest sense of the word. It is an historical study of one source material in English literature. Its purpose is to examine the assumptions both implicit and explicit about the psychological nature of the child in children's fiction through accepted social scientific research procedures. A detailed examination of this source material has created an awareness of the limitations of many studies which have been based on unobtrusive sources in historical research.

Historians of psychology are part of a larger group of those interested in social history. The wish to borrow from cultural materials such as art or fiction is growing in popularity, but such materials are often used without regard for their representativeness; often they are examined superficially and the results of such examination interpreted out of context. Sampling techniques and objective content analysis, both well-established tools of the social scientist, provide safeguards such as objectivity and representativeness.

This is the story related in this dissertation. Because it is an interdisciplinary study, it is unlikely that many will want to read it in its entirety. By reading the Introduction, the summaries at the end of each chapter and Chapter 10, it is possible to follow the developing argument, as to how and why changes in children's fiction occurred and what these changes signified in terms of how the child was perceived. Those interested in social history might wish to read Chapters 1, 2 and 3 which are concerned with historical background. Those interested in English literature might wish to read Chapters 1 and 5 through 9. The procedures followed in selecting and coding the material and the description of characteristics of authorship, readership, style and content are described in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

Reference Sources Used

Because this is an interdisciplinary study it has ranged both widely and deeply. All of the 195 children's books included in the sample were read in their entirety. Many others were read to be later discarded because of uncertainties of date or place of origin. Further, some 125 separate reviews of books in the sample were read in addition to the Guardian of Education (1802-5) and the Juvenile Review (1817). Within the Osborne Collection, all of the children's books which preceded 1780 and some of the fiction works which came after 1840 were also examined. A number of educational and medical treatises for parents, letters of advice and text

books for children were also perused as were some well-known volumes of poetry of the period.

The bibliography of works cited suggests the breadth but not the number of reference sources. It was felt necessary to read widely because of a feeling of insecurity which accompanied the knowledge that one was trespassing on the territory of others. There was also a very real warning from contemporary studies in the history of childhood where failure to range widely resulted in unwarranted conclusions.

There are certainly errors within this study. In working with literary material at a time when publishing dates and authorship were unspecified, it is inevitable that bibliographical errors will have occurred. Where errors were detected in the work of others, attention has been drawn to them, usually in footnotes. They have been identified in the hope that others will in like fashion draw attention to mine. The lack of reliable bibliographical reference material for early children's literature has been the subject of recent comment by both Alderson and Gottlieb.²⁸ These two authorities also noted that errors which are not corrected in subsequent works tend to become "sanctified" as fact.²⁹

Since this study began in 1975, there have been some discoveries relating to the authorship of early works of children's fiction which may not yet have found their way into standard reference sources.³⁰ I have been fortunate enough to have had access to the notes left by Frank Algar

which are now in the hands of the Osborne Collection.³¹ These notes, handwritten on the backs of envelopes, on the insides of cereal box tops, on telegraph forms and on bank deposit slips, provided much of the information about the numbers and editions of books by children's authors, and many biographical details patiently culled from birth, marriage and death notices in early English newspapers. Bibliographies are never complete; as children's fiction gains increasing recognition, some of the still remaining puzzles will be solved.

A Revised Purpose for This Research Study

It will by now be apparent that this research study has changed direction since its inception. At first the intent was to provide a summary and description alone; then a hypothesis of change was inserted to be substantiated or negated by an examination of the material.

Although it was not found possible to make inferences about children in general from children's fiction, it was possible to identify the presence of recurring themes within a sample of children's books from a limited time-span; it is evident that within this class-restricted source the themes did change across time.

Having provided a systematic analysis of a representative sample of children's fiction written in England between 1740 and 1840, it was also felt necessary to provide an account of the reviews and critiques of these same books. The review

material extended to approximately 1900 (as long as these books were read). Apart from occasional comment in personal document sources, a review of the literary criticism of the period is the only means to assess reactive opinion.

A comparison of the child in children's fiction with the child in other historical sources was also suggested, but this comparison was omitted; instead, children's fiction was compared with adult fiction to see whether within these two source materials the child was similarly portrayed (see Chapter 8).

In the course of examining a wide range of source materials for background and comparison purposes, some conclusions have been drawn concerning the use of literary source materials in historical research. It is hoped that this study, which draws upon material from a variety of disciplines, will encourage researchers in the history of childhood to step their way carefully around the pitfalls which are inherent in the use of unobtrusive archival materials.

CHAPTER 1

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE CONCERNING CHILDREN'S FICTION

Some conclusions about some groups in some societies in some centuries will win a wide degree of professional acceptance.

Walter Arnstein, 1979¹

Interest in early children's fiction has intensified in recent years and there are now available several authoritative sources published since this study was first contemplated. For convenience, the background literature has been divided into five categories:

1. Books providing an historical account of the development of children's literature.
2. Bibliographical contributions to children's literature, including publisher's records, catalogues of libraries and private collections.
3. Social science and historical studies using children's fiction as a source material.
4. Literary studies using children's fiction as a source material.
5. Social science, historical and literary studies based on sources similar to children's fiction.

a. Historical Accounts of Children's Fiction:

There have been, since 1969, more than twenty historical summaries of children's literature.² Historical accounts have usually discussed all types of children's literature: courtesy books, nursery rhymes, educational texts, chapbooks, religious tracts, poetry and so forth. There are also some specialist histories which provide detailed accounts of the growth of one type of children's books, such as animal legends, fables, nursery rhymes, fairy tales, chapbooks, and others.³

Historical accounts of children's literature have tended to be descriptive chronologies of those books which were seen by later authors to be landmarks in the development of children's literature. The works described in such chronologies have often been selected on the basis of availability to the author. Some authors have relied on secondary accounts because they lacked primary sources.⁴ It is not always clear which books were examined at first-hand and which were seen through the eyes of others. It is inevitable that the books which went into multiple editions, and which have been termed "best-sellers" for purposes of this study, have been those most frequently quoted by literary historians.⁵ This is a consequence of the fact that their multiple editions increased the likelihood of their preservation.

Historians from all disciplines have tended to be particularly impressed by those books which created the strongest or most dramatic impact on contemporary readers. There may

therefore be an over-representation of books describing harsh disciplinary methods, unusual punishments, or even what we might today consider as child abuse.⁶ This has been particularly evident in the selection of materials for some histories of childhood.⁷ Because of selective availability and the tendency to over-represent the spectacular, literary and social historians have used and re-used the same few books, but left many others unexamined. Children's books describing what today are considered as extremes of behaviour provide subject matter which lends itself readily to ridicule and humour.⁸ While some histories of children's literature have been written by knowledgeable researchers in the field, or by bibliophiles, others are by what might best be described as enthusiastic amateurs.

The period in which I am interested included very few fiction works which can legitimately be called "literature". With the possible exception of one or two stories by Maria Edgeworth, there are none which are remembered today. Until the last few years, except for "extreme" books, this period has received little attention in either chronological or nostalgic accounts of the literature of the past.

There are several books which are compilations of children's stories and poetry from this period. Some have been prefaced with introductory and interpretative notes and some have been subjected to much editing, leaving today's readers unsure of how the original story was presented.

Charlotte Yonge (1870), Andrew Tuer (1899-1900), E.V. Lucas (1905 and 1906), Gillian Avery (1960 and 1968), and Leonard De Vries (1966 and 1967) have all provided compilations drawn from prose fiction.⁹ Selections in these anthologies have been made on the basis of childhood reminiscence or on some undefined standard of excellence. One cannot be sure that they provide representative or inclusive examples of the fiction of the period. A recent and welcome addition of a book of this kind is of Canadian origin, with selections drawn from the Osborne Collection.¹⁰ It has provided examples from different genres of children's literature from Aelfric's Colloquy (c. 1000) to Heinrich Hoffmann's Struwwelpeter.¹¹

The editors have offered a chronological commentary to describe their choices.¹² The commentary is well-researched but has tended towards a "Whiggish" view of children's fiction which failed to note that Puritan "hell-fire" tales remained long after the Puritans, and that much of early Victorian children's literature retained a rational or a moral theme and co-existed alongside the more exciting "harbingers" of the Golden Age". The thesis of this book--that children's literature, once a vehicle of instruction became later an object of delight--is undeniably true, but it was not a universal progression. The collection as presented paints too rosy a transition.

The most valuable literary sources have been those written close to the time period under study. Edward Salmon's Juvenile Literature as It is (1881) and Mrs. Field's The

Child and His Book (1881) provided information about late Victorian attitudes to books both authors read as children.¹³ Charlotte Yonge dealt exclusively with her personal childhood favourites, providing two commentaries on the same books in 1869 and 1870.¹⁴ The comments of both Charlotte Yonge and Mrs. Field were subjective and certainly reflected the child-raising values of the 19th century. Mrs. Field, for example, condemned Catherine Sinclair for allowing children to poke fun at adults, and also for describing their "naughtiness" so alluringly that other children might wish to emulate it.¹⁵

As historians of children's fiction, Gillian Avery and Harvey Darton are, at the present time, two of the most respected names. Darton, focussing particularly on the books he enjoyed as a child, provided a detailed description of early children's fiction works; his book, first published in 1935, has recently been revised for the third time. Avery's research purpose approximated closely the goals of this study. She recently stated her main interest to be: "the changing ideals of child behaviour as depicted in the books that adults purveyed for the consumption of the young".¹⁶ In addition to two books based on an analysis of heroes and heroines in children's fiction from 1760 to 1900, she has examined childhood as described in two other sources of the same period: adult fiction and autobiographical reminiscence.¹⁷ In a recent paper she noted that the children's books she described were not systematically selected; also

that while "you may have thought you were original--that you were writing what you really thought and what you really wanted to say--you are dancing, as likely as not to the tune of the age".¹⁸

Evangelical literature, Avery noted, formed the link between literature for the upper class and tract literature for village children, but only after 1860.¹⁹ Margaret Nancy Cutt, author of a book on Mrs. Sherwood and her works, described in Ministering Angels (1979) how early Evangelical stories, such as The History of Little Henry and His Bearer (1814) and The Fairchild Family (1818), remained in print throughout the 19th century.²⁰ A recent specialty history, privately published, it is included in this background review because of its comments on the forerunners to tract fiction which include many of the works in this study. Victorian tract fiction writers were, after all, the children of the early Evangelicals; as such, their literary diet when young consisted in the books of Mrs. Trimmer, the Kilners, Maria Edgeworth, Mrs. Barbauld and Thomas Day.

In reviewing these early works Cutt saw the goal to be first instruction and moral training, then entertainment, and finally the long-range improvement of society through the development of reason.²¹ She noted that several children's books dealt explicitly with social themes but that earlier books like The Governess (1745) and Little Goody Two Shoes (1765) had a lighter touch compared to later ones such as

Mary Wollstonecraft's Original Stories (1789). The influence of Wesley and Mrs. Trimmer had become felt in the interim and a negative reaction to Rousseau's liberalism had developed. The followers of Wesley and Mrs. Trimmer supported religious training which, Cutt noted, superseded the rational moralist stance of Thomas Day and Maria Edgeworth.²² Later evangelical moralists built on the foundations laid by Mrs. Trimmer and Hannah More.

Cutt found that religious teaching dominated children's fiction between 1810 and 1830, and replaced the original moral tale. Several earlier books were reissued with added religious material, and some were amended to omit stories offensive to the new climate of opinion.²³ Cutt believed the new writers for children were mainly Evangelical, and that many uncommitted moralists of the 1800 period adopted the evangelical position.²⁴ It is certainly true that the religious tone of children's books became more noticeable up to 1830, but my research indicated a greater diversity of religious belief than Cutt has suggested.

From tracts grew tract fiction. Mrs. Sherwood and her sister Mrs. Cameron were the first to write full-length tract fiction. Their first books were intended for "serving girls" but within this source serving girls were frequently lumped with children. Cutt asserted that the authors of tract fiction were upper class, Tory in politics, and of the Established Church, and that they tended to repudiate French educational

beliefs, a finding supported by this research.²⁵

By the time Victoria came to the throne a feeling of moral righteousness prevailed. Self-examination, family prayers and Sunday observance, including Sunday books, were regular features of upper and middle class family life.²⁶ Cutt was one of the few researchers in the field of children's fiction to recognize the force of the religious revival. While she believed it to be predominantly Evangelical, when combined with Methodist factions and the Protestant Dissent its impact quelled the possibility of overt revolution in England, and substituted a quiet revolution which, more subtly, altered standards of conduct.

It is certainly true, as Cutt stated, that educators--and children's fiction authors were always educators--shifted their predominant belief from reason to religion. The optimism of the Enlightenment which looked for the perfectability of society and which saw progress as inevitable faded in the face of the political upheavals and social unrest which accompanied industrialization.²⁷

Both Avery and Cutt discussed the religious themes which had long-term effects on the development of children's fiction. Avery noted that religious themes stressed the soul. The human soul is a personal and private attribute and the new emphasis it received in tracts, and later in tract fiction, placed a greater value on the individual. Time and effort spent in discussion of a child's salvation offered child-

readers a new sense of importance.²⁸ Cutt commented that while the rational moralists suppressed impulses and the emotions, in religious literature the Evangelical approach encouraged the expression of emotion within a religious context.²⁹

b. Bibliographical Contributions to Early Children's Literature

The Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books is recognized as the most detailed and comprehensive catalogue in the field, but there are other catalogues of private collections and libraries which also contain useful descriptive material. Bibliographic sources include accounts by Gumuchian et Cie. (1931), A.S.W. Rosenbach (1933), Percy Muir (1946), William Targ (1957), Eric Quayle (1971) and Gerald Gottlieb (1975).³⁰ Walter Schatzki's Children's Books Old and Rare (1941), deserves special mention.³¹ It is a rare-book-dealer's catalogue, with descriptive passages which assist in the accurate dating and numbering of editions of children's books long out of print. Antiquarian and book-seller's catalogues have been consulted for descriptions of books which were only available in later editions.

Serious contributions to the history of children's literature have been provided by librarians and archivists. Three valuable studies for the 18th and early 19th century are based on the publishing records of Richard Johnson, John Newbery and John Harris.³² A recent bio-bibliographic study

by Christina Duff Stewart of the Toronto Public Library entitled The Taylors of Ongar has provided a detailed account of the Taylor family.³³ Five members of this family wrote fiction and non-fiction for children in the early 19th century, and several of their works are included in this study. While the more general historical accounts have tended to be haphazard and subjective, the bibliographic and biographic contributions to the history of children's literature have been in the main both painstaking and scholarly.

Among recent publications in this category was an annotated chronology of Fifteen Centuries of Children's Literature (1980) by Jane Bingham and Grayce Scholt, and a 1980 revision of Elva Smith's earlier History of Children's Literature (1935) enlarged by Margaret Hodges and Susan Steinfirst.³⁴

Bingham and Scholt's study provided an historical background in both England and the America to the six time-segments within which the 750 books they described were listed. Books were selected from an index of 9700 titles compiled by date according to the number of citations each book received in secondary sources. As a reference source it is marred by the omission of works by many well-known authors and also by some inaccuracies.³⁵ It has already been noted that historians of children's literature have not been systematic in selecting books for description but have tended to draw heavily on the same few. By depending on secondary sources in compiling a reference book the same books are included yet again and also

errors, where they exist, are perpetuated indefinitely.³⁶

In contrast, the work of Hodges and Steinfurst was both comprehensive and scholarly and provided a bibliography of periodicals, anthologies and histories of children's literature, as well as supplementary references on child life, religious background and education. This reference book covers all phases of children's literature under subject headings and would be a valuable resource to anyone embarking on research in early children's literature or on any topic in the history of childhood.

c. Social Sciences and Historical Studies Using Children's Fiction as a Source Material

Children's fiction has also been used by social psychologists as an indicator of value systems of the past. Contemporary research has used children's fiction, focussing on sex role stereotypes and racial attitudes in particular.³⁷

David McClelland's inventive research based on samplings of primers at two different time periods and across forty different cultures was particularly ambitious.³⁸ He applied social psychological techniques to literary materials with the hypothesis that "a concern for achievement as expressed in imaginative literature, folk tales and stories for children, is associated in modern times with a more rapid rate of economic development".³⁹

While his hypothesis was substantiated there were doubts concerning the validity of his Achievement Motivation Scale.

There were also doubts about the selection procedure for the stories in children's primers which were his basic source. Children's primers, particularly in the years before 1930, were made up of stories taken from earlier time periods and were not necessarily expressive of 20th century values. Other studies carried out by students of McClelland's have similar flaws.⁴⁰

Other studies using children's fiction as a source material are in the field of American Civilization. While they are a far cry from the present topic, these studies are interesting for methodological reasons. Kelly, in his book Mother Was a Lady, examined a sampling of juvenile periodicals in publication between 1865 and 1890 in the United States.⁴¹ He treated children's stories as "popular literature" and subjected their content to "formula analysis".⁴² He also noted major and minor motifs: the fatherless child, the mother governed by personal vanity, impending poverty, the merits of rural over urban life, and the evil influence of ignorance, bad company, alcohol and cheap literature. Kelly noted the change in content in pre- and post-American Civil War periodicals and described how formula stories of this type increasingly failed to conform to changing social and economic conditions. In a rapidly changing society the stereotyped formula situations broke down because they no longer answered the needs of a basically urban population, faced with the reality of economic competition.

Kelly also investigated the backgrounds of the authors

who contributed to these journals, and found them to consist of a handful of writers of the "gentry" class (hence the title Mother Was a Lady). These authors--the bulk of them were women--were attempting, in the face of change, to perpetuate the value system of an earlier era. Kelly focussed on the question of whose views are expressed within this source, and how they related to the social history of the time. The demise of these stereotyped stories was a consequence of their lack of congruence with the prevailing values of an essentially industrial and urban population. This examination of children's fiction written in England between 1740 and 1840, provides a similar conclusion.

There have been other studies in recent years based on American, English and French periodical literature. Children's periodical literature proliferated in the last half of the 19th century, and because it is easily sampled, and readily available, it has become a popular subject of research in both Europe and America.⁴³

Anne Scott MacLeod's A Moral Tale covered the period of American children's fiction between 1820 and 1860.⁴⁴ MacLeod's goal was to arrive at a greater understanding of the social and moral attitudes which prevailed in America in the pre-Civil War period, through an analysis of children's fiction. She made exclusions from her source material on the same basis as this study, and, like Kelly, her analysis was non-quantitative. In discussing the stylistic features of

early American children's fiction, she described many of the same characteristics found in English children's books of the same period. Her conclusions were realistic:

Taken by itself, the children's fiction of any era would be a doubtful source of information about how children actually live and think, and certainly the juvenile fiction of 1820 to 1860, morally purposeful but bare-bones thin as literature, offered no more than an occasional glimpse of the daily lives of real children. What the literature furnished in abundance was an insight into what adults wanted for and from their children of that time, and what their desires for children revealed about their own attitudes.⁴⁵

In many ways this book represented an American parallel to the research described here, but it left some unanswered questions. To one familiar with early children's fiction in England, the stories described by MacLeod bore such a similarity to English books of a slightly earlier era that one doubts it is coincidental. It now appears accepted that in 1820 nearly all children's books in the U.S. were of British origin, a situation which was reversed by 1850.⁴⁶ There is no indication of the means by which MacLeod determined which books were of American origin. Often English books imported into America were re-issued with nothing more than a new title page and in pre-copyright days, credit was not customarily

given to the original author.⁴⁷ A Moral Tale would be a more valuable contribution if the bibliographic history of the books discussed had been traced more thoroughly.⁴⁸ For purposes of this research the bibliographic background of each book included in the study was examined and those whose origin was unclear were discarded.

There have been several "global" studies based on diverse source materials, including children's fiction. One such, written by Gordon Rattray Taylor in 1958, examined the psychological origins of historical change in England between 1750 and 1850.⁴⁹ While not dealing specifically with the history of childhood, he included a discussion of child-raising practices, which he examined in detail from a psychoanalytic orientation. Taylor provided an impressive list of original sources, many of which had not been referred to elsewhere. Among them were child-rearing manuals, pediatric texts, parent's letters of advice to their children, diaries, memoirs and correspondence, biographical sources, and also children's fiction. Both as a general reference and because of its thorough documentation, Taylor's book is a useful historical source. The title, The Angel-Makers, referred to the prevailing view of women in a century with strong religious overtones. Taylor's particular interest was the contrast between the immorality of behaviour generally ascribed to the Regency period, and the strictness and authoritarian outlook which characterized the Victorian era which followed. Of the

research studies examined, Taylor's is one of the few which offered an explanation for change (based on psychoanalytic theory) and an argument which he developed step by step inductively. There are no identifiable errors in facts or dates in this book. But readers who shun psychoanalytic theory will question his interpretation of the data.

A second source book in American studies used a variety of source materials and sought an explanation for change in a psychohistorical context. Its author was Bernard Wishy and his book is a history of childhood in 19th century America.⁵⁰ Wishy described the rapidly changing society of that period through an account of children's fiction, educational and religious treatises, child-raising manuals, and popular magazine articles which, after 1850, devoted a large part of their content to child-nurture information. The demand for such published material suggested to Wishy a new awakening of child-consciousness in America. He tied child-raising practices in the U.S. to popular knowledge about psychology and the developing child. His search for consistency through a variety of source materials was thorough. The book is detailed; his lists of sources, and his explicit footnotes were a scholarly achievement at a time when there were believed to be few extant materials in the history of childhood. But there were errors which created a lack of confidence in his conclusions.⁵¹ More serious was his attempt to "tidy up" the history of childhood for the period between 1780 and 1900.

In doing so, Wishy compressed decades, telescoping as many as fifty years into a sentence or a summary heading - a squeeze which ignored generational differences in viewpoint.

The books of both Taylor and Wishy provided a wealth of new material and ideas. The variety of sources used and the effort to provide a consistent reason for changing ideas instead of a recital of chronological events, made these books useful contributions to the history of ideas. In both, the theoretical interpretation of data was based on psycho-analytic theory.

The recent work of Lawrence Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800, also made use of children's fiction sources.⁵² It was an enormously ambitious project but its very vastness rendered it, to some extent, trivial. Inevitably there must be inaccuracies in a piece of research which cuts such a wide swath amongst sources.⁵³

Stone's most important contribution was his emphasis on the diversity of attitudes which prevailed towards the family and the child at each and every historical time period. This was so, he believed, because of stratified cultural diffusion, and the existence of sub-cultures within social classes.⁵⁴ He identified many of the hazards attached to the use of impressionistic data in history and criticized current trends toward model-building in the history of ideas. Model-builders concentrate on ideal behaviour types and highlight features which may not have been typical of a period. But, curiously,

Stone himself succumbed to model building. His main thesis was that "affective individualism" became the dominant mode of family life after 1750, displacing authoritarianism and religious dominance, and providing more relaxed and more tolerant child-raising practices. While he clearly stated his wish to avoid a picture of linear progression in the treatment of children over time, his book is, nonetheless, a Whiggish view of history.⁵⁵

Stone noted the invention of children's literature in 1742 as an example of a more child-oriented society. He is not the only historian to use the advent of children's publishing as substantiation for increased concern for children. But the growth and development of the publishing industry as a whole suggests that this is a doubtful assumption.

A recent essay by Walter Arnstein, a social historian, noted that until recently the only children to appear in history were the occasional chimney-sweep or heir to the throne. He discussed the contributions of the "Annales" school of history based on records of tax lists, parish registers, census figures and such. He also acknowledged Erikson's influence in directing historical attention away from the pathological and towards the normal child.⁵⁶

He then examined several recent histories of childhood and the family and discussed contemporary approaches to "writing history on a large scale".⁵⁷ He outlined four which had been

used to date. In the category of Whig history he placed deMause's History of Childhood, Shorter's The Making of the Modern Family and Stone's The Family, Sex and Marriage.⁵⁸ A second approach he termed "the Adam and Eve approach", but gave it the more official title of the "Tory" view of history. In this category he placed Ariès's Centuries of Childhood and Christopher Lasch's Haven in a Heartless World, both of which idealized the cohesive and orderly family life of the past.⁵⁹ Other approaches to large-scale histories were the cyclical mode, best exemplified by Toynbee, and a fourth he described as "the one doggone thing after another" approach, which is in essence system-free. He noted that the same time periods were viewed differently depending on which approach was used: thus Stone's "affective individualism" occurred simultaneously with deMause's "intrusive mode", Shorter's "traditional society" and Ariès's "schoolboy prison". The lesson of Arnstein's critique was that global histories may in the end both oversimplify and distort to make nonsense of the facts.

4. Literary Studies Using Children's Fiction as a Source Material

Literary studies based entirely or in part on children's fiction have been of high quality. At least this was true of two recent studies in the field of English literature, one by Grylls and one by Pickering.⁶⁰ Grylls, like Taylor, examined parent-child relations in Victorian times but his study was based both on children's and adult fiction. He noted

the influence of Rousseau in bringing the special nature of the child into focus and commented that historians usually attributed the more humane treatment of children to Locke. The notion of childish innocence stemmed from Rousseau and contrasted with Wesley's emphasis on original sin, to create, in his words "a weird pattern" of thought and action.⁶¹

The changed economic function of children in the early 19th century accompanied a declining infant mortality rate and put a new value on education, illustrated by the publication of many educational treatises. In these books the duty of the child to his parents was gradually replaced in the 19th century with the duty of the parents to the child.⁶² In 19th century literature both views of the child--those of Rousseau and of the Puritans-- led to the cemetery according to Grylls.⁶³ Deathbed scenes prevailed in Puritan literature for cautionary purposes; in Romantic literature the theme was social injustice which led to death or deformity. Grylls warned against making generalizations about attitudes on the basis of statistics. For his own study he drew on two hundred periodical articles to demonstrate how more and more attention was paid to children as the 19th century progressed--as Wishy had done for the same time period in America. Not only was more space devoted to childhood and children but also a more sympathetic attitude was expressed culminating in a sentimental view of the child in the 1880s and 1890s.⁶⁴

In a chapter on "Children's Literature" Grylls justified his use of the same books quoted by other researchers because these few best-selling books were widely read until the end of the century.⁶⁵ He acknowledged that his source material was not comprehensive; he also drew only on the popular adult novels of the Victorian period to illustrate changes which came about in parent-child relations. Of children's fiction he noted:

The fundamental change in nineteenth century children's books is clear enough: the move from instruction to entertainment. The early books instilled facts and morals in a hastily assembled fictional setting; the emphasis was on adult wisdom. Later, as the discovery of childhood progressed, the emphasis shifted to children themselves; their childish ways were not to be plucked out but rather to be cultivated. They were allowed not only to learn from their elders but also--occasionally--to laugh at them. Interest in childhood eventually blunted the edge of adult authority.⁶⁶

By the end of the 18th century Grylls asserted that childhood was no longer ignored but that there was little wish to understand its nature. By the end of the 19th century, space, time, and energy were devoted to children and a child's existence was important in itself and not just as a preparation for adulthood.⁶⁷ Grylls, too, provided a kind of

framework into which he fitted authors and those who had influenced them. He saw Mrs. Trimmer as bridging the gap between the rational didacticism of Day, Edgeworth, and Barbauld, on the one hand, and Mrs. Sherwood on the other. If he had persevered further with early children's fiction he would have discovered that Mrs. Trimmer, like Mrs. Sherwood, was wholly on the side of the angels. That he described her as "predominantly a Rationalist" was probably because of her disclaimer that animals could talk.⁶⁸

Grylls noted many of the inconsistencies of early children's fiction. He commented that Thomas Day--an admirer of Rousseau--who believed that books were an unnecessary evil for children, himself, provided three volumes of Mr. Barlow's message of rural simplicity "in convoluted syntax".⁶⁹ Of The Fairchild Family, it was not the details of the offenses committed by the Fairchild children which were important, he noted, but "the sin-category" they came under--a comment which applied to much of the literature between 1800 and 1830.⁷⁰ Grylls noted, as Darton and Mrs. Field had before him, that Catherine Sinclair's Holiday House (1839) marked the beginning of the end of didacticism. The link between naughtiness and sin gradually weakened and children described as normally worthy were allowed occasional transgressions and more importantly, were forgiven for them.⁷¹

A book by Samuel F. Pickering on John Locke and Early Children's Books in Eighteenth Century England is also note-

worthy.⁷² Whether he started with the premise that Locke's influence was widespread, or whether that conclusion emerged from his examination of fiction written before 1800 is not clear. He described children's fiction chronologically and excluded, as this study does, fairy tales and nursery rhymes.⁷³

At the outset he stated:

For the eighteenth century British educator, Locke provided a theoretical umbrella for all seasons. Even when the rude brow of Rousseau loomed on the horizon educators simply raised the Lockean shield and pressed onward.⁷⁴

Pickering described Locke as "a populariser", with a wide readership because he wrote in English. Educators picked up Locke's ideas on association and on the education of children and his writings became inviolable.⁷⁵

Pickering described children's fiction under several descriptive headings. He first discussed "the animal creation", a significant feature of children's fiction in the 1780s and 1790s. He attributed the fad for animal biographies to Locke's comments on kindness to animals in his Essay on Education. Pickering believed that Isaac Watts transmitted Locke's influence to Mrs. Trimmer and Lady Fenn among others, and he listed the books which included themes of kindness to animals. But kindness to animals had religious connotations for many Evangelical authors who saw "the Brute Creation" as "fellow tenants of the globe", and hence a part of God's

handiwork.⁷⁶

A second theme attributed by Pickering to Locke was the notion of the evil influence of "Spirits and Goblins". Locke wrote:

But even then, and always whilst he is Young, be sure to preserve his tender Mind from all Impressions and Notions of Spirits and Goblins, or any fearful Apprehensions in the dark. This he will be in danger of from the indiscretion of Servants, whose usual method is to awe children, and keep them in subjection, by telling them of Raw-Head and Bloody Bones, and such other names, as carry with them Ideas of something terrible and hurtful, which they have reason to be afraid of, when alone, especially in the dark. This must be carefully prevented. For though by this foolish way, they may keep them from little Faults, yet the Remedy is much worse than the Disease; and there is stamped upon their Imagination Ideas, that follow them with Terror and Affrightment: Such Bug-Bear Thoughts once got into the tender Minds of Children, and being set on with a strong impression, from the Dread that accompanies such Apprehensions, sink deep, and fasten themselves so as not easily, if ever, to be got out again; and whilst they are there, frequently haunt them with strange Visions, making Children dastards when alone, and afraid of their Shadows and Darkness all their Lives after.⁷⁷

Locke's views had their origin in the fear of witchcraft which was carried over from earlier centuries. After Locke's pronouncement, the world of fairy tales, and by association the whole world of imagination, became suspect for children. Certainly Locke's words and the words of later children's authors bore a resemblance to those of Thomas Ady in the 17th century:

Old wives Fables, who sit talking, and chatting of many fake old Stories of Witches, and Fairies, and Robin Goodfellow, and walking Spirits, and the Dead walking again; all of which lying fancies people are more inclined to listen after than the the Scriptures.⁷⁸

Isaac Watts echoed Locke's views and others after him. But that was not the whole story; the effect of the religious revival was also significant. Its emphasis on the Truth helped to drive out untruths of all kinds from children's fiction. Pickering believed "the purple passion" of contemporary adult novels rubbed off on fairytales too as an added threat to imaginative writing.⁷⁹

Pickering noted that John Newbery was less obdurate about fairies than many of his contemporaries, but, it should be noted, Newbery died before the religious revival was in full swing. While some tolerance for fairies was expressed up to the end of the 1770s, Newbery's magic people were tame; the purpose of Tom Thumb and of Newbery's "domesticated giants" was to warn children against fairy tales.⁸⁰

In examining the positions of those who believed in stimulating the imagination and those who disapproved, Pickering identified Mrs. Trimmer's beliefs as tilting the scale. The Newbery firm, at first tolerant of fairies, ended by publishing some thirty of her books from whose pages they were firmly banished. After 1781 only a few "fraudulent" fairies remained--interjected for moral purposes.⁸¹

Locke also influenced the biographies of animals and inanimate objects popular in the 1780s. Pickering interpreted these as a legacy from the notion that learning for children should be made appealing, and saw them as the logical successors to fairy tales. He noted that the lives of inanimate objects were more effective than the animal biographies because they were less likely to become bogged down in humanitarian issues relating to the mistreatment of animals. The form died out, he said, because of excessive sentiment and lack of humour. In fact the form survived well into the 19th century although it occurred less frequently. It is still a popular formula for children's fiction today.⁸²

To attribute this genre of early children's fiction to Locke seems to stretch a point. Many children's books were copies of adult fiction, and sometimes, were nothing more than crudely abbreviated versions. Fictional biography was as popular in adult books as it was in children's. Fiction of all kinds was in its infancy and picaresque biographies represented a developmental stage.⁸³

Pickering discussed chapbook literature and religious tracts, probably in the same breath because of their low cost and ephemeral nature. He stated after 1800 that the popularity of chapbooks declined even among lower class readers. In fact, recent histories of chapbook literature based on publishers' records have indicated the expansion of such publications until 1830, although it is true that after 1800 children were directed to more worthy reading matter.⁸⁴

Pickering noted the influence of Locke on Watts, and the widespread influence of Watts on the spiritual diet of children the world over.⁸⁵ He saw in Mrs. Barbauld's Hymns in Prose (1781) the influence of Watts and hence Locke. Using nature to lead a child to God was a theme common to Watts and Mrs. Barbauld but it was also a part of accepted philosophical belief.⁸⁶ Pickering suggested too that Wordsworth was influenced by both Mrs. Barbauld and Watts. Mrs. Barbauld and Wordsworth held some educational beliefs in common, but influence is something which can be neither proven nor disproven.

Instructive stories which illustrated correct behaviour and example had their basis in Locke's educational concepts according to Pickering.⁸⁷ Parents and tutors were perceived to have great influence over the minds of children. The importance of arousing interest, exploited to the full by Newbery, almost certainly came from Locke; it later became lost in parental moralisings.

Pickering provided an account of the development of both Newbery's and John Marshall's publishing business for children. In comparing two of Marshall's publication lists, one from 1780 and another from 1785, the demise of the fairies was noticeable. In the second Marshall included a statement attesting that his books were free of such "prejudicial nonsense as fairies and hobgoblins".⁸⁸ Pickering asserted the influence of Locke on both Marshall and Newbery, but the change in Marshall's publishing policy could also have reflected contemporary philosophic and religious beliefs rather than Locke's direct influence.

But there can be no doubt that Locke's views were an accepted part of the culture of the 18th and early 19th century. His name was a household word among the literate population, as the number of attributions in children's fiction and other sources testify. But attributing influence after the event is a risky undertaking. Both Newbery and Marshall were shrewd enough entrepreneurs to exploit the ideas of the times for commercial gain. They were also shrewd enough to adapt their publication lists to suit the prevailing spiritual climate. Publishers in a new field were bound to be conservative. Two others, William Darton and John Harris, risked their professional reputation by publishing frivolous nursery tales after the turn of the century, but they too were careful to balance them with other works of sound morality and educational value.⁸⁹

Pickering's book represented a scholarly contribution to children's literature, and provided the first exhaustive description of 140 fiction works up to 1800. But he would have us believe that it was the man rather than the times which created the peculiar anomalies of early children's fiction. It is difficult to accept entirely his argument of the all-pervasive influence of Locke. His research suggests that it is not realistic to explore one literary source independently without knowing a great deal about events occurring in the same time period. If one is determined to find the influence of one man's work on subsequent writers, the safest recourse is through textual citations or else through a study of dead men's libraries. It will be remembered that Patterson detected Rousseau's influence in The Governess (1744) before Emile (1762) was ever written.⁹⁰ By concluding his study at 1800 he failed to note books which continued in the tradition of earlier themes. But it must also be said that one of the many merits of Pickering's study was that it was time-restricted and therefore thorough.

A recent paper by Patterson noted that the dominant concern of early children's books was educational.⁹¹ Most children's books of the 18th century were written for upper class children, she stated, and both Rousseau and Locke were influential. Female and domestic education were discussed in children's fiction and she found that religious views dominated. She commented too, on the violence of 18th

century society which was illustrated by the many and varied punishments meted out in children's books. Rousseau, she believed, had a softening effect and those who had come under his influence depicted less violent punishments in their fiction works than those who escaped it.⁹²

The question of influence, non-existent or otherwise, and the attribution of causal factors after the event, leads to a discussion of Isaac Kramnick's work.⁹³ Kramnick, noting that contemporary literature has a high component of ideological content, examined the fiction of the late 18th century for its ideological content. But first he discussed the factors contributing to the destruction of traditional society in pre-industrial England. He found that a new bourgeois ethic prevailed during the Industrial Revolution and that it afforded new status to the scientist, the engineer and the entrepreneur. He saw that those who were involved in science and industry belonged to the seven percent of the population who were of Dissenting faiths and that the Protestant ethic, applied to the work-place, created successful entrepreneurs. Before the industrial era there were no books for children because childhood was not viewed as a period of significance. The spread of "the reading habit" to the middle classes was the result of more leisure time and it was a natural accomplishment of industrialization. He saw children's books as vehicles for the transmission of middle class values and noted the contribution of women authors.

He found that Locke and Newbery both played a significant role in the development of children's fiction. To the latter he attributed the invention of children's publishing through the exploitation of "childhood in the capitalist market". He noted that children's books differed from other leisure-time consumer goods because they were designed primarily for instruction.⁹⁴

The sources Kramnick used for this study included the staple works of Day, Edgeworth and Barbauld with the addition of William Godwin and Thomas Percival, whose books supported his thesis.⁹⁵ Noting the use of contrast in children's fiction, Kramnick stated:

The ideological message in these years was clear. One part of the contrast represents virtuous middle class values, the other, usually despised aristocratic values or occasionally lower class values, which, of course, to the middle class were often seen as the same.⁹⁶

He described Harry and Lucy (1801) (a part of Maria Edgeworth's Early Lessons), as "a hymn to science and industry" with "engineers, scientists and industrial entrepreneurs" as the new bourgeois heroes. Original Stories (1788) by Mary Wollstonecraft emphasized for him the bourgeois theme of using time wisely. Mrs. Barbauld wrote stories "full of science, and antislavery, natural rights and anticolonialism. And of course they sing praises of the new industrial order and the heroic industrialization".⁹⁷ Thomas Day's Sandford and Merton (1783-9) he interpreted

as a repudiation of "the unproductive aristocracy" and saw it as "a veritable catalog and summary of the values and concerns of the new bourgeois age."⁹⁸

Children's literature was a force in transmitting social, political, cultural and ethical values. Kramnick concluded:

In the late eighteenth century, to be sure, these values, were, by and large, critical of the dominant value system. In many ways they were radical and progressive. In the nineteenth century, these values became, and still are today the dominant values of the bourgeois class which succeeded in deposing the aristocracy. Children's literature thus became in the nineteenth century and is still today a major bulwark supporting the status quo.⁹⁹

Kramnick fell into the trap of selectivity in the literature he examined, a trap which has ensnared many researchers using children's fiction as a source material. His study has merit in that he was one of the few researchers to examine the background of the authors whose works he included. But he did not dig deep enough to discover other authors of popular books whose views would not have meshed well with his hypothesis.

A recent book by Jaqueline Bratton, The Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction (1981),¹⁰⁰ included much of the same background material as is in Chapter 3 of this study.

The author discussed in some detail whose educational needs were met by the early fiction of the 19th century. She provided an account of the tract publishers, the R.T.S. and the S.P.C.K, as well as a few of the commercial publishers of religious and educational books, such as F. Houlston and Son, James Nisbet, and Thomas Nelson. Bratton noted the availability of tracts to a wide range of readers particularly those at the lower end of the social scale. The same tracts were put out in a variety of bindings to answer different needs -- whether prizes for students at fee-paying schools, or for Sunday School scholars. While tracts were included in the research reported here as they occurred in the sample, they may well have been under-represented because many of them were issued at minimal cost, and have not endured as well as books written and bound for middle class readers. While the introductory chapters overlap the research reported here, Bratton's study is in essence a continuation from where this research leaves off. Her particular areas of interest were Victorian books for children, evangelical tract fiction, and the specialized boys' and girls' stories of the later part of the 19th century.

It has become clear that children's fiction has been "discovered" as a source material in the past five years. It is being borrowed by many investigators in a variety of subject areas and being used as supporting evidence for a number of different, sometimes conflicting hypotheses. Because of greater

availability the same few sources are quoted and requoted. Indeed the works of Maria Edgeworth, Mrs. Barbauld and Thomas Day were noteworthy, but theirs were not the only messages. It cannot truly be said that the prevailing theme of 18th century children's fiction was a salute to middle class enterprise; in fact the main thrust of the books sampled for this research was a plea for a return to the ordered and stable society of pre-revolutionary England.

The historical events of the period created a feeling of crisis. Dominant in children's fiction of the period was a wish to hang on, come what may, to old established values. The upheaval in late 18th century life and on into the 19th century in economic, political and religious spheres, were according to Gillespie:

...forces which propelled adults to cling to their mores in an attempt to keep the wobbling ship of state steady. The manner in which they sought to do this was by preaching and teaching to youth the morals and manners which they themselves held dear.¹⁰¹

It would appear that researchers have suddenly become aware of this new, and previously untapped material and feel free to pick and choose among authors, and among themes within one book. An examination of the Kramnick, reveals other themes as strong or stronger than the

ones he selected for comment.

d. Social Science Studies Based on Source Materials Related to Children's Fiction

The assumption that children's fiction might reflect the same child-raising values as manuals written for parents during the same time period is discussed in the last category of background material. Two articles, extensions of the same research study, have provided an analysis and interpretation of child-raising manuals within the time period of this research. A third review article questioned the use of child-rearing manuals in research in the history of childhood.

Stewart, Winter and Jones devised and published a coding system, based on the analysis of child-rearing manuals of the 16th to the 20th century.¹⁰² Their attempt to develop an objective and inclusive content analysis technique represents a worthwhile contribution to research methods in the history of childhood. Their coding categories were derived from their source material, and appear largely uncontaminated by present-day theory. Their coding system was based on the presence or absence of strictly-defined variables, and they obtained satisfactory evidence of reliability, based on inter-observer agreement.¹⁰³

The study by Stewart, Winter and Jones provided substantiation, through an analysis of primary source material, that there is a change in child-raising practices, over the past four hundred years, which can be described as a gradual change

from authoritarianism (which implies a passive and submissive child) to an encouragement of individual autonomy and independence in the developing child.

These investigators next examined the hypothesis that themes stressed in the child-rearing manuals of one century would be reflected in the popular cultural activities of the next. In their second study, Jones, Stewart and Winter compared the content of child-rearing manuals, according to their previously devised coding system, with the content themes of "Don Juan plays" written and performed in England from the 16th to the 20th century.¹⁰⁴ The Don Juan plays were analyzed separately on the basis of objective statements of content-breakdown. The comparison of analyses of both sources supported their hypothesis that key themes in child-rearing within one century were by the next century accepted into popular culture--in this case dramatic fiction.

The final article which is relevant is one by Jay Mechling entitled "Advice to Historians on Advice to Mothers".¹⁰⁵ Mechling advocated caution in interpreting advice to mothers as an indication of actual child-rearing practices. Do mothers in fact follow the encapsulated wisdom offered by Dr. Locke in the 18th century or Dr. Spock in the 20th century? He stated:

The simple fact is that child-rearing manuals are the consequents not of child-rearing values but of child-rearing manual-writing values (Italics his).¹⁰⁶

The point that parents' values are not necessarily reflected in the values expressed in child-rearing manuals is well-made. It is relevant to ask what purpose manual-writers have in setting forth their views on child-raising. Mechling concluded:

The solution to the problem of the historian's quest for the child-rearing values of a historical culture rests upon our ability to reconstruct child-rearing behaviour itself, from evidence other than child-rearing manuals and parents' self-report data.¹⁰⁷

The work of Kelly and Mechling raised crucial issues relating to the historical use of sources like children's fiction and child-rearing advice to parents. Mechling described both such sources as "fictional".¹⁰⁸

Chapter Summary

When this research originated (in 1975) there had been no previous attempt to relate children's fiction to the context of English social history and thought—that is, to explain how or why there was a change in books written for children. It has been seen that in the past few years social historians have drawn on children's fiction to substantiate their own premises. Often, they have dipped into the material superficially. Even experienced historians have culled from early children's books whatever they sought, unaware that opposing viewpoints were expressed in other books of the same time-period. The best-selling books have usually been

consulted, because they have better withstood the ravages of time. Some researchers have depended on summaries in secondary sources which may themselves not have been adequately researched.

A general failing, in addition, is that each researcher brings to the task of examination his own particular background and academic history; each investigator into early children's fiction has coloured his interpretation of the evidence by his or her own beliefs. He is therefore predisposed to read into a source material his own preconceptions. The studies looking for and finding "influences" in the same handful of books suggests that these books reflected many influences and that there were, as Stone suggested, diverse ideological themes current at the same time. Pickering's comprehensive study underplayed the influence of the religious revival which almost certainly affected children's books after 1780 to a greater extent than the influence of Locke. Stone, in his assertion that children's books revealed the increased esteem in which the child was held, did not take into account the growth of the publishing and printing industry as a commercial enterprise. Plumb, well-versed in social history, did not examine a sufficient number of early children's works to discover that they were not written primarily for children of the newly-established artisans, as Cutt and Kramnick also asserted. They were, with a few exceptions, a reiteration of old-time values. Other less distinguished historians have also picked and selected here and there.

Children's fiction as a source material has been used to substantiate many themes some of them conflicting. The books and articles reviewed in this chapter have indicated that research in the history of ideas is fascinating and time-consuming. From their examination one can draw object lessons about methodological procedures.

It would appear preferable to select a short segment of time for investigation and to investigate it thoroughly, rather than to undertake a "giant" history drawing on many diverse sources. It is evidently important to be alert for opposing viewpoints to those which are assumed to typify the belief and attitudes of a time. It is necessary to be sure that the conclusions drawn from one source material are not generalized beyond the limits of that source. When dealing with literary material one must be aware that the works chosen for analysis may not be representative, and the source itself, as with children's fiction, may be selective. Further, there is a need to look critically at the ease with which one ascribes "influence" to "the great men" of history.

In brief, this review of the literature has revealed that children's fiction of the past--a new source for many researchers--has often been used inappropriately. With a few exceptions, the studies reported here have been based on a common, restricted few, among available books. In some cases these books have been used to support the misconceptions or preconceptions of researchers. Where an interpretation of

attitudes to the child has been offered from an examination of the source material, this interpretation has neglected the role played by the medium itself at any given period of history. The effect of the changing social scene has often been ignored, or one aspect of the social scene has been identified and conflicting aspects ignored. Too little attention has been paid to who wrote children's fiction and for what purpose.

In this study, my purpose is to gain maximum author representation by sampling a broad and diverse segment of children's fiction. The content of the children's books of the time period has been examined systematically and objectively to bring to light all viewpoints. The presence and absence of certain themes over the one hundred year period of this study are discussed in terms of the social context in which they were written.

It is evident that a different kind of research strategy is necessary for the examination of literary archival material designated for a specific audience. This study's main contribution to knowledge may be its challenge to the assumption that at any one time a single general view of the child prevails amongst those who consider him at all. The idiosyncratic nature of this one source material, children's fiction, in this formative one hundred year period, leads to the belief that other sources which deal with childhood may be similarly atypical. It appears likely to be an illusory

notion that at any given time there is a consistent view of childhood applicable to all social classes, a view which can be tapped through any or all of the various sources concerned with children or childhood. It is not only the researchers, looking back historically, who interpret attitudes to children from their own particular vantage point; it is likely that the adults who made up the child's environment at the time did so as well.

This particular research strategy has been devised in the hope that some of these issues may be resolved. If so, it will have served its purpose in the clarification of methodological issues in the history of childhood.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: CHILDREN'S FICTION IN CONTEXT

We often think of the middle years of eighteenth century life creating the dark satanic mills and the desperate conditions of slum life, but those self-same decades also brought the possibility of cultural enjoyment to the mass of mankind.

J. H. Plumb¹

Introduction

In this chapter, and the next, the historical background for the books in this study is described. The development of the publishing industry is surveyed so that children's fiction can be seen as one part of an expanding commercial enterprise. The interrelationship between the development of children's fiction and the rise in literacy rates is examined and the effect of educational institutions on the reduction in illiteracy is described. This information provides a background to the study of changing attitudes to children, and, with the next chapter, illustrates where children's fiction--one means of communication among many--belongs in the overall scheme of things. It will be seen that its role was a minimal one, and that it served a minority group, a segment of the expanding population, who saw children's stories as an extension of other educational material.

The period covered by the span of this study was one of dramatic change. It was the period of the Industrial Revolution, but the term "revolution" should be applied to more than industrial or technological development. There were revolutions in medical care, in scientific knowledge, in political opinion, in economic theory, in religious climate, and in philosophic belief. Fundamental changes in all of these areas brought new ideas in education, family life and attitudes to children. A mammoth social revolution accompanied and extended beyond the Industrial Revolution.

Children's fiction was conceived, delivered, and nurtured through infancy and childhood to adolescence in the 1840s, the consequence of many interrelated factors. It came about on the one hand because technological readiness facilitated the printing, publication and distribution of books, and, on the other, because that same technological development allowed for a larger per capita income and more leisure for the population as a whole. It did not come about, as some historians have stated, because of a changed attitude to children.² It is certainly true, as the next chapter indicates, that there was a new religious and philosophic awareness which emphasized the educational importance of the early years. Literacy, leisure, and extra spending money were the requirements for a mass reading public.³ But children's fiction has to be considered in a somewhat different context because it was not, at this juncture, designed for a mass market.

The interactive forces which resulted in the birth of children's fiction and its growth spurt in the late 18th and early 19th centuries will be examined in the next two chapters.

1. An Historical Survey

The time-span of this study covered the Georgian, Regency and early Victorian periods. Characteristics which are associated with each of these periods overlapped at the ends.⁴ This study confirms that "Victorianism" and all that it implies, was in full swing long before the young Queen assumed the throne in 1837.⁵ The Victorian viewpoint was a reaction to the distaste of middle-class society for the extravagance and general profligacy of the aristocracy, in particular those close to the Court.⁶ Children's fiction was a tangible representation of this distaste between 1760 and 1830, when there was no effective model of family life provided by the Royal family.

Economic Expansion

The Hanoverian period was one of tremendous industrial, commercial and agricultural expansion. The growth of industry followed a wave of technological improvements which turned what previously had been cottage industries into large-scale factory operations.⁷ Factories formed the nucleus of the growing industrial centres, and commercial establishments and banking houses grew up alongside to deal with newly-created business interests.

The result of industrialization was a rise in the gross national income by a factor of ten between 1750 and 1850. The

population increased too but not as fast as per capita wealth. It is true that the distribution of wealth remained uneven, but not as disproportionately so as before the Industrial Revolution when poverty dominated the lives of most of the population.⁸

Overseas, the volume of trade increased phenomenally, with Britain taking a world lead in the export of manufactured goods.⁹ Britain was in full command of the seas and was largely self-supporting in terms of food supplies. This self-sufficiency helped her to maintain a dominant position in the Colonial wars of the 18th century and the Napoleonic wars of the 19th century. Children's fiction in this period reflected British pride in her overseas activities.

The Effects of Industrialization

There were both good years and bad years, years of prosperity and years of poverty.¹⁰ In the slim years, subsistence was a problem, but in better times more consumer goods were produced. Production was stimulated by higher wages and the fact that more people, including women and children, were working than ever before.¹¹ Working families now bought items for home use which were not previously within their means.

✓ Candles, soap, beer and bread were now purchased instead of made at home. Consumers were tempted by articles of fashion such as pins, buttons, and buckles. The consumer revolution spread down the economic ladder to the servant class.¹²

For the upper class in the Georgian period there was

Wilton and Axminster rugs, Wedgwood china, and Sheraton, Chippendale, Hepplewhite and Adam furniture.¹³

Children too benefitted from the expanding consumer market. The new demands for children's effects--specialized clothing, games, books, and toys--were another part of commercial expansion. J.H. Plumb has pointed out the extent to which children's lives were changed by material things in the years between 1740 and 1840.¹⁴

There were also more opportunities recreationally and culturally for the enjoyment of children--print galleries and museums, pantomimes and puppet shows, zoos and circuses, displays of dancing bears, Horses of Wisdom and Learned Pigs.¹⁵ In the homes of the wealthy there were aviaries, gardens and fish ponds; raising pets was a fashionable pastime.¹⁶ The annual holiday, a new concept, contributed to the development of seaside resort towns with elaborate entertainment facilities. For the amusement of adults there were assembly rooms and libraries. In London the pleasure parks and the theatre were still patronized and horse-racing as a spectator sport drew larger and larger crowds.¹⁷ The growth of such entertainments indicated that there was more money to spend than ever before.

Many of these attractions were priced out of reach of working-class families, but on a smaller scale, the culture and leisure of the working class was also profitable for speculation.¹⁸ The working man's entertainment was centred in the pub, the street, the market-place, and the country

fairground. The culture of the lower classes has been less well-documented; its products were ephemeral and far less costly. From 1800 there was an increasing variety of street literature available and an industry of middlemen grew up to support it--chapmen, hawkers, patterers and street singers. They sold the wares of publishers such as Catnach, Dicey and Pitts, who turned out song sheets, broadsides, chapbooks, and "catchpennies".¹⁹

The Accompanying Social Ills

Among the social ills which accompanied industrialization were: poverty, overcrowding, vagrancy, prostitution, and poor sanitation with an inevitable increase in contagious disease. The increased use of female and child labour had far-reaching effects on the family. Pinchbeck and Hewitt have stated as the major theme of their book that the social attitudes of the 18th and early 19th century showed a conspicuous lack of concern for the child.²⁰ Certainly abuse of children was common. Those who were to become apprentices started training at age seven. Even younger children were employed in collieries and cotton mills to do work for which their small size particularly fitted them. It was important both to factory owners and parents of the working class that a child should earn his keep, and there was little incentive to send him to school.

Walvin noted that the shameful aspect of English social legislation was its treatment of children as adults in the eyes of the law.²¹ Only gradually did the realization grow that

child labour often deprived the child of health, as well as an education which might allow him to improve his lot in life.

After 1815 there was some agreement that young children should ~~not~~ be wage-earners, but there was a continuing dispute over who should provide education and in what form.²²

It is customary to view the effects of the Industrial Revolution on children in negative terms but there were benefits as well. Children's fiction is often described as an outcome of increased spending money. This study reveals that it can only be numbered among the benefits of commercial expansion for a limited number of children.

Political Influences and Changing Class Structure

The French Revolution had far-reaching effects on political, philosophical and educational issues in England. Initially, popular opinion supported the insurgents, but by 1790, horrified by the excess of blood-shed and inhumanity, and overwhelmed by the lack of order, public sympathy confirmed the stratified social structure of established society. In England, in 1790, Edmund Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France urged the maintenance of law and order. The Jacobins, supporters of the revolutionaries, were outlawed in England by Act of Parliament, and Burke's treatise brought thirty-eight replies, among them Tom Paine's Rights of Man.²³ The horror of the French Revolution was reflected in the attitude to all things French, and in the wish to maintain the status quo as it had existed in pre-Revolutionary times.

The Tory Party combined the forces of Church and State to

combat revolutionary ideas. Hannah More, author and Evangelical, wrote her famous pamphlet series at 2d each, to help sway public opinion from the growing radicalism of newly literate members of the working class.²⁴ Literacy became a political issue on its own. The pamphlet war between Hannah More (agent of the Established Church), and the Radical press was an important step in the growth of an operative democracy in England.²⁵ The sudden importance of the printed word and the realization that literacy, once attained, provided access to ideas beyond the realm of religion was one of the great insights of the 18th century.

The idea of literacy for everyone was not acceptable in many circles. With our present day emphasis on human rights, the stand taken by the Tory Party and the Established Church seems narrow and restrictive. Hannah More and Mrs. Trimmer--both authors of children's books--were philanthropists and educationists who worked closely with the poor. They knew at first-hand starvation, death and disease, but both believed that the order of society was God-given, and to question one's lot, or attempt to improve it, was a denial of faith.²⁶

Pre-industrial society comprised an aristocracy, a landed gentry, a minor gentry of clergy, doctors and a few professionals, a merchant class, and a lower class group of tradespeople and artisans.²⁷ The working poor, the majority, made the structure bottom-heavy. During the Industrial Revolution, there were few changes at the extremes of the scale, but the ranks of the lower class increased disproportionately to the rest of the

population. Commercial society provided new opportunities for skilled artisans and tradespeople. It also allowed the merchants to consolidate gains and establish themselves as respected members of society. The widening of opportunities created a gradual re-structuring of the class system.

Population Changes

Before 1800 Britain's population was almost entirely rural. One hundred years later it was predominantly urban. Its geographic distribution was effected by the growth of the new factory towns and their outlying communities. The greatest population gains were at the lower middle class and lower class level. Gains in population in these groups accounted for three-quarters of the total population gain. But there were also changes in the age distribution. By 1800, one-half of the population was under nineteen and one-third under fourteen.²⁸ Medical advances in the treatment of serious diseases, such as small pox, and improved hygiene and sanitation were contributing factors.²⁹

For the first time in the city of London, the birth rate surpassed the death rate in 1790. By 1800, the population increased eleven percent per decade, a trend which continued for more than one hundred years. From five and a half million in 1714, with small increases until 1742, it climbed to seven million in 1760 and to nearly nine and a half million in 1801. Between 1801 and 1850 it almost doubled, maintaining the eleven percent increase except in the decade from 1811 to 1821, when the yearly increase was close to eighteen percent.³⁰ The

enormous increase in the numbers of surviving children, did not have significant effect on the development of children's fiction because the increases were in the main in the lower ranks of society.

2. The Publishing and Printing Industry

Without the technological changes which took place in the first half of the 19th century, books would have remained the province of scholars and the wealthy. This section discusses the growth of the publishing and printing industry. The role children's books played in the expansion of the industry is examined. Improvements in the technological process of print reproduction were necessary before the criteria of literacy, leisure and extra spending money became operative.

In 1800, the Earl of Stanhope made the first modification to the Caxton press, greatly increasing the speed of production. A steam-powered printing press developed in 1806 by Koenig was adopted by the Times in 1814. In 1827 there was a four-cylinder (and later a six-cylinder) modification of Koenig's press which further reduced publication time. These modifications were accompanied by improvements in typography and stereotyping. Nonetheless the cost of books remained high because of the price of paper.³¹

Although in the one hundred years of this study the average price of books fell from 31/---a luxury for a few---to from 6/ to 8/ for series books and reprint editions, books remained generally out of the reach of most Britons. Charles Knight has provided much information about the printing and publishing industry since the invention of the printing press.³²

He divided the history of publishing into four main periods. The 350 printers from the first period (1470 to 1600) produced a total of only 10,000 books and most of these were reprints of the classics and the Bible. In his second period (1603 to 1688) there was restrictive legislation on freedom of the press, and the yearly production averaged only 100 books. (During the Civil War there were large numbers of pamphlets and newsheets which were the forerunners of the newspapers of the next century.) In Knight's third era (1688 to 1760), periodicals became a fixture and few new books appeared--only 5280 between 1700 and 1760.³³ This dearth is reflected in the numbers of books for children as well. In the period before 1760 including all categories of children's literature, there are only 120 in the Osborne Collection.

The Tatler, Spectator, Guardian and Rambler were all relatively low-priced journals that provided a running commentary on the day's events. By mid-century there were reviews and magazines, such as The Gentleman's Magazine (from 1731), and The Monthly and Critical Reviews (from 1749 and 1756 respectively). In due course, the review journals would take cognizance of the development of children's fiction (see Chapter 7). Publishers issued both books and journals and used the latter to advertise their other wares.

As literary patronage declined, publishers selected manuscripts for publication on the basis of anticipated sales, although the sales figures for any one book or journal appear to have been surprisingly low. The Gentleman's Magazine in 1746

had a circulation of only 3,000, and The Spectator is believed to have numbered only 3,000 to 4,000 copies per issue.³⁴

Publishers began to examine ways of drumming up trade for their books. Series books, or subscription books as they were sometimes called, provided an arrangement whereby readers contracted to buy all of a series at a reduced price.³⁵ In children's books we saw that Thomas Boreman included a list of subscribers, among them readers from the Colonies, for his Gigantick Histories. It was not until Knight's fourth period (1760 to 1800) that the story of children's fiction really began.

Between 1760 and 1800, there was an increased demand for printed material of all kinds. Publishers, relocating in provincial towns, brought their wares closer to the rural middle class reading public. The novel, then a new art form, was extremely popular and the works of Fielding, Richardson, Sterne and Smollett sold well.³⁶ The number of new books published rose sharply from an average of 100 to approximately 375 per year.³⁷ But prices were still rising and only a limited number of readers could afford to buy.

In addition to series books, publishers offered "number books", which were successive volumes by the same author. Smollett's and Hume's histories of England were examples of what Altick has termed "history on the instalment plan". Both John Marshall and John Harris issued series books for children.³⁹ There was also a market in condensed and abridged versions of the classics for children.⁴⁰

The increase in speed of production, and improvements in typography and stereotyping, took place between 1800 and 1827, the last period described by Knight. The London Catalogue of Books listed 19,860 books which, after subtracting reprints, was an average of 588 new books a year. Among these Knight reckoned that juvenile books were the sixth largest category.⁴¹ Knight, a friend of Henry Brougham, the utilitarian's educational spokesman, helped to establish the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (hereafter referred to as the SDUK) in 1825. This society encouraged the production of inexpensive reading matter for working class people--a project Knight referred to somewhat ruefully some years later when he recognized that reading material could fill functions other than just the provision of useful information.⁴² Knight was also responsible for The Penny Encyclopedia and The Penny Press which united low cost with informative and improving subject matter.

While many more books were sold than ever before, until 1840 it was still the public libraries, subscription libraries and reading clubs which accounted for the rise in sales.⁴³

There were other problems within the book trade. Publishing, as we know it, was carried on very differently in the 18th and 19th centuries. The first copyright act was passed in 1709 but proved to be ineffective in halting book piracy.⁴⁴ For the most part, the acts were honoured in the breach particularly where children's books were concerned. Books were produced more cheaply in Europe and in America and

Scotland, because typesetters and compositors were paid lower wages. There was no international copyright act so books such as Sir Walter Scott's Woodstock, a best-seller in 1826, was published simultaneously in France at half a crown, compared to the half-guinea charge in England.⁴⁵ Publishing had become a competitive and cut-throat venture.

During the time-span of this study, the base of book production was transformed. Books, from being luxury items out of reach of the greater part of the population, became more readily accessible. While children's books were included in the general expansion of publishing, the majority of the fiction works which made up the sample for this study probably did not enjoy a wide readership because they were class-restricted. However, the works of a few best-selling authors, such as Maria Edgeworth, Thomas Day and Mrs. Sherwood, were read by successive generations of children.

Knight drew on records of well-established publishing houses for his history of the book trade, but he omitted from his account the growth of popular literature--the less-improving side of publishing.⁴⁶ Street literature, the reading material of the general public, may not have satisfied the high-minded requirements of Coleridge or Knight, but it was both inexpensive and readily available. Recent studies indicate that chapbooks were widely prevalent from 1739, and that alphabet sheets were popular items at the mid-century.⁴⁷ Between 1785 and 1835 popular literature was present in such

quantity that it reinforced those reading skills the working poor acquired piece-meal.⁴⁸ Leslie Shepard noted that the whole field of popular literature has been persistently ignored by historians:

Street literature became the one great composite form for the traditionalist, the reactionary, the agitator, the journalist, the hack writer and the back-street entrepreneur. It covered every aspect of conventional literature and even invented new categories. It kept alive beautiful old folk songs and ballads in the squalour of the industrial revolution, it gloated over crimes and executions, it gave up-to-the minute news (sometimes before it happened), it circulated lies and rumours; it strengthened conservative loyalties and patriotism, it fomented riots and radicalism. It created an urban folklore and printed non-books for poor people.⁴⁹

3. Literacy Rates in Industrial England

One explanation for the rapid development of the book trade, and specifically of children's fiction, is that it came about because of the general increase in literacy during the one hundred year period of this study. The population increases have been noted, particularly within the lower class and working class populations. It has also been noted that the age distribution of the population changed, with a disproportionate increase in those aged under fourteen. It is easy to make the assumption that the increase in literacy

conformed to the bulge in the population at the lower end of the age scale, and that this was a contributing factor in the development of children's fiction. In fact, children's fiction neither resulted from nor appreciably influenced the growth of lower class literacy.

This section will demonstrate that there are no accurate measures available to assess literacy between 1740 and 1840. Economists today are interested for practical reasons in the relationship between economic growth and literacy.⁵⁰ The hypothesis of a positive relationship has stimulated historians to assess retrospectively the literacy of industrial England. Some social historians have examined the growth of educational facilities during the same time period.

R.S. Schofield concluded that a forty percent literacy was the minimum threshold for the economic survival of a nation, with an increase to sixty percent before expansion might occur. He then asked whether literacy was a necessary pre-condition for the economic growth which occurred in 18th century England.⁵¹ Literacy rates are thought to have fallen off in the late 17th and early 18th century in England, but to have increased around mid-century, and, according to most historians, to have peaked one hundred years later.⁵² There is some dispute about the actual timing of the peaks because no accurate statistics were kept before 1838.

The evidence of literacy between 1753 and 1838 is usually based on ability to sign the marriage register. The year 1753 marked the passage of Lord Hardwick's Marriage Act which

recognized only Church of England marriages and required both parties to sign the marriage register. The records of many Church of England parishes thus provide fairly complete data. These data have indicated that more men than women were literate in rural England and that there was a great variation by geographic locality in the ability to write one's name. Using the marriage register as an index, it can be concluded that there was not a universal increase in literacy in rural areas in the time span of this study. By 1840 literacy was estimated at about forty percent, with regional variations, and the highest rate of acquisition in urban areas.⁵³

Schofield re-analyzed the figures from the Registrar General's report of 1839 and suggested that literacy levels before 1838 have been underestimated because of large sampling errors.⁵⁴ His conclusion, based on a random sample of parish registers in Bedfordshire between 1754 and 1829, was that illiteracy (or the inability to sign the marriage register) decreased from 60 percent in the mid-18th century to 33 percent in 1840 with the most rapid decrease immediately after 1800. He concluded that there was no universal relation between literacy and economic growth in England during the years of this study, and that the increase in literacy was a result rather than a cause of economic expansion.⁵⁵

The peak in literacy close to 1800 could be attributed to the Sunday School Movement which began its work fifteen years before. The fifteen year lag appears acceptable in that education was usually completed by age ten and marriage occurred

on the average at age twenty-five.⁵⁶ For the child population this leads to the inference that literacy peaked between 1785 and 1790. These were the years of the initial spurt in the children's book trade.⁵⁷

It is not appropriate to debate in detail the merits of different measures of literacy. They all fall short in some respect. From the educational histories of the period it is known that reading and writing were taught to the lower classes at different educational establishments. In consequence, as Stone has shown, the two skills did not necessarily co-exist.⁵⁸ If Sunday Schools were influential in the development of literacy, then Sabbatarian arguments relating to the teaching of writing on Sundays are also relevant. While there were differences of opinion among sectarian groups, the preference was to offer voluntary instruction in writing on weekday evenings rather than on Sunday. But attendance on Sundays at Sunday School was greater than on other days of the week.⁵⁹ The marriage register data therefore remains suspect.

