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**Sentimentality in Juvenile Fiction of the Eighteenth Century in England**

Robert Bator

*Loyola University Chicago*

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SENTIMENTALITY IN JUVENILE FICTION OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY IN ENGLAND

By

Robert Bator

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Literature for children is often popularly linked with the puerile. One is reminded of Queen Victoria's smile of surprise when informed that a mathematician had written Alice in Wonderland, and of the efforts to bar Jean de La Fontaine from the French Academy because he had written fairy tales.\(^1\) Yet works specifically intended for children have been written by many. In England writers such as John Ruskin, William Thackeray, William Blake, Robert Southey, Charles Lamb, William Godwin, Mary Wollstonecraft, and Oliver Goldsmith, to name but a few, all contributed to the genre or sub-genre of children's literature.

Excepting historical interest in the literary figures who wrote for children, why should one read such works today, even if they were readily available? First, books for children contain many of the characteristics of adult literature. For example, one writer finds in eighteenth-century books for children the same "curious mixture of good sense and good feeling . . ."\(^2\) which pervades adult literature. Since many major writers chose

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\(^1\) Montrose J. Moses, "'Convalescent' Children's Literature," The North American Review, CCXXI (1925), 529.

to write juvenile works, these provide a continual reading of the standards of society at each generation in its history. While it may be extreme to claim, as does one critic, that England could be reconstructed solely from its children's literature,¹ works intended for children can be important to the student of literature and to the social historian.

By their very nature early children's books belabor the matter of fact and the topical for the uninitiated child. By so doing, they often bridge gaps left by diarists or social commentators, for example, who assume, for instance, that one knows where the waxworks or the menagerie was located in eighteenth-century London. The modern reader, like the child for whom the works were originally intended, is often uninitiated into the social milieu of the times studied.

Other genres do reveal social history; however, it is my contention that they do not have the compactness, the baldness, which makes children's literature an excellent microcosm of the times in which they were written:

To be sure, they [children's books] constitute only a bypath of English literature; yet that bypath, besides being quaint and delightful in itself, leads directly to a comprehension of the times. Here the historian and the sociologist may watch the new forces of Puritanism, commercialism, and democracy as they touch the daily lives of the people, while the student of literature discovers against a background of changing values and ideals the character of the people both as it was

and as it wished to be.¹

The reason, perhaps, that juvenile works show intellectual fashions better than adult literature is that a parent is likely to give his children what he thinks they ought to have, even when he fails to seek such edification for himself.² In other words, through a systematized study of children's literature in any century one can arrive at those values which were offered for the emulation of succeeding generations. Thus, one can quickly arrive, in a rather compact manner, at the values and the shift in values within a century:

More than any class of literature they [children's books] reflect the minds of the generation that produced them. Hence no better guide to the history and development of any country can be found than in its juvenile literature.³

Juvenile literature, then, often compresses social history, providing insight into the manners and standards of society. Perhaps since the values inculcated in juvenile works are often unconsciously intended, the insights offered are often clearer than


those found in letters, diaries or domestic novels.  

The rarity and scarcity of many early juvenile works prompts another reason for their study. Ironically, many early books for children are not studied today because of their popularity in the past; they were literally read to pieces and are no longer extant. Popularity is directly related to the destruction of these books; the more popular a work, the more likely that it was destroyed.

Even though such books had wide circulation, it is estimated that only one copy in 10,000 of the early juvenile books survived one year beyond initial publication.

Because of their ephemeral nature, early books for children have been studied by collectors of rare books. Some collectors have given admirable service in the documentation of facts of publication, but they have kept the study of children's literature an esoteric bypath of literary scholarship. More than for their quaintness of binding or diminutive size, the early volumes for children ought to be studied as an aid to social history and to the changing fashions in the adult literature of the times. This is not to suggest that children's books will necessarily reveal the best features of an era. On the contrary, books for children

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1 Marion Lochhead, "Social History in Miniature: Domestic Tales for Children," The Quarterly Review, CCXCI (October, 1953), 516. Hereinafter referred to as "Social History in Miniature."

2 Rosenbach, Early American Children's Books, p. xxvii.

3 M. Lockwood, "Thomas Day," The Nineteenth Century, XLII (July, 1897), 74.
often epitomize some of the worst features of an era.\(^1\) They are, nonetheless, true barometers of what was actually being impressed upon children. Not only the ideals of society but its didactic concerns are thus illustrated:

The outlook of the domestic story, both Georgian and Victorian, on religion, class structure, and the ideal child, may seem quaint, distasteful, even outrageous to modern taste, but it is well worth examining, if only for the light that it throws upon the ethos of the middle-class [parent]. . . .\(^2\)

Since early books for children are scarce and not ordinarily available to the student of literature, because books for children have been seldom treated as literature or as social history, there is need not only to adjust one's appreciation of books written for children, but to study specific works in order to show the evolution of social and educational ideas. As it would be impossible to study all literature for children, this investigation has been limited to children's literature in the century in which the genre was spawned—the eighteenth century in England.\(^3\)

The eighteenth century is being considered exclusively since it is generally acknowledged as the age in which the first genuine


\(^3\) A chapter has been included which summarizes children's literature before the eighteenth century, but it is mainly designed to illustrate the paucity of such before 1700.
children's literature begins. It will be seen that by the time the century is over, the course of children's literature will have been determined for another hundred years, so that merely to study the eighteenth century is to know the influence and direction of children's literature well into the nineteenth century.

Another reason for this investigation is that such a study has not been attempted before. "There has been no real inquiry into the circumstances which led to the birth of a new kind of literature under the first two Georges." ¹

Other studies have covered children's literature of the eighteenth century, but often from the limited viewpoint of the collector. ² This study does not attempt a complete history of every children's book printed in the century. It will, however, indicate the evolution of children's literature, charting significant changes in the early growth of juvenile fiction. Besides tracing the evolution of children's fiction in the eighteenth century, this work will illustrate, through the detailed study of specific works of children's fiction of the eighteenth century.


century, a rise in sentimentality. Sentimentality and sensibility of the eighteenth century have been widely studied, but children's literature has been ignored in such studies.¹

It is my contention that a serious study of children's literature of the eighteenth century can be of corroborative aid to the study of other, more important genres. The aim of one recent study of twentieth-century children's literature is to show "how enormous changes in social behaviour and the materialist revolution were reflected in the books which the children of each generation read for pleasure."² This study of eighteenth-century juvenile literature will reveal similar changes in the zeitgeist of the eighteenth century.

It is my purpose, then, to sketch the evolution of books for juveniles in the eighteenth century, and to demonstrate how largely ignored by students of literature this research field is. How important such research might prove will be shown, as well as how it might clarify one's critical perspectives of the eighteenth century. Through the study of sentimentality in children's literature,


books, humanitarianism and romanticism, vital influences in the age which followed, will be clarified.¹

It would be helpful here to indicate precisely what is meant by the phrase "children's literature," especially since its definition seems so obvious as to be taken for granted. Nevertheless the definition ought not merely be assumed.

Some definitions are too inclusive: "... that part of the stream that appeals to children."² Such a definition provides little or no differentiation between juvenile and adult literature. Likewise a definition may be too exclusive. One writer refuses to label children's literature anything that "either directly or indirectly promotes any worldly or practical use."³ This definition would cancel out practically all eighteenth-century children's literature.

A simple definition, erring neither on the side of exclusiveness nor of inclusiveness, is that provided by William Sloane. He defines children's literature simply as "books written for

¹See Edward Allen Whitney, "Humanitarianism and Romanticism," Huntington Library Quarterly, II (1939), 159-178 on the connection between romanticism and humanitarianism.

²Leone Garvey, "What is Children's Literature?" Elementary English, XLI (May, 1964), 475.

excluding books which were tools of formal instruction and excluding fairy tales meant for adult readers. This would necessarily exclude those adult works which children have sometimes appropriated from adults, e.g. Gulliver's Travels, Robinson Crusoe, Pilgrim's Progress. Only when such books appear in editions specifically designed for children's consumption, would they be here labelled children's literature, as they are today. In this particular study, adult works which children may read will be excluded since as children's literature they represent abridgements of adult literature and are therefore derivative. It would be unfair to include them since this study attempts to demonstrate how eighteenth-century children's literature by itself can be a valuable aid to the study of that century.

For the specific purposes of this study, even Sloane's definition, useful as it is, is too broad. Juvenile fiction, which will be considered in this study, is subsumed under Sloane's definition. By juvenile fiction is meant:

... narrative books written in English, designed for children under fifteen years of age. They should be the type of book originally written for children. ... Books written about or by children, treatises on

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education or how to rear children are avoided.¹

An informal guide in determining whether a particular early book is a children's book is to seek the phrase "for the instruction of youth" or "for the benefit of the rising generation" on the preface or title page. These were phrases used often to enable parents to know which books were suitable for their children.²

How to determine whether a work is a school book, and therefore excluded under this study, is more difficult, but the intention to amuse, at least early in the century studied, is an excellent clue. For example, in a 1787 preface an author "trust[s] that it [his book] will be sufficiently amusing to prevent its study being compulsory."³

School books and adult works have already been excluded by definition. As this study is limited to juvenile fiction, literature for children in the form of riddles, works entirely on natural science, verse, street cries, games, sermons and catechisms are excluded. Many of these works may be in the category

¹D' Alte A. Welch, "A Bibliography of American Children's Books Printed Prior to 1821," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, LXXIII (April, 1963), 131. Hereinafter referred to as "A Bibliography." As this work is still in progress it will be referred to in later citations by volume number and page.

²Ibid., LXXIII, 133.

of amusement, but they are non-narrative and do not fit in the category of juvenile prose fiction.\(^1\) This study will likewise exclude non-English authors except for those who were of significant influence on English children's books. Books written by children and adult books in which children appear as characters are outside the scope of this study.

\(^1\)Welch, "A Bibliography," LXXIII, 132 also excludes such works. Before the adult novel there was not a large body of juvenile prose fiction; many children's works were in verse and consequently some of these are considered in chapters two and three. Some non-fiction children's books, particularly of the early eighteenth century, have been included in this study because of their historical interest.
CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF LITERATURE FOR CHILDREN TO 1700

The study of children's literature written before the seventeenth century reveals the absence of books specifically intended for children. No juvenile books available before the seventeenth century would fit the definition employed in the previous chapter. In pre-Restoration England, that is, no books of amusement, no books for children at all—with the exception of school texts—have been located.

This is not to say that seventeenth-century children were the first children to read books in England, but, with the exception of school treatises, there were no books specifically and exclusively available for the young until the late seventeenth century.

In Anglo-Saxon days few children could read or write. Since there were no printed books, one assumes that children's reading was limited to psalms and to the recitation of poetry.¹

Since they were nearly all that was available, one must

of necessity include some school books in this early period. The lesson books of Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury (640?-709), could be viewed as the first books in England for children. For example, Aldhelm's treatise on Latin prosody, *Epistola ad Acircium sive liber de septenario, et de metris, aenigmatibus ac pedum regulis*, includes riddles and ends with a dialogue on Latin prosody between student and teacher.¹

The Venerable Bede (b. 672) also wrote school texts on grammar, rhetoric and music. Alcuin (b. 733?), following Bede's example, used dialogue in his grammars. Aelfric's *Colloquy on the Occupations* (mid-tenth century), a book of simple questions and answers, covers everyday subjects such as behavior and diet.² Apart from such lesson books and moral treatises, literature for children in Anglo-Saxon days is to be found contained in and not found separately from adult literature.

Even after the Norman Conquest, the situation as regards children's reading is not improved. The paucity of all leisure reading is probably the simplest explanation, but even had there


been more leisure for reading, it is doubtful whether children in the middle ages would have received special consideration as an audience. There prevailed "a rational distrust of childhood" which militated against the child's being given special attention. To illustrate, a thirteenth-century writer describes children as:

sotfe of flesshe, lythie and plyant of body, able and lyght to moving, wittie to learne, and leade their lives without thought and care, and set their courages onelye on mirth and lyking. . . . all children . . . thinke onely on things that be, they love playes, game and vanitie. . . . They desire all things that they see, and praye and aske with voyce and with hande: They love talking and counsayle of such children as they be, and avoid company of old men: they keep no counsayle, but they tell all that they hære or see. Sodainly they laugh, and sodainly they weep.2

Little is known of the education of children in England from the Norman Conquest until after the fourteenth century when courtesy literature appears.3 Bestiaries, the leading picture books of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in England,4 may have

1 F. Lamar Janney, Childhood in English Non-Dramatic Literature from 1557 to 1798 (Greifswald, Germany: Abel, 1925), p. 9. Janney's book is hereinafter referred to as Childhood in English.