The growth spurt of ephemeral popular literature in the early 1790s supports the view that literacy peaked earlier than has been believed.⁶⁰ The wide circulation of Paine's Rights of Man, described by Webb as "the political manifesto of the age", confirms the data from Neuberg's and Shepard's studies.⁶¹ It is certain that the ability to read a political pamphlet, a chapbook, or a religious tract, was far more basic than the ability to sign one's name. It is likely that many were able to read at least minimally without gaining the

criterion artificially selected for determining literacy--the ability to write one's name.

There are other ways to assess the literacy of the past. Anecdotal evidence found in the passing comments of diarists and other writers is one such.⁶² A more objective indirect measure is available through a tally of the number of publications of any one period.⁶³ But the tally and comparison of publications at different epochs is also hazardous. Publication figures were not always kept accurately. The numbers of copies of any one edition of a book or journal were rarely recorded and new books and re-issues of old ones were not clearly differentiated. Of more importance, there has never been a way of ascertaining the number of readers for any one book, pamphlet, or journal. Because of high cost, reading material was widely shared, both formally through circulating libraries and book clubs, and informally through coffee houses and casual reading groups. One can neither be sure who the readers were, nor through how many hands one piece of printed matter might pass.

A third indirect measure can be obtained by examining the growth of educational institutions, in particular those which provided schooling for that part of the population for whom no provision had previously been made--that is lower class children and adults.⁶⁴ If, as Schofield has suggested, literacy peaked in the early 1800s, then the educational institutions which grew up in the late 18th century have particular significance. But with the exception of the Sunday

School movement the schools which grew up in that time period were not for working-class people. The major educational innovations during that time affected only the middle class.⁶⁵

There are problems too in the tally of existing educational institutions as an accurate measure of literacy. It is evident that what schooling there was in the late 18th and early 19th centuries was divided along class lines and was variable in quality. Quality was noticeably poorer in institutions accessible to lower class children.⁶⁶ Few enrolment records have survived. Records were kept sparingly if at all. The age of onset of schooling was as rarely recorded as the age of completion.⁶⁷ Attendance at school varied on a seasonal and even a weekly basis according to work available. It sometimes varied on a daily and hourly basis. For the poor, education was a luxury and children attended school only when they could be spared.⁶⁸ The use made of school facilities and the total years of attendance for any one child cannot therefore be determined.

4. An Overview of Educational Facilities

It has already been stated that children's fiction was first and foremost educational in intent. The question to be answered is whose educational needs were being provided for? A description of the schools of the period will help to determine the extent to which children's fiction responded to the needs of an expanding child population.

At the end of the 17th century educational facilities

declined in number. The Puritans, who had strongly encouraged the spread of literacy to enable everyone to read the Bible, kept out of sight after the Restoration.⁶⁹ Dissenters were not admitted to Oxford or Cambridge. Figures for admission to these universities and to the Inns of Court fell dramatically as did grammar school enrolment.⁷⁰ In the Anglican establishment, education for other than the upper class was viewed with suspicion. The Civil Wars and the ensuing upheaval were thought in the 18th century to have been the result of too much and too indiscriminate education.⁷¹

Education for the Well-to-Do

In the early part of the 18th century the aristocracy were still educated at home, or in small private schools. Some attended one of the great public schools or were "finished" by a Grand Tour. It has been estimated that one-quarter of the sons of peers were educated at home in the one hundred year period ending in 1785.⁷² There is evidence of diminished attendance in the public schools between 1750 and 1800. The riots of 1792 and 1793 at Rugby, Eton and Winchester, indicated that something was seriously amiss in their management.⁷³ More and more parents favoured home education and many well-known authors of diverse religious backgrounds, spoke in support of it.⁷⁴ Following the report of the Charity Commissioners in 1818, much needed reforms in the public schools were carried out. Thomas Arnold of Rugby has been recognized for his leading role in initiating reform.⁷⁵ The years which followed--the 1830s and the 1840s--have since

been described as "the Golden Years" for British public school education.

Private Schools

Boys of the upper and middle classes often moved from home tuition to small day schools in the locality. Sometimes they boarded weekly with a neighbouring clergyman who taught a handful of the sons of the local gentry. Clergymen were still the best-educated members of society, and their role as teachers was a natural one. Instruction was in Latin, the content remained classical, and the teaching methods traditional. Some wrote their own text books and these were used by their colleagues.⁷⁶ Some boys moved from private schools to the public schools and then on to university to pursue classical studies, but the decline in attendance at higher educational institutions has already been noted.

Private schools of a different kind developed around the industrial centres in the provinces. The provincial towns supported skilled artisans and newly-qualified professionals who needed training that existing schools could not provide.⁷⁷ These same towns were the sites of the new philosophical societies, interest groups of intellectuals, many of them Dissenters. These men were informed in scientific matters and interested in both industry and business. The Lunar Society of Birmingham, for example, included among its membership, James Watt, James Keir, Matthew Boulton, William Withering, Joseph Priestly, Samuel Galton, Erasmus Darwin, R.L. Edgeworth, Thomas Day, Josiah Wedgwood,

Thomas Percival and John Aiken.⁷⁸ Of these,

Priestly, Darwin, Edgeworth, Day, Percival, and Aiken all contributed either to educational theory or practice.

The "Lit. and Phil." societies were influential in instigating curriculum reform and in encouraging less traditional forms of education. Because of the possibility of new subject matter, students and teachers alike were attracted to provincial towns from London. The new schools taught Modern Languages, instead of the Classics, and also Natural Science, Geography, Chronology and the Use of the Globes. Some schools provided a purely vocational programme including Commerce, Accounting, Shorthand, Military Science, Navigation, Drilling and Use of the Slide-Rule.⁷⁹

Dissenting Academies and Proprietary Schools

Another kind of institution grew up in the 18th century to cater particularly for the needs of the Dissenting sects. Dissenters of Puritan lineage always had confidence in the efficacy of education. Unable to reform the Established Church and prohibited by law from teaching, they organized their own schools to train ministers of their faith. Such schools were at first fly-by-night affairs because of the need to move often to avoid persecution. Such men as John Seddon, Philip Dodderidge, Thomas Percival and Joseph Priestly were associated with Dissenting academies. These, and others of like calibre, attracted the intellectually élite of the middle class because they offered a broader-based education than was available in Establishment schools.⁸⁰ No one was

turned away from the Dissenting academies on the basis of religious belief. Although they were run by sectarian groups they offered a non-denominational religious education.⁸¹ The growth of the academies between 1750 and 1800 at Warrington, Hackney, Daventry, Kendal and Northampton was a significant innovation in education. In addition to Quaker, Methodist, Presbyterian and Unitarian schools, Jewish and Roman Catholic boarding schools were also established early in the 19th century.⁸²

The proprietary school movement also grew up in the same time period. Proprietary schools were organized by like-minded parents much in the fashion of a joint-stock company.⁸³ They provided an alternative form of education for middle class families in urban areas.

Female Education

It is generally agreed that middle and upper class girls were given short shrift in terms of education during the time-span of this study.⁸⁴ What constituted suitable education for girls was subject for earnest debate and there were many publications and journal articles on the topic. Letters of advice were common for both sexes but in particular for girls, and many of these discussed education.⁸⁵

Some small boarding schools for girls grew up outside of London in the late 18th century, in part to answer the needs of parents who were overseas in the East or West Indies. Moreover, because death in child-birth was common, families were often left motherless, and daughters needed a more feminine

and controlled environment than was possible at home. There are many references to the necessity for boarding institutions for girls in the source material for this study.⁸⁶

The central debate in female education rested on the desirability of acquiring sound moral principles rather than superficial social accomplishments. Some private schools offered training in traditional feminine skills such as foreign languages, art, music and dancing. Others, more practical, shunned these as ostentatious and pretentious and focussed on useful domestic arts such as needlework, accounting and "domestic economy". Moral and religious training was always included.

Endowed Schools and Grammar Schools for the Middle Class

The Grey Coat School for Girls in Yorkshire and the Blue Coat School at Christ's Hospital, London, were among the endowed schools, as were the Foundling Hospital and Merchant Taylors'. These schools offered uniforms, tuition and free board to orphans and those whose fathers were freemen of the city. Parish officers provided the facility, hired the teachers and administered the funds.⁸⁷

The grammar schools, which varied greatly in quality, nevertheless, provided the only opportunity to gain entry to university for those who could not afford the fees of public schools.⁸⁸ In most areas they were controlled by municipal corporations, although religious authorities selected the students and paid the teachers. Some, through the influence of men such as Joseph Priestly and Erasmus Darwin, expanded their

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curriculum to include topical subject matter in the 1770s and 80s. Money's study of school advertisements in Leicestershire between 1750 and 1790 indicated there was a demand for specialty teachers who were often shared between private schools and grammar schools.⁸⁹

But educational innovation was the exception rather than the rule. Many iniquities were revealed by the enquiry of the Charity Commissioners proposed by Henry Brougham, the utilitarians' education critic. The 1818 survey extended to 1837 and the Charity schools, grammar schools and public schools all came under fire.⁹⁰ The findings were widely publicized and the report was printed in full in the Edinburgh Review. The ensuing commentary kept the issue of education in the forefront. In 1825, The Westminster Review, the outlet for radical political opinion, attacked the methods of discipline, the classical content, and the strong religious bias of the schools of the period. The Quarterly Journal of Education followed with an article questioning the practical relevance of the education of the day.⁹¹ The stress in a utilitarian age was on "useful" knowledge and it was apparent that few schools met that requirement. The schools which were the slowest to adjust their curriculum were those under religious jurisdiction. Two trends became apparent during the early 19th century among middle class parents: one, to find an alternative to traditional classical education, the other, the belief that both grammar schools and public schools spent too much time on religious observance.⁹²

Education for the Poor

At the lowest level of education were the dame schools, described with nostalgia in the literature of the period.⁹³ They were a continuation of the "petty schools" of earlier times and offered little more than a baby-minding service at the cost of 1/2 d to 5 d weekly. The children were expected to learn the alphabet, the syllabarium and the Lord's Prayer by rote; as useful supplements, boys might also learn addition and girls some needlework and knitting. Teachers were selected because they were unemployable in more profitable work, usually by reason of age or infirmity. As the name implies they were often older women.⁹⁴

In addition, many municipal parishes also provided primary education subsidized by the Church to which parents were also expected to contribute. There were Charity schools, parish schools, workhouse schools, and schools of industry.⁹⁵ After 1780 these were supplemented on a voluntary basis by Sunday Schools. There were also factory schools which were legislated by the Factory Acts of 1802 and 1819.⁹⁶

The various forms of parish schools were run largely by the Established Church through a foundation assisted by subscriptions from local landowners. The curriculum in Charity schools was limited to reading, writing and occasionally "ciphering" in addition to religious instruction. Teachers' salaries were low and until 1830 there were no minimum standards for teacher training.⁹⁷

It was through the SPCK that the Established Church played its most influential role. - In 1699 the SPCK raised money through public subscription for the establishment of Charity schools in the London area. The intent was to teach the Scriptures. The influence of the SPCK had been somewhat diminished by the union of the Established Church with the Tory party. The government had tried to legislate Dissenting establishments out of existence which lost the SPCK support of the Whig faction in Parliament. The SPCK schools were the focus of the battle waged throughout the 18th and 19th centuries concerning the religious sponsorship of education.⁹⁸ The SPCK also provided support for two other educational ventures: the first, the Welsh Circulating School Movement, took place during the 1730 and 1740s under the leadership of Griffiths Jones, providing inspiration for John Wesley's Methodism; the second was the Sunday School movement.⁹⁹

The Monitorial Schools of the National and the
British and Foreign Societies

The Charity schools later became the National Schools under the auspices of the National Society established in 1811. Dissenting sects set up their own nondenominational schools for the poor which after 1814 were operated by the British and Foreign School Society.¹⁰⁰ So the two opposing religious factions became institutionalized and recognized as providers of education. They both adopted the monitorial system at about the same time. Joseph Lancaster, a Quaker, established the first such school in England in 1798. Almost simultaneously,

Andrew Bell, an Anglican missionary in India, set up a school along similar lines, for English orphans in India. For both, the monitorial system was appealing because of the low cost.

These schools operated on the economical premise that one teacher could control a room of two hundred or more students with the help of monitors or assistants who were themselves taught by the master. The monitors in turn passed on their learning to groups of up to twenty students for whom they were fully responsible. There was inevitably a heavy emphasis on repetition and rote learning, and discipline was stringent. The monitors themselves were often only ten or eleven years old.

The British and Foreign Society Schools provided a general but non-sectarian religious instruction. The National schools, which far outnumbered them, offered religious training along Church of England lines. The text books each society used reflected their biases until the end of the 19th century.¹⁰¹

Although it might appear that by 1800 there were ample facilities for educating the poor, the 1818 report of Henry Brougham's committee indicated the need for more educational facilities for the growing population of young people. The committee estimated that only one child in sixteen attended schools, and that 3,500 parishes of 12,000 surveyed were without schools altogether.¹⁰² The first grant for funds from Parliament for schools came in 1833. It was to be shared between the two societies. The National Schools prospered in particular, favoured by their link with the Tory party. The

National Society peaked in its appeal for funds in 1838 and led the field in the provision of non-private education until after 1870. By 1850 there were eight times as many National Schools as British and Foreign Schools.¹⁰³

There has as yet been no serious study of attendance at monitorial schools. While they answered the needs of administrators to produce mass education on an assembly-line basis, teacher qualifications and the quality of the education received scant attention.

The Factory Schools established by the Factory Acts of 1802 and 1819 pointed up the debate over who should be providing education. Some factory owners made their resentment of state interference widely known, which may have been an influential factor in leaving education as a religious and charitable responsibility for a further forty years.¹⁰⁴

By 1830, education for the poor had become a political obsession. The ultimate diagnosis of society's ills rested on the ignorance of the working class. The major purpose of education was to reform the poverty-stricken and rehabilitate their children by breaking their "barbarous habits".¹⁰⁵ When the onus for the provision of education rested with the Church and the philanthropic elite, there was understandably a heavy emphasis on moral and religious content.

Although education was seen as a magic cure-all, it appears that many children never attended school of any kind. For those who did the age of withdrawal remained at ten or eleven years. The poor were themselves often unenthusiastic.

As one educational historian has described it:

The environments in which most families found themselves in the 1830s and 1840s imposed severe restraints on the use of educational facilities, supposing in the first place that they existed, and in the second that they were wanted.¹⁰⁶

Sunday Schools

The origins of the Sunday School Movement are described in the next chapter. The first such school is usually credited to Robert Raikes of Gloucestershire, who, in 1783, foresaw Sunday Schools as serving the double purpose of keeping children from the streets on the Sabbath and also teaching them basic reading skills for familiarity with the Bible.¹⁰⁷ Originally both Dissenting sects and the Established Church cooperated in the Sunday School Movement. A common goal was to provide a "moral rescue" for the children living in the over-crowded and unhealthy circumstances of rapidly growing industrial towns.¹⁰⁸

Eighteenth century benevolence helped to swell the enthusiasm for Sunday Schools. Middle-class parents were deemed to be the best educators for their own children, but for the poor the need for an outside agency was recognized. The cooperation between Dissenters and Established Church supporters was institutionalized in the Sunday School Society, whose Board was made up of an equal number of Church men and Dissenters.

Although prominent members of society sat on the Sunday School Board, Sunday Schools could not be considered an aristocratic endeavour. From the start, middle and lower middle class people were involved, and, as Methodism spread, the recruitment of lay-preachers from among local tradespeople was common. The use of lay-preachers led to disenchantment among Church of England supporters; after 1800 they came out strongly against Sunday Schools as a field for charity.¹⁰⁹ This did not discourage those staunch adherents, Mrs. Trimmer and Hannah More, who continued to advocate and support the Sunday School Movement.

Although originally the Sunday School Movement held a balance between Church and Chapel attenders, after 1800 the association of Sunday Schools with Methodism and the New Dissent factions became more pronounced. Attendance continued to climb, particularly in rural areas, and by 1820 it is estimated that every child outside of London attended Sunday School from four to six hours weekly. The number of Sunday Schools showed a particularly sharp rise between 1820 and 1830. Attendance at Sunday School was larger than at both grammar schools and private schools although attendance was probably not regular.¹¹⁰ It is evident that Sunday Schools had an important influence on establishing communication through print, and consequently on the development of lower class literacy during the time-period of this study.

They came under fire occasionally for promoting specific

sectarian beliefs (as in the Blagdon Controversy in 1802).¹¹¹ The "Sabbatarian issue"--Sunday observance--which rested on the permissibility of teaching writing on Sundays, was debated until 1830. Because of the demand for new skills, Sunday Schools branched out to provide night classes during the week, when writing and arithmetic could be taught without violation of the Lord's Day. Sunday Schools were used as a resource for adolescents and young adults who had missed their early education, and many attended for as long as three to five years.¹¹² Thus, while initially children who attended received no other education, during the 19th century, Sunday Schools provided a supplement to regular education.

The Sunday School movement was a self-help movement directed towards personal salvation. But inevitably it carried over to other areas. Political reform and human rights became absorbed into what had been a purely religious revival. A philanthropic wish to integrate the working poor into the Sunday School movement led to their involvement in other self-help groups, and in the end to their participation in government itself. The political restlessness of the years between 1830 and 1850 have been described as the natural culmination of the Sunday School movement of fifty years before.¹¹³

The Church groups were the first to promote literacy. The split between the two opposing factions, the Dissent and the Established Church, and the dominance of the Church over education were factors in delaying the achievement of universal

education until 1870. The poor quality of education throughout the 18th and 19th centuries is one of the curiosities of English social history. The reason rests with the close bonding of education with religion which split schooling into two parallel and ineffective systems. That education could be provided on a basis other than religious sponsorship was not considered. To make first good Christians and then good citizens was the primary goal.

As in other aspects of the history of childhood, social historians have been impressed with the adverse features which characterized the educational institutions of the day. There is ample evidence of what was bad, but little of what was good.¹¹⁴

5. Literacy, Education and Children's Fiction

In this chapter we have seen that there were more children in the population, particularly after 1800, and that the population was at the same time more literate. The population bulge occurred at the lower income level of the economic scale. The history of publishing reveals that there was more printed material in circulation than ever before. Children's fiction represented one small segment of the expanding publishing business. But from an examination of the educational institutions it is not possible to state that children's fiction came about to answer the needs of the many more literate children among the poor.

From 1785 when the Sunday Schools began there were more poor children who were literate but few with the ability to

read a child's book from cover to cover--nor would their parents have had the wherewithal to buy one. From the fly-leaves of books in the sample, it would seem that they were cheaper than adult books, but few working class parents could have afforded them. With the exception of religious tracts and chapbooks, fiction works--children's books among them--were not directed to the poor. Books were given as prizes at Sunday Schools and Church festivals and some authors, among them Hannah More and E.A. Kendall, benefitted from their association with religious publishing houses which provided tracts as prizes for village children.¹¹⁵

Children's stories were only a step removed from text books. But from this survey of educational institutions it appears that the books in this sample would only have been suitable for home instruction, or possibly for recreational reading in small private schools or academies. The books most often quoted were home-based. They were written by ladies at home, for their children at home, and they reflected homely virtues and homely values. Children educated at home most certainly cut their teeth on them but it is doubtful that such books were snatched up, as Plumb has suggested, by those families who were newly arrived to the lower middle class.¹¹⁶ While Mrs. Barbauld and Maria Edgeworth described the satisfaction of working with one's hands, their descriptions were offered to those who were never likely to be so employed. Within the books sampled for this research the

nouveau riche and those artisans who were socially ambitious were satirized and ridiculed.¹¹⁷ Children's fiction, apart from religious tracts--a staple for Sunday School scholars--played no part in the democratization of print.

The parents who bought children's fiction promoted early exposure to educational material. As a means of communication, fiction served to promote religious and moral values particularly those which were useful in the home--piety, diligence, patience, and filial duty. Because children's books were either morally or educationally improving, adults prescribed them to fill an idle hour and, in fiction works at least, they were given as rewards for good behaviour. To adults, they perhaps were seen as "fun". What children thought of them can only be surmised. If the alternative was a lesson book, or a book of sermons, they may have construed them as "fun" as well. Some who grew up in the time-period left retrospective comments and as many were critical as were tinged with nostalgic fondness.

Apart from a few of Newbery's early books, juvenile fiction could not be described as a lure toward establishing a taste for print in early life. Today, against the background of our many riches in children's books, those examined for this study appear to have been more likely to occasion dislike rather than a fondness for print. But even had other material been available, children could not choose what they might read. Children's books were most often selected and paid for by adults. The children's fiction of this study conformed to

adult requirements, and adults saw moral tales as an extension of other instructional material. Of the text books of the period, a preliminary survey indicates that the subject matter and views expressed echoed closely those of children's fiction. Many of the same authors wrote texts and fiction. Of the 160 known authors of this study, 43 wrote educational texts as well. Twelve male authors wrote school books for older children, and 31 women wrote primary books for those educated at home.

Chapter Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to fit the development of children's fiction into historical context in terms of the political, economic, and social history of the time. An account has been given of the development of publishing, and the book industry in general, to determine to what extent children's fiction was part of a general trend. From this overview it is apparent that children's publishing expanded side by side with adult publishing, and that children's books were always predominantly educational. The adults who published books and those who bought them deemed reading for children to be a serious matter.

The study of literacy rates and the measures used to obtain them indicates that a minimal functional literacy was far more widespread than has been supposed. Certainly many more people could read than could sign the marriage register. The Sunday School movement deserved much credit for the provision of minimal literacy skills. The belief that there was

a widespread functional literacy before 1800 is substantiated by recent histories of street literature. These studies suggest that many may have learned to read without benefit of regular schooling. Anecdotal evidence has supported this view. Sunday School material and street literature supplemented and reinforced each other to create a reading public ready to devour the political pamphlets of the early 1790s. The print explosion which occurred at that time was directed to the lower class and has been unequalled in the history of British publishing. But children's fiction, an elitist medium, was not a part of that explosion.

We have seen that the number of educational institutions for the middle class increased after 1740, and after 1818 those which catered to the poor also multiplied. But the educational system was fractionated along class lines and also according to religious affiliation. The number of schools available was not found to be a reliable indicator of prevailing literacy. Sunday Schools answered the educational needs of the poor because of their adaptability to the demands of a working class population who could only attend school irregularly.

When children's fiction is placed in the context of the educational institutions of the time, it appears to have been written for those middle and upper class children who were educated at home. Because of cost, books were a luxury commodity and were not for the thousands of working class children

with marginal literacy. The contents of the books sampled confirmed already existing beliefs. These fiction works were a vehicle for the expression of upper and middle class virtues. They offered a reiteration--a consolidation--of viewpoint to those already secure financially and socially. They expressed conservative views to a readership whose parents were threatened by the French Revolution and by growing political unrest.

It cannot be said that juvenile fiction developed because of a new evaluation of the child. Because the child lived longer more attention was paid to his education and his moral training. Education at this time took the form of exhortation, and children's fiction was exhortation in print. It was most certainly a commercial enterprise. The creation of children's books, games, and toys at the end of the 18th century stemmed from economic incentives. Children were swept up, somewhat inadvertently, in the expanding market for luxury goods. But entrepreneurial publishers exploited the stress on moral and religious training, and adapted their books to fit the climate of opinion which was in revolt from the extravagance and immorality of the Regency period.

It is undeniable that there was more money to be spent on books, and that books over this one hundred year period became less costly, that population rates increased, and literacy rates as well. The children's book market was carried along by all of these factors, but none of them alone represents the single reason for its development. Nor can it truly be said

that children's fiction came about because of a new awareness of the child.

Children's fiction in fact masqueraded as fiction. Children's books provided religious material, moral maxims and a great deal of extraneous information. Its educational function was clear. Many fiction authors also wrote school books and manuals of domestic education. Some of the men who worked towards the establishment of a broader curricula in the Academies and grammar schools of the day also wrote fiction works for children in keeping with their educational beliefs. In the early years of the 19th century, it will be seen that children's books came to serve as spokesmen for evangelicalism. The ideological influences expressed in early children's fiction are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: IDEOLOGICAL INFLUENCES

In order to understand why dead men acted, you must look with dead men's eyes and that means thinking with dead men's brains.

C. Kitson Clark, 1955¹

Introduction

To understand fully the role of children's fiction between 1740 and 1840, one must place it within the context of the social thought of the period. The value system of a past era is not always explicit and descriptions can only be offered with caution. There are no figures to be cited, or tables to be drawn up, which provide information on how many within each social class subscribed to a value system. It is possible to accept or reject values in part, as many educators did with Rousseau's educational philosophies.² Ideological influences are inevitably oversimplified in the course of being identified and labelled. To arrange them in chronological sequence ignores the fact that they may have overlapped, that some may have been more shortlived than others, or that they may have co-existed in different segments of society. To speak of "Romanticism" or "Victorianism" or even of "the middle class" is to reify a concept and provide it with an identity that may invest it with more significance than it held

at the time.³ What historians do for convenience colours later interpretations of history.

In fact, children's fiction was remarkably consistent between 1740 and 1840; it illustrated one predominating set of values. For this reason educational and literary historians have assumed a common ideological background on the part of authors of children's fiction. Thus Simon mentioned children's fiction in the form of the moral tale as a "grotesque deformation", which he attributed to the narrowing of the liberal educational views which had preceded the French Revolution.⁴ In fact, the moral tale as a "deformation" occurred some years before the French Revolution and was an expression of a more general view relating to the purpose of children's books.

In the late 19th century, reviewers made bed-fellows of Maria Edgeworth, Mrs. Trimmer and Mrs. Barbauld who held divergent views on philosophy, religion, and child-raising practices.⁵ What was common among children's fiction authors was their distortion of the medium. The "grotesque deformation" that Simon cited arose because children's fiction was considered educational material. Children were assumed to learn through books to adapt their behaviour to suit adult expectations. The goal was to become a worthy adult, but what constituted a worthy adult varied among authors. For Mrs. Trimmer the goal was to be an upstanding member of the Established Church. For Mrs. Barbauld, a liberal education

came foremost; although deeply religious, she avoided sectarian comment. The Edgeworths worked towards the development of a Man of Reason. Mrs. Sherwood as a good Evangelical promoted "a saved soul". In histories of children's literature, and of education, the diversity has been tidied up, and the differences in viewpoint have been forgotten because of overriding similarities of technique and subject matter. Few researchers are likely to have the perseverance to read much of the stultifying children's fiction of this particular period. It is therefore easy to gloss over differences in ideological viewpoint.

1. The Religious Revival

The 18th century religious revival was the single most important influence on children's fiction. It cannot be subsumed entirely under the heading of the Evangelical movement, although that was a significant part of it. Although Evangelicalism was the most striking feature of the religious revival, it was not only Evangelical authors who provided religious content for their child readers in works of fiction (see Table 1).

To understand the extent of the religious influence in children's books, it is necessary to survey prevailing sectarian beliefs, and to provide some account of the Evangelical movement. This overview tells the story of the growth of religious pluralism in England.⁶

There were three main thrusts to the 18th century religious

Table 1

Number of Books in the Sample with Religious
Content According to Decade

<u>Years</u>	<u>Religious Material Included</u>			<u>Total Books in Sample</u>	<u>Percentage of Total Books</u>
	<u>Specific</u>	<u>General</u>	<u>Total</u>		
Before 1780s	3	1	4	8	50
1780s	1	6	7	23	30
1790s	2	11	13	22	59
1800s	6	9	15	29	52
1810s	10	10	20	39	51
1820s	16	14	30	47	63
1830s	9	13	22	27	81
Total	47	64	111	195	57

revival: Methodism, which later became the New Dissent; evangelicalism, usually ascribed to the Church of England although it encompassed a broad band of religious denominations; and, Protestant nonconformism; sometimes described as the Old Dissent.

Methodism

The first major religious influence came from Methodism which originated during the 1730s, with Wesley and Whitefield. "The United Societies", as it was first called, was a reform movement within the Established Church, based on a growing dissatisfaction with the moral laxity of the Anglican clergy, and the many unattended parishes throughout the country. In the place of the absentee clergy, the Methodists instituted lay-preachers who moved about the country preaching to groups of working-class people, especially those congregated in and around the factory towns. Methodism was essentially an urban and lower income group phenomena.⁷ Its basic principle was voluntarism; that one was free to choose one's form of religion and one's place of worship was a novel idea; seen as subversive by the Established Church. If one was personally responsible for salvation then familiarity with the Holy Book was important. It was through Methodism that literacy was first encouraged, and through Methodism that the Sunday School Movement first took hold. The Sunday School Movement initially was promoted by the Established Church, and nonconformists. Sunday Schools, first proposed by Raikes,

were seen to serve practical, educational, social and religious functions on a broad base of Christian principles.⁸

Within the "United Societies" group, there were differences of opinion between Wesley and Whitefield on theological issues. While the Wesleyan Methodist Conference held the largest membership, there were many splinter groups over the next fifty years. There were Radical Methodists, Independent Methodists, Methodists of the New Connexion, Primitive Methodists, Bible Christians, Protestant Methodists, and Wesleyan Reformers, among others.⁹

Methodism, as a movement, retained its appeal because it was adaptable to the everyday conditions of life of the working people. It was also realistic in terms of the changing social structure. It responded to the breakdown of the old parochial system and to the centralization of the population in areas of commercial growth, particularly around the textile towns.¹⁰

Methodism was a proselytizing faith. Some voluntary lay preachers tra~~vel~~led the circuits while others taught in Sunday Schools. Their preaching held a "fire and brimstone" quality, and hymn-singing was popular. Charles Wesley's hymns were particularly well-known and also those of Rowland Hill.¹¹ The hymns of Isaac Watts, a Dissenting minister, occurred on recommended reading lists for children.¹² There was a great belief in the power of exhortation both in print and from the pulpit. In the books sampled for this study there was only one book which promoted Methodism, The Mirven Family (1825).

In many books Methodism was spoken of disparagingly. Jane Taylor's Display (1818) was criticized by one contemporary author as being "too methodistical", although otherwise sound in moral purpose.¹³

The distrust of the Established Church increased after Wesley ordained his lay ministers in 1784. A rift developed over Sunday Schools too, with a division of opinion on what subject matter could appropriately be taught on Sunday and about who should do the teaching. These became the two main issues which separated Methodism from the Established Church. In 1799, the High Church component of the Established Church labelled Sunday Schools as "nursery schools of fanaticism".¹⁴

Established Church Evangelicalism

While Methodism did not receive approbation in children's books because it was a lower class religion, Evangelicalism, the predominant religion of the middle and upper classes, was a strong theme in children's fiction.

The religious revival of the Established Church came about in the same time period but was less visible initially. Methodists put their energies into preaching and setting up Sunday Schools, while the Established Church concentrated more on good works and practical endeavours.¹⁵ What Whitefield and Wesley had been to Methodism, Wilberforce and Hannah More were to the cause of Established Church Evangelicalism.

Wilberforce was elected to Parliament in 1780 at the age of twenty-one; he was converted to Evangelicalism six years later and in 1787 wrote in his diary: "God has set before me

as my object the reformation of manners... In 1788, he established the Society to Effect the Enforcement of his Majesty's Proclamation Against Vice and Immorality--the first of some fifty societies to which he belonged that had their origins in social and humanitarian concerns. He is best known for his stand on slavery, but the Abolition and Anti-Slavery Society was only one of many. Some were religious groups such as the Bible Society, the Church Missionary Society, the Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews, the Society Against Vice and Immorality, and the Sunday School Society. Others were humanitarian movements, like the Climbing Boys' Society, the Bettering Society and the Irish Societies.¹⁷

The sudden growth of charitable organizations to care for those who could not care for themselves was a striking feature of 18th century life. The number of benevolent societies according to date and type totalled close to five hundred for the period of this study.¹⁸ Charitable societies cared for delinquents, vagrants, foundlings, and, as the Industrial Revolution continued, some factory children too. Benevolence was recognized in children's fiction in the abolitionist stand on slavery, and in the frequent admonitions about practising kindness towards "the Brute Creation". These topics were mentioned often in the books of this sample but the plight of delinquents and working class children went unremarked.

Closely allied ideologically to Wilberforce and his stand on social and humanitarian issues was Hannah More. Originally a member of the Blue Stocking Group in London, she retired from literary high society to write two important books: Thoughts on the Importance of the Manners of the Great to General Society (1788), and An Estimate of the Religion of the Fashionable World (1791). In a similar theme was Wilberforce's treatise of 1797, addressed to nominal Christians, noting the discrepancy between what was practised and what was preached within the religious community.¹⁹

It was Beilby Porteus, then Bishop of London, who saw the possibility of employing Hannah Moore's considerable literary talents to counteract the politically inciting works of Tom Paine.²⁰ Paine's Rights of Man, first published in 1791, was circulated as a cheaply reproduced and inexpensive pamphlet. Hannah More responded in 1794 with similar propaganda, written in simple language and format and designed for those with minimal literacy.²¹ Her pamphlet series, put out to look like chapbooks--the staple of the working-class reading public--was entitled Village Politics and ascribed to Will Chip. In one, The History of Mr. Fantom, Mr. Fantom's footman, a "New-Fashioned Philosopher", is debauched by the radical philosophy of Tom Paine's pamphlets.²² The R.T.S. also published a series of Cheap Repository Tracts by Hannah More, in which she directly expressed her religious views.²³

But the views of the Established Church had a political

overtone as well. Education was to be only for the purpose of reading the Scriptures. For Hannah More, the Sabbatarian issue which split the Methodist faction during the first quarter of the 19th century was not crucial because writing was believed to be an unnecessary accomplishment for "the lower orders". The fear of Hannah More and those of her stratum was that if widespread education was available, the poor might develop notions above their station. Events in France confirmed that view. Poverty and misfortune were religious trials, evidence of God's will; Christians were expected to bear suffering with resignation and fortitude, with the promise of a better life in the Hereafter.²⁴

Hannah More was also known for the system of Sunday School education that she established in 1789 in the wild Mendip Hills at Cheddar.²⁵ At first, like other Evangelicals, she was content that Sunday Schools should exist without sectarian affiliation for the betterment of the poor. As we have seen attenders might belong to either Church or Chapel. But when it became known that a lay preacher was teaching in a school she established in Blagdon, senior officials of her own Church were displeased. The teacher was accused of forwarding a "methodistical message".²⁶ The incident, referred to as the Blagdon Controversy, stirred up anti-Jacobin opinion already restive because of Paine's popularity with the working class. The debate was whether the poor should be taught to read at all.²⁷ Each side of the argument had its

own denominational publications to advance its arguments, and a war of pamphlets and articles ensued. Hannah More and the Sunday School Movement fell into disfavour with the High Church element of the Established Church. While some accounts of the Sunday School Movement have downplayed the differences in viewpoint between Evangelical sects, the most recent and most thoroughly researched study by Thomas Laqueur indicated that dissension flared often.

From this abbreviated account it becomes clear that political lines were being drawn. Methodism, alert to the needs of a newly industrialized society, became the working man's religion. It was essentially practical and also anti-clerical. It strongly promoted literacy with an emphasis on self-help, also endorsed by utilitarian philosophy. From Methodism grew the origins of political radicalism.²⁸ In contrast, the theme of the Established Church was the maintenance of the status quo, with its outmoded class structure based on pre-industrial society.

But there were features which the opposing evangelical factions held in common. Apart from the encouragement of literacy and the emphasis on good works, there was also agreement on the avoidance of blasphemy, on the establishment of codes of dress and behaviour, and on appropriate entertainment.²⁹ Methodists and Evangelicals alike objected to all violations of the Sabbath, to cards and to gambling, to balls, masquerades, and village fairs, to sports (in particular blood sports), to fiddlers and ballad singers, to horse races, cheap gin, and

public houses. Many were outspoken about the influence of the theatre, novels, and poetry. Such biases pervaded Evangelical children's fiction. The Evangelical child had a narrow and restricted childhood.³⁰ They do not appear in Methodist children's fiction because for the literate and lower-class Methodist child there were only tracts, distributed on Sundays at Sunday School.

The belief in the efficacy of verbal exhortation was ever present. Thus there was a strong emphasis on sermons, catechisms, religious treatises, tracts, hymns and moral tales, often with appended religious extracts. Evangelical sects had their own publishers who specialized in religious materials and who added children's texts to their wares after 1800.³¹ Mrs. Trimmer, a great upholder of religious education, wrote many basic texts for the Charity Schools, which remained in use until after 1840.³² After Church-supported schools divided into the National, and British and Foreign Schools, each system adopted texts to support its own religious position.³³ From an examination of these texts it is clear that education in England meant primarily religious education.

There were many Evangelical journals.³⁴ The first, The Gospel Magazine, appeared in 1774. The Evangelical Magazine, established in 1793, stated its purpose was to circulate "religious and useful knowledge, as an antidote to the poison continually flowing through the channels of those licentious publications which are vended in our cities".³⁵ Many of these

journals were directed to Sunday School scholars. They contained funeral meditations and accounts of "good lives", and of the remorse which haunted those who went astray. In content and in tone they harked back to the first children's books by Janeway and Thomas White. Other Evangelical magazines were intended for family reading and some were directed to Sunday School teachers.³⁷ The ubiquitousness of the religious publications of the Evangelical group were lampooned by Dickens and Wilkie Collins later in the century.³⁸

Evangelical authors also wrote full-length books, some of which were included in this study. After 1800, the works of Mrs. Sherwood and the Reverend Legh Richmond were particularly well-known. The Dairyman's Daughter (1809) by Richmond and The Fairchild Family (1818) by Mrs. Sherwood were the originals of a class of fiction now referred to as "tract fiction", the subject of Cutt's recent study.³⁹

Dissenters were less sectarian in their pronouncements in children's books, probably because of their greater tolerance for religious freedom. But some retained the Janeway tradition. Even the gentle rhymes of Isaac Watts instilled a fear of Hell-fire and were most certainly daunting to a child-reader.⁴⁰

Evangelicalism included Methodist and Established Church factions and there were also Dissenting evangelicals. Some wrote for the new journals, while others supported charitable and philanthropic societies.⁴¹ Prison reform in general was

a focus of endeavour for the Quakers, and the names of Elizabeth Fry, and the Gurneys are well-known in that respect. Quakers were also strong abolitionists. They differed from Evangelicals because they neither sought nor accepted conversions to their faith. They lived simply by the Puritan ethic, and communicated directly with God, without intermediaries.⁴² Quakers contributed much to the success of the children's book market through the auspices of William Darton and his family who published many works of both Established Church and nonconformist authors. Only five of the identified authors whose books are in this study were known to be Quakers.⁴³

A major influence of the Protestant Dissent came about through the Literary and Philosophical Societies of the 1770s and 1780s. As already noted, Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester and London all developed a nucleus of intellectuals many of whom were Dissenters. These men criticized prevailing educational methods and curriculum, and established schools which favoured closer ties among science, education and industry.⁴⁴ In keeping with their interest in education many of them wrote children's books. John Aiken, Erasmus Darwin, Thomas Percival, Joseph Priestly and of course Edgeworth and Day wrote fiction, school books, or educational manuals, in which they expressed their non-traditional views.

Protestantism was always a faith in opposition and the history of Dissent went back to the Reformation. During the years of this study, Protestant Dissent became a political as well

as a religious opposition. The Dissenting sects, allied with the Whigs, and in some cases with the Radicals, pushed for greater freedom of the press, for extended suffrage, and, unremittingly, for better educational facilities.

The Old Dissent included Presbyterians, Baptists and Congregationalists, and some would add the Quakers as well. The Presbyterians and some General Baptists later became Unitarians, who by 1790 were a strong faction.⁴⁵ Unitarians were not evangelical, but they were practical in their faith and leaders in the demand for universal education. Among Dissenters they were considered the cream of the intellectual crop. Birmingham was a Unitarian centre, and at the time of the riots of 1791 they joined with the Painites and the Jacobins against the forces of Church and King.⁴⁶ The Unitarian meeting house was burned down and Priestly was forced to flee to America.

From Manchester, a congratulatory message was sent by the French National Assembly on the overthrow of the monarchy. Shortly before, Edmund Burke had written his famous treatise Reflections on the Revolution in France, which inspired responses from Tom Paine, Joseph Priestly and Mary Wollstonecraft, among others.⁴⁷ Political and religious repression was intensified following the passage of the King's Proclamation Against Seditious Writings (1792). Popular opinion became hostile to Dissenters of all sects, regardless of their political views. The philosophy of educational

liberalism ~~was~~ side-tracked, as Simon pointed out, into a narrower form of utilitarianism.⁴⁸

Of the Old Dissent, only the ~~Congregationalists~~ survived the mounting criticism unscathed. Following the political upsets they became a more conventionally evangelical group. They continued to support the Whigs in efforts to repeal restrictive legislation and they also urged Parliamentary reform. They too looked to education for social betterment, but they were less active politically than their former associates. They became a more conventional prosyletizing sect, who considered Whitefield their "spiritual father".⁴⁹

The political division of the religious sects on the issue of support for Church and King was revealing. Opposed to the Old Dissent (Presbyterians, some Congregationalists, Unitarians and Quakers), were the New Dissent which included Baptists and also some Congregationalists. The Catholic Church was also in opposition.⁵⁰ The Old Dissent gradually diminished in influence during the 19th century while the New Dissent expanded and flourished. Once the political link was formed, denominational factions threw their weight behind social issues. After the Peterloo Riots of 1819, some Methodists, previously Whig supporters, moved to the Radicals, while earlier, after the Luddite Riots of 1812, some returned to the fold of the Established Church and Tory Party.⁵¹ The popularity of the Established Church was at a low ebb in the 1830s. While its image improved after 1840 it too became split by factionalism. Ward has noted that issues which

brought down monarchies in Europe, such as suffrage, currency reform, and Church tithes, served in England to fractionate the various Church groups instead.⁵²

The fractionation of the Protestant Dissent into New and Old Dissenting factors has been recounted here for two reasons. For one thing it indicates a diversity of viewpoint. Children's fiction, always moral, and sometimes openly sectarian, has been lumped into one general descriptive category and literary historians have ignored the ideological differences. Among authors of moral tales there were divergent religious backgrounds. Isaac Watts, and the Taylor family were Protestant Dissenters; Mrs. Barbauld was a Unitarian; Mrs. Trimmer was of the Established Church but was not an Evangelical. Mrs. Sherwood, her sister Mrs. Cameron, Legh Richmond and George Mogridge, were Evangelicals. Mrs. More, originally an Evangelical, supported the use of Methodist teachers in Sunday Schools and so became rejected by her own Church. Edgeworth and Day, brought up as members of the Church of England, scrupulously avoided mention of religious training in their works for children because, above all, they were rationalists and followers of Rousseau. The moral tale was the medium for them all, and the similarity of the product lead to the assumption that they shared common viewpoints. It will be seen that this assumption has often gone unchallenged because the raw material which makes up this study does not bear close study.

The second reason for recounting in some detail the political and religious background of the period is that while no mention was made of its occurrence in children's fiction, the French Revolution held profound implications for the social and political thought of those who wrote books for children. This factor alone determined that conservatism would dominate children's fiction written after 1790.⁵³

2. Philosophical Beliefs

Associationism

The second most important ideological influence on how the child was viewed was the belief in association theory.⁵⁴ The premises on which it rests are usually attributed to Locke, but, from the time of Hobbes to John Stuart Mill, a period of close to two hundred years, association theory was the prevailing philosophic viewpoint in England. The study of the mind had assumed a scientific cast with the focus of the Royal Society on observation and experimentation in the natural world. If the objective world was discoverable through empirical observation and laws could be formulated about its operation, as with the laws of gravity, then the nature of mind was also discoverable and held to laws of a similar kind. At least this was the premise that Hobbes had set out to prove when he speculated by what process the mind links experiences.⁵⁵

Locke introduced associationism in the fourth edition of his Essay on Human Understanding in 1700.⁵⁶ In a single chapter he used the phrase in relation to irrational associations. Thus, the delusions of madmen, and the irrational fears

of children were explained by the same process.⁵⁷

One of Locke's basic assumptions was that there were no innate ideas. The child's mind was a blank slate on which experience writes. This view had been formulated earlier, both in classical times and more recently in the 17th century. Bishop Earle, a Puritan Divine, stated in 1633: "A child is a man in a small letter....His Soul is yet a white paper un-scribbled with observations of the world, wherewith, at length it becomes a blurr'd notebook".⁵⁸

The ideas that the mind of the child was an unfurnished room and that its furniture, as knowledge, was acquired through sensory observation of the world led to an increasing emphasis on the importance of education.⁵⁹ How should the world be presented to the child? In Europe, Comenius, Basedow, Pestalozzi and Froebel examined this question systematically, taking into account the child's developmental level. But for decades English philosophic and educational theory dwelt on the negative aspects of association stressed by Locke.⁶⁰ There are many references in children's and adult books to the injurious effects of stimulating false ideas in the child through tales of imaginary spirits and apparitions.⁶¹

There were variations in the views of philosophers of the associationist school, but they are an unimportant for purposes of this study. What is significant is that associationism dominated so many facets of intellectual life and had such far-reaching effects. John Gay and Frances Hutcheson

applied it, one to ethics, and the other to aesthetics. It pervaded medical and educational theorizing.⁶²

If happiness is associated with a particular course of action, then, in terms of the pleasure principle, an individual will choose the path which is associated with the greatest happiness. According to both Shaftesbury and Hutcheson, writing in the first half of the 18th century, the greatest individual happiness rested on feeling virtuous. Benevolence became a guiding concept because it brought with it virtue and therefore happiness. Eighteenth century benevolence was also likely to be rewarded by God, but it was essentially a selfish benevolence based not so much on the needs of those suffering from poverty or illness who were expected to help themselves, but on the needs of the benefactor to feel virtuous.⁶³ Hutcheson was the first to use the phrase "the greatest happiness for the greatest numbers", a phrase taken up by Bentham and also by Adam Smith who was his student.⁶⁴ Thus the grounds for a personal and theological utilitarianism were laid, which later became translated into practice in the educational, political and economic spheres.

Utilitarianism

The term "utilitarianism" was popularized in particular by Jeremy Bentham and James Mill. Bentham's Chrestomathia (1816-17) which described education in the ideal world was the logical expression of utilitarian philosophy. Two principles were foremost in Bentham's exposition, utility and facility, and

these were applicable to all facets of life.⁶⁵ Utilitarian doctrine, based on associationism, saw that as there were laws for the mind, so were there laws for society. There was a general belief in the immutability of these laws. Following the publication of Malthus's Essay on the Principle of Population (1798), the fear of over-population was ever-present. In business and commerce, the belief in immutable laws inspired a laissez-faire economic policy. A third belief was that wealth and prosperity would inevitably increase, and that economic expansion was synonymous with progress.⁶⁶ The utopian visions of Bentham, Ricardo and the Mills were based on this idea. Progress in these terms became the greatest good for the greatest number. At a time of unprecedented commercial growth, utilitarian philosophy provided the justification for continued expansion. Accompanying social ills would be remedied through the provision of education organized along utilitarian lines.⁶⁷ The principles of utility and facility dictated the management of monitorial schools. William Godwin and James Mill maintained that with education anything was possible. The provision of a comprehensive educational system was a major responsibility of society. The most liberal educational views were held by those who were both political Radicals and religious Dissenters as already described. Following the Birmingham riots of 1791, and the restrictive Parliamentary legislation which followed, a more limited form of utilitarianism prevailed. Nowhere in

Bentham's Chrestomathia was the word "imagination" ever mentioned. What was taught must be useful, and must be applicable to "the common purposes of life".⁶⁸ Subject matter was to be taught systematically, by proceeding from the simple to the complex, through the orderly association of ideas.

Mechanical views of mental functioning led to mechanical theories of learning. Utilitarians' educational views were satirized by Dickens in his description of The Hard Facts School of Mr. Gradgrind:

Now, what I want is Facts. Teach these boys and girls nothing but Facts. Facts alone are wanted in life. Plant nothing else, and root out everything else. You can only form the minds of reasoning animals upon Facts: nothing else will ever be of any service to them. This is the principle on which I bring up my own children, and this is the principle on which I bring up these children. Stick to Facts, sir!⁶⁹

The facts emerged to Mr. Gradgrind's liking:

'Bitzer' said Thomas Gradgrind, 'Your definition of a horse.' 'Quadruped, graminivorous, forty teeth, namely twenty-four grinders, four eye-teeth, and twelve incisive. Sheds coat in the spring; in marshy countries, sheds hoofs too. Hoofs hard, but requiring to be shod with iron. Age known by marks in mouth.'⁷⁰

The views of the utilitarians, James Mill, Bentham and Brougham, in particular, led to much-needed reforms of the grammar schools after 1818.⁷¹ And for the first time the educational needs of other than the well-to-do were fulfilled. The SDUK and the Self-help Movement were also products of utilitarian endeavour. Through the provision of cheap but improving reading material, the SDUK tried to stimulate an interest in literacy for those with minimal reading skills. Adult education courses were offered through the auspices of the Mechanics' Institutes and the Friendly Societies for those who wished to help themselves.⁷²

The view of the mind and the learning process as a mechanical system, subject to laws based on associative principles, created some curious anomalies, among them the particular genre of children's fiction which is the subject of this study. Moral tales, a vehicle for exhortation for religious authors, served the same purpose for educational philosophers and rationalists. Children's authors universally accepted that children could and did learn through exhortation in printed form and usually, according to associationistic principles.

3. The Romantic View of the Child

Left out of this account until now is some mention of the Romantic revival. Clark has pointed out the umbrella-like quality of the term "Romanticism" which meant one thing to one group and something else to a second. In one form or another it lasted for over one hundred years. It embraced the

benevolence of the Shaftesbury poets in the early 18th century and the sentimentalism of Dickens in the mid-19th century.⁷³

The child was always a focal part of Romanticism. By the third quarter of the 17th century, Thomas Traherne and Henry Vaughan extolled his natural innocence.⁷⁴ The Romantic Movement was not restricted to literature but affected the world of art as well. The child was idealized by both poet and artist and used as subject-matter by both. The use of the child as subject matter has led historians to infer that a new and more liberal view of the child prevailed during the 18th century.⁷⁵

The history of ideas does not occur in tidy chapters, and more often than not exists in contradictions. As Evangelicalism stressed religious and moral training, and association psychology the development of reason, Romanticism validated the world of the emotions and adopted the child as a symbol of innocence and purity. He was painted as such by the portrait painters--Reynolds, Copley, Gainsborough and Romney among others--and so described by the poets Cowper and Crabbe and, later, Wordsworth and Blake.⁷⁶ For some novelists too, the child became a topical sequel to "the noble savage", a hero unspoilt by the artificialities of society.⁷⁷

The Romantic view of childhood was associated with different educational beliefs which stressed the importance of stretching the imagination and stimulating the curiosity.

Wordsworth's Prelude is in essence a study of education.⁷⁸ In it Wordsworth illustrated that the emphasis placed on intellectual processes by 18th century rationalism, eliminated the active force of intelligence which is imagination. The mind, as Wordsworth saw it, was a living power which developed through the educative and moral influence of nature.⁷⁹ The nature poets included the child in their descriptions of those who lived in rural simplicity. In this fashion the child entered English literature.

To the Romantic poets, a more liberal educational philosophy was also a more permissive one. Children should have access to the creative works of artists, novelists and poets. The Romantics responded to the charm of the old legends and romances.⁸⁰ The ban imposed by Evangelicals and rational philosophers alike on tales of legendary heroes and fairy stories was eventually lifted through the influence of Romantic writers who harked back to the lighter literature of their childhood, and ruminated on the dire consequences of obliterating fantasy and laughter from the child's world.⁸¹

Benevolence

Related to Romanticism was humanitarianism, or benevolence as it was usually termed. The extraordinary number of humanitarian institutions and organizations has already been noted.⁸² The emphasis on "doing good" was not necessarily linked to religion; while "doing good" was certainly the battle-cry for many Evangelicals, it was also a prescription for everyday life.

The emphasis on humanitarianism was attributed to the Shaftesbury poets, in the first instance, and it had its fullest exposition in James Thomson's "The Seasons".⁸³

This poem was the single most frequently quoted non-religious poem until 1810.⁸⁴ Shaftesbury tied benevolence to the fate of dumb animals, and there was an infinite number of societies to prohibit cock-fighting, dog-fighting, bull-baiting, and other organized pastimes, particularly those favoured by the lower classes. Inconsistently, as Brown pointed out, the sports of gentlemen--hunting, fishing and shooting--occasionally criticized, were never prohibited.⁸⁵ During the 1790s in particular, many children's books commented negatively on such sports; cruelty to animals was a strong theme throughout the time-span of this study.

The contradictions inherent in 18th century benevolence appear curious today. Taylor distinguished the "benevolence" which led to the support of philanthropic societies, from the "sensibility" which was aroused by pity for those less fortunate than oneself.⁸⁶ Readers of the time were urged not to offer charity to those who aroused sensibility lest they not be truly worthy recipients. Through approved charitable institutions, benevolence could be exercised at arm's length. Institutionalized benevolence often accompanied a callousness and a lack of concern for the plight of the poverty-stricken. Taylor described the contradiction as an increased ability to feel, accompanied by an inhibition in the expression of that feeling.⁸⁷ It has been noted that while Hannah More and Mrs.

Trimmer worked hard to establish schools among the poor, they regarded spontaneous charity, in the form of food or clothing, to be inappropriate.⁸⁸ The well-to-do were much concerned with suitable objects of charity, and children's books of the period provided guidance on how the deserving poor might be discriminated from those simply exploiting pity and compassion.⁸⁹

Sensibility

"The cult of 'sensibility' was an outgrowth of benevolence and the Romantic Movement."⁹⁰ Sensibility was, in fact, Romanticism run wild. It was defined in a novel of the period:

....by sensibility I understand a certain tender sympathy of disposition which though rigidly derived from the passions is meliorated into something gentler and more pleasing than those.⁹¹

As a character trait it was rated above virtue, talents and beauty. It was the result of especially acute senses, and it was evidenced by the capacity to weep readily.⁹² In an age which promoted Reason, it was a luxury to cry.

Inevitably sensibility and sentimentalism became con-founded. Mackenzie's The Man of Feeling (1771) served as a Bible for the novelist. Sensibility assured that dumb animals, legless sailors, orphaned children and widowed mothers received generous comment.⁹³ It is hard to know whether sometimes it was described with tongue in cheek as in Cowper's verse:

I would not enter on my list of friends
 (Tho' grac'd with polish'd manners and fine sense,
 Yet wanting sensibility) the man
 Who needlessly sets foot upon a worm.⁹⁴

Sensibility was also allied with an appreciation of the beauties of nature, and this aspect was commented on favourably in children's books.⁹⁵

The critics started poking fun at novelists over-playing sensibility as early as 1774.⁹⁶ In 1787, The Monthly Review noted that it had become the fashion "to conclude a novel with a funeral".⁹⁷ In journal articles and in letters of instruction, young readers were warned against excesses of sensibility--a trait to which members of the female sex were particularly prone.⁹⁸

Exaggeration, aided by the events of history, contributed to the eventual downfall of the sensibility cult. The fatal blow was a cartoon in The Anti-Jacobin Review (August, 1798), which depicted Sensibility trampling on a severed crowned head, while weeping over the body of a dead bird.⁹⁹ The cult of sensibility led authors of children's books to elaborate on the need for distinguishing between true and false sensibility.¹⁰⁰ The exaggeration of sensibility in adult fiction almost certainly contributed to the universal ban on romantic fiction in the form of novels for young people during the years of this study.

While adult novels played up sensibility, children's fiction gradually became more restricted and strait-laced.

Emotions were considered too heady for children, and emotion for its own sake was never condoned. To the contrary, the necessity for control was a major theme, and tears--the hallmark of success for an adult novel--were considered as reprehensible as a temper display in children's stories. Sensibility crept in occasionally, nonetheless, disguised as humanitarian concern for the sick or the helpless.¹⁰¹ Tears and sentimentality became legitimized for children some twenty-five years later through the medium of tract fiction, which exploited to the full death-bed scenes and last minute conversions. Tears became acceptable in children's books in the context of Evangelical tract fiction.¹⁰²

Adult heroes and heroines wallowed in emotional excess, but children's books became more and more down to earth. Their stories were always based in "the here and now", and were carefully vetted for exaggerations and untruths. In the late 18th century even the artificially contrived tales of moral contrast between Prudentia Homespun and Johnny Headstrong were described on the cover as "Histories" to lend them credence, and to remove any intimation of exaggeration or untruth.

4. Rousseau's View of the Child

Rousseau's philosophy expressed in La Nouvelle Héloïse (1761) and Emile (1762) also contributed to the Romantic view of the child. The notion of the child unfolding like a flower in natural surroundings, without schools, curriculum, or text books, was an exaggerated view of the Romantic position.

Instead, children were to learn by interacting with the environment, aided by an adult tutor. Rousseau's greatest influence in England was on educational theory, but few attempts were made to implement it in practice. Apart from Edgeworth and Day, whose efforts were recorded, it is difficult to know to what extent his views actually influenced child-raising practices.

Even before Rousseau, the Continental influence on education in England was a progressive one. From the 17th century, Comenius's writings stated that education must be geared to the level of the child.¹⁰³ European educational theory was always child-centered, and Rousseau's views reinforced this position. His influence was controversial and many professionals as well as lay people set themselves up as educational critics. Some objected to the lack of structure in his system of child-raising, and to his disparagement of formalized tuition. At a time when literacy and its benefits were being extolled in England, Rousseau proposed that no child should have access to a book until he was an early adolescent, and even then access should be limited. The one book permitted by Rousseau was Robinson Crusoe because it depicted the process of learning at first hand to turn nature to one's advantage.¹⁰⁴

There were some viewpoints relating to childhood which Rousseau shared with Locke and which appear to have had general acceptance at the time. Learning through activity and by the arousal of interest and curiosity, were views they

held in common. Also, they both laid stress on the importance of the educational environment and favoured domestic education. While many authors criticized Rousseau publicly they also supported selectively some of his ideas. His most outspoken critics were members of the Evangelical Movement, who retained a belief in the natural depravity of the child, and for whom education was pruning, training and twisting rather than permitting natural growth. The Established Church, in particular, castigated Rousseau and his followers for their failure to provide any formal religious training.¹⁰⁵

Rousseau and the French Encyclopedists had a particularly forceful impact on the philosophers and intellectuals who made up the literary and philosophical societies of the 1770s and 1780s. Erasmus, Darwin, Priestley, Edgeworth and Day rejected traditional educational institutions for their own children.¹⁰⁶ Thomas Day and R.L. Edgeworth attempted to implement Rousseau's philosophy of education in their own households, and the results occasioned amused comment both then and now.¹⁰⁷ In their children's books they indicated how Rousseau's theories might be put into application. In Sandford and Merton, Day showed parents how they might construct learning experiments in everyday situations. Edgeworth's Practical Education was a step-by-step child-raising manual to cover all aspects of child care, while Maria Edgeworth's stories placed her father's educational theories in a fictional context.

5. Educational Theory in England

The prevailing view on education stemmed from Locke's Essay on Education without a doubt. Its influence as an educational treatise can be assessed by the fact that there were over twenty-five re-printings in the 18th century and an additional twelve in the 19th century.¹⁰⁸ It was widely quoted in child-raising sources in both the New World and the Old, and also in literary sources.

Isaac Watts was greatly influenced by Locke as Pickering has noted. In some ways Watts could be considered Comenius's British equivalent. In a practical fashion he devised catechisms of different levels of complexity to meet children's developing cognitive needs. He distinguished between the material to be provided for young children of "moderate capacity" between three and four years, and material suitable for seven and eight year olds; for those over twelve he provided a standard full-length catechism.¹⁰⁹ Dr. Johnson, not always charitable in his judgements, said of Watts:

He condescended to lay aside the scholar, the philosopher and the wit to write little poems of devotion and systems of instruction adapted to their wants and capacities, from the dawn of reason through its gradations of advance in the morning of life. Everyman acquainted with the common principles of human action, will look with veneration on the writer, who is at one time combatting Locke,

and at another time making a catechism for children in their fourth year.¹¹⁰

The popularity of Watts' hymns throughout the 18th and 19th century has already been noted. Apart from the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, they were the only reading matter sanctioned by Evangelical sects for children until such time as text books and tracts became available.

Less progressive were the views of John Wesley (1703-1791). Children's education was never a focal point for either Wesley or Whitfield who directed their attention primarily to adults.¹¹¹ Wesley endorsed the views of his mother Susanna Wesley, whose goal, as the following extract indicates, was to establish absolute obedience:

That whoever was charged with a fault, of which they were guilty, if they were to ingenuously confess it, and promise to amend should not be beaten~~That~~ no sinful action...should ever pass unpunished. That no child should ever be chid, or beat twice for the same fault; and that if they amended they should never be upbraided with it afterwards. That every single act of obedience, especially when crossed upon their own inclinations, should always be commended, and frequently rewarded, according to the merits of the case. That if ever any child performed an act of obedience, or did anything with the intention to please, though the

performance was not well, yet the obedience and intention should be kindly accepted: and the child with sweetness directed how to do better for the future...

As self-will is the root of all sin and misery, so whatever cherishes this in children insures their after-wretchedness and irreligion; whatever checks and mortifies it promotes their future happiness and piety.¹¹²

For Wesley, obedience to parental authority implied obedience to God. Education was a corrective process based on the subjection of the will.

A book published anonymously in 1744, entitled The Common Errors in the Education of Children, combined the notions of Locke and Watts and described in detail the differentiated "abilities of youth".¹¹³ The child's capacity must be taken into account:

If a boy was not made for a Theologian, a Lawyer or a Physician, why should he not be put to come Mechanick Way of Life, without Respect to his Birth and Fortune?¹¹⁴

This unknown author lamented that the endowed schools were too often filled with "Dunces who roll in Affluence"! Students of the day spent too much time translating from Latin into English, and then back into Latin. He put forward a suggestion, later implemented by Priestly, that English authors should be studied instead of classical writers.¹¹⁵

There were Progressive educationists before Edgeworth and Day, such as William Gilpin and David Manson, who established private schools along progressive lines in the 1750s. David Williams and the Hill family later put into practice many of Rousseau's beliefs, with a practical overtone of utilitarianism. The link between progressive educational philosophy, and nonconformist religious belief and political radicalism, was probably the reason that progressive education never prospered in practice in England. It held too much that was controversial for it to be assimilable in an essentially conservative society. With a growing commitment to a religious revival, and the fear of political revolution after 1789, conservatism always won out. Child-raising values are usually the last to reflect changing ideologies.

Stewart and McCann stated at the end of the 18th century: "Educational thought and practice became polarised around the Classical-Christian and what could be called the natural-scientific standpoint."¹¹⁶ But rather than opposite poles along one grid as suggested by Stewart and McCann, it seems more realistic to consider education as stretched over four separate grids. One based on the division between the classical and scientific tradition; another on the polarization of the Established Church and its non-conformist opposition; a third was divided between the populist and the élitist view of education; and the fourth determined by current philosophical views of the child--as passive and reactive on the one hand, or as active and creative on the other.

A pot pourri of viewpoints was reflected in the many pronouncements on educational theory in the time span of this study. Educators and their spokesmen selected from each grid what was consistent with their own religious and philosophical beliefs. Progressive education was in the air, in Europe in particular, but because of the tie between religion and education, it had little impact on the British public, or, as we have seen, on educational institutions. The material presented in this chapter and the one before it, indicates that the gap between educational theory and educational practice, was pronounced in England in our century. Children's fiction with very few exceptions represented a traditional and elitist view of education.

Chapter Summary

This chapter and the second have provided a background for the development of children's fiction. In addition to the major historical events, an effort has been made to describe the less tangible influences which coloured the manner in which the child was viewed in children's fiction sources.

The influence of the religious revival was the most dominant feature of the fiction written between 1790 and 1840. Evangelical authors in particular used children's books as a form of propaganda. Members of the Protestant Dissent also found children's literature a good medium for expressing progressive views on education. Methodism and other New Dissent factions were less often represented in the sample for this study, probably because they were working class movements,

and books other than tracts which were distributed free, were too costly for them.

Other strands in the braid of social thought included association theory from which sprang both rationalism and utilitarianism. Locke and associationism were discussed in many contexts but chiefly in the educational treatises of the time. Often the same authors who wrote child-raising guides translated their views into fiction settings as well.

Political radicalism, economic determinism and the belief in progress were a part of the social thought of the period that did not penetrate children's books. The working class movement which challenged the notion of a God-given ordering of society was also omitted. Fiction writers of the period portrayed the middle and upper-class child at home in a rural setting undisturbed by outside influence or change.

Many authors of children's fiction felt called upon to fill the role of critic where education was concerned. Their books were exemplars of how children should be raised. There remained, however, a wide gap between educational theory and educational practice. The authors who wrote sanctimonious moral tales did nothing to improve the patch-work educational system as it existed. Children's books were chiefly used in this period as a medium for the expression of educational and religious views.

Benevolence and sensibility were linked under the discussion of Romanticism. Benevolence occurred frequently in

children's books in terms of charity towards animals and slaves.

While the ideological values differed, the books were extraordinarily similar. Authors agreed on the purpose of children's books. The predominating theme was always an improving one, and the ban on humour and fantasy was widely shared. In consequence the religious and philosophic distinctions amongst authors often became lost in the intensity of their shared belief in the efficacy of moral and didactic exposition. The impression of uniformity is strengthened by the tedium of the content and the artificialities of the writing style.

CHAPTER 4

PROCEDURES

Effective methodology is determined by what works.

Charles C. Spiker, 1965.¹

Description of the Source Material

The source material for this study consists of three parts. The first part is made up of the children's books themselves which were chosen by random sample from the holdings of the Osborne Collection of the Toronto Public Library.²

The second part, the review literature, was from a variety of sources: reviews and journals in university and reference libraries in both Toronto and Ottawa, a volume of collected reviews, two histories of publishers, and two 19th century publications whose sole purpose was to review early children's literature.³ The third part, the historical interpretation, included reference to widely varied historical and literary sources. The procedures used were standard historical research skills for the use of archival material. For Chapter 8, which compares children's and adult fiction of the same period, some English novels were read in entirety but most of the material was drawn from secondary sources.

The Osborne Collection of early children's books is located within a special library as a part of Boys' and Girls' House, a branch of the Toronto Metropolitan Library. While the Osborne Collection may not be as complete in its holdings of English children's books as the British Library at the British Museum, it is certainly more comprehensively catalogued, which makes it more accessible for research purposes.⁴ Most current publications in the history of children's literature make reference to material or information obtained from this resource.⁵

Researchers who rely on library sources for their material will be aware that the selection and preservation of old books and manuscripts may well be influenced by non-random factors. The originator of the Osborne Collection described his collecting procedures as being guided more by nostalgia for the books he and his wife had enjoyed as children than by deeper concerns; Osborne used the phrase "amateurish" to describe their purpose at the outset.⁶ As their collection grew, their interests became more diversified and more systematic. They began to search, in a purposeful fashion, for children's books of the past which he described as "success stories", books that had gone into several editions.⁷ The Collection was donated to the Toronto Public Library in 1948. In extending the Collection, which is funded in part by the City of Toronto and in part by The Friends of the Osborne Collection, the current goal is to make it as fully

representative as possible.⁸ There have, however, been a number of acquisitions which relate to specialty interests.⁹ Fiction makes up only a part of the total collection.

The Selection of a Time Frame for This Study

The time-frame for this study, 1740-1840, was based on the date of origin of the first fiction works for children. It was in the last half of the 18th century that the market for children's books became established. Literary historians have disputed the date of the first fiction work for children. John Newbery's A Little Pretty Pocket Book (1743), is usually accepted to be the first, although Muir has claimed the honour on behalf of Thomas Boreman, for The Gigantick History of Two Famous Giants published in 1740.¹⁰ But Boreman's books cannot truly be described as fiction; they provide an example of one of the difficulties which face researchers in this area--the problem of differentiating between instruction and entertainment.¹¹ The books which have been selected for this study were all taken from the section of The Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books Catalogue entitled "Stories Before 1860." This eliminated Boreman's work in the race for "firsts" because The Gigantick History was catalogued under "Travel and Geography."¹² Mrs. Cooper's The Child's Plaything, another possible contender, was primarily instructional.¹³ Rather than disputing which book or books have prior claim, the decade of the 1740s was chosen as a logical starting point for this study.

The choice of terminal date was also debatable. The year 1840, or more accurately the end of 1839, was selected because it represented a tidy summary point after one hundred years of growth. By 1840 the flood gates were opened and the volume of books swelled so that even with representative sampling the number posed a problem for a single researcher. It happens that 1839 marked the publication of Catherine Sinclair's Holiday House, described as a milestone by several historians of English children's fiction.¹⁴

Categories of Fiction Eliminated from This Study

Within the Osborne Collection there were approximately 1600 titles in "The Stories Before 1850" section in both volumes of the catalogue. It was obviously not possible to read them all and some exclusions were necessary. As the purpose of this study is to examine adult attitudes towards children in a specified country and within a specified time period, it was possible through logical decision to eliminate some categories. From the fiction works within the Osborne Collection the following categories were excluded:

- i. non-prose fiction,
- ii. traditional fairy stories from an earlier time period,
- iii. legends and myths from an earlier time period,
- iv. books of foreign origin, although they may have been translated,
- v. books made up of collections of stories of unknown origin,

- vi. chapbooks sold door-to-door by pedlars which were intended for family consumption and which came from a variety of sources,
- vii. books abridged from adult novels, although they may have been edited for children's use.¹⁵

The population of books which were selected for study therefore included only those prose fiction works which were written for children in England in the years between 1740 and 1840.

While several categories of reading material were eliminated from the study, it must be remembered that they were still available to child-readers of the period. Children certainly read the works of foreign authors in translation, in particular those of Arnaud Berquin and Madame de Genlis, on which many English authors modelled their own books. Fairy tales were still available, although in 1798 Edgeworth commented, "we do not allude to fairy tales, for we apprehend that they are not now much read."¹⁶ To expel folk tales and fairy tales from the literary diet of children was a focal point of many books written for children during the period under study.

Sampling Methods

The 1600 titles in the "Stories Before 1850" of the Osborne Collection Catalogue were off-printed and mounted individually on file cards, grouped by decade, and within each decade arranged alphabetically by author (where known,

or where attribution was considered reasonably certain), or by title (where authorship was unknown). After eliminating those books which fell into the categories named above, approximately 1000 titles remained. These were originally arranged to form subgroups, one for each of the decades between 1740 and 1840. Two additional sub-groups, one for pre-1740 works, and the other for the books written between 1840 and 1850, were examined but were not included in a detailed content analysis.

Because there were few books written before 1780 it was deemed sensible to collapse the first four decades into one, made up of all the fiction works for children included in the Osborne Collection that were written between 1740 and 1779.

After 1780 the number of fiction works increased so rapidly that it was necessary to establish sampling procedures. A figure of 20 percent of the fiction works within the Osborne Collection from each decade was determined to be a reasonable proportion. A decision to include all "best-sellers" over and above the 20 percent meant that in fact the percentage of books read was much higher. Table 2 indicates the proportion of books read in each decade, and the total number of books in the pool from which the sample was drawn for each decade. There has been no attempt at quantitative analysis of the variables so the fact that a different number of books was read in each decade is of no significance.

Table 2

Books Read for Each Decade and Their Percentage of
The Number of Fiction Works Within the Osborne Collection,
Toronto Public Library

<u>Time Span</u>	<u>Fiction Works</u>	<u>Number Read</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1740-1779	8	8	100
1780-1789	42	23	55
1790-1799	67	22	33
1800-1809	99	29	29
1810-1819	125	39	31
1820-1829	164	47	29
1830-1839	84	27	32
	<u>590</u>	<u>195</u>	<u>33</u>

*These figures are after elimination of those categories of fiction which were excluded (see Chapter 4, p. 142).

The purpose of sampling was to ensure that a wide range of adult views would be represented in the books read. Sampling was therefore done by author rather than by book-title. Three classes of books were sampled for each of the six decades between 1780 and 1840.

- a. The first class was of authors who were represented by only one fiction work in the Osborne Collection within a decade. Book titles were grouped alphabetically, including those written by pseudonymous and anonymous authors, and a random selection was made from them to make up twenty percent of the fiction holdings for that decade. These authors are described as "single-book authors".
- b. The second class consisted of those authors whose fiction works published during the decade numbered more than one (within the Osborne Collection). These books were arranged alphabetically by title for each author and one book by each author was selected by the use of a random numbers table.¹⁷ These authors are described in this study as "multiple-book authors".
- c. The third class was made up of the best-sellers of the decade.¹⁸ All of these were read for each decade, unless the work of one author was represented more than once. In that case, if there were two or three best-sellers by one author, one was selected at

random; if there were between four and ten best-sellers, two were selected at random. If there were more than ten best-sellers three were selected at random.

The term best-seller was restricted to those books which had five or more editions. It was not always easy to establish an accurate figure because publishing records for this early period are often incomplete; nor was it always possible to distinguish between a new edition and a re-issue. Also, the number of books varied from one edition to another so the number of editions is not necessarily an accurate representation of book popularity. One of the difficulties of bibliographic research, especially before 1800, is that publication dates, publishers, authors and edition numbers were rarely included on the title page. A partial compensation were the "flyers" that publishers sometimes inserted to advertize other publications. These flyers provide a relatively accurate listing and dating of children's books in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The number of editions appeared to be the only convenient measure for determining a "best seller" but it is not as accurate an indicator as one might wish.

In summary, the books selected form an adapted stratified sample of children's fiction from the Osborne Collection written between 1780 and 1840; all the fiction works in the Collection between 1740 and 1780 were read and because of their low

number they were all included. The sampling methods consisted in grouping the books according to date of origin into six sets of ten years. These sets were then subdivided to ensure that each multiple book author of that decade was represented, that there was a random selection of single-book authors (which included pseudonymous and anonymous authors as well), and that all best-sellers were included, except where an author's work was over-represented, in which case a sampling of that author's best-selling books was included.

Collection of Data

The collection of material for this research was restricted by two external conditions. One was the fact that the archival material on which this study was based was housed in a non-circulating library located some three hundred miles away. Research had to be done in situ and within library hours. Secondly, at the time the data were collected, the Osborne Collection had restrictions relating to the duplication of library material in any form. For the years between 1740 and 1780 all notes were taken by hand. For the years between 1780 and 1810 collection of the data was facilitated by the use of a tape recorder. This reduced in-library research time and also helped to defray the fatigue and boredom which are the hazards of single-observer archival studies. But it also served to lengthen the data collection process somewhat. Books were first read in full and then relevant

passages were dictated, which at a later date were transcribed. For the years between 1810 and 1840 permission was granted to remove books five at a time to an adjacent office where notes and quotations could be made directly onto an electric typewriter. This facilitated the data collection considerably.

For the initial data collection a four-page work-sheet was devised which included information from the text of each book about the author, the readership intended, and other items important for analysis of content and style. The work-sheet was arrived at pragmatically after an overview of the first 50 years of children's fiction (see Appendix A). It also included a blank sheet on which to record any unusual features of the book not covered by the original work-sheet check-list. A number of descriptive variables were later added to the coding analysis on the basis of information included on these blank pages. Handwritten notes and type-scripts including quotations were appended to each work-sheet for each book. These were then grouped in a file according to decade of origin.

Description of Coding Procedures

One of the general methodological problems relating to the use of literature in historical research is that it yields a large amount of unwieldy data which may present problems in objective analysis. A second problem is the difficulty of force-fitting what might be called "soft" data into "hard" classification categories.¹⁹ This occurs in situations where

impressionistic material is to be reduced to quantitative terms so that it may be subjected to some kind of statistical analysis. In the process of coding material such as works of fiction, or artistic representations, a lot of information is lost and an unreal conformity may emerge. Any numerical values obtained may or may not be meaningful, depending on the coding system used in quantification.

Using literary material, Kelly categorised his data on the basis of two literary formulae. McClelland, deCharms and Moeller applied a modified n-Achievement Scale to their data.²⁰ The procedure devised for this study most closely resembles that of Stewart, Winter and Jones, who, proceeding empirically, arrived at a coding system based on the content of child-raising manuals.²¹

Richard Lyman noted that while their coding technique appeared to be applicable to all kinds of historical material, their actual code categories failed in practice as a "universal historical tool."²² The possibility of utilizing such a coding system was nonetheless challenging. Because the time period of this study coincided with two of the four centuries covered in the manuals examined by Stewart et al., it appeared logical to attempt to use it on early children's fiction. A pilot project was undertaken on one ten-year sample of early fiction but only five of the ten major headings were found to be applicable.²³ For example, while the stress on developing particular virtues and discouraging

particular vices overlapped in both sources, many virtues and vices received mention in one source only.

The descriptive analysis for this study was arrived at empirically and was based on a classification of four kinds of variables:

- authorship characteristics
- readership characteristics
- characteristics of style
- content characteristics

In establishing a design appropriate for historical research such as this--a comparison of one kind of data from one source across time--Holsti's formulations of the questions to be asked and the ways the answers might be arrived at were borne in mind.²⁴ Using his questions as a framework, the data analysis of children's fiction answered the question of what the material consisted (by content analysis), how it was written (by an analysis of style), for whom it was written (by analysis of readership characteristics) and by whom (by analysis of authorship characteristics).

Authorship Characteristics

To answer questions in this category concerning who wrote the fiction works in the sample, it was necessary to draw on sources other than the books themselves. Occasionally some information was provided in the text or preface or on fly leaves added by the publisher. Reference was made to the notes of Frank Algar in the ~~the~~ Collection as noted earlier.

Biographies, autobiographies and literature reference sources were also consulted.

Classification variables included age, sex, marital status, occupation, education, social class, familiarity with children (either as a family member or as a teacher) and any known political, religious, and social affiliations. Also noted were the number of other published works for children, for young people, and for adults, and their nature. Those of the author's books which were the subject of review articles and those which were best sellers were also noted. Unfortunately not enough precise information was available to make a serious prosopographical study possible; this was especially true in the first sixty years of children's fiction. Until 1800 the majority of children's books were published anonymously or under pseudonyms; some of these early works have since been attributed with a reasonable degree of certainty, but where authorship is in dispute biographical details were not coded. The background information relating to the authors of early children's books was at the same time the most interesting and the most frustrating aspect of this research study. The variables in this category numbered 80 and are listed in Appendix B.

Readership Characteristics

The characteristics of the author's intended audience were examined to determine for whom the book was written. In the early books this was often made clear by letters to the

reader, or by prefaces and dedications. Where it was not made clear in the text or the preface, the age and sex of the child or children who served as central characters were determined to be the age and sex of the intended readership. The location of the story (rural or urban), the setting (home, school or elsewhere), the social class, educational level and assumed religious affiliation if any, were also noted. There were 35 variables in this category. (see Appendix C)

Characteristics Relating to Style

This category answered the question of how the book achieved its purpose. It included stylistic features such as the organization and format of the book; general descriptive qualities such as length, presence of illustrations, conversations, dialogue, and so forth; the use of literary devices such as contrast, exaggeration, character typology, epistolary style, fictional biographies of animals or objects, the use of tutor figures, simulated settings, and the inclusion of stories within a story and many others. There were 80 variables within this category. (see Appendix D).

Content Analysis

This classification was the largest and most complicated of those undertaken. It was designed to answer the question of what the books actually said. Variables included whether there was one predominating theme or several, the identity of the central character of the book, and what characteristics he or she displayed, as well as his or her function

in the book. General character traits attributed to children and adults were also noted. Expressed goals of child-rearing, methods of child-training and discipline, and attitudes towards emotion and towards the use of imagination, were also recorded. The author's statement about why the book was written, the inclusion of quotations and extraneous educational or religious material, and whether there was humour present and if so in what form, were also coded (see Appendix E for a list of the 98 coding variables in this category).

Scoring the Coding Categories

In seeking to determine adult attitudes to children within this source material, a major goal was to arrive at an objective and systematic description of the material found in a representative sample of children's fiction. The terms "content analysis", "coding", and "classification" systems are used here interchangeably. The data has been treated as "enumeration data" in Guildford's terminology.²⁵ In some cases the variables were summed across decades and comparisons were made on the basis of frequencies or percentages but no statistical treatment was considered appropriate for nominal data of this kind.

In the main, coding variables were scored on the basis of their presence or absence within each book. Because it was only possible to obtain a measure of inter-observer agreement on a limited number of books, coding categories were restricted to manifest variables only. Qualities which were

implied or inferred were therefore excluded. Coding became a mechanical and objective task rather than a subjective or judgmental one.

There has previously been no attempt to analyze English children's prose fiction of this period either exhaustively or systematically, probably because it represents such an arduous and time-consuming task. In devising a coding system for this study the intention was that the categories established should be as mutually exclusive, exhaustive, and as individually independent as possible.²⁶ The variables used were arrived at by trial and error; they were first established tentatively, then later amended, and made final.

Inter-Observer Agreement

To check on the reliability of the coding system, fourteen early children's books were rated by an independent observer. Two of these were used as "training books" because they fell outside the time-period of the study.²⁷ The books selected for independent rating were chosen on the basis of availability outside of the Osborne Collection. Readership and authorship variables were not included because they represented factual information about which there could be no dispute. One hundred and seventy-seven content and style variables were coded by another observer for twelve books in the sample and an inter-observer agreement of .92 was obtained.²⁸ Six coding variables were dropped from consideration because they failed to yield a reasonable

measure of agreement; these were the most subjective variables of the analysis and were included out of curiosity; they related to how the book ended (happy, sad or inconclusive), and to the appeal the book held for today's readers.

Summary of the Data

Following completion of the coding for each of the variables in the four main categories of authorship, readership, content and style, the total frequency of occurrence of each variable in each decade was summed on separate tables. While the frequencies for each variable were expressed in fractions of the total books sampled in each decade, for comparison purposes they were where applicable converted to percentages.

In the content category, thirteen variables indicated a change over time; in the style category, seven variables showed a marked change over time; in the authorship category the continuity of characteristics over the fifty year comparison period was of particular interest, although age of authors and domicile showed some change and there were fewer anonymous books; in the readership category, there were slight changes in the social class of the intended readership and a greater diversity in the age of intended readers. Initially books were written for the middle range of childhood (between 7 and 12 years), but readership became diversified during the fifty year comparison period so that more books were available for the very young and also for those over twelve

years of age during the final years of the research period. These changes are described in detail in the next two chapters.

Chapter Summary

This research study is many faceted and has depended on techniques drawn from social science methodology and also from standard historical research procedures. The primary goal of the study was to examine a representative sample of early children's fiction written in England from 1740 up to 1840 for the purpose of assessing attitudes to children and whether they changed in this time period. A stratified sampling method was devised to ensure the widest possible author representation; it also included those books which were the most widely read--the best-sellers of their time. The books selected for the final sample were examined to determine the answers to the questions of what the books said about children (content), the manner in which the material was presented (style), by whom they were written (authorship) and for whom they were intended (readership). Coding variables were established for each of these four categories. The coding categories were established to be factual where possible; where not possible they were made as objective as possible to eliminate subjective impression on the part of the coder. One sample of twelve books was coded independently by a second observer on 177 variables relating to content and style. This independent rating yielded an inter-observer agreement of .92.

These descriptive techniques were supplemented by a survey

of the review literature of the period, especially reviews of books in the sample for this study. Biographical, historical and literary materials were also examined for background information, for biographical data about authors in the study, and for a comparison of adult prose fiction of the same time period. The research procedures utilized for purposes of this research might best be described as eclectic.

As originally conceived, the secondary purpose of this study was to validate the views of the child in children's fiction sources by comparing them with the attitudes expressed in other source materials concerned with children or childhood. As already indicated, this task could not be completed because all but one of the eight subject areas to be examined required intensive study of hundreds of primary sources--it proved to be far too time-consuming for this dissertation. It should also be stated that right from the start it was evident that children's prose fiction stood alone in its attitudes to the child at this time period at least. It was quite evidently so unrepresentative as to make a quest for validity through a comparison of other source materials a fruitless occupation.

CHAPTER 5

CHARACTERISTICS OF AUTHORSHIP, READERSHIP AND STYLE

This little story, written rather to instruct than amuse, can only close with consistency by briefly recapitulating the lessons it has, perhaps feebly, but sincerely, endeavoured to inculcate, viz. the necessity of watchfulness over our hearts--the excellence and advantage of being open and ingenuous--the efficacy of repentance towards God, and humility even towards man--the peculiar necessity of guarding the heart, as with a ten-fold barrier, to those who are blest with riches and prosperity.

Mathilda, or The Barbadoes Girl,
A Tale for Young People (1816).

Introduction

The discussion of the analysis of coding variables related to authorship, readership, style and content has been divided into two chapters for greater readability. This chapter describes the findings of the first three classifications of variables, while Chapter 6 is devoted exclusively to content, because there were more variables in the content category than in other coding classifications. Chapter 6 is presented in a somewhat different format from Chapter 5 to facilitate the description of change as it occurred.

In perusing this chapter and the next, the reader must remember that what is being described is a sample of children's books drawn from the population of fiction works in the Osborne Collection. Nevertheless, there is no reason to doubt that the characteristics of the sample depart significantly from those of the population of children's fiction as a whole. No one has hitherto systematically sampled a large number of children's fiction works.

Authorship Characteristics

In analyzing information about author's lives it is immediately striking that all those who wrote before 1780 wrote anonymously. From the attributions made long after, only one female is known to have taken up writing for children in the early years.² The male authors were all associated with book production in one form or another; they were printers, publishers, booksellers, or hack-writers. Sarah Fielding, sister of Henry Fielding, was the one known exception and she already had an established reputation following the publication of her novel David Simple (1744). Novels too were a new form of literary expression. Like the men she wrote under a pseudonym.

By the 1780s, a small group of authors with religious and educational convictions saw the possibility of using fiction sources to proselytize to a captive audience of child-readers. Of the known authors who contributed in that ten year span, the majority were women, a trend which remained for more than fifty years. Table 3 indicates the number of

Table 3

Number of Female and Male Authors
(where authorship is known) by Decade*

<u>Decades</u>	<u>Female Authors</u>	<u>Male Authors</u>
Pre 1780	1	5
1780-89	7	4
1790-99	11	2
1800-09	13	6
1810-19	18	5
1820-29	17	5
1830-39	15	6

*Authors are listed by decade, therefore totals are not included. Where authorship was joint co-authors are tallied separately.

female authors as opposed to male among those who have been identified. It is possible that more men wrote under pseudonyms although the decrease in anonymity of authorship makes this unlikely.

Tompkins, in describing early adult fiction, noted that women, at first hesitant about acknowledging their identity because critics might be unkind, later became more courageous. In fact, initially the critics treated women authors with some deference--if not condescension--so that male authors occasionally presented their works under female pseudonyms.³ The same situation may well have applied to children's fiction authors. In the early years women feared censure because, in presenting books for publication, they were moving outside of the acceptable realm of household and family.⁴ It is also possible that authors, and in particular men, masked their identity because it was considered demeaning to write for children.⁵ The number of authors who wrote anonymously is indicated in Table 4. In the years between 1800 and 1810 there were more one-time authors than in any other decade. The success of the children's books of the 1780s and 1790s probably encouraged others to try their hand. That the critics were kind was an added encouragement. After the first glut of moral tales the critics became more stringent, which may have accounted for an increase again in anonymity in succeeding decades.

Table 4

Anonymous Books and Authors by Decade

<u>Decade</u>	<u>Total</u>		<u>Anonymous or Pseudonymous</u>		<u>Anonymity Percentage</u>	
	<u>No. of Books</u>	<u>No. of Authors (Presumed)</u>	<u>Books</u>	<u>Authors</u>	<u>Books</u>	<u>Authors</u>
Before 1780	8	6	8	6	100	100
1780-89	23	17	21	14	91	82
1790-99	22	15	16	8	73	53
1800-09	29	26	17	5	59	19
1810-19	39	30	19	11	49	37
1820-29	47	38	28	12	60	32
1830-39	27	23	11	7	42	30

*Authors are not totalled because the same author appeared in more than one decade sample.

New authors described by Mrs. Field as "eminent men" appeared first in the 1830s but were not fully recognized until the 1840s, after the period of this study.⁶ Some were the authors of sea and adventure stories, and others were collectors, editors, and authors, of moral fairy tales. Children's authors were largely unknown only in the 1810s and 1820s. Between 1740 and 1800 the majority were in the public eye, as they were again by the 1830s.⁷ It is probably not coincidental that these years between also marked the heaviest religious influence on children's fiction.⁸ The virtual take-over of the medium of children's prose fiction for religious and educational purposes may have daunted some; others, according to Cutt, threw in their lot with the prosyletizers and adapted the contents of their books to conform.⁹

It has already been seen that authors of children's fiction wrote generously on educational and religious topics between 1780 and 1839. Some also wrote child-raising manuals and domestic treatises offering advice to parents.¹⁰ Thus fiction and non-fiction were created by the same people, who themselves made no distinction. These authors evidently saw themselves as generalists. In the beginning more wrote educational treatises than novels for adults, but after 1800 they turned to adult fiction--the novel--in addition.¹¹

Of the 85 known authors nearly three-quarters wrote five or more children's books and of these, 38 also wrote

educational texts. These figures illustrate their high productivity in the period between 1780 and 1839. It becomes apparent that a group of women of fixed educational and religious beliefs entered the field in the early years of the 19th century and remained prolific contributors for the next forty years. Only when these ladies were past their middle years was new blood injected, and accompanying the new blood came a change in content and writing style.

Children's authors were predominantly married women, and also parents. Some were the offspring or wives of clergymen, others were teachers and governesses. Only two have been identified who supported themselves by their writing alone.¹² Of the male authors most were clergymen, representing Established and Dissenting faiths equally. The rest were teachers or were associated with book production. Men and women alike lived in the country rather than the town, although, by the last twenty years of this study the trend was declining.

Only four of the 26 authors who can be considered to have made a significant impact on children's fiction before 1830 were male.¹³ Twenty-six authors were multiple-book authors and 22 of them contributed books to more than one decade sample, showing that their influence was spread over at least twenty years. In some cases they continued to publish for thirty or forty years.

Because of the method of sampling, the number of books included in this study by any one author can only be taken as

a very crude estimate of that author's popularity. Another measure is through the examination of the number of decades to which any one author contributed. Table 5 illustrates the first time appearance and the carry-over of authors to other decade samples. Looking at these data, we find that seven women contributed to three or more decades in this study and that they were responsible for forty of the 195 books in the study.¹⁴ Examining the incidence of previously unpublished authors decade by decade, we find that, of twenty-five authors who contributed to the decade of the 1820s, only twelve were published for the first time. In both the preceding and succeeding decades, approximately 75 percent of the total number of authors appeared for the first time. The "carry-over" of the indomitable band of women writers was at its peak in the 1820s. This can be verified by examination of the ages of the authors, where age is known. Until 1820, the majority of authors were under 40 in age. By the 1820s, more than two-thirds were over 40. This proportion was slightly reduced in the 1830s as new writers took to the field.

It becomes clear that in children's fiction women dominated the scene. These women wrote on predominantly religious or moral themes. By the 1830s, as they grew older, other writers, with more tolerance for deviant behaviour and a more imaginative writing style began to write for children. It is tempting to speculate that the fall-off in the children's books published in the 1830s reflected a disenchantment with established authors and their works. But it is also known that publishing in general was in the doldrums.¹⁵ The

Table 5

Percentage of Authors in Sample Carried Over by Decade

<u>Decade</u>	<u>Identified Authors</u>	<u>First Appearance Authors</u>	<u>Carried over Authors</u>	<u>Percentage Authors Carried over</u>
Pre 1779	----- (Not Applicable) -----			
1780-89	8	6	2	25
1790-99	12	10	2	17
1800-09	18	15	3	17
1810-19	26	19	7	27
1820-29	25	12	13	52
1830-39	20	15	5	25

fact that the Osborne Collection holds fewer books from which to sample for the decade of the 1830s suggests that fewer books were published.¹⁶ Perhaps the market had been glutted by the stereotyped variety of children's fiction which had been too long in vogue. It may be that there was some questioning of previous styles of children's fiction. In a time of economic recession publishers would only have been prepared to accept material which would have certain success. Thus, in the 1830s, some authors kept to the well-known religious and moral framework which had until then had a guaranteed readership, while others escaped to the sea and adventure story format, a favourite for years to come. Still others, predominantly women, began to write more realistic descriptions of children and family life. While these retained a strong moral overtone, they allowed for children to become involved in pranks and escapades which previously were outlawed..

Section Summary

In this section the evidence concerning authorship has been presented. It indicates that women were the major contributors to children's fiction not only in the number of books published but also in their continued activity, after 1800, over a period of twenty to thirty years. The ladies who took up the medium at the turn of the century stuck to their guns and continued writing in the same format until either age

or the declining market brought them to a halt. They were prolific writers and had many published educational and religious works in addition. At first children's authors were people in the public eye which may have been why they wrote anonymously. This was again the case after 1830, but by then it was customary for authors to acknowledge their works. Many of the authors of children's fiction were connected through family ties, or in their own right, to educational and religious organizations which made children's stories a logical extension of their wish to teach or preach. Most of them were parents, and by status could be classified among the rural gentry. As will be seen in the next section, initially most of them wrote specifically for members of their own family.

Readership Characteristics

A common characteristic of children's books before 1780 was that they nearly all contained dedications, introductions, prefaces or advertisements to the reader. These usually specified quite clearly the author's expectations about readership. Some were highly specific and some were more general as in The Fairing (1767), a John Newbery book which was dedicated "to lovers of noise". The title page read:

The Fairing or a Golden Toy for Children of
all Sizes and Denominations

To the True and Genuine Lovers of Noise this
book which was calculated for their amusement,

and written for their use is most humbly dedicated
by

YOU KNOW WHO¹⁷

Where there are personal dedications it can be seen that books were often written for family members. Only later were the authors prevailed upon to publish their works. In the epistles to the reader they often disclaimed the merits of their work and vowed that it was only the pressure of family and friends which had led them to seek a publisher.¹⁸

Throughout this study in cases where readership was not specified it was assumed to be for the sex and approximate age of the central characters of the story. Before 1780 the readership was evenly split between girls and boys and the predominant age of the intended reader was over seven years.

Many of the early books were biographies of fictional characters and their heroes or heroines were introduced as children and followed through to adulthood. These included the "Histories" of Primrose Prettyface, Goody Goosecap, Giles Gingerbread and Goody Two Shoes. Determination of the age of readership of these biographies of imaginary people is therefore uncertain. All of these stories took place in rural settings. London, described in one book as "the grand mart of the world", was a place to visit for special events, or sights such as Westminster Abbey, the Tower of London, and the Guild Hall.¹⁹

Three of the eight early fiction works before 1780 took place in residential school settings.²⁰ The rest took place

at home in the country. The social class of the readership was not clearly indicated at this time. In fact, fictional heroes moved up or down the social scale with lightning speed, perhaps because of limitations on the number of pages, because of the high cost of paper. The appeal of the early books was more general than in later years, when settings and events indicated comfortable middle class circumstances. These early books could be described as "universal books". There was enough humour and wit in some to justify the assumption that adults too may have read them with enjoyment.²¹

In the next decade, over half of the 23 books sampled had specific introductions of one kind or another. Ten were designed for girl readers, and five for boys. The child of middle years (seven to eleven) appeared to be the intended reader. Stories remained predominantly rural in setting, and home-based. The "universal books" with fictional heroes, popular earlier, occurred less often and class lines were more clearly differentiated.²² Only five books of this ten-year period could be considered of interest to an adult reader.

In the 1790s, introductions were still popular. The differentiation of sex of readership was sometimes difficult to determine. In this decade the fictional animal biography with real animals as heroes made its first appearance. It is not clear whether all of these stories were intended for children. Even today determining the intended readership of animal stories is sometimes problematic. In some cases

animal heroes were clearly intended to represent children, as in Mrs. Trimmer's fledgling robins in Fabulous Histories (1786).²³ In The Hare (1799) the intention was less clear.²⁴

There were few books for those under seven years in this decade. Most were intended for the child in his middle years or older, but it seems unlikely that they would have held much interest for adults. Readers were still presumed to live in the country and to be home-based. The great majority were assumed to be of middle- or upper-class station.

By 1800, introductions and dedications appeared in fewer than half the books in the sample. Readership in this decade was directed more to boys than to girls (twelve to eight) for the only time in this study. The child of middle years was again favoured and the settings and home circumstances were unchanged. Only two in this sample were directed particularly to the lower classes and these were Cheap Repository tracts by Hannah More.

There were more books of an original nature in this period than at any time since 1770. This suggests the likelihood that some new and untried authors tried to attract the attention of juvenile readers. The original books of this period are worthy of comment. Mrs. Leicester's School (1809) by Charles and Mary Lamb, and Stories of Old Daniel (1808) by Margaret Moore, Countess of Mount Cashell, stand out in particular. Mrs. Leicester's School was made up of moral tales based on the format established by Sarah Fielding in The

Governess (1744). However, the quality of the stories were quite different, particularly in two written by Charles Lamb.²⁵

Stories of Old Daniel would appear tame to today's readers, but the book was a departure for its time. Some of the stories described travel abroad and were felt by William Godwin to be "too horrible" for children's perusal.²⁶ Eliza Fenwick's The Life of the Famous Dog Carlo (1804) was unusual in that it made no moral point. It was not a best seller. The suitability of a story for children about a performing dog in Drury Lane may have been questioned, or the book may have been shunned because it lacked a moral.²⁷

Mary Pilkington's Marvellous Adventures or the Vicissitudes of a Cat (1802) is also still readable. Mrs. Trimmer did not feel that it could "pass with unqualified applause" which in itself suggests that it was a cut above the recommended reading for the time.²⁸ Another unusual book for the time was A Puzzle for a Curious Girl (1803) by "S.W." (attributed to both Sarah Wilkinson and Stephen Weston).²⁹ This is a cleverly constructed story of a little girl who forever asked questions. When her mother refused to answer them, she was carried away by the inventiveness of her own imagination. While thoroughly moral in tone it still holds interest today.

Very few of the books in the sample for this ten year period had introductions. In two instances where they occurred they were dedicated to adults as child-raisers.³⁰ Books were

directed equally to boys and girls but after 1820 were more frequently slanted toward female readers. A larger percentage were directed toward the very young reader than in previous years, but the majority were still intended for the child in his middle years or older.³¹ Home circumstances and rural settings remained unchanged. The "universal book" for both sexes, or for child and adult reader alike, declined further in this decade. Only two of the 39 books in the sample were directed to the poor, although eleven could be described as classless. While only two could be said to hold sufficient interest for an adult reader, several had redeeming features for one doing research in this somewhat sterile period of children's fiction. The occasional story by Maria Edgeworth in Continuation of Early Lessons (1814) touched on real human sympathies. Three animal biographies were also worthy of comment. In this ten year span the three children of Isaac Taylor broke into print with published prose fiction works.³² This decade also saw the first of Mrs. Sherwood's India-based missionary stories, as well as the first part of The History of the Fairchild Family (1818).

The fashion of dedicating continued to decline in the decade of 1820 to 1829. Girls again dominated the readership as in the years before 1800. More books were directed to the younger age group than previously (eight out of 47), but the majority were still for seven to twelve year olds (25 out of 47). Domicile remained predominantly rural but the proportion

of rurally-based stories declined from previous years, suggesting a trend towards urbanization as the Industrial Revolution advanced. Forty books were set in upper and middle class circumstances and only seven were slanted toward the poor. Four of the books written in this decade would have appealed to child and adult alike. These "universal stories" were set at sea. Shipwrecks and sea battles were topical because of naval expansion occasioned by both colonization and the Napoleonic Wars. Child readers had until then been shielded from such events. Both male and female authors contributed to the genre of sea adventures.³³

The period 1830 to 1839 saw a change in readership. The popularity of introductions again increased, but they were not particularized apart from one book written as a tribute to Mrs. Hofland, described by the author as "her mentor".³⁴ Girl readers were in the majority and half the books in the sample were intended for readers over twelve. Rural circumstances prevailed only marginally and in the majority the reader was still presumed to be located at home. There were nine "universal books" that cut across class lines, in which location was unimportant. Of these classless books, five were religious tracts and four represented the by now successful sea story. In the main, these were fictional biographies, incorporating some topical events of the period. While they were essentially boys' books, they certainly held appeal for adults too. Stories for girls of a similar interest level lagged for twenty or thirty years more until Charlotte Yonge,

Mrs. Ewing and Mrs. Molesworth entered the field.

Even the religious tracts in this decade were directed more to girls than boys. Seven of the books in the sample were essentially domestic stories producing an account of girls' behaviour--both desirable and undesirable--in the home.³⁵ Apart from the sea adventure tales, this preference for stories for and about girls may have resulted from the fact that boys in well-to-do families were by now educated mainly at public schools while girls still remained at home. Children's fiction was always geared to home-based readers.

Section Summary

The task of determining readership was assisted in the early years by the fact that many books written before 1800 had dedications, prefaces, or letters to the reader. These were usually directed to members of the authors' own family. As in adult fiction, this practice died out after 1800. Originally, fiction works were written for the middle years of childhood. At the very least there was an assumption that reading skills were already well-established. In later years there were more books directed to very young children and also to adolescents.

Throughout this study, home-based stories predominated and home was usually located in a rural setting. The Newbery books of the 1760s, and some of the animal biographies, as well as the sea stories of the 1830s, held interest for adults and were classless books for a wide range of readers. The

term "universal books" has been used here to describe such works. Children's fiction otherwise appeared to be intended for children of well-established families, in particular those of the rural gentry. In the sample for this study, out of 195 books only fifteen (of which eleven were tracts) were directed specifically to the poor.

Characteristics of Style

From analysis of books in the sample, it is evident that there were changes in both writing style and the way in which fiction was presented to children in the time span covered by this research.

The early books were made up, for the most part, of mixed snippets of material--poetry, hymns, alphabets and stories. Only three of the eight could be considered as narratives with a plot. Seven of the eight established an artificial setting for the purpose of telling a story within a story.

All of these very early works of children's fiction used character typology--that is, they named their characters after the personality characteristics of the dramatis personae.

Thus we find Marjorie Meanwell, Farmer Graspall, Jacky Lovebook, Roger Riot, and so on. The majority made use of dialogue based on a question and answer format, as in prayer books and catechisms. Except in tracts and a few other rare instances this feature died out by the turn of the century. Most books made frequent use of exaggeration and of contrast to stress the points they were making and to underline the

moral lesson. The tutor figure had already become a familiar literary device and occurred in five of the eight books of this period. While the use of the tutor figure has often been credited to Rousseau, as a stylistic prop it was in use before the publication of Emile (1762). Three of the very early books contained one or more fairy stories but these were flanked by admonitions against believing in magic or magical people.³⁶

Writers of the books before 1770 made a conscious effort to achieve humour in one form or another. However, the three fiction works written during the 1770s were so ponderous as to be totally humourless to today's reader.³⁷ Books made use of imaginative themes--particularly the orphaned child--but these were stereotyped in format and the reliance on coincidence defied credibility.

Until the greater realism of the 1790s two kinds of imaginative devices were particularly popular. In one formula, contrasting characters were named and their life stories spelled out with their dissimilar behaviour underlined heavily. Books of this format were The Contrast (1787) (with Sarah Meanwell and Richard Coreworm as the principal characters), The History of Tommy Playlove and Jacky Lovebook (1783), and The Entertaining History of Miss Lovegood and Miss Nogood (1780). These books, as well as the fictionalized life-stories of imaginary persons (Primrose Prettyface, Giles Gingerbread, Goody Goosecap, and Margery Meanwell) were typically accounts of an orphan child or foundling who through

change of circumstance moved from rags to riches. Primrose Prettyface married Lady Worthy's son; the orphan Goody Goosecap married Mr. Bountiful and Goody Two Shoes became Lady Jones. Little Jack (who was suckled by a goat) became a respected soldier in India after a series of adventures and misadventures. On his return to England, he made his fortune in business. Occasionally the reverse was portrayed.

Typically, these stories ended with the hope that the negative characters would be redeemed by hindsight and repentance--as in the case of Tommy Playlove and Polly Nogood--but some, those who were favoured by birth and overindulged in childhood, came to a bad end. Jemmy, son of Squire Homestead, in Little Goody Goosecap (1780), burned to death in a fire of his own setting, a fate to which Augusta Noble also succumbed some thirty years later in The Fairchild Family. In Martin and James (1791) both boys were orphans, but Martin who started with four guineas ended in jail for robbery, while James who had nothing, became secretary to the Mayor. In The Two Wealthy Farmers (1795-6) by Hannah More, both Mr. Bragwell's daughters died penniless--one from starvation and one in childbirth after her husband, Squire Squeeze's son, had been ruined by debt.

A variation of the contrast theme sometimes occurred. Jemima Placid (1783) by Mary Ann Kilner was an account of a totally good child whose behaviour was highlighted by contrast with that of her cousins, members of the Sly family. The

Holiday Spy (1780) told the story of Tommy Thoughtful's holiday visits to the households of Lady Thoroughgood and Lady Fanciful, and also described the predominant traits of Peter Playful and Betsy Goodchild.

A second imaginative device popular with authors of this period was an account of the adventures of an object, an animal, or a person, as it passed from hand to hand or travelled from house to house. Richard Johnson used this device in The Adventures of a Silver Penny (1787) but it was the Kilners who used it most often in the 1780s. Memoirs of a Peg Top (1785), Adventures of a Pincushion (1780) and Perambulations of a Mouse (1783) were based on this format.

The selection of an artificial setting such as a school or a fairground to provide a natural story-telling situation persisted. In these books each chapter formed a separate episode recounted by different story tellers who were characters in the book.³⁸

There were six books in the 1780s containing animal fables or allegories.³⁹ The danger of encouraging the imagination of children was a topic for discussion in ten out of 23 books.⁴⁰ In all cases where imagination was discussed it was described negatively. It was in this decade that the real revolt against fantasy occurred. Imaginative stories represented untruths on religious grounds, but Michael Hearn has suggested that disapproval was also on the basis of class.⁴¹ Folk tales were the lore of ignorant and superstitious

people and the many injunctions against believing their words make Hearn's interpretation probable.

Where anthropomorphic devices were presented, such as animals endowed with human speech, it was with apology. Both Mrs. Trimmer and Dorothy Kilner warned against believing that animals could really talk. Mrs. Trimmer urged that her stories should not be considered as

containing the real conversation of birds (for that it is impossible that we should ever understand) but as a series of FABLES intended to convey moral instruction application to themselves, at the same time that they excite compassion and tenderness for those interesting and delightful creatures on which such wanton cruelties are frequently inflicted and recommend universal benevolence....⁴²

and Dorothy Kilner wrote

I never heard a mouse speak in all my life: and I only write the following narrative as being far more entertaining and not less instructive than my own life would have been.⁴³

Reading material was still scarce in this period. Publishers made use of "puffs" in the text to encourage sales. Because of the scarcity of imaginary figures, the characters in books of an earlier period were still well-known. The fictional characters of Goody Two Shoes, Tom Trip, Giles

Gingerbread and Woglog the Giant, took on the stature of folk heroes and were the 18th century equivalents of Superman, Charley Brown or "the incredible hulk". At any rate references to them were common in the literature of the period.

The stylistic changes which occurred over the next thirty to forty years put an end to the "mixed snippet" format in favour of narrative stories with a more-or-less central plot. The tutor figure was retained often with the addition of a commentator as well. Contrived story-telling situations, and stories within stories were still popular. There was a sharp drop in the use of dialogue as conversational exchange, but contrast and exaggeration were still relied on.

The practice of including religious or educational material in the text was well-established by 1780. The inclusion of educational material fell off after 1790 but religious quotations and excerpts were more frequent (see Figure 1).

All of the books sampled between 1780 and 1789 were in the best seller category. The two most often referred to were Sandford and Merton (1785-9) and Fabulous Histories (1786). They were rivalled by The Parent's Assistant (1796) and Evenings at Home (1792-6) in the next.

By the 1790s a new and more natural style of writing became evident. The tutor figure remained popular, but the use of character naming, exaggeration, and contrast decreased. Humour appeared in several forms, the favourite being ridicule of the ignorant or indulgent adult. Child behaviour was often grossly exaggerated to provide humour. Extraordinary

3

Figure 1

Percentage of Books in the Sample by Decade
With Religious and Educational Material included

Percentage

— Religious Material
- - - Educational Material

coincidence was still a frequent occurrence. While the stories of the 1790s were based more firmly on realism, they still relied often on the long arm of chance or coincidence.⁴⁴

The most noteworthy feature of this decade, as already discussed, was the advent of the realistic animal biography, a new genre of children's fiction which is still popular today.⁴⁵ An alternative favourite theme was the reversal of fortune. The handicapped child appeared as hero for the first time in this decade and provided an opportunity for a discussion of sensibility--a topical issue of the time.⁴⁶

The merits and disadvantages of stimulating the imagination were discussed in the prefaces of six books. Novels and fairy tales were censured and the bad influence of servants was still deplored. Private governesses made their first appearance in the 1790s and were spoken of favourably for the most part.⁴⁷ Specific religious material was included in thirteen books and educational material in eight.

While the single story with a plot predominated in the 1800s, books made up of a collection of short stories increased in number too. They often contrasted the behaviour of good and naughty children, one per chapter. Child behaviour was still described in exaggerated terms but with some softening of characterization. Greater use was made of imaginative themes than at any time between 1779 and 1830, and humour also occurred more frequently--in just over half the books in the sample.

The most popular imaginative themes were still stories of orphans and foundlings. Many books described the plight of the extra child added to an existing family because of unusual circumstances. These related to colonization, shipwreck, or war. Slavery was mentioned in five books, shipwrecks occurred in four, and colonization of the East or West Indies in seven. The sick or handicapped child was still favoured as a topic, and in some cases illness was interpreted as retribution for bad behaviour.⁴⁸

There were two moral fairy stories in the sample for this decade, but in general, imaginative stories were frowned on. The only expression of explicit approval occurred in Stories of Old Daniel (1809), where the author stated the purpose of the book to be "to indulge the love of the wonderful" and "to encourage children in the art of reading, which, by becoming habitual may lead to profitable studies in their riper years and a love of travel and love of literature".⁴⁹

The bad influence of servants was noticed in four books and governesses--particularly French governesses--were ridiculed.⁵⁰ Following the French Revolution anything French was suspect, as Cutt noted.⁵¹ While the inclusion of educational subject matter dropped again in this decade, more than half of the 29 books in the sample contained religious excerpts.

It has already been noted that there were some atypical books in this decade. It is possible that they were an attempt to escape from the limitations in format and content which had prevailed since 1780 and which had become

institutionalized by frequency of use.

In the next ten years the few original books of the 1800s were forgotten and children's fiction became more stereotyped than ever before in both style and content. Fiction had become consolidated in the hands of "the monstrous regiment."⁵² Most stories were narratives of family life with a tutor figure (usually a parent or aunt, but occasionally a visiting uncle) who provided a running commentary and drew comparisons between contrasting children and their behaviours. There was some drop in the use of exaggeration suggesting more subtlety in characterization. There were fewer evidences of humour and the number of imaginative themes dropped sharply from earlier times. War and slavery were each mentioned in four books. When imagination was discussed in the text, it was still seen as harmful. Novels, fairy tales and magical people were frowned on. There was a continuing discussion about the bad influence of servants and the "silly notions" of the indulgent rich were also mocked.⁵³

The books most often recommended for children's reading included Watts's Divine Songs, Robinson Crusoe, and Pilgrim's Progress. These three retained their popularity throughout this study. Of contemporary authors, Maria Edgeworth was the most frequently mentioned.

The 1820s brought a slight relief. There were still collections of short stories depicting contrasting characters or pursuing individual virtues on a one-per-story basis.

Narrative tales of shipwrecks and sea adventures became the favoured subject matter as the decade progressed. Discussion of imagination occurred less often and there appeared to be a greater tolerance for fantasy. One author discussed the merits of novels, and another of fairy tales although the majority of authors were still disapproving.⁵⁴ Religious and educational treatises were still the recommended reading for children, but in two cases fairy tales such as Jack the Giant-Killer, and folk tales, such as Valentin and Orson, were named on reading lists, with Maria Edgeworth's books and Robinson Crusoe. The Arabian Nights received favourable mention for the first time.⁵⁵

The flood of children's fiction diminished in the 1830s and the books in this ten year span were diverse in nature and difficult to classify or describe. There was a large proportion of religious tracts which were written in the traditional question and answer fashion--a style which had been abandoned by non-sectarian authors some fifty years previously.

Tracts aside, there was an increase and a diversity in both imaginative themes and humour in this decade. Ridicule of a wordly and indulgent adult was still popular (eight instances) but there was also a greater awareness of the realistic humour inherent in a child's normal behaviour (five instances). The most notable example, and the one most frequently quoted, was Catherine Sinclair's Holiday House (1839). In the preface to this book she stated:

In these pages the author has endeavoured to paint that species of noisy, frolicsome, mischievous children which is now almost extinct, wishing to preserve a sort of fabulous remembrance of days long past when young people were like wild horses on the prairies rather than like well-broken horses on the road, and when amidst many faults and eccentricities, there was still some individuality of character and feeling allowed to remain.⁵⁶

The children in this book, Laura and Harry Graham (with an older brother, Frank, away at school), were brought up by their grandmother and uncle with the help of a nurse, Mrs. Crabtree. They were described as "two of the most heedless, frolicsome beings in the world", and their continuing battle with Mrs. Crabtree provided the humour of the story.⁵⁷ Even by today's standards these children were naughty. In one episode, "the starving teaparty", the children invited all their friends to tea and Mrs. Crabtree refused to provide anything to eat or drink; in another Laura cut off her hair--a Victorian girl's pride and joy--and Harry set fire to the house. Laura and Harry were always depicted in an adversary position to Mrs. Crabtree who subjected them to original punishments from which the children emerged victorious, at least in the eyes of the reader.

In 1881 Mrs. Field felt called upon to remonstrate against the inclusion of such descriptions of children's

misbehaviour. In The Child and His Book she wrote:

Miss Catherine Sinclair's "Holiday House" ventured, perhaps for the first time, to set ill deeds in an amusing light....Stories of childish pranks and misdemeanours have grown common enough since then....That is an ill day for a child on which it for the first time hears grown people make light of wrongdoing.⁵⁸

She argued too that if children were depicted as having fun being naughty, others would try to copy their behaviour. In fact she may have been right! Alexander Innes Shand, in a magazine article written in 1896, commented:

Nor can we omit Miss Catherine Sinclair, who, in Holiday House, broke away from the old traditions and treated human frailties generously. We have but faint recollections of a story we have not ready for some fifty years, but we do remember that the healthy and high-spirited children played the parts of small social demons in a well-regulated household. Indeed, malevolent critics might have plausibly said that Miss Sinclair suggested to children all manner of mischief.⁵⁹

There was in this decade a new and pleasing variety of imaginative themes. There was a story about twins, one of whom was stolen by gypsies; another involved a deaf and

blind child; and a third, a midget. Five books set forth strictures against imaginative works, but three spoke favourably of plays, novels and fairy tales. One best-selling author of religious and moral tales conceded that fairy tales might be read by children except on Sunday.⁶⁰ The differentiation between Sunday books and those suitable for other days of the week was certainly accepted by the 1830s.⁶¹ The fact that such a differentiation was possible indicated a new diversity of reading material for children as well as a greater tolerance for imaginative writing for the young.

Section Summary

During the years of this study, there were significant changes in the manner of presentation of children's works of fiction. Initially Newbery and his associates felt free to experiment, but stylistic codes were adopted by later authors. The artificialities of style came in part from their use of this medium for educational purposes. Thus, the question and answer format, and quotations from educational and primarily religious texts, were both used abundantly. The wish to contrast good and bad behaviour created further artificialities in type-names, and in gross exaggeration. While some artificialities died out after 1800, restrictions on the use of imaginative material left little room for originality. The few original books which appeared were censured in some quarters. Nonetheless, by 1830 improvements in characterization and a softening in attitude towards imaginative writing was evident. By then the readability of children's books had

been heightened by the advent of a new genre--the sea and adventure story--a welcome change from the earlier highly contrived tales restricted to home-based morality and good works.

Chapter Summary

At first glance the children's fiction written between 1740 and 1840 suggested that the period as a whole was a particularly sterile one and that little change occurred. It has been described variously by literary historians but almost always in derogatory terms. More detailed analysis indicates that while stereotypy in both content and style prevailed, there were, in fact, significant changes which took place within the one hundred year period of this study. These changes were almost all in the direction of increasing variability, and hence appeal to the reader.

Of authorship characteristics, it was found that initially the authors of the early books were male. This was the case until "the solid phalanx of didactic women" took over in the 1780s, to dominate the field for the next fifty years. Seven women in particular were the major contributors until 1830, when the male authors began to reestablish themselves in the field, bringing with them new life in the form of adventure stories. After 1840 the men also provided a mantle of respectability for the much-abused fairy tale. They collected them, re-wrote them, and in some cases invented new ones with moral themes. The male authors who had first taken up fiction-writing for children in the 18th century had been employed in

the business of book production. But the new crop of male authors of the 1830s and 1840s were already established in the literary profession and in most cases were men of some renown. Under their aegis writing for children acquired a new prestige. Of the women authors of this period few are now remembered for the quality of their writing style. As it became socially acceptable to devote time and effort to the task of writing for children, the number of books published anonymously decreased.

Among readership characteristics, there was a gradual differentiation over the one hundred year period in the direction of greater specificity of intended readership. The "universal book" of the 1760s gave way to age-related books. Differentiation of readership in terms of age suggested a growing awareness among authors of the developmental process. Isaac Watts had understood the importance of gearing his catechisms to the level of a child's comprehension but few of the authors in the period between 1740 and 1820 showed the same perceptiveness. By 1820 a significant number of books were available for younger children (those under seven) and for those over twelve. Apart from age, readership characteristics also revealed a preference on the part of authors for rural surroundings, but this too gradually shifted toward urbanization as the years went on. Books geared to different social strata progressed more slowly. The well-established child of the gentry and the upper middle class was always the intended reader in the first one hundred years of children's

fiction.

There were many stylistic changes during the time span of this study as authors became more adept in their handling of fiction. Several new genres were established which are still popular today. At the outset, life accounts of fictional folk heroes predominated such as Tommy Trip, Giles Gingerbread and Tom Thumb. These were followed by picaresque biographies of animal, vegetable, or mineral heroes, who related their adventures anthropomorphically. In their turn these gave way to realistic animal biographies and later to fictional biographies of boy heroes. The latter are still read today and remain popular as tales of adventure and exploration. While there were some unusual books which did not follow established trends, particularly in the period just after the turn of the century, the force of the evangelical movement and the religious revival was such that these were submerged in the wave of righteous moralising and didacticism. Today few of the unusual books stand out among the stereotyped stories of the period. Although they had some popularity, few were best sellers, probably because they were out of step with the times. They failed to establish trends or set styles.

Two particularly popular formats throughout this study were stories constructed around a tutor figure who served as a built-in commentator on child behaviour, and the story-telling situation where each chapter of the book formed a separate episode relating to a different aspect of child behaviour. Stylistic changes included an increase in narrative

stories and a decrease in dialogue, character typology, contrast and exaggeration. As publishing costs diminished, longer books with a single plot, and with illustrations, as well as a less-laboured writing style came about. Imaginative stories, rejected and disparaged, and offered always with apologies, finally became acceptable in the 1840s.

CHAPTER 6

CONTENT CHARACTERISTICS

In short, she was a walking calculation,
Miss Edgeworth's novels stepping from their covers,
Or Mrs. Trimmer's books on education,
Or Coelebs' Wife, set out in quest of lovers,
Morality's prim personification,
In which not Envy's self a flaw discovers;
To others' share let "female errors fall",
For she had not even one--the worst of all.

Lord Byron, 1821¹

Themes of Children's Books

Before 1779 fiction works for children centered generally on themes of morality. It was accepted by the authors at least, that children were meant to try "to be good" but "being good" was predominantly a question of fulfilling adult expectations. The accepted standards of Christian religion--benevolence (or charity), piety, and diligence, were among the most frequently stated general goals for child-raising within this source, but the primary one, implicit rather than explicit, was the need for the child to accept and live up to adult expectations. In the books of the earlier period the moral message was less insistent than in later books. This may have been because early books were broken into bite-sized pieces,

which had the effect of making the moralizing less insistent. Or it may have been because the original authors of children's fiction, printers, publishers and book-sellers (John Newbery in particular) were more lenient about allowing entertainment to prevail.

Child-Raising Goals

In the earliest books of this study, child-raising goals were oriented toward present behaviour, but as children's fiction became accepted as a vehicle for religious and moral instruction, so the goals of behaviour became more future-oriented. Both present and future goals were mentioned up to 1790. But the evangelical insistence on a good life as preparation for eventual salvation dominated after that time. Generally speaking, after 1790 future-oriented goals were more often specified. The stress on the life Hereafter was the theme of religious tracts on the one hand, while preparation for a worthy adulthood was the theme of less sectarian educational books. In the 1830s, the value of present good behaviour was again recognized and discussed.

Positive and Negative Attributes

The twenty-five positive and negative attributes most often cited in this sample of children's fiction in the one hundred years of this study are listed in Table 6. There were, however, changes in the relative importance of one attribute over another at different times. Until the 1780s, "being good" consisted primarily in being benevolent, diligent,

Table 6

Twenty-five Positive and Negative Attributes in Books in The
Sample According to Frequency of Mention*

<u>Positive Attributes</u>	<u>No. of Books Mentioning Attribute</u>	<u>Negative Attributes</u>	<u>No. of Books Mentioning Attribute</u>
benevolence	105	idleness, laziness	76
diligence	97	vanity about wealth	75
filial duty	92	pride	72
good temper	78	cruelty to animals	70
religious duty	76	lack of self control	60
honesty	76	lying	51
gratitude	67	disobedience	49
obedience	66	envy, jealousy	48
prudence	59	teasing less fortunate	43
patience	57	ambition	43
kindness	51	gluttony, greed	42
compassion	49	bad temper	40
resignation	46	carelessness	38
generosity	44	dishonesty	36
orderliness	42	selfishness	33
brotherly love	42	rudeness	30
repentance	42	quarreling	29
admission of error	40	bad company	29
humility	32	affectation	28
modesty	30	intemperance	26
bravery	29	extravagance	26
forgiveness	22	profanity	25
usefulness	20	bad manners	24
punctuality	20	miserliness	24
respect for elders	20	sibling rivalry	24

*Nine books of 195 in the sample made no mention of positive or negative attributes.

and dutiful to one's parents. By 1790, honesty replaced benevolence among the three most favoured attributes. By 1800 it was also important to be of good disposition. By 1810, religious practices and piety were the fore-runners, followed by diligence, filial duty and obedience. Religious piety had assumed third place after filial duty and diligence by 1820. In the 1830s gratitude and patience were added to piety and benevolence.

In the books before 1780, the negative qualities mentioned most frequently were cruelty to animals, envy or false pride, and teasing those less fortunate. Pride continued to be the least desirable quality through the 1800s, followed by idleness, or lack of application. Cruelty to animals continued to be topical into the 1800s. The number of animal biographies published in this period which recounted humans' treatment of animal heroes reflected this concern. Pride occasioned by material possessions was still often mentioned among negative attributes, followed by cruelty and affectation. Idleness topped the list of vices between 1810 and 1820, still followed by ostentation and pride. Arabella Argus was the foremost exponent in Ostentation and Liberality (1821) a two volume book of some 432 pages; relieved only by its exquisite copper engravings. By 1820, idleness, selfishness and lack of self-control were the subject of many exhortations in children's fiction. They were followed in frequency of mention by vanity, disobedience, greed and dishonesty. In the 1830s, lack of control, and idleness topped the list; lying and teasing others

less fortunate were also serious offenses.

It should be noted that some of the positive or negative attributes stressed might be spoken of for a twenty or thirty year period and then not be mentioned again. An example was the vice of always seeking novelty.² Curiosity was the subject-matter of one book in the 1800 period and another in the 1820s. It was mentioned negatively in a few other stories of that time but interest was not maintained across time.³

We have seen that specific virtues and vices were identified, labelled and often attached to a person's name, especially in the early period. While some books centred on one virtue or favourable attribute, or on one negative attribute, more typically a short story within a collection would focus on one, while others depicted different characteristics of good or naughty children. Mary Belson Elliott wrote stories of this type: "The Little Wranglers" (1824), "The Tell-Tale" (1824), "The Little Mimic" (1824) and so forth. Other collections by "E.S.", Mary Hughes and Mary Howitt followed this format.

The identification and description of desirable and undesirable behaviour occurred in nearly all the books included in this study. On the whole, however, more attention was paid to negative behaviour than to positive behaviour. There were also a larger number of negative attributes described than positive attributes. There was more agreement, among authors, as to what constituted desirable behaviour.

Emotions

Within this source, emotions, where they were described, were described negatively for the most part. This generalization held true until the 1830s. Nearly half of the books before 1790 mentioned "the passions" in a negative context, and in-text discussion centred on how they might best be controlled. By the 1830s they were referred to in over half of the books sampled and by then were described as often positively as negatively.

For the negative description of emotions, The Governess set the stage in 1745. Mrs. Teachum stated, "you must not give way to passions which interfere with your duties".⁴ "Indulging the passions" or "the folly of ungoverned passions" were commented on in Sandford and Merton (1783-84) and Jemima Placid (ca. 1783).⁵ Mary Wollstonecraft in describing a character in Original Stories (1788) stated that "continual passions weakened her constitution".⁶ In only a few books in the time span of this study were emotions described realistically.

The concern about emotions reflected two popular attitudes. One related to the fear that Gothic novels, which traded in emotions, were harmful for the young because they could overwhelm reason and judgement. The second was a long-standing belief that "giving in" to the passions would undermine the will:

Specific Emotions

Love

Among specific emotional responses love was most often described in general terms, to cover benevolence or compassion and it extended to all living creatures. Very few books described romantic love, which was not a suitable theme for children's books. Children's feelings toward their parent were ideally described in terms of obedience, filial duty and gratitude. Parents who showed excessive love for their children were described as over-indulgent. The positive benefits of mutual affection within the family were discussed only from 1820 forward. Lawrence Stone believed that an awareness of the positive effects of bonding between parents and children was detectable from 1750, but within this source there is little to substantiate that belief.⁷

Sensibility

Sensibility (as discussed in Chapter 3), was mentioned frequently in children's books in the 1780s and 1790s, but infrequently thereafter. When first mentioned, it was in general a positive attribute--heightened awareness--but later it became associated with a lack of control of emotional response which was conducive to irrational thought.⁸

By the 1790s a distinction was made between true sensibility and a mere indulgence of feeling. In The Blind Child (1791) Mrs. Pinchard dwelt on this distinction: "True sensibility is active and useful, false tenderness enervates (sic) the mind and renders its best wishes unavailing".⁹ False

sensibility was discussed in Always Happy (1814) where the mother in the story stated:

Learn then my dear little girl to check rather than encourage that sensibility which renders us useless to those for whom we feel, and grave it on your heart, that one active exertion of our power, however small or humble, is worth a whole age of indolent unassisting pity.

And again:

How much better was this active kindness, how much more useful these proofs of her affection, than if she had blinded herself with weeping, or with sickly sensibility.¹⁰

Jane Taylor's Display and The Welcome Visitor (1824) commented in the same vein.¹¹ In the latter, when Laetitia had a tumour removed from her throat--without anesthetic--the narrator stated:

such instances of fortitude and courage are very rare in these days; most girls are taught to think sensibility, as it is falsely called, and feminine timidity to be infinitely more engaging, by which they grow up in the indulgence of every foolish fear; and shrinking from everything that can possibly hurt either their nerves or feeling, are unfitted to act their part in life, and become equally contemptible and unhappy.¹²

Fear.

Fear was also frowned on. Where it was described, which was infrequently--in only 22 books in the sample, it was portrayed as unreasonable behaviour. Children were scolded and

punished for showing fear. That fear was foolish remained a continuing theme through to the 1830s: Locke may well have been responsible for this belief. He spoke out strongly against displaying childish fears in his Essay on Education.¹³ Only seven books of the 22 which discussed fear described it realistically.¹⁴

Death and How It Was Treated

While England experienced a sharp decline in the death rate in the period covered by this study, the number of fictional deaths showed a steady increase.¹⁵ In 1780, one-third of the books sampled mentioned at least one death; by the 1830s this figure had risen to over half for the books in the sample. Table 7 indicates the increase in the number of fictional deaths and, more significantly, the manner in which the subject was treated. In the early books, death occurred simply to facilitate the unfolding of the plot line--children were left orphans or foundlings, so that their independent adventures could be recounted.¹⁶ From 1810, there was a steady increase in the number of books which described death-bed scenes in detail, and a drop in those which just touched on it in passing. While there were fewer death-bed scenes during the 1820s, by the 1830s the death-mongers were back in force. This may have been the result of the relatively large number of tracts in the sample for the 1830s. Death was always a staple in tracts and tract fiction. Such books dwelled on the religious and moral lessons to be learned from the example of

Table 7
Fictional Deaths and How they Were Treated By Decade

<u>Decade</u>	<u>Death Treated Cursorily</u>	<u>Death described in Graphic Detail</u>	<u>Total Books Describing Death</u>	<u>Percentage in Sample</u>
Pre 1780	3	-	3	37
1780-89	7	2	9	39
1790-99	9	2	11	50
1800-09	8	9	17	59
1810-19	7	14	21	54
1820-29	8	12	20	43
1830-39	5	9	14	52

early death, and also on the benefits of spiritual preparation. The use of children's fiction for evangelical purposes was at its height in the years between 1810 and 1840.

Both social historians and literary researchers have described the almost bizarre encounters with death provided in the works of Mrs. Sherwood. In The Fairchild Family (1818) Lucy, Emily and Henry (aged nine, seven and nearly six) were taken by their father to see a skeleton hanging from a gibbet as an Awful Warning against sibling rivalry.¹⁷ They were also spectators at the bedside of an old and several-days-defunct family retainer whose corpse was decomposing. A sprightly interchange preceded this visit in which Mr. Fairchild asked, "Have you any desire to see the corpse, my dears? You never saw a corpse, I think?" And Lucy replied brightly, "No, Papa, but we have a very great curiosity to see one".¹⁸

It took 36 pages for little Charles, Henry's playmate, to die his "good death", although these were interspersed with prayers, hymns and Bible readings.¹⁹ Similar scenes, if not always as graphic, occurred in The Dairyman's Daughter (1809) by Legh Richmond, Little Abel or the Young Orphan (1821), and Daylight (1835), all tracts.²⁰ The latter was an attempt to differentiate between sleep and death. To clarify the difference, Mary, who was eight to ten-years old, and afraid of the dark, was taken to see a cottager's twin babies, one of whom was sleeping and the other dying. Mary did not wish to watch but her mother compelled her to stay:

A few minutes' prayer strengthened Mary's mind, and she continued gazing on the dying child, still grasping her mamma's hand; until a quick shade of livid dark spread over the whole countenance, and the last quiver of the lip declared the last breath was drawn, and its mortal life was sustained no longer.

Mary clung close to her mamma, and as she watched the mother's hand passing over the dead face, and closing the eye-lids, and heard the sobs of sorrow which burst from her bosom, she felt as if her heart would break. Her mamma sat down at the foot of the bed, and taking Mary in her arms, said "we will remain a little while, my child, and you will see that the dark shade of agony will soon pass off, and only the paleness of death remain.

"I had rather go, mamma," she said.

"Well, dear, you shall; but see even now it fades; however we will go."

They took leave of the mourning mother, and passed in the room below, the peaceful sleeping baby; and though they waited not to look again, Mary's mind contrasted the state of the two, and they returned home without much conversation.²¹

Where death was described in detail, the person who succumbed was typically in the hero's immediate family, or was a

close family friend; in some cases the hero himself died-- leaving a tearful reader.²² Cutt has pointed out that legitimate emotion penetrated children's fiction through the evangelical back door.²³

Early Experience

Recognition of the formative influence of early experience was stated explicitly in about a third of the books sampled for each decade. In most cases the early years were seen as critical in the formation of bad habits. Habits acquired in early life were considered difficult to eradicate and it appears to have been accepted generally that correct modes of behaviour should be inculcated from the start. In some books the assumption was made that early bad habits in trifling matters could escalate into more serious offenses or even into criminal behaviour.²⁴ The negative influences of early experience were certainly more often described than positive influences. Harsh punishment was justified as a deterrent for future criminal behaviour from as early as 1780.

Central Character

The heroes of children's books were more often children than not, although several different vogues came and went in the period studied. As already noted, heroes in early books were often fictional characters such as Giles Gingerbread, or Primrose Prettyface. Their lives were traced from infancy to the adult state--and sometimes to their final demise.