2 Bartholomaeus Anglicus, "Of a Childe," De Proprietatibus Rerum (ca. 1250), cited by ibid., p. 9. Janney calls this passage "the most penetrating study of the characteristics of childhood which appeared before the time of Shakespeare." (p. 9).


made their way in manuscript to some children. In Chaucer's day there were no books graded in difficulty for children and none for the special interests of the child.¹

Mention should be made here of the Gesta Romanorum which has been called the only story book of the middle ages.² The Gesta Romanorum, dating from the fourteenth century, consists of stories of all sorts in Latin in no particular order and without framework, later done into English by several writers in the fifteenth century. As the Acts of the Romans, it was read avidly by a public not strictly juvenile—the half-instructed and ignorant adults.³

One can cite many editions through the eighteenth century, but the early history of the Gesta Romanorum is obscure: "perhaps there is no work among those composed before the invention of printing of which popularity has been so great and the history so obscure."⁴

The Gesta Romanorum is one of the minor sources of The

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¹ Derek Brewer, Chaucer in His Time (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1963), p. 126.

² Blanche E. Weekes, Literature and the Child (New York: Silver Burdett and Co. [1935]), p. 44.


Merchant of Venice and contains a variant of the exemplum used in "The Pardoner's Tale," so it is likely that both Chaucer and Shakespeare knew this popular compilation. For samples of the popular tales with appended morals and the kind of story which a child might have chanced upon in English from the fifteenth century on, see any of the modern editions.

Simply a series of exempla without framework and with interspersed morals following each tale, the Gesta Romanorum reached wide circulation with scores of editions ranging from that of Wynkyn de Worde (1524?), which represented the fourth English translation, to those of the twentieth century. Since it was popular, it is likely that children heard at least parts of the collection. Its woodcuts may have especially appealed to children. But there must be a division made between an adult work that children had to adapt and take piecemeal and a book truly meant for children.

The fifteenth century marks the first rhymed treatises in English with instruction for children in many subjects, especially in manners and morals.\(^2\) Such books were meant for children who

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would take a suitable place in society or in the church. These works had appeal limited to the nobility, but they do mark significant attention to children.

The most celebrated of these courtesy books, as they are called, is *The Babees Book or a Lytyl Reporte of how Young People Should Behave* (ca. 1475). It exists in Harleian Manuscript and claims "the whole duty of children" as its domain. It is replete with table manners. Other courtesy books include: *Stans Puer ad Mensam* (The Page Standing at the Table), attributed to John Lydgate (before 1479); *The Book of Good Manners* (1487); John Russell's *Book of Nurture* (1460-1470); and *The Boke of Curtesy* (ca. 1460). The last-mentioned work consists of 848 rhymed lines in three books. Book one deals with the correct behavior of young gentlemen. Book two offers moral advice, and book three details the various offices of a large household for youths wishing to rise in society.

Courtesy books advised noble or royal children who were

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1Darton, *Children's Books in England*, p. 43.


past the infant stage. Because of a high infant mortality rate, the child in Renaissance England was likely to be overprotected during infancy. It is estimated that 75 per cent of all children born in fourteenth-century England died before they reached the age of four or five. Indulgence for the frailty of infants was tempered once the child grew:

Once past the baby stage the child was in effect treated as if he were an ignorant grown up, and attempts were made to discipline him accordingly. He was continually admonished into a preternaturally sober and controlled way of life.

Once the child was weaned, there was much eagerness to impose direction. The directions for noble children were often in the areas of table manners and behavior:

Burnish no bones with your teeth  
For that is unseemly;  
Rend not thy meat asunder  
For that swerves from curtesy.  
Dip not thy meat in the saltseller,  
But take it with thy knyfe;  
And sup not lowde of thy pottage,  
No tyme in all thy life.  
Defyle not thy lips with eating much,  
As a pigge drinking drafte;  
Eate softly and drink mannerly,  
Take heed you do not quaffe.

See Virgil Heltzel, A Check List of Courtesy Books in the Newberry Library (Chicago: The Newberry Library, 1942) for a comprehensive listing of representative courtesy books in England and on the continent.

Brewer, Chaucer in His Time, pp. 55, 118.
Scratche not thy head with thy fingers
When thou are at thy meat.
Nor syphte you over the table board;
See thou doest not this forget.¹

Courtesy literature with its homely advice on deportment and manners reached its peak in the sixteenth century, but it survived well into the eighteenth century.² For example, in 1701, the fourth edition of The School of Manners or Rules for Children’s Behavior was printed. In it the child is admonished: "Grease not thy Fingers or Napkin, more than necessity requires," and "Spit not in the Room, but in a Corner, and rub it out with thy Foot, or rather go out and do it abroad."³ In 1791 appeared The Honours of the Table; or Rules for Behaviour during Meals, with the whole Art of Carving. One theory as to why the courtesy book disappears in the eighteenth century is that it merged into the "courtesy novel."⁴ It is more probable, as will be seen later, that courtesy literature was often an integral part of

⁴Joyce Hemlow, "Fanny Burney and the Courtesy Books," PMLA, LXV (1950), 757 coins this phrase for the eighteenth-century didactic novel containing moral advice.
early children's literature in the eighteenth century, especially in the parental advice books that flourished, such as the Earl of Chesterfield's letters of advice to his son (1774)\(^1\) or Hester Chapone's *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind* (1783).

Courtesy literature has been only sketchily considered since it is not genuine children's literature but represents all that was available in books specifically designed for children's consumption before the eighteenth century. Works such as the Renaissance courtesy books in England are not "in the direct succession of pure children's literature: they are but the unennobled ancestors."\(^2\)

Courtesy books have historical interest in the development of children's literature, and have value in showing that society before the eighteenth century not only made no attempt to provide juvenile fiction, but was opposed to it. Such works for children were often proscribed. For example, in 1598 in *Palladis Tamia*, Francis Meres advised parents not to let their children read books. Books which a child might read, he says, would prove "no


\(^2\)F. J. Harvey Darton, "Children's Books," *Cambridge History of English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), XI, 371. Hereinafter referred to as *CHEL*. Unless otherwise stated, all references to this work will be to volume eleven.
Meres specifically censures Bevis of Hampton, Guy of Warwick, the Seven Champions of Christendom and similar romances. In Hugh Rhodes' Book of Nurture (1554) parents are warned to "especially keep them from reading of feigned fables, vain fantasies, and wanton stories, and songs of love, which bring much mischief to youth."

Censorship attempts as seen in Meres and Rhodes show that children did appropriate adult literature, as represented in the medieval romances and in the ballads. The protests seem to have been in vain as an eighteenth-century parent, the Earl of Chesterfield, Philip Dormer Stanhope, is found advising against the reading of romances in 1740:

The reading of romances is a most frivolous occupation, and time merely thrown away. The old romances, written two or three hundred years ago, such as Amadis of Gaul, Orlando the Furious, and others, were stuffed with enchantments, magicians, giants, and such sort of impossibilities.

Despite protests, and since the protests are repeated for

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3 Cited by Darton, Children's Books in England, p. 45. Rhodes' work went through five editions by 1577.

4 Cited by ibid., p. 47.
three centuries, one assumes children read romances, such as Guy of Warwick or Bevis of Southampton. The latter romance originated in thirteenth-century France, with the oldest complete text in England being William Copland's undated text placed at ca. 1550. There were editions in 1550, 1560-1561, 1568-1569, 1630, 1640, 1663, 1689, 1691, 1711 and many undated chapbook editions. The full title of the 1689 edition reads: The Famous and Renowned History of Sir Bevis of Southampton, giving an Account of his Birth, Education, Heroic Exploits and Enterprises, his Fights with Giants, Monsters, Wild-Beasts and Armies, his love and Marriage, Fortunes and Misfortunes, and many other Famous and Memorable Things and Actions, worthy of Wonder; with the Adventures of other Knights, Kings and Princes, exceeding pleasant and delightful to Read.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 39, 43.} The title alone should indicate why children read this exciting tale, despite parental objections.

Other than the romances, the children had available for them, but not exclusively, the medieval miracle and mystery plays, educational interludes and the moralities.

Besides the drama which they could have witnessed on occasion, children had ballads to compensate for the absence of books. Such ballads, however, as The Two Children in the Wood and Chevy Chase, did not entirely meet the need for the English
story book yet to come. It must be remembered that, popular as the ballads were, they were not told in simplified language directed at the young.2

Directly circulated for the young were hornbooks. It must be pointed out, however, that the hornbook was not a book at all. The hornbook consisted usually of a piece of wood approximately two and three-fourths inches by five inches or smaller.3 It had a printed lesson sheet pasted onto the wood and covered with transparent horn held in place by brass strips. Sometimes a hole was put in the handle for cord or leather so that the paddle-shaped hornbook could be put around the neck or waist.4 The lesson sheet traditionally contained an alphabet or two in large and small letters and a copy of the Lord's Prayer. The hornbook was largely a mnemonic device or a primer; as such it is not part of children's leisure reading. Its importance lies in the fact that it is the first piece of writing known to be in children's

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1 Edgar Osborne, "Children's Books to 1800," The Junior Bookshelf, IV (October, 1939), 17.


3 Some were of ivory or silver or even gingerbread.

4 Beulah Folmsbee, A Little History of the Horn-Book (3rd Printing; Boston: Horn Book Co., 1965), p. 2. Horn is a translucent material derived from the horns of oxen and sheep which are heated in boiling water, fired, cut, molded, heated and pressed. See Folmsbee, p. 15. For facsimiles of the hornbook see Andrew White Tuer, History of the Horn Book (2 vols.; London: Leadenhall; New York: Scribner's, 1897).
hands and designed for them.¹

The earliest recorded reference to the hornbook dates back to 1450,² and the use of the hornbook extends well into the eighteenth century, when it merges into the battledore, a folded cardboard version minus the handle. There are some references to the hornbook as well as imitations of it in some later fiction for children. Therefore, only slight attention has been given to the hornbook here.

What has been discussed in this chapter under the broad heading of children's literature is more properly termed literature incidentally available to and not exclusively for children. What was available has been shown to be oral tradition, lesson books, moral treatises, ballads—in other words, adult books. The single exception has been the hornbook which is not a book at all but a rudimentary mnemonic device for memorizing the alphabet and selected prayers. Thus, excepting educational books, there were no books for children's use before the eighteenth century.³

The closest approximation to literature directed at children would be the Renaissance courtesy books which are not children's literature since they recommend that children read

²Folmsbee, A Little History of the Horn-Book, p. 5.
³CHEL, pp. 375-376, 367.
little or nothing.\textsuperscript{1} Besides, courtesy books were not read for amusement.

In the seventeenth century, whether one looks upon its efforts as the first genuine children's literature or merely as a fitful start toward that end,\textsuperscript{2} there is a definite shift, not only in the interest taken in children, but in the production of works specifically for them. One writer lists 261 books published for children before 1710, most of them in the seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{3}

The new shift of attention to specific needs of childhood in the seventeenth century is noted as occasioned in the end of religious persecution in England, the diffusion of knowledge under Elizabeth, the growth of style under the Jacobians, the Puritan zeal for morality and the increased activity of the press. These are the main historical conditions promoting the rise in the seventeenth century of a specifically juvenile literature.\textsuperscript{4}

In the first half of the seventeenth century children re-

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} Darton, \textit{Children's Books in England}, p. 44.
\item \textsuperscript{2} Osborne, "Children's Books to 1800," p. 15 takes the latter view.
\item \textsuperscript{3} Sloane, \textit{Children's Books in England and America}.
\item \textsuperscript{4} CHEL, p. 369.
\end{itemize}
ceive rare and brief mention in the domestic records. It is not until the later seventeenth century that one can find writers turning toward children as an audience.

While the relative importance of the seventeenth-century books for children is debatable, specific titles still ought to be examined. Predictably, there are courtesy books: The Gentleman's Calling (1660); Francis Osborne's Advice to a Son (1656, part II 1658); Halifax the Trimmer's Lady's New-Year's Gift or, Advice to a Daughter (1688).

More particularly, there is, in the seventeenth century, the beginning of a moralistic children's literature. Invention of this species of book is usually credited to James Janeway, a nonconformist minister born 1636, died 1674. Janeway's A Token for Children (1671) had a tremendous vogue from its publication to 1720 and was read by children as late as 1874.

There is little plot in Janeway's book. It consists of the lives of thirteen children who all die before the age of twelve.


3 Darton, Children's Books in England, p. 46.

That Janeway intended his work for the young is indicated in the preface: "To all Parents, School-masters and School-mistresses." As Janeway's book was meant for both home and school consumption, it is not solely a text book. After the second preface Janeway addresses the children directly:

Are you willing to go to hell, to be burned with the devil and his angels? O! Hell is a terrible place. . . . Did you never hear of a little child that died. . . . and if other children died, why may you not be sick and die? . . . How do you know but that you may be the next child that may die? . . . Now tell me, my pretty dear child, what will you do? . . .

The contents of A Token for Children are no less frightening than its initial warning to children. "Example Two" in Janeway's work is "of a Child that was admirably affected with the things of God, when he was between two and three years old, with a brief account of his Life and Death." This model child, "when other children were playing, he would many a Time and oft be praying." He is contrasted with "Example Three: Of a notorious wicked Child, who was taken up from begging, and admirably converted."2

Janeway purportedly was not writing fiction but giving ac-

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counts of real children. His popularity with them is epitomized by William Godwin who read Janeway's book when a child. On its influence on him, Godwin says, "I felt as if I were willing to die with them [the children in A Token for Children]; if I could with equal success, engage the admiration of my friends and mankind."¹

That Janeway intended to affect children as he did Godwin, is witnessed in mid-book when he asks the reader, "How art thou now affected, poor Child, in the reading of this Book? Have you shed a tear since you begun reading?"²

The qualities of Janeway's book, which are representative as well of the imitations which it spawned, reveal infant virtue rewarded ironically with an early death.³ The good child dies early and willingly; the bad child lives on.

It is further ironic that the early Puritan efforts for children should be held up as forerunners of imaginative literature since the intent of many writers, such as Janeway, was to write "good godly works" lest the children come upon the profane


secular works and romances.¹ That the Puritan was opposed to imaginative literature for children can be seen in Richard Baxter's Christian Directory (1673):

As for play-books and romances and idle tales, I have already showed ... how pernicious they are, especially to you. ... They are powerful baits of the devil, to keep more necessary things out of their minds, and better books out of their hands.²

The Puritan code precluded interest in the imaginative play of children.³ The Puritans seem to have been against all light reading if Richard Baxter's A Treatise of Self Denial (1675) is any index. In it Baxter opposes the romance, the feigned history, the love book and the fable, using the argument that one should avoid all forms of adultery.⁴ Such works also wasted time, the Puritans claimed, and corrupted the young.

Yet the Puritan was interested in the child since he tended to see childhood as a time of probation. Childhood was often


²Cited by Edgar Osborne, Introduction to St. John, The Osborne Collection, p. xix.

³Babenroth, English Childhood, p. 232.

⁴Pages 157-159 cited by Lawrence Sasek, The Literary Temper of the English Puritans (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961), pp. 59-60. Sasek, p. 11, says another reason the Puritan opposed recreational reading was that it was a waste of time and was forbidden under the same laws against games or athletic exercises.
gotten rid of as soon as possible,\(^1\) lest the devil ensnare gullible youths. Hence, in Janeway and his followers, three-year-olds admonish their older brothers and sisters and even their parents.

Once the aim of the Puritan writers is understood, there can be little dispute about their success. They did not seek to write entertaining stories for children, at least not in the popular sense of entertainment:

The men who produced these books were sincerely seeking to save tender souls from the vanities of this world, but the child's hunger of the mind needed something more than sermons and pious examples.\(^2\)

Janeway's work in itself epitomizes many of its imitations, but other examples of Puritan writing for children should be mentioned. For example, in imitation of *A Token for Children* was *A Looking-Glass for Children: Being a Narrative of God's Gracious Dealings with some Little Children* by Abraham Cheare (second edition 1673). It is likewise obituary in tone. It has the memorable line: "'Tis pity, such a pretty Maid as I should go to Hell."\(^3\) Other examples of the tracts which Puritans wrote for children include: C. W., *A Schoole of Nurture*

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\(^3\) Cited by Darton, *Children's Books in England*, p. 61.
for Children or the Duty of Children in Honouring their Parents . . . (1656); Richard Kidder, The Young Man's Duty . . . (1663, ten editions by 1750); Thomas Lye, The Child's Delight . . . (1671); and T. W., A Little Book for Little Children (1702).¹

To read any one of the early Puritan works for children is to read them all. One exception to the mass of them is the work of John Bunyan. Pilgrim's Progress, while great and influential, will not be considered here since it is a work which children and adults share, and since its original publication was not exclusively for the young. Its abridgements were not exactly juvenile editions either, but chapbook reading for the uneducated.²

John Bunyan did, however, write a book scaled to and deliberately intended for children—the first clear indication in

¹For further titles see Sloane, Children's Books in England and America and Sandford Fleming, Children and Puritanism: the Place of Children in the Life and Thought of the New England Churches: 1620 to 1847 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1933).

English of an attempt to write entertainingly for children. A Book for Boys and Girls: or Country Rhymes for Children is, therefore, important. It first appeared in 1686. It was later entitled Divine Emblems, or Temporal Things Spiritualized with a second edition in 1707 and a ninth edition in 1724. Bunyan's book is found in print through the mid-nineteenth century. One writer suggests that Bunyan was prompted by the popularity of Pilgrim's Progress (first part, 1676; second part, 1678) to consider a book for children, but this seems mere conjecture.

Bunyan's A Book for Boys and Girls is in verse and is outside the strict purview of this study; however, it is of historical interest and importance as the first English work for children with the aim of entertainment as well as instruction. Furthermore, Bunyan's work was popular for several centuries. Bunyan is at least one of the first writers to see that something less stark than the Janeway tradition was needed.

Bunyan knew what he was about; in "To the Reader," he admits his intention to subvert children into religious knowledge while he is entertaining them:

1Darton, Children's Books in England, p. 66.
I don't to shew them how each Fingle-fangel,
On which they doting are, their Souls entangle.¹

The book consists of verse fables with moral commentary. It has been aptly described as:

... a kind of religious Aesop in poor doggerel.
The child is accompanied through the ordinary scenes and incidents of domestic life by a mentor who not only finds "sermons in stones and good in everything," but who assiduously squeezes out of the sad stones the last drop of sermon they are calculated to produce.²

Bunyan's A Book for Boys and Girls does have some charming woodcuts with morals appended by Bunyan. For instance, under a picture of a chick being hatched, comes "Meditation upon an Egg":

The Egg's no Chick by falling from the Hen;
Nor Man a Christian, till he's born agen.³

Such is the often pleasant doggerel to be found in Bunyan. To dismiss the book as "wholly devoid of interest for children,"⁴ seems harsh and was certainly not true in the seventeenth century.

Interest in Bunyan should not rest on whether he is read today by children or on the quality of his admittedly bad verse:

The importance of the book lies in its authorship, its intention and its method. It shows a real desire to

³Country Rhymes, p. 7.
⁴Weekes, Literature and the Child, p. 49.
provide something special for children, not merely the old clothes of adult literature cut down. And it is a deliberate use of a responsible artistic form and of material not traditional but original.¹

The tradition begun by Bunyan for children was picked up later by Isaac Watts, who will be discussed in the following chapter. The tradition leads directly to the primer and dies out eventually as a textbook, no longer the book to amuse boys and girls in Bunyan's first intention.

Bunyan's work for children, important as it was, was subsumed under its own morality and didacticism. It became a textbook, not a book to instruct and amuse as Bunyan intended. It remained for someone to gather the various threads of interest and knit them into works consistently directed at children's interests, not merely to proselytize children into adult morality.

With the possible exception of Bunyan's contribution, most of the hellfire tales for children written by the Puritans in the seventeenth century are stern matter. The fact is they were meant to please on their own terms. The test is not whether a modern child would willingly read Janeway or his successors but whether the Puritan writers created a special literature for children. Their importance does not lie in specific achievements so much as in influence on the kind and quality of

¹CHEL, p. 372.
children's literature for centuries:

For a century and a half this spirit of fear was to remain in children's literature and even after the sway of the strictly religious book was over, the moralists . . . used their books to urge the training of a child without regard to his nature, his environment or his inclinations.¹

The contribution of the seventeenth century to children's literature was one largely of influence on succeeding centuries. The first tentative steps in the direction of children's literature, taken in the seventeenth century, inform children's literature for several centuries. Not only in the distrust of imaginative literature often found in the eighteenth century can the influence of the Puritan writers be seen,² but even, one writer avers, in twentieth-century literature for children.³

However morbid, however crude were the Puritan writings for juveniles, whatever harm or good they did their original readers, Puritan literature shows an interest in the child, prompted by evangelical concern for his soul but genuinely directed at him. For the child outside the zeal of the Puritan


²This is the influence seen by Alice Paterson, The Edgeworths: A Study of Later Eighteenth Century Education (London: University Tutorial Press Ltd., 1914), p. 64. Hereinafter referred to as The Edgeworths.

subculture there was little available in the seventeenth century. In a celebrated passage, John Locke sought to list books suitable for children available in 1693. Locke says a child should be given "some pleasant Book suited to his Capacity" such as Aesop's Fables and Reynard the Fox. These were all he could find suited to a child's capacity:

What other Books there are in English of the kind of those above-mentioned, fit to engage the liking of Children, and tempt them to read, I do not know; but am apt to think that Children, being generally delivered over to the Method of Schools, where the fear of the Rod is to enforce, and not any pleasure of the Employment to invite them to learn, this sort of useful Books amongst the number of silly ones of all sorts, have yet had the fate to be neglected; and nothing that I know has been consider'd of this kind out of the ordinary Road of the Horn-Book, Primer, Psalter, Testament, and Bible.

That John Locke could not locate anything for children beyond a few fables and a romance demonstrates how scarce the literary fare for children was by the end of the seventeenth century. The seventeenth-century child, like his medieval counterpart, read those adult works that appealed to him--fables, ballads and romances. To Locke's list might be added the devotional tracts of James Janeway and his successors plus The Book for Boys and Girls by John Bunyan. The Puritan works included, there is still little for the child reader by the end of the seventeenth century.

CHAPTER III

CHILDREN'S LITERATURE: 1700-1743

One would not expect the eighteenth century in England to be a fertile field in literature for children. The "Age of Reason" stamped on the century would seem to militate against child centeredness. Besides, a child in the eighteenth century, as in previous centuries, was supposed to act, work, and dress like a miniature adult. In the prints of Hogarth,\(^1\) or in the pages of Sterne, the child is, at best, a homunculus, a small-scale person who must adapt to adult-scale society. In Samuel Johnson's pronouncements on education or in Joseph Addison's essays, childhood is seen as something to be overcome or outgrown as quickly as possible. Addison, for instance, relates in The Spectator how he threw away his rattle at two months and refused to use his teething coral because it had bells on it.\(^2\) Such frivolous trifling, he felt, was beneath the enlightened child of the times.


\(^2\)Cited by Barry, A Century of Children's Books, p. 58.
Despite these warnings, it will be shown that, contrary to what a hasty overview of the times might show, the eighteenth century was quite interested in children and in their literature. Writing for children, far from being grudgingly permitted, formed, in the eighteenth century, an extensive profession, significant in influence on the entire history of children's literature. "It [children's literature] really opens in the eighteenth century."¹

What the eighteenth century inherited in children's literature has been demonstrated in the previous chapter. Just as the end of the seventeenth century provided, in John Locke, a touchstone into the literature available for children at that time, so is there a similar touchstone for literature for children in the early eighteenth century. In The Tatler, November 17, 1709 (Number 95), occurs a passage in which Richard Steele tells of the reading habits of his eight-year-old godson and his younger sister:

I perceived him a very great historian in Aesop's Fables; but he frankly declared to me his mind, that he did not delight in that learning, because he did not believe they were true; for which reason I found he had very much turned his studies, for about a twelve-month past, into the lives and adventures of Don Bellianis of Greece, Guy of Warwick, the Seven Champions, and other historians of that age. . . . He would tell you the mismanagements of John Hickerthrift, [sic] find fault with the passionate temper in Bevis of Southampton, and loved Saint George for being the champion

¹CHEL, p. 366.
of England; and by this means had his thoughts insensibly moulded into the notions of discretion, virtue, and honour. I was extolling his accomplishments, when the mother told me that the little girl . . . was in her way a better scholar than he. "Betty," says she, "deals chiefly in fairies and sprite; and sometimes in a winternight will terrify the maids with her accounts, until they are afraid to go to bed."\(^1\)

Steele's account is a touchstone into the literature chosen willingly by the early eighteenth-century child:

This passage is invaluable to the historian of children's leisure reading in England, for from it may be deduced a tolerably complete picture of the subject, not only in Steele's time but in almost any earlier period.