In the 1780s, as already noted, a new kind of hero appeared in the form of the anthropomorphic device used as a means of

telling a continuous but episodic story. After Richard Johnson and Dorothy and Mary Ann Kilner, other authors took up the technique, and stories of kites or brooms and pennies or workbags were popular through to the 1820s. These items travelled from hand to hand, and told of their adventures in the families and households where they came to rest. Slightly different were the fictional animal stories, The Perambulations of a Mouse (1783) and Mrs. Trimmer's Fabulous Histories (1786), both of which were best-sellers. The usefulness of having an itinerant central character is evident. It provided the author with a two-fold opportunity for moralizing--one from the viewpoint of the hero who could describe household happenings as they occurred, and one on behalf of the adult commentator (often a parent, but sometimes the author himself) who chastized, remonstrated, or underlined the positive or negative attributes displayed by the child of the house or by the central character of the story. An opportunity was thus provided to describe and comment on a wide variety of human behaviour. Occasional children's books repeated this format during the next twenty or thirty years but the peak occurred in the 1780s.

It has already been noted that in the 1790s the realistically described animal hero became fashionable. Frances Coventry set the style in 1751 with The History of Pompey, the Little: or The Life and Adventures of a Lap Dog (republished in 1807 as a children's book under the title of Little Juba: or The Adventures and Vicissitudes of a Lap Dog). While the

idea that animal figures might talk and recount events was a popular device as we have seen, Coventry made use of it as a means of satirizing the social institutions and behaviour of his time much in the manner of Jonathan Swift in Gulliver's Travels. Perambulations of a Mouse and Fabulous Histories, the first to adopt this technique for children, both used animals to moralize and to draw analogies to human behaviour. As we have seen these books included injunctions against believing that animals could really talk.²⁵ Other realistic animal biographies followed in the 1790s and 1800s.²⁶

The animal hero dropped out of children's books in the 1820s but reappeared again after 1860. But they were at their peak in popularity in the period just before 1800 when a quarter of the books sampled had animals as their central characters. The lives of these animals were realistically described for the most part at a time when human behaviour was often exaggerated. They were first-person stories but were not overly fanciful, apart from the animals' ability to speak or write. Often animal heroes were mouthpieces for the views of philanthropic groups who supported the abolition of blood sports. In Memoirs of Dick the Little Pony (1799), a book which satirized many human characteristics, the author remarked,

Men, I know, live on animal food; but there are various more expeditious, more humane, and less expensive ways of obtaining it than by pursuing it with horses and dogs.²⁷

The early animal stories were the work of a very few authors.²⁸

Once the animal stories diminished in frequency children again became the central characters of children's fiction until the 1820s when a new hero emerged. He was invariably male and at first a child, who attained adult status within the pages of the book and whose life adventures formed the narrative of a fictionalized autobiography.

Four of the first examples were written by women. Sir Edward Seaward's Narrative of his Shipwreck (1831) was once believed to be an authentic autobiography, and it was not until after the author's death that it was determined to be a wholly fictitious account.²⁹ This type of story, adopted by Marryat and Howard in the 1830s, became the model for the later works of Ballantyne, Mayne Reid, G.A. Henty, R.L. Stevenson and others. There were fewer fictionalized biographies about women, presumably because their lives were more routine and their adventures far less interesting.³⁰

The next major change in characterization came with the works of Charles Dickens and George Eliot who placed children in key roles in their books. Their child heroes were of all classes, and lived and died within the context of contemporary social issues. At the time of writing they were not considered children's stories.

Perceptions of the Child

Children were more often described negatively than positively in the period covered by this study. While there were few expressed statements about the inborn innocence of the

child, there were also few of the opposing view--the belief in Original Sin--although they occurred occasionally in the works of religiously-oriented writers.

Before the influence of the educationists, Thomas Day and the Edgeworths, children were frequently depicted as victims of circumstance. However, after 1790, the child was rarely seen as a passive recipient of others' behaviour. From 1790 to 1820, about three-quarters of the books sampled indicated a belief in the ability of children to change their ways as a result of learning from experience. Of the books written between 1820 and 1840, only half stated this belief explicitly. It appeared to be generally accepted by then that children were malleable and could learn.

Perceptions of Adults

At the start, adults were described in exaggerated terms as either totally good or totally bad. In earlier decades, they were depicted as undergoing some personality changes according to their life experiences. At no time were they described as displaying both good and bad characteristics simultaneously. As moral tales became more constrained in the first quarter of the 19th century, adults were more often described positively as providing correct examples upon which children should base their behaviour. Just occasionally they were ridiculed. Criticisms of the affectations of French governesses have already been noted, and from 1790, the over-indulgent mother was also a target.³¹

Child Training

In the early period of this study (before 1780) the child-training method most favoured in children's fiction was the statement of intention of future reward--usually expressed as what we would today call a bribe. Concrete rewards were offered for good behaviour. These included books or sewing kits, adornments such as ribbons, stars, or badges, and frequently edible treats.³²

In this period, praise was less frequently used to reward behaviour, and fear of the After-life--the promise of Heaven or Hell--did not occur at all. Depriving a child of a meal, a treat, his freedom, or, sometimes, adult company, was occasionally considered appropriate; corporal punishment was also acceptable, although both these methods of discipline occurred infrequently. The influence of modelling--drawing attention to examples of good behaviour--was fairly common, as was the use of emotional blackmail, perhaps better described as the application of psychological sanctions. This was expressed by such statements as "your parents will not love you if..." or, conversely, "your parents will love you if..."³³

Learning by experience, through the child's confrontation with the natural consequences of his own actions, was accepted as a child-raising technique by the late 1760s. By preference, the consequences of behaviour should occur naturally without adult intervention, but in some cases they were pre-arranged. Thomas Day's Sandford and Merton (1783-9) and the works of

Maria Edgeworth were the gospel of Rousseau translated into concrete terms for childraisers. Both provided plentiful examples of natural salutary learning experiences. Tommy Merton, dressed in elegance as a gentleman's son, was chased by a bull, and emerged from the ditch bedraggled and mud-bespattered. Rosamund, in The Purple Jar, spent her money on the coloured jar in the apothecary's window only to find, after she had poured away the contents that the jar was colourless. She went without new shoes for a month because she had spent her money so needlessly.³⁴

Children perished because of willful disobedience. In A Present for a Little Boy (1802), a child who was curious about windmills went too close and was killed by a blade.³⁵ Augusta Noble was burned to death in The Fairchild Family because vanity led her to use the forbidden candle to admire herself in a mirror.³⁶ Inevitably the child who went too close to the water was drowned, as in Pretty Little Stories (1838) by James Bishop. Even Jane Taylor, the author of "I love little Pussy" and "Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star", as a moral lesson hooked Tommy, who enjoyed fishing, cruelly under the chin with a meathook--a theme repeated in another of James Bishop's Pretty Little Stories.³⁷ In The Holiday Present (1780), a sow bit off Polly's finger when she disobeyed. For the same sin, she fell out of a window and broke her back: "...she never grew any taller, but continued most shockingly crooked indeed".³⁸

Verbal reproofs and exhortations were perceived to be efficacious and within children's books direct admonition of child characters and readers alike was prevalent. This is explicitly stated in many books as in the description of Polly Nogood:

...this is a character exposed on purpose that it may be despised and avoided by all little girls who wish to be respected and beloved, while that of Miss Polly Lovegood is meant as a pattern for imitation, and such it is hoped will follow her example and then they may expect to rise to greatness and honour...³⁹

And Dorothy Kilner wrote:

It is much to be wished that all children who read this history will learn to imitate the good Miss and Master Jennet, and if ever they have been naughty before, it is to be hoped, that, like Miss Charlotte, they will repent, and be sorry for their crimes and take care never to be guilty of the same again, but they should at least come to be as unhappy and miserable as Master Charles...hope therefore the little child who is now reading this pretty book will remember and always take pains to be good.⁴⁰

Corporal punishment occurred in ten books of 23 in the 1780s, largely because of the contributions of the Kilner ladies who thought up inventive and sometimes violent retributions for the wayward children they portrayed. Mary Ann

Kilner in Jemima Placid (1783) told the story--remembered and recounted years later by Charlotte Yonge--about "the spur"

(which appeared to be a cattle prod) used to chastize children at table, and which inflicted "a sharp degree of pain".⁴¹

The Holiday Present described "a naughty child's box" containing "three rods, a dunce's cap, and medals". The inscriptions on the medals read, "A badge of sloth and idleness" and "The

wearer of this told a lie". The parents, Mr. and Mrs. Jennet,

also provided "a good child's box" with books, bats, kites and ninepins for boys, and workbags, housewives (sewing kits), dolls and boxes for girls.⁴²

In The History of a Great Many Little Boys and Girls (1790), Mrs. Makegood threw Tommy Piper, who was rude and refused to be washed, into a tub of cold water and beat the naked child, and Mary Ann Selfish, who would not share, and who ate greedily, was put into the pig sty by her mother.⁴³

Dorothy Kilner certainly had no compunctions about describing corporal punishment. The Village School (1783), probably the most violent of early children's books, contained sixteen references to beatings or whippings in 65 pages.⁴⁴

Threats of the Afterlife did not occur frequently, at this period and while material rewards or physical deprivations were still relied on, the use of psychological sanctions or emotional blackmail declined from earlier times.

More than half the books in the sample after 1790 described "trial and error" learning. About one-third used

verbal admonition and stressed the benefits of modelling oneself on the good behaviour of others. Corporal punishment became the least frequently mentioned disciplinary method. Threats of the Afterlife also occurred infrequently as did statements concerning virtue being its own reward.

By 1800 verbal admonition had become increasingly popular within this source. The next most frequent method of discipline was reinforcement of a psychological kind, that is, direct praise or blame. The use of material rewards declined for the first time as did threats about withholding affection. In other words, while children were praised for good behaviour, it was no longer explicitly stated that they would only be loved if they were good. The number of statements relating to virtue being its own reward increased from this time.

The religious influence of evangelical authors predominated in this period and verbal admonition remained the favoured method of child-raising in fiction, although learning through experience was also often described. Praise for good behaviour was frequently accompanied by discussion of the Afterlife. Corporal punishment remained the least favoured method of discipline until 1830. One-quarter of the books commented on the importance of good example, and there were frequent reminders that virtue brings its own reward.

In the 1830s, learning through experience and by verbal admonition were still equally favoured. Educational theorists followed one theme and evangelical reformers the other. In the tracts of the latter group there were always reminders in

the form of threats or promises regarding the Life after death. Corporal punishment occurred somewhat more frequently. The new genre of adventure story included accounts of the early school experiences of their boy heroes. These stories were of a quasi-autobiographical nature and while they were published in the 1820s and 1830s, they described schooling at the turn of the century. William Scargill, author of Recollections of a Blue Coat Boy (1829), described the variety of punishments inflicted on school boys in his time at Christ's Hospital. The book was written in question and answer format:

Geo. These runaways, I suppose, were very severely punished.

Father. They were so; and besides the castigation which they received, they were for a long time subject to heavy penances and mortifications. They were not allowed liberty for play or exercise, but were shut up during play hours in a small closet or dungeon; and at night they had a wooden gate fixed up to their bed, so that they were locked into a kind of cage. Sometimes their coats, which were lined with yellow, were turned the wrong side outwards, or they had a large R cut out of scarlet or yellow cloth and fastened to their backs: their hair also was sometimes cut close to their heads, or otherwise cut in so awkward and grotesque a manner as to make them look quite ridiculous.⁴⁵

According to William Howitt, the Quaker schools had few physical comforts, and much isolation from family and friends, but, although the tyranny of older boys prevailed, corporal punishment was not mentioned.⁴⁶ E.A. Howard described the discipline of his schooldays at the end of the 18th century as follows:

At that time the road to learning was strewn neither with flowers nor palm-leaves, but with the instigating birch. The schoolmaster had not yet gone abroad, but he flogged most diligently at home, and, verily, I partook amply of that diligence. I was flogged full, and I was flogged fasting; when I deserved it, and when I did not; I was flogged for speaking too loudly, and for not speaking loud enough, and for holding my tongue....I was flogged because my shoes were dirty, and again because I attempted to wipe them clean with my pocket-handkerchief. I was flogged for playing, and for staying in the school-room and not going out to play. The bigger boys used to beat me, and I was then flogged for fighting. It is hard to say for what I was not flogged....Even now I look back to those days of persecution with horror.⁴⁷

Although this research study suggests that in fiction sources corporal punishment died out as a disciplinary measure within the family, it remained in use in school settings throughout the 19th century.

At the start of our one hundred year period, discipline was predominantly described in terms of material bribes or deprivations. After 1780 the preference was for a natural learning environment for the child. Reminders of a religious nature became more frequent with the growth of the Evangelical Movement and the awareness that children's books could be used to spread "the word". What had been a personal threat to the child--that bad behaviour would cause withdrawal of parental affection--became, in evangelical circles, a spiritual threat. Parents were considered as stand-ins for God.⁴⁸ The fear of parental rejection was replaced by a fear of rejection by the Almighty. Even the more sprightly books (if any could be so described) carried this veiled message. The Afterlife, rarely considered in the first forty years of this study, became a force to be reckoned with after 1810--a bad child could expect to burn in Hell-fire. Corporal punishment fell into disfavour, at least in the home situation. The use of positive reinforcement in the form of bribes or material rewards, and psychological sanctions, as well, became less prevalent. Verbal admonition and exhortation continued in a reasonably constant fashion after 1780.

Education

How and where education should take place was commented on rarely in the books before 1780, although three books in the sample were set in schools. Schools for girls served as substitute care-taking facilities for middle and upper class

families, when mothers were dead or when parents were absent overseas. Boarding schools were acceptable places for child-rearing where parents had gone to the colonies

to make their fortunes as merchants. A desirable educational curriculum for girls was outlined in two of the eight fiction works of the first forty years of this study.⁴⁹

The books of the 1780 period revealed that education for boys was presumed to take place at school after an initial period of home tuition. By the time they went to school boys were assumed to know how to read. The trend to home education as a substitute for school was reflected in some books and recurred from time to time until 1840. In fact, children's fiction was written to fill a need for basic reading material at a time when primary teaching occurred at home. It has been noted that women authors predominated and that, at least initially, they wrote for members of their own family.

By 1810, within this source, school for boys--most often at small private schools directed by local clergymen, or at private academies--was generally accepted.

After 1780, a suitable curriculum for girls' education was discussed in about a quarter of the books sampled. Inclusion of educational material within the text was frequent before 1800, and declined thereafter as has already been noted.

While boarding schools for boys were generally accepted

and boarding establishments for girls remained acceptable in unusual circumstances, schools were sometimes used as threats for both sexes. Being sent to school was referred to for both boys and girls as a punishment. The intended deprivation was being sent away from home. This was used as a threat in Henry or The Foundling (1799), The Visit for a Week (1794), Rose and Agnes (1807), The Eskdale Herdboy (1819) and Matilda, or the Barbadoes Girl (1816). The child who would not learn at home would be punished by being sent to school. So it was in The Juvenile Spectator (1810) by Arabella Argus. In The History of Little Frank (1827), Arthur was sent to school because he quarreled with his sister. In Forms of Pride (1829), school was a punishment for undisciplined and ungoverned behaviour. These last two books were both by Lucy Cameron.

Schools were viewed negatively in other ways. In The Anecdotes of the Clairville Family (1802), "the evil propensities which (children) acquired at school" were spoken of. In The Sister's Friend (1831), Lucy Cameron stated that boys' schools were more likely to be injurious than girls' because of "what boys might learn from bad companions". In Caroline and Emma (1826) the same author disapproved of schools because "children might be tarnished by associating with others who had not received the same advantages". Mrs. Sherwood, sister of Mrs. Cameron, also disapproved of schools. In The History of Henry Milner (1823) she wrote of the influence of other boys who "would try to persuade (Henry) that many things are

good and honourable, which the Bible teaches us not to do".⁵⁰

Where girls remained at home, education was usually at the hands of the mother, although after 1800 frequent mention was made of governesses. Educationists, spear-headed by Maria Edgeworth, and evangelical reformers both deplored the advent of the governess. Maria Edgeworth preferred that parents should take charge of their children's education and that they not shirk their responsibilities. Others believed that only a structured educational programme established by a governess could reclaim a child from the harm created by over-indulgent servants or nurses--and in some instances by over-indulgent parents.

The governess often acted as tutor-figure or commentator for the whole family. Her male counterpart, the real-life tutor, occurred less frequently. In Sandford and Merton, their tutor, Mr. Barlow, was modelled on Rousseau's ideal educational mentor.

For girls, the curriculum debate was waged over the value of social accomplishments such as art, music, and dancing in contrast to training in domestic economy and moral principles. Some writers stressed the merit of social accomplishments which went with upper class values, but others insisted that female education should be directed exclusively toward a good and useful contribution to society. For those with the latter view, art, music, dancing and the acquisition of foreign languages were regarded as frivolous. Some books

ridiculed the uselessness of such delicate accomplishments as shell and bead work, paper weaving and the decoration of fire-screens. The apportioning of time for useful activities each day was a recurring theme. To some, filling time--avoiding idleness--was the major issue.

By the early 19th century, there was a diversity of views about the role of women. Education for girls continued to be discussed in one-third to one-half of the books sampled and the argument over principles versus accomplishments continued through the 1830s. Academic training certainly took second place to domestic training and the inculcation of sound religious values. In the main, girls were educated toward fulfilling their roles as wives and mothers. In tract stories there was the further goal of preparing for life in the world to come.

For boys, artistic skills and social graces were usually mentioned negatively. Where discussions of curriculum occurred, they centred most often on the merits of the social sciences (history and geography), followed by mathematics and classics in that order. The emphasis placed on vocational and practical skills indicated in newspaper advertisements for private schools after 1740 did not appear within this source.⁵¹ This omission suggests that the stress on technological and scientific subject matter, fostered by the Literary and Philosophical Societies, was not shared by many authors of children's fiction. Thomas Day, R.L. Edgeworth, Mrs. Barbauld

(and her brother John Aiken), were the exceptions.⁵²

The Author's Intent

The primary purpose of the first fiction for children was certainly entertainment. The enterprising printers and publishers of the 1760s and 1770s exploited a growing children's market. Roscoe distinguished sixteen of the books put out by John Newbery as being primarily for entertainment.⁵³ Brian Alderson described The Fairing (1765) as the most liberated book of its time:

Appearing towards the end of the founder's busy life, The Fairing reflects many of the characteristics that were present in his earlier ventures. The prodigality of its woodcuts, the almost random whirl of events, the button-holding ease of its address, set it apart from the miscellanies or the variably sugared didactic pills of its competitors. For all the unsophisticated techniques of the time it has an air about it, a personality, which demonstrates the potential influence of the publisher in the field of children's book production.⁵⁴

Fiction was a new form of literary expression, and its aim at that time was to provide an enjoyable experience for the reader. Although educational information and religious extracts were included within the text, the didactic themes were softened by humour and also by some unsophisticated imaginative plays. By 1780, however, a moralizing intent had

crept in. After 1790, the entertainment of the child was rarely expressed as a goal, although the novelty of the several new genres of books which occurred at intervals over the next fifty years must have provided some pleasure for readers. A book which held only entertainment value was a rare event. Only six books in the one hundred year period covered by this study could be so described.⁵⁵ It has already been noted that there were only nine books out of 195 in which the positive or negative attributes of child behaviour were not discussed.

Appeal of the Book

To gauge the appeal of a book to a contemporary readership is a difficult task and this coding category was not found to be particularly reliable.⁵⁶ It should be noted that the inclusion of religious and educational material in the early years did not by itself destroy readability. In the early days there were light touches, which engaged even a present-day reader. A child of that period would have been less discriminating because there was so little printed matter available. In a time of drought any book was welcome.

The number of virtues and vices specified within a book did not necessarily decrease readability. The Hope of the Katzekopfs (1843)--which was included as a "training book" for the second coder--was found to have an unprecedented number of different character attributes which were described in some detail; but it remained readable throughout.⁵⁷ Some of Maria Edgeworth's short stories, two by Charles Lamb in

Mrs. Leicester's School, The Yellow Shoe Strings (1814) by James Pedder, and A Puzzle for a Curious Girl (1803), are testaments to the fact that writing skill can overcome the obstacle of even profound moral platitude.

Chapter Summary

The major theme of all children's books remained constant in the one hundred years of this research -- to encourage conformity to adult expectations.

Across all variables, regardless of category, children's fiction began with the goal of providing both entertainment and instruction, but once the didactic ladies saw its potentiality, the content became as repetitive as the style.

While the goals of child-training as revealed in this source did not shift greatly during the period under study, child-training methods became less harsh, at least within the family setting. In fiction sources, corporal punishment and material rewards were less frequently relied on as time went on. Psychological sanctions, designed to encourage conformity to adult wishes, were gradually rejected. By the closing years of this study the child was no longer described in absolute terms of either black or white.

A greater awareness of the positive aspects of emotional response became evident particularly in the family stories set in the 1830s. There was generally more tolerance for childish misdeeds which were described as mistakes or indiscretions rather than in moral terms as "sins". There was also more humour in the depiction of such misbehaviours, although on occasion this gave rise to negative comment on the part of reviewers and educators.

Death, at first treated incidentally, became a favourite topic and there were many descriptions of the dying process. These were particularly prevalent in tracts and in the other works of Evangelical authors.

The animal biographies of the 1790s represented a change in direction. In the 1800s there were some individual variations but by then the dominant mode of didacticism and moral purpose was well-established. Originality, at least in prose fiction, was discouraged.

What we now describe as "boys' books", the adventure stories of the 1820s and 1830s, provided further change. Their heroes epitomized all the desirable manly virtues, but because they were exposed to battles, ship wrecks, and storms at sea, they were more readable than alternative reading material based on scenes of family domesticity. These books dealt at length with educational themes and the merits of time spent on religious devotion and household management over more superficial social arts and graces.

Several books stood out in spite of their moral emphasis, suggesting that good writing goes a long way to atone for a lack of imaginative appeal.

CHAPTER 7

REACTION AND REVIEW

These publications are the chronicles of taste and science, and present the existing state of the public mind.

Isaac D'Israeli, 1817¹

Introduction

Because reviews are the only means of assessing public reaction to any kind of literature, it is necessary to include some account of which books were reviewed, and in what light, in the journals of the period. The review literature permits the trends and change in children's books to be seen in sharper focus. The changing reaction to children's books indicates a new cultural climate. By 1840 children's books quite regularly merited the attention of reviewers of well-known periodicals. It was also inevitable that, as adults, they compared contemporary juvenile fiction with what had been available to them as they grew up.

Juvenile reviews are interesting historically because they highlighted the educational issues of the day and sometimes clarified the distinction between fiction and non-fiction--a distinction not always clear from the works themselves. "Tales" and "novels" were differentiated by a reviewer in the Eclectic Review, a sectarian journal. In a review of

Display (1815) by Jane Taylor, novels were described as "pernicious", and only the Vicar of Wakefield passed muster. But "tales" were acceptable because they were instructive in intent.² On the other hand a reviewer for The Critical Review deplored tales of all kinds. Letters addressed to young people were preferable, because they combined "a few plain but important truths in a form less offensive to the young than that of a systematic treatise, and less seductive than that of an alluring tale."³

The two major review journals of the 18th century were the Monthly Review and the Critical Review. Initially, scant attention was paid to children's books. Their first mention in an adult journal was in 1749 in the Gentleman's Magazine which merely noted the anonymous publication of The Governess. In 1765, Goody Two Shoes was favourably reviewed in the London Chronicle in some detail. By 1780, reviewers for both major reviews were commenting on an increasing number of children's books, as was the Gentleman's Magazine.

In the period of this study there were two periodicals devoted to children's literature exclusively: The Guardian of Education and The Juvenile Review although the latter appeared as a one-time publication. The Guardian of Education was issued between 1802 and 1805 and was entirely the product of Mrs. Trimmer. Mrs. Trimmer was an influential personage, and her self-appointed role as protector of the morals of the young was undisputed. During the years that her journal

was in publication, few others commented on children's books and periodical readers were often referred to Mrs. Trimmer. The British Critic recommended Mrs. Trimmer's as "an excellent work and fittest for reviewing children's books."⁴ The second publication, The Juvenile Review, appeared in 1817, and covered some of the books issued between 1805 and 1817. Its reviews are discussed in the second section of this chapter.

One striking development of the early 19th century was the multiplication of sectarian journals, as discussed in Chapter 3.⁵ The Eclectic Review (1805) maintained a running commentary on the works of the Taylor family.⁶ The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle (1796) regularly reviewed the works of Mrs. Sherwood and Mrs. Cameron. Reviews of Mrs. Sherwood's works and also some of her short stories were printed in such journals as The Christian Observer, The Youth Magazine, The Child's Magazine and The Select Magazine--all Evangelical in policy and tone.⁷

Some authors, including Isaac Watts and the Taylor sisters, were accepted across religious lines because of their unquestioned morality. Their works were reviewed in all major journals including The Gentleman's, The Monthly and The New Monthly Reviews. The Anti-Jacobin Review (1798) reviewed reviews, in particular those in The Monthly, the Critical and the Analytical Review.

By 1800, as literacy spread, many additional journals were

established. Tait's Edinburgh Review, the 19th century equivalent to the Spectator, started in 1802, but closed down in 1812, to restart in 1832. The Quarterly Review (1809), Blackwoods (1815), The Fortnightly Review (1850), The Westminster Review (1828) and Fraser's Magazine (1830) and Chamber's Journal (1844) all discussed children's books from time to time, often in the form of summary articles.

After 1840, as readers' interests diversified, new journals were established. These included MacMillan's Magazine (1859), The Cornhill (1860), All The Year Round (1859), Good Words (1860), and Household Words (1850); all were intended for general family readership and they often commented on contemporary children's fiction. These journals regularly reviewed the novels of established authors such as Maria Edgeworth, Mrs. Sherwood, Walter Scott, Jane Austen, Fanny Burney and, later, Charles Dickens.

This chapter is divided into four parts. In the first part, the reviews published before 1800 are discussed. The second section is devoted to The Guardian of Education and the Juvenile Review. In the third section are evaluated book reviews in other journals between 1800 and 1840. The fourth section discusses the summary articles on children's literature which appeared after 1840. Retrospective reviews after 1840 set in relief changes of attitude to the child in the century of this study. Until 1900 there were commentaries on books in our sample. Discounting the nostalgia of those past

middle age, these reviews allow for an historical appraisal of early children's fiction from a vantage point closer than 1982.

1. Before Mrs. Trimmer: 1740 to 1800

Some thirty reviews and notices of books have been examined for the earliest period of children's fiction. Some journals regularly reviewed the works of established authors such as Mrs. Pilkington, Charlotte Smith, Priscilla Wakefield and Lady Fenn.⁸

As fiction writers were novices at their trade, so were reviewers. Reviews were very often nothing more than quotations of large chunks of the text. They often included statements of purpose lifted from the author's preface or dedication.

Of The Village School (1783), The Gentleman's reviewer noted:

This collection, which is comprised in two Lilliputian volumes, is formed on the plan of the late Mr. Newbery and it is a suitable companion to the little libraries of children to whom it will afford amusement in perusal and may contribute "to their love of goodness and their abhorrence of everything that is evil."⁹

Anonymous works were often ignored unless by prolific authors, or by those who had been identified with reasonable certainty. There were few books for the children of the poor before Mrs. Trimmer decided to fill that void herself. The condescension of the well-to-do was reflected in the Monthly Review of 1799:

To form the children of the poor to industry, contentment, honesty and all virtue, is a noble object of Christian charity: if it be possible to attain it, the greatest service is rendered to society, as well as to the young people themselves.¹⁰

In review journals, fiction works were placed under the heading of "Education" and were interspersed among reviews of grammars, basic readers, and spellers. During the 1780s the list of new publications included two or three juvenile books: but by the end of the 1790s there were six or seven. One issue of The Monthly Review, in 1799, commented on seven children's books, including three works of fiction. Of one, Juvenile Anecdotes (1795) by Priscilla Wakefield--a book in the sample--the reviewer noted:

The accounts are generally, we are assured, founded on fact, and in late circumstances which fell under Mrs. Wakefield's own observations; indeed, this small publication may prove both pleasing and useful, not only in the nursery but in the parlour: our late worth friend Mr. John Newbery, who very successfully cultivated the earlier branches of education, would have been delighted with it.¹¹

It would appear that by the century's end, people had forgotten that Mr. Newbery's works were not always founded on fact. If he had read this tiresome little book it is doubtful that he would have approved it so fulsomely.

The Monthly Review adopted an abolitionist stand on fairy tales:

...it is with much satisfaction, however, that we find them gradually giving way to publications of a more interesting kind, in which instruction and entertainment are judiciously blended, without the intermixture of the marvellous, the absurd and things totally out of nature.¹²

And of Dorothy Kilner's work the reviewer commented:

The notion that seemed formerly to have prevailed, that the minds of children could only be amused with the idle tales of giants, fairies, etc. is happily exploded. It is the particular praise of the present generation to have substituted rational information in the place of all that nonsensical trifling. The publications which are before us are well adapted to the ends for which they are designed, and will be read with pleasure as well as profit by those for whose benefit they have been composed.¹³

The question of whether living characters should be introduced into fictional works at all was discussed in a review of Rural Walks (1795) by Charlotte Smith.¹⁴ Of Minor Morals (1798) by the same author (a book in the sample) the critic noted that "it presents useful information to the young mind, and directs its attention to the works of nature."¹⁵

In the same issue of the Monthly Review, The Sparrow (1798) and Keeper's Travels (1798) were discussed. The reviewer of the first commented wearily on "the many other biographical productions" which were the style of the period. Keeper's Travels was described at the time as the only serious rival to Mrs. Trimmer's Fabulous Histories (1786). The reviewer was lukewarm:

The poor dog Keeper, in his faithful and affectionate search for his master, passes through various scenes and many misfortunes. His little history, though it may not rank among the most valuable productions of the kind, will engage the attention of children, while it affords some useful admonition and good morality.¹⁶

A Monthly reviewer gave more attention to The Little Emigrant (1799) by Lucy Peacock:

Though it be not always an easy task for grey-beards, as we are, to read with relish books suited to the nursery, yet we are sorry to withhold any praise that is due to respectable authors of this kind. The publication before us affords many useful lessons for youth, and it is not without instructive passages in science. In the twenty-second chapter, the forward ignorance of a young lady, a pretender to science, is justly and pointedly described. Altogether we recommend this little volume to your young friends.¹⁷

Of Henry (1799), by Mrs. Pilkington, the reviewer commented on the complexity of language in a book designed for children,

and then became fastidious about grammatical errors and textual inaccuracies.¹⁸ The same journal provided encouragement for Mrs. Hurry:

The writer who introduces her work with a very modest apology, needs not fear incurring censure, while she employs her pen so agreeably and usefully in the cause of virtue, and for the benefit of the rising generation.¹⁹

The critic noted of Mrs. Pilkington's Biography for Boys and Biography for Girls, both semi-fictional works:

Some defects in these volumes might be pointed out; and while we approve and applaud her labours, we regret that a little more attention has not been allotted to style and diction: the language bears too evident marks of haste and negligence. Some writers in this line have employed a phraseology much too high for children: what is intended for them should be clear and plain; it should also be accurate, easy and pleasant.²⁰

In the same issue The Hare was discussed in positive terms.²¹

But disgruntlement was revealed sometimes. Of Midsummer Holydays (1788) a fatigued or dyspeptic critic noted:

"Semper idem" was once facetiously translated "worse and worse": in the present application of it, however, it will better suit our purpose, and our grave characters, to stick to the old pike-staff meaning of it - "always the same", or, rather "when you have

seen one, you have seen all."²²

A brief glance at the reviews of educational texts indicates that in this field the critics were out of their depths. Of Mrs. Teachwell's Cobwebs to Catch Flies (1783), one of the most successful primers of the 18th and 19th centuries, The Monthly Review only noted that "the dialogues, if not very entertaining or instructive, are however level to the capacities of children."²³ The Infant's Friend by the same lady, another book with enormous sales, occasioned the comment:

So numerous are publications of this kind, that it is difficult to assign to each its distinct or peculiar office or merit. Few are totally destitute of use, though some are better adapted to the purpose than others.²⁴

By 1788, the Sunday School movement was in full-swing. A Monthly reviewer discussed Mrs. Trimmer's abridgement of Dorothy Kilner's Sunday School Dialogues:

The scarcity of books, adapted to the capacities of children in the lower classes of life, has, since the establishment of Sunday Schools, excited Mrs. Trimmer, and several others, to furnish such as are necessary for that purpose; and, perhaps, literature is seldom more usefully employed.²⁵

The Monthly reviewer suggested of a similar work by Mary Pilkington, published ten years later:

...it is easier to lead to virtue, than to deter from

vice, and that instruction makes a deeper impression when indirectly conveyed, than, when forced on the mind in the form of reproof.²⁶

In the last few years of the century, reviewers felt increasingly taxed by their task of assessing children's books. It was with relief that they abdicated this responsibility in favour of Mrs. Trimmer. The number of books to be reviewed were too many to be evaluated seriously, and the process of selection had become difficult. Primary school books were evidently too specialized for adult men of letters. Education in the early years was still, after all, the province of women.

Altogether, apart from grammatical mistakes, errors of fact or spelling, and a divided opinion on the issue of real versus fictional heroes, the literary world was remarkably tolerant of the outpourings of the didactic ladies.

2. The Guardian of Education and The Juvenile Review

Mrs. Trimmer, custodian of the Anglican child for some 25 years, and chief spokesman for the influence of the religious revival on children's fiction, deserves the major part of a section to herself, so numerous, wordy and rebarbative were her reviews.

In May, 1802, Mrs. Trimmer, quite literally, appointed herself the guardian of education for English-speaking children. The editor of her journal, (presumably one of her children) remarked that she "was not unaware of the extent the undertaking" when she took up the challenge of reviewing

children's books, and went on:

Mrs. Trimmer was led to composing it from observing the mischief which had crept into various publications for the use of children, which occasioned her such alarm, that she feared if something were not done to open the eyes of the public to this growing evil, the minds of youth would be poisoned, and irreparable damage occasioned. Her first design was merely to write a critique of some of the most objectionable of these publications; but as books of a dangerous tendency were daily making their appearance, the idea was suggested of a periodical work, in which the books expressly written on education should be examined, as well as those for the use of children, and a general view of the subject was brought forward.²⁷

Mrs. Trimmer had increasingly felt that there "was a CONSPIRACY against the CHRISTIAN RELIGION" which was a part "of the rapid decline in piety" following the Restoration of Charles II.²⁸ The particularly deleterious affects of this decline she attributed to French influence. Conservative England was much shaken by the French Revolution and the threat it provided to the authority of Church and King.

Mrs. Trimmer lamented the influence of Rousseau, and of Voltaire, and others of the "encyclopedists", whom, she believed, conspired against religious education.²⁹ She

deplored the admiration for accomplishments rather than principles in the education of the young, and she attributed this vogue too, to the French. The superficiality of French governesses and their teachings, and the fashion for learning foreign languages and reading romances were the result of the immigration to England of French teachers and governesses who were "low-bred persons of depraved morals, and papists by profession".³⁰

The Guardian of Education was laid out in five sections. Each issue provided commentary on "Memoirs", "Sermons" (with generous extracts), "Original Essays", "Systems of Education", and lastly, "An Examination of Books for Children".

In her opening remarks in the first volume, Mrs. Trimmer summarized developments in children's fiction in the 18th century:

...we are not able to say for a certainty, that any books were written for children before the reign of Queen Anne; for, in Mr. Locke's time, there were certainly very few, as we may judge from the hints he has given, (in his Essay on Education) for preparing abridgements of Scripture History, and other books of an entertaining nature, for the purpose of facilitating to children the acquisition of knowledge. When the idea of uniting amusement with instruction was once started by a writer such as Mr. Locke, books for children were soon produced of various sorts:

Fables, Fairy Tales, etc., etc. Every spelling book had now pictures and stories, as incitements to learning....Some of the books written in what may be called the first period of Infantine and Juvenile Literature in this country, we well remember, as the delight of our childish days, viz. Mother Goose's Fairy Tales, Esop and Gay's Fables, The Governess, or Little Female Academy, by Mrs. Fielding, etc., etc. The same period produced a number of books written for young persons...We are sorry to add, that Novels were at this time frequently put into the hands of young people, and the establishment of Circulating Libraries, a few years afterwards, gave free access to books of all descriptions, and among them were many of those corrupting ones which were then in circulation on the Continent. However, mere children's books were we believe in general of a very harmless nature; but they were mostly calculated to entertain the imagination rather than improve the heart, or cultivate the understanding...though we are ready to acknowledge, that the present style in which infantine books are written, is more suited to the capacities of young children, and that those of the time we allude to, were in some respects objectionable, yet we cannot but think the publications of Mr. Newbery's authors, in their genuine state, may still be used

to advantage in our nurseries, in preference to some of modern date, which have supplied their place...but books of a different tendency have also been written, expressly designed to sow seeds of infidelity, and of every bad principle, in the minds of the rising generation.³¹

Mrs. Trimmer reviewed 35 of the books included in the sample for this study. She gave unqualified approval to the works of Mary Ann and Dorothy Kilner. Indeed, the latter's Perambulations of a Mouse may have been the inspiration for Mrs. Trimmer's Fabulous Histories, for both made use of confabulating animals with disclaimers that such really existed.³²

The Governess and Goody Two Shoes received Mrs. Trimmer's less positive approval, the former because of its inclusion of fairy tales in the text, the latter because of the episode of Lady Ducklington's ghost. Several later editions of Goody Two Shoes were reissued ghostless. It has already been noted that Mrs. Sherwood, to whom The Governess is sometimes attributed, bowdlerized the fairy tales when she re-published it some 75 years later under her own name.

Allegories fared better with Mrs. Trimmer. Both The Enchanted Castle (1770) and The Six Princesses of Babylon (1785) passed uncondemned. Several tales were approved in general, but with the proviso that stories for children should not portray the lower classes being rewarded by marriage above their rank. Such stories created dissatisfaction with their

lot amongst the lower orders and these events were unlikely to occur in real life. Both Primrose Prettyface and Goody Two Shoes were in this category.³³

Of the animal biographies she held mixed views. The Crested Wren and The Hare passed muster; but Memoirs of Bob was too satirical to serve as juvenile fiction, and she felt romantic representations of human life were not appropriate.

Keeper's Travels did not have sufficient religious emphasis.

Also, she felt a distinction should have been made between the human condition and that of "the brute creation". Humans should not seek to align themselves with beasts and in her view it was ridiculous to speak of "the Rights of Animals".³⁴

Mrs. Trimmer's review of Keeper's Travels contained quotations from the text which illustrated the inappropriateness of the author's belief in an afterlife for animals. Although Mrs. Trimmer felt that it was not sufficiently religious, Keeper's Travels would become a standard Sunday School prize by the end of the century.³⁵

Mrs. Trimmer also reviewed the works of Charlotte Smith. She believed them to be acceptable for "ladies of condition", but felt some guard should be taken against "the fascination of flattery and the suggestion of vanity."³⁶ Anecdotes of a Little Family (1788), The Happy Family at Eason House (1799), Martin and James and a Puzzle for a Curious Girl were approved without qualification.³⁷ She also commended A Cup of Sweets (1803) by "E.S.", but commented negatively on another of this

author's books because it belonged to "a class of novels for young people, a description of writings which we must not recommend".³⁸

Preludes to Knowledge (1803), by Elizabeth Somerville, was not acceptable. The three tales included in the text as educational material demonstrated its impropriety; in her view the book belonged to "the school of modern philosophy".³⁹ Thomas Smith's Shepherd's Son (1800)--dreary and sanctimonious preaching--was also criticized, for scenes of courtship and marriage, and the elevation of the lower orders, through marriage, to the ranks of the gentry. The criticism came despite the fact that Smith, too, was Anglican and also a clergyman.⁴⁰

She approved unqualifiedly of The Two Cousins (1794) by Elizabeth Pinchard although it contained a quotation from Rousseau (which suggested she may not have read it in full)!⁴¹ But of The Blind Child (1791) by the same author, she was critical. She thought the mother in the story was over-harsh, and of Helen, the blind child, she stated: "she should have been described with that cheerfulness which is a common blessing of people who are deprived of sight..."⁴²

Mrs. Trimmer considered that Sandford and Merton was properly a treatise of education inspite of the author's denial. She claimed it was "systematic" and also:

gave indirect advice to parents for the correction of those errors in education which were thought by the author to be generally prevalent, and to affect the

national character by making people of rank and affluence proud, imperious and oppressive: and those of the inferior classes abject and wretched.⁴³

She alluded in particular to a conversation in the text which she stated was "above the comprehension of any child and which was certainly written for another purpose than their instruction and amusement". While Mr. Barlow, the classic tutor figure of Rousseau's model, was alleged to be a minister of religion, Mrs. Trimmer believed that he educated Sandford and Merton "on the principles of modern philosophy, more than on those of Christianity."⁴⁴ She doubted that he had adopted the Gospel as much as the system of Rousseau; she printed several long extracts to show the lack of Christian teaching.

During the three years of its publication, Mrs. Trimmer was particularly concerned with the works of Maria Edgeworth, and those of Mrs. Barbauld and her brother John Aiken, who together wrote Evenings at Home (1792-6). Story by story, she criticized their books in considerable detail. She also examined Mrs. Barbauld's other works.

She commended Lessons for Children from Two to Four Year olds (1778) for the good paper, large type and wide spacing, and noted the familiar language as an innovation in children's books. But she found some of the endings of the stories to be offensive because of the dire disasters they depicted.⁴⁵ Mrs. Trimmer deplored the fact that the children in these stories spoke imperiously to servants. Readers might emulate their manners and speech. She also objected to reification of

the sun and the moon because a child might confuse natural phenomena with the Deity. She admired the popularity of Mrs. Barbauld's Hymns in Prose (1781) but stated that some poems misinterpreted the Bible.⁴⁶

Of Evenings at Home Mrs. Trimmer was far more critical. She noted that it had been favourably reviewed by both Mrs. Edgeworth and Miss Hamilton--which only reinforced her antipathy. She analyzed each story through successive issues of the journal, with recurring major objections. Again, fables with talking animals were disapproved.⁴⁷ She found the scientific information at variance with the Bible, and deplored that God received scant attention throughout.⁴⁸ Several stories she believed were more suitable for parents than for children.⁴⁹ She disapproved of others because they could instil wrong notions or create fears in children. She believed a discussion of the rights and wrongs of war was not appropriate for children, neither should children's stories point out the abuses of parish officers.⁵¹ Children should not sit in judgement over the conduct of their peers, as in "The Trial" (an imitation of Richard Johnson's Juvenile Trials which pre-dated Evenings at Home by twenty years), because this served "to bring courts of judication into contempt; to destroy the authority of schoolmasters and fill boys' heads with vanity and conceit".⁵²

In an essay on "Flying and Swimming", a boy who wished to fly said that he had seen pictures of angels with wings..

His father replied that "an anatomist sees them to be monsters which could not really exist". To Mrs. Trimmer, "this was carrying one branch of human science beyond its utmost stretch to extend it to the anatomy of the angelic race".⁵³ Mrs. Trimmer wrote with much emphasis and many underlinings, born of the certainty of her own convictions. Of the stories, essays, poems and fables in Evenings at Home, she offered thirty-five critical comments. She concluded her review as follows:

We have now searched this Juvenile Budget to the bottom; many of its contents we have passed by unnoticed; but we cannot take our leave of this very ingenious and amusing miscellany, without lamenting that it should contain anything which a Believer in DIVINE REVELATION, a Christian who embraces all the doctrines of the GOSPEL, cannot approve. Under the care of a judicious parent or teacher, children may gain much useful instruction from this composition; but if left to themselves, "to read it over and over again in their leisure hours" to ruminate upon all its contents, without discrimination, it may prove very injurious.⁵⁴

Of Maria Edgeworth's works Mrs. Trimmer was scathing, although she acknowledged her skill as a writer. Again she was concerned with the omission of religious teaching. "Harry and Lucy" (Parts 1 and 2 of Early Lessons [1801]),

taught children "to be little philosophers". Amused at Harry's brick-making and gardening experiments, she stated he should have already acquired the information he needed from reading Mrs. Barbauld's beginning readers (recommended in R.L. Edgeworth's Practical Education).⁵⁵ She noted:

While Harry under his father's tuition, thus advanced in experimental knowledge, Lucy received from her mother, information concerning the nature of soot, the specific difference between smoke and steam; she also learned the process of making butter, and the specific difference between Irish and English buttermilk; preparatory, we may suppose, to her future skill in chymistry to be employed in the culinary art.⁵⁶

Harry and Lucy also embarked on an experiment on steam involving a tea-urn and candles, and were taught "how to raise sallads on a cloth or flannel." Mrs. Trimmer's comment on this three day period crammed with learning experiences was "surely these children might have received some further improvement from the addition of religious instruction".⁵⁷

She was equally critical of the experiences of Rosamund and Frank, noting that Rosamund had grounds for complaint against her mother for the episode of the "purple jar".⁵⁸

Throughout, Mrs. Trimmer took pleasure in noting the inconsistencies between the theories and methods advocated in Practical Education and the treatment meted out to Maria Edgeworth's fictional characters. She found the "Rosamund"

stories, in particular, provided contradictions.⁵⁹ To soften her criticism of a best-selling children's book, she concluded her review of Easy Lessons by saying:

However, let us not be thought so destitute of taste, or so rigid in our principles, as entirely to disapprove such books as these; on the contrary, we admire the ingenuity of the author in the composition of them, and greatly approve many of the lessons they convey; but as they certainly make part of a System, which, as friends of Christianity, we cannot wish to see propagated by any means, we have felt ourselves called upon in our censorial capacity, to point out what appears to us erroneous in them, in order that mothers may be led to consider well, before they adopt those principles of education on which these lessons are founded.⁶⁰

Mrs. Trimmer examined other favourite Edgeworth stories including "The Cherry Orchard", "Little Dog Trusty" and "The Orange Man".⁶¹ The distinction between moral tales and the kind of stories acceptable to evangelicals is made clear by her comments. The Edgeworth tales were firmly based on moral principle but no effort was made to back up principle with Divine Rule--a serious omission in Mrs. Trimmer's eyes.

From Mrs. Trimmer's Guardian of Education we learn of the many more books which were available for children than formerly, and of their changing subject-manner.⁶² Her views

became more and more a reiteration of the religious principles of the Established Church. This journal expired because Mrs. Trimmer exhausted herself by her continuing opposition to the ever-increasing number of books for children which failed to pass her critical notice.

It was at first published monthly, but after it had been continued some time, the work being too laborious for one person, it was determined to bring it out quarterly; but even then this was too great a fatigue, and at length brought on so serious an illness, that Mrs. Trimmer was obliged to desist, and it was many months before she recovered from the effects of her great exertions.⁶³

In the decade between 1800 and 1810, according to my sample, there was an increase by more than one third of juvenile books in print. Sheer force of numbers silenced Mrs. Trimmer. By 1805, Mrs. Trimmer was driven to urging others to take over her crusade. She appealed to the ladies of the SPCK to counteract "books of a contrary tendency" by writing tracts of their own. Accordingly, she set forth some basic guidelines for their successful composition.⁶⁴

The bifurcation of attitudes concerning children's stories was now becoming evident. Most reviewers followed Mrs. Trimmer's lead. A few, but very few, examined children's books on their merit rather than their religious or moral

purpose. In general, reviewers were cautious. Their cautiousness remained until the 1830s. By then, a separate category of Sunday books had been established allowing for more adventurous and meatier tales during the week. The thirty-five years between the end of Mrs. Trimmer's Guardian of Education and the arrival of the new class of Sunday books were transitional years in the development of English children's fiction.

The Juvenile Review, published in two volumes, in 1817, was a summary of children's instructional books designed to help parents choose wisely for their young amongst the many available school books and fiction works.⁶⁵ As the author stated, "The difficulty of selection is not lessened while the danger of selecting amiss is considerably augmented".⁶⁶

The author of The Juvenile Review was evidently an admirer of Mrs. Trimmer's. In the Introduction to Part II, it was noted that:

.... the acknowledged excellence of that amiable writer will doubtless have due influence with our readers, and her authority, while it rescues us from the charge of presumption, will also justify our choice of books....⁶⁷

The Review was organized according to the reader's age and the subject matter, with the first volume dealing with books directed to those under the age of eight. Dissected alphabets, spelling books, picture books, and books of "early piety" were discussed. Primers with verses such as "Hey diddle diddle, the cat and the fiddle, / The dish ran away with the spoon," did not

pass muster because they filled "the infantine mind with false ideas".⁶⁸ In the discussion of school books, Mrs. Trimmers's own texts were praised as were her Scriptural prints.⁶⁹ In the story-book category ghosts were still exorcised from "E.S.'s" A Cup of Sweets and Mrs. Hughes' Aunt Mary's Tales for Boys (1817). Some illustrations were condemned for exciting "a taste for ridicule and caricature". And novels and The Arabian Nights should never be put into the hands of children. Recommended were : The Continuation of Early Lessons (1814), Felissa or the Kitten of Sentiment, and Ornaments Discovered (1815), although the latter was with reservations, as it was too exciting. The works of Arabella Argus were spoken of with particular enthusiasm.⁷⁰

3. Other Review Literature : 1800-1840

Mrs. Trimmer's mark was evident until 1820 at least, and for longer in some circles. During this time The Gentleman's Magazine continued its regular commentary and also, occasionally, offered original fiction works for children. John Harris was publisher and part-proprietor of The Gentleman's Magazine, and many of the juvenile works he published were reviewed in it. Among the authors regularly reviewed were Mrs. Budden, Mrs. Hofland, "E.S.", Elizabeth Sandham, Mary Elliott, Mrs. Mañt and Mrs. Hurry. The Gentleman's Magazine also reviewed regularly some successful, if not inspiring, male authors who were published by Harris.⁷¹

The review literature during this forty year period

indicated some departure from the opinions of Mrs. Trimmer -- and a perception of the child in a new light. There were few divergent viewpoints before 1800 in fiction or reviews of fiction. After 1800, encouraged perhaps by the lack of critical comment during the 1780s and 1790s, new authors sought publication. Some of their works were more original than those of their contemporaries and predecessors.

Verse-makers, inspired by the Romantic poets, questioned the notion that fiction for children must be instructive. The most effective proponent of this new school of thought was John Harris himself. He made no explicit statements of position but during the first decade of the 1800s he abandoned the shelter provided by Elizabeth Newbery's list, whose business he bought in 1801, and began publishing a different type of book for young children. The real innovations were his rhyming verses, in narrative form, with the addition of large, colourful illustrations.

"Mother Hubbard", put out by Harris in 1805, has been described by Marjorie Moon as "the most significant book" he ever published.⁷² Strangely, Mrs. Trimmer approved of "Mother Hubbard". By then Harris had re-issued six of her works, and contracted for a further eight so it may have been self-interest on her part. In 1806, Harris published "The Talking Bird, or Dame Trudge and her Parrot". This book was significant for its lack of moral maxim, although it held

some timely comment on the Napoleonic wars. In 1807, came "The Butterfly's Ball". In 1808, he published Cowper's "John Gilpin" in book form. Mrs. Trimmer did not of course approve of "John Gilpin"; nonetheless it found its way to other recommended lists of reading for children.⁷³ For the next few years, Harris's attention was taken up by his series books based on imitations of "The Butterfly's Ball".⁷⁴

The reviewers were at first uncertain about how they should greet this new wave of fantasy in children's poetry. The Anti-Jacobin Review was critical but admitted that such books tended "to make the names and characters of several fishes and animals familiar to youth, and thus inspire perhaps a desire for more knowledge and a taste for natural history".⁷⁵ Mrs. Dorset's "The Peacock's at Home", published as a sequel to "The Butterfly's Ball", added an improving glossary to satisfy those who might doubt its educational value.⁷⁶

A reviewer for the Critical Review stated:

The authoress of "The Peacock at Home", not only vastly transcended her original, but has hitherto stood unrivalled in the list of imitators....We have only one serious ground of complaint against the Lady of Peacock and the Knight of the Lake; that they waste, on nonsense for children, talents which may be much more worthily employed in amusing men and women.⁷⁷

In 1815, Harris published "The History of an Old Woman who had Three Sons", and of a different kind, Glenowen of the Fairy Palace, by Eleanor Sleath, of whom Moon commented "she would not, one feels, be of Mrs. Trimmers's circle." In 1818 came "Dame Dearlove's Ditties" and in 1820, The History of Sixteen Wonderful Old Women. This served as a model by E. Marshall's Anecdotes and Adventures of Fifteen Gentlemen, on which Lear based his famous limericks. ⁷⁸

When established authors ran dry, Harris re-issued some of the books from seventy-five years before. It was these 19th century editions of earlier favourites to which reviewers in the last half of the century had access. Among his re-issues were the works of the Kilners, E.A. Kendall, Lucy Peacock and Isaac Watts. Undeterred by Mrs. Trimmer, he daringly put out some of Perreault's stories -- "Bluebeard", "Cinderella", "Little Red Riding Hood" and "Puss in Boots".

Children had previously sneaked glances at chapbook versions or at adult collections of fairy tales, but now they were available legitimately. Harris took some favourites from the previous century too : Goody Goosecap, Tom Telescope, Tom Thumb and "The House that Jack Built" (published by Newbery for the first time in 1755). He re-issued in new dress several of the old legends such as Valentin and Orson and Jack the Giant-Killer. Harris was an eclectic. He kept a judicious mix, a careful balance on the question of moral purpose in children's fiction. To off-set his more fanciful publications

he re-published the solid educational works of Lady Fenn, Mrs. Trimmer, Mrs. Barbauld and Mrs. Hofland.

In 1820 he went into partnership with his son and from that time his list of imaginative titles dwindled in number. Father and son continued to publish their committed authors, among them Mrs. Budden, Mrs. Hofland, Mary Elliott and Mrs. Hughes. In the next twenty years several of the better adventure stories also came from their press.⁷⁹ To their mix, they added some alphabets such as "The History of Appley Pie, Written by Z.", some tongue twisters, and some puzzle-books--to which Mrs. Trimmer had earlier advocated "the application of the exterminating scissors or the blotting pen".⁸⁰ Such was the wide range of Harris publications.

John Harris's contribution in this period has been described in some detail because he was responsible for many innovations in fiction which led to an acceptance of imaginative writing for children. And how did the public react? We can imagine that Coleridge and Lamb approved. Lamb's much-quoted letter of October 23, 1802, to Coleridge, is evidence enough:

"Goody Two Shoes" is almost out of print. Mrs. Barbauld's stuff has banished all the old classics of the nursery; and the shopman at Newbery's hardly deigned to reach them off an old exploded corner of a shelf, when Mary ask'd for them. Mrs. B.'s and Mrs. Trimmer's nonsense lay in piles about. Knowledge insignificant and vapid as Mrs. Barbauld's books convey, it seems, must come to

a child in the shape of knowledge; and his empty noddle must be turned with conceit of his own powers when he has learnt that a horse is an animal, and Billy is better than a horse, and such like; instead of that beautiful interest in wild tales, which made the child a man, while all the time he suspected himself to be no bigger than a child. Science has succeeded to Poetry no less in the little walks of children than with men. Think where you would have been now, if, instead of being fed with tales and old wives' fables in childhood, you had been crammed with geography and natural history. Hang them! - - I mean the cursed Barbauld crew, those blights and blasts of all that is human in man and child.⁸¹

Others too felt that Mrs. Trimmer's ban on fairy tales had been excessive.⁸² On the subject of "confabulation" in animals, a poem by Cowper provided the last word :

I will not ask Jean Jacques Rousseau
If birds confabulate, or no.
'Tis clear that they were always able
To hold discourse, at least in fable;
And e'en the child who knows no better
Than to interpret by the letter
A story of a cock and bull
Must have a most uncommon skull.⁸³

The first general article on children's fiction, and there were many to follow, was a review of Edward Mangin's Essay on Light Reading (1808) in the Gentleman's Magazine. The reviewer noted that in Mangin he had found someone willing to take a stand against "trash". He was concerned about the effects of novels on young girls and agreed with Mangin that after reading Tom Jones, Peregrine Pickle, Roderick Random and Henry, "a female had nothing else bad to learn." The only fiction the reviewer approved were The Vicar of Wakefield and the works of Richardson.⁸⁴

Review articles apparently provided a forum for some who had no other opportunity to set forth their views whether on behaviour, dress, education, or current social issues. This critic joined in "the-accomplishment-versus-principle" debate in female education, taking a traditional stand :

...how shall a female whose principal education has consisted in learning just sufficient musick to spoil a piano-forte; sufficient French to be perfectly unintelligible and sufficient painting to adorn a fire-screen or cardboard box with shells, butterflies and black beetles, be able to perform those great and beautiful duties (of the domestic hearth)?⁸⁵

Reviewers were by and large kind about the books they selected for comment. Mrs. Hofland was a popular choice for critics and almost unfailingly received favourable mention. Enthusiasm for her works dwindled once there a more varied choice.

The Critical Review continued its interest in children's books for some years and tended to be patronizing about writing style :

Nor shall we notice any defects in the composition.

It is sufficient for us that the motive is good, and that the object is to promote morality and virtue ..."⁸⁶

As late as 1821 The British Critic remained cautious about recommending Maria Edgeworth's works. Of Easy Lessons, just re-issued, a reviewer noted :

yet it would be impossible for a sincerely religious woman to put this book in the hands of her daughter without adding her own comments and observations to the anecdotes it contains.⁸⁷

Maria Edgeworth's tales did not find favour with the Eclectic Review either. They were described as "essentially and deplorably defective in regard to a large proportion of our duties, feelings and principles."⁸⁸ And yet, her writing style was grudgingly admired by both reviewers. Sectarian journals were particularly discomfited by the omission of Christian teachings in her works. Later in the century, her books came under censure for other reasons. Parent attitudes softened and the treatment of little Harry and Lucy, Rosamund and Frank, was considered "cold" and "unfeeling".⁸⁹

A diminishing enthusiasm among critics for the ever-increasing number of children's books became evident between 1810 and 1820.

The Critical Review commented that children's books were becoming "too much of a good thing" and described them as "crude, undigested and indigestible trash" ..⁹⁰ Reviewers were also tired of the common practice of combining snippets of the works of others and presenting them as a fresh volume.

The real turning point in review literature came in 1819 when The Quarterly Review published an article, (now identified as by Sir Francis Turner Palgrave), entitled "The Antiquities of Nursery Literature". It was intended as a critique of Benjamin Tabart's collection of Fairy Tales (first published in 1804 and re-issued in 1818). That a book for children should be reviewed at all in such a prestigious journal as The Quarterly Review was a departure; that it should have been a collection of fairy tales was another. Palgrave believed that the status of fairy tales should be re-assessed :

Mr. Benjamin Tabart's collection is, as we understand, considered an acceptable present to the rising generation; yet, though it is by no means devoid of merit, it recalls (sic) but faintly the pleasant homeliness of the narrations which used to delight us in those happy times when we were still pinned to our nurse's apron strings, and which are now thought too childish to deserve a place even in the tiny library of the baby.⁹¹

Palgrave defended traditional stories and recommended them as subjects of research to men of letters, citing the important

contribution of the Grimm brothers in Germany, "two anti-quarian brethren of the highest reputation." He named several English scholars who had explored the origins of such legendary heroes as Tom Thumb, Tom Hickathrift, and Jack the Giant Killer, and recommended their research to Quarterly readers.⁹²

In 1825, the same journal reviewed Crofton Croker's Irish Legends and noted their importance in tracing "the origins and connections of different races of men".⁹³

The London Magazine, in 1820, provided a long article on "Literature for the Nursery" which discussed the available fare for young children. It dealt first with the imaginative excesses of edible imagery -- gingerbread men, cream puffs and so forth -- which authors apparently considered suitable for little ones. The reviewer noted that food as an imaginative stimulus for the child had palled, so more sophisticated substitutes were necessary, such as "Mother Goose", "Sleeping Beauty" and "Puss in Boots".⁹⁴ This reviewer also extolled the legends of the past and recommended Tabart's Tales, but was critical of some innovations, particularly the works of Harris and son. Even the bindings came under fire :

When our primers, and story books were enclosed in firm, compact, gilt covers assurance seemed given externally, that there were golden stories within; but we cannot help regarding as omens of sinister import, the flam-

ing yellow, orange, green and crimson wrappers, set off with a grotesque figure of punch, or a zany, or a dandy, that are now in vogue ... now in its mountebank dress (the book) is treated with a familiarity that breeds contempt, it is a toy, a painted bauble; the amusement of a week in its perfect state. 95

The sectarian journals kept up a running commentary of their favourite authors but others, previously concerned with juvenalia, slowed to a trickle after 1820. What reviews there were reflected a change of attitude. There was a different perception of children's capacities, and a suggestion that fiction should be adapted to those capacities. While some die-hards struggled to preserve the traditional view of what constituted an "unexceptionable" book on Mrs. Trimmer's terms, a new catch-phrase -- to invigorate the faculties -- became a fresh goal for fiction-writers.

Tait's Edinburgh Review was returned to publication in 1832 and took a second look at children's fiction. In an article in 1833, "J.A.R." wrote :

...writing for children, like writing for the people, has always been considered a very easy office, and, therefore far below the notice of philosophers. The one and the other have thus fallen into inefficient hands, and have hitherto been inadequately performed. The truth is, however, that the task in both cases, is one of extraordinary difficulty; requiring a very

intimate knowledge of human nature, and an exceedingly nice and discriminating judgement.⁹⁶

In 1836, Tait's reviewers on two occasions admired books in The Peter Parley series. Mary Howitt's work, whether fictional or educational was also well-received. Less understandably, Mrs. Hofland's Humility (1837), one of a depressingly improving set of books with titles of character traits, was also mentioned favourably.⁹⁷

In reviews of adult fiction a similar change in tone was noticeable. In 1834, in reviewing Helen, a critic said of Maria Edgeworth, that she was "too avowedly didactic" and also "too dependent on providence" for her stories to be credible. A reviewer of one of Mrs. Sherwood's novels, The Lady of the Manor delivered a blistering 28 page attack, and found that the book "contained much of positive evil ... and that, backed by the force of religious injunction".⁹⁸

The didactic ladies had come to the end of their dominion. It was evident that there was a diminished enthusiasm for instruction and a far greater tolerance for pure entertainment than before. Accordingly, reviews of Dickens' first works -- Sketches by Boz (1836) and Oliver Twist (1838) -- were enthusiastic, and proclaimed "a new and decidedly original genius".⁹⁹

4. Review Literature After 1840

Reviews between 1840 and 1860

The Quarterly Review continued to devote space to children's fiction. Two articles attributed to Frances Rigby

(probably Elizabeth Eastlake) examined in depth the quality of the many new works of fiction which were available during the 1840s.¹⁰⁰ It would appear that adults -- and perhaps children -- had become saturated with the sameness of early children's books and, in particular, with the elimination of all that was imaginative. The intermingling of instruction with entertainment was criticized by Miss Rigby who described her childhood books as "wriggling through an unmerciful load of moral, religious, and scientific preaching ... we do not know when they are at work and when they are at play"; in the same vein another reviewer referred to "the twaddling mockeries of science".¹⁰¹

Miss Rigby also took issue with educationists, "who drag their children to lectures, manufactories and polytechnics".¹⁰² But she saved her severest censure for the children's books which came from America. The Quarterly Review was evidently widely read in North America, because for the next fifty years American critics reacted defensively to Miss Rigby's attack.¹⁰³

While she was opinionated and outspoken, at the same time Miss Rigby revealed a perceptiveness about children's tastes and their emotional sensitivity which had previously not been evident. It was not just concern for children in general terms that was indicated, but an awareness of the differences among children. Another critic appealed for a more varied literature for children to take account of their individual differences.¹⁰⁴

The new books of the 1840s occasioned other comments by reviewers. Among new fiction were Sir Henry Cole's Home Treasury

(1844-6), Gammer Gurton's Garland (1845), The Good Natured Bear (1846) and Puss in Boots re-attired. The comment was favourable, and -- after a period of assimilation -- there was an inevitable comparison with what had gone before.¹⁰⁵ Thackeray recalled the books of his childhood :

"One can not help looking with secret envy on the children of the present day, for whose use and entertainment a thousand ingenious and beautiful things are provided which were quite unknown some few score years since, when the present writer and reader were very possibly in the nursery state. Abominable attempts were made in those days to make useful books for children and cram science down their throats as calomel used to be administered -- under the pretence of a spoonful of currant jelly."¹⁰⁶

It took a breath of fresh air to reveal the full tedium of early children's fiction. Then, many of the bestsellers at last came under fire, although a few, not recognized at the time of first publication, were found years later to have "had merit". Among such was Mrs. Leicester's School.¹⁰⁷

A new critical issue emerged in the 1850s when one author commented on the violent nature of traditional nursery tales.¹⁰⁸ He wondered whether children attached the same "distinct notions to these things as grown-up people"...and whether they "compre-

hend them as things of fancy and make-believe". The author was referring to such nursery favourites as "A was an Archer who shot at a frog", "Cock Robin" and "Lady-bird, lady-bird...". Of the lullaby "Rockabye Baby", he commented, "Bravo! Excellent fun--a smashed baby! Well done, old Nursery Witch!". He remarked that these "gross vulgarities" harked back to "the compositions of uneducated old nurses and the beldames of Olden Times".¹⁰⁹ Belief in the influence of witchcraft, popularized by Locke, died hard.

Dickens commented on another trend, rejecting the "Christianization" of fairy tales, a form adopted by George Cruikshank. Cruikshank, the illustrator of Dicken's early books had recently joined the Temperance Movement. Dickens remonstrated that Cruikshank "has no greater moral justification in altering the harmless little books than we should have in altering his best etchings ... the world is too much with us, early and late. Leave this precious old escape from it alone".¹¹⁰

William Roscoe, (nephew of William Roscoe of "The Butterfly's Ball" fame), added his voice in agreement that Cruikshank had made "Hop o' my Thumb", "Jack in the Beanstalk" and the rest, subservient not to sound morality, but to political economy, abolition of capital punishment, temperance, peace, and the sanitary movement. He concluded "This blow at the old association of our childhood is the more powerful, because it comes from so unexpected a quarter."¹¹¹

It is evident that while fairies and spirits were now held in higher esteem generally speaking, in some quarters they were still only acceptable when diverted to topical morality. In fact, as Bettelheim has pointed out, traditional fairy tales were always moralistic in tone. During the 1850s and 1860s, there was an added need in Evangelical circles to use them for the support of contemporary good works.

The lists of recommended reading for children in the 1850s and 1860s listed some of the Perreault tales, as well as those of Hans Christian Andersen, (first translated by Mary Howitt). There were also new fairy tales by such authors as Dickens, Ruskin and Thackeray. Authors from our study were also included on reading lists for children: Mary Howitt, Harriet Martineau, Mrs. Barbauld, Jane and Ann Taylor, as well as Mrs. Sherwood and Maria Edgeworth.¹¹²

The first satirical comment on early children's books was provided by Roscoe in a second article, when he noted the contrast between the contrived stories of Jackie Lovebook and Susan Sly, and contemporary children's fiction. He described the heroes of early books as "stuck up little chits". In 1855, he commented --with pleasure, perhaps --that Mrs. Hofland was "declining in her zenith". With real delight he noted the publication of Edward Lear's Book of Nonsense (1846) which "has not a grain of sense either in the letter-press or the illustrations from cover to cover, yet it has good taste, good fun and pleasant humour".¹¹³

Reviewers deviated from their task to discuss more general issues concerning children's fiction. One reviewer noted in The Quarterly Review in 1860 that because books for children were so plentiful, one should not assume that children were better understood -- a timely warning to social historians today, who have drawn just that assumption from the proliferation of children's fiction in the late 18th century. This reviewer noted the absence of any scientific study of the child (called paedology) and believed successful writers of fiction needed to know more about child development.

Our book-wrights do not realize the fact that the point of view from which a child looks into literature and the world is not necessarily a lower one than his own. It is different no doubt. But the difference is in kind rather than degree. Children are not underdeveloped men and women, with all the mental and moral faculties in a like condition of inferiority.¹¹⁴

In review articles this was the first mention of child-study, which assumed increasing importance in 19th periodical literature. This review reflected a growing awareness that children's thinking was qualitatively different from that of adults. Ten years later the first scientific study on "the Contents of Children's minds" was undertaken in Germany by G. Stanley Hall.¹¹⁵

This critic, however, and a minority of others, felt that

caution was still necessary in recommending myths and fairy tales for children. He believed the natural world held marvels enough, and while exclusive dependence on facts produced impoverished minds", care must be taken to avoid over-stimulation.¹¹⁶

Reviews from 1860 to 1880

By the end of the 1860s more criticism was directed toward the old favourites. Charlotte Yonge approved of Early Lessons, but of Evenings at Home she stated :

Every chapter conveyed some clearly defined bits of instruction, and in looking back at these little performances we are struck by the perfect precision and polish of language, even of the most simple, such as renders them almost complete epigrams as Aesop's Fables and contrasts with the slovenly writing of the present day ... Somehow there was little to love in these well-written books; they had a certain bright coldness which extends to all Aikenism, except perhaps to Mrs. Barbauld's Prose Hymns ...¹¹⁷

Sandford and Merton came under attack because of "its inclusion of queer unsatisfactory stuff from the theorist author". She preferred Little Jack, also by Day, a book which received little critical comment earlier, perhaps because of the improbability of a child being suckled by a goat. Of this book she wrote :

Probably Mr. Day meant to inculcate the advantages of the beautiful simplicity of Jack's nurture, but the story

was to us a mere charming tissue of enterprise and adventure, and conveyed no lesson of democracy.¹¹⁸

She, too, found Mrs. Hofland dreary, and described The Young Crusoe (1828) as "her only really interesting book".¹¹⁹ She commented favourably on Mrs. Leicester's School which stood apart in her mind even before "we knew books had authors and authors had different degrees of fame".¹²⁰ She enjoyed Mary and Florence and the The Rival Crusoes.

She described instructive books of her childhood as taking the form of "educative walks with fathers, uncles, maiden aunts or governesses" on which occasion improving soliloquies on "commerce, minerology, the Wars of the Jews, botany and geography" were introduced.¹²¹

Mrs. Sherwood's books she found "peculiar", but she recollected with enjoyment "the sensational naughtiness of the Fairchild children".¹²² In 1869 she perceived that Mrs. Sherwood's stories provided the bridge between stories for the rich and for the poor. Both Avery and Cutt have commented on the role of Evangelical fiction in this regard. By 1869 it is clear that Mrs. Sherwood's works were well-established in the category of Sunday books. Charlotte Yonge herself did not approve of "class literature", where "everyone writes books for someone : books for children, books for servants, books for poor men, poor women, poor boys and poor girls". While approving the need for imaginative models outside a child's regular

experience, she stressed that "a really good book is a good book". To her, the belief that there should be a specialty literature for children, implied that any kind of writing was good enough for children or servants.¹²³

From a historical point of view, Charlotte Yonge's articles were interesting because they made clear the differentiation which had taken place in children's books since 1840 --- a differentiation which she did not fully endorse.

Macmillans provided a further article on children's fiction in 1878, attributed to Mary Lewis.¹²⁴ Entitled "Cheap Literature for Village Children", the author condemned the inferiority of books written for village children. When she listed them, some turned out to be old friends. The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain (1795), a tract by Hannah More, The Eskdale Herd-boy (1819), and Keeper's Travels, turned up again, rebound in the form of Sunday School prizes. She commented in particular on the complex vocabulary and the incredible wordiness of Keeper's Travels.

It is evident from reviews in the last quarter of the 19th century that the preciousness of style characteristic of the early books, which had earned praise for their moral intent at the time of first publication, was now considered extreme. Too little and too late these early fiction works received the unfavourable evaluation they had long merited. The popular works of early fiction were considered suitable for Sunday School

prizes because they allowed no room for imaginative writing. Religious and quasi-religious books were the last to be criticized for pedantry or stylistic excesses. Within class literature, the spirit of Mrs. Trimmer and her Evangelical colleagues persisted to the end of the century.

Sandford and Merton, The Fairchild Family, and the works of Maria Edgeworth continued to draw negative comment, and in some cases ridicule until the century's end -- Sandford and Merton, for its stiltedness and artificiality, Maria Edgeworth, because she destroyed children's trust in their parents, and Mrs. Sherwood, because of a self-absorbed obsession with personal sin, and her preoccupation with death. Nonetheless, most critics took pains to comment on the compensations of these self-same books -- "the wonderful food described in The Fairchild Family, and the delightful naughtiness of Lucy, Emily and Henry, undaunted by parental threats of Hell-fire."²⁵

Chapter Summary

There were many books of many different kinds at the end of the century. By then the narrow focus of the first one hundred years of children's fiction was a subject of amazement to retrospective reviewers. Progressive views about the child and the nature of childhood were expressed by the 1850s and there was a new perception of the purpose of children's fiction. The emphasis on preserving the child from imaginary stories of any kind was subjugated to the need for quality literature which could stretch the mind.

The review literature reveals the differentiation of children's books according to intended readership, which, of course, implies a larger and more diverse reading public. By 1840 there were separate categories of books for children. There were lesson books and primers, illustrated abecedarians, books of rhyming verse, and nursery tales. For older readers, there were books for girls and books for boys, books for Sundays and books for holidays. There were annuals and almanacs and anthologies, books of humorous verse and of moral verse, books to stimulate and books to dream on --all kinds of fiction in fact --for all kinds and conditions of readers. Children's fiction had come of age.

The "pattern" child in the "pattern family" prevailed in children's books from 1740 to 1840. Reviewers accepted the format and the moral purpose, with only an occasional reprimand about sloppy grammar, errors of fact, or spelling. Rarely were issues of broader interest raised concerning the use of fictional heroes, or the assumption that animals had souls. Reviewers were happy to hand over to Mrs. Trimmer in 1802 and it was agreed that she was admirably suited to the task. Under her aegis the fairies, already in disarray, were banished. The emphasis was on the truth of the printed word.

At first these little moral tales were greatly admired, but contempt followed on familiarity. The fiction of this period was repetitive in theme and stereotyped in style. Gradually, as it became more plentiful, a fatigued note

appeared, although critics continued valiantly to justify children's books on the basis of intent. In the first decades of the 19th century the children's fiction market was glutted. In consequence, by 1826 book production declined sharply. During this period of retrenchment the nature of children's fiction as well as reviewer reaction changed.

Between 1800 and 1840, literary men of established reputation -- Wordsworth, Lamb, Coleridge and Scott among them -- spoke out against the constraints of the juvenile fiction of their time. They were followed by Sir Henry Cole, W.J. Thoms, Dickens, Thackeray and Ruskin, men in the forefront of literary life, who added their voices and skills to serve child-readers. The moralizers, whose pedantic and wordy prose had only been tolerated at the best of times, could no longer compete.

With the importation and translation of the antiquarian works of the Grimm brothers, and later of the stories of Hans Christian Andersen, fairy tales at last became acceptable. Cole's Home Treasury, Croker's Irish Legends, and Gammer Gurton's Garland were all publicly acclaimed in such journals as The Quarterly, Fraser's and Tait's. Only then did reviewers feel confident enough to criticize the literary diet of their childhood. Few dared to condemn the moralists openly until they were certain the reading public was behind them.

After 1840, it is clear that legends and folk tales were back in favour. New fairy tales and magic appeared but were at first "sanitized" and only acceptable under the guise of

morality. In all but Puritan and Evangelical circles, the dispute over fairy tales was resolved in favour of the fairies. But in those quarters the innovations of John Harris and other avant-garde publishers were still viewed with caution. A strong body of opinion continued to favour traditional moral values as the focus of children's reading matter. Sectarian journals continued their war against fairies reinforced by a new wave of Evangelical fervour during the 1850s and 1860s.

The final step in the rejection of an art form --if children's fiction of this early period can be so labelled --is to poke fun at it. Dickens provided a frontal attack on "Gradgrindery" in 1854, and in 1865 Lewis Carroll provided an eloquent appeal for the preservation of the child's right "to wonder".

The large number of review articles after 1840 on children's fiction is striking. The interest in juvenile fiction was not an isolated phenomenon; there was a widespread interest in children and childhood generally. The writings about children in the journals of the late 19th century reflected a pervasive sentimentality. Reminiscent essays abounded. And where children's books were concerned, distance often lent enchantment. In 1890, several distinguished men of letters looked back with nostalgia to the children's classics of the 18th and 19th century. By then they had become quaint and humorous examples of an old-fashioned heritage. ~~By~~ being so remembered, several of the early books were preserved from

sinking into the oblivion they deserved. Other more critical writers of the same time viewed them with as much incredulity as we do today.

Late 19th century reviews included lists of recommended reading for young people. None of the books written during the time-period of this study found a place on such lists. The fiction written between 1740 and 1840 held some interest for adult reviewers in later years, but little for children. In fact, these books were unique -- they were written, expostulated over, underlined, bowdlerized -- and then totally forgotten. Two hundred years later they are still unmemorable. Some few books written earlier were still mentioned then and now: Robinson Crusoe, Pilgrim's Progress, Gulliver's Travels and legends such as "Robin Hood", "St. George and the Dragon," imported fairy tales, and The Arabian Nights.

The children's poetry written in the same time period as this study fared better. At the end of the century mention was still made of the works of Jane Taylor in particular. One hundred years later this is still the case. "Twinkle, twinkle, little star", "I love little Pussy", "The Spider and the Fly" remain as nursery favourites. But the moral tales of the period died with scarcely a whimper. "Forgotten and Unlamented" is the epitaph for these curious little books, which served the needs of their own time period so well, that they could adapt to no other social or moral setting.

CHAPTER 8

THE NOVEL AND MORAL TALE: A COMPARISON

"The literature of the eighteenth century belongs to its period rather than to posterity."

Leigh Hunt, 1860

Introduction

To complete the evaluation of changing attitudes to the child in children's fiction sources, children's fiction and adult fiction were compared in the same time period.

It was initially supposed that the most striking characteristics of children's fiction in content or style, would be indicators of author attitudes to the child. These characteristics were discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. In fact, it appears that many of the characteristics noted in the coding categories were also characteristic of adult fiction of the same period. An effort has therefore been made to identify the characteristics common to both, and also those features which set children's fiction apart.

The most distinguishing feature which separated the two was a greater tolerance for imaginative ideas in adult fiction, particularly after 1780. The many, predominantly female, authors of the Gothic novels could be said to have over-indulged in fantasy. In contrast, children's fiction was totally deprived of fantasy.

There was more leisure time during and after the Industrial Revolution, more money to be spent on clothes, on entertainment, and on reading materials. And it was women who controlled spending in these areas.¹ Evangelical reformers railed against novel-reading and the growth of circulating libraries, but the records of publishing houses reveal how popular reading had become as a leisure time activity.² It was women writers who first sought to fill the increasing demands of adult readers, and it was predominantly women writers who wrote for children.³

Many conventions were shared by adult and children's fiction, conventions that often emerged as cultural stereotypes. In adult fiction today we have "formula" stories--the detective story, the Western, science fiction--that follow a set pattern and are predictable as forms of literary expression.⁴ Fairy tales are also "formula" stories. A fairy tale is predictable, and language and format follow an accepted pattern: "Once upon a time, a long time ago, there lived...." We expect the story to end with: "and they all lived happily ever after...." The expectancy so created helps to assure the success of the story.

The moral tale of the period of this study was similarly type-cast. The authors who wrote children's books never questioned whether there might be another acceptable style or format for their works and very, very few departed from the established pattern during the period under study. The pattern yielded with the slow acceptance of the notion that books could

play a role other than that of instruction.

In an era which abhorred idleness, reading was at first associated with work and lessons. By degrees, it also became associated with play. Imagination, backbone of the Gothic novel, came slowly to be applied to books for child-readers as well. But acceptance of this notion took time to spread to publishers, educators, and to the parents who bought the books. As if by unspoken agreement, together they maintained a tight control over the developmental years of children's fiction. The notion that books could amuse as well as teach took a long time to spread to other than middle-class children. While the middle-class child was titivated by John Harris's wares and later by Edward Lear and Lewis Carroll, the lower-class child was still offered only pre-selected works from the RTS or other religious publishing houses.⁵ The urban poor had access to street literature, as we have seen, but the books which made up the sample for this study were too costly for the lower class reader, even had they appealed to him.⁶

Children's and Adult Fiction -- Some Shared Characteristics

Children's and adult fiction both came into existence at the mid-point of the eighteenth century. Adult prose fiction evolved from the essay, although during the 17th century there were some exploratory fiction works often based on classical myths and legends or on French romances.⁷ Both the 18th century novel and its child-counterpart, the moral tale, rejected traditional plots and classical forms which earlier

4

fiction had adopted. Basically the belief was a Lockean one-- that the world was discoverable through the senses, and fiction should follow reality and teach about life.⁸

Children's and adult fiction, being new, were both exploratory. Tompkins has pointed out that there were no rules for the conduct of personal histories, the first form that fiction adopted.⁹ In Tom Jones (1746) Fielding wrote : "...for as I am, in reality, the founder of a new province in writing, so I am at liberty to make what laws I please therein."¹⁰

In the absence of rules, individual authors, trying their hands for the first time in an unfamiliar medium, sought for models and initially there was much that was derivative.¹¹

Don Quixote was a model for both adult and children's fiction, as were for short periods of time, the epistolary form of Richardson, the fictional biography of Smollett, and, the island setting and ship-wreck scenario of Defoe.¹² In children's fiction there was a brief epidemic of animal biographies and a ten-year period when imitations of "The Butterfly's Ball" crowded the market. It took thirty years to define the legitimate scope of adult novel and the Gothic extravagances of the 1780s and 1790s are excruciating reminders from that period.¹³ The learning time was extended for an additional fifty years for children's fiction.

Both children's and adult fiction suffered from the author's unfamiliarity with the medium. Encouraged by the lack of rules and, as Erule put it, "misled by the apparent ease of

the task, a crowd of inferior writers attempted to write novels".¹⁴ The most striking feature of these early novels, with the exception of the works of four or five masterhands, is that they were so bad. To look at the developmental period of English fiction --for adults or for children --implies either courage or foolhardiness. Tompkins, who studied the novel between 1770 and 1800, offered the apology that "a book devoted to the display of tenth-rate fiction stands in need of justification."¹⁵ Other authors at the end of the nineteenth century made reference to "the embarrassment of beginnings" and described the first works as "theory-ridden and self-conscious".¹⁶ Late nineteenth century reviewers of early children's fiction used similar descriptions. With a few exceptions children's and adult fiction shared in the embarrassment of beginnings. The fact that almost none of the books of the period for child or adult have survived to be read today is proof sufficient. The obtrusive moral purpose and lack of humour characteristic of the children's books in the sample also occurred in many adult books of the same time period.¹⁷ The repetition of theme, the constant use of exaggeration, the heavy reliance on providence were remarkable in both sources. Realistic characterization was absent for different reasons. In the early novels, emotional expression was excessive; in children's fiction it was non-existent. And in both artificial characterization resulted. In children's fiction the need for absolute truth in the description of the physical world and in the

chronicle of day-to-day life, meant that feeling tone was omitted and only the most stereotyped imaginative devices were acceptable. It is convenient to use the same broad coding categories devised for children's books to compare the common aspects of children's and adult's fiction.

Content

At the start children's and adult fiction shared a similarity of purpose. Fiction was seen as fulfilling an educative function, to teach realistically about life. Clara Reeve, an accepted novelist, stated that "the great and important duty of a writer is to point out the difference between vice and virtue, to show one as rewarded, and the other as punished."¹⁸ As an explicit statement of purpose this applied to both the novel and to children's stories. But there was a difference. In the novel, more entertainment was permissible, and the mix of moral purpose and entertainment varied considerably. Within the early Newbery works, there was a mix at first; but as the emphasis on TRUTH prevailed, imaginative elements became suspect, and entertainment diminished. The authors of early fiction varied in religious background and in philosophic belief, but the emphasis on realistic and truthful depiction was shared by all.

In both sources, educational theory was a common topic. Rousseau's Emile created an awareness of the importance of early education, and literature for all age groups reflected this theme. The chief exponents of Rousseau's

doctrine in children's books were Thomas Day and the Edgeworths. In adult fiction, authors who wrote about educational theory included Henry Brooke, Robert Bage, Thomas Holcroft, William Godwin and Mrs. Inchbald.¹⁹

The subject matter discussed in both sources was highly selective. Early novels and children's books paid little heed to foreign wars, and no attention whatsoever to industrial expansion and its accompanying social hardships.²⁰ But anti-slavery and kindness to animals appeared frequently in both sources. As Tompkins noted :

It is indeed singular how slowly the prevailing interests of the day reflected in the magazines, made their way into the novel. Education, religious toleration and the crusade in favour of the humane treatment of animals appear frequently, for they blend easily with the sensibility and didacticism that were the dominant notes in fiction, but such important aspects of society as trade, medicine and the administration of justice are hardly to be found except as they serve the comic purposes of the picaresque.²¹

By the second decade of the 19th century, desert islands and ship-wrecks were common in both sources.²² Gypsies occurred during the 1830s and the 1840s, and pirates were frequent by the century's end.²³ From the start foundlings were a popular theme. The orphan child was a convenient plot device. Through him, benevolence could be demonstrated, the

benefits of sound training exemplified, and contrasts freely drawn between the industrious but poor hero, of unknown origin, and the indulged, well-born anti-hero.²⁴ In the sample of children's books used for this study, there were 44 stories about orphans and foundlings.

Foundlings who started life in hedgerows or were laid on the steps of church vestibules, often emerged at the end of the story as the sons and rightful heirs of the local aristocracy, as in Tom Jones. According to one literary historian, the dependency on chance or coincidence on the part of fiction writers was the result of an inability to cope with the intricacies of plot or with the passage of time.²⁵ By 1800 reviewers were dealing severely with novelists who over-stepped the bounds of probability, but authors of children's fiction continued to strain credulity for forty years more.²⁶ Children's books, as we saw in the last chapter, were exempt from criticism because of their moral worth. Cutt noted that among authors of children's fiction the tract fiction writers wrote the most improbable stories.²⁷

It was generally agreed that the purpose of fiction was a moral one, so it is not surprising that virtue flourished in both sources. Nor is it surprising that the same virtues were idealized: filial duty, honesty, prudence and industry. Where the female sex was portrayed, patience and resignation were the requirements. The fiction works from 1780 were

written by women predominantly, and books dealt with women's issues primarily: preparation for marriage, the importance of chaste behaviour and appearance, fidelity, and sometimes, the superior status of men.²⁸ Women's education, particularly the great debate between the value of superficial accomplishments, in contrast to sound moral principles, was often discussed.²⁹ The role of women was in transition and fiction writers provided guidance. For the first time in history, parental authority, particularly in regard to the selection of a spouse, had weakened.³⁰ There was a wealth of new subject matter for fiction writers. There was discussion too, about suitable occupations for "spinsters".³¹ During this period, writing was seen as a possible career for women. This may explain the large number of untried and unskilled women authors who embarked on writing careers at the end of the 18th century.³²

In early fiction for both child and adult, the good were rewarded, and the wayward came to grief. There were often contradictions in the way these events were described.³³ In theory riches were shunned in favour of simple living, but, because virtue must be rewarded, the good married into the aristocracy, and adopted the trappings of wealth which their virtue had caused them previously to shun.

The prevalence of death-bed scenes in adults and children's fiction was also noteworthy.³⁴ Descriptions of death and dying were introduced earlier in the adult novel, because

"the cult of distress" was acceptable in the novel from the time of Sterne.³⁵ In children's books deathbed scenes and last minute conversions were a part of Puritan tract literature since Janeway's time for religious reasons. They were omitted from the first fiction works for children. But by 1800, the religious revival increased the popularity of such subject-matter. Emotional expression in children's books was prohibited but the description of emotions accompanying last-minute conversions was acceptable. The stories of both Legh Richmond and Mrs. Sherwood provided a wealth of detail.³⁶ "Little Henry's" demise in the arms of his faithful bearer "Boosie", in the first of the missionary stories, left the hardest reader misty-eyed. By 1830, even secular authors included detailed and protracted deathbed scenes.³⁷ Grylls noted it took 27 pages for Frank to die in Holiday House, one of the liveliest and most entertaining of children's books of the period.³⁸ Although the purpose of these descriptions of death and dying was ostensibly a moral one, through them child-readers experienced heightened feeling-states. Enhanced by religious respectability, the emotions had gained entry into children's fiction.³⁹ It has been noted elsewhere that the rise of fictional deaths was accompanied by a declining death rate.⁴⁰ There can be no doubt that in the 19th century, death and its accoutrements were a positive force in contributing to the sale of fiction works for both adults and children.

In the 18th century, explanations of the supernatural were common in both children's and adult fiction. By 1800, novel writers were becoming sufficiently sophisticated to leave some uncertainty about supernatural events.⁴¹ In children's books, however, rational explanations were always provided. This held true from the first ghostly appearance in Goody Two Shoes to the last, in William Howitt's Boy's Country Book.⁴² The influence on children of stories of the supernatural was a common topic for discussion in adult novels. The comments of novelists indicate how widespread were the beliefs of Locke concerning the effects of tales about spirits and hobgoblins.⁴³

Shared by the novel and children's fiction was the emphasis on the beauty of nature. Many detailed descriptions of natural surroundings occurred in both sources, but the purpose of these descriptions differed. Susceptibility to the beauties of nature accompanied sensibility, in adult books.⁴⁴

Sensibility was discouraged in children's books, but descriptions of nature were plentiful as a prelude to serious conversation on natural science or botany. Charlotte Yonge's walks and talks with fathers, aunts, or god-mothers, were filled with explanations of natural history.

A disparagement of foreign influence, particularly of the French, was common in both sources and reflected public sentiment in the aftermath of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. There was criticism of French governesses,

French fashions, French accomplishments, and above all, French novels. Only philosopher-authors spoke favourably of French influence, referring usually to Rousseau and the Encyclopedists.

Content Differences

We have looked at the similarities. What were the differences in content between children's and adult fiction? The most significant difference was that before 1835 children rarely appeared in the adult novel.⁴⁶ When they did, it was usually as a plot device to provide an interlude, or sometimes a test of character, to see how others in the story reacted to them.⁴⁷ Children made an earlier appearance in poetry than they did in prose. Wordsworth, Cowper, Crabbe and Blake all wrote evocatively about individual children to raise concern for their plight.

In children's books, by contrast, the child was always central. But the child as depicted was never an individual or a realistically described child, but a generalized symbol who was either all good or all bad. These children were both artificial and wholly predictable. Quite probably they were as tiresome for readers then as now. Both children's and adult fiction suffered from poor characterization but for different reasons. Children in the early books were unreal. They were described as, black or white, good or bad, with no intermediate shadings. Individual characterization became sharper in adult novels after the turn of the century, but in children's fiction

little effort was spent on character portrayal. In the cast of well over a thousand characters, only Rosamund and one or two of the little girls in Mrs. Leicester's School lived and breathed momentarily in the books of the sample.⁴⁸ The first real live heroes in children's books came about in the adventure stories of the 1830s, but they too, were artificial in that they embodied all the manly virtues with no accompanying failings.⁴⁹ In this period, children's fiction never attempted to explore individual states of mind, nor until approximately 1830 did it recognize overtly that there were individual differences, although recognition of individual differences had been made in journals, educational treatises and medical texts from the early years of the 18th century.⁵⁰

By 1800, in adult fiction there were a few studies of individuals with deranged mental states.⁵¹ The Romantic Movement and the religious revival movement both encouraged a heightened respect for the individual. The great novelists of the 18th century allowed for conflicting traits in their central characters, (as in Moll Flanders, Tom Jones and Emma). Usually virtue and vice competed, and in the end, the positive forces triumphed. In children's fiction, there was no room for conflict because characters were all good or all bad from the start. Even Maria Edgeworth's children, with the advantages of well-staged learning experiences, only modified their behaviour minimally.

At the outset contrast, exaggeration, and extremes in behaviour, character and language, were shared by both adult's and children's fiction.⁵² This narrow and unrealistic view of human nature fitted well with the vogue for character-naming which contributed to a delay in effective characterization, and encouraged a generalized view of humanity. Not until the 1830s were children portrayed as individuals in story books.

A second major content difference was that in the adult novel it was permissible to put entertainment closer to the forefront, provided other worthy purposes were conspicuous. As we have seen, entertainment was always secondary in children's fiction until after 1840.

A third major difference has already been touched on. In adult fiction there was an expectation of emotional enhancement which was usually absent from children's books except in tract literature. The early novels wallowed in sensation and sentimentalism.⁵³ The search for novelty in plot and setting led to extravagances in description. It also led to inaccuracy of detail in many of the Gothic tales where historical fact gave way to anachronism. During the same period, even serious historical accounts for children were carefully perused in case of inaccuracy or untruth which might be misleading.⁵⁴ Embellished descriptions were discouraged and drama, and poetry which dealt with emotional extremes and imaginative excesses, were both denounced.

There were also minor differences in the content of fiction for children and fiction for adults. One was the manner in which science was treated. In children's books it was handled in a serious expository fashion, in adult fiction it was often satirized.⁵⁵

Settings, too, differed. In the Gothic period, novels were set in foreign parts and were often displaced in time. Later, London was a favourite setting, or at the very least, the central characters sojourned there for some part of their allotted pages. Novelists did not attempt to deal with the realities of urban life.⁵⁶ The poverty and squalor of the city were overlooked until the 1830s when they became a focus in themselves for the novels of social purpose. During the 19th century, social concerns became an accepted topic for novels. Mrs. Radcliffe voiced the beginnings of change in 1796 when she wrote :

...it was formerly thought sufficient for a novel if it afforded a few hours of innocent amusement...of late, however, it has been discovered that a novel is a very effectual and interesting vehicle for truths and speculations of the utmost importance, in moral and political philosophy; and men of very superiour abilities have employed their time and talents in cultivating this species of writing.⁵⁷

We have seen that families in children's books lived chiefly in the country in domestic solitude. Against their

background of rural simplicity, children's stories were always contemporary. Authors were thus able to focus on the issues of good and bad behaviour without the distraction of historical settings or social problems. The few social issues discussed in children's fiction were humanitarian, such as anti-slavery, and kindness to animals. It could be said that the authors of children's fiction and adult fiction both wore blinkers, but the blinkers were differently constructed. It has already been stated that both children's and adult fiction at this period were highly derivative. A successful model was often copied. The pseudo-biographical style of Defoe, Fielding, Smollatt and Sterne occurred in children's fiction as well. The Quixote format appeared and re-appeared, particularly in adult books, until as late as 1802.⁵⁸

The life-story of animals, another successful model, was familiar to both adult and child readers of the 18th century. The original was The History of Pompey the Little (1751) by Francis Coventry.⁵⁹ Among children's books were Keeper's Travels, The Memoirs of Bob, Dick, the Poney, The Hare and the Swallow.⁶⁰

The life story of inanimate objects, such as toys, pieces of money or household utensils, was also common to both sources. These objects travelled from house to house and hand to hand and recited their adventures. These episodic accounts probably did not tax the authors as would have the provision of an interwoven plot. For children there were The Adventures of

a Silver Penny and The Adventures of a Half Penny. The adult counterparts were The Adventures of a Banknote (1770-1), The Adventures of a Rupee and The Adventures of a Guinea. We have seen that the Kilner ladies during the 1780s contributed Perambulations of a Mouse, Memoirs of a Pegtop, and Adventures of a Pincushion.⁶¹ Adult counterparts were The Adventures of a Pump, and The Memoirs of An Old Hat, among others. A Critical reviewer commented in 1781 :

This mode of making up a book and styling it The Adventures of a Cat, Dog, a Monkey, A Hackney Coach, A Louse, A Shilling, a Rupee...is a convenient method to writers of the inferior class, of emptying their commonplace books, and throwing together all the farrago of public transaction, private characters, old and new stories, everything in short, which they can pick up, to afford a little temporary amusement to an idle reader.⁶²

A curious distinction in books of this sort when children were the intended readers was that the gift of speech was always explained as an illustrative device; there were no such disclaimers in adult books. The use of such devices, the reliance on episode, and the lack of an overall plot remained for a longer period in those books written for children.

Among other similarities of style, the use of dialogue, shared initially, died out more rapidly in adult fiction.⁶³

Dialogue was an easy way to work educational material into a fiction work. Because children's fiction was viewed as educational material, its retention in the books sampled for this study until approximately 1820 is understandable.⁶⁴

Character-naming also occurred in both children's and adult fiction. There are some pleasing examples from early adult novels, such as Mr. Cant, the Methodist minister, and Mr. Racket, the Undergraduate (from The Younger Brother, and Geoffrey Wildgoose (of The Spiritual Quixote) and Mr. Vindex, the schoolmaster (in A Fool of Quality). Titles sometimes went with professional status rather than character trait, as in Mr. Ledger and Mr. Scribble. One can not say that this particular stylistic device was retained longer in children's fiction because the practice came and went for the next one hundred and fifty years in the novel -- as in Lord Frederick Verisoft in Nicholas Nickleby and Trollope's Mr. Quiverful. In children's books the custom was common, throughout the period of this study but declined in frequency after 1810.⁶⁵

Other common stylistic features were attributable to lack of skill, or to the novelty of the medium. The use of overblown and artificial language remained longer in children's books, in part because it could be legitimized as a need to demonstrate an effective use of words. Moreover, critics examined a book for its moral purpose and not for its writing style. Children's books contained more admonition and exposi-

tion than adult books. As we have seen the authors of children's books who provided misinformation, or made grammatical or spelling mistakes, were taken to task. The unnatural language of early children's fiction, however, was not commented on until the end of the 19th century.⁶⁶

In the 1780s, critics were condescendingly kind to authors of first novels, and excused their flaws on the grounds of inexperience.⁶⁷ By 1800 there was such an overflow of novels on the market that critics began to deal harshly with excesses of all kinds.⁶⁸ Such good fortune did not prevail in children's literature, with the result that self-consciousness and artificiality, initially common to both sources, were expelled more rapidly from adult fiction.

Additional informational content was also common to both sources.⁶⁹ It included selections from essays and sermons, fables, and sometimes poems, (although in children's books the latter were carefully screened). During the 1780s the practice was so common in novels that critics became caustic and referred to such "padding" as a "confession of insufficiency."⁷⁰ Nevertheless, lengthy quotations remained as a regular feature of children's books for another twenty years, although again declining somewhat in frequency after 1800.

The use of introductions, prefaces to the reader, and dedicatory epistles were common to both sources between 1740 and 1800. They too died out during the 19th century but more slowly in children's books. Tompkins has suggested that they

were inserted originally because authors did not know where or how to begin their tales.⁷¹

Lack of humour was another common characteristic of the fiction of this period, although in adult fiction there were some exceptions, notably in the works of Fielding, Smollett and Sterne. Tompkins described the humour in the novel between 1770 and 1800 as both "scanty and crude".⁷² Humour appears to have been used in similar fashion in children's and adult books. Caricature and ridicule were its most frequent expression.⁷³ Satire was common in adult books but less so in children's - in fact it was cautioned against by Mrs. Trimmer.

Jane Austen's characterizations, based on understatement, were in contrast to the general rule. Because over-statement predominated, subtlety of allusion was lacking. In children's prose fiction there was no understatement, no subtlety and very little humour. For this reason alone, the light verse of Roscoe and Sarah Martin must have been warmly welcomed. The limericks which preceded Lear, and the later works of Lear and Lewis Carroll, were both a reaction to and a remedy for the sanctimonious and humourless children's stories of the period.

Authorship Characteristics

The most obvious shared feature among authorship characteristics was that the majority of authors were women.⁷⁴ Before the mid 18th century, women had contributed relatively little to literary life. The popular commentaries and journalistic

reports in essay form were typically a male preserve.

In children's books and in the novel changes in authorship patterns followed the same route. Men were the first to become involved, and particularly those who had already been initiated into book production in one form or another. In adult fiction a stimulus came from Defoe, a journalist, from Fielding, a dramatist, and from Richardson, a printer. In children's fiction, as we have seen, Boreman, Newbery and Johnson were all involved in publishing. Men dominated both fields until 1780. After that, women authors were in the majority in both, and they more than made up for their earlier reticence.⁷⁵ For aspiring authors, Tompkins has suggested that the novel offered "an outlet to the imaginative, an instrument to the didactic, and a resource to the straightened."⁷⁶ But she also noted that by 1800, there was only one woman who had made her living by her pen, Charlotte Smith - Mrs. Hofland's contributions were in the 19th century. Prose fiction was a new form of literary expression and could be indulged in anonymously. Women could try their luck and risk little. They were also the recognized experts on sensibility, much in vogue at the time. The "sympathetic indulgence" of the critics to their first literary efforts was welcomed. Indeed some men tried their hands under female pseudonyms so that critic reaction might be more kindly. By 1800 most female authors were writing under their own names whether their works were for children or for adults.

Male authors, vastly outnumbered for three decades, re-entered the adult domain after the turn of the century, following the lead of Sir Walter Scott. In children's fiction they stayed away for much longer, not returning in any significant number until after 1840. Those who came back then came with already established literary reputations, and contributed to both adult and juvenile fiction with enjoyment and without apology. In poetry, the story was somewhat different, perhaps, as Tompkins said, because the poets were always trend-setters.⁷⁷

The few men who contributed children's books in the first decades of the 19th century were men of strong moral or didactic purpose. Professionally they were, for the most part, school teachers or clergymen. R.L. Edgeworth and Thomas Day were neither, but they tenaciously promoted in their books for children a philosophy of education. All had sufficient strength of purpose to risk entry into a field tacitly reserved for women.

In the early period there may have been other male authors who wrote anonymously or under pseudonyms who have not yet been identified. Those men who came late to children's fiction--after 1820 --adopted the narrative style first introduced by Defoe and popularized by Scott. This style had previously been used sparingly in children's books. From them came sea sagas, adventure stories, and accounts of exploration and discovery.

When men such as Thackeray, Ruskin, and Dickens, authors with established reputations, began writing for children, they forced a more critical awareness of the quality of children's books. But this was a full fifty years after standards for the adult novel had been established.

Domestic novels, as we know them from the hand of Jane Austen and Maria Edgeworth, provided accounts of the everyday lives of the minor gentry. They were set within the family circle and dealt with women's roles as wives, sisters, daughters, and often as the objects of male suitors. It was easy for women to make use of this role as mothers in the new and expanding field of juvenile fiction. Lack of suitable reading material for young children was frequently commented on in prefaces and dedications in the 1780s and 1790s. Most of the reading material available (other than school texts which were in short supply) was considered unacceptable for children. Who better qualified to fill the need than mothers, or sometimes aunts, or older sisters? Publishers had indicated their willingness to publish material for children, and there was a growing emphasis on the importance of education. That the early fiction should have been heavily instructional is understandable. The primary purpose of these women was to provide religious and educational material for their own growing families.

There were some divisions of opinion among women authors on the subject of female accomplishments, a theme shared by

adult and children's books from the turn of the century. The phalanx of women authors were divided on this issue. Religious affiliation in the main determined the way in which their vote was cast. On religious grounds, Evangelical writers believed superficial accomplishment to be at best frivolous and to lead at worst to a fall from chastity, the story-book fate. In their books, many social behaviours were expressly forbidden. Others might be discarded because they held no useful purpose. Some authors took a lenient view because any occupation was preferable to idleness. Writers without sectarian affiliation were still more lenient and permitted their child-heroes and heroines to attend occasional theatre performances, and to read selected novels and poetry.⁷⁸ Novelists were certainly more broad-minded than authors of children's books. Jane Austen, unsure of her role as an author, was spirited in her defense of novel-reading.⁷⁹

If we examine the works of those women who contributed to both children's and adult fiction some interesting contrasts emerge. Maria Edgeworth, Hannah More, Barbara Hofland and Harriet Martineau were reasonably consistent in their messages for both audiences. Although their novels provided insights into the domestic manners of the period, they suffered from excessive moralizing and a suppression of all emotion. Charlotte Smith's novels were admired by the critics and late 19th century reviewers still found them readable. Her children's books, however, were dreary beyond belief. She was

one female author who made her living by her pen. Almost certainly she churned out children's books for the quick and certain financial return they brought. Charlotte Smith and Mrs. Sherwood varied their fare according to intended readership.

Scudder has described the women authors of this period as "a host of minor writers" who plied their trade "without much thought of art."⁸⁰ Seven such women remained leaders in the field of children's fiction for more than thirty years.⁸¹ Although it would not be accurate to describe Charlotte Smith, Maria Edgeworth, or even Mrs. Sherwood as "minor writers", when writing for children their talents were obscured by the weight of their moral purpose. Their emulators had even fewer skills. Some anonymous authors tried only once, but many wrote both plentifully and badly. A very few wrote with originality, but from the evidence it would appear they may have had difficulty in finding a publisher. Publishers, too, were caught up in Mrs. Trimmer's snare. Children's fiction was expected to follow an established format and deviations were frowned on.

Readership Characteristics

Novels always had a wider readership than children's books. The bulk of their readers were women. Once women novelists had had their fling at passion in Gothic settings they reverted to writing what they knew about, their own domestic surroundings. Some authors experimented with historical romance based on the models provided by Scott. In children's stories the domestic setting prevailed because the authors were

predominantly women.' Home-based issues and behaviour made up the contents of children's books until approximately 1820 when, probably because of the continuing involvement of the British forces and fleet overseas, the autobiographical, semi-historical sea and adventure story broke the monopoly of home-based stories. These books were "universal" books in the same sense that Robinson Crusoe, Pilgrim's Progress and Gulliver's Travels had been. Anyone who was literate read them. But in fact, until the beginning of the 19th century, with few exceptions, only the middle and upper classes could read. The exceptions were the self-made men who read widely from whatever sources they could find.⁸²

The children's books of the sample for this study were in the main intended for and probably only read by the middle and upper class child. The sea and adventure stories may have crossed class lines and these ~~were not~~ initially intended for children. It is clear that Marryat considered his books adult fare with the exception of Masterman Ready in which he carefully expurgated both language and events.⁸³ Except for a handful of tracts, the books in the sample, in any event, were priced above the means of a lower class family.⁸⁴

The selectiveness of readership provides a strong argument for urging historians to handle unobtrusive source material such as fiction with caution. Children's fiction was essentially an upper and middle class phenomenon in the period of this study. The evidence collected from an analysis

of these books can not be generalized across class lines. This evidence has provided insight into attitudes about children, and into child-raising practices in comfortably-off families but it leaves a realm of unexplored territory among the upper aristocracy and also among the working poor.

Chapter Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to uncover similarities and differences within two source materials, the English novel and works of juvenile fiction in the years 1740 to 1840.

Adult fiction experimented with sentimental excess in the 1770s and 1780s, and Gothic excess in the 1790s, then forked at the turn of the century. On the one hand were historical romances which led to the sea and adventure stories later described as "boys' books". On the other, were the domestic novels written predominantly by women authors many of whom also wrote books for children. Their concerns were largely women's concerns; they described courtship, marriage and family relationships, but gave neither time nor space to the contemporary events which surrounded them. Surprisingly, they paid little attention to children. A third path, distinguishable from 1830, lead to the great Victorian novel of social purpose. It held elements of both education and escapism for its readers, and, for the first time, in these works the child became a major part of the subject-matter of the novel. By the end of the century Scudder wrote:

Childhood is part and parcel of every poet's material; children play in and out of fiction and readers are accustomed to meeting them in books and to finding them often as finely discriminated by the novelist as are their elders. ⁸⁵

But children were always a focal part of children's books.

Another distinguishing feature between adult and children's fiction is that their purpose, once closely shared, diverged after the first fifty years. Adult fiction was to amuse and instruct, but more and more emphasis came to be placed on amusement over the years. Children's fiction was to instruct and amuse, with less and less emphasis on amusement. The suitability of escapism, of humour, and of emotional identification was questioned in children's books, leaving instruction to prosper alone.

Within both sources characterization became more individualized and less stereotyped as the years progressed. These changes occurred more rapidly in the adult novel because of critic appraisal. With a rise in standards, plots for novels became more probable, and writing style less laboured. Conversations within books took a more natural form and settings were more realistic. There was less direct exposition and quotation, and fewer stylistic devices. These same changes were achieved in children's fiction, but they came about more gradually, and the developmental process was extended to the middle of the 19th century, fully fifty years after the novel had reached maturity.

In the early period of children's fiction there were no sentimental or Gothic extravagances. The messages to children were conveyed without direct use of either fantasy or the emotions. Ironically, it was the pathos of the tract fiction works of Mrs. Sherwood and the Reverend Legh Richmond which first introduced emotions into children's books. These works were accepted because of their spiritual wrappings. From then on "a good cry" became a recognized goal in even secular works for children.

But the major difference between the two sources lay in the intolerance for imaginative material in children's books. All religious, educational, and philosophic writers were united in this aim. The "unexceptionable" book of Mrs. Trimmer's description was the unquestioned goal of children's fiction writers.

The authors of both sources shared many similarities, the greatest single common factor being that they were a majority of middle class women. In several instances the authors of novels and of moral tales were the self-same people. Some were able to differentiate clearly between their two markets and adapted their content and writing style accordingly.

It has been noted that while authorship patterns followed the same route in both sources, the hold of a few strong-willed women was maintained in children's fiction unchallenged for more than thirty years. The seven leading ladies of children's fiction remained unchallenged partly because their reading audience was uncritical, and partly because it was accepted that the main purpose of children's fiction was to inculcate moral

values or to provide educational information, and often both, within the same cover. When their grip was finally relinquished it was to a group of male authors who were already successful at the writing profession. These men held less restrictive views about what was damaging for children. After 1840, it became acceptable to appeal to the child's curiosity, to whet his imagination, and to engage and stimulate his emotions. As authorship changed, so purpose changed, and as an accompaniment, came welcome developments in content and style.

It was with a certain flamboyance in the 1840s that the importance of childhood appears to have been recognized within children's fiction. The first appearance of children's books is often cited as evidence of the importance children had assumed in society. However, the fact that fiction works for children appeared in 1740 says more about the state of middle class literacy and about the consumer society which promoted small business than it does about the importance of the child. By 1840, the child's importance was indeed recognized by significant authors --men of vision and intelligence --who understood that the wealth of a nation lay in its children. They urged the reading public to be aware that to develop optimally children need a time to play as well as a time to work.

Chapter 9

On Stimulating the Imagination

The lunatic, the lover and the poet,
Are of imagination all compact.¹

William Shakespeare.

Introduction

It has commonly been accepted that the imagination can be stimulated by tales of imaginary people or by unreal exploits either recounted aloud or in book form. The issue in the period of this research was whether it should be so stimulated, particularly where children were concerned. Thomas White, in his Little Book for Little Children (1672) took up the cudgel: "When thou can'st read, read no Ballads and foolish books, but the Bible".² In 1700, the dangerous effects of such stimulation were made explicit by John Locke.³

That the Puritans should have felt strongly about the negative effects of stimulating the imagination is not surprising, and Puritan beliefs dominated most 18th century child-raising practices. For Puritans and Evangelicals the child had a propensity for sin which would be encouraged by untrue or deceitful tales. The positive aspects came only gradually to be accepted. By 1850, the beneficial effect of stimulating the mind with fantasy was noted in philosophic treatises.⁴ It was also translated into practice in the new kind of fiction written for children.

The Traditional Point of View

It has been noted that Mrs. Trimmer and Mrs. Sherwood bowdlerized the early stories of The Governess and Little Goody Two Shoes. The many injunctions against believing that animals could really speak have also been mentioned, as well as the frequent reminders against believing stories of hobgoblins, giants or spirits. One of the first explicit statements after Locke came from the influential pen of Isaac Watts, who wrote in detail, about what was and was not suitable for children to read.⁵ Perhaps because he wrote in a practical vein, his views held much credence with parents and educators. In spite of his dissenting views he commanded even Mrs. Trimmer's respect.⁶

Hannah More's Strictures of Female Education (1799) examined reading material for girls in detail. She found that, "Novels which used chiefly to be dangerous in one respect are now become mischievous in a thousand".⁷ She joined forces with Mrs. Trimmer in deploring the lack of Christian principle in the novels of her day.

Of Mrs. Trimmer's views we have had ample evidence. She agreed with one correspondent that "Cinderella" was "one of the most exceptionable books that was ever written for children".⁸

Not only writers with a religious orientation took this stand. The rational philosophers disapproved also. The Edgeworths, Mary Wollstonecraft, and Erasmus Darwin all dis-

cussed the dangers of inappropriate reading and were equally harsh in their censure of novels. Darwin in his Plan for the Conduct of Female Education, in Boarding-Schools (1797) believed that portions of some novels could be read safely but that they should all be carefully edited beforehand.⁹ Mary Wollstonecraft wrote that all fictions should be prohibited because "they give a wrong account of the passions before judgement is formed."¹⁰ The Edgeworth's found Evenings at Home to be the best reading for young children. They censured books such as Tom Jones and Gil Blas because they instilled "a love of deceit", and adventure stories, (apart from Robinson Crusoe and Gulliver's Travels), because they encouraged "too great a taste for adventure and enterprise...pink is pale reading to the eye which is used to scarlet".¹¹

These restrictive views on children's reading material were to be repeated many times during the first twenty years of the 19th century. John Bennett in his Letters to a Young Lady, stated:

A volume would not be sufficient to expose the dangers of these books. They lead young people into an enchanted country, and open to their view an imaginary world, full of inviolable friendships, attachments, ecstasies, accomplishments, and prodigies...¹²

More subtly, Jane Austen poked fun at Gothic novels in Northanger Abbey¹³. The concern about stimulating the imagination was widely shared.

Signs of Change

Child-raising manuals of the late 1820s and the 1830s indicated some softening of attitude as the century progressed. Mrs. Budden, for example, who wrote domestic treatises as well as children's fiction, indicated a less rigorous position in 1827 than she revealed in an earlier work published in 1816.¹⁴ In Buds of Genius (1816) she had criticized Hester Chapone, whose letters of advice were standard fare for young people, yet who admitted to both reading and writing novels. Of Mrs. Chapone, Mrs. Budden wrote the following passage, in dialogue form (a common practice as we have seen):

Mamma: It is to be regretted that her young mind was so much impressed and delighted by works of fiction.

Henry: Such as novels and romances, I suppose. I wonder such reading could afford her pleasure, for you have often told us it is very injurious; and indeed, if a book were given me that I knew to be untrue, I believe I should feel no interest in it.

Louisa: I am quite of the same opinion, for I always like to read accounts that really did happen.

Mamma: Romances appear to have been the favourite reading of females of that period, and it is not to be wondered at, that this young lady, influenced by the example of those around her, should have read, with avidity, works so alluring in their composition though so little instructive in their tendency. The children

of the present day have great advantages: there are so many interesting and valuable juvenile publications that they need never be at a loss to spend a leisure hour improvingly; but at the beginning of the last century it was not so much the aim of authors to imbue the minds of the young with just sentiments, as to amuse them with marvellous and ridiculous stories and the histories of Tom Thumb, and Jack the Giant Killer, and Mother Bunch's Fairy Tales, were the favourite books of children.¹⁵

Seventy-five years after Isaac Watts's Improvement of the Mind another Dissenting minister wrote two books of advice -- one for parents and one for teen-agers.¹⁶ These books revealed the distance travelled in that period, in terms of psychological thought and knowledge about children. Isaac Taylor, (brother to Jane and Ann), wrote at length on the cultivation of the conceptive faculty which he defined as "the power of entertaining ideas apart from sensations and perceptions".¹⁷ He was familiar with current philosophical thought on the nature of mind, and believed the conceptive faculty, of which imagination was a part, should be cultivated by the judicious reading of fables, history, and carefully selected fiction.¹⁸ For little children, fables -- a staple since the previous century -- were the best fare. But fiction works were necessary too in order to familiarize the growing child with evil.¹⁹ "Mere novels -- love stories, whether better or worse, are

utterly and without exception excluded from my present intention". He did not believe it was enough to strengthen virtue by protecting innocence through censorship, as Mrs. Trimmer had tried to do. For parents he offered the following advice:

Those who may be disposed to banish fictions from the school-room library, are likely also to use their endeavours for repressing that disposition to invent and enact romance, and the petty drama, which shows itself in all children of vivacious tempers. For my own part I should always be slow to interdict any thing which is seen to spring generally, if not universally, from the spontaneous development of the faculties.²⁰

He concluded: "Childhood -- happy, high-toned childhood, is all IDEALITY". Ideality he found to be "...nothing less than the warp and woof of the first years of life."²¹

The Alternative View

Even in rational and Evangelical times there was another side to the coin; Bacon in the 16th, John Aubrey in the 17th, and Richard Steele in the 18th century all favoured imaginative works for children.²²

Samuel Johnson was often quoted by protagonists on both sides:

Babies do not like to hear stories of babies like themselves. They require to have their imagination raised by tales of giants and fairies, and castles and enchantments.²³

In disclaiming the truth of this statement, Mrs. Trimmer and Maria Edgeworth became unaccustomed bed-fellows.²⁴ The disapproval of what was untrue created strange alliances.

The next volley was fired by Charles Lamb in his already quoted letter to Coleridge in 1802.²⁵ Coleridge it is known was in agreement with Lamb. Wordsworth's views too are well-known:

(The child)...must live

Knowing that he grows wiser every day

Or else not live at all, and seeing too

Each little drop of wisdom as it falls

Into the dimpling cistern of his heart;

For this unnatural growth the trainer blame,

Pity the tree...

Oh! give us once again the wishing-cap

Of Fortunatus, and the invisible coat

Of Jack the Giant-killer, Robin Hood

And Sabra in the forest with St. George!

The child, whose love is here, at least doth reap

One precious gain, that he forgets himself.²⁶

Blake, in similar vein, wrote, "The Nature of my work is visionary or imaginative; it is an attempt to restore what the ancients call 'The Golden Age'".²⁷

Walter Scott, a collector of chapbook stories, was also critical of the trend to a specialized and antiseptic literature for children. In 1827, he wrote:

There is no harm, but, on the contrary there is benefit in presenting a child with ideas beyond his easy and immediate comprehension. The difficulties thus offered, if not too great or too frequent, stimulate curiosity and encourage exertion.²⁸

And on another occasion:

Indeed I rather suspect that children derive impulses of a powerful and important kind in hearing things they can not entirely comprehend; and therefore, to write down to children's understanding is a mistake; set them on the scent, and let them puzzle it out.²⁹

Of them all it was Coleridge who spoke out most strongly. For him, "the rules of the imagination are themselves the very powers of growth and production".³⁰ As an established literary critic his influence was widespread. He fulfilled the role of critic with intelligence and feeling, and with a "strenuous concern for the health and tone of civilisation" as Walsh has stated.³¹ As a critic, an educational theorist and a poet, Coleridge's was a strong voice in defense of imaginative writing.

In this fashion one group of authors argued against the ban on creative material for children. It was in spite of them, that the writers of moral tales continued to accept the ruling that children's minds should not be stimulated by untruths. The poets were more courageous about taking a stand than the writers of prose fiction. Later, as we have seen, they were

joined by other educated men, who shared a historical and antiquarian interest in old English folktales and legends.

The authors of early fiction for both children and adults alike were neophytes trying their wings for the first time. They were also wives and mothers, in the main, with minimal formal education and little writing experience. Their works were tolerated by the critics because their intentions were pure. Even had they wished to, these authors would not have flouted convention. Publishers, too, were cautious about accepting books contrary to public opinion of the time. In respect of Northanger Abbey, Sadlier noted that the book, bought by the publisher in 1803, languished unpublished because "its flouting of the general taste was premature; that the book would be ignored by the critics and that he would lose money".³²

It is interesting to speculate why one group of Romantic writers felt so strongly about the devastating effects of the moral tale. Can some inferences be drawn on the basis of what they themselves read as children? Some evidence is provided by personal documents. We are told that both Cowper and Scott read Spenser's "Fairie Queen". Scott, during his enforced invalidism, acquired an interest in the history of the Ottoman Empire. He, Crabbe and Wordsworth all learned by heart many of Percy's Reliques first published in 1756.³³ Scott's collection of ballads and legends, in chapbook form, were later woven into his narrative poems and his historical romances. Leigh Hunt,

Lamb, and Coleridge, were all students at Christ's Hospital School, and there read freely of the street literature of the time.³⁴ Edward Lear recounted that he read ballads and legends, and Dickens enjoyed folk tales, or so his frequent references suggest.³⁵ In the extraordinarily deprived childhoods of Ruskin and Southey, reading was the only solace. Given the restraints of their lives it is curious that they should have had free access to books. It is probably not coincidence that these three -- Southey, Dickens and Ruskin -- were the first to contribute to the new wave of fairy tales after 1840.³⁶ It is tempting to speculate that the freedom to range widely in childhood led to a permissive attitude to children's fiction. It also provided a background of information which may have stimulated greater creativity.

But there is evidence too that both Mrs. Trimmer and Mrs. Sherwood read many of the same materials, and their stand on what was acceptable in children's fiction was certainly uncompromising.³⁷ In the absence of other explanation it must be assumed that the strength of religious fervour overrode earlier experience.

It is likely that the views of the general public fell between the two extremes -- the censorship advocated by Mrs. Trimmer, and the active stimulation encouraged by the poets. There were practical concerns about the effects of reading fairy tales and romances. It was frequently stated that indulgence in such fare could lead to a propensity for "idle reverie"

--what we today would call "day-dreaming".³⁸ The Edgeworths wrote of the necessity of preventing children from "acquiring habits of reverie" and disapproved in particular of building "anticipation".³⁹ This form of reverie could lead to a love of change or novelty which some books in the sample recorded as a serious fault. Reverie also encouraged idleness about which children's authors were always admonitory.

The Growing Tolerance for Fairy Tales

Within the books in the sample there was a growing tolerance for fairy tales. During the 1820s and 1830s there were occasional inclusions of fairy tales on lists of recommended reading.⁴⁰ By the 1830s, one Evangelical author allowed her child characters to read them, at least during the week.⁴¹ The moral tales of earlier times became gradually diverted to Sunday books as children's reading matter became fractionated. This diversification assisted in the general acceptance of fairy tales and other imaginative works. There was no longer just one acceptable format for children's books. New categories were developed and children's fiction began to serve multiple purposes.

During the 1820s and 1830s there were more adventure stories geared to adolescent tastes. These were fictional biographies, realistically written but imaginative nonetheless. Added to them were the ballads and historical romances of Scott, which, by 1818 even Maria Edgeworth's teen-age heroines were permitted to read--and the door was opened another inch.⁴²

The Influence of Poetry

Poetry and imagination have traditionally been associated, and the language of poetry is by definition imaginative. That changes should have come about first in poetry is not surprising. But in the works of the moralists the traditional ban on poetry still prevailed well into the 19th century. John Bennett wrote, in his Letters of Advice:

Poetry I do not wish you to cultivate, further than to possess a relish for its beauties. Verses, if not excellent are execrable indeed ... Besides, a passion for poetry is dangerous to a woman. It heightens her natural sensibility to an extravagant degree, and frequently inspires such a romantic turn of mind, as is utterly inconsistent with the solid duties and proprieties of life.⁴³

Not only was poetry untrue, but in describing intense emotion it could heighten the feeling tone of the reader. In an age concerned with the development of moral and rational behaviour, heightened emotions were unacceptable. Within the books in the sample, emotions were described negatively for many years.

In consequence there were few poets whose works were approved for children. The verses of the Puritan Divines, Watts's Divine Songs and Mrs. Barbauld's Hymns in Prose were universally accepted. Thomson's "Seasons" was the most frequently quoted non-religious work, and the poems of Mrs. Hemans

and Mrs. Carter were also permitted.

After 1800, Hymns for the Infant Mind and Original Poems by the Taylor sisters were extremely popular, as was Elizabeth Turner's cautionary verse.⁴⁴ Authors of children's prose also contributed poetry, among them Dorothy Kilner, Mary Elliott, Mary Hughes, Barbara Hofland and Mary Howitt. Their verses were largely without merit and today few are to be found in anthologies.⁴⁵ The children's verse of this period is best known through its parodies. The "dissuasive verse" of Watts, the Taylors, and Elizabeth Turner provided the model for Heinrich Hoffmann, Lewis Carroll and Hilaire Belloc.⁴⁶

Faculty Psychology - A Positive Influence

That children should not be left in the care of servants was a dominant theme in the books of the sample. Through servants they were introduced to old wives' tales which encouraged irrational fears. The negative influence of untrue tales was a strong belief among those who subscribed to associationism. But once the mind was discussed in terms of faculties, education and child-rearing took on a different aspect. The associating ability of the mind was still the key to understanding, but philosophers believed it to be controlled by faculties which had the power to arrange thoughts in new and different combinations. It was the ability to make new arrangements or patterns in the mind from previously received sensations, that resulted in humour, poetry, and other expressions of creativity, including scientific invention.

Isaac Taylor wrote at length on "ideality" of which the conceptive faculty was one part, and it, in turn, included both memory and imagination.⁴⁷ The notion that there was a source of ideas apart from immediate experience which could be stored up in the memory, to be drawn on later, and to be put together in different configurations, provided a new view of imagination.

By the second quarter of the 19th century there was a perceptible swing away from mechanistic views of mind. The poet's notion that imagination could and should be stretched became acceptable to philosophers and educationists. There were few possibilities open for the parent bored with moral platitude and the poet too long restricted to hymns or cautionary verse. The new-found respectability for imagination gave free rein to the collectors of ballads and legends and allowed a new kind of writing for the fiction writer, previously constrained by the need to avoid untruth.

It took time, however, for this new fiction to materialize. The die-hard views of the leading ladies of fiction were not to be supplanted immediately, Public opinion swung gradually from the moralists' camp to the stronghold of the supporters of fantasy. But even then the war was not won. In the 1850s and 1860s, a fresh wave of Evangelical fervour led to fresh attacks on fairy tales, which were once again bowdlerized and even "Christianized", as the review literature indicated.⁴⁸

Children's Fiction -- Imaginative or Not?

An objection may be raised in this discussion about the lack of imagination in early children's fiction, because it can truthfully be said that every work of fiction is based on imagination. The "pattern" children of the books of this sample, Jemima Placid, or Harry Sandford, were quite as unreal as any fairy or hobgoblin, but they were tolerated and even admired. The distinction lies in the meaning of the terms "imaginary" and "imaginative". Northrop Frye described the first as meaning "unreal", and the second as meaning "what the writer produces".⁴⁹ The writers of the period waged war on what was unreal or imaginary, in the make-believe sense, but created in their place an army of fictional children who were equally unbelievable, because they were either too good or too bad to be real.

In his discussion of imagination, Frye distinguished three levels of language: the language of conversation, the language of practical instruction, and the language of literature.⁵⁰ The children's fiction sampled for this study, does not qualify as "literature" in Frye's terminology. In their books, the authors of the period used language to impart information, to give advice, and more particularly, to describe correct behaviour. They studiously eschewed the language of literature which is based on imagination. Children's authors wrote realistically, shunning figures of speech, metaphors, similes and analogies. The result was, as we have seen, one

hundred years of mediocrity. Only historical purpose can motivate a reader to examine these books in number or depth.

How was the child affected by changing views concerning imagination? And what influence did imaginative writing have on children? During this exploratory period of children's fiction, which was delayed over-long because of the social thought of the period, the view of the child was always a cautious one. As an author, or a publisher, or a parent, if one was unsure about the consequences of providing excitement for child-readers, then it was not to be risked. There was, therefore, no laughter, no magic, no display of emotion and no excess of any kind.

Nobody knew for sure whether imaginary stories of ghosts or hobgoblins created morbid thoughts, bad dreams, a propensity for untruths, or at worst, insanity. But, to be on the safe side, in the absence of knowledge, they were ruled out. Then too, the established order of things advocated that the poor should not be given ideas above their station. So deserving princesses and benign fairy god mothers were expunged as well.

This viewpoint prevailed until intelligent critics, backed by distinguished men of letters, pointed out publicly that the end results were worth nothing. While the child might learn best through carefully structured sensory experiences, and by exercises in logical thinking, by 1840 he was believed to be more than just a creature of reason. He also had emotions, and as well, an imagination. The tract-writers exploited the

former, and the historical novelists the latter. A few enterprising publishers like John Harris played both sides of the fence and so satisfied "the doubting Thomases".

Chapter Summary

In this chapter we have examined alternative views to stimulating the imagination. While the discussion was primarily in reference to children's fiction it was noted that the climate of public opinion at least in literary circles at first frowned on imaginative works and fantasy of all kinds. That this disapproval was reflected most strongly in books written for children is not surprising. Puritans, Evangelicals, rationalists and associationists agreed that the child must be preserved from untruths. For the philosophers, the child learned through experience, and experience must be carefully selected. The capacity to reason was acquired experientially in the real world, and a child's behaviour was to be followed by its logical consequences. And so Rosamund went without new shoes! The ban on imaginative writing for children was almost universal at the turn of the 19th century. At the same time period, however, Gothic novelists were churning out pot-boilers for subscription libraries, and the poets, excluded by temperament or professional status, followed their own path.

Fairy tales were banned twice over, partly because of their fictional content, but also because they were linked to the poor and the ignorant through the oral tradition. Poetry also was condemned in two counts. It provided unreal images,

and, as well, allowed too great a play for the emotions. Drama was always suspect -- make-believe from start to finish. Even blends of fact and fiction were discouraged, as in the case of Scott's historical romances.

On the surface, authors of children's prose fiction condemned stimulating the imagination and indulging the passions. At a deeper level, however, the authors themselves did what they repudiated in the writings of others. The outcomes depicted in moral tales (and in dissuasive verse) seem to have been intended to stimulate the imagination and so to create fear in the minds of child readers. It cannot be supposed that authors were unaware of the impact of their imagery; it must be assumed that they believed moral purpose sanctioned the use of imaginative stimulation in such instances. Children's fiction authors used the tools they decried. Perhaps their attempts to instil a personal morality founded on guilt ensured that their works, otherwise deadly dull, would appeal to the starved imaginations of at least some of their child readers.

We have seen that it was through poetry, that imaginative writing first gained entry to children's fiction. John Harris attacked the traditional view by publishing a new kind of narrative verse. The expressions of dismay of the Romantic poets may have fortified his resolution too. The critics, in the end became exasperated by the mediocrity of style and the similarity of content. Perhaps influenced by Coleridge -- respected as an educationist, poet and critic -- reviewers became more exigent after 1820. The moral tales of this particular period could not

stand up to close scrutiny.

Scientific and philosophic thought underwent changes which worked to the advantage of the fairies. The mechanistic philosophy of associationism was re-examined and found wanting. A blend of associationism and faculty psychology resulted, which allowed for ideas based on past sensations to be manipulated and re-arranged, through association, to new purpose. Imagination, previously the product of ignorant minds, or the mentally ill, or the poets, now became common property. Once it was discovered that everybody dealt in images, images became acceptable. The mental processes of poets, lunatics and lovers differed only in degree.

Education was ready for a new direction. It became the training of the faculties which made up the mind. Imagination, as one of the faculties, could also be trained. Imaginative reading material was found to stimulate creativity and even scientific invention.

It was always accepted that imagination could and would be developed through reading. Imaginative material was first tolerated in children's prose in the context of pseudo-historical works. The requirement remained that books for children be realistically written. The journalistic style of Defoe remained the model for many of the children's books of the 19th century.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSIONS

They provided the leaf mould or compost which
nourished the final fruit.

J.M.S. Tompkins, 1932¹

Introduction

This chapter summarizes the conclusions of the research. Some are firm and are made with the backing of clear evidence; others are tentative and are made by inference alone. Many are inter-related. The whole provides some cautions concerning methods currently in use in historical research and in the interpretation of historical data.

The first section summarizes the results of a one hundred year's survey of children's fiction. The second section offers conclusions from the comparison of children's fiction with adult fiction, and also a glimpse of the changes which came about after 1840 and the factors which lead up to them. In the third section the findings from children's fiction sources are compared with an overview of the way in which childhood was viewed in other source materials of the period also concerned with childhood. The fourth section attempts to provide an appraisal of the usefulness of children's fiction as a data source in historical research.

1. Attitudes Expressed in Children's Fiction

When this research was first undertaken the hypothesis was that children's fiction works written in England between 1740 and 1840 reflected prevailing attitudes towards the child. A corollary hypothesis was that within that period, as attitudes towards children changed, the change would be reflected within children's fiction.

It has been found, however, that the attitudes revealed by this study were predominantly those of a small group of women who wrote prolifically for a guaranteed public for more than forty years and that their work reflected a minimal change in attitude. Prose fiction remained a serious matter. Its purpose was primarily educational inspite of a light-hearted trend towards comic verse and nursery rhymes from 1800 onward.

A peripheral conclusion from this study was that prose fiction was not fiction at all and was never viewed as such by its authors. After 1770 the purpose of all but a handful of the books sampled was to inform, exhort, and edify. While reference was frequently made to making learning palatable, in the prose written for children before 1840 it was never accepted that the printed word could be used for entertainment exclusively. When entertainment finally became acceptable in prose, it was in small doses and still with a liberal seasoning of moral commentary.

In the review journals before 1800, children's fiction was classified under the heading of "Education"; only later

was it re-located under "Miscellany" or "Recent Publications". In catalogues today, it is more for the convenience of librarians, bibliographers and researchers that the early moral tales are described as fiction and so distinguished from school texts, abcedariana and nursery verse. For the purposes of this study it has been a deceptive misnomer.

In prefaces and dedications the importance of providing children with a suitable learning environment was often stressed. The child learned through his senses and soaked up the world around him experientially. Nonetheless it is evident that both the written and spoken word were judged to be highly effective teaching devices. The efficacy of learning through verbal exhortation was a strong belief among those who wrote children's books. By 1800, several authors had questioned in print whether telling children what to do and how to do it was, in fact, the best way of providing learning experiences. But these questions were rhetorical and the same authors who posed them continued to give children detailed directions concerning their behaviour for another thirty years or so. Their stories could be considered patterns for behaviour modelling.