The first significant inference to be drawn from it is that at that time, and before it, there were few books written expressly for the entertainment of children . . . .\(^2\)

Richard Steele corroborates John Locke on the absence of much specific literature for children. The main difference between the two passages is that Locke could find nothing besides primers and religious works for children to add to Aesop and Reynard the Fox. Steele's godchildren seem to have been more successful in unearthing fairy tales and romances. It is worthwhile to investigate the titles specifically mentioned by Steele through his persona, Isaac Bickerstaffe.

Aesop's Fables had been in print in English since the

\(^1\)The Tatler (London: Printed by Bye and Law, 1797), pp. 381-382.

\(^2\)Muir, English Children's Books, p. 23.
Oxford translation and printing, March 16, 1484. It was no more for children than was Reynard the Fox (1481) which Locke mentioned.¹

The school text versions of Aesop which appear mostly in the sixteenth century are omitted from discussion since it is obvious that Steele was discussing children's voluntarily chosen reading. In 1651 John Ogilby issued The Fables of Aesop, Paraphras'd in Verse, and adorn'd with Sculpture. It represented a return to the polite editions which William Caxton had started in England. While Aesop could have been shared by child and adult, the fables had no special features designed for children.

The preface to Roger L'Estrange's 1694 edition of Aesop (first edition, 1692) does show not only interest in the impressions of children who might read the fables, but the usage of Locke's Some Thoughts Concerning Education (1693). L'Estrange writes:

... Children are but blank Paper, ready Indifferantly for any Impression, Good or Bad for they take All upon Credit, and it is much Power of the first Comer, to write Saint, or Devil upon't...²

¹Darton, Children's Books in England, p. 10.

²Fables of Aesop and other Eminent Mythologists With Morals and Reflections by Sir Roger L'Estrange, Kt. (2d ed.; London: R. Sare and others, 1694), preface, n.p. Other editions in the history of Aesop in England are not included since they are in verse and therefore out of the scope of this study. Besides, they are often school texts. Editions beyond L'Estrange antedate the Steele passage being investigated. Steele's godson would have had to read the Ogilby, the L'Estrange edition, or a school text. For the history of the fable to the
At least L'Estrange's Aesop paid some attention to the child, although his work was no more for a child's personal use than was a school book.¹

The dislike of Aesop seen in Isaac Bickerstaffe's godson is another clue that Aesop with its heavy moralizing was not what children chose to read even if it was offered them.

Moving to what the eight-year-old in 1709 did choose to read, there is first Don Bellianis of Greece. Its earliest edition is 1598 and it was out in chapbook form in an undated version.² Guy of Warwick is earlier, its first English edition being William Copland's (1548-68) with later chapbook editions. It was among John Paston's books in the fifteenth century and had six editions from 1640 to 1760, some of which the boy could have seen. Guy of Warwick existed in sixteen editions from time of George III, see Darton, Children's Books in England, pp. 18-23. The tabula rasa image first appeared in Locke's Essay Concerning Human Understanding (1690), section 1, p. 224. In Some Thoughts Concerning Education, Locke speaks of the little son of a gentleman "who being then very little, I considered only as white Paper, or Wax to be moulded and fashioned as one pleases." (1693), p. 261.

¹Darton, Children's Books in England, p. 17. L'Estrange's edition, besides being unwieldy, had only one illustration.

1640 to 1735.\(^1\)

The first English editions of *The Seven Champions of Christendom* by Richard Johnson occurred in 1615 with chapbook editions also around 1750.\(^2\) The *Gallant History of the Life and Death of that Most Noble Knight Sir Bevis of Southampton* exists from 1300 and is found in numerous editions, five from 1689 to 1711 alone.\(^3\)

As mentioned in a previous chapter, titles alone of some of the action-packed medieval romances are often sufficient to indicate their popularity and appeal to children. They need not detain us here; they merely serve as signposts to show that children's literature in the beginning of the eighteenth century, as in the sixteenth century, was still heavily indebted to the medieval romance. Children read the romances for absence of anything better. In no case was there a children's version of the romances. It was shown earlier how the Puritans wrote tracts


\(^3\) See previous chapter, pp. 21-22, for a discussion of Bevis.
to combat the influence of these secular romances which in no case existed in children's versions.

More important to our purpose might be to ask how and in what form Steele's godson could have known the romances. Granted he may have consulted the many adult editions, but what of his sister Betty? Where she got her fairy tales is a mystery. The first English translation of the pioneer work of Perrault appears in England in 1729.

The children could have found their favorite reading in cheap chapbook editions. A chapbook was literally anything from a broadside to a good-sized book, anything printed that happened to be carried by a chapman or peddler of books and sundries. The size varied but generally was five and one-half inches by three and one-half inches and from four to twenty-four pages. They were printed on coarse, dirty gray paper, often with crude woodcuts with deliberately omitted date so that they could be sold over the years.¹

"Chapman" literally means Cheap-man (OE Ceapmann) and could be applied to any businessman or merchant, but more particularly it has come to mean what is best expressed in one of the earliest definitions: "a paltry pedlar who in a long

pack or maund, which he carries for the most part hanging from his neck before him, hath almanacks, books of news, and other trifling wares to sell. 1

The chapbook is known to have been a form of cheap literature for the masses from the sixteenth century onward in England. 2 Chapbooks do not die out until the nineteenth century. 3 Size is somewhat related to history as the earlier chapbooks are the size of small thin quartos, while smaller ones appear in the eighteenth century during their greatest profusion. In the eighteenth century they were most often four by six and one-half inches with twelve, sixteen, or twenty-four pages. Occasionally they appear as broadsides, twelve by fifteen inches in single sheets. 4

It should be pointed out that chapbooks are not limited to children's literature. In fact, few chapbooks appeared specifically for children. The assumption was that an entire family


2 Weiss, A Book About Chapbooks, p. 6.


could read the twopenny or sixpenny publications\(^1\) of the chapmen.

One of the exceptions, a chapbook intended for children, was *The Bloody Tragedy, or a Dreadful Warning to Disobedient Children*. Its plot tells of a John Gill who slits his parents' throats, ravishes a maid, kills her, sets the house on fire, and is haunted by the ghosts of those he kills, ending with a warning to children before he is executed.\(^2\) It is doubtful, except for the ending, that there is any real attempt here to write specifically for children.

As a rule, the chapbook was intended as cheap popular literature for adults. Children appropriated some of the chapbooks just as they did other adult forms of literature. For example, there are chapbooks of Reynard the Fox, the House that Jack Built, the Story of Bluebeard and of Don Bellianis.\(^3\)

The last-mentioned title indicates where Steele's godson may have found his Don Bellianis. The full title of a chapbook on this subject (as usual undated) is *The History of Don Bellianis of Greece, containing an account of his many wonderful exploits, and his obtaining the Soldan of Babylon's Daughter*

\(^1\)Sangster, *Pity My Simplicity*, p. 49.

\(^2\)Ibid.

\(^3\)Charles Welsh, "The Children's Books that have Lived," *The Library: A Quarterly Review of Bibliography*, I (1900), 316.
in Marriage.¹

Not only were chapbooks usually not written for children but children were often forbidden to read them because of their gory and salacious contents which, as one writer wryly notes, "appears in all ages to be a sure way to bringing about their adoption by children."²

Another example of a chapbook that children read that was not appropriate for them was The Illustrious and Renowned History of the Seven Champions of Christendom, London (ca. 1710). This is probably "The Seven Champions" mentioned in The Tatler quotation.

Chapbooks have been included in this study since: (1) Chapbooks are where the people of the eighteenth century "were at"—that is, what was popularly being read. (2) The chapbook represents some faint attention to children's interests and, judging from Steele's godchildren, children did read the forbidden fruit of the chapbook. (3) Chapbooks influence John


Bunyan, James Boswell and other writers.¹ (4) Chapbooks help preserve what there was of the fairy tale and nursery rhyme in England.² (5) They are seen as provocative of the moral tale which will dominate children's literature for almost a century.³ The theory here is that the chapbook, since it was often unsavory for children, drove parents to seek the moral fare of the Puritans or of later writers and so insured the success of moral children's books.⁴ (6) It will be demonstrated later that chapbooks had some influence on the content of early children's books. Conversely, some of the first genuine children's books influenced the nature of the offerings of the chapmen or "running stationers"

¹ John Bunyan admitted that he read some of the same stories which Steele's godson enjoyed, including St. George and the Dragon and Bevis of Southampton. See Thwaite, Pocket-Book, p. 6. As for Boswell, there are eighty-three chapbooks in the Harvard Library which are associated with him. On the flyleaf of the first volume of these it states: "James Boswell, Inner Temple, 1763. Having when a boy been much entertained with Jack the Giant Killer and such little story books, I have always maintained a kind of affection for them as they recall my early days. I went to the Printing Office in Bow Churchyard and bought this collection and had it bound up with the Title of Curious Productions. I shall certainly, some time or other, write a little story book in the stile of these." This passage cited by Alice M. Jordan, "Children's Books, To-Day and Yesterday," Boston Public Library: More Books, III (November, 1928), 339. Whether Boswell ever wrote a children's book as he promised is not known. For Wordsworth and Coleridge's testimony as to the effectiveness of the chapbook see below.

² Darton, Children's Books in England, p. 84, and CHEL, p. 374.

³ Darton, Children's Books in England, p. 81.

⁴ Welch, A Bibliography, LXXIII, 563-564.
as they are sometimes called.

The history of the chapbook in itself would be an exhaustive investigation. Here, since chapbooks are not primarily for children's use, they are but sketchily treated. They are probably the source of some of the editions which Steele's godchildren obtained for their leisure reading. Besides, the contents of chapbooks are usually derivative, the typical chapbook representing an abridgement of a larger work.

Another index to children's reading occurs just a year after The Tatler passage already cited. The Young Christian's Library: Or, A Collection of Good and Useful Books Proper to be given to Young Persons by Their Parents in Order to Their Christian Education and Improvement. With a Preface relating thereto. And some Texts of Scripture enforcing the Duty of Parents, and Obedience of Children, London (1710). Its importance rests in that it is the first printed catalogue of children's reading. Unfortunately, it is parochial in scope, listing exemplary lives, catechisms and sermons. It does epitomize what

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children were being given to read in the early eighteenth cen-
tury. Again there appears to be a desire to compete with the
more ribald, more secular works that children often got their
hands upon.

But if Steele's attitude is typical of his generation's,
then the cautionary concern seen in *The Young Christian's Library*
is confined to the religious non-conformist who specialized in
juvenile tracts. It does serve to illustrate that the recom-
mended literature for children was unimaginative and dull, while
that which the children appropriated, like the *Gesta Romanorum*
or medieval romances, though often coarse, was lively imaginative
reading.¹

After 1710 there is some improvement in the then meagre
field of children's literature. A successor to John Bunyan in
popularity with children is found in Dr. Isaac Watts (1674-
1748). In 1715 first appeared the phenomenally successful
*Divine and Moral Songs Attempted in easy Language for the Use
of Children*. Contents aside, any book that went through one
hundred editions by mid-century² and which reached at least

¹On the subject of what children were told to read versus
what they chose to read see Paul Hazard, *Books, Children and
Men*. Hazard labels one chapter "Men have always oppressed chil-
dren," but he counters with "Children have defended themselves."

²Alice M. Jordan, "Children's Books in America: The First
Two Hundred Years," *The Horn Book*, X (January, 1934), 4. Here-
inafter referred to as "Children's Books in America."
six hundred American and English editions with an estimated seven million copies sold\(^1\) deserves attention.

Yet it is hard to understand how Watts' book became one of the world's most popular children's classics. Today the contents seem rather pedestrian. *Divine and Moral Songs* contains twenty-eight divine songs: seven moral songs, four rhymed commandments and rules, three hosannas, three glory to Gods and a cradle hymn for a total of forty-six pieces in all.\(^2\)

Watts, however, represents the Bunyan, not the Janeway school of children's literature. In some cases he is a definite improvement on Bunyan. Even Watts' verse:

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How doth the little busy bee
 Improve each shining hour
 And gather honey all the day
 From ev'ry opening flower
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though subject to Lewis Carroll's famous parody:

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How doth the little crocodile
 Improve his shining tail,
 And pour the waters of the Nile
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\(^1\) Arthur Davis, *Isaac Watts: His Life and Works*, p. 81, citing Wilbur Macey Stone, *The Divine and Moral Songs of Isaac Watts: An Essay Thereon and a Tentative List of Editions* (New York: For the Triptych, 1918). Stone's book hereinafter referred to as *Divine and Moral Songs*. Watts' book is not in prose and would be ordinarily excluded from our study but before 1744 there was little for children that was not, like Aesop's Fables, in verse. Watts was influential throughout the century in presaging a new, more tolerant view of children.