The "Pattern" Children of Prose Fiction

From the start of this study it was evident that nothing could be learned about real children from the examination of fictional heroes and heroines. However, there were occasional passing references to reality. Allusions to stocks to shape the feet of growing girls, and back-braces to strengthen their

shoulders, provided some unintentional clues. Play materials and nursery meals and clothing were described occasionally. These incidental details allow a glimpse of what life was like for the 18th and 19th century child. The children themselves were "pattern" children. They were clearly delineated with outlines so sharp that they could almost serve as paper doll cut-outs over the printed page. At first, in books, children were described as totally good, like Jenny Peace and Jemima Placid, or totally bad, like Polly Nogood or Roger Riot. These literary artefacts were as unreal and as imaginary as the witches and hobgoblins cautioned against by John Locke and his successors. Characterization was in black and white. The virtuous and wayward could be easily distinguished by their type names. Children with a mix of good and bad characteristics rarely occurred. Only occasionally, from the pen-portrait of a gifted writer such as Charles Lamb or Maria Edgeworth, did a child emerge who might actually have lived and breathed. Not until the 1830s were real children consistently described, by such authors as Anne Fraser Tytler and Catherine Sinclair.²

The Benefits of Experience

In most stories the good remained good and the bad bad. At the start, in the tales of Primrose Prettyface and Goody Two-Shoes, the good reaped their reward by marrying into the aristocracy. But Mrs. Trimmer put an end to such fantasies by declaring that it gave the poor ideas above their station. Almost universally, the bad met with violent death;

occasionally, sadder and wiser, they lived out their lives in Work Houses or Houses of Correction. With few exceptions children were not seen to benefit from their learning experiences to the extent that their behaviour was modified. The "pattern" children of moral tales were deeply concerned with their own good behaviour. At first their goodness was directed towards future events--rewards or punishments--described in concrete terms. After 1800, children's efforts were directed more and more to the less tangible, spiritual outcomes of the Hereafter. The negative effects of bad behaviour made for far more dramatic content than the future rewards of good behaviour. Cautionary tales in both prose and verse were popular in consequence.

Adult Expectations

The good children depicted in children's fiction represented an adult ideal. Adults defined the goals and set out clearly what was entailed in "being good". In essence the ideal was what is now accepted as the Victorian standard of behaviour for children--to be seen and not heard. The child must create only a minimum awareness of his presence. It was essential that he be obedient, honest, polite, and good-tempered. It was necessary to demonstrate benevolence, piety and industry as required. The "good" child of children's fiction adopted these adult goals unquestioningly. Fiction stories were little more than tales of exaggerated contrast of the good child and the bad, and of the evils which befell the latter.

These artificial and formalized little tales set forth clearly the expectations of one segment of middle-class society. They tell us what the authors feared most for their children. The frequent injunctions concerning the evils of imagination and emotional excess indicate their awareness of the hopelessness of their self-appointed task.

Rural Settings

Sometimes it is from the omissions from fiction works that the most significant insights are revealed. In these children's stories, as in the early domestic novels of the period, there was virtually no mention of foreign wars, or of industrial expansion and its accompanying hardships. Slaves, and the returned veterans of military service, stumble occasionally into the pages of children's books incidentally as objects of benevolence. Children themselves were depicted either as hapless foundlings, and the recipients of charity, or else portrayed within a tight family circle located in an idealized rural setting. Like Jane Austen, the authors of children's books saw their immediate environment as the epicentre of the universe. These ladies, most of them parents, were threatened by change. Their books reiterated old-fashioned child-raising values as a form of self-reassurance. Adults too were painted in unrealistic terms. They controlled their fictional children with consistency and quiet reasonableness, so preserving order and encouraging conformity to accepted social behaviour.

From Associationism to Faculty Psychology

Within the time period of this study, children's fiction, educational in purpose, expressed an ultra-conservative attitude towards the child. It stressed the need for a structured environment and firm controls with the final outcome a rational or moral one. The view that the child was essentially reactive and could learn effectively through the provision of the right environment was a legacy from the mechanistic philosophy of British associationism. Occasionally before 1800, authors made explicit reference to their philosophic beliefs, using the tutor figure as their mouthpiece, but after that date their philosophic beliefs were implicit only..

There was no reference to alternative viewpoints, although a growing adherence to faculty psychology was detectable in some educational and philosophic treatises of the day. Faculty psychology had less restrictive views of the child than associationism; at least imagination and creativity were acceptable activities of mind. Imagination was at first viewed narrowly as the reformulation of earlier sensory experiences which were retained as mental images in the memory. The acceptance of an active role for the mind which could rearrange past experiences to provide material for the imagination led to a less mechanistic view of learning. It also paved the way for a more tolerant view of imaginative writing for children. The erosion of the view that where children were concerned only the truth should prevail was facilitated

by the gradual acceptance of the works of the faculty psychologists of the Scottish "common-sense" school.

Knowledge about the Child and his Development

A lack of understanding about the emotional and intellectual development of the child fostered a restrictive view of human nature in general, and childhood in particular. Associationism allowed no room for creativity and even curiosity was censured. Independence was frowned on and emotional expression was controlled. Cultivating the imagination led to "castle-building" or "idle reverie" at best; to night fears and eventual insanity at worst. Even positive emotions such as parental love and family affection were described narrowly in terms of duty and obedience. Stone's conclusion that positive affective ties dominated family relationships from 1750 is not substantiated in children's literature.³

The desirable traits for children were listed in abstract terms in children's books. With our present day knowledge of the child's cognitive development these, more often than not, must have been beyond his comprehension. Individual differences were not often recognized in children's fiction although they were discussed in journal articles, in contemporary magazines, and in educational treatises.⁴ The first awareness of individual differences in children's fiction was expressed in the 1830s, in one of the more lively stories of the sample which used identical twins as central characters.⁵ Deviations

from the norm were neither anticipated nor tolerated in juvenile fiction. Blanket rules of behaviour were laid down and conformity through blind obedience was the expectation.

A Reluctance to Change

Children's fiction stories were stereotyped and safe and Mrs. Trimmer's "unexceptionable" book set the standard for seventy years. Authors kept to her edict that they should write nothing to fire the imagination or stimulate the emotions. The fact of so little change within this source at a time of revolutionary change in English social history is one of the more interesting findings of this study. In the time covered there were major industrial, economic and political upheavals in England. In technological and social change it was a period comparable to the last fifty years of our own lifetime. The significant developments in medical science, in political awareness, and in the recognition of the importance of education, make it difficult to believe that there were not changes in attitude to the child. If there were, they were not reflected in the books written for children during this time period. The children described in children's fiction were controlled, regulated and restricted in a manner we now describe as "Victorian".

2. Paving the Way for Change

Children's and Adult Fiction Compared

Because it was possible that the way children were portrayed in children's stories was a stylistic artefact, a brief survey was undertaken of adult fiction of the same period.

Indeed there were many stylistic similarities: type-names, the use of dialogue, the inclusion of extraneous material in the form of quotations, black and white characterization, the absence of plot, the reliance on exaggeration and coincidence, and many other features were found to be common to both sources. Themes too were shared--the foundling child, the desert island, the picaresque biography.

Both children's fiction and the novel came about during the 1740s and both underwent an exploratory period until approximately 1770 when their paths diverged. Through an examination of the differences in the rate and direction of development some cautious inferences can be made about the general interest and concern relating to childhood at that time.

Adult fiction ran amok between 1770 and 1800. It explored the excesses of sensibility, pathos, romantic love, and Gothic extravagance. At the same period in children's books the emotions were regulated, humour was quelled, and fantasy stifled. Having dipped into excess, the adult novel settled down after 1800 and gradually developed along two main paths. On the one hand, historical fiction became popular with Walter Scott as its instigator. On the other, the domestic novel had Jane Austen as its champion. The latter provided a running commentary on topical issues of the day.

No direct comparison of the manner in which children were described within children's and adult fiction could be made

because children rarely appeared in the adult novel!

The Role of the Critic

The development of adult and juvenile fiction followed a different course. The literary ladies who turned to writing novels in the 1770s were eliminated through critical review unless they had some claim to literary merit. In children's fiction, intent alone determined worth, and literary deficiencies passed unnoticed.

The under-representation of children in adult novels, and the lack of critical standards in children's fiction, may reflect the same view, that time and space devoted to childhood was time and space wasted. It is likely that children held little interest for the intellectual and literary elite. Considering the mediocrity of style, and the repetitiveness of theme, reviewers must have been pleased to renounce their responsibility for children's books.

At first reviewers of the novel were tolerant of the improbabilities in plot, the heavy reliance on coincidence, and the historical anachronisms perpetrated by this group of unskilled and predominantly female authors. With the explosion of print in the 1790s and the proliferation of review journals, critics became more stringent. Their tolerance for mediocrity in both plot and writing style diminished. But children's books continued to pass without critical comment. Occasionally a petulant reviewer of a family journal remarked on "the sameness" of the fiction.

works available for children. When children's books did receive attention, negative comment was directed to textual inaccuracies or grammatical errors.

The authors of the children's books of this sample were in some cases the self-same wives and mothers who wrote novels in their spare time. It is evident that they quickly learned a double standard. While their novels were criticized freely, their children's books passed unscathed.

We have seen that children's fiction was fiction in name only. Its intent was its justification and provided a shield from critical appraisal. Had this not been the case children's fiction too would have received critical comment and some standards of excellence would have emerged long before 1840.

The Influence of Mrs. Trimmer

And so it rested with Mrs. Trimmer's Guardian of Education to assess the worth of children's publications of all kinds. As a Censorship Board of one she went unchallenged. She alone established what was and was not acceptable and through her influence children's fiction remained unchanged for forty more years. Her views were accepted by publishers, parents and reviewers. Mrs. Trimmer was, as we have noted, a Monarchist, a Tory, and a zealous member of the Established Church. Child-raising materials, even those designed for informal education, are bound to be conservative, but among conservatives Mrs. Trimmer stood out. The lack of general information about child development reinforced her conservatism.

Those who were concerned about the effects of fantasy or "strong scenes" on the child, or those who were even uncertain about their possible effects, were cautious. The well-to-do and the minor gentry felt threatened by social change. To stress "being good" on Mrs. Trimmer's terms was to reinforce the status quo and to gain peace of mind through denial of change.

Social historians have noted that prosyletizing sects, such as the New England Puritans, have left more traces, historically speaking, than those with less faith in the efficacy of the written and spoken word. Their sermons, educational materials, and informal guides to child-raising, have over-represented the pervasiveness of their views. Mrs. Trimmer too spoke loudly and often. She moved in Court circles, dined with bishops, and was acquainted with a literary society. She was active in the Sunday School movement and in other philanthropic organizations. In addition to being outspoken she was well-connected. Her repudiation of fairy tales and other "exceptionable" material was accepted and widely shared.

Mrs. Trimmer was the prototype of propriety. Although her journal languished after five years (not surprisingly, because she was its sole contributor), her mode of thought still dominated children's literature. There was little inducement on the part of authors or publishers to deviate from Mrs. Trimmer's path and even the hardest reviewer may well have felt intimidated.

The Divergence of Poetry from Prose

It was undoubtedly the dreariness of the tiresome moral tales of the 1790s and 1800s which drove William Roscoe, Sarah Martin and other anonymous authors of comic verse to lighten the scene. Because they were uncertain about the response they would receive they wrote anonymously. Their efforts created a curious bifurcation in children's fiction. On the one hand there was the freshness and originality of their verse with its comical illustrations, on the other, the dull and plodding prose approved by Mrs. Trimmer. In the end, as we have seen, the humour and fantasy of the former invaded the latter, but the process took another thirty years to be achieved successfully.

Portents of Change to Come

While there were few changes in the way children were portrayed during the one hundred years of this study there were stylistic changes and some variations in theme which were indications of greater change to come. For example, by 1830 a gradual improvement in the characterization of children had come about and children were more frequently described in realistic terms. This improvement occurred not so much as the result of a more relaxed attitude to children but because of a general improvement in writing skills, and a greater familiarity with the medium. Other stylistic changes occurred as well. There were, as time went on, fewer artificialities in the form of lengthy dedications and prefaces, less use of

dialogue, and fewer inclusions of educational and religious quotations. There was less reliance on character-naming and coincidence, and contrast. Because these changes also occurred in adult fiction it would be unwise to draw inferences from them concerning attitudes to children.

A Pause in Publication

There was a distinct decline in the number of children's books published during the decade of the 1830s. A similar pause is reflected in other aspects of book production, suggesting that it was the result of market conditions. Publishers took stock of their juvenile publications and after the lull a new children's fiction emerged. Obviously, it did not spring up overnight. The publication of light verse from about 1800, the acceptance of historical fiction, and the increasing presence of fairy tales on lists of recommended reading, gradually eroded Mrs. Trimmer's standards. Legends and folklore acquired a new respectability as a form of history, and Scott's ballads and narratives were devoured enthusiastically. Fairy tales became semi-respectable as "nursery antiquities" even before the Grimm brothers' translation of 1826. By 1831, Mrs. Cameron, a staunch Evangelical and sister to Sherwood, had mellowed sufficiently to allow her child characters to read fairy tales--except of course on Sundays. Once fairy tales received public endorsement from respected reviewers, the dominion of the didactic ladies was divided. Such previously unassailable authors as Maria Edgeworth and even Mrs. Sherwood began to receive unfavourable

critical attention.

The change in permissiveness grew slowly from the seeds first sown by Wordsworth, Lamb and Blake, and cultivated by Coleridge and Scott. The need for tales to stretch the imagination, tales to grow on, had been recognized earlier but none were specifically written for children before 1840.

Changes After 1840

Children's fiction diversified according to type after 1840. Differentiated classes of books emerged for both boys and girls. There were boys' adventure stories and school stories written, in the main, by male authors. There were historical novels for both sexes with Charlotte Yonge later holding her own alongside of Marryat, Mayne Reid, and G.A. Henty. There were tract fiction stories written by the Evangelical ladies of the mould of Mrs. Sherwood and Mrs. Trimmer. Their works formed part of a newly identified class of reading-matter described as "Sunday books". There were old-time fairy tales collected and edited by literary men and antiquarians such as W.J. Thoms and Henry Cole. There were also the new genre of "invented" fairy tales written by Mrs. Field's "eminent men", Thackeray, Dickens, Ruskin and such other public figures as Lord Brabourne and Francis Paget. And there were nonsense verses, provided by Edward Lear, Heinrich Hoffmann, and Lewis Carroll. There were nursery rhymes too, and picture books and rhyming alphabets for the very young. Finally, for those just able to read there were

family stories by authors such as Mrs. Molesworth, Mrs. Gatty, and Mrs. Ewing.

Entertainment through books was no longer prohibited for children and for the first time fiction became differentiated from educational material. There was a sprinkling of magic and occasionally of religious mysticism, and there was a great deal of sentiment and pathos. Both tears and laughter were encouraged. "A good cry", once only permissible in death-bed settings, became an essential ingredient. Heightened emotions were encouraged perhaps because they had been repressed for so long. It is likely that they promoted sales. After 1840, and for the rest of the century, children's fiction explored emotional excess much as its adult counterpart had one hundred years earlier.

There was also improvement in quality. Reviewers began to take note of children's books probably because, for the first time, they were readable. Even select journals such as The Quarterly Review allotted space for summary articles and reviews of children's fiction. Long-delayed standards slowly emerged.

Critical Review and a New Valuation of Childhood

At first the books selected for review by journalists were by well-known authors. Regardless of subject matter, Dickens, Ruskin and Thackeray were always worthy of comment. The attention children's fiction received in major journals leads to the inference that there was a new awareness of childhood. The fact that "eminent men" turned their attention

to writing for children certainly placed a higher value on childhood. That the child should simultaneously have made his appearance among the dramatis personae of the adult novel makes this a not unlikely conclusion. Historical research is never cut and dried and it is hazardous to impute causation. Nonetheless it appears noteworthy that three things happened simultaneously: firstly, a new kind of children's fiction was created by men of literary distinction; secondly, reviewers previously tolerant and ~~uncritical~~ of children's books began to take serious note; and thirdly, the child arrived to stay in the pages of the adult novel.

Summary

Of the prose fiction written during the period of this study, none rank among the classics. Nor are any of them even read today except as source materials for research studies such as this. Occasionally they are quoted in scholarly works in a humorous context; their mediocrity has made them objects of fun. The repetitiveness of content, plot and setting, and the poverty of characterization and writing style, place them in a category of their own. Their sameness contributed to the tedium of this study. Only five or six of the nearly two hundred books sampled held any claim to originality. And these few were not always best-selling books because their originality made them suspect.

The worthy goals which protected moral tales in times past were no longer applicable after 1840. Once children's

fiction offered more exciting fare the books of this sample became the staples for village children. For middle class children they formed the basis for their special collection of "Sunday books".

And so the monopoly was broken. The books reviewed in this study were written by a homogeneous group of authors, predominantly women, who lived in similar circumstances and who promoted the same message in the same format and writing style. These ladies continued to write, over the years, oblivious to the world around them. Their lives were circumscribed by the family, and the "pattern" children they depicted grew up in rural obscurity, distanced from the economic, industrial and social problems of the day.

3. Attitudes to Children in Other Sources

While the material which was originally intended for inclusion in this study for purposes of "validation" was omitted because it added considerably to the length and complexity of the dissertation, some tentative conclusions are reported here.

Eight subject areas other than children's fiction were investigated. These included: children's toys and games, children's school books (publishers' staples after 1800), educational material for adult readers, children's wearing apparel, the artists' view of the child, pediatric literature, social legislation concerning the child, and the child in non-dramatic adult fiction.

The first three of these subject areas held some features in common in terms of attitudes to children. They were all educational materials, and as we have seen, some authors contributed to these sources as well as to children's fiction. It has been ascertained that children's fiction was an extension of education in its first one hundred years and the attitudes depicted within educational source materials reinforced and substantiated the attitudes which dominated children's fiction. Instructional works for children were often barely distinguishable from works of fiction.

The view of the child in adult poetry and in the artistic representations popular after 1750 shared some common features too. Within these sources the child became a romantic symbol. In the works of Gainsborough, Copley, and Reynolds as well as those of Wordsworth, Blake, and Lamb, the child represented innocence itself. Such sources had little in common with the child as described by earnest didactic authors of educational intent.

Children's clothing followed its own path. Designers responded to the whims of the market which sometimes dictated styles reflecting a less-restricted view of the child, and sometimes, quite literally, a more straight-laced and uncomfortable near-Victorian view.

Social legislation presented a quite different attitude to the child. Legislation was concerned with society's best interests, and considered for the needs of the individual

child was conspicuously lacking. Pinchbeck and Hewitt have recounted this story.⁶ Apart from a few far-sighted philanthropists, the child as a human being was overlooked. Legislation was directed to the children of the poor, and the well-to-do were deemed to be the best judge of the interests of poor children throughout the period of this study--and for many generations thereafter.

Doctors, appalled by infant mortality rates and the crippling effects of malnutrition, disease, and harsh working conditions, held the most humane view concerning children. But their influence did not extend beyond their own circle in the time span of this study.

This preliminary investigation into sources concerned with children other than children's fiction indicates the fallacy of assuming that a universal concept of the child could be tapped through the study of diverse source materials. Like the blind men and the elephant, the individual subject areas investigated dealt with different aspects of childhood. No common view was found, although, among what can be broadly described as educational materials (including children's fiction), and between the child in art and the child in poetry, some common features existed.

This study therefore questions the legitimacy of the assumption that there was a common view of the child, at least within the time frame of this study. It is likely that, as more was learned about children and about their physical,

intellectual, social and emotional needs in ensuing decades, as well as about the developmental process itself, a common view emerged. But the child was not considered a subject for scientific investigation until the last half of the 19th century. The work of Darwin, Preyer, Hall, Baldwin and Sully helped to establish a base of knowledge about child development which, by the 20th century, became accepted in common thought and parlance, much as the work of Locke was accepted in the 18th century. Only then did the child become recognized as a person in his own right. No common general view could be said to have prevailed during the years of this study.

Children's fiction is a source which presents only one viewpoint regarding child-life. It should be interpreted in that light and drawn on cautiously by those making inferences in the history of childhood. But the same caution applies to other source materials as well.

If this investigation makes any contribution to knowledge it is surely that until such time as there was a commonly accepted information pool about how the child developed and about his emotional and social responses and his ability to learn, children were described and interpreted through the eyes of the viewer--and there were as many views as there were segments of society concerned with childhood. The child did not achieve "personhood" in the years of this study although concern for the child did increase. But even in

expressing concern, each interested party focussed on different aspects. The implications for methodology in the history of childhood should by now be apparent.

While the attempt to establish the validity of the findings from one source--children's fiction--foundered because there was little or no common ground for comparison, the experience of total immersion into the history of childhood during a one hundred year period provided some valuable insights.

The advent of children's publishing which coincided with an increased interest in child portraiture has caused historians to draw inferences about the value placed on childhood. But the inclusion or exclusion of children from source materials may reflect other concerns than the value of child life. Publishing was certainly a commercial venture. The prevalence of child portraiture may relate to economic circumstances also, or it may be accidental rather than intentional. One artist achieves success with a new genre of painting and others follow suit. If one is to make inferences about the child's presence in artistic and poetic representations then one must also examine his absence in other time periods. The absence of artistic representations of children in North America in the late 19th century was noted by Scudder, and again in the 1950s by Taylor.⁷ There are different explanations for their omission. In the first instance probably home-stealers were preoccupied with existence itself and works of art were luxuries they could ill-afford. Today the absence

of children in portraiture presumably reflects 20th century technological developments in photography. Drawing firm conclusions from the inclusion or exclusion of children from source materials risks confusing the message with the medium.

Children's books, their toys and games, and their specialized clothing styles all became commercial enterprises in the late 18th century at roughly the same time that the child was adopted as subject matter for poets and artists. It is easy to infer that there was a greater importance attributed to childhood per se. Otherwise how can this new focus of attention be explained? But at exactly the same period the child was almost totally ignored by novelists. If the importance of childhood is to be construed from the presence of child-related commercial enterprises and from artistic representations of childhood, then it must be weighed against the absence of children elsewhere. The interpretation of presences and absences poses a "best guess" conundrum.

The two remaining sources examined do not lend themselves to tidy conclusions. It is evident from a survey of the pediatric literature that the doctors who wrote medical texts knew a great deal more about child development than their lay contemporaries. They were, after all, in touch on a day-to-day basis with real children. In consequence they were the most realistic in their expectations for the child. It was with medical encouragement that the Foundling Hospital was first established in London in 1740.⁸ The very fact of its establishment might also suggest that child life had

assumed new importance. But it is likely that in an age which fostered benevolence, those who supported philanthropic institutions such as the Foundling Hospital, the Hospital for Destitute Women and the Climbing Boys' Society were to some extent answering their own needs to demonstrate charity. Visible displays of philanthropy were encouraged and charity and benevolence were frequent themes in books of the period, as we have seen. The Foundling Hospital was an ostentatious demonstration of charity. People from high society became its patrons and it provided an exclusive picture gallery for the display of the works of well-known artists of the period. Was this perhaps why these artists turned to child portraiture? It is cynical but not unlikely that the motivation for benevolent action towards children, which also extended to slaves, criminals, and animals, reflected not so much a new valuation of child life as a wish to appear in a favourable light amongst one's own contemporaries and to achieve virtue in one's own eyes.

In civil law children were responsible for their own actions after the age of seven, but even such a young child had no rights in law to either protection or support. Society owed nothing to children and from an early age the children of the poor were trained to contribute to their upkeep. Reports of abuse to children in the workplace were prevalent from the early 1800s. While individual philanthropists worked hard to legislate employment practices, the reluctance of politicians to put an end to the employment of young children

in factories and mines is one of the seamier sides to British socio-political history. Medical men and some humanitarians --among them Lord Shaftesbury--did understand the value of human life, even when that life belonged to a foundling child. But it took forty years of political agitation for their belief to become law. The worth of the individual child which was indicated by an increasing number of portraits of children and poems about children, and by the advent of children's games, toys, books and specialized clothing--all new commercial enterprises--was not universal.

Summary

It appears simplistic to assume, as some social historians have assumed, that childhood took on a new importance at the mid-point of the 18th century. That it was thought early in this study, that it would be possible to find support for attitudes to the child in children's fiction in a variety of other source materials, now appears naive. From the attempt at such a validation it becomes evident that the child was important to different segments of society at different times, for different reasons. Some of the reasons were economic, some were in the name of benevolence, and some were an aspect of religious and philosophic belief-systems. Some were the result of a combination of factors, as was children's fiction.

It is evident that there was no universal attitude toward the child at this time. The doctors held one, the legislators another, the poets and artists a third, and the

small businessmen a fourth. A fifth view was set forth by the writers of educational material, children's fiction included. This view prevailed in literary sources for close to one hundred years and resisted change. In such a welter of opinion, there was no room for the "real" child, the child as he really was. The child was so disguised as to be unrecognizable. The authors of educational material were philosophers, educationists, and religious reactionaries. While they differed to some degree in philosophic orientation they agreed that where the child was concerned only sterile truth, free of all imaginative leavening, should prevail. It was a narrow, class-restricted view and not representative of society as a whole.

To determine what a generally accepted view of the child might have been at any one given historical period is to pursue a chimera. Within children's fiction, class lines were always apparent. Even in the late 19th century when the scientific study of children was well underway the children of the poor were treated as a special class of humanity. They were pawns to be transported, settled and put to work, at the whim of the government or at the dictate of charitable organizations. The poor child's best interests were determined by those far removed from his environment. The view that one group of society knows best and can make crucial decisions for those less fortunate was a constant theme in children's fiction from the start. Children's fiction diversified over

the years and the views of the prosyletizing ladies became diluted with other values but the conviction remained that decisions regarding the children of the poor were best determined by others. Strange events were perpetrated in the name of charity during the 18th and 19th centuries. The Factory Acts, of 1801 and 1819, and eventually the Education Act of 1870, all benefitted the lower class child, but it was a long time before his life or death was equated in value with the life or death of a child of higher social status.

4. Children's Fiction as a Source Material

Problems have emerged during the course of this study which raise questions about the usefulness of children's fiction as a source material in social history. In the first place it was found to be difficult to draw conclusions about something as nebulous as attitudes, from a source which often dealt with attitudes only implicitly.

Secondly, children's fiction, in the century selected for study, suffered because it was a new medium. Its very newness resulted in mediocrity of style and many artificialities. There is no doubt that authors lacking in skill and literary experience, chose to admonish and expound in a fashion which greatly over-simplified the manner in which the child was portrayed. The first one hundred years of children's fiction represented a learning phase.

With all new ventures, some learning time is essential. So it was with children's fiction. But the learning time was prolonged unduly because the moral climate of the period made

innovation and change suspect. Only when the reading public was finally saturated with moral platitudes could the voices of other more imaginative writers be heard.

Thirdly, the attitudes expressed in children's fiction were never representative of society as a whole. At the time of this study juvenile fiction was not a spontaneous expression of popular cultural values. At later time periods it quite evidently served other purposes, and, in so doing, was more spontaneous and less self-consciously artificial. Certainly the purposes of children's fiction have changed since the mid-18th century. One contemporary author described today's view--so different from that of the century from 1740 to 1840--as follows:

The serious point of children's books is not to improve the child's behaviour but to expand his imagination. Great children's literature creates a fictional world which the child enters with delight and from which he returns with insights and reflections that his own experience could not have produced and that enrich and illuminate that experience.⁹

It is possible that children's fiction today does provide a representative view of popular attitudes to the child, but during the one hundred year period of this study that was not the case.

A fourth concern revealed by this research is that at the time, as has been shown, it is unlikely that there was a

general attitude toward the child. Each class and segment of society had its own perspective from which it viewed and interpreted childhood. There was no common pool of knowledge about the child shared by all, upon which the child-raising values of the day were based. From the end of the 19th century children became a focus for scientific attention. Only when more was known about children and their development did a general view of the child emerge. And, when that happened, children's fiction became less stereotyped and more varied. By the end of the 19th century, Scudder pointed out that children had become "personalities" in their own right in adult books. They were no longer portrayed in a "relationship" context, as family members, with duties and obligations.¹⁰ It is certain that the growing fund of information about children had a positive effect on the development of children's fiction.

A fifth concern has been touched on. It is the reaffirmation of a point previously made by Lawrence Stone that it is really not possible to single out the child as an object of study in social history.¹¹ The child is part and parcel of family history, which, in turn, is a large and inter-locking chunk of the jigsaw puzzle which makes up the social and philosophical schema of the times. To attempt to focus on the history of childhood exclusively is to over-simplify and to distort. Studying the child through one source material only, has proved to be a limited exercise. While it was not the original purpose of this study, the process of total

immersion into the culture of the period was helpful in clarifying the futility of studying attitudes toward the child through one source material alone.

There are, however, insights to be gained from a detailed analysis of one source provided the hazards relating to the misuse of data are not forgotten. During the period studied, children's fiction was class-restricted and dominated by proselytizing groups. Rational moralists, Protestant liberals and Evangelical reformers all made use of the medium. The way the child was portrayed was influenced by the literary styles of the period, as well as by the inexperience of its uninitiated authors. These factors promoted a false picture, an artificial view, of childhood. This particular source at that time was narrow and restrictive in outlook. That it resisted change in a period of rapid social change is testimony to the degree of entrenchment of the dominant views of the didactic ladies. Their views were not typical even among the literary middle class, but because they were on the side of righteousness theirs was the voice of authority. Religious belief, rationalism, and utilitarian philosophy combined to influence the publishing industry and to dictate its practices. Charles Knight, himself a publisher, recounted how long it was before he personally came to accept the notion that published material did not always have to be educational or informative.¹² While adults were gradually permitted to laugh and to cry over novels, children quite clearly were not. Mrs. Trimmer's "unexceptionable" book prevailed, and publishers,

anxious not to offend, adhered to useful knowledge and moral purpose.

This research study has been both time-consuming and tedious. But it has yielded some general conclusions of interest and importance. From the total immersion experience, it becomes clear that Taylor's contention that "Victorian" times arrived earlier than is generally believed, is supported. We have always been aware in the 20th century of the strictures placed on Victorian children, perhaps because they were closer to our life-time. But there is no evidence from any of the sources studied that children of the Georgian or Regency period led care-free or spontaneous lives. While Bacon in the 16th century, spoke of the importance of cultivating the imagination, and Locke, in the 17th century, recognized the need for stimulating the child's curiosity, in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, similar views of Wordsworth, Scott and Coleridge were considered radical. The child-raising values expressed in educative materials, including children's fiction, were retrogressive and resistant to change. It should be remembered that the Victorian parents of the 1840s and 1850s were themselves raised by parents influenced at first hand by Mrs. Trimmer.

As a research project, this study can be said to have been truly interdisciplinary. It has provided a psychological study of the beliefs of one vocal segment of society. In a search for similarities of style and viewpoint, it has offered a comparison of two literary sources, children's fiction and

the adult novel, and it has examined the reasons for their divergent paths. It has investigated historically a wide range of sources which have yielded a diversity of views concerning the child. It may be that the conclusions reached relating to current research methods in the history of childhood are more valuable than any statements which can be made about attitudes to children in the period encompassed in this study.

The conclusions reached about attitudes to children were occasionally helped along by the use of quantitative methods, but, in general, the attempt to adapt literary material to quantitative analysis and comparison was found to be unworkable. Some topics in social history may lend themselves to quantitative analysis, but within this study it was found that publishing records and dates were inaccurate, and authorship was frequently unknown. Further, where authors could be identified, personal information was usually lacking. It would appear that social historians must remain flexible about methodology. Rather than impose sophisticated and objective research techniques on impressionistic material, historians ought to rely on sound reasoning, building their own cautions into interpretations and conclusions.

From this study it can be said that social history, of which the history of childhood forms one part, must remain an exercise in logical thinking rather than an attempt to identify universal truths. The existence of divergent views says more about attitudes to children than does the establishment of global trends, which over-simplify, and deny diversity.

It is tempting to speak of broad trends over time, and to infer progress where none occurred. The facts accumulated from a variety of sources concerned with children indicated both diversity and an occasional step backwards in the treatment of children, in terms of legislation and law enforcement. The absence of global trends and the existence of divergent views are important in our understanding of the patchwork quilt of social and philosophic thought of the period.

The moral tales of this era are rightfully described as "period pieces". Their most notable characteristic was their mediocrity. Grylls noted that drawing on undistinguished literary material for ideas and attitudes can be helpful:

In some ways minor writers are particularly useful; lacking originality, distracted only slightly by imagination, they can offer for the chronicler of popular values a most sturdy and accessible source.¹³

Children's fiction in the period studied did in fact provide a sturdy and accessible source for analysis. The values it chronicled reflected the dominant themes of religious revivalists and evangelical reformers with an added peppering of rationalism for good measure. But it did not provide evidence for a widely shared concept of childhood. It seems likely that none such existed in that one hundred year period. Children's fiction was but one aspect of the elephant. The

child there revealed was the product of wishful thought and of the undying belief that exhortation and example could in the end modify child behaviour. And nothing more.

Notes for Introduction

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4. Lloyd DeMause, ed., The History of Childhood, New York: Psychohistory Press, 1974. Those who contributed to this study of the history of childhood are: Richard Lyman, Mary McLaughlin, James Ross, M.J. Tucker, Elizabeth Marvick, Joseph Illick, John Walzer, Patricia Dynn and Priscilla Robertson.
5. The Journal of Psychohistory (formerly The History of Childhood Quarterly), edited by Lloyd deMause, 1973.
6. For example, for the child in art, see Iline Forsyth, "The Child in Medieval Art", Journal of Psychohistory, 4, 1976, pp. 31-70; for the child in art and literature, see Horace E. Scudder, Childhood in Literature and Art, Boston and New York: Houghton and Mifflin, 1894; for the child in adult fiction, see Gillian Avery, Victorian People in Life and Literature, London: Collins, 1970 and Peter Coveney, The Child in Literature: Poor Monkey, London: Rockliffe, 1957, also F. Lamar Janney, Childhood in English Non-Dramatic Literature (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University), Griefswald, Abel, 1925; for the child in social legislation, see Robert Bremner et al., Children and Youth in America. A Documentary History, 2 vols., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970, and Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt, Children in English Society, 2 vols., London: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1970 and 1973; for the child from a study of costume, see Iris Brooke, English Children's Costume since 1775, London, 1930, and Phyllis Cunnington and Anne Buck, Children's Costume in England: From the Fourteenth to the End of the Nineteenth Century, London: Adam and Charles Black, 1972. There are too many other studies based on original sources to permit comprehensive inclusion here.
7. For a summary of recent criticism of large-scale histories of childhood or the family see Walter L. Arnstein's article, "Reflections on Histories of Childhood", in Selma K. Richardson, ed., Research about Nineteenth Century Children and Books, (Papers presented at the University of Illinois Symposium, Urbana-Champaign, Illinois, April, 1979), Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1980. For reviews of publications in the history of childhood see for example, Stephen Kern, "The History of Childhood: A

- Review Article", Journal of the History of the Behavioural Sciences, 9(1973), 406-412; Miles F. Shore, "The Child and Historiography", Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 6(1975-6), 495-505; C. John Sommerville, "Towards a History of Childhood and Youth", Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 3(1972-3), 439-447.
8. The use of the phrase "unobtrusive measures" is borrowed from Eugene Webb, Donald T. Campbell, Richard D. Schwartz and Lee Sechrest, Unobtrusive Measures: Nonreactive Research in the Social Sciences, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966. It refers to the "uses of data periodically produced for other than scholarly purposes, but which can be exploited by social scientists", p. 53.
 9. This question was raised by Sheldon White and is certainly worthy of examination. Sheldon White, October 25, 1974: personal communication.
 10. Patricia Demers and Gordon Moyles, eds., From Instruction to Delight: An Anthology of Children's Literature to 1850, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1982. This book provides an excellent survey of the field of early children's literature.
 11. Gillian Avery (with the assistance of Angela Bull), Nineteenth Century Children: Heroes and Heroines in English Children's Stories, 1780-1900, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1965, pp. 9 and 119.
 12. Leslie Stephen, English Literature and Society in the Eighteenth Century, London: Gerald Duckworth, 1904, p. 44.
 13. John Newbery's work has been recounted by many historians. It is best described by Sidney Roscoe in John Newbery and his Successors 1740-1814: A Bibliography, Hertfordshire: Five Owls Press, 1973. For an account of Boreman see Wilbur Macey Stone, The Gigantick Histories of Thomas Boreman, Portland, Maine: Southworth Press, 1933. Mrs. Cooper's work has only begun to receive recognition. It is described in Pickering's John Locke and Children's Books, p. 217.
 14. The most often quoted example is from Little Goody Two Shoes where Marjorie Meanwell, or Little Goody Two Shoes as she was commonly known, recounted how her father died for want of a bottle of Dr. James's Fever Remedy, a mixture supplied by John Newbery. (See "Little Goody Two Shoes" (1767), in Charlotte Yonge, ed., A Storehouse of Stories, London: MacMillan, 1870, p. 70).
 15. Introduction to A Little Pretty Pocket Book, London: John Newbery, 1744. (Microfilm, British Museum).

16. Thomas Boreman, The Gigantick History of the Two Famous Giants, and Other Curiosities in Guildhall, London, 1740. The Preface lists 272 subscribers including the Two Giants, Gog and Magog, and also little Oliver Cromwell.
17. M.J.P. Weedon, Richard Johnson and the Successors to John Newbery, London: Bibliographical Society, 1949. Weedon referred to The Toy Shop (John Newbery, 1787) in which the Toy Man produced A Looking Glass for the Mind, The Adventures of a Silver Penny, The Little Moralist, and Juvenile Rambles for his prospective customers. In the works of the Kilners, published by John Marshall, there are references to "buying books at Mr. Marshall's".
18. Stone, The Gigantick Histories. Stone pointed out that the giants appeared in John Newbery's, Curiosities of London and John Marshall's, Juvenile Library. Harvey Darton used the giants, called Gog and Magog, as characters in the toy theatre production of The London Review in 1923 (p. 7).
19. John Newbery left a complicated family situation in which his son, step-son, nephew and son-in-law all had shares in his business interests. His son, Francis Newbery, gradually withdrew into the patent medicine business, while his step-son, Thomas Carnan, carried on the book trade at 65 St. Paul's Churchyard. When John Newbery died, his son-in-law, Francis Powers, took on a larger share of the business. In the meantime, his nephew, also a Francis Newbery, took his share and put into a rival publishing firm at 20 Ludgate Street at the corner of St. Paul's Churchyard, sometimes known as 20 St. Paul's Churchyard. When the nephew died, his widow, Elizabeth Newbery, took over that business, which was later bought out by her partner, John Harris, in 1801-2. (Roscoe, Newbery and His Successors, pp. 34-5).
20. Weedon, Richard Johnson and the Successors, p. 25. The first book published over Johnson's name was Letters Between Master Tommy and Miss Nancy Goodwill. Published by Thomas Carnan in 1767, it consisted of a re-arrangement of passages from The Governess (by Sarah Fielding) first published in 1745. Johnson also provided translations from the French for the popular works of Arnaud Berquin. Johnson produced books for Carnan, Newbery's step-son, until his death in 1788. After that he was connected with Elizabeth Newbery. See Preface by Kathryn Dixon of the Toronto Public Library to Juvenile Trials, 1770, Bern and Frankfurt-am-M., Herbert Long, 1973.
21. Weedon, Richard Johnson and the Successors, pp. 63-9. (Taken from the Bibliography of completed works in Johnson's Day Book).
22. John Marshall probably had the lion's share of the publishing business until 1800, apart from the Newbery descendants and family connections. Pickering in John Locke and

Children's Books, has described in part the role played by John Marshall (pp. 176-204).

23. There were also Thomas Cadell, Clarke and Brookes, Wilson and Spence, Osborne, Griffin and Mozley, J. Johnson, T. Hookham, James Kendrew, Vernor and Hood, and John Stockdale:

24. George Cruikshank (1792-1878) illustrated many of the fairy tales and nursery rhymes of the period. He is regarded as the foremost illustrator of his age (Iona and Peter Opie, The Classic Fairy Tales, London: Oxford University Press, 1974, p. 25). William Mulready (1786-1863) supported himself by book illustration from the age of fifteen. He is probably best known for his illustrations of William Roscoe's The Butterfly's Ball and the Grasshopper's Feast and of Charles and Mary Lamb's Tales from Shakespear. (Osborne Catalogue, vol. 1, p. 453). William Blake (1757-1827) illustrated his own poems for children, Songs of Innocence, and others of the Lambs' works and M.J. Godwin's publications.

25. Well-known among these ladies were Mrs. Barbauld, Lucy Peacock, Priscilla Wakefield, Mrs. Trimmer, Hannah More, Maria Edgeworth, Dorothy and Mary Ann Kilner, Lady Ellinore Fenn, Elizabeth Sandham, Charlotte Smith, Mary Pilkington, Harriet Ventum, Mrs. Budden, Mrs. Pinchard, Harriet Martineau, Agnes and Catherine Strickland, Maria Hack, Mrs. Mary Hughes, Mary Elliott and Mrs. Sherwood and her sister Mrs. Cameron.

26. Mrs. E.M. Field, The Child and His Book, London: Wells, Gardner, Darton (1881), 1891, p. 342. Monica Kiefer, "Mental Pabulum for Godly Children", in William Targ, ed., A Bookman's Treasury of Collector's Lore or Bibliophile in the Nursery, Cleveland and New York: World Publishing, 1957, p. 321. Cornelia L. Meigs et al., A Critical History of Children's Literature, Toronto: Macmillan (1953) 1969, (Chapter title).

27. Percival Muir, English Children's Books, 1600-1900, London: B.T. Batsford, 1954, pp. 82 and 94. John Townsend, Written for Children: An Outline of English Literature for Children, London: Garnet Miller, 1965, p. 47.

28. Brian M. Alderson, "Bibliography and Children's Books: The Present Position", Paper presented to the Bibliographic Society, February 25, 1975, Oxford Press for the Bibliographical Society, London, 1977, p. 206. Gerald Gottlieb, "A Peculiar Difficulty: A Tale of the Eighteenth Century: Being an Account of Some Lamentable Lacks, Together with a Few Desperate Needs", in James H. Fraser, ed., Society and Children's Literature, Boston: David R. Godine, 1978, pp. 130-2.

29. Alderson, "Bibliography and Children's Books", p. 205.
30. The dispute relating to the authorship of Goody Two Shoes appears to have been resolved in favour of Stephen Jones in preference to Oliver Goldsmith. The authorship of The Adventures of Congo, previously attributed to William Mackenzie, has been established as Eliza Rotch Ferrar. (See Catherin de Saint-Rat, "In Search of the Author of The Adventures of Congo", The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada, 72, Fall, 1978).
31. Judith St. John, then Head of the Osborne Collection, on a trip to England in the late 1950s, learned of F. Algar's death. She made haste to buy his notes from his estate. The notes were uncatalogued and were stored in shoe-boxes of various sizes. In the preface to The Osborne Collection Catalogue, 2: p. 6, she noted:

The Library was fortunate in acquiring the manuscript notes, on myriads of slips of paper, compiled by the late Frank Algar for a bibliography of English children's books, unfinished at the time of his death. This manuscript material, representing a life-time of painstaking research, is an extensive and scholarly source of information. From the notes it has been possible to assign authorship to anonymous works and to provide biographical information about obscure authors.

Footnotes for Chapter 1

1. Walter Arnstein, "Reflections on Histories of Childhood", p. 54.
2. Some not already referred to include:
 - Charlotte Yonge, "Children's Literature of the Last Century", (in three parts), Macmillan's Magazine, (1869) 20: pp. 229-237, 302-10, 448-56.
 - Edward Salmon, Juvenile Literature as It is, London: Henry J. Drane, 1888.
 - Florence Barry, A Century of Children's Books, Detroit: Singing Tree Press, (1922) 1968.
 - Harvey Darton, Children's Books in England: Five Centuries of Social Life, Cambridge: University Press, (1932) 1960.
 - Philip James, Children's Books of Yesterday, London: The Studio, (Special Number), 1933.
 - William Sloane, Children's Books in England and America in the Seventeenth Century, New York: Columbia University, 1955.

Bettina Hürlimann, Three Centuries of Children's Books in Europe, London: World Publishing, 1967.

Mary F. Thwaite, From Primer to Pleasure in Reading, Boston: The Horn Book, (1963) 1972.

Roger Lancelyn Green, Tellers of Tales: From 1830 to the Present, Leicester: Edmund Ward, (1946) 1953.

3. Specialty books are included in the bibliography under Histories of Children's Literature.
4. Avery, for example, has stated that she described whatever came to hand. ("The Researcher's Craft: Designs and Implements", in Selma K. Richardson, ed., Research about Nineteenth Century Children's Books: Portrait Studies, Papers presented at University of Illinois Symposium, April 1979, Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois, 1980: 7.) Of histories based on secondary sources, see Jane Bingham and Grayce Scholt, Fifteen Centuries of Children's Literature: An Annotated Chronology of British and American Works in Historical Context, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980.
5. For purposes of this study the term "best-seller" has been restricted to those books which had five or more editions including the original publication. See Chapter 4 for a discussion.
6. For example, the punishments meted out in Dorothy Kilner's The Holiday Present (1780) and The Village School (1783) and in Mrs. Sherwood's The History of the Fairchild Family (1818-47).
7. See in particular Lloyd deMause, "The Evolution of Childhood" in deMause, ed., History of Childhood, p. 5.
8. Several authors have successfully poked fun at Sandford and Merton by Thomas Day. In 1872 F.C. Burnand, the editor of Punch, wrote a parody entitled The New History of Sanford and Merton. It is easy to ridicule The History of the Fairchild Family, by Mrs. Sherwood; Grylls labelled it a veritable "pocket mortuary". (David Grylls, Guardians and Angels: Parents and Children in Nineteenth Century Literature, London: Faber and Faber, 1978, p.88). Lewis Carroll's parodies of Isaac Watts' poems for children are also well-known and there were many parodies of Heinrich Hoffmann's Struwwelpeter (1846).
9. Charlotte Yonge, A Storehouse of Stories, 2 vols., London and New York: Macmillan, 1870 and 1872.
Andrew Tuer, Pages and Pictures from Forgotten Children's Books, London: Leadenhall Press, 1898-1899.
Andrew Tuer, Stories from Old-Fashioned Children's Books, London: Leadenhall Press, 1899-1900.

E.V. Lucas, Forgotten Tales of Long Ago, London: Wells, Gardner, Darton and Co. Limited, 1906.
 E.V. Lucas, Old Fashioned Tales, London: Wells, Gardner, Darton and Co. Limited, 1905.
 Gillian E. Avery, In the Window Seat, London: Oxford University Press, 1960.
 Gillian E. Avery, The Hole in the Wall and Other Stories, 1796-1886, London: Oxford University Press, 1968.
 Leonard de Vries, Flowers of Delight: An Agreeable Garland of Prose and Poetry, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1965.
 Leonard de Vries, Little Wide-Awake: An Anthology of Victorian Children's Books and Periodicals, London: Arthur Barker, 1967.

10. Demers and Moyles (Eds.), From Instruction to Delight.
11. In fact the dating of the English translation of Struwwelpeter was the only detectable error. The first English edition was 1846.
12. The selections are entitled: Books of Courtesy and Early Lessons; The "Hell-Fire" Tales of the Puritans; The Lyrical Instruction of Isaac Watts; Chapbooks and Penny Histories; John Newbery: "Instruction with Delight"; The Rational Moralists; The Sunday School Moralists; and The Harbingers of the Golden Age.
13. Salmon's Juvenile Literature As it Is included the results of a questionnaire distributed in 1881 to nearly 800 boys and 1000 girls between the ages of 7 and 19 to assess the popularity of fiction works among juvenile readers.
14. Charlotte Yonge, "Children's Literature of the Last Century", Macmillans Magazine, 20 (1869), pp. 239-247, 302-310, 448-456. She commented on many of the stories she included in her collection, A Storehouse of Stories, 2 vols., (1870).
15. Mrs. Field, The Child and His Book, pp. 331-2 Holiday House by Catherine Sinclair was first published in 1839.
16. Avery, "The Researcher's Craft", p. 11.
17. Other books by Gillian Avery include Victorian People and The Echoing Green: Memories of Regency and Victorian Youth, London: Collins, 1974.
18. Gillian Avery, "Children's Books in Social History", in Selma K. Richardson, ed., Research About Nineteenth Century Children and Books: Portrait Studies, Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois, 1980, p. 23.
19. Avery, "Children's Books in Social History", p. 28.

20. Margaret Nancy Cutt, Ministering Angels: A Study of Nineteenth Century Evangelical Writing for Children, Hertfordshire: Five Owls Press (for The Friends of the Osborne and Lillian M. Smith Collections), Toronto Public Library, 1979.
21. Cutt, Ministering Angels, pp. 1-2.
22. Cutt, Ministering Angels, pp. 4-6.
23. Cutt, Ministering Angels, p. 20.
24. Cutt, Ministering Angels, p. 11. A distinction should be made between capital "E" Evangelicals and small "e" evangelicals. While evangelical themes may have predominated as Cutt suggested, the authors were not necessarily Established Church members or members of an Evangelical sect. Among the authors cited by Cutt, at least one was a Quaker and two more were Protestants of Old Dissent factions (p. 20). The emphasis on Sunday observance, a dominant theme in the literature of this period, had a basis in both Protestant Dissent and Anglican Evangelicalism.
25. Cutt, Ministering Angels, pp. 14-16.
26. Cutt, Ministering Angels, p. 43.
27. Cutt, Ministering Angels, p. 23.
28. Avery, "Children's Books and Social History", p. 30.
29. Cutt, Ministering Angels, pp. 24.
30. Among the catalogues are: Gumuchian et Cie., Les Livres de l'Enfance du XV^e au XIX^e Siècle, (2 tomes), Paris, 1930; A.S.W. Rosenbach, Early American Children's Books, New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, (1933) (1966; Percival H. Muir, Children's Books of Yesterday, National Book League, London: Cambridge University Press, 1946; Targ (ed.), Bibliophile in the Nursery; Eric Quayle, The Collector's Book of Children's Books; Gerald Gottlieb, Early Children's Books and their Illustrations, New York and Toronto: Oxford Press, 1975.
31. Walter Schatzki, Children's Books Old and Rare (Cat. No. 1), Reprinted by Gale Research Co., Detroit (1941), 1974.
32. Weedon, Johnson's Successors; Roscoe, Newbery's Successors; Marjorie Moon, John Harris's Books for Youth, 1801-1843, Cambridge: Five Owls Press, 1976.
33. Christina Duff Stewart, The Taylors of Ongar: An Analytical Bio-bibliography, 2 vols., New York and London: Garland Publishing Co. Inc., 1975.

34. Jane Bingham and Grayce Scholt, Fifteen Centuries of Children's Literature, and Elva Smith's, The History of Children's Literature: A Syllabus with Selected Bibliographies, Revised and enlarged by Margaret Hodges and Susan Steinfirst, Chicago: American Library Association, 1980. A third, by Suzanne Rohn, Children's Literature: An Annotated Bibliography of the History and Criticism (1981), has not been available for perusal.

35. Bingham and Scholt made their selections from Huck's Children's Literature in the Elementary Schools (Holt, 1975), Arbuthnot and Sutherland's, Children and Books (Scott Foresman, 1972), Darton's Children's Books in England, Meigs et al., A Critical History of Children's Literature, Thwaite's From Primer to Pleasure, and Muir's English Children's Books. There were errors found in the dating of several books; omissions included "E.S." and Elizabeth Sandham both best-selling authors; while the Lamb's Tales from Shakespear was included, their Mrs. Leicester's School, a best-selling fiction work was not. The listing of children's books is done on a chronological basis, year by year, which means that accurate dating is important. The book was compiled as a part of a doctoral thesis from the University of Tennessee for the first named author.

36. Alderson noted errors which have occurred in citing children's literature sources; he commented on mistakes made in Pinchbeck and Hewitt's Children in English Society, and on the number of volumes of Isaac Watts cited erroneously, first by Muir and later repeated by other historians of children's fiction, until Dr. P.H. Pafford corrected the error in his work, Isaac Watts: Divine Songs Attempted in Easy Language for the Use of Children (1971). Brian Alderson, "Bibliography and Children's Books: The Present Position", The Bibliographical Society, London, (Paper presented February 25, 1975), 1977, pp. 206-7.

37. Examination of The Dissertation Abstracts since 1976 yielded a count of nineteen doctoral topics based on children's literature from England, the United States, Poland and Russia. Of these six were concerned with cultural stereotypes of age, sex or race.

38. David C. McClelland, The Achieving Society, Toronto: D. Van Nostrand Company Inc., 1961.

39. McClelland, The Achieving Society, p. 105.

40. Richard deCharms and Gerald Moeller, "Values Expressed in American Children's Readers, 1800-1950", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1962, 64, pp. 136-142. DeCharms and Moeller's use of stories in American readers in the early nineteenth century, was particularly

questionnable because in that period children's literature was imported from England. These stories could not be said to reflect prevailing American beliefs about the importance of achievement. Perhaps the stories were selected for American readers because they conformed to the prevailing American ethos, but deCharms and Moeller have not discussed this issue.

41. R. Gordon Kelly, Mother was a Lady: Self and Society in Selected American Children's Periodicals, 1865-1890, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1974.
42. The application of formulæ to popular literature is discussed by John Cawelti, Adventure, Mystery and Romance: Formula Studies as Art and Popular Culture, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976, p. 6. In his sample Kelly found two common formulæ types: one was where the child-hero encountered an "ordeal" situation which he had to face alone and resolve as best he could; the other, a "change of heart" situation, where the child's unacceptable behaviour and personality traits were modified by circumstances and with the help of an interpretative adult.
43. John C. Crandall, "Patriotism and Humanitarian Reform in Children's Literature 1825-1860", American Quarterly, 21, 1969, pp. 3-22.
Alain Fourment, La Presse des Jeunes de 1763 à 1977 (Thèse de doctorat à l'université de Paris II, 1977). Critique faite pour le Sélection hebdomadaire du journal "le Monde", 16-22 février, 1978, p. 8.
Jill D. Sweiger, Conceptions of Children in American Juvenile Periodicals: 1830-1870. (Doctoral dissertation, Rutgers University, 1977).
44. Anne Scott MacLeod, A Moral Tale: Children's Fiction and American Culture, 1820-1860, Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1975.
45. MacLeod, A Moral Tale, p. 16.
46. Selma K. Richardson noted in the Introduction to the Monograph Research About Nineteenth Century Children's Books (1979) that books were brought from England until 1820 and were sometimes "Americanized" by minor alterations. By 1850 the majority were written in the U.S. (p. 2).
47. Rosenbach, Early American Children's Books, p. xvii.
48. MacLeod stated: "Few publishers' records survive, and those that have are generally conceded to be unreliable" (A Moral Tale, p. 14, also fn. 12, p. 161).

49. Gordon Rattray Taylor, The Angel-Makers: A Study in the Psychological Origins of Historical Change, 1750-1850, London: Heinemann, 1958. The thesis Taylor expounded in this book represented an enlargement of a theme outlined in an earlier book, Sex in History, published in 1953. In both books he differentiated between "patrist" and "matrist" family life-styles and child-raising practices. The libertinism, over-indulgence and lack of restraint associated with the Regency period was, according to Taylor, a "matrist" phenomenon and was restricted to the upper social classes. The severity and authoritarianism of Victorian times was a result of the upward spread of a middle-class morality, which was "patrist" in nature, and was reinforced by the prevailing economic values in the period following the Industrial Revolution.
50. Bernard Wishy, The Child and the Republic: The Dawn of Modern American Child Nurture, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968.
51. There were errors in publication dates; Mrs. Barbauld's Lesson for Children was published in 1778 and not 1760 as Wishy stated (p. 63, fn. 39). Those familiar with the costume and dress of the late nineteenth century may also doubt the accuracy of the dating of illustrations (see p. 15 for example).
52. Lawrence Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1978.
53. Among the sources used by Stone were handbooks of advice to parents; he described these as being by theologians before 1600, afterwards by laymen; and after 1750 mainly by doctors. In fact many parents wrote handbooks of advice also. Isaac Taylor's Home Education (1838) is one example. Both Mrs. Budden and Mrs. Barwell wrote manuals of child care as did Lady Fenn, the Edgeworths and several other children's fiction authors of the period.

Stone suggested that 1750 was a terminal date for the practice of sending infants out to nurse (p. 430). In the books read for this study the practice was still referred to until 1800, which suggests that it may have lingered longer.

Stone asserted that in child raising there were no rewards offered for good behaviour (p. 170). Rewards for good behaviour were certainly a part of the up-bringing of fictional children which gives pause for thought about the certainty of this assertion. He also noted that dark cupboards and deprivations were not used as punishments

until Victorian times; once again in children's stories both forms of discipline were described.

Stone's most controversial statement was that eighteenth century children were shielded from death (p. 250). From an analysis of the early Evangelical stories this does not appear to have been the case. See Chapter 6, p. 204, for the frequency of fictional deaths in the sample for this study.

Stone asserted that between 1750 and 1820, some 20 professional writers produced 2400 different titles "of fiction works for children" (p. 250). One might perhaps quibble over the meaning of "professional"; this study has revealed that many children's authors were not professional, and that there were more than 20 who wrote in that time period for children.

Stone made the statement elsewhere that children's books reflected the values of their readers (p. 387). This would seem to be unproven and unproveable. It is certain that they reflected the values of their authors.

54. An example of the difficulties in drawing conclusions from impressionistic data was to be found in Ariès' work who believed that babies were more valued in Renaissance times because the houses of the élite were decorated with putti. At the same time, Stone noted, the same élite were sending their children out to wet-nurses which resulted in almost certain death (Stone, The Family, p. 13).
55. On model-building, Stone stated that "the only linear progression was a growing concern for children" (The Family, p. 683). Nonetheless he described the development of "affective individualism" as an increasingly frequent family mode. Arnstein too has commented on Stone's Whiggish view of history (see pp. 38-9 below).
56. Arnstein, "Reflections", p. 43.
57. Arnstein, "Reflections", p. 44. He cited David Hunt's work (Parents and Children in History, New York, 1970) as an example of the "Annales" school. Many of the references cited in Chapter 2 of this study were based on similar kind of data.
58. Arnstein, "Reflections", p. 44. He referred to these global accounts of history as being based on the principle of the child's game "Take One Giant Step" (p. 51).
59. Arnstein, "Reflections", pp. 53-4. He noted that Philip Greven's work (Patterns of Child-Rearing, Religious

Experience, and the Self in Early America, New York: Knopf, 1977) allowed for the simultaneous existence of varying child-raising models, as did Stone in The Family, Sex and Marriage. He believed Stone afterwards undermined his own arguments by insisting on the dominance of "affective individualism".

60. David Grylls, Guardians and Angels: Parents and Children in Nineteenth Century Literature, London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1978; Pickering, John Locke and Children's Books.
61. Grylls, Guardians and Angels, p. 23.
62. Grylls, Guardians and Angels, pp. 34-37.
63. Grylls described the detailed accounts of death and its trappings in many children's books, but quoted from The Fairchild Family in particular. He stated, "coffins and funerals in this book are never far away, which all toiled, lays at least ten of its characters to rest: the volume is a pocket mortuary" (pp. 87-8). A reviewer in The New Statesman, not to be outdone, entitled his review of Grylls's book "Little Knell"! (Zahir Jamal, "Little Knell", New Statesman, June 9, 1978, p. 767).
64. Grylls, Guardians and Angels, pp. 46-7.
65. The books Grylls used were Sandford and Merton, Hymns in Prose, Fabulous Histories, Evenings at Home, The History of the Fairchild Family, and many of Maria Edgeworth's works. He noted that these were the important books of the early nineteenth century and commented that Mrs. Molesworth, born in 1839, had read them all (Guardians and Angels, p. 76).
66. Grylls, Guardians and Angels, p. 75.
67. Grylls, Guardians and Angels, p. 109.
68. Grylls, Guardians and Angels, p. 77.
69. Grylls, Guardians and Angels, p. 78.
70. Grylls, Guardians and Angels, p. 88.
71. Grylls, Guardians and Angels, p. 94.
72. Pickering, John Locke and Children's Books, See above p. 1.
73. Pickering, John Locke and Children's Books, p. xi. He noted that the Opies had already described fairy tales.
74. Pickering, John Locke and Children's Books, p. xi.

75. Pickering, John Locke and Children's Books, p. 9. Like Grylls he noted the many essays on education which followed Locke's basic themes with some variations and amendments.
76. Pickering listed Goody Two Shoes, The Valentine's Gift, Perambulations of a Mouse, The Adventures of a Silver Penny, The Two Cousins, Mlle. Panache, and two books not included in this study, The Apprentices (2nd ed., 1815) and The History of Little King Pippin (1775) (John Locke and Children's Books, pp. 25-6). Of those authors who accepted that one could kill for convenience he commented on Fabulous Histories, Letters Between Master Tommy and Miss Nancy Goodwill and Mary Wollstonecraft's Original Stories. Also noteworthy in this respect was Mrs. Trimmer's The Two Farmers. See Chapter 3, pp. 126 below for a discussion of the kindness to animal theme.
77. James L. Axtell, The Educational Writings of John Locke, Cambridge University Press, 1968, p. 242. See Pickering, Chapter 3, pp. 40-69.
78. Quoted in Pickering, John Locke and Children's Books, pp. 41-42. Taken from Thomas Ady, A Candle in the Dark or a Treatise Concerning the Nature of Witches and Witchcraft (1656). From the century before, Pickering quoted Reginald Scott's The Discoveries of Witchcraft (1584). Again the passage is highly relevant to the many comments authors of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century made about imaginative works for children:

...our mothers maids...so fraied us with bull beggers, spirits, witches, urchens, elves, hags, fairies, satyrs, pans, faunes, sylens, kit with the cansticks, tritons, centaurs, dwarfes, giants, imps, calcars, conjurors, nymphes, changlings, INCUBUS, Robin good-fellowe, the spoorne, the mare, the man in the oke, the hell waine, the fierdrake, the puckle, Tom thumbe, hob goblin, Tom tumbler, boneles, and other such bugs, that we are afraid of our own shadows. (p. 42).
79. Pickering, John Locke and Children's Books, p. 56.
80. Pickering, John Locke and Children's Books, p. 52.
81. Pickering, John Locke and Children's Books, pp. 56-7, 59-61, 66-68.
82. Pickering, John Locke and Children's Books, pp. 84, 97. See Chapter 6, Note 26 for those included in this study.
83. See Chapter 8, below, pp. 294-5, for a discussion of the novels of the same period which were described as "picaresque biographies".

84. Pickering stated:

In Sunday and Charity Schools, in private academies and in middle class homes, and indeed in the homes of most members of the lower classes, particularly those in and near large cities, the popularity of traditional chapbooks had declined greatly (John Locke and Children's Books, pp. 136-7).

The publishing records of chapbook companies have been cited by Victor Neuberg, Leslie Shepard, and Charles Hindley. (See Chapter 2, below, pp. 74-5). It is certainly true that in middle class homes children were not encouraged to read them.

85. Pickering, John Locke and Children's Books, pp. 145, 148, 152, 157.
86. See Chapter 3, below, pp. 125.
87. Pickering, John Locke and Children's Books, pp. 163, 167, 169.
88. Pickering, John Locke and Children's Books, pp. 176, 180-5. John Marshall was the publisher for the Kilner ladies. After 1785 he also issued Bible Stories and Mrs. Trimmer's Scripture Histories, with accompanying prints. Pickering provided some account of John Marshall's firm (pp. 187-190).
89. Moon, John Harris's Books for Youth 1801-1843. For some account of Darton publications see Margaret Maloney, ed., Facsimile Edition From the Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, English Illustrated Books for Children, Toronto: Bodley Head, 1981.
90. Sylvia Patterson, Rousseau's Emile and Early Children's Literature, Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1971.
91. Sylvia Patterson, "Eighteenth Century Children's Literature in England: A Mirror of Its Culture", Journal of Popular Culture, 13, 1979, pp. 38-43.
92. Patterson, "Eighteenth Century Children's Literature", p. 41. Patterson listed the Kilners and Mary Wollstonecraft as "less influenced by Rousseau" and therefore dealing out more severe punishments in their fiction works.
93. Isaac Kramnick, "Children's Literature and Bourgeois Ideology: Observations on Culture and Industrial Capitalism in the Late Eighteenth Century", in Perez Zagorin, ed., Culture and Politics: From Puritanism to the Enlightenment, Berkely: University of California Press, 1980, Chapter 8, pp. 203-240.

94. Kramnick, "Children's Literature", p. 215.
95. Kramnick, "Children's Literature", p. 216. The books Kramnick used for his study included: Goody Two Shoes, Fabulous Histories, The Parent's Assistant, Early Lessons, Original Stories, Evenings at Home, Sandford and Merton, Little Jack; in addition, William Godwin's Dramas for Children (1808) and Thomas Percival's A Father's Instructions (1775) were included but were not in the present study because they were not prose fiction.
96. Kramnick, "Children's Literature", p. 221.
97. Kramnick, "Children's Literature", pp. 224, 228, 225.
98. Kramnick, "Children's Literature", pp. 231-232.
99. Kramnick, "Children's Literature", pp. 236-7.
100. J.S. Bratton, The Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction, London: Croom Helm, 1981.
101. Quoted by Hodges and Steinfirst from Marjorie Gillespie's Literature for Children: History and Trends, Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown, 1970.
102. Abigail Stewart, David Winter, and David Jones, "Coding Categories for the Study of Child-Rearing from Historical Sources", Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 5, pp. 687-701.
103. David Jones, Abigail J. Stewart, David G. Winter, "Socialization and Themes in Popular Drama: An Analysis of The Content of Child-Rearing Manuals and Don Juan Plays in the Sixteenth to Twentieth Centuries", European Journal of Social Psychology, 4, pp. 65-84.
104. Jay Mechling, "Advice to Historians on Advice to Mothers", Journal of Social History, 1975, 9, pp. 44-63.
105. Mechling, "Advice to Historians", p. 53.
106. Mechling, "Advice to Historians", p. 54.
107. Mechling, "Advice to Historians", p. 56.

Notes for Chapter 2

1. J.H. Plumb, "The Triumph of Culture", in Paul Fritz and David Williams, eds., Eighteenth Century Perspectives, MacMaster Association of Eighteenth Century Studies, Toronto: A.M. Hakkert, 1972, p. 48.