On every shining scale

is an improvement on:

The Bee goes out and Honey home doth bring;
And some who seek that Honey find a Sting.
Now wouldst thou have the Honey and be free
From stinging, in the first place kill the Bee.

This Bee an Emblem truly is of Sin,
Whose Sweet unto many Death hath been.

Besides technical improvement over Bunyan's prosaic dog-
gerel, Watts represents less of the threatening damnation shown
in the earlier Puritan writers. The Abraham Cheare selection,
or the samples of Janeway cited above, give ample testimony to
the aspect of fear in the early seventeenth-century books for
children.

Watts' preface alone shows a difference in attitude from
the Janeway tradition. Watts admits his "Sonnets on Moral Sub-
jects" have an "air of pleasantry" to them, and he hopes to
"provoke some fitter pen" to write a complete book in the same
vein without the "solemnities of religion" and "flowing with

1 Lewis Carroll [Charles Dodgson], Alice's Adventures in
Wonderland and Through the Looking-Glass (London: Pan Books

2 Bunyan, Country Rhymes for Children, cited by John Rowe
Townsend, Written for Children: An Outline of English Chil-
dren's Literature (New York: Lothrop, Lee and Co., Inc.
[1967]), p. 15.

3 Davis, Isaac Watts: His Life and Works, p. 81, contrasts
"The Busy Bee" with what he terms "threat" poems of the Puritan
writers for children.
Watts seems to be calling for secular children's books; if so, he was well ahead of his time. Watts was certainly ahead of his time in the shift from the Book of Martyrs school of children's writing, represented in Janeway and his successors.²

There seems to be more humanity in Watts than was seen in most of the early writers for children, Bunyan excepted. The slant in Watts is not so much on getting to heaven before puberty but on the social conscience of youth:

Should I e'er be rich or great,
Others shall partake my goodness,
I'll supply the poor with meat,
Never shewing scorn nor rudeness.

Where I see the blind or lame,
Deaf or dumb, I'll kindly treat them.³

This note of social consciousness will be expanded and overdone by later writers in the eighteenth century. In Watts' day it was a refreshing change in a sea of children's prayers and sermons.

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¹Cited by ibid., p. 78. Compare Watts' preface with that of Janeway cited in the previous chapter.

²Most children's books at the end of the seventeenth century were modelled on the gory details from Foxe's Book of Martyrs (1563). Seen as an adult book today, it was felt to be a desirable children's book in the seventeenth century according to Field, The Child and His Book, p. 193. For a discussion of Foxe and similar books see Helen C. White, Tudor Books of Saints and Martyrs (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963).

³Cited by Davis, Isaac Watts: His Life and Works, p. 79.
On the punishment of children, Watts is also softer than his predecessors. One writer sees his hymns "Against Evil Company" and "Against Pride in Clothes" as attempts to replace physical punishment with moral pressure. Watts is no less interested in deportment than the courtesy literature or the "good godly books" of earlier Puritans, but the motivation he provides is often secular, not religious:

Let dogs delight to bark and bite
For God hath made them so,
But children, you should never let
Such angry passions rise;
Your little hands were never made
To tear each other's eyes.  

This is not to suggest that Isaac Watts' work for children represents a complete break with the Puritan past. One writer finds eight of the forty-six works in Watts' Divine and Moral Songs in the fear or threatening tradition of the early Puritan books. Admittedly, even Watts tells his charges about hell:

There is a dreadful hell
And everlasting pains;
Here sinners must with devils dwell


Tbid., p. 80.
In darkness, fire and chains.¹

Modern readers are likely to miss the fire and brimstone aspect of Watts' work since he has often been deliberately softened by later editors. For example, Song XV of Divine Songs (1719) reads:

Then let me always watch my Lips,
Lest I be struck to Death and Hell.

The last line becomes in a 1785 edition:

And keep my Tongue from ill.²

In such manner Watts was often modified by the non-Puritan editor for the parent who was not so anxious to make children feel sin-ridden as was an earlier generation.

Watts was also revised ruthlessly for other reasons. Later editors felt he was too gory and graphic for children. One such verse suppressed by the fastidious was Song XVIII:

God quickly stopt their wicked Breath,
And sent two raging Bears,
That tore them Limb from Limb to Death,
With Blood, and Groans, and Tears.³

Song XXIII "Obedience to Parents" was also revised. The 1719 text reads:


²Cited by Stone, Divine and Moral Songs, p. 11.

³Ibid., p. 22.
What heavy Guilt upon him lies!
How cursed is his Name!
The Ravens shall pick out his Eyes,
And Eagles eat the same.

It was softened in 1785 to read:

What heavy Guilt upon him lies!
How hateful is his Name!
Who thus his Parents shall despise,
Will bring Himself to Shame.

Even "cursed" is too strong a word for children in 1785.

The fact that late eighteenth-century writers found it necessary to revise Watts, the fact that Lewis Carroll in 1865 could still parody Divine and Moral Songs as a popularly known work shows Watts' popularity. Its popularity and the hundreds of editions alone justify attention to it.

Moreover, Watts was ahead of his time in bucking the book-of-martyrs school of children's literature. Thus Watts stands as a deliverer from the Janeway school of children's reading.

While the popularity and influence of Isaac Watts as a writer for children is unquestionable, it must be remembered that Watts' work was entirely in verse with no fictional matter for children. As such, it did not displace the medieval romances which Steele's godson, a typical child in the reign of Queen Anne, read.

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1Ibid., p. 23.
2Davis, Isaac Watts: His Life and Works, p. 99.
The next writer to be considered in the evolution of children's literature is no less influential but a great deal more obscure than the Puritan hymnwriter. Thomas Boreman was a publisher and bookseller in London. It is known that he had a shop near the gate on Ludgate hill "at the sign of the Cock," and later near the Guildhall from 1733 to 1745. He was known as a publisher of miscellaneous literature; his books range from the breeding of silk worms to political dialogues.¹

Around 1740 first appeared what Boreman labelled his "Gigantick Histories" for children. The title is ironically meant as Boreman's books for children are usually two and one-quarter by one and three-quarter inches.²

The Gigantick Histories were not Boreman's first works for children. He had earlier issued a compilation on natural history "extracted from the most considerable writers and designed for the entertainment of youth." In 1736 appeared A Description of a Great Variety of Animals.³ In a sequel to


³The work was also known as A Description of Three Hundred Animals.
this work published three years later (1739), *A Description of Some Curious and Uncommon Creatures*, Boreman claimed, rightfully it seems, "the first essay of this kind for the use of young people."\(^1\)

But it is in the Gigantick Histories that Boreman delivered the promise he boasted of in the 1739 work. The Gigantick Histories consists of ten volumes from 1740 to 1742, actually three books in two volumes each, one book in three volumes and one single volume book.\(^2\)

The titles in the Gigantick History series are: The Gigantick History of the Two Famous Giants and other Curiosities in Guildhall, London, 1740; Curiosities in the Tower of London, London, 1741; The History and Description of the Famous Cathedral of St. Paul's, London, 1741; Westminster Abbey, in three volumes, London, 1742; and The History of Cajanus the Swedish Giant, from


\(^2\)I am indebted for the description of Boreman's canon to Stone, *Gigantick Histories*, pp. 37-41. Boreman's works are among the scarcest of all children's works. Stone's work is likewise hard to obtain as it was privately printed in a limited edition. The scarcity of both books militates against Boreman's being better known.
his Birth to the Present Time, a single volume, London, 1742.
The titles of all the works in Boreman's Gigantick Histories have been listed since they are important. Admittedly, they are not too imaginative, but they do differ from anything available for children before 1740. Boreman's works, the first secular works for children in England outside of school texts, have the acknowledged aim of amusing. "During the Infant-age ever busy and always inquiring, there is no fixing the attention of the mind, but by amusing it,"¹ Boreman says. Boreman also criticizes the bulk of the books for children before his time: "Most of the Books which have been made use of to introduce Children to a Habit of Reading . . . tend rather to cloy than entertain them."²

However one describes the Gigantick Histories they are not cloying. They are often mere guided tours through parts of London arranged for children. The first volume of the entire series describes giants, but Boreman later had a change of heart about presenting such material for youth. In a letter he appends "To the Author of the Curiosityes in the Tower of London,":

Too rigid precepts often fail,
Where short amusing tales prevail.
That author, doubtless aims aright,

¹Cited by ibid., p. 9.
²Cited by Stewart, Three Hundred Animals, n.p.
Who joins instruction with delight. 
Tom Thumb shall now be thrown away, 
And Jack who did the Giants slay; 
Such ill concerted artless lyes 
Our British Youth shall now despise: 
In thy Gigantick Works they'll find 
Something to please and form the mind. ¹

Boreman kept his promise as the rest of the Gigantick Histories gets pedestrian and factual, and the number of child subscribers falls off. Even the giant in the last work in the series is, in reality, a real person of Boreman's time.

The Boreman works are not so important for their contents as for what they represent. They were first of all secular books meant for children exclusively. They were a commercial success, as records indicate that Boreman made seven pounds on the limited edition of the second volume of his description of the guildhall giants, ² and the first volume reached a third edition by 1741.

The Gigantick Histories also represent some physical innovations in the history of printing for children. Their miniature size, approximately two and one-quarter inches by one and three-quarter inches, marks the first secular miniature books

¹Cited by Stone, Gigantick Histories, pp. 16-17.
for children. The small size, it is conjectured, enabled the child to carry the book around, as he did the hornbook, or perhaps to slip the book into a pinafore pocket. ¹ Outside of the hornbook, Boreman's books represent the first children's books in England it is certain children actually handled and read themselves.

Boreman's small volumes represented, at last, books which a child could afford, as Boreman's works sold for four pence a volume, a price competitive with the chapbook which at best offered a maximum of twenty-four pages. Each of Boreman's books is over one hundred pages.

In the binding of his books Boreman provided another substantial improvement over the chapbook. As leather binding would be too costly for his inexpensive publications, ² Boreman covered his books with cardboard, covering this with Dutch paper which was supposed to have been made in Holland and Germany. ³ Dutch paper is:

¹Lizzie Allen Harker, "Some Eighteenth-Century Children's Books," Longman's Magazine, XXXVIII (October, 1901), p. 556 argues that miniature books were produced in the eighteenth century since it was then considered disrespectful for a child to read in the presence of an elder. The Polite Academy (3rd ed., London, 1765) states "Never read or look upon a Book in Company." This seems to support Harker's thesis.

²Cloth binding was not invented until the 1820's according to Darton, Children's Books in England, p. 73.

³Welsh, A Bookseller, p. 116.
a paper stamped with various ornamental designs, gold foil and daubed with bright colors. The embossed design may show outlines of flowers, animals, stars, a mixture of ornaments, or the repetition of a single ornament. The background color may be a solid color with designs in silver or gold. This paper was expensive to make and was used mostly to 1800, although a few books had covers of it as late as 1819. The gold is usually worn off.¹

It is hard to judge the colors from the extant copies of works bound in Dutch boards as they are often faded, but the original effect was not unlike that of William Morris wall paper in red, blue, green and gold.²

Boreman was the first publisher to issue children's books bound in Dutch boards.³ This was no small factor in the evolution of children's books because it made juvenile works physically attractive for the first time.

Boreman was the first to use subscriber lists in a book for children. Children's names from America to Portugal are listed as genuine subscribers. Such subscription lists often represent one-third of the bulk of each book.⁴ It should be

¹Welch, A Bibliography, LXXIII, 166.

²Darton, Children's Books in England, p. 137.

³The first critic to credit Thomas Boreman with this innovation was Mrs. Berkeley, "About Books that Amused and Taught the Children of Olden Days," Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers, XXVII, part 1 (1903), 157. Some critics mistakenly credit John Newbery with the first use of Dutch paper for children's books.

pointed out that, significant as were the advances brought about by Boreman, he reached only a limited audience, about three or four hundred subscribers per book. Another feature that sets Thomas Boreman apart from his competitors was the interpolation in his stories of advertisements for the other books he had for sale.  

Thomas Boreman was later eclipsed by John Newbery who, using the same innovations pioneered by Boreman, reaped more commercial advantage and fame in children's literature. After 1744 Thomas Boreman ceased publishing and his works were issued by Richard Ware, his associate. As John Newbery moved to London from Reading in 1744 and began publishing children's literature in the same size and format as Boreman, it is tempting to posit some connection between the decline of Thomas Boreman and the rise of John Newbery. One authority suggests that John Newbery picked up the business which Thomas Boreman had left with Richard Ware.  

Until and unless more evidence is unearthed, one will have to be content with the coincidence of Boreman's decline and  

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1 Stone, Gigantick Histories, p. 11.  
2 Stewart, Three Hundred Animals, n.p.  
Newbery's rise. Boreman ought not be neglected simply because few copies of his works survive. Whatever the difference, comparatively, between the success of Newbery and that of Boreman, the simple fact is that Thomas Boreman was the first to attempt what Newbery succeeded in and perfected.

Another pre-Newbery writer for children with an obscure history is Mary Cooper. The widow of a Thomas Cooper, she succeeded to his business in 1743 and published until 1761. In 1743 she put out two children's books: The Child's New Play-Things and Tommy Thumb's Pretty Song Book.

The Child's New Play-Thing is a miscellany which might be called an alphabet book, a spelling book, or a lesson book as well as an anthology of medieval tales. It contains the tales of Saint George, Fortunatus, Guy of Warwick and Reynard the Fox. It is as if Mary Cooper knew what the typical child in The Tatler was clamoring for. Both Boreman and Cooper show a shrewdness that came perhaps from their being publishers as

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1 Plomer, A Dictionary, pp. 60-61.

2 Most writers place both books at 1744 but Thwaite, Pocket-Book, opts for 1743 for the second edition of The Child's New Play-Thing. The year 1744 becomes important in the history of children's books and will be considered in the next chapter. St. John, in the interview cited above, sees Newbery as taking over Mary Cooper's publications, but Plomer, A Dictionary, pp. 60-61 says John Hinxman of York succeeded her.

3 This work is extant only in a second volume without date in the British Museum.
well as writers.

To indicate what a potpourri The Child's New Play-Thing is, the entire title ought to be given:

The Child's New Play-Thing: Being a Spelling-Book
Intended to make the Learning to Read, a Diversion
instead of a Task. Consisting of Scripture-Histories,
Fables, Stories, Moral and Religious Precepts, Proverbs,
Songs, Riddles &c. With entertaining Pictures to each
Story and Fable. The Whole adapted to the Capacities
of Children, and Divided into Lessons of 1, 2, 3, and 4
Syllables; with Dialogues shewing 1. How a little Boy
shall make everybody love him. 2. How a little Boy
shall grow wiser than the rest of his School-fellows.
3. How a little Boy shall become a great Man. Also,
a new-invented ALPHABET for Children to play with, and
Preface shewing the Use of it. Designed for the Use
of Schools, or for Children before they go to School. ¹

It is obvious that it would be difficult to categorize such a
work. It is certainly an ambitious project for so early a work
in the field of literature for children. The title and the pre-
face substantiate that Mary Cooper's work was intended either
for children at home or at school:

In compiling the Book and drawing up the Lessons, I have
endeavoured at Ease and Perspicuity; and have chose such
Subjects as I thought would be pleasing to Children, and
tend at the same Time to ground them in the Principles
of Knowledge and Virtue. ²

Or as the advertisement for The Child's New Play-Thing (1744)
in Tommy Thumb's Pretty Song Book, claims:

¹(9th ed.; London: For Hawes, Clarke, and Collins,
J. Dodsley, and W. Nicholl, 1775). All further references to
this text will be to this edition unless otherwise specified.

²Ibid., Preface, p. 5.
The Childs Plaything
I recommend for Cheating
Children into learning
Without any Beating.

Mary Cooper's advertisement looks as if she had recently read Locke. In *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, Locke tells of teaching an eight-year-old to read. "Cheat him into it if you can," he says, "but make it not a Business for him." 2

It may be mere coincidence that Cooper and Locke use the same phrase to justify their methods of teaching reading. But other sections in Locke also corroborate the Cooper method: "Thus Children may be cozen'd into a Knowledge of the Letters; be taught to read, without perceiving it to be any thing but a Sport, and play themselves into that others are whipp'd for." 3

Locke also recommends the use of alphabets in play, not as mere drill:

There may be Dice and Playthings, with the Letters on them, to teach Children the Alphabet by playing; and twenty other ways may be found, suitable to their particular Tempers, to make this kind of

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1 British Museum copy, volume two, cited by Darton, Children's Books in England, p. 102. Tommy Thumb's Pretty Song Book is the first nursery rhyme book in English but it is not considered here as it is in verse and is properly considered under verse or music books for children. See Darton, pp. 101-104 for fuller treatment.

2 Locke, Some Thoughts Concerning Education, 1693, section 147, p. 182. All further references to the Locke text, unless otherwise indicated, will be to this, the first edition.

3 Ibid., sec. 242, p. 178.
Learning a Sport to them.\textsuperscript{1}

Apparently influenced by Locke's suggestions concerning teaching the alphabet "by playing," Mary Cooper includes in her book not only an Alphabet but a "Preface Shewing the Use of the Alphabets." In it she seems to be paraphrasing Locke:

With this ALPHABET a Child may easily be taught its Letters by playing with them. For instance, let an Alphabet be put into a Hat or Box, and let the Child draw the Letters out one by one, and be told at first what they are, as he draws them out. By degrees he may be set to guess what they are, and be rewarded or encouraged when he finds them out. . . . Several other diverting Methods may be found out with this loose Alphabet, by which Children in a very little time may be taught their Letters, which I leave to the Ingenuity of their several Parents or Tutors.\textsuperscript{2}

The character of this, one of the first books for children seems to be linked to the fame and influence of John Locke:

He it was who gradually moved the vane of public opinion around to serious consideration of recreation as a factor in the well-being of these nursery inmates. Although it took time for Locke's ideas upon the subject to sink into the public mind, it is impossible to compare one of the first attempts to produce a play-book, "The Child's New Play-Thing," with the advice written to his friend, Edward Clarke, without feeling that the progress from the religious books to primers and readers . . . and then onward to story-books was largely the result of the publication of his letters under the title of "Thoughts on Education."\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{1}Ibid., sec. 141, pp. 177-178.

\textsuperscript{2}Mary Cooper, \textit{A Child's New Play-Thing}, pp. 4-5.

As will be demonstrated later, Locke not only influenced the first fledgling efforts towards a true children's literature, but the work of the most important figure in children's books in the century, John Newbery. Hence John Locke deserves treatment in detail. Actually Locke's work is so pervasive it might be treated in any chapter of this dissertation. A full treatment of Some Thoughts Concerning Education would be a dissertation in itself, so I will here merely sketch some of the highlights of that influential work. Further detailing of Locke will occur as well in discussion of later writers who were influenced by Locke.

John Locke (1632-1704) served as a physician in the household of the first Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord Ashley, from 1667 on and as tutor-guardian to his grandson, the third Earl of Shaftesbury from 1674 to 1683. He went to France in 1684, having been expelled from a studentship at Christ Church by Charles II. He spent most of his exile (1684 to 1689) in Holland. During his stay in Leyden from 1683 to 1685,¹ a friend, Edward Clarke, asked Locke's opinions on the rearing of an eight-year-old son. Locke's advice, which originally appeared in private letters, was later published and rearranged as Some Thoughts Concerning Education (1693). It appeared three years after Locke's Essay Concerning

Human Understanding. In 1695 the third edition of Some Thoughts Concerning Education, enlarged, was issued, and a fourth edition came out in 1698. Locke died in 1704.

Locke's formal work as a philosopher will not be taken up here except as it is exhibited in Some Thoughts Concerning Education. These informal letters which Locke later polished and revised have an importance that permeates the entire eighteenth century:

For the first time a truly great mind speaks with authority on children as children, and tells their parents how to behave towards them, instead of inevitably instructing children on their whole duty to their parents.¹

Whether Locke influenced many parents directly or not,² there were editions of Some Thoughts Concerning Education throughout the eighteenth century. Locke's importance or merit here lies not so much in his popularity as a philosopher, but as a reformer in education who influenced the writers of literature for children for a century. Locke's originality lies in the


facts that he was among the few English writers to see youth as not necessarily wicked as had even the best of the Puritan writers, Watts and Bunyan, and that, left unsold and without physical punishment, the child still might find his salvation.¹

Examining Some Thoughts Concerning Education in detail, one is amazed at how much attention has been given to the physical well-being of the child. There are over two hundred sections in Some Thoughts Concerning Education (1693). The first thirty are on pediatrics, while the remainder are miscellaneous reflections on the behavior and treatment of children.²

Due to the original epistolary form of Some Thoughts Concerning Education, Locke's advice is often repetitious. It should be pointed out that the advice was meant for the son of someone in the upper or squire class.³

Another limitation on the scope of the work is that it is not a complete educational manual. Instead it is a series of suggestions on the management of an eight-year-old concerning whom health, behavior and character were to be the most im-

¹Bayne-Powell, The English Child, p. 52.
³Ibid., p. 549.
portant matters, learning being given last place.¹

This does not mean that Locke was opposed to learning. What has been cited in the last chapter concerning his fruitless search for books for children is ample evidence that Locke wanted books for youth, but he complains that, granted the present discipline and harsh treatment of children, the child often did not become "in love with his book" with a desire for more learning.²

In the beginning of his work Locke produces his rationale for child education. Locke says the great differences among men result from the impressions on infants which have lasting consequences.³

The first few sections on diet and health have little importance here but they do assume more relevance later when

¹Frederick George Kenyon, John Locke: Directions Concerning Education: Being the First Draft of his Thoughts Concerning Education Now Printed from Additional MS. 38771 in the British Museum (Oxford: For the Roxburghe Club, 1933), p. 11. Kenyon, p. 19, points out that Locke expanded his third edition to include fourteen new sections; other sections were enlarged. The manuscript has only eighty-two numbered sections (literally paragraphs). The first printed edition has 202 sections and the third (1695) and later editions have 217 sections. The first edition printed (1693) has been used in this study since it is the most frequently known and cited of the many editions.


³Some Thoughts Concerning Education, sec. 1, p. 2. Hereinafter referred to by section and page only when the 1693 edition is being cited.
Rousseau resumes a rather Spartan regimen for the care of children which Locke initiated. Locke wishes the children of nobility to be treated, in matters of health, as if they were the children of honest farmers or yeomen. He finds that children are too indulged and over-protected from the elements. He argues that the face one is born with is no less tender than other parts of the body and that usage can make the face endure the cold. Locke goes on to advise shoes which leak on purpose:

I would also advise his Feet to be washed every night in cold Water; and to have his Shoes so thin, that they might leak and let in Water, when ever he comes near it.¹

Such hardening and conditioning of the child will assume more importance once the theories of Rousseau are encountered. Locke's comments do serve to illustrate that the status of the child was often that of a hothouse flower as seen earlier in the medieval treatment of delicate children.

The high infant mortality rate reinforced the solicitude and overprotection a young child received in the eighteenth century. Earlier, in the reign of Queen Anne, the odds were at

¹Sec. 4, p. 3; sec. 5, p. 5; sec. 7, p. 5. That Locke was serious in the suggestion concerning shoes can be seen in a letter he wrote to E. Clarke (May 3, 1685) in B. Rand, ed., Correspondence of J. Locke and E. Clarke (London, 1917), p. 135, in which Locke first suggests that children have leaky shoes.
least three to one that a child in England would not live to be five.¹ Queen Anne herself lost eleven children in infancy. There was some improvement as the century progressed, owing perhaps to humanitarian reform. The mortality rates for infants under five years drop later in the century. From 1750 to 1769, the rate of deaths per hundred births was 63.0; from 1770 to 1789 the rate fell to 51.5; from 1790 to 1809 it dropped to 41.3; and from 1810 to 1820 it dipped to 31.8.² Thus in a single century the odds of a child's dying after birth to five years of age are reversed from odds of three to one that a child would die to two to one that he might live.

Another reaction to the high infant mortality rate other than overprotectiveness toward the children who lived was the attitude of those parents who "covered their losses in advance, by refusing to invest too much emotion in their offspring."³ Such an attitude, however, seems more prevalent, as has been


²London Bills of Mortality, cited by J. Wesley Bready, England Before and After Wesley: The Evangelical Revival and Social Reform (London: Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., n.d.), p. 142, note 1. Bready makes a case for the evangelical sects, such as Methodism, for the reversal of the high infant mortality rate. At least the evangelical sects sparked the humanitarianism which helped reduce the mortality rate.

shown in the Puritan writings, before and during Locke's age rather than in the later eighteenth century.

Locke opposes the coddling of children. A summary of the health regulations Locke provides should indicate this. He recommends open air exercise, plenty of sleep, plain diet, little or no physic, exposure of head and feet to cold and wetness.¹

It ought not to be assumed that Locke therefore advocated complete sternness toward children. He is opposed, for instance, to the beating of children, calling the rod the most unfit of educational methods. He suggests the displeasure of a friend or parent would be better punishment than whipping.²

Children are not to be taught by rules, Locke says, and are to be educated by their parents, not servants, "those foolish Flatterers."³ The servant was the source of debauched language and manners to Locke.