2. See Iona and Peter Opie, The Oxford Book of Children's Verse, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973, p. ix. See also Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage, p. 410.
3. Richard D. Altick, The English Common Reader. A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, Chicago: University Press, (1957) 1963, p. 306.
4. Kitson G. Clark, "The Romantic Element, 1830 to 1850" in J.H. Plumb, ed., Studies in Social History, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1955, p. 211.
5. G. Rattray Taylor, The Angel-Makers, A Study of the Psychological Origins of Historical Change, 1750-1850, London: Heinemann, 1958, p. 105.
6. The Encyclopedia Britannica, 11, 13th ed. (1768) 1926, London and New York: The Encyclopedia Britannica Co., pp. 743-5.
7. G.M. Trevelyan, English Social History, London: Longmans, Green and Co., (1942) 1946, pp. 390-3.
8. Neil McKendrick, "Home Demand and Economic Growth: A New View of the Role of Women and Children in the Industrial Revolution" in McKendrick, ed., Historical Perspectives: Studies in English Thought and Society, London: European Publications, 1974, pp. 178-9.
9. C.D.M. Kettleby, A History of Modern Times from 1789, London: George Harrap, (1929) 1964, pp. 17-18.
10. Christina Hole, English Home Life 1500-1800, London: B.T. Batsford, 1947, p. 94; McKendrick, "Home Demand...", p. 176. Famine years were 1764 and 1776 and during the 1790s. In the 19th century bad years were 1801, 1811, between 1816 and 1819, 1826 and between 1839 and 1841. The cholera epidemic occurred in 1832. Among the prosperous years were the last years of the 1790s, the early 1820s and after 1842.
11. McKendrick, "Home Demand...", p. 184.
12. McKendrick, "Home Demand...", p. 180.
13. Hole, English Home Life, pp. 94 passim; Plumb, "The Triumph of Culture", p. 40.
14. J.H. Plumb, "The New World of Children in Eighteenth Century England", Past and Present, 67 (1975), p. 65.
15. Gerald Bentley, Jr., "The Freaks of Learning: Learned Pigs, Musical Hares and the Romantics". Lecture to the Friends of the Osborne Collection, mimeographed, Toronto Public Library, 1980.

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2. See Iona and Peter Opie, The Oxford Book of Children's Verse, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973, p. ix. See also Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage, p. 410.
3. Richard D. Altick, The English Common Reader. A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, Chicago: University Press, (1957) 1963, p. 306.
4. Kitson G. Clark, "The Romantic Element, 1830 to 1850" in J.H. Plumb, ed., Studies in Social History, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1955, p. 211.
5. G. Rattray Taylor, The Angel-Makers, A Study of the Psychological Origins of Historical Change, 1750-1850, London: Heinemann, 1958, p. 105.
6. The Encyclopedia Britannica, 11, 13th ed. (1768) 1926, London and New York: The Encyclopedia Britannica Co., pp. 743-5.
7. G.M. Trevelyan, English Social History, London: Longmans, Green and Co., (1942) 1946, pp. 390-3.
8. Neil McKendrick, "Home Demand and Economic Growth: A New View of the Role of Women and Children in the Industrial Revolution" in McKendrick, ed., Historical Perspectives: Studies in English Thought and Society, London: European Publications, 1974, pp. 178-9.
9. C.D.M. Kettleby, A History of Modern Times from 1789, London: George Harrap, (1929) 1964, pp. 17-18.
10. Christina Hole, English Home Life 1500-1800, London: B.T. Batsford, 1947, p. 94; McKendrick, "Home Demand...", p. 176. Famine years were 1764 and 1776 and during the 1790s. In the 19th century bad years were 1801, 1811, between 1816 and 1819, 1826 and between 1839 and 1841. The cholera epidemic occurred in 1832. Among the prosperous years were the last years of the 1790s, the early 1820s and after 1842.
11. McKendrick, "Home Demand...", p. 184.
12. McKendrick, "Home Demand...", p. 180.
13. Hole, English Home Life, pp. 94 passim; Plumb, "The Triumph of Culture", p. 40.
14. J.H. Plumb, "The New World of Children in Eighteenth Century England", Past and Present, 67 (1975), p. 65.
15. Gerald Bentley, Jr., "The Freaks of Learning: Learned Pigs, Musical Hares and the Romantics". Lecture to the Friends of the Osborne Collection, mimeographed, Toronto Public Library, 1980.

16. J.H. Plumb, "The Commercialisation of Leisure in Eighteenth Century England", The Stenton Lecture (for 1972), Reading, 1974, p. 10; Plumb, "The Triumph of Culture", p. 47; and Sarah Tytler, Childhood a Hundred Years Ago, London: Marcus Ward, 1877, pp. 12-48.
17. James Walvin, Leisure and Society, 1830-1950, London: Longman, 1978, p. 4; Plumb, "The Commercialisation of Leisure", p. 10.
18. Plumb, "The Triumph of Culture", p. 47.
19. Victor Neuberg, The Penny Histories, London: Oxford University Press, 1968. Leslie Shepard, The Broadside Ballad, A Study in Origins and Meanings, London: Herbert Jenkins, 1962. Leslie Shepard, The History of Street Literature, Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1973. "Catchpennies" were hoaxes, such as Catnach's coup after Weare's murder for which Thurtell was executed. Two weeks later Catnach produced a sheet headed WE ARE ALIVE AGAIN.
20. Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt, Children in English Society, 2 vols., Toronto: University Press, 1973.
21. James Walvin, "Seen and Heard -- Children in Britain", Lecture to the Friends of the Osborne Collection, mimeographed, Toronto Public Library, 1981, p. 2.
22. J.J. Findlay, The Children of England: A Contribution to Social History and to Education, London: Methuen, 1923, p. 152 passim.
23. Altick, The English Common Reader, pp. 69-71.
24. The Rights of Man cost 3/ originally, but was reduced to 6 d. which made it readily available. 200,000 copies were sold within two years, a benchmark in the history of publishing. (Altick, The English Common Reader, pp. 72-6.)
25. Shepard, The History of Street Literature, p. 66 passim.
26. Lawrence Stone, "Literacy and Education in England, 1640-1900", Past and Present, 42 (1969), p. 87. Findlay provided the following verse:

The Richman in his castle,
The Poorman at the gate,
God made them high and lowly
And ordered their estate.

(The Children of England, p. 38)
27. Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage, p. 9.

28. Altick, The English Common Reader, p. 82; McKendrick, "Home Demand...", p. 157; Walvin, "Seen and Heard", p. 1.
29. Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage, p. 64.
30. J.H. Plumb, England in the Eighteenth Century, London: Penguin Books, 1950, pp. 11-87. Jonathan Gathorne-Hardy, The Unnatural History of the Nanny, New York: Dial Press, 1973, p. 65. Altick, The English Common Reader, p. 81.
31. Henry R. Plomer, A Short History of English Printing, 1476-1900, London: Paul Kegan, 1915, pp. 238-41, 243.
32. Charles Knight, The Old Printer and the Modern Press, London: John Murray, 1854, p. 245.
33. Knight, The Old Printer, pp. 203, 218-221, 260 passim.
34. Altick, The English Common Reader, p. 49.
35. Altick, The English Common Reader, pp. 55-57, 264-7.
36. Altick, The English Common Reader, p. 49.
37. Knight, The Old Printer, p. 236.
38. Altick, The English Common Reader, p. 56.
39. Series books put out by John Marshall included The Infant's Cabinet with 16 volumes; John Harris had A Cabinet of Lilliput and also a Cabinet of Amusement and Instruction.
40. Altick, The English Common Reader, p. 36. Familiar to us are Bowdler's adaptations of Shakespeare's works.
41. Charles Knight, In the Shadows of the Old Booksellers, London: Bell and Daldy, 1865, p. 282.
42. Charles Knight, Passages of a Working Life During Half a Century with a Prelude of Early Reminiscences in 3 vols., Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, (1864-5) 1871, vol. 2, p. 326.
43. S.H. Steinberg, Five Hundred Years of Printing, Suffolk: The Chaucer Press, (1955) 1974, p. 260.
44. Marjorie Plant, The English Book Trade: An Economic History of the Making and Sale of Books, London, George Unwin, 1965 p. 420.
45. Plant, The English Book Trade, pp. 420-2, 428.
46. Knight, The Old Printer and Shadows of the Old Booksellers.

47. G.S. Chalmers, Reading Easy 1800-50, London: The Broadside King, 1976, p. 9.
48. Chalmers, Reading Easy; Neuberg, The Penny Histories; Shepard, The Broadside Ballad and The History of Street Literature. See also, John Ashton, Chapbooks of the Eighteenth Century, London: Chatto and Windus, 1882; Harry Weiss, A Book About Chapbooks: The People's Literature of Bygone Times, Trenton, New Jersey: Private Publication, 1942.
49. Shepard, The History of Street Literature, p. 50.
50. Roger S. Schofield, "Dimensions of Illiteracy, 1750-1850", in Explorations in Economic History, Summer, 1973, p. 437. See also David McClelland, "Does Education Accelerate Economic Growth?", Economic Development and Cultural Change, 14, 1966, p. 259.
51. Schofield, "Dimensions of Illiteracy", pp. 37-8 and also Stone, "Literacy and Education", p. 87.
52. Stone, "Literacy and Education", p. 125.
53. Schofield, "Dimensions of Illiteracy", pp. 438, 444, 447; Walvin, Leisure and Society, p. 53.
54. Schofield, "Dimensions of Illiteracy", p. 444.
55. Schofield, "Dimensions of Illiteracy", pp. 446, 453-4.
56. Schofield, "Dimensions of Illiteracy", p. 446.
57. Chalmers, Reading Easy, p. 9.
58. Stone, "Literacy and Education in England", p. 98.
59. Thomas Walter Laqueur, Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture, 1780-1850, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976, pp. 104, 107.
60. See page 75 above.
61. R.K. Webb, The British Working Class Reader, 1790-1848: Literacy and Social Tension, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1955, p. 162.
62. Foreign visitors were impressed by the attendance of working class people at the coffee houses to read the newspapers (Altick, p. 40). Samuel Johnson stated in 1779 that "general literature now pervades the nation through all its ranks" (Quoted in Altick, p. 41). And Burke allegedly estimated the English reading public in 1792 at 80,000 (Altick, p. 49). Lackington the Methodist book-seller remarked at the same period:

The sale of books in general has increased prodigiously within the last twenty years. The poorer sort of farmers and even the poor country people in general who before that period spent their winter evenings relating stories of witches, ghosts and hobgoblins, now shorten their winter nights by hearing their sons and daughters read tales and romances...In short, all ranks and degrees now read. (From Memoirs by James Lackington.. Quoted by Steinberg, 50 Years of Printing, p. 161).

63. Schofield, "Dimensions of Illiteracy", p. 438 and "The Measurement of Literacy in Pre-Industrial England" in Jack Goody, ed., Literacy in Traditional Societies, Cambridge University Press, 1968, pp. 314-5.
64. Schofield, "The Measurement of Literacy", pp. 315-8 and "Dimensions of Illiteracy", pp. 438-9.
65. Stone, "Literacy and Education", p. 131.
66. Altick, The English Common Reader, pp. 33-3, 145; Chalmers, Reading Easy, p. 23; Stone, "Literacy and Education", pp. 81, 113-4; Walvin, "Seen and Heard", p. 5.
67. Altick, The English Common Reader, pp. 147 and 167; Schofield, "Dimensions of Illiteracy", p. 439 and "Measurement of Literacy", p. 317.
68. Stone, "Literacy and Education", p. 317; Laqueur, Religion and Respectability, p. 99; Richard Johnson, "Educational Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England", Past and Present, 49, (Nov. 1970), pp. 108-9.
69. Stone, "Literacy and Education", p. 79.
70. Lawrence Stone, "The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640", Past and Present, 28, (1964), pp. 68-9.
71. Stone, "Literacy and Education", p. 85.
72. Frank Musgrove, "The Decline of the Educative Family", Universities Quarterly, 14, (1959-60), pp. 391-2.
73. Rosamund Bayne-Powell, The English Child in the Eighteenth Century, London: John Murray, pp. 93-5.
74. Among those who favoured home education were Locke, Watts, Rousseau, Lord Kames; Clara Reeves, R.L. Edgeworth, Isaac Taylor and Mrs. Budden.
75. J.J. Findlay, Arnold of Rugby: His School Life and Contributions to Education, Cambridge: University Press, 1897.
76. Talbot's The Christian Schoolmaster (1707), Easton's The Salisbury Spelling Book (1786) and Vyse's New London Spelling Book are examples. Both Thomas Smith and John Carey were ministers and wrote educational texts.

77. John Money, "The Schoolmasters of Birmingham and the West Midlands, 1750-1790: Private Education and Cultural Change in the English Provinces During the Early Industrial Revolution", Histoire Sociale-Social History, May 1976, p. 139.
78. Brian Simon, Studies in the History of Education 1780-1870, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1960, p. 20.
79. Money, "The Schoolmasters", pp. 141, 143-158; Plumb, "Children in 18th Century England", pp. 94-5.
80. Simon, Studies in the History of Education, pp. 23, 25, 27.
81. Ellen Alwell, The Religious Trend in Secular English-Irish Schoolbooks 1850-61, 1871-80, Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1974, pp. 16-7.
82. Simon, Studies in the History of Education, p. 112.
83. Simon, Studies in the History of Education, pp. 115-7.
84. William Carew Hazlitt, Schools, School-books and Schoolmasters, New York: G.E. Stechert, 1905, p. 195.
85. See for example: John Bennett, Letters to a Young Lady, London, (1796) 1818; Hester Chapone, Letters on the Improvement of the Mind, London, (1773) 1818; Erasmus Darwin, A Plan for the Education of Females in Boarding Schools, London, (1797) 1968; Dr. John Gregory, A Father's Legacy to his Daughters, London, 1774; Letters from a Mother to her Daughter, London, 1825; Legacy for Young Ladies, from a Retired Governess, London, 1827; Lady Wortley Montague, The Letters of Mrs. Elizabeth Montague (1753) 1860; Hannah More, Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education, London (1797) 1830; Lady Sarah Pennington, An Unfortunate Mother's Advice to her Absent Daughters, London, 1761; Mrs. Ann Taylor, Practical Hints to Young Females on the Duties of a Wife, London, 1818; Mary Wollstonecraft, Thoughts on the Education of Daughters, (1787) 1974. In addition such child-raising manuals as Edgeworth's Practical Education (1798); Isaac Taylor's Home Education (1838) and Mrs. Budden's Thoughts on Domestic Education (1829) all had specific chapters on female education. The journal articles on the topic are too numerous to list.
86. See for example, Sarah Fielding's The Governess (1745) and the Lambs' Mrs. Leicester's School (1808).
87. For an account of such a school see William Scargill's Recollections of a Blue-Coat Boy (1829), a book in the sample.

88. Stone, "The Educational Revolution", p. 44.
89. Money, "The New Schoolmasters", pp. 141-2.
90. Nicholas Carlisle, A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools, London: Baldwin Cradock & Joy, 1818. The original report was the result of the enquiry of a select committee of the House of Commons into "The Education of the Lower Orders". It concluded "that a very large number of poor children are wholly without means of instruction, although their parents appear to be generally very desirous of obtaining that advantage for them" (pp. xxix - xxx). The committee was extended because it became concerned with "the misapplication of Funds" (p. xxxi). It was also enlarged to cover all of England and Wales. The author, Carlisle, then undertook to provide a description of all Endowed Grammar Schools. This he did by inserting a letter and questionnaire in The Gentleman's Magazine, with a copy of same to all known headmasters (p. xxxi-xxxii).
91. Simon, Studies in the History of Education, pp. 95-100.
92. Frank Musgrove, "Middle-Class Education and Employment in the Nineteenth Century", Economic history Review, 1959, p. 99.
93. Charles Babenroth, English Childhood: Wordsworth's Treatment of Childhood in the Light of English Poetry from Prior to Crabbe, New York: Octagon Books, (1922), 1973, pp. 190-1.
94. Altick, The English Common Reader, p. 147.
95. Mary G. Jones, The Charity School Movement, A Study of Eighteenth Century Puritanism in Action, Cambridge University Press, (1938) 1964.
96. Michael Sanderson, "Education and the Factory in Industrial Lancashire 1780-1840", The Economic History Review, (N.S.) 20, (1967), p. 279.
97. Jones, The Charity School Movement, pp. 96-109.
98. Jones, The Charity School Movement, pp. 343-347.
99. Paul Sangster, Pity My Simplicity, The Evangelical Revival and the Religious Education of Children, 1738-1800, London: Epworth Press, 1963, p. 94.
100. Stone, "Literacy and Education", p. 82. The Established Church felt threatened by the stand taken by the Dissenters and the Methodists and established this Society to reinforce the Anglican hold over education for the poor. Its official name was "The National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church", and it had Tory support.

101. Alwell, The Religious Trend, p. 17. See also G.F.A. Best, "The Religious Difficulties of National Education in England, 1800-70", Cambridge Historical Journal, 12, (1956), pp. 155-73 and 160-1.
102. Chalmers, Reading Easy. pp.22-3.
103. Alwell, The Religious Trend, p. 34; Best, "The Religious Difficulties", p. 163; Richard Johnson, "Educational Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England", Past and Present, 49, (Nov. 1970), p. 97.
104. Sanderson, "Education and the Factory", p. 279.
105. Johnson, "Educational Policy and Social Control", pp. 96-97, 101.
106. Johnson, "Educational Policy and Social Control", p. 109.
107. J. Henry Harris, Robert Raikes: The Man Who Founded the Sunday School, London: National Sunday School Union, (1889) 1929.
108. Laqueur, Religion and Respectability, p. 4.
109. Laqueur, Religion and Respectability, pp. 26, 29.
110. Laqueur, Religion and Respectability, pp. xi-11, 44, 53, 64, 99-101.
111. See Chapter 3, pp. 110-11.
112. Laqueur, Religion and Respectability, p. 104.

113. J.F.C. Harrison, The Early Victorians, 1832-1851, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971, p. 151. Harrison stated that no period in British history was richer in movements for radical and social reform than the period between 1830-50. He cited: "political reform, Chartism, trade unionism, factory reform, Owenite socialism, cooperation, Anti-Poor Law agitation, secularism, towards an unstamped press, friendly Benefit Societies, workers' and adult education, temperance, phrenology, vegetarianism, universal peace, The Anti-Corn Law League, millenarianism, machine-breaking, agriculture riots, and others more personal and ideosyncratic". (p. 172).
114. Johnson, "Educational Policy and Social Control", pp. 113-4. For fictional evidence of the bad, see Our Mutual Friend and Hard Times (by Charles Dickens), and Rattlin the Reefer (by E.A. Howard). See also, Chapter 6, pp. 217-8. Trevelyan noted that there were some good endowed grammar schools and cited in particular the one at Hawkshead attended by Wordsworth (G.M. Trevelyan, British History on the Nineteenth Century, London: Longman's Green, 1922, p. 28).
115. See Chapter 7, pp. 271-2.
116. Plumb, "The New World of Children", p. 81.
117. Two books which poked fun at the new members of the middle class were The Two Farmers (1787) by Mrs. Trimmer, and The Two Wealthy Farmers (1795-6) by Hannah More. Display (1815) by Jane Taylor echoed the same theme.

Notes for Chapter 3

1. Clark, "The Romantic Element", pp. 212-3.
2. See for example the works of Lord Kames (Loose Hints Upon Education), Clara Reeve (Plans of Education), R.L. Edgeworth (Practical Education), Erasmus Darwin (A Plan for the Conduct of Female Education in Boarding Schools), Isaac Taylor (Home Education) and Mrs. Budden (Thoughts on Domestic Education).
3. Clark, "The Romantic Element", pp. 212, 214.
4. Simon, Studies in the History of Education, p. 70.
5. See p. 117 above for divergent religious views.
6. Alan D. Gilbert, Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change, London: Longman, 1976, pp. 3, 19.

7. Gilbert, Religion and Society, p. 22.
8. Laqueur, Religion and Respectability, pp. 4-11, 23.
9. Gilbert, Religion and Society, p. 37.
10. Gilbert, Religion and Society, pp. 60-3.
11. Sangster, Pity my Simplicity, pp. 42-47.
12. Laqueur, Religion and Respectability, p. 11. There were 125 British editions of Isaac Watts' Divine and Moral Songs for the Use of Children between 1715 and 1800 and a further 189 editions before 1850. As already noted it was the most frequently quoted source material in children's books in this sample. Pafford has quoted one million editions by 1929 according to Alderson.
13. Mrs. A.K. Elwood, Memoirs of the Literary Ladies of England from the Commencement of the Last Century, in 2 vols., London: Henry Colburn, 1843, p. 271.
14. Sangster, Pity my Simplicity, p. 22.
15. Ford K. Brown, Fathers of the Victorians: The Age of Wilberforce, Cambridge: University Press, 1961, p. 168.
16. Brown, The Fathers of Victorianism, p. 4.
17. Brown, Fathers of the Victorians, p. 70.
18. Brown (Fathers of the Victorians, pp. 329-40) listed the charitable organizations by categories. Between the years of this study (1740-1840), under the heading of "Medical Charities", there are 88 entries; under the heading of "Religious, Moral, Educational and Philanthropic Charities", there are 195.
19. Brown, Fathers of the Victorians, p. 115. The treatise was entitled "A Practical View of the Religious System of Professed Christians Contrasted with Real Christianity".
20. Brown, Fathers of the Victorians, p. 123.
21. Altick, The English Common Reader, pp. 73-6.
22. Brown, Fathers of the Victorians, pp. 126-9.
23. Laqueur, Religion and Respectability, p. 203.

24. Brown, Fathers of the Victorians, pp. 131-4, Mrs. Trimmer's The Oeconomy of Charity (1786), The Servant's Friend (1786) and The Two Farmers (1786), revealed sentiments similar to those expressed by Hannah More in both her C.R.T. and R.T.S. tracts.
25. For an account see Mrs. Elwood's Memoirs of the Literary Ladies of England, pp. 271-3. The story is recounted of how Mrs. More took Wilberforce to visit the scenic gorges of Cheddar and he countered with an offer to assist the people of that impoverished area, which led to the involvement of the More sisters in the Sunday School Movement. They used Mrs. Trimmer's The Oeconomy of Charity as their manual in the establishment of these schools.
26. Mrs. Clara Lucas Balfour, Working Women of the Last Half Century: The Lesson of their Lives, London: W. and F.G. Cash, 1854, pp. 71-78. The Anglican curate, a Mr. Bere, objected to the pronouncements of Mr. Young, the Sunday School teacher, and brought charges against his moral character. Rather than dismiss Mr. Young, whom Mrs. More described as "an honest, upright man and an able and faithful schoolmaster", she broke up the school. This appeased the Church of England authorities. Hannah More then re-opened the school after Mr. Bere was removed from his office; angered, the authorities re-instated Mr. Bere who was also the Magistrate of the community of Blagdon. She was accused of supporting Methodists and dissenters and in spite of her later pious writings she was never held in high esteem again by the Church of England dignitaries. Some accounts of her life (Mrs. Elwoods's, quoted above, for example), make no mention of the Blagdon Controversy.
27. Altick, The English Common Reader, p. 143.
28. Gilbert, Religion and Society, p. 60.
29. G.F.A. Best, "Evangelicalism and the Victorians", in Arthur Symonds, ed., The Victorian Crisis of Faith, London: S.P.C.K., 1970, p. 48.
30. Sangster, Pity my Simplicity, pp. 82-90.
31. Chalmers, Reading Easy, See Appendix A.
32. Among Mrs. Trimmer's school books were: A Concise History of England, Easy Introduction to the Knowledge of Nature, Easy Lessons for Young Children, Ladder to Learning, Little Child's Fable Book, Little Child's Spelling Book, New and Comprehensive Lessons, Roman History, Scripture Lessons and A Series of Prints to accompany her books on Ancient History, English History, Roman History, Scripture History and the New Testament. Mrs. Barbauld, a Unitarian, was the first

author to write primers for domestic use and her books had a wide circulation. Her Lessons for Children From Two to Three Years Old (1778) was written for her adopted nephew Charles.

33. Alwell, The Religious Trend, p. 30.
34. Laqueur, Religion and Respectability, pp. 254-6.
35. Quoted in Sangster, Pity My Simplicity, p. 60.
36. James Janeway, A Token For Children (1671-2); Thomas White, A Little Book for Little Children (1672).
37. Laqueur, Religion and Respectability, Appendix 1, pp. 254-6.
38. Altick, The English Common Reader, fn. p. 108.
39. Of Mrs. Sherwood's longer stories there are in this study, The History of Little Henry and his Bearer, The History of the Fairchild Family, The History of Henry Milner, The Two Sisters, Caroline Mordaunt, The Recaptured Negro and The Flowers of the Forest. Legh Richmond's Annals of the Poor (1814) included The Dairyman's Daughter, The Young Cottager, The Cottage Conversation, and a Visit to the Infirmary.
40. In the verse entitled "Obedience to Parents", the imagery might well terrify a child:

What heavy guilt upon him lies!
How cursed is his name.
The ravens shall pick out his eyes
And eagles eat the same. (Laqueur, p. 12).

Song XI indicates the contrast in the Afterlife--a constant reminder to children:

There is beyond the Sky,
A Heaven of Joy and Love;
And baby Children when they die,
Go to the world above.

There is a dreadful Hell
And everlasting pains
There Sinners must with Devils dwell
In Darkness, Fire and Chains. (Divine Songs (1775) 1765).

41. Laqueur, Religion and Respectability, p. 33. Jane and Ann Taylor wrote for The Eclectic Review, The Evangelical Magazine and The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle among others. (C. Duff-Stewart, The Taylors of Ongar). Mrs. Sherwood wrote for The Youth's Magazine and The Child's Magazine among others.

42. Richard Vann, The Social Development of English Quakerism, 1655-1755, Cambridge, Massachusetts: University Press, 1969, pp. 208, 189-93.
43. Among authors known to be Quaker, were Priscilla Wakefield, Maria Harford, Mary Elliott, and Mary and William Howitt. The Howitts abandoned Quakerism during the 1830s because of its inadaptability to changing society. See Mary Howitt: An Autobiography (2 vols.), ed. Margaret Howitt, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1889, p. 220.
44. Simon, Studies in the History of Education, pp. 56-62.
45. Gilbert, Religion and Society, pp. 33, 78-9, 84. Also, R.T. Jones, Congregationalism in England, 1662-1962, London: B.T. Batsford, 1972, pp. 22-3.
46. Gilbert, Religion and Society, pp. 36-43. Also W.R. Ward, Religion and Society in England, 1790-1850, London: B.T. Batsford, 1972, pp. 22-3.
47. Altick, The English Common Reader, p. 69.
48. Gilbert, Religion and Society, p. 84. Jones, Congregationalism, pp. 184-5, Simon, Studies in the History of Education, p. 70.
49. Jones, Congregationalism, p. 215.
50. Ward, Religion and Society in England, pp. 22-3.
51. Gilbert, Religion and Society, pp. 35-6. Ward, Religion and Society in England, pp. 85, 91, 105.
52. Gilbert, Religion and Society, pp. 193-202. Ward, Religion and Society in England, p. 91.
53. An excerpt from Some Account of the Life and Writings of Mrs. Trimmer is illustrative:

What an awful event has happened lately on the coast of France! Thousands of poor Frenchmen fighting for their King and their religion have been unhappily slaughtered by their infatuated countrymen, who now appear to be let loose to execute the wrath of God on all surrounding nations. Hitherto, we of this island appear to be under the peculiar rule of Heaven; our ships ride triumphant upon the ocean, and the schemes of sedition are frustrated (pp. 289-90).
54. Howard Warren, A History of Associationism, New York: Scribner, 1921, pp. 4, 9.

55. Warren, Associationism, p. 4.
56. James Axtell, ed., The Educational Writings of John Locke, A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes, Cambridge: University Press, 1968, pp. 42-3.
57. See Chapter 1, page 43.
58. Quoted by Plumb ("Children in Eighteenth Century England", p. 68). From Microcosmographia, London, 1628.
59. J.C. Stewart-Robertson, "The Well-Principled Savage, the Child of the Scottish Enlightenment", mimeographed, University of New Brunswick, 1979. I am grateful to Professor G.P. Brooks, of St. Francis Xavier University, Nova Scotia, for providing me with a copy of this paper. It is based on the lecture notes and unpublished manuscripts of Thomas Reid.
60. Isaac Watts wrote on this subject. (See Notes to Chapter 9, Note 5 below). Kames and Edgeworth's educational treatises also commented at length. By 1800, some authors, including Edgeworth and Darwin, were noting the positive aspects. By the time Isaac Taylor wrote Home Education (1838), he made no mention of negative associations.
61. See Note 40, Chapter 5.
62. Robert Hoeldtke, "The History of Associationism and British Medical Psychology", Medical History, 11, (1967), pp. 49-63. Stewart Robinson, "The Well-Principled Savage", pp. 18-24.
63. Solomon Diamond, ed., The Roots of Psychology. A Source Book in the History of Ideas, New York: Basic Books, 1974, pp. 667-8.
64. Diamond, The Roots of Psychology, p. 567. G.P. Brooks, "A Case History in Scientific Method", Lecture given at Carleton University, December, 1977 (unpublished).
65. Encyclopedia Britannica, 27-28, p. 820.
66. Harrison, The Early Victorians, p. xix.
67. See Chapter 2, pp. 88-9.
68. Johnson, "Educational Policy", p. 96.
69. Charles Dickens, Hard Times, London: Bantam, (1954) 1981, p. 25.
70. Dickens, Hard Times, p. 28.

71. See Chapter 2, p. 86.
72. J.F. Harrison, Learning and Living 1760-1960: A Study in the History of Adult Education in Movement, London: Routledge and Paul Kegan, 1961, pp. 141-2.
73. Clark, "The Romantic Element", pp. 214, 217. See also F. Lamar Janney, Childhood in English Non-Dramatic Literature from 1557 to 1798, Griefswald: Abel, 1925, p. 98.
74. Janney, Childhood, pp. 45-6.
75. Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage, pp. 411-2.
76. Janney, Childhood, p. 109.
77. J.M.S. Tompkins, The Popular Novel in England 1770-1800, London: Methuen, 1932, p. 298.
78. James Fotheringham, Wordsworth's "Prelude" as a Study of Education, London: Horace Marshall, 1899, pp. 37-9.
79. Fotheringham, Wordsworth's "Prelude", pp. 45-6.
80. See Chapter 9, p. 313.
81. Lamb's letter to Coleridge in May of 1802 describing a hunt in the bookstores for some old favourite stories is quoted in Chapter 7, pp. 256-7.
82. See Note 18 above.
83. Janney, Childhood, p. 107.
84. Within the sample for this study 14 books quoted or mentioned this poem.
85. Brown, Fathers of the Victorians, p. 326.
86. Taylor, The Angel-Makers, pp. 244, 247-8.
87. Taylor, The Angel-Makers, p. 248.
88. Brown, Fathers of the Victorians, pp. 140-1.
89. See for example Lady Sarah Pennington's An Unfortunate Mother's Advice to her Daughters, pp. 131-2. And Clara Reeve's Plans of Education, pp. 82-4.
90. Peter Coveney, The Child in Literature: Poor Monkey, London: Rockcliff, 1957, p. 1. Coveney used the phrase as a chapter heading.

91. From Harriet Lee's Errors of Innocence (1786), quoted in Tompkins, The Popular Novel, p. 96.
92. It came about as:
- ...the result of acute senses, fully-fashioned nerves which vibrate at the slightest touch and convey such clear intelligence to the brain that it does not require to be arranged by judgement.
- From Mary Wollstonecraft's A Cave of Fancy: Posthumous Works (1798). Quoted by Tompkins, The English Popular Novel, p. 95.
93. Tompkins, The English Popular Novel, p. 105. An interesting extract from Some Account of the Life and Writings of Mrs. Trimmer, noted the concern for the horses compelled to work in the mines, but none for the women or children also employed there.
- Here are coal pits near the town, and one daily sees hundreds of poor little slaved horses, so unmercifully loaded that their little legs bend under them and their unfeeling drivers who are scarce better than savages, knocking them and worrying them to death. They are remarkably cruel to the Brute Creation; the children have nothing to do but mischief and the young men very riotous. (Letter from Mrs. D. undated but before 1787, p. 192).
94. William Cowper, "A Winter's Walk at Noon".
95. In children's books, the works of Charlotte Smith in particular contained many descriptive passages on the beauties of nature. Other authors who wrote in a similar vein included Elizabeth Sandham, Lucy Peacock and Mrs. Ventum.
96. For example, Sheridan's The Rivals, written in 1774.
97. Tompkins, The English Popular Novel, p. 103.
98. In John Bennett's Letters to a Young Lady, the issue was discussed:

Nothing certainly can be more nauseous and disgusting than an affected sensibility, as nothing is more charming than the pure and genuine. But, with all this noise about it, I am far from knowing whether there is much of the real in the world. They, who would be thought to have it in perfection, are only in possession of the artificial. For is it sensibility to prefer the turbid pleasures of midnight to opening buds and blossoms; to the lessons, which the Creator gives

in every vegetable and every insect; to undisturbed contemplation; to the raptures of devotion, or all the fair and enchanting landscapes of creation; to the sentiment, the taste and knowledge, that are displayed in the works of the most learned and ingenious men, or the entertainment and delight and profit, we might receive from the volume of revelations? Is it sensibility to form a sacred connexion with one person, and encourage a criminal attachment to another? Is it sensibility to leave the charms, the cries, the wants and tender pleadings of an infant offspring, for the vain and perishable splendour of a ball, a birth night, or a levee?

Every thinking person must be disgusted with such a kind of sensibility. Rigid criticism would call it by a very harsh name, and society has reason to reprobate its tendency. Yet Sterne's sensibility led to many of those evils; and who knows not, that a thousand ladies, who vaunt fine feelings, are dupes to this ridiculous illusion? (Letter LXXXIII, pp. 211-212).

90. Tompkins, The Popular Novel, p. 111.
100. See quotation from Bennett above, Note 98. See also Chapter 6, pp. 201-2, for a discussion of sensibility in children's books.
101. This occurred particularly in the books for the 1790s sample.
102. Cutt, Ministering Angels, p. 107.
103. Ernest M. Eller, ed., The School of Infancy (1633), by John Amos Comenius, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, pp. 76-96. Comenius believed that all experience was based on sensation, and that knowledge should come first with concrete objects, then with pictures of objects, and lastly with symbolic language. He provided the first illustrated books for children, as a learning tool based on this theory (Orbis sensualium pictus (1657), London, 1777). He also advised that children learned at different speeds because of different capacities (School of Infancy, p. 117).
104. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Emilius and Sophia (in 4 vols.), translated 1762-3, London: R. Griffiths, (Vol. 2, p. 60.)
105. The Guardian of Education, 3, p. 94.
106. Simon, Studies in the History of Education, p. 36.

107. Harry Scott, The Exemplary Mr. Day, 1748-1789, London: Faber, 1935, presented an account of Day's experiments on two female orphans. See also D.N.B., 14, pp. 239-41. An account of Edgeworth's training of his eldest son, who went "to the bad" and emigrated to Canada, is given by Coveney in The Child in Literature, pp. 10-1.
108. Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage, pp. 438, 345.
109. Isaac Watts, "A Discourse on the Way of Instruction by Catechism and the Best Manner of Composing Them", in George Burder, ed., The Works of Isaac Watts, London, J. Bonfield, (1810) 1840, pp. 199-202
110. The Works of Isaac Watts, p. xxiii. Johnson was also quoted in Edgeworth's preface to The Parent's Assistant (1796). Even Mrs. Trimmer approved of Watts, although she noted that the Unitarians tried to pretend that Watts was one of them, and had removed from his works all references to the Son and the Holy Ghost (Some Account of the Life and Times of Mrs. Trimmer, p. 230).
111. Sangster, Pity My Simplicity, pp. 21-2.
112. Susanna Wesley, "On the Education of her Family", in Philip Greven, ed., Child-Rearing Concepts, 1628-1861, Itaska, Illinois: F.E. Peacock, 1975, pp. 46-51.
113. The Common Errors in the Education of Children and Their Consequences, (M. Cooper, London), Louisville, Louisiana: Lost Cause Press, (1744) 1964, (MC 25, 149), pp. 10-12.
114. Common Errors, p. 72.
115. Common Errors, pp. 50, 68-9. Joseph Priestly's The Rudiments of English Grammar (1761) was the first school text to include extracts from contemporary authors in English. Selections from Pope, Dryden, Locke and Hume were used as examples.
116. W.A.C. Stewart and W.P. McCann, The Educational Innovators 1750-1880, London: MacMillan, 1967, p. 272.

Notes to Chapter 4

1. Charles C. Spiker, Advances in Child Development and Behavior, New York: Academic Press, 1963, p. 49.
2. The Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books 1476-1910: A Catalogue 2 Volumes; prepared by Judith St. John for the Toronto Public Library, Toronto, 1958 and 1975.

3. The two journals exclusively devoted to children's reading matter were The Guardian of Education (1802-5) and The Juvenile Review (1817); both were available in the Osborne Collection. Also useful for reviews of the works of the Taylor family was Stewart's The Taylor's of Ongar: An Analytical Bio-Bibliography, (in 2 vols.). A book of reviews edited by Lance Salway was particularly helpful; it is entitled A Peculiar Gift: Nineteenth Century Writings on Books for Children, Middlesex, England: Kestrel, 1976. Marjorie Moon's John Harris's Books for Youth 1801-1843: A Check List (Cambridge: Five Owls Press, 1976), provided five pages of reviews of Harris publications (pp. 155-63) and Roscoe's John Newbery and his Successors also drew attention to review material. In addition the Reference Library of the Toronto Public Library, the Robarts Library of the University of Toronto, as well as Carleton University Library, and the National Library in Ottawa were utilized. For some journals, inter-library loan services were used. Reviews from 21 different journals were included in the preparation of Chapter 7.
4. I am accepting the statement of Brian W. Alderson, editor of the Andrew Lang Fairy Books Series (from Grimm), and an accepted authority on early children's books.
5. Among others, the following authors pay tribute to the Osborne Collection: Gillian Avery, Childhood's Pattern. A Study of the Heroes and Heroines of Children's Fiction 1770-1950, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1975; Roscoe, John Newbery and his Successors; Walter Schatzki, Children's Books Old and Rare; John Townsend, Written for Children; Eric Quayle, The Collector's Book of Children's Books, New York: C.N. Potter, 1971. Books based on the Osborne Collection include: Cutts, Ministering Angels and Mrs. Sherwood and her Books for Children (1974); Demers and Moyles, eds., From Instruction to Delight; Bingham and Scholt, Fifteen Centuries of Children's Literature; also James Walvin's Seen and Heard, (a Pelican publication still in press) made use of material from the library.
6. Osborne Catalogue, Vol. 1, Introduction by Edgar Osborne, p. xvii.
7. Osborne Catalogue, Vol. 1, p. xviii.
8. In 1976, the Lillian H. Smith Collection, which covers the period from 1910 to the present, was added to the Osborne Collection. The collection is partially funded by The Friends of the Osborne and Lillian H. Smith Collections. Membership is \$15.00 annually.

9. Specialty items include the works of Felix Summerley (pseudonym for Sir Henry Cole), and a collection of Cundall publications.
10. Thomas Boreman, The Gigantick History.
11. Harvey Darton, in Children's Books in England, stated:

By 'children's books' I mean printed works produced ostensibly to give children spontaneous pleasure, and not primarily to teach them, nor solely to make them good, nor to keep them profitably quite (p. 1).

and also:

There is only one 'text' in these pages and that is, that children's books were always the scene of battle between instruction and amusement, between restraint and freedom, between hesitant morality and spontaneous happiness (p. v).

12. Judith St. John told me her determination of what was or was not fiction was decided by whether "an inventive element" was present in the book. On this basis Boreman's work is problematic. His purpose was to describe the curiosities of London for child-readers, but his tale of the two giants, the huge carved figures located in the Guild Hall in London, was partly historic legend and partly fanciful. Because I was guided by the Osborne Collection Catalogue, I excluded it from this study.
13. Mrs. Cooper, The Child's New Plaything: Being a Spelling Book Intended to Make Learning a Diversion Instead of a Task (1743). She also wrote Tommy Thumb's Songbook by Nurse Lovechild (1744), followed later by Nancy Cock's Songbook (1744). These books were mentioned by Pickering, in John Locke and Children's Books, p. 217.
14. Yonge, "Children's Literature", Macmillan's Magazine (1869), p. 310. Mrs. Field, The Child and his Book, p. 331. Quayle, The Collector's Book, p. 79; Townsend, Written for Children, p. 54.
15. Three books usually considered children's classics were excluded from my study because they were written before 1740 and were originally for adults, although later, in abridged form, they were best sellers on the children's market. These were: John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, (1678), Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe (1719), and Jonathan Swift's Gulliver's Travels (1726). Other less appropriate books for children were the abridged versions of Joseph Andrews by Fielding and Clarissa by Richardson.
16. R.L. Edgeworth, Practical Education, Vol. 2, p. 110.

17. Richard P. Runyon and Audrey Haber, Fundamentals of Behavioral Statistics, Don Mills, Ontario: Addison-Wesley, (1967) 1971, pp. 319-22.
18. While this study was in progress, nine other best-sellers were identified. As coding had been completed they were not added to the study. The books in the sample are listed in the bibliography pp. 430-9. They have been listed according to the category in which they were selected, that is "single book authors", "multiple book authors" and "best-sellers". It will be noted that the books in the first two categories are sometimes few in number (as in the decade for the 1790s for example). The reason for this is that the books selected by random sample, later turned out to have had many more editions than were recorded in the British Museum Guide of Books in Print, which was my original reference source. I had access to the notes of Frank Algar only after the selection and coding of books had been completed. His records were detailed and it is presumed more accurate. The books which were initially in other categories have been placed in the best seller category on the basis of Algar's information. It was not possible to re-select different books at that stage of the research. This situation only applied to about thirty years of the study period.
19. A. Bryan Laver, "Historical Research in Psychology", in H. Simpson, ed., Introduction to Research Methods in Psychology, Ottawa: Carleton University, Mimeographed, 1973, pp. 343-395.
20. Kelly, Mother was a Lady; McClelland, The Achieving Society; and deCharms and Moeller, "Values in American Children's Readers".
21. Stewart et al., "Coding Categories".
22. Richard B. Lyman, "Images of Childhood Among Augustine's Contemporaries", Paper delivered at the Tenth Conference on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 5, 1975, mimeographed, p. 6.
23. Stewart et al., "Coding Categories", Appendix 1, p. 694. It may be that Stewart, Winter and Jones's source material was not representative; they do not describe on what basis they selected the two manuals for each century which they submitted to content analysis other than to indicate that they were by well-known authors, and must have had a wide readership. It is also possible that their content analysis was more theoretically determined than I initially suspected. It is more probable, however, that the advice offered to children as to appropriate behaviour differed from the advice offered to their parents at the same time period--a conclusion which will require further analysis and explanation.

24. Ole R. Holsti, "Content Analysis" in Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson, eds., The Handbook of Social Psychology (2 vols.), Don Mills, Ontario: Addison Wesley, (1954) 1968, vol. 2, p. 646.
25. Frank du Mas, Manifest Structure Analysis, Missoula, Montana: Montana State University Press, 1955, p. 12. Du Mas quoted from J.P. Guilford's Fundamental Statistics in Psychology and Education, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1942, pp. 176-7.
26. Holsti, "Content Analysis", p. 646.
27. The books used for inter-observer ratings were those available in Ottawa or through inter-library loan. They were:

From Charlotte Yonge's A Storehouse of Stories (1871):

- "Little Goody Two Shoes" (1765)
- "The Governess" (1744)
- "Jemima Placid" (1783)
- "Perambulations of a Mouse" (1783)
- "The Village School" (1783)
- "Little Jack" (1785)
- *"The History of Philip Quarll" (1727)

Also available were:

- Early Lessons, Vol. 3 (1821)
- The History of Little Henry and his Bearer (1814) 1820
- Mrs. Leicester's School (1809)
- Sandford and Merton (1783-9) 1834
- Recollections of a Bluecoat Boy (1829) 1968
- Stories of Old Daniel (1810) 1969
- *The Hope of the Katzekopfs (1844) 1968

- *These two books were used as training books for the second coder because they were not written within the years of this study.
- 28. To compute category agreement between two coders the formula used by Jones, Stewart and Winter was utilised:

$$\frac{2 \times \text{no. of agreements}}{\text{sum of no. scored by each coder}}$$

See "Socialization and Themes in Popular Drama", fn., p. 68.

Footnotes for Chapter 5

1. Barbara Hofland, Mathilda or the Barbadoes Girl: A Tale for Young People, London: A.K. Newman, 1816, p. 249.
2. Of the six or possibly seven authors who contributed eight books to the period before 1780, five have been identified as male and one as female. The other is unknown.
3. Tompkins, The Popular Novel, p. 120.
4. It is said of Jane Austen that she kept a length of muslin on her work table to cover her writing should visitors call unexpectedly. Jerome Murch, Mrs. Barbauld and her Contemporaries, London: Longman Green, 1877, p. 23.
5. See Chapter 3, p. 132 for Johnson's comment on Isaac Watts. It implies that writing for children was an occupation with low prestige.
6. The phrase "eminent men" was used by Mrs. Field, The Child and his Book, p. 237.
7. Three criteria of author importance were established. One was based on whether or not an author had written one or more best-sellers (a best-seller was defined as a book which went into five or more editions), the second was whether an author was included in the Dictionary of National Biography, the third was whether the author was the subject of other biographical or autobiographical studies.
8. See Table 1, Chapter 3, p. 104.
9. Cutt, Ministering Angels, p. 20.
10. Among those who wrote manuals of advice were Mrs. Barwell, Mrs. Budden, Lady Fenn, Mary Hughes, Harriet Martineau, Margaret Moore, Hannah More, Clara Reeve, Mrs. Trimmer, Mary Wollstonecraft. Very many more wrote primary educational texts for children.
11. Among those who wrote novels were: Mrs. Barbauld, Mary Pilkington, Jane Porter, Clara Reeve, Mrs. Thurtle, Mary Wollstonecraft, Mrs. Hall, Mrs. Hofland, Elizabeth Helme, Hannah More, Mrs. Pinchard, Maria Edgeworth, and of the men, William Gardiner, William Sullivan, E.A. Howard and Captain Marryat.
12. Charlotte Smith and Barbara Hofland both supported themselves by their writing.
13. The four were Thomas Day, E.A. Kendall, Charles Lamb and Legh Richmond.

14. It should be noted that within this sample:

- of 109 probable authors, 85 have been identified. Of these 109, 26 wrote more than one book (24 percent). Of these 26, four were male, one was known by initials only and 21 were female.
- of the 26 authors who wrote more than one book, 21 women wrote a total of 78 books and the four men wrote ten books among them. Thus 88 of the total number of 195 which were included in this study were by 26 authors.
- of these 88 books by multiple-book authors, fourteen authors accounted for 63 of them, each writing three or more of the books in the sample.
- of these fourteen authors, seven had books which spread over three or more decades and these seven accounted for 40 books in the sample.
- of these fourteen, thirteen were female and one was male.
- authors who published for the first time in the decade of the 1830s are not included in these figures. The number of prolific male writers appearing for the first time in the 1830s was suggestive of a trend which developed in the next decade.

15. In 1826 The Gentleman's Magazine noted:

We scarcely ever remember a period of such extraordinary dulness in the literary world, as the last few months... The shops of the London wholesale booksellers resemble so many cemeteries, or catacombs, where nothing is to be seen but "pile upon pile" of the hapless remains of defunct and unsaleable authors. This accounts for the great number of Journeyman Printers and Bookbinders being wholly unemployed (Quoted in Moon, John Harris, p. 172).

16. See Table 2, Chapter 4, p. 145 above. Within the Osborne Collection there were 165 fiction titles between 1840 and 1850, clearly a contrast to the decade of the 1830s.

17. The Fairing, London: John Newbery, 1767, title page. A "fairing" is a small memento purchased at a fair. Admonitions were typical in dedications and prefaces. In The Enchanted Castle (1772) Don Stephano Bunyano stated that other books "have only taught them (children) to talk gibberish and also have presented them with idle nonsensical stories, and such a number of silly and unmeaning rhymes that they have in the end made greater babies of them than they were before; or at least, they have done little more service than if they had given them a rattle or a hobby horse" (p. 7).

18. Among those who did so were Mrs. Barbauld, Lady Fenn and Dorothy Kilner.
19. Richard Johnson, Tea-table Dialogues, 1770, p. 11.
20. The Governess (1744), by Sarah Fielding, was located in Mrs. Teachum's Academy for girls; Tea-table Dialogues and Juvenile Trials (1770) were set in residential schools.
21. The satire on contemporary social institutions makes Goody Two Shoes (1765) palatable reading still.
22. Of the 23 books in the sample for this decade four stated specifically that they were intended for "the rural poor".
23. Mrs. Trimmer's fledgling robins in Fabulous Histories (1786) were clearly cast as children. It is interesting that Mrs. Trimmer drew on Tommy Trip's Valentine Gifts (1765), a favourite twenty years earlier, for the selection of names for her robins (Flapsy, Wafty and Pecksy).
24. From the many similarities in details and setting it is likely that Richard Adams used The Hare (1799) as source material, if not as inspiration, for Watership Down (1975). Watership Down and Shardik (1976) also by Adams, are examples of contemporary animal biographies whose intended readership might be disputed.
25. Mrs. Leicester's School (1809) was made up of moral tales based on the format already established by Sarah Fielding in The Governess. The quality of the stories was however, quite different. In two stories by Charles Lamb ("Maria: The Witch Aunt", and "Arabella Hardy: The Sea Voyage"), children were depicted as showing realistic emotion.
26. Osborne Catalogue, 2, p. 915.
27. Judith St. John, former Head of the Osborne Collection, suggested both interpretations were possible.
28. The Guardian of Education, 1, p. 303.
29. The Osborne Collection Catalogue, 2, p. 954, attributes it to Sarah Wilkinson, but Frank Algar's Notes suggested Stephen Weston as the author.
30. The Good Grandmother (1817) by Barbara Hofland was dedicated to a Mrs. Haugh of Doncaster, although the book itself was intended for "the industrious poor" (p. 111). Another adult dedication occurred in The New Tom Thumb (1815) by Margery Meanwell, a pseudonym for William Mackenzie.

31. Seven of the total of 39 books appeared to be intended for very young readers.
32. Jane and Ann Taylor were particularly noted for their Hymns for Infant Minds and Original Poems (1804) but they also wrote prose fiction. Jane, like Jane Austen, her contemporary, took up fiction-writing as a child. Recently some remnants of her earliest works have been discovered. (See C.D. Stewart, "Another Jane", The Book Collector, Spring 1977, p. 83.) She published Display in 1815, a book included in this sample. Jane and her mother, Mrs. Ann Martin Taylor also published Correspondence Between a Mother and Daughter at School in 1817 which is also in the sample. Jeffreys Taylor's Harry's Holiday was first published in 1818. A brother, Isaac, jr., also wrote instructional works for young people.
33. The first sea adventure story had the abolition of slavery as its major theme. It was entitled The Adventures of Congo in Search of his Master and was published in 1823. It is now attributed to Mrs. Eliza R. Farrar. In 1829, N.E.'s The Life of a Midshipman and The Philosopher's Stone by the Rev. B.T.H. Cole both appeared. Mrs. Sherwood's The Recaptured Negro (1821) was also primarily an adventure story. While heavily moral this book held the reader's interest as she recounted Dazee's experiences as a slave. Two Crusoe-type stories should also be noted: Agnes Strickland's, The Rival Crusoes (1826) and Barbara Hofland's, The Young Crusoe (1828). Isabella Towers contributed The Wanderings of Tom Starboard (1830) and Jane Porter, Sir Edward Seaward's Narrative of his Shipwreck (1831). Three of these were published anonymously. Howard's Rattlin the Reefer (1836) and Marryat's Jacob Faithful (1834) were followed by others of the same cast. Howard wrote The Old Commodore (1837), Outward Bound (1838), and Jack Ashore (1840), among others. Marryat wrote 12 adventure stories, among them the best-sellers Masterman Ready (1841-5), The Children of the New Forest (1847), Poor Jack (1840), The Privateers (1846) and The Little Savages (1848-9). His Canadian based story, The Settlers in Canada (1844) was not as successful as many of his other works.
34. Mrs. S.C. Hall's Chronicles of a Schoolroom (1830) had a letter of introduction to Mrs. Hofland.
35. Examples of home-based girls' stories were: Lucy Newton, An Experiment in Education (1830); Lucy Cameron's, The Sister's Friend (1831); Harriet Martineau's, Five Years of Youth (1831); Mrs. Sherwood's, Caroline Mordaunt (1835); Catherine Sinclair's, Holiday House (1839); Ann Fraser Tytler's, Mary and Florence; or, Grave and Gay (1837) and Mary Howitt's, Tales in Prose (1836).
36. See p. 181 below.

37. Juvenile Trials and Tea-table Dialogues (Richard Johnson), and The Enchanted Castle by Don Stephano Bunyano.
38. The basic format was established in The Governess where each girl in turn told her life story as a separate anecdote. Richard Johnson's books for children were often variations of this same type (as in Juvenile Trials and Tea-table Dialogues). Lady Fenn, in School Occurrences (1782), School Dialogues (1783?) and The Juvenile Tatler (1789) also used this format. The Fairing provided a variation with separate accounts of each sideshow at the fair making up the chapters of the book. Evenings at Home (1792-6) was a particularly popular arrangement in which one story was drawn from an urn each evening and read aloud to provide entertainment and instruction to the assembled children. Many books in the next thirty years used similar story-telling devices.
39. Five books were based on stories with heroes who were talking objects or animals: Anecdotes of a Little Family (1788?), The Adventures of a Silver Penny (1787), The Life and Perambulation of a Mouse (1783), The Adventures of a Pincushion (1780) and Fabulous Histories (1786). The sixth was an allegory by Lucy Peacock, The Adventures of the Six Princesses of Babylon (1785).
40. This discussion occurred in Anecdotes of a Little Family, The Contrast (1787), The Juvenile Tatler, School Occurrences, The History of Sandford and Merton, The Perambulations of a Mouse, The Adventures of a Pincushion, Fabulous Histories, The Holiday Spy, and Mary Wollstonecraft's Original Stories from Real Life (1788).
41. Michael Patrick Hearn, preface to The History of Tom Thumb, New York: Garland Reprint edition, 1977, p. viii. Both Pickering and Hearn have pointed out that imaginative stories were deplored even in the 16th century. Hearn quoted from Hugh Rhodes Book of Nurture (1554) where parents were advised to protest against "feigned fables, vain fantasies and wanton stories and songs of love which bring much mischief to youth".
42. Fabulous Histories, pp. x-xi.
43. Kilner, "Perambulations of A Mouse", in Yonge, ed., Storehouse of Stories, p. 263.
44. Memoirs of Dick the Poney (1779) and The Two Wealthy Farmers (1795-6) satirized adult behaviour; the History of a Great Many Little Boys and Girls (1790) and The Parent's Assistant (1796) poked fun at children. Among the stories

of the 1790s built around extraordinary coincidence were Henry, The Foundling (1799) by Mary Pilkington, The Little Emigrant (1799) by Lucy Peacock, and Martin and James (1791).

45. Animal biographies in this decade included The Hare, The Canary Bird (1799), Keeper's Travels in Search of His Master (1798) and Memoirs of Dick the Poney (1799). See Chapter 6, note 26 for further discussion.
46. Sensibility was a focal point in Elizabeth Pinchard's The Blind Child (1791). See Chapter 6, note 8.
47. The advantages of governesses were dealt with exhaustively in Anecdotes of Mary or the Good Governess (1795) by "S.H." Mary Pilkington also mentioned them favourably in Biography for Girls (1799), but was critical of French governesses, in Biography for Boys (pp. 4-5, 18). Mary Pilkington, born in 1766 was employed herself as a private governess, at age 15, after the death of her father, and before her marriage (DNB Vol. 45, pp. 298-9). The role of governess became accepted during the 1780s. Governesses were frequently mentioned earlier in connection with boarding establishments for girls (as in The Governess, for example, written in the 1740s). But there were no references to private governesses before 1790. See also Note 50 below.
48. Smallpox occurred in two stories, blind children in two, and one male hero was struck deaf and dumb.
49. Margaret Moore, Stories of Old Daniel, p. v.
50. In Anecdotes of the Clairville Family (1802), the governess was described as "selfish, proud and unfeeling" (p. 4) and in More Trifles (1804) the French governess who left her position for more money was depicted as vain and acquisitive (p. 5); her successor, however, a worthy English lady, had great merit (p. 42). This story was reminiscent of Mary or the Good Governess of the previous decade. In Mrs. Leicester's School, the authors referred to a French governess as "only for the opulent".
51. Cutt, Ministering Angels, p. 17.
52. Muir, English Children's Books, p. 82.
53. See Chapter 6, note 31.

54. The Mirven Family (1825), an otherwise rigidly moral story, and the only one in the sample identifiably Methodist in viewpoint, expressed disapproval of cards and of dancing but spoke of novels with approval. William Gardiner described "tales and fables as the most rapid sources to fill the infant mind with knowledge" (Preface to The Fortnight's Visit Concluded, 1820).
55. Recollections of a Blue-Coat Boy (1829) an autobiographical account of William Scargill's schooling, referred to the author having read Jack the Giant Killer and Valentin and Orson as a child (p. 27) and also to reading romances (p. 73 and 103). At the time of writing in 1829, he did not condemn this reading matter, but remarked that it was not conducive "to rational ideas". He and his school friends used books as a source for imaginative play. Jack the Giant Killer was specifically disapproved in In School and Out of School (1827), p. 101. The Arabian Nights was spoken of with approval by Maria Edgeworth in her story "The Palanquin" in Rosamund: A Sequel to Early Lessons, (p. 72). Rosamund was also to be found reading aloud from The Waverley Novels in "The Nine Days' Wonder" in the same collection (p. 138).
56. Sinclair, Holiday House, p. vii.
57. Sinclair, Holiday House, p. 5.
58. Field, The Child and his Book, p. 331.
59. Alexander Phnes Shand, "Children Yesterday and Today", in Salway, ed., A Peculiar Gift, p. 89.
60. Lucy Cameron in The Sister's Friend, described an altercation when Lucy, the elder sister of the family, discovered her younger brother, William, looking at a book of fairy tales on Sunday. After some remonstrance, he locked it away for another day (pp. 60-1, 79).
61. Sunday books first received mention in The History of the Fairchild Family (1818). Ruskin mentioned that his Sunday reading as a child was restricted to Pilgrims' Progress, Foxes Book of Martyrs, Quarles' Emblems and Mrs. Sherwood's works. A general discussion of the influence of Sabbatarianism on Sunday reading is included in Altick, The English Common Reader (pp. 127-8).

Notes to Chapter 6

1. Guy Trueman Steffan and Willis M. Pratt, eds., Byron's Don Juan: A Variorum Edition, Cantos I-IV, 2, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1957, p. 28.

2. Four books mentioned this as a vice: The Dog of Knowledge or Memoirs of Bob the Spotted Terrier (1801), John Carey's Learning Better than House and Land (1808), "E.S."s A Cup of Sweets that Can Never Cloy (1804) and The Twin Sisters (1805) by Elizabeth Sandham --all were best-sellers and enormously popular books for their time.
3. Curiosity was the subject of A Puzzle for A Curious Girl (1803). It reoccurred as a topic in Little Peter Pry or The Danger of Curiosity (1825) which was in the sample for the 1820s but which from its style might well have been written earlier. In the 1800s it was mentioned in The Little Grey Mouse (1800), The Twin Sisters (1805), A Cup of Sweets that can Never Cloy (1804) and The Godmother's Tales (1808) (both by "E.S."). It did not recur until the 1820s when it was again mentioned negatively in The History of Little Lydia Somerville (ca. 1820), Lucy Cameron's Forms of Pride (1829) and Arabella Argus's Ostentation and Liberality (1820). That curiosity was a vice had been stressed by Puritans in earlier times. The value of "prudent foresight" was emphasized in five books in the 1810-1819 period but was mentioned only twice thereafter in the 1820s.
4. Fielding, "The Governess", in Yonge, ed., Storehouse of Stories
5. Mary Ann Kilner, "Jemima Placid", in Yonge, ed., Storehouse of Stories, p. 233.
6. Mary Wollstonecraft, Original Stories, p. 32.
7. Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage, p. 8.
8. Sensibility was mentioned for the first time in this source in 1771 in Tea-table Dialogues. In The Two Little Ladies (1785), the statement was made that "the tear of compassionate sensibility is indeed the dew of heaven" (p. 52). It was also discussed favourably in Little Jack (1788) by Thomas Day.
9. Elizabeth Pinchard, The Blind Child, p. 175.
10. Mrs. Maria Budden, Always Happy, pp. 32, 60.
11. Jane Taylor, Display, p. 31; The Welcome Visitor, pp. 116-7.
12. The Welcome Visitor, pp. 116-7.
13. That fear was foolish was a continuing theme until the 1830s. See Locke's Essay on Education, (in Axtell, ed., p. 22). See also p. 43 above.

14. The books which described fear realistically were: The Enchanted Castle (1772), Little Jack (1788), Mrs. Leicester's School (1809), Stories of Old Daniel (1808), Arthur and Alice (1815), The Wanderings of Tom Starboard (1830), and Sir Edward Seaward's Narrative (1831).
15. In the period between 1780 to 1829, The London Bills of ~~Mortality~~ indicated a drop from the period 1730-1779, of just under half of the number of children who died before age five (Grylls, Guardians and Angels, pp. 41-2).
16. As in the case of Goody Two Shoes, Goody Goosecap, Primrose Prettyface and Martin and James, among others.
17. Mrs. Sherwood, The History of the Fairchild Family, London: J. Hatchard and Son, (1818) 1824, pp. 56-7.
18. Sherwood, The Fairchild Family, p. 146.
19. Sherwood, The Fairchild Family, pp. 264-300.
20. Legh Richmond, The Dairyman's Daughter; London: R.T.S. 1809; Little Abel, or the Young Orphan, London: A.K. Newman and Co., 1821; Daylight, London: L. and J. Seeley, 1835.
21. Daylight, pp. 25-6.
22. The hero succumbed in five books in each of the 1800s and 1810s; two in the 1820s and one in the 1830s. There were no deaths of heroes or central characters before 1800.
23. Cutt, Ministering Angels, p. 24.
24. William Sullivan's The Young Liar! (1818) expounded this thesis in a dramatic fashion. Wilfred's propensity for lying as a child came from hearing the servant girl tell visitors that his mother was not at home when she merely did not wish to receive. "The Story of Emily Wilmont" in Anecdotes of the Clairville Family (1802) and Martin and James (1791) were also based on this theme.
25. See Chapter 5, p. 181.
26. The list included: The Hare (1799), Memoirs of Dick the Little Pony (1799), The Canary Bird (1799), and Keeper's Travels in Search of his Master (1798). Between 1800 and 1810 there were four more animal biographies in the sample: The History of the Goldfinch (1806), The Life of the Famous Dog Carlo (1804), The Swallow (1800) again by Kendall, Marvellous Adventures (1802), and The Dog of Knowledge (1801). Another, The Little Grey Mouse (1800) was a moral fairy tale not a true animal story and so is not included, but Pleasing and Instructive Tales from

Nature (1804) was a collection of animal stories. Between 1810 and 1819 there were four more: Felissa, or the Life and Opinions of a Kitten of Sentiment (1811) sometimes ascribed to Charles Lamb, The Surprising and Singular Adventures of a Hen (1815), Rambles of a Butterfly (1819) by Mary Belson Elliott, and The Adventures of a Donkey (1815) by Arabella Argus. In the 1820s there were The Little Dog Dash (1828) and Catherine Traill's Little Downey or History of a Fieldmouse (1822). There were several collections of fables and nursery tales based on animal characters by both Catherine Traill and Sarah Wilson (Fables for the Nursery (1825) and Amusing Anecdotes of Various Animals (1823)). The use of animal characters in children's fiction has been described in Margaret Blount's Animal Land: The Creatures of Children's Fiction, London: Hutchinson, 1974. See also the preface by Judith St. John to Biography of a Spaniel, Johnson Reprint Edition, 1967, pp. ix-xiii. The similarity between The Hare and Richard Adams' Watership Down, has already been noted. Black Beauty (1877) by Anna Sewell, appears to have been derived from both Dick the Poney, and Arabella Argus' Adventures of a Donkey. The many animal books of Ernest Thompson Seton, Albert Payson Terhune and Jack London are familiar to today's readers, as are the Just So Stories and The Jungle Books of the 1890s by Kipling.

27. Memoirs of Dick the Poney, London: E. Newbery, 1800, p. 117. This book is in the 1790s sample because internal evidence indicated it was written then.
28. There is internal evidence to suggest that E.A. Kendall was in fact the author of all four animal biographies which appeared in 1790. Algar attributed The Hare to Kendall (Algar: Notes). In the sample for this study, The Canary Bird (1795), Keeper's Travels (1798) and The Swallow (1800) were all acknowledged to be by Kendall. Kendall is described in DNB (Vol. 30, pp. 404-5) as a "miscellaneous author". He wrote other animal biographies not included in the sample such as The Crested Wren (1799), The Stories of Senex (1800), and The Sparrow (1802). While it is not definitive evidence, both Dick the Poney and Keeper's Travels contained quotations from Pratt's poems. Kendall was the acknowledged author of Keeper's Travels, and as Dick the Poney and Memoirs of Bob were both by the same author, there is a strong presumption that Kendall might have written both of these best-selling anonymous works as well.
29. See DNB entry on Jane Porter, Vol. 46, pp. 182-4. The other adventure stories by women were The Recaptured Negro (1821) by Mrs. Sherwood, Congo in Search of his Master, by Eliza Rotch Farrar, and The Wanderings of Tom Starboard (1830) by Isabella Towers.

30. Caroline Mordaunt (1835) by Mrs. Sherwood, and Jane Eyre (1847) by Charlotte Bronte, were two stories based on the lives of governesses, as was Mansfield Park (1814) by Jane Austen.
31. See Chapter 5, Note 46, p. 404, Maria Edgeworth in "The Birthday Present" (The Parents Assistant, 1796) provided a foolish governess. The satire of French governesses in "Mademoiselle Panache" is one of her more entertaining stories. The overindulgent parent was a common theme particularly in the 1790s and 1800s. It occurred in The Two Wealthy Farmers (1795-6), Biography for Boys (1799), Evenings Rationally Employed (1803), Anecdotes of the Clairville Family (1802), The Twin Sisters (1805), Tales for Domestic Instruction (1806), and Rose and Agnes (1807), among others.
32. Concrete rewards were referred to in The Governess (1745), Tommy Trip's Valentine Gift (1765), and in The History of Giles Gingerbread (1765). The latter was rewarded by being given his gingerbread letters to eat after he had earned them. A slice of cold plum pudding was a common reward in early fiction. In the Valentine Gift, Valentine presents were given to the first person you saw on Valentine's day, but the recipient had to have been good to earn his reward. Tommy Trip's behaviour was recorded in the Valentine Ledger. He received presents from "the servants and the ladies" because he had spoken the truth. The Valentine Ledger may have been the inspiration for the book used to record good and bad behaviour in Elizabeth Sandham's The Red Book and the Black (1802).
33. Psychological sanctions were used explicitly in The Governess (p. 107), Tommy Trip's Valentine Gift (p. 72), and Juvenile Trials (p. xix).
34. Sandford and Merton, p. 36; "The Purple Jar", in The Parent's Assistant (1796).
35. A Present for a Little Boy (1802), no pagination.
36. Mrs. Sherwood, The Fairchild Family, p. 155.
37. Jane and Ann Taylor, Original Poems (1804) and James Bishop, Pretty Little Stories (1838?), pp. 28, 45-54.
38. Dorothy Kilner, The Holiday Present (1780), pp. 41, 44.
39. The Entertaining History of Miss Lovegood and Miss Nogood (ca. 1780), p. 39.
40. Kilner, The Holiday Present, p. 74.