Thus far Locke's advice, while illustrating eminent common sense, is rather pedestrian. It is, however, in the method he inculcates for teaching the young to read that Locke represents a decided advance over Puritan commentators on the reading of the young. Locke proposes that children be given a "Liking

¹Sec. 30, p. 32.
²Sec. 46, p. 47; sec. 59, p. 60.
³Sec. 64, p. 66; sec. 67, p. 70; sec. 58, p. 58.
and Inclination" to what it is proposed they learn. In short, this is the real innovation of Locke's pedagogy—learning is to be made play:

And if Things were order'd right, Learning any thing, they should be taught, might be made as much a Recreation to their Play, as their Play is to their Learning.¹

It is not simply that Locke yoked amusement with instruction. The fables of Aesop which Locke himself recommends did that. It was what Locke called "cozening" children into knowledge that shows the inventiveness of Locke's method. For instance, Locke recommends that dice be made with alphabetic letters on them to teach children how to read, "to make this kind of Learning a Sport to them."²

Later, Locke suggests an ivory ball with twenty-four or twenty-five sides with letters pasted on to enable children to learn the alphabet.³

Learning by subversion is the method of Locke. Besides the alphabet device, he calls for other "plays" to be invented to contrive that children learn to read. Once the child has learned to read by the methods of Locke, he is ready for children's books. Locke recommends some "easy pleasant book" suited

¹Sec. 70, pp. 74-75; sec. 72, p. 77.
²Sec. 141, p. 178. Adamson, The Educational Writings of John Locke, p. 117, note 3 explains dice as polyhedrons.
³Sec. 143, pp. 178-179.
to the child's capacity, but cannot find anything outside of
Aesop or Reynard the Fox to mention. Locke admits he can find
nothing outside the Psalter, Testament and the Bible, but he
would like picture books for children created to aid the process
of learning by subversion.

The rest of Some Thoughts Concerning Education consists
of recommendations on the curriculum. On reading, for instance,
Locke is opposed to memorization or learning by rote and favors
geography and chronology as subjects but is opposed to teaching
rhetoric and logic to the young.

Such in brief outline is the bulk of Some Thoughts Con-
cerning Education as concerns this study. The significance of
Some Thoughts Concerning Education lies in its influence:
(1) As has been demonstrated in a previous chapter, Some Thoughts
Concerning Education represents a touchstone into what was
available for children's leisure reading at the end of the
seventeenth century. (2) Locke influenced the educational work
of the following century:

Undoubtedly the greatest factor in moulding the general
theory of the age was the work of Locke, and his disciplinary
conception of education is perhaps the underlying basis of
most of the successful educational work in the century.

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1 Sec. 146, p. 182; sec. 148, pp. 183-184.
2 See supra, chapter II, p. 36.
3 Sec. 149, p. 185; sec. 177, p. 223.
4 Alfred H. Body, John Wesley and Education (London: Ep-
worth Press [1936]), pp. 33-34.
Locke's teaching on the absence of innate ideas in the child, comparing him to a blank sheet of paper in Some Thoughts Concerning Education and An Essay Concerning Human Understanding (1690), is seen as a most pervasive influence in educational reform. The absence of innate ideas meant the child was perfectible through proper training. The accent, then, shifted to the proper training of the child.\(^1\) Granted the child's mind is a tabula rasa, the responsibility is on education since ideas enter only by experience, that is, by learning.\(^2\)

In this connection Locke is also responsible for raising the status of the child who was often seen in the early eighteenth century and before as a miniature adult and required to behave as one:

He brings the child—seen but not heard, at best—out of his obscurity, his invisibility, into the light, even the glare, of philosophical examination; the child becomes a philosophical subject.\(^3\)

(3) Locke was very popular with parents and writers in the eighteenth century. For example, in 1769 Locke is called "the great Mr. John Locke who may be justly said to have reformed all our modes of thinking in metaphysical inquiry," and he is

\(^1\) Thwaite, Pocket-Book, p. 20.

\(^2\) MacLean, John Locke, p. 36.

\(^3\) Rosalie L. Colie, "John Locke and the Publication of the Private," Philological Quarterly, XLV (January, 1966), 33.
found "still useful at present."¹ There are numerous such testimonies to the vogue of Locke in the period.² In Richardson's *Pamela*, squire B. gives his wife, Pamela, a copy of *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, which she reviews favorably to the satisfaction of her husband and sister-in-law, Lady Davers.³ In 1804 the vogue of Locke is not completely over even though Rousseau was the main light of educational opinion in those days. A mother wrote to a magazine about the Lockean prescriptions that the child be soaked daily in cold water.⁴ It is claimed that Locke's views reigned through the eighteenth century in England right on through the heyday of Rousseau.⁵

Locke's practicality and common sense seem to be the main reasons for his vogue with parents and teachers. His style is also attractive; no pedant in his work, Locke writes in clear


²See MacLean, *John Locke*, for further documentation of the influence of John Locke, especially in prose fiction and in the arts.

³Cited by Janney, *Childhood in English*, p. 78 and MacLean, *John Locke*, p. 34.

⁴Letter to the editor, *The Guardian of Education*, III (1804) 159-164; 263-267. The belief in hardening of a child, represented in the cold baths and the non-waterproof shoes is traceable to Locke, as seen above.

⁵Paterson, *The Edgeworths*, p. 63.
(4) More important for purposes of this investigation, Locke had a direct influence on the production of literature for children. First of all, in the passage cited above in which Locke states the absence of anything beyond the primer, hornbook and religious books for children, Locke spotlights a definite need. This particular statement as well as his numerous complaints that reading had too often been made a task, are seen as influential on the later children's books produced.

By championing the picture book for children, by suggesting that children be subverted into learning, i.e. that learning be made pleasurable and not a task, Locke influenced the quality and quantity of children's books produced in the eighteenth century. It will be seen that he especially influenced the foremost producer of children's books, John Newbery. It has been shown that he was of some influence on Mary Cooper's productions. It will be seen later that Locke influenced Thomas Day, Richard and Maria

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2 See supra, chapter I, p. 36.

3 Halsey, *Forgotten Books*, p. 43.
Edgeworth and other writers of the later eighteenth century.¹ He was of influence on Lady Eleanor Fenn, Sarah Trimmer, Hannah More and many other children's writers of the later eighteenth century.

Later, when some of the first genuine literature for children appears under the imprint of John Newbery it is often prefaced with citations from John Locke as approbation for the contents or treatment. It is ironic that Locke could have sparked an intensity in book production in children's literature since Some Thoughts Concerning Education is studded with the idea that knowledge of men is superior to that of books.²

This is not to suggest that all of Locke's influence was necessarily positive. The followers of Locke often took his premises and overreached them. For example, Locke substituted the psychological principle of reinforcement for harshness, cruelty and neglect; he seems not to have foreseen a later reaction which overdid good example and virtuous handling.³


³Colie, "John Locke and the Publication of the Private," p. 42.
John Locke did not seem to be attentive to the possibility of his system's giving rise to hosts of priggish or vain children, who would be brought up under the comparatively permissive conditions he recommends.

Locke has also been criticized for his stifling of the child's imagination, however much he did for his body. For instance, there are many passages in Some Thoughts Concerning Education which complain about the cruelty of children but none on the awakening of wonder in children. Locke sparked a revolution in the treatment and understanding of the child that he did not complete. He exhibited the methods, not the subjects of child instruction. It still remained for someone like Rousseau to restructure the curriculum for the child.

The full significance of Locke as regards the sphere of this investigation will be clarified when specific works are detailed. Because Locke's influence is seminal throughout the entire century, it is hard to divorce it from the general common sense reflected in the age. Perhaps Locke merely reflected

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2 Janney, Childhood in English, p. 77.

what many parents and teachers had felt. He is not only a mirror of the feelings of parents against cruelty and harsh treatment of children, and he is more than a barometer of a new outlook on children. Not only through pediatric, psychological and pedagogical suggestions but as a catalyst for a new literature for children, Locke did much toward initiating both a new attention to children in the eighteenth century and a cult of childhood in the nineteenth.

Outside of the suggestions of John Locke which bore fruit in the pioneer work of Boreman and Cooper, there is little else in England from 1700 to 1744 except for the stirrings of the first fairy tales published in England. Mary Cooper's work represents some of the first nursery rhymes printed in England, but for genuine fairy tales England is indebted to Charles Perrault or his son, Perrault Darmancour, whoever wrote Contes

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1Darton, Children's Books in England, p. 112, sees Locke's influence not so much in the fact that children's writers thought out Locke beforehand but that Locke knew their long-established habits before they began to write.
Charles Perrault, once considered the undisputed author of *Contes de ma Mère L'Oye*, retired from the court of Louis XIV in 1686. In 1694 *Histoires ou Contes du Temps Passé Avec de Moralités* first appeared in periodical form. They became famous in 1697 when first issued in book form. The 1729 English version had eight tales. These were: Little Red Riding Hood, The Fairy (sometimes called Diamonds and Toads), Puss in Boots, Bluebeard, Sleeping Beauty, Cinderella, Riquet with the Tuft, and Tom Thumb.

Not at issue here is the immense popularity of Perrault's book in France. Attention will be directed to the English editions in order to gauge the popularity of Perrault in

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1 On the authorship question, whether Charles Perrault or his son (who was nineteen in 1697) wrote the *Contes*, the more recent critics support the idea that it was Charles' son who wrote down tales told him by his peasant nurse. See Darton, *Children's Books in England*, p. 86 and Helen Martin, "Nationalism in Children's Literature," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1934), p. 253; both writers support this view. A more cautious conclusion is that of [Esther Averill], *The History of French Children's Books: 1750-1900* (Boston: For Women's Educational and Industrial Union, n.d.), p. 11 which claims it is not certain which of the two men wrote the tales. The question of authorship is not important to this study.

2 They first appeared in *Recueil des Pièces Curieuses et Nouvelles*, I (1694). Also known as *Tales of Mother Goose, Histories or Tales of Past Times, Perrault's Popular Tales*. All titles represent the same work, according to J. Saxon Childers, *Histories or Tales of Past Times Told by Mother Goose with Morals*... (London: Nonesuch Press, 1925), p. 7.
eighteenth-century England.

The first known edition of Perrault in England is dated 1729.\(^1\) It was issued by Robert Samber and went through eight editions by 1780.\(^2\) Little is known about Samber except that he was a prolific hack writer who also translated the pornographic Venus in the Cloister or The Nun in Her Smock.\(^3\) Samber seems to have written not only for the Billys and Marys, but also for the Shamelas of the age.

The life of the next translator of Perrault, a G. M., is as obscure as Samber's. G. M. is reportedly a Swiss, who was born in 1644, went to England in 1660 and left in 1665; he retired in 1668 and died in 1718.\(^4\)

More importantly, G. M.'s edition, first published in 1765, reached twelve editions by 1802, so that Perrault's popularity can be measured in the many editions of G. M. and Samber. There

\(^1\) The claim that there was an eleventh edition in 1719 has been effectively ruled out as the 1719 edition claimed was discovered to be a misprint for 1799. See Muir, English Children's Books, p. 49 for the refutation of the claim for an earlier edition.

\(^2\) Barry, A Century of Children's Books, p. 45.


\(^4\) Such are the sketchy details known on this author, as given in Childers, Mother Goose, p. 12.
are separate editions by other editors in 1750, 1765, 1769, 1780, 1785, and 1795. These are the main editions of Perrault known to be in England up to the nineteenth century, although "much work remains to be done on the bibliography of the English translation of the early French fairy tales."¹

Mere listing of numbers of editions of Perrault is no true index to his fame in England. Who read Perrault and how popular was he with children are more important questions.

One bar to Perrault's popularity is that none of the early editions for children was available in texts suitable for children.² Artistic intention aside,³ were Perrault's tales meant for children? Their current popularity with children cannot be cited as evidence for their usage in the eighteenth century.

There may be some question whether warnings on love and romance, as in Perrault's Bluebeard, were really meant for children. Whether the tales were too gory for children cannot be decided out of context. It is true that Little Red Riding Hood today exists in a more merciful version than it received in

¹Muir, English Children's Books, pp. 51, 5.
²Thwaite, Pocket-Book, p. 10.
³Weekes, Literature and the Child, p. 50 contends that Perrault's tales were not intended for children but for the court of Louis XIV.
Perrault's original. In the original, Red Riding Hood is swallowed up whole with no handy woodsman nearby to save her. Perrault appends a moral warning for the gullible:

Since some enchant and lure like Syrens songs.
No wonder, therefore, 'tis, if over-power'd
So many of them has the Wolf devour'd.