41. Mary Ann Kilner, "Jemima Placid" (1783) in Yonge, ed., Storehouse of Stories, pp. 252-3. Yonge commented on this story in "Children's Literature of the Last Century", p. 231.
42. Kilner, The Holiday Present, pp. 61, 63-4.
43. Dorothy Kilner, The History of a Great Many Little Boys and Girls, pp. 41-2, 46.
44. Dorothy Kilner, "The Village School" in Yonge, ed., A Storehouse of Stories. As already noted Sylvia Patterson in a recent article suggested that Miss Kilner escaped the benefit of Rousseau's softening influence (Chapter 1, Note 92).
45. William Scargill, Recollections of a Blue Coat Boy, pp. 28-9, 124-6.
46. William Howitt, The Boy's Country Book (1839), pp. 206, 215, 225-6.
47. E.A. Howard, Rattlin The Reefer (1836), p. 32.
48. In Calvinistic and Evangelical circles this was particularly true. In Susanna Wesley's writings it was clear that disobedience to one's parents was equivalent to disobedience to God (See Chapter 3, pp. 133-4). The Fairchild Family demonstrated this belief also.
49. Tea-table Dialogues and The Governess.
50. Eliza Mathews, Anecdotes of the Clairville Family (1802), p. 9; Lucy Cameron, The Sister's Friend (1831), p. 8; Lucy Cameron, Caroline and Emma (1826), p. 10; Mrs. Sherwood, The History of Henry Milner (1823) p. 131.
51. Money, "The New Schoolmasters"; see p. 82.
52. Kramnick noted that early children's fiction stressed the advantages of industrialization. In fact mention was made of science and industry in only a small minority of books. ("Children's Literature and Bourgeois Ideology").
53. Roscoe wrote:

Did John Newbery publish any child's book of a purely (Roscoe's italics) entertaining or recreational kind? I cannot be certain, but in all I have looked into the element of 'improvement' or 'instruction' is present in greater or less degree. On this basis I would give him at least sixteen books in which the elements of entertainment or recreation predominates in his lifetime (John Newbery and his Successors, p. 8).

54. Brian Alderson, preface to The Fairing (Garland Reprint Edition, pp. v, vii-viii).
55. The six books in this study in which entertainment predominated were: The Fairing (1765), The Life of the Famous Dog Carlo (1804), The Little Deserter (ca. 1825), Rattlin the Reefer (1836), Jacob Faithful (1834), and Sir Edward Seaward's Narrative (1831). The last three were adventure stories and possibly not really intended for children.
56. Inter-observer agreement on book appeal was rated at .75.
57. The attributes discussed in The Hope of the Katzekopfs (1843), numbered 55.

Footnotes for Chapter 7

1. Queenie Leavis provided this quotation (Fiction and the Reading Public, London: Chatto and Windus, 1965, p. 143).
2. The Eclectic Review, 1815, N.S. 3, p. 159. This reviewer admired in particular the tales in the Rambler, Spectator and Adventurer.
3. The Critical Review, 1811, 23, p. 222.
4. The British Critic, 1807, 30, p. 554.
5. See pages 112-3 above and Note 37 for Chapter 3.
6. Stewart, The Taylors of Ongar, pp. 904-19.
7. Cutt, Mrs. Sherwood and Her Books for Children, both in the text and in the bibliography, p. 150.
8. Apart from The Monthly Review, The Critical Review and The Gentleman's Magazine, The Young Ladies' and Gentleman's Magazine, The European Magazine and The Ladies' Monthly Museum also provided reviews of the works of these ladies. The Gentleman's Magazine, 1787, devoted a major article to the work of Mrs. Teachwell (Lady Fenn).
9. The Gentleman's Magazine, 1785, 58, p. 722.
10. Monthly Review, October 1799, 28, p. 210.. This review ended on a note of criticism: "N.B. We observe twice in this tiny volume, 'pleated' instead of 'plaited'".
11. The Monthly Review, Nov. 1795, 24, pp. 347-8. (Juvenile Anecdotes).

12. The Monthly Review, 1784, 13, pp. 158-9 (A Father's Advice to His Son).
13. The Monthly Review, 1784, 13, pp. 79-80 (Rational Sports and Juvenile Correspondence).
14. The Monthly Review, 1795, 24, pp. 249-50 (Rural Walks and Rambles Farther).
15. The Monthly Review, 1798, 27, p. 465 (Minor Morals).
16. The Monthly Review, 1798, 27, p. 466 (The Sparrow and Keeper's Travels).
17. The Monthly Review, August, 1799, 28, p. 464 (The Little Emigrant).
18. The Monthly Review, March, 1799, 28, p. 332 (Henry).
19. The Monthly Review, August, 1795, 24, pp. 475-6 (Tales of Instruction and Amusement).
20. The Monthly Review, Dec. 1799, 28, pp. 465-6 (Biography for Boys and Biography for Girls).
21. The Monthly Review, Dec. 1799, 28, p. 465 (The Hare).
22. The Monthly Review, May, 1788, 17, p. 444 (Midsummer Holydays).
23. The Monthly Review, 1784, 13, p. 483 (Cobwebs to Catch Flies).
24. The Monthly Review, 1799, 28, pp. 231-2 (The Infant's Friend).
25. The Monthly Review, 1788, 17, p. 532 (Sunday School Dialogues).
26. The Monthly Review, 1798, 27, p. 330.
27. Some Accounts of the Life and Writings of Mrs. Trimmer, with Original Letters, and Meditations and Prayers, Selected from her Journal in 2 vols., London: F.C. and J. Rivington; (1814) 1816, p. ix.
28. The Guardian of Education, 1, p. 17.
29. The Guardian of Education, 1, p. 7.
30. The Guardian of Education, 1, p. 7.
31. The Guardian of Education, 1, pp. 62-4.

32. Pickering has indicated that Fabulous Histories was a sequel to An Easy Introduction to Nature (1780) by the same author. Henry and Charlotte were the central characters in both books (John Locke and Children's Books, p. 20).
33. The Guardian of Education, 1, pp. 299, 430. (Primrose Pretty Face, Goody Two Shoes).
34. The Guardian of Education, 1, pp. 299, 323, 327, 395-400. It might be noted that Mrs. Trimmer had difficulty accepting Paine's Rights of Man, and reacted even more strongly to Mary Wollstonecraft's Vindication of the Rights of Women (1792).
35. The Guardian of Education, 1, p. 303. See Mary Lewis's "Cheap Literature for Village Children", MacMillans, 1878, 38, p. 218.
36. The Guardian of Education, 2, p. 381 and 3, p. 380.
37. The Guardian of Education, 1, pp. 423, 431 and 2, p. 112.
38. The Guardian of Education, 3, p. 166 and 4, pp. 84-9 (A Cup of Sweets, and Gertrude, Agnes, Melita and Amelia Douglas).
39. The Guardian of Education, 4, p. 166 (Preludes to Knowledge).
40. The Guardian of Education, 4, p. 168 (Shepherd's Son).
41. The Guardian of Education, 1, p. 441 (The Two Cousins).
42. The Guardian of Education, 2, p. 496 (The Blind Child).
43. The Guardian of Education, 3, pp. 93-4 (Sandford and Merton).
44. The Guardian of Education, 3, p. 94 (Sandford and Merton).
45. The Guardian of Education, 2, p. 43 (Lessons for Children).
46. The Guardian of Education, 2, p. 45 (Hymns in Prose).
47. The Guardian of Education, 2, p. 307 (Evenings at Home).
48. The Guardian of Education, 2, pp. 306, 343 (Evenings at Home).
49. One such was entitled "Boy without Genius", and was a recognition of the individual differences in children (The Guardian of Education, 2, pp. 344-5, 351).
50. The Guardian of Education, 3, p. 308, 310-1 (Evenings at Home).

51. The Guardian of Education, 2, pp. 308-9, 346, 350.
(Evenings at Home).
52. The Guardian of Education, 2, pp. 344-5. (Evenings at Home).
53. The Guardian of Education, 2, p. 345. (Evenings at Home).
54. The Guardian of Education, 2, p. 352-3. (Evenings at Home).
55. The Guardian of Education, 1, pp. 177, 180. (Easy Lessons).
56. The Guardian of Education, 1, p. 181. (Easy Lessons).
57. The Guardian of Education, 1, p. 182. (Easy Lessons).
58. The Guardian of Education, 1, p. 236. This story is recounted in Chapter 6 above (p. 213).
59. The Guardian of Education, 2, pp. 235-40.
(Easy Lessons).
60. The Guardian of Education, 2, p. 245.
(Easy Lessons).
61. The Guardian of Education, 2, p. 304 (The Parent's Assistant).
62. The Guardian of Education, 1, pp. 64, 137.
63. Some Account of the Life and Writings of Mrs. Trimmer, p. 449.
64. The Guardian of Education, 4, pp. 55-7.
65. The Juvenile Review or Moral and Critical Observations on Children's Intended as a Guide to Parents and Teachers in Their Choice of Books of Instruction and Amusement, in 2 vols. London: Piccadilly, 1817.
66. The Juvenile Review, 1, p. 1.
67. The Juvenile Review, 2, p. 44.
68. The Juvenile Review, 1, p. 31.
69. The Juvenile Review, 1, pp. 21, 41, 44 and 2, p. 16.
70. The Juvenile Review, 1, pp. 53-4 and 2, pp. 64, 71-2.
71. One note-worthy piece of juvenile fiction published by The Gentleman's Magazine was "The Butterfly's Ball" by William Roscoe, put out anonymously in 1805 and re-issued in 1808 by Harris in book form. Other male authors were William Fletcher, William Sullivan, John Carey and Thomas Smith.

72. Moon, John Harris's Books, p. 83.
73. The Guardian of Education, 1, p. 433.
74. Harris's Cabinet of Amusement and Instruction was alluded to in Note 39, Chapter 2. It was made up of narrative verses based on the model provided by "The Butterfly's Ball". It included The Lion's Masquerade, The Elephant's Ball, The Horse's Levee, The Lobster's Voyage to the Brazils, The Rose's Breakfast, Flora's Gala, The Council of Dogs, The Feast of the Fishes, The Peacock and The Parrot, as well as Catherine Dorset's The Peacock at Home. (See Margaret Maloney, ed., Facsimile Editions from the Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books. Notes to accompany English Illustrated Books for Children, Toronto: Toronto Public Library, Bodley Head, 1981. Maloney noted that other publishers issued books of a similar format.)
75. Anti-Jacobin Review, June, 1809. A review of The Mermaid at Home. Quoted by Moon, John Harris's Books, p. 80.
76. The British Critic, Nov. 1807, 30, p. 555. The reviewer went on to note:

Incidentally also she displays in it no small knowledge of the Natural History of birds, and gives thereby such hints to her young readers as may be useful to them in maturer years.

77. The Critical Review, 1811, 13, p. 217 (The Water King's Levee).
78. Moon, John Harris's Books, p. 113.
79. These included, The Adventures of Congo, The Wanderings of Tom Starboard, and that dreary but popular book, The Rival Crusoes by Agnes Strickland.
80. The Guardian of Education, 1, p. 506.
81. Quoted in Moon, John Harris's Books, p. 155.
82. Moon (John Harris's Books, p. 155) provided a dedication to a collection of Oriental Tales (1802).

Some wise men and learned ladies are of the opinion that Fables and Fairy Tales are improper for children, because they pervert their early minds, by deceiving them into a notion that Animals and Birds talk, and that wonderful events are occasioned by magic art. You and I are of a different opinion; we do not think children believe that Animals and Birds have really the gift of speech...or that

they seriously suppose in perusing the story of Aladdin or The Wonderful Lamp, and the White Cat, that Palaces are raised by the power of magic; or that a cat can be changed into a beautiful young woman. And we still think, that even if they do believe these things when they are very young, they are soon undeceived by their parents, school-masters or governesses.

83. Poem by William Cowper, quoted by Alfred Ainger, in "The Children's Books of a Hundred Years Ago", in Salway, ed., A Peculiar Gift, p. 76.
84. The Gentleman's Magazine, 1808, 103, pp. 914-6.
85. The Gentleman's Magazine, 1808, 103, p. 915
86. The Critical Review, 1811, 23, p. 222 (Familiar Letters Addressed to Young People).
87. The British Critic, 1821, pp. 427-435 (Quoted in Moon, John Harris's Books, p. 42).
88. The Eclectic Review, 1815, N.S. 3, p. 160.
89. "Children's Literature", The Quarterly Review, 1860, 13, p. 313. See also Salmon's Juvenile Literature, p. 211.
90. The Critical Review, 1811, 23, p. 334 (Simple Pleasures Designed for Young People).
91. Sir Francis Turner Palgrave, "The Antiquities of Nursery Literature", The Quarterly Review, 1819, 95, p. 91. Palgrave also noted that the role of the chapbook had changed:

Scarcely any of the chapbooks which were formerly sold to country people at fairs and markets have been able to maintain their ancient popularity; and we have almost witnessed the extinction of this branch of our national literature (p. 94).
92. Palgrave, "Nursery Antiquities", pp. 101-3.
93. The Quarterly Review, 1825, 32, p. 197 (Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland).
94. "Literature in the Nursery", The London Magazine, 1820, 2 (Quoted in Moon, John Harris's Books, pp. 156-7).
95. "Literature in the Nursery", pp. 158-159.
96. J.A.R. in Tait's Edinburgh Review, 4, 1833, p. 284.

97. Tait's Edinburgh Review, 1836, 7, pp. 273, 817.
98. The Quarterly Review, 1821, 24, p. 358 (Helen). Lady Elizabeth Eastlake, The Quarterly Review, 1842, 72, p. 30 (The Lady of the Manor).
99. The Quarterly Review, 1837, 59, p. 102.
100. Frances Rigby, The Quarterly Review, 1843, 71, and 1844, 73, pp. 1-26.
101. Quarterly Review, 71, p. 57. See also Hans Daumling, in The Dublin University Magazine, 1846, 27, p. 453.
102. Rigby, The Quarterly Review, 71, p. 58.
103. Rigby, The Quarterly Review, 71. For a rebuttal see The Atlantic Monthly, 1865 and The U.S. Magazine and Democratic Review, 1844, 15.
104. U.S. Magazine and Democratic Review, 15, p. 543.
105. Comparisons were made in The British and Foreign Review, 1843 (reprinted in Lytell's Living Age, 1, pp. 295-301), Fraser's Magazine, 1846, 33, pp. 495-9 and also in The Dublin University Magazine, 27, p. 453.
106. Thackeray, "On Some Illustrated Children's Books", Fraser's Magazine, 1846, 33, p. 495.
107. U.S. Magazine and Democratic Review, p. 543. See also Charlotte Yonge's "Didactic Fiction", in MacMillans Magazine, 20, p. 305.
108. Richard Horne, "A Witch in the Nursery", Household Words, 78, 1851, re-published in Salway, ed., A Peculiar Gift, pp. 173-194.
109. Horne, "A Witch in the Nursery", pp. 176-180.
110. Charles Dickens, "Frauds on the Fairies", Household Words, 1853, in Salway, ed., A Peculiar Gift, p. 118.
111. William Roscoe, "Children's Fairy Tales and George Cruikshank", in Salway, ed., A Peculiar Gift, pp. 121, 123.
112. Articles with lists of recommended reading included Fraser's, 33, 1846, Dublin University Magazine, Vol. 43, 1854, p. 72, and the Quarterly Review, N.S. 13, 1860, p. 469.
113. William Roscoe, "Fictions for Children", The Prospective Review, 1855, in Salway, ed., A Peculiar Gift, pp. 30, 36, 38, 45.

114. "Children's Literature", The Quarterly Review, 1860, 13, pp. 301-2.
115. Wayne Dennis, ed., Historical Readings in Developmental Psychology, New York: Appleton-Century-Croft, 1972, pp. 68-74.
116. "Children's Literature", pp. 308-9, 312.
117. Yonge, "Nursery Books of the 18th Century", Macmillans, 20, p. 233.
118. Yonge, "Nursery Books of the 18th Century", p. 237.
119. Yonge, "Didactic Fiction", Macmillans, 20, p. 306.
120. Yonge, "Didactic Fiction", p. 305.
121. Yonge, "Didactic Fiction", p. 307.
122. Yonge, "Didactic Fiction", p. 308.
123. Yonge, "Class Literature of the Last Thirty Years", Macmillans, 20, p. 450.
124. Mary Lewis, "Cheap Literature for Village Children", Macmillans, 1878, 38.
125. L.B. Lang, "The Fairchild Family and Their Creator", Longman's Magazine, 21, 1893 (in Salway, ed., A Peculiar Gift, pp. 463-478). F. Anstey, "On an Old Fashioned Children's Book", The New Review (reprinted in Lytell's Living Age, 209, 1900, pp. 436-44).

Notes to Chapter 8

1. McKendrick, in "Home Demand", pp. 201-3. Also Plumb, "The Triumph of Culture", p. 35.
2. Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage, p. 228. Stone gives the date 1725 for the establishment of the first circulating library in Bath; for London it was 1739. Plumb estimated that every West Midland town had a library by 1760. ("The Triumph of Culture", pp. 33-4). Records indicate that Humphrey's Circulating Library in Chichester had over 900 volumes by 1771 (Tompkins, The Popular Novel, p. 2).
3. Tompkins, The Popular Novel, pp. 119-20.
4. Cawelti, Adventure, Mystery and Romance, p. 2.
5. Cutt, Ministering Angels, p. xii. See also Lewis, "Cheap Literature for Village Children", p. 210.

6. See Chapter 2, pp. 74-5.
7. Plumb, "The Triumph of Culture", pp. 32-3.
8. Watt, The Rise of the Novel, p. 12.
9. Tompkins, The Popular Novel, p. 329.
10. Fielding, Tom Jones, p. 88.
11. Tompkins, The Popular Novel, pp. 34, 37, 40-2, 51, 53. See also Watt, The Rise of the Novel, p. 51.
12. Of the Quixote model there were The Female Quixote (1752), The Spiritual Quixote (1772), The Amicable Quixote (1788), and The Infernal Quixote (1800). The term "Quixote" always denoted enthusiasm, according to Tompkins (The Popular Novel, p. 317). Richardson's epistolary style was often copied until 1785. Among those who used it were Rousseau, Madame Riccaboni, and Fanny Burney among others. (Tompkins, The Popular Novel, p. 34). In children's fiction Lady Fenn (School Occurrences, 1782) and Mrs. Taylor (Correspondence Between a Mother and Her Daughter at School, 1817) used it. The use of letters as a means of instruction was common. There are the letters of Dr. Gregory, Lord Chesterfield, Mrs. Montague, Mrs. Chapone among others.

The format of the fictional biographies of Giles Gingerbread, Tommy Trip, Little Goody Two-Shoes, Primrose Prettyface and others could have been derived from Smollett's Humphrey Clinker and Roderick Random.

A Crusoe setting was provided in adult books by The Man of Nature (1773), and Zelia in the Desert (1789) both translated from the French, and by Philip Quarll (1727), Hermesprong (1796), and Mrs. Inchbald's Nature and Art (1796). In children's books, The Island Queen, The Young Crusoe, The Shipwreck and The Rival Crusoes were a few of the many island stories.

13. By the 1770s critics were beginning to establish some criteria for the writing of fiction. They were, sometimes caustic: "We think this volume will not bear to be read twice", and "The first volume is extremely bad; we have not had the patience to read the second...", also "The excellent lesson of morality which this work inculcates will not be able to save it from oblivion". (Quoted in Tompkins, The Popular Novel, pp. 16, 72).
14. Erhle, The Light Reading of our Ancestors, p. 245.
15. Tompkins, The Popular Novel, p. v.
16. Erhle, The Light Reading of Our Ancestors, p. 268; Scudder, Childhood in Literature and Art, p. 175.

17. Ernle, The Light Reading of Our Ancestors, pp. 262-3; Tompkins, The Popular Novel, p. 112.
18. Clara Reeve, quoted in Tompkins, The Popular Novel, p. 142.
19. Ernle, The Light Reading of Our Ancestors, pp. 261-3. He described these novels as novels of social purpose, but their broad themes were philosophic. Such books included Henry Brooke's Fool of Quality (1766-70), Bage's Hermesprong, Thomas Holcroft's Anna St. Ives (1792) and Henry Trevor (1794-7), Godwin's Caleb Williams (1794) and Mrs. Inchbald's Nature and Art (1796).
20. R.C.P. Mutter, ed., Tom Jones, Penguin English Library Edition, 1966, pp. 18-20.
21. Tompkins, The Popular Novel, pp. 68-9.
22. Examples quoted by Tompkins were Shebbeare's Lydia or Filial Piety (1755), Poltock's Peter Wilkins (1751), Mackensie's Julia de Roubigne (1777), Bage's Hermesprong, Mrs. Mackensie's Slavery and The Times and Mrs. Inchbald's Nature and Art.
23. Tompkins, The Popular Novel, p. 295. Gypsies occurred for the first time in Ann Fraser Tytler's Mary and Florence (1835) and Charlotte Elizabeth's tract The Fortune Teller (ca. 1838) in children's fiction.
24. The best known foundlings in adult literature were Defoe's Moll Flanders and Fielding's Tom Jones. "Invented" heroes in children's fiction were always foundlings or orphans, such as Primrose Prettyface and Goody Two Shoes. There were also the stories of Little Jack (1783) and of Henry The Foundling (1799) in the sample for this study.
25. Ernle, The Light Reading of Our Ancestors, p. 185.
26. Tompkins noted that during the 1790s both Holcroft and Coleridge began reviewing books. Both were concerned with plot and form (The Popular Novel, pp. 330-2).
27. Cutt, Ministering Angels, p. 160.
28. Tompkins, The Popular Novel, pp. 142, 144, 150, 156.
29. In children's books it was a central theme from 1795 to 1830. Books which discussed these issues included: The Two Wealthy Farmers by Mrs. Trimmer, Mary or the Good Governess by "H.S.", Matilda or the Barbadoes Girl by Mrs. Hofland, Ostentation and Liberality by Arabella Argus and Display by Jane Taylor. See Tompkins, The Popular Novel, pp. 142, 144.

30. Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage, p. 399.
31. Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage, pp. 380-386.
32. Tompkins, The Popular Novel, pp. 120-1.
33. Grylls, Guardians and Angels, pp. 79-80. He referred to Day's two tenets in Sandford and Merton that poverty makes for virtue, and that luxury corrupts. He wrote "it is obvious that Day's two tenets engender absurdity. If poverty makes for virtue, and virtue prospers, then poverty makes for prosperity". (p. 80).
34. A Monthly Review critic commented in 1797 that it seemed to be necessary for all heroes and heroines to be buried at the end of a book. (Tompkins, The Popular Novel, p. 103).
35. Tompkins, The Popular Novel, p. 104.
36. See Chapter 6, pp. 205-6.
37. As in Anna Ross (1824) by Grace Kennedy, and Holiday House by Catherine Sinclair.
38. Grylls, Guardians and Angels, p. 96.
39. Cutt, Ministering Angels, pp. 20-24.
40. See page 203 above. Grylls noted the same fact (Guardians and Angels, pp. 39-42).
41. Both Smollett and Mrs. Radcliffe attributed ghostly happenings to "atmosphere" (Tompkins, The Popular Novel, p. 291).
42. In Goody Two Shoes, it was a dog which had been accidentally locked up in the Church that was Lady Ducklington's ghost. In The Boy's Book, it was a man wrapped in a sheet because he had been robbed of his clothes.
43. Tompkins, The Popular Novel, p. 241.
44. Mrs. Radcliffe and Charlotte Smith, among others, both writing in the 1790's, described natural scenery in detail. In children's books detailed but less dramatic descriptions of nature were offered but for a different purpose. Later novels too used natural description as an aid to establishing context, as in the case of Scott's historical tales.
45. Jane Austen satirized the susceptibility to natural beauty in Sense and Sensibility:

"Oh!" cried Marianne, "with what transporting sensations have I formerly seen them fall! How I have delighted, as I walked, to see them driven in showers about me by the wind! What feelings have they, the season, the air altogether inspired! Now there is no one to regard them. They are seen only as a nuisance, swept hastily off and driven as much as possible from the sight.

"It is not everyone," said Elinore, "who has your passion for dead leaves" (The Complete Novels of Jane Austen, New York: Modern Library, n.d., pp. 53-4).

46. The absence of children is noted by Babenroth, English Childhood, p. 11; Grylls, Guardians and Angels, p. 35; Janney, Childhood in Non-Dramatic Literature, pp. 79-80; Scudder, Childhood in Literature and Art, p. 4. It is interesting to note that in Tompkins (The Popular Novel) children are not even mentioned until page 312.
47. Grylls, Guardians and Angels, p. 120. He noted that Jane Austen helped to define her central characters according to how they treated children and servants. While she appeared to be attuned to children they were always incidental to the main plot (pp. 112-7).
48. Maria Edgeworth's children in Easy Lessons were more mixed in character traits than most. Both Henry and Rosamund were capable of making wrong choices, but they never committed serious offenses such as lying or stealing, nor did they show disrespect for their elders. The language used by Rosamund and Lucy showed a certain wistfulness about the state of childhood (See Harry and Lucy Concluded, p. 287).
49. For example in the 1830s, Tom Starboard, Rattlin the Reefer, Jacob Faithful and Masterman Ready were all stalwart characters in the books titled after their names.
50. See Chapter 3, p. 134.
51. See in particular Caleb Williams (1794) by William Godwin (Tompkins, The Popular Novel, p. 253).
52. Tompkins, The Popular Novel, pp. 74-6. In adult fiction there are many examples of contrast. Tom Jones was contrasted with Blifil, and Elinore with Marianne in Sense and Sensibility. The contrast was often made clear by the title. In children's books there were "The Histories" of Miss Lovegood and Miss Nogood and Tommy Playlove and Jacky Lovebook; less obviously, there was contrast in Sandford and Merton, Rose and Agnes, Martin and James and so forth.

53. Tompkins referred to "tears of sensibility" as a common feature of the period. She also referred to "tear-tracking". (The Popular Novel, p. 108).
54. Tompkins, The Popular Novel, pp. 241, 290.
55. Tompkins, The Popular Novel, p. 189. Serious explanations of scientific phenomena were offered in Evenings at Home, Preludes to Knowledge, by Elizabeth Somerville, and Harry's Holiday by Jeffreys Taylor. Rambles of a Butterfly (1819) by Mary Elliott was the one exception in children's books to the serious treatment of natural science. In it the author poked fun at a butterfly-collector describing him as the butterfly saw him:

I beheld a thin bent little old gentleman, pale as as lily; his features were harsh and disagreeable; his dress had once been fine, but then wore a tarnished and shabby hue, his large wig nearly reached to his nose, on which was placed huge spectacles; through them he was steadily gazing at something in what I afterwards learned was a microscope. So extraordinary a figure I had never seen and I could not help indulging myself with a survey of his person. No doubt you have guessed his pursuits and his title. He was a virtuoso; to us a dreadful name. (Rambles of a Butterfly, p. 122).

In the episode to follow the collector decided to give the specimen to Lord Moth-Head at the British Museum, and summoned his assistant, Nathaniel Lapwing to inspect it.

56. Cutt, Ministering Angels, p. 40. Cutt pointed out that Helen Fleetwood (1831) by Charlotte Elizabeth (Tonna) was the first novel to describe realistic working conditions.
57. Quoted in Tompkins, The Popular Novel, pp. 301-2.
58. See note 12 above.
59. While this book was not originally intended for children there is evidence that they read it. It was later abridged and adapted by John Harris and was re-issued as a children's book in 1807 with the title Little Juba or The Adventures and Vicissitudes of a Lap Dog.
60. See Chapter 5, note 26.
61. Other children's book authors wrote The History of a Pin as Related by Itself, The Blue Silk Workbag, and The History of a Banbury Cake and so on.

62. Quoted in Tompkins, The Popular Novel, p. 49 (from The Critical Review, 1781, a review of The Adventures of a Rupee).
63. Defoe's Family Instructor was written in dialogue. It was a very popular book and had nineteen editions by 1809. It presented discourse between husband and wife and parent and child. Many authors adopted the format for their books (Babenroth, English Childhood, p. 230; Tompkins, The Popular Novel, pp. 357-349).
64. The date of the last dialogue book in the sample for this study was 1829.
65. The percentage of children's books using character-naming decreased from a high in 1780 of 74 percent to a low of 13 percent in the 1820s.
66. Mary Lewis, "Cheap Literature for Village Children", p. 238.
67. Tompkins, The Popular Novel, p. 124.
68. Tompkins, The Popular Novel, p. 332.
69. Tompkins, The Popular Novel, p. 363.
70. Tompkins, The Popular Novel, p. 365.
71. Tompkins, The Popular Novel, pp. 337-8.
72. Tompkins, The Popular Novel, p. 112.
73. The ridicule of Betsy who was so vain that her companions attached sheep's feet to her headdress is an example from Adventures of a Pincushion; another from The Histories of More Good Children Than One was the greedy little girl who was compelled to eat her dinner in the pig pen.
74. For the novel see Tompkins, The Popular Novel, p. 120; for the authors of children's books, see Chapter 5, pp. 160-1.
75. Tompkins, The Popular Novel. She quoted from The Monthly Review of 1773: "...this branch of the literary TRADE... (was) almost entirely engrossed by the Ladies". (p. 120).
76. Tompkins, The Popular Novel, p. 124.
77. Tompkins, The Popular Novel, p. 120.
78. In The Happy Family at Eason House, the children were allowed to attend the theatre if it was a suitable performance and they were to be well chaperoned.

79. Northanger Abbey, p. 37.
80. Ernie, The Light Reading of Our Ancestors, pp. 268-9; also Tompkins, The Popular Novel, pp. 137, 164.
81. See Chapter 5, pp. 164-6.
82. Altick, The English Common Reader, pp. 245-255. Watts, The Rise of the Novel, p. 39.
83. Salmon, Juvenile Literature as It Is, pp. 33-4.
84. Watts, The Rise of the Novel, p. 42; Tompkins, The Popular Novel, p. 7.
85. Scudder, Children in Literature and Art, p. 171.

Notes to Chapter 9

1. William Shakespeare, Midsummer's Night Dream, (1598), Act V, Scene 1, Line 7.
2. Thomas White, "A Little Book for Little Children" (1672), p. 4.
3. See Chapter 1, p. 43.
4. Francis Wayland, The Elements of Intellectual Philosophy, Boston: Phillips, Sampson, 1855, pp. 353-7.
5. Isaac Watts, The Improvement of the Mind, (1751) 1801, p. 264. The following quotation is almost as well-known as Locke's:

The memory is a noble repository or cabinet of the soul; it should not be filled with rubbish and lumber. Silly tales and foolish songs, the conundrums of nurses, and the dull rhymes that are sung to lull children to sleep or to sooth a froward humour, should be generally forbid to entertain these children where a good education is designed. Something more innocent, more solid, and more profitable may be invented instead of these follies. If it were possible, let a very few things be lodged in the memory of children which they need forget when they are men.

6. Some Account of the Life and Times of Mrs Trimmer, pp. 230, 270. In Mrs. Trimmer's journal for 1791, she noted in reference to Watts, that she had known "and admired Presbyterians".

7. Hannah More, Strictures on Female Education, London: Thomas Cadell, (1799) 1830, p. 22.
8. The Guardian of Education 2, p. 448.
9. Erasmus Darwin, Plans for the Conduct of Female Education in Boarding Schools, London, 1797 (Johnson Reprint, 1969), p. 30.
10. Mary Wollstonecraft, Thoughts on the Education of Daughters, London: J. Johnson, 1787 (Garland Reprint 1974), p. 50.
11. Edgeworth, Practical Education, 2, pp. 50, 114, 110.
12. Bennett, Letters to a Young Lady, p. 203.
13. Jane Austen, Northanger Abbey, London: Oxford University Press, (1818) 1972, pp. 5-6.
14. Maria E. Budden, Thoughts on Domestic Education, London, 1827, p. 146.
15. Maria E. Budden, Buds of Genius: or Some Account of the Early Lives and Celebrated Characters who were Remarkable in Their Childhoods, London, 1816, p. 126.
16. Taylor, Home Education, London, 1838. Isaac Taylor, Advice to the Teens, London, 1818. According to the O.E.D. this was the first recorded use of the term "teens".
17. Taylor, Home Education, p. 207.
18. Taylor, Home Education, pp. 260-1.
19. Taylor, Home Education, p. 262.
20. Taylor, Home Education, p. 265.
21. Taylor, Home Education, p. 266.
22. For reference to Bacon see Rigby, The Quarterly Review, 71, 1843, p. 56. For reference to Aubrey see Walsh, The Use of Imagination, p. 33. For reference to Steele, see The Spectator, May 1712, where he recorded his godson's pleasure in reading folk legends rather than more improving reading matter.
23. Samuel Johnson, quoted in Scudder, Childhood in Literature and Art, p. 176.
24. Guardian of Education, 2, p. 85 and Practical Education, p.
25. See Chapter 7, pp. 256-7.

26. William Wordsworth, The Prelude, With a selection from the Shorter Poems, Sonnets, the Recluse and the Excursion, introduction by Carlos Baker, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1954, pp. 278-9.
27. Quoted in Northrop Frye, The Educated Imagination, Toronto: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1963, p. 20.
28. Walter Scott, Tales of a Grandfather, Being Stories Taken From Scottish History, 1, Edinburgh: T. Cadell, 1827, p. 14.
29. Quoted in Salmon's Juvenile Literature as It is, pp. 230-1.
30. Quoted in William Walsh's The Use of the Imagination, London, 1964, p. 23.
31. Walsh, The Use of the Imagination, pp. 68-9.
32. Michael Sadlier, ed., Northanger Abbey, by Jane Austen, London: Oxford University Press, (1818) 1972 ; p. vii.
33. This information has been collected from a variety of sources, but in particular from Leslie Shepard's The History of Street Literature, pp. 113-4, 122.
34. William Scargill, Recollections of a Blue-Coat Boy, pp. 26-7.
35. Angus Wilson, The World of Charles Dickens, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1970, pp. 22-3. Wilson reported that Dickens had at one time wished to marry little Red Riding Hood when he grew up.
36. Southey re-wrote the story of "The Three Bears", in the form in which we know it in 1834. Dickens published The Christmas Carol in 1843 and The Cricket and the Hearth in 1846. Ruskin wrote The King of the Golden River in 1846 although it was not published until 1852.
37. The Guardian of Education, 2, pp. 185-6. The Life of Mrs. Sherwood, London, 1854, pp. 36-7.
38. Lord Kames, Loose Hints (Introduction to 2nd ed.), 1781, p. 5.
39. Edgeworth, Practical Education, 3, pp. 187-90.
40. The two fairy tales mentioned were Valentine and Orson and Jack-the-Giant-Killer (See Chapter 5, p. 187.)
41. Lucy Cameron, The Sister's Friend, pp. 50-1. See Chapter 5, p. 190.
42. In Rosamund, A Sequel to Easy Lessons, Rosamund was to be found reading the Waverly novels.

43. Bennett, Letters to a Young Lady, pp. 234.
44. Hymns for Infant Minds (1808) had 150 editions before 1850, and Original Poems (1804), eighteen editions. The Daisy (1807) and The Cowslip (1811), by Elizabeth Turner, had more than 25 editions before 1840. These were the models for Hilaire Belloc's Cautionary Tales.
45. One of Dorothy Kilner's poems, entitled, "Henry's Secret", is included in Iona and Peter Opies, eds., The Oxford Book of Children's Verse, p. 82.
46. The term "dissuasive verse" was used by E.V. Lucas. Heinrich Hoffmann's Struwwelpeter was first translated in 1846. Lewis Carroll's Alice in Wonderland (1865) contained parodies of Isaac Watts' "The Sluggard" and "Against Idleness and Mischief" and Southey's "The Old Man's Comforts and How He Gained Them".
47. Taylor, Home Education, pp. 203, 270.
48. The campaign to censor and transform the Grimm and Perreault tales was mounted before Dicken's death in 1865. (See Chapter 7, p. 226). For an account see Leslie Fiedler, "Fairy Tales Without Apologies", Saturday Review of Books, May 15, 1976, pp. 24-6.
49. Frye, The Educated Imagination, p. 24.
50. Frye, The Educated Imagination, pp. 3-8, 16-7, 67.

Notes for Chapter 10

1. Tompkins, The Popular Novel, p. vi.
2. Mary and Florence: or Grave and Gay (1835) by Ann Fraser Tytler, and Holiday House (1839) by Catherine Sinclair.
3. Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage, pp. 8, 268.
4. Stone noted that The British Apollo, commented in 1708 that children were subject to individual differences (The Family, Sex and Marriage, p. 180). Common Errors in the Education of Children (1744) discussed in detail children's different capacities to learn (pp. 41-47).
5. Mary and Florence: or Grave and Gay by Ann Fraser Tytler.
6. Pinchbeck and Hewitt, Children in English Society (2 vols.).
7. Scudder, Childhood in Literature and Art, pp. 236-7.

8. John Brownlow, Memoranda or Chronicles of the Foundling Hospital including Memoirs of Captain Coram, London: Sampson Low, 1847.
9. -Arthur Schlesinger Jr., New York Times Book Review Section, Nov. 25, 1979, p. 3.
10. Scudder, Childhood in Literature and Art, pp. 234-5.
11. Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage, p. 19.
12. Knight, Passages of a Working Life, 2, p. 326.
13. Grylls, Guardians and Angels, p. 111.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography contains two sections. In the first are the books that constituted the sample analyzed in the dissertation, all children's fiction published between 1740 and 1840 and drawn from the Osborne Collection, of the Toronto Public Library. The second section is made up of books and articles cited in the analysis of children's fiction and in the historical background provided. Because the background material ranged widely, for convenience the books cited have been divided into subject categories.

I. Primary Sources

The books in the sample analyzed are listed by decade, and subdivided according to whether they were chosen from the category of "single book authors" (which included anonymous works), "multiple book authors", or "best sellers". Place of first publication has been omitted; the vast majority were published in London. The date of first publication, may or may not correspond with that of the copy in the Osborne Collection; in the latter case, the date of first publication is given in parenthesis. Occasionally the publication date may fall outside the decade to which the book has been assigned; in such cases, there is evidence that the book was written in the decade it was assigned to, although not published until a later date. Short titles or running titles have been used.

1740-1779* (8 books)

(Bunyan, Don Stephano, pseud.) The Enchanted Castle. (1772) ca. 1780

The Fairing: or, A Golden Toy. (1765) 1965.

(Fielding, Sarah) The Governess: or The Little Female Academy. (1744) 1765.

(Jones, Stephen) The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes. (1764) 1767.

(Johnson, Richard) Juvenile Trials. (1771) 1786.

Tea-table Dialogues. (1770) 1772.

Trip, Tom, pseud. The History of Giles Gingerbread (1765) 1820?.

The Valentine Gift. (1765) 1782.

*For this first period of children's fiction there was no differentiation according to category. There were so few books that they all were best-sellers.

1780-1789 (23 books)

SINGLE BOOK AUTHOR CATEGORY

Anecdotes of a Little Family. 1788?

The Contrast. 1787.

The Entertaining History of Master Billy and Miss Betsy Goodchild. ca. 1780.

The Entertaining History of Miss Lovegood and Miss Nogood. ca. 1780.

The Holiday Spy. 1786.

A Little History of Two Little Ladies. 1785.

MULTIPLE BOOK AUTHOR CATEGORY

(Fenn, Ellenor) The Juvenile Tatler. 1789.

_____ School Occurrences. 1782.

(Johnson, Richard) The Adventures of a Silver Penny. 1787.

Teach'em Toby, pseud. The Entertaining History of Little Goody Goosecap. (1780) 1803.

Trimmer, Sarah The Two Farmers. (1787) 1821.

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_____ The History of Sandford and Merton. (1783-89) 1791.

The History of Tommy Playlove and Jacky Lovebook. (1783) 1819.

(Kilner, Dorothy) The Holiday Present. (1780) 1803.

_____ The Life and Perambulation of a Mouse. 1783.

_____ The Village School. (1783) ca. 1795.

(Kilner, Mary Ann) The Adventures of a Pincushion. 1780?

_____ Jemima Placid. 1783.

(Peacock, Lucy) The Adventures of the Six Princesses of Babylon. 1785.

The Renowned History of Primrose Prettyface. ca. 1785.

Trimmer, Sarah Fabulous Histories or The History of the Robins. 1786.

Wollstonecraft, Mary Original Stories from Real Life. (1788) 1791.

1790-1799 (22 books)

SINGLE BOOK AUTHOR CATEGORY

The Hare. 1799.

MULTIPLE BOOK AUTHOR CATEGORY

(Kendall, E.A.) The Canary Bird. 1799.

(More, Hannah) The History of Idle Jack Brown. 1796.

Peacock, Lucy The Knight of the Rose. (1793) 1807.

_____ The Little Emigrant. (1799) 1826.

Pilkington, Mary Henry or the Foundling. 1799.

(S.H.) Anecdotes of Mary, or The Good Governess. 1795.

(Sandham, Elizabeth) The Happy Family at Eason House. 1799.

BEST SELLERS

(Aiken, John, and Barbauld, Anna Laetitia) Evenings at Home. 1792-96.

(Edgeworth, Maria) The Parent's Assistant. 1796.

(Kendall, E.A.) Keeper's Travels in Search of his Master. 1798.

(Kilner, Dorothy) The History of a Great Many Little Boys and Girls. 1790.

Martin and James. 1791.

Memoirs of Dick the Little Poney. (1800) 1806.

(More, Hannah) The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain. 1795.

_____ The Two Wealthy Farmers. 1795-6.

Peacock, Lucy The Visit for a Week. 1794.
 Pilkington, Mary Biography for Boys. 1799.
 Biography for Girls. 1799.
 (Pinchard, Elizabeth) The Blind Child. 1791.
 Smith, Charlotte Minor Morals. 1798.
 Wakefield, Priscilla Juvenile Anecdotes Founded on Facts. 1798.

1800-1809 (29 books)

SINGLE BOOK AUTHOR CATEGORY

Entertaining Stories, Vol. 1. ca. 1800.
 Helme, William Evenings Rationally Employed. 1803.
The History of a Goldfinch. (1806) 1807.
The Little Grey Mouse. (1800) 1809.
Pleasing and Instructive Tales from Nature. 1804.
Select and Entertaining Stories. ca. 1800.

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(Fenwick, Eliza) The Life of the Famous Dog Carlo. (1804) 1809.
 Kendall, Edward A. The Swallow. 1800.
 Mathews, Eliza Kirkham Anecdotes of the Clairville Family.
 1802.
 Pilkington, Mary Marvellous Adventures, or the Vicissitudes
 of a Cat. 1802.
 Plunkett, Elizabeth A Sequel to Family Stories. 1802.
 Reeve, Clara Edwin, The King of Northumberland. 1802.
 (Sandham, Elizabeth) More Trifles. 1804.
 ("S.E.") The Red Book and the Black One. 1802.
 Smith, Thomas. The Shepherd's Son. 1800.

Somerville, Elizabeth Preludes to Knowledge. (1803) ca. 1830.
 Ventum, Harriet Tales for Domestic Instruction. 1806.
 Woodland, M. Rose and Agnes; or The Dangers of Partiality. 1809.

BEST SELLER CATEGORY

Carey, John Learning Better than House and Land. (1808) 1824.

Dame Partlett's Farm. 1804.

The Dog of Knowledge, or, Memoirs of Bob the Spotted Terrier.
 1801.

Edgeworth, Maria Early Lessons. (1801) 1809.

(Lamb, Charles and Mary Lamb) Mrs. Leicester's School. 1809.

(Moore, Margaret Jane, Countess of Mount Cashell) Stories of
 Old Daniel. 1808.

Richmond, Legh The Dairyman's Daughter. 1809.

("S.E.") A Cup of Sweets that Can Never Cloy. 1804.

The Godmother's Tales. 1808.

(Sandham, Elizabeth) The Twin Sisters. 1805.

("W.S.") A Puzzle for a Curious Girl. (1803) 1806.

1810-1819 (39 books)

SINGLE BOOK AUTHOR CATEGORY

Felissa or The Life and Opinions of a Kitten of Sentiment. 1811.

(Harford, Maria) The Winter Scene. 1818.

Jamieson, Frances Ashford Rectory. 1818.

Miller, Francis (Vaux) Henry. 1815-16.

Stoddart, Isabella The Eskdale Herd-Boy, a Scottish Tale. 1819.

The Surprising and Singular Adventures of a Hen. 1815.

Taylor, Jeffreys. Harry's Holiday. 1819.

"W.S." Scenes at Home. 1810.

The Winter Vacation. 1818.

MULTIPLE BOOK AUTHOR CATEGORY

(Budden, Maria Elizabeth) The Pleasures of Life. 1818.

Elliott, Mary The Rambles of a Butterfly. 1819.

(Hughes, Mary) The Alchemist. 1818.

Mackensie, William (Margery Meanwell, pseud.) The New Tom Thumb.
1815.

Mant, Alicia Ellen or The Young God-Mother. (1812) 1815.

Pilkington, Mary A Reward for Attentive Studies. ca. 1815.

Sandham, Elizabeth The History of William Selwyn. 1815.

Sherwood, Mary Martha The Hedge of Thorns. 1819.

Sullivan, William The Young Liar! (also called Young Wilfred
or The Punishment of Falsehood). 1818.

Ventum, Harriet The Good Aunt. 1813.

BEST SELLERS

Argus, Arabella, pseud. The Adventures of a Donkey. 1815.

_____ The Juvenile Spectator. 1810..

(Budden, Maria Elizabeth) Always Happy!!!. (1814) 1820.

Cameron, Lucy The Caskets, or the Palace and the Church (1818)
1838.

_____ The Raven and the Dove and The Holiday Queen (1817)
1865.

Edgeworth, Maria The Continuation of Early Lessons. 1814.

Eyton, John The Short and Simple Annals of a Poor Child.
(1811) 1826.

Hofland, Barbara The Good Grandmother and her Offspring. 1817.

_____ Matilda, or The Barbadoes Girl. 1816.

(Hughes, Mary) Aunt Mary's New Year's Gift. 1819.

Julia and her Pet Lamb. (1816) 1819.

- (Pedder, James) The Yellow Shoe-Strings. 1814.
 Richmond, Legh The Young Cottager. 1815.
 ("S.E.") Arthur and Alice or The Little Wanderers. 1815.
 Sherwood, Mary Martha The Busy Bee (1818) 1837).
 _____ The History of Emily and her Brothers. (1816) 1837.
 _____ The History of the Fairchild Family. (1818) 1848.
 _____ *The History of Little Henry and his Bearer. 1815.
 Taylor, Ann (Martin) and Jane Taylor Correspondence Between
 a Mother and her Daughter at School. 1817.
 Taylor, Jane Display. (1815) 1820.

1820-1829 (47 books)

SINGLE BOOK AUTHOR CATEGORY

- Aunt Ann's Gift. ca. 1825.
Buy a Broom. ca. 1820.
The History of Fanny Thoughtless. ca. 1825.
The History of Little Lydia Somerville. ca. 1820..
How to be Happy, or, Fairy Gifts. 1828.
In School and Out of School or The History of William and
 John. 1827.
Little Abel, or The Young Orphan. 1821.
The Little Deserter. (1814) 1825.
Little Peter Pry or The Danger of Curiosity. (1814) 1825.
The Mirven Family. 1825.
 ("N.E.") The Life of a Midshipman. 1829.
 Smith, J. Pretty Stories with Pretty Pictures. ca. 1825.
 Stubbs, Amelia Family Tales for Children. 1824.
The Vacation: Or Truth and Falsehood. 1824.

The Winter Fire-side. 1828.

MULTIPLE BOOK AUTHOR CATEGORY

Argus, Arabella, pseud. Ostentation and Liberality. 1820.

Cameron, Lucy Forms of Pride. 1829.

Cole, Benjamin T. The Philosopher's Stone. 1828.

Copley, Esther The Little Cow-slip Gatherers. 1824?.

Elliott, Mary The Little Mimic. (1824) 1825?.

_____ Self-Will, or Young Heads not the Wisest. 1824.

Gardiner, William The Fort-night's Visit Concluded. 1820?.

(Hughes, Mary) A Mother's Care Rewarded. 1824.

Selwyn, A. The History of Farmer Darwin and his Family. ca.
1825.

Sherwood, Mary Martha. Waste Not, Want Not. (1824) 1857.

(Traill, Catherine Parr) Fables for the Nursery. 1825.

The Welcome Visitor, or The Good Uncle. (1821) 1824.

(Wilson, Sarah) Amusing Anecdotes of Various Animals. 1823.

_____ The Coral Necklace. (1820?) 1830?.

BEST SELLERS

(Budden, Maria Elizabeth) Chit-Chat, or Short Tales in Short
Words. 1825.

Cameron, Lucy The History of Little Frank and His Sister.
(1827) 1837.

_____ The Strawberry-gatherers. (1822) 1836.

The Contrast, or Caroline and Emma. (1815) 1826.

Edgeworth, Maria Rosamund, a Sequel to Early Lessons. 1821.

Farrar, Eliza Rotch The Adventures of Congo in Search of his
Master (1823) 1828.

Hofland, Barbara William and his Uncle Ben. 1825.

The Young Crusoe. 1828.

Kennedy, Grace Anna Ross, a Story for Children. (1823) 1833.

The Little Dog Dash. 1828.

Mant, Alicia The Cottage in the Chalk-pit. (1821) 1830.

(Scargill, William) Recollections of a Blue-Coat Boy. 1829.

Sherwood, Mary Martha The History of Henry Milner. (1822-3)
1831-44.

The Little Sunday-School Child's Reward. (1828)
ca. 1840.

The Recaptured Negro and The Babes in The Wood
of the New World. 1821 and 1830.

The Two Sisters, or Ellen and Sophia. 1827.

(Strickland, Agnes) The Rival Crusoes, or The Shipwreck. 1826.

(Traill, Catherine Parr) Little Downey or The History of a
Field-mouse. 1822.

1830-1839 (27 books)

SINGLE BOOK AUTHOR CATEGORY

Are You Happy When You are Cross? ca. 1838.

Elliott, Mary Tales of Truth for Young People. 1836.

Hall, Anna Maria (Mrs. S.C. Hall) Chronicles of a School Room.
1830.

Jerram, Jane Elizabeth My Three Aunts; and Other Stories. 1838.

Lucy Newton or An Experiment in Education. 1830.

The Wet Summer. 1831.

MULTIPLE BOOK AUTHOR CATEGORY

Barwell, Louisa Mary The Novel Adventures of Tom Thumb the
Great. 1838.

Bishop, James Pretty Little Stories. 1838?.

Cameron, Lucy The Sister's Friend. 1831.

Day-light. 1835.

Hofland, Barbara Tales of Clairmont Castle. ca. 1830.

Martineau, Harriet Five Years of Youth. 1831.

(Mogridge, George) The Moral Budget of my Aunt Newbury. 1831.

(Sherwood, Mary Martha) The Flowers of the Forest. (1830) 1834.

(Sinclair, Catherine) Charlie Seymour: or the Good Aunt and the Bad Aunt. 1832.

(Tonna) Charlotte, Elizabeth, pseud. The Fortune Teller. 1832.

(Towers, Isabella Jane) The Wanderings of Tom Starboard. 1830.

BEST SELLERS

Cameron, Lucy The Little Dog Flora with her Silver Bell.
(1815) 1838.

(Howard, Edward George Granville) Rattlin, The Reefer. 1836.

Howitt, Mary Tales in Prose: For the Young. 1836.

Howitt, William The Boy's Country-Book. 1839.

(Marryat, Frederick) Jacob Faithful. 1834.

(Martin, William) Peter Parley's Tales for the Chimney-corner.
1835.ca. 1833.

Porter, Jane Sir Edward Seaward's Narrative of his Shipwreck.
(1831) ca. 1833.

Sherwood, Mary Martha Caroline Mordaunt, or The Governess.
1835.

Sinclair, Catherine Holiday House (1839) 1844.

Tytler, Ann Fraser Mary and Florence or Grave and Gay. (1835)
1837.

II. Secondary Sources

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Preliminary Worksheet

Decade
 Author
 Title
 Publisher

THEME

1. purpose stated
 inferred
2. achieved by what means?
 contrast
 natural consequences
 other
3. readership
 general child
 class distinction
 specified age group
4. "reality index"
 real child
 fiction child
 virtues and vices named - adults
 children
5. didactic material included?
 educational
 religious
 general moral
 which virtues?
 which vices?
6. imagination used?
 for what purpose?
 devices used
 fable
 fairy tale
 positive figures (good fairies)
 negative figures (witches, etc.)
 anthropomorphic devices - animals
 objects
7. format of book
 dialogue
 play
 story (one)
 story (several)
 story within a story
 mixture of poems, fables, stories, etc.
8. setting of book
 physical situation
 child in family
 ordinary
 unusual
 child in school
 other

- social situation
 - child in family with parent interaction
 - child and tutor/governess interaction
 - child interacts with other children
 - child/animal interaction
 - child/fairy interaction
- where animals used
 - animal/animal interaction
 - animal/adult interaction
 - animal observes humans in general
- 9. description provided of characteristics of different stages of childhood?
 - infancy
 - 2-6
 - middle-aged child
 - adolescent
- 10. character description
 - child depicted as ?
 - adults depicted as ?
 - parents
 - teachers/tutors/governesses
 - others
- 11. class awareness
 - implicit
 - none revealed
 - explicit
 - poor
 - servants
 - cottagers
 - foundlings
 - rich
 - other
- 12. writing style
 - suitable to age of readership?
 - easy
 - complex
 - punctuation
 - length of words
 - sentences
 - print size
 - pictures
 - relevant
 - irrelevant
 - interest of book inferred to be
 - high
 - low
 - rating 1 2 3 4 5
- 13. description of death present?
 - in family - parent
 - child
 - friend - adult
 - child
 - hero/heroine dies
 - described in detail
 - in general
 - handled how?

EDUCATIONmalefemale

1. formal

school advocated
 disapproved
 tutor/governess
 parent as educator

subjects included

reading
 writing
 arithmetic
 spelling
 history
 geography
 natural science
 Latin
 Greek
 other languages
 home-making skills
 needlework
 knitting
 other
 cultural skills
 art
 music
 drama
 other

2. informal

toys
 games
 leisure-time reading
 diary
 correspondence
 visiting
 other
 recreational institutions
 fairs approved
 theatres approved
 advocacy of rural life over city life?

RELIGION

specific sect mentioned?
 religious instruction in daily routine?
 prayers
 Bible history
 special books for Sunday
 daily prayers
 Church-going
 Restrictions on behaviour on Sunday

CHILD-RAISING PRACTICESmalefemale

1. discipline

punishment

deprivation of food
freedom
treatcorporal
natural consequences
stand alone
underlinedlecture
penance

reward

bonus in kind
in treat
"virtue is its own".
other

use of fear as threat?

use of withdrawal of affection?

2. daily routines

daily timetable specified
hours work (academic)
hours play
other duties

comments on diet/food

manners

dress

cleanliness

health regulations

when ill

when well

3. other comments specific or general

APPENDIX B

AUTHORSHIP CODING VARIABLES

Occupation	1. sex
	2. age (over 40)
	3. ever married
	4. associated with religious institution
	5. associated with educational institution
	6. associated with book production
	7. none outside home
	8. profession (doctor, lawyer)
	9. merchant in trade
	10. other
Occupation of spouse	11. association with religious institution
	12. association with educational institution
	13. associated with book production
	14. none outside home
	15. profession (doctor, lawyer)
	16. merchant in trade
	17. other
Occupation of father	18. association with religious institution
	19. association with educational institution
	20. associated with book production
	21. none outside home
	22. profession (doctor, lawyer)
	23. merchant in trade
	24. other
Social class	25. gentry or upper
	26. middle (professional or bourgeoisie)
	27. lower middle (artisan, shopkeeper)
	28. working class or below
Education	29. at home
	30. at school
	31. university
	32. not known
Relationship to child/children	33. parent
	34. close family member
	35. teacher
	36. religious instructor
	37. older friend
Domicile	38. rural or urban (R or U)
	39. alternated or both
	40. not known
Religious affiliation (initials)	41. Established Church
	42. New Dissent (Methodist, Baptist)
	43. Old Dissent (Presbyterian, Congregational, Unitarian, Quaker)
	44. Roman Catholic
	45. Unknown
Evangelical (Practice)	46. Sunday School
	47. Humanitarian Reform
	a) animals
	b) children
	c) delinquents
	d) missionary work
	e) poor/disabled/sick
	f) slaves

Evangelical (Preach)	48. tracts-sermons-hymns
Social Affilia- tion	49. literary/cultural
	50. philanthropic/humanitarian
	51. political/reform
	52. educational
	53. religious
Political affiliations	54. Whig, Tory, Radical, Unknown
Other works for children	55. religious/moral
	56. educational/scientific
	57. fiction
	58. poetry
	59. drama
Works for adults	60. religious/moral
	61. educational/scientific
	62. fiction
	63. poetry
	64. drama
	65. child-raising manuals
Authorship	66. authorship acknowledged
	67. anonymous
	68. pseudonym
	69. acknowledged later
	70. attributed
Importance	71. best-seller (Y or N)
	72. No. of best-sellers
	73. in D.N.B.?
	74. in other biographical sources?
	75. in literary sources?
	76. no. of children's books
	77. total no. of books
	78. this book reviewed?
	79. total books reviewed?
Publication of Personal Data	80. autobiography/memoirs/letters

APPENDIX C

READERSHIP CHARACTERISTICS

Sex of Reader	1. specified person(s)
	2. boys specified
	3. boys implied
	4. girls specified
	5. girls implied
	6. both sexes specified
	7. both sexes implied
Age of Reader	8. specified under 6
	9. implied under 6
	10. specified 7-12
	11. implied 7-12
	12. age over 12
	13. implied over 12
Domicile	14. rural (R)
	15. urban (U)
	16. mixed (R/U)
	17. not specified (any)
Location	18. at home
	19. at school
	20. mixed home/school
	21. anywhere
Social Class	22. upper (gentry)
	23. middle (professional)
	24. middle-lower (working)
	25. poor - rural or urban
Education of Reader	26. home/parent
	27. governess/tutor
	28. school dame/charity
	29. private/grammar/academy
	30. not mentioned
Religion	31. Established
	32. specified sect
Other information	33. specific dedication/preface/letter to reader? (Y or N)
	34. publishers' advertisements
	35. Series or Number book

APPENDIX D

CHARACTERISTICS OF STYLE

Organization	1. mixed snippets
	2. single story with plot
	3. collection unrelated stories
	4. related stories
Methods	5. use of tutor figure
Tutor	6. close relation
	7. teacher/minister
	8. friend of child
	9. animal or object
Commentator	10. commentator on events - human
	11. animal
	12. object
	13. storyteller unifying theme
	14. character typology (Y or N)
	a) all
	b) part
	15. epistolary style (Y or N)
	a) all
	b) part
	16. dialogue
	a) all
	b) part
	17. contrast
	18. exaggeration of behaviour
	19. inclusion of animal fables
	20. inclusion of allegories
General Features	21. illustrations
	a) related to text
	b) unrelated to text
	22. number
	a) many (6 or more)
	b) few (under 6)
	23. coloured
	a) some
	b) all
	24. type
	a) block
	b) etching/engraving
	c) lithographed
Suitability	25. conversation (Y or N)
	26. vocabulary
	27. print size
	28. punctuation and paragraphing
	29. sentence length
Length of book	30. a) full length (over 100 pages)
	b) short (over 35 pages)
	c) tract format (under 35)

- Binding 31. a) hard cover
b) boards
c) paper cover

Stylistic Features of Authors

- Humour 32. reversal human/animal role
33. ridicule of adult
34. ridicule of child
35. satire on social customs or institutions
36. in text puns or jokes
37. use of magic element
38. realistic humour in natural behaviour of children

39. exaggeration of behaviour
40. none present
Imagination 41. imagination present in book
42. anthropomorphic devices
a) animal
b) object
43. simulated settings
a) school
b) story telling setting
c) desert island
d) other
44. simulated situations
a) foundling or orphan
b) change in circumstances
i) rags to riches
ii) loss of wealth
45. fairy story
a) with a moral
b) without a moral
46. some magical elements
a) good (fairies, etc.)
b) bad (witches, etc.)
47. discussion of imagination in books
a) it is a good thing
b) it is a bad thing
c) apology for use of imaginative elements
d) not mentioned

- Stated 48. poetry
disapproval 49. drama/theatre
of 50. novels
51. fairy tales
52. magical people
53. ballads
54. legends - folk lore
55. fairs, Punch & Judy, etc.
Influence of 56. servants
spoken word 57. ignorant poor
58. indulgent rich
59. others
60. not mentioned

Influence of
specific
authors

- 61. seen positively
- 62. seen negatively
- 63. publisher (initials)
- 64. story within a story
- 65. use of "puffs"
- 66. collection
- 67. inclusion of educational material
- 68. inclusion of religious material
 - a) specific
 - b) general

APPENDIX E

CONTENT CHARACTERISTICS

Themes	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. General theme <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) goodness, morality b) religious devotion c) other 2. Specific theme <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) one virtue b) one vice c) other 3. Narrative story <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) with a theme b) no particular theme 4. Specific virtues are specified in the book 5. Specific vices are specified in the book
Child-raising goals	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. are specified <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) for present b) for future c) differ according to sex
Identity of the hero	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. a child or children 8. an adult (i.e. grown up at start of book) 9. an animal in a human story 10. an animal in an animal story 11. an animal in a story with both humans and animals
Activity of the hero	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 12. is an object or thing 13. if not a child is meant to represent a child 14. initiates negative activity (i.e. bad, naughty) 15. initiates positive activity (i.e. good) 16. is recipient of others' activity 17. is an onlooker or commentator 18. is a mixture of these
Adults are seen as	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 19. always right or good 20. sometimes fallible or make mistakes 21. some are good, some are bad 22. can change their ways, can learn
Children are seen as	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 23. are sometimes figures of fun 24. good or innocent 25. sinful or bad, needing correction 26. are subject to circumstances, i.e. "environmental press"
Child training	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 27. just assumption that child can learn 28. admonition - lecture, scolding 29. corporal punishment 30. deprivation of treats, food, freedom, adult company, outings, etc. 31. by learning for themselves by trial and error <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) with natural consequences b) with arranged consequences 32. by positive reinforcement <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) with material rewards (money, food, treats, presents b) with praise

- 33. by emotional blackmail
 - a) withdrawal of affection.
 - b) positive statement that parents or friends will love
- 34. by modelling
- 35. statement that virtue is its own reward or that happiness comes from being or doing good
- 36. promise of an After-life
 - a) Heaven - salvation
 - b) hell
- Emotions 37. seen as positive
- 38. seen as negative
- Sensibility 39. as an admirable quality
- 40. as a reprehensible quality.
- 41. not mentioned
- Fear 42. should be punished
- 43. should be ignored
- 44. is used as a threat
- 45. is seen as unreasonable
- 46. is seen as natural
- 47. not mentioned
- Love 48. compassion to mankind, living creatures
- 49. charity to others
- 50. not mentioned
- Love within family 51. is described negatively as over-indulgence
- 52. is described positively
- 53. not mentioned
- Love outside family 54. same sex - friends
- 55. opposite sex
- 56. human/animal
- 57. not mentioned
- Death occurs 58. described cursorily
- 59. described in detail
- 60. not mentioned
- Person who dies 61. a close relation (sibling, mother, etc.)
- 62. part of extended family
- 63. friend or companion - peer
- 64. servant or part of his family
- 65. older friend, minister, teacher
- 66. unacquainted person
- 67. animal
- Death used as 68. a threat, warning
- 69. used as a religious cue
- Education-boys
- Taught at home 70. same sex parent
- 71. both parents
- 72. tutor/governess

Ideal place
at school 73. dame
74. grammar
75. academy/private
76. public
77. anti-school
78. not mentioned

Girls at home 79. same sex parent
80. both parents
81. tutor/governess

Girls at
school 82. dame
83. day school
84. boarding institutions
85. anti-school
86. not mentioned
87. curriculum specified for boys
88. curriculum specified for girls
89. curriculum specified same for both

Influence of
servants 90. good
91. bad
92. not mentioned
93. influence of early experience noted
94. topical events (list)

Purpose of
book 95. to entertain
96. to instruct educate
97. to provide religion/moral guidance
98. mixture

Ideal place at school 73. dame
74. grammar
75. academy/private
76. public
77. anti-school
78. not mentioned
Girls at home 79. same sex parent
80. both parents
81. tutor/governess
Girls at school 82. dame
83. day school
84. boarding institutions
85. anti-school
86. not mentioned
87. curriculum specified for boys
88. curriculum specified for girls
89. curriculum specified same for both
Influence of servants 90. good
91. bad
92. not mentioned
93. influence of early experience noted
94. topical events (list)
Purpose of book 95. to entertain
96. to instruct educate
97. to provide religion/moral guidance
98. mixture

APPENDIX F

Authors of the Sample Who Contributed to More than One Decade
before 1840

Arabella Argus (pseud.)

Lucy Cameron

Maria Edgeworth

Mary Elliott

Barbara Hofland

Mary Hughes

(Richard Johnson)

Edward Kendall

Dorothy Kilner

Alicia Mant

Lucy Peacock

Mary Pilkington

Legh Richmond

"E.S."

Elizabeth Sandham

Mary Martha Sherwood

"S.W."

Sarah Wilson

APPENDIX G

Authors of the Sample with Over Twenty Published Works*

Maria Budden
Lucy Cameron
Esther Copley
Maria Edgeworth
Mary Elliott
Ellinor Fenn
William Gardner
Anna Maria Hall (Mrs. S.C.)
Barbara Hofland
Mary Howitt
William Howitt
Mary Hughes
Dorothy Kilner
Harriet Martineau
George Mogridge
Mary Pilkington
"E.S."
Elizabeth Sandham
Mary Martha Sherwood (Mrs. Sherwood)
Catherine Sinclair
Charlotte Smith
Elizabeth Somerville
Agnes Strickland
Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna

*This includes all types of publications

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