A warning to coquettes hardly need be given if Perrault were writing exclusively for children. To Cinderella, Perrault appended another warning to women, not children. Ladies are told that the quality of good grace will win a heart more than a "fine head dressed up with art."  

The moral following Bluebeard reassures wives: "No husbands now such panic terrors cast," so apparently Perrault was attentive to the possibility of his stories being too sensationalistic for adult or child. One author questions whether Sleeping Beauty's mother-in-law, who eats two grandchildren and who commits suicide in a vat of reptiles is really suitable.

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1 Muir, English Children's Books, p. 49 cannot find the origin of the revised ending but attributes it to a nineteenth-century version. This seems probable.


3 Ibid., p. 86
This is not to launch out into a discussion of the suitability of Perrault for children. These elements are brought out here as they may have militated against Perrault's being read by eighteenth-century children. There was, after all, nothing in the title of the original work to indicate that the tales were for children, and "fairy tale" did not have the connotation it has today—merely reflecting a folk tale of some sort.

What did militate against Perrault's fairy tales or anyone else's in the eighteenth century was a climate of opinion which held that works of magic and the supernatural were not to be encouraged. An entire chapter could be filled with the testimony of authors against the fairy tale, even by authors of children's books.

The term fairy tale, though not subject to exact delineation, ought to be clarified. It is a narrative which includes something extraordinary, such as fairies, giants, and speaking animals. Or it is a story which contains the supernatural element as it affects humans and animals.

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In the seventeenth century, the Puritan discouragement of all light reading militated against the fairy tale. Likewise, increasingly in the eighteenth century, there is a hostile attitude expressed by parents and educators against the dangerous influence of the imaginative fairy tale. In the first half of the century, fairy tales are but grudgingly admitted into the nursery. For example, in Sarah Fielding's _Governess_ (1745), three fairy tales are interspersed among the true confessions of some girls at a boarding school. For recreation, the girls, if their department warrants, are allowed to tell stories. Miss Jenny tells a fairy tale, but at first forgets to ask permission of the governess, Mrs. Teachum. Mrs. Teachum tells her pupils that reading fairy tales is all right only when a moral lesson is clearly stated. In other words, entertainment is not enough; fairy tales must contain moral instruction.

While the Mrs. Teachums of the age may allow fairy tales, they are quick to point out that "the common Course of Things would produce the same Incidents, without the Help of Fairies."

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1Darton, *Children's Books in England*, p. 95.


3The Governess: Or, the Little Female Academy Calculated for the Entertainment and Instruction of Young Ladies in Their Education . . . (5th ed.; London: For A. Millar and sold by T. Cadell, 1768), p. 107. All references to this work are to this edition and will be referred to as _The Governess_.
The fairy tale, when allowed to exist at all, is given for the sake of the moral, much as Aesop was presented to children.

Other early witness in the eighteenth century to the use of the fairy tale is obscured by the fact that, as noted above, editions of Perrault do not seem to have existed before 1729, and there were few children's books at all in that time.

Judging from the mid-eighteenth century, fairy tales were not high in favor with the judicious parent or educator. The general attitude in England toward fairy tales and nursery rhymes was one of disparagement: "Les contes de fées ou le berceuses des vieilles servants lui paraissent ridicules." In general, the highly imaginative fairy tale suffered from the same reprobation that most imaginative works met in the first half of the eighteenth century. One eighteenth-century writer for children boasts that writing for children requires one "to restrain a lively imagination," claiming it as a "sort of heroic sacrifice of gratification to virtue, which I cannot doubt is acceptable to the Supreme Being."

Questioning the propriety of novel reading, as in Leonora's Library in The Spectator (April 12, 1711), is a commonplace of the eighteenth century. Priscilla Wakefield in Reflections on


the Present Condition of the Female Sex; with Suggestions for its Improvement (1798) says that daughters of tradesmen and merchants should not read plays and novels; rather, she says, they should learn the principal rivers and mountains of Europe.¹

After mid-century, however, the reaction to fairy tales gets more specific and more spirited. In a review of a 1783 children's book we read:

The notion that seemed formerly to have prevailed, that the minds of children could only be amused with the idle tales of giants, fairies, &c. is happily exploded. It is the peculiar praise of the present generation to have substituted rational information in the place of all that nonsensical trifling.²

By century's end, fairy tales, whether told by ignorant nurse or academician of the French court, were definitely out. Not only did anonymous reviewers condemn fairy tales but Oliver Goldsmith, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Maria Edgeworth, and Sarah Trimmer all united against the dangers of the fairy tale.³

Goldsmith was credited in the nineteenth century as one who began the rational literature which "triumphed over those nonsensically wonderful productions which had rather weakened than informed their children's minds, from the first endeavours


of the doctor [Goldsmith] to introduce common sense into our nurseries.¹

Rousseau's objections to reading fairy tales or other imaginative literature for children will be detailed later. In general, however, the English followers of Rousseau placed fairy tales under a ban:

Fairy tales were treated as the novels of childhood, and held by this school [of Rousseau] to cultivate the heart and imagination unduly, and to arouse disgust with the assigned lot in life, which is rarely romantic, but consists rather of common-place pleasure and pain.²

As early disciples of Rousseau in England, Maria Edgeworth and her father Richard Edgeworth were adamant against the fairy tale. Richard Edgeworth in a preface to a work for children gives a quotation from Samuel Johnson which is one of the rare defenses of the fairy tale in the eighteenth century:

Babies do not want to hear about babies; they like to be told of giants and castles, and of somewhat which can stretch and stimulate their little minds.³

Unfortunately, Johnson did not prevail against the Piozzis, the Edgeworths and the Trimmers. Richard Edgeworth, after the

¹ European Magazine, LIV (July, 1808), 33.
² Helen Zimmern, Maria Edgeworth (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1891), p. 61.
³ Samuel Johnson to Hester Piozzi in Hester Lynch Thrale Piozzi, Anecdotes of the Late Samuel Johnson, LL.D. During the Last Twenty Years of His Life (New York: Cassell & Co., n.d.), p. 23.
Johnson citation given above, answers Johnson with:

The fact remains to be proved, but supposing that they [the children] do prefer such tales, is this a reason why they should be indulged in reading them?¹

For Sarah Trimmer's objections to fairy tales one must consult her periodical, The Guardian of Education.² In it she constantly objects to children's books which contain fairy tales. About one collection of fairy tales she complains:

This collection of the histories of little Jack Horner, Cinderella, Fortunatus and other tales which were in fashion half a century ago are full of romantic nonsense.³ Trimmer suggests that children be given examples of natural history in order to combat the pernicious influence of fairy tales.⁴ It was felt, by Trimmer and many others, that not only did fairy tales contain magic but they prejudiced children against stepmothers and stepsisters and were likely to make children vain and ambitious for social position.⁵

Where the fairy tale was not abused, it was mostly ignored. Richard and Maria Edgeworth, for example, in their joint educational treatise, Practical Education (1798) are opposed to

¹Cited by Avery, Nineteenth Century Children, p. 27.
²Four volumes, 1802 to 1805.
⁴The Guardian of Education, III (1804), 265.
travel literature, adding "we do not allude to fairy tales for we apprehend that these are not now much read."¹

As the eighteenth century grew scientifically minded, the vogue of the fairy tale in England, short-lived as it was, suffered.² Since fairies could not too well enforce morality or be explained rationally they were banished. The same movement which deprived adults of romance deprived children of fairies.³

The only true eighteenth-century defender of the fairy tale, whom I could locate, outside of Samuel Johnson, was Adam Clarke, born 1760. He says that the mode of education in his day proscribes books of enchantment and chivalry, but he asks:

... is it not better to have deeply rooted belief of the existence of an eternal world,—of God, angels, and spirits, though mingled with such as naturally cleaves to infant and inexperienced minds, and which maturer judgment, reflection, and experience will easily correct ... ?⁴


²Averill, The History of French Children's Books, p. 11.


Not until the early romantics of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries do fairy tales find their true defenders, rather than mere apologists. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, for instance, admits he read fairy tales in his youth. "I know all that has been said against it [reading fairy tales]: but I have formed my faith in the affirmative. I know no other way of giving the mind a love of the Great and the Whole." More explicitly, Coleridge boosted imaginative literature for children when he said:

Give me the works which delighted my youth! Give me the History of St. George, and the Seven Champions of Christendom, which at every leisure moment I used to hide myself in a corner to read! Give me the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, which I used to watch till the sun shining on the bookcase approached, and glowing full upon it, gave me the courage to take it from the shelf. I heard of no little Billies, and sought no praise for giving to beggars, and I trust that my heart is not the worse, or the less inclined to feel sympathy for all men, because I first learnt the powers of my nature and to reverence that nature—for who can feel and reverence the nature of man and not feel deeply for the affliction of others possessing like powers and like nature.  

Coleridge's colleague, Wordsworth, reinforces the defense of the fairy tale. Not only does Wordsworth refer to writers of

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fairy tales as "dreamers" and "forgers of daring tales,"¹ but he goes on to blast the Rousseauistic writers in England who sacrificed imagination to morality.²

This takes us not only out of the period being considered, but into the entire evolution of children's literature. As it is necessary to investigate what replaced the fairy tale, this will be done extensively in later chapters. But the English child was not totally without fairy tales in the early eighteenth century. First, the repeated protests cited above indicate that some sort of fairy tales were being read. If the child had, officially, few or no editions of Perrault for his perusal, he may have had chapbook abbreviations of the fairy tales, just as Steele's godson had of the contraband romances.

The child of the Enlightenment may also have had, in chapbook form, English folk tales, which included many of the fairy tales that have come down to this day. These he could have had as well in oral account from his nursemaid. The peculiarly English fairy tale was preserved orally. Cruder and simpler in plot and setting³ than its more sophisticated French cousin, the English fairy tale is much more realistic. For example, in the


³Weekes, Literature and the Child, p. 51.
classic English tale of Tom Thumb, though Tom is a diminutive creature, everything which happens to him is strictly logical: his fall into a mixing bowl, his being swallowed by a cow when tied to a thistle and so forth.¹

There were some genuine English fairy tales in print before Perrault's arrival in England. Besides Tom Thumb, there was The Pleasant History of Thomas Hickathrift² and the life of Sir Richard Whittington. Whittington dates in publication from the early seventeenth century³ with eight editions from 1656 to 1740 alone.⁴ The fairy tale of Whittington actually refers to a real lord mayor of London in the fifteenth century. A prosperous merchant, he was a three-time mayor, the last in 1419, who died in 1423.⁵ The full title of a chapbook version is enough to indicate the appeal of this success story which reads


²See The Pleasant History of Thomas Hickathrift: Printed from the earliest extant copies, ed. by G. L. Gomme (Chap-books and Folk-lore Tracts, First Series, 1885). Called "John" Hickathrift by Steele in The Tatler (no. 95), cited above, and discussed favorably by Coleridge, Biographica Literaria, II, ch. xviii.

³Weiss, A Book About Chapbooks, p. 64 gives 1605 as the first allusion to the work in print. Darton, Children's Books in England, claims allusions to the story from 1600 onwards.

⁴Esdaile, English Tales and Romances, p. 326.

⁵Darton, Children's Books in England, p. 93.
like a fifteenth-century Horatio Alger tale:

The History of Sir Richard Whittington, thrice Lord Mayor of London, shewing how he came up a poor boy to London, and was received as a scullion boy by a merchant; his sufferings and afflictions under a cruel cook-maid, how he bought a cat for a penny, and sent her a venture beyond sea, for which he got great riches in exchange. And lastly, how he married his Master's daughter, and was made thrice Lord Mayor of London.1

The only fairy element in this biographical account is the section in which a cat brings great riches. Oliver Goldsmith later complained that the cat was a blot on an excellent tale for teaching industry to apprentices.2

The fact that stories about children (Tom Thumb) and real men (Sir Richard Whittington) were considered to be popular folk tales in the eighteenth century demonstrates the difference between the romantic, fanciful French tale, seen in Perrault, and the more earthy, direct tale in England. Even Whittington's cat which Goldsmith objected to is a real cat as contrasted to Perrault's Puss in Boots with his preposterous seven league boots.

By the time Perrault reached England in printed editions, his vogue had already suffered in France. "L'année 1700 marque

1Weiss, A Book About Chapbooks, p. 64.

la fin du grand empressement pour les contes."  

Whereas the fairy tale did survive as a minor literary genre throughout the eighteenth century in France, the fairy tale in England does not survive much beyond mid-century when Jean Jacques Rousseau's *Emile* banishes such frivolity for children.

Working against literature for children was an effort against the fanciful and the imaginative that was begun by the Puritans in the seventeenth century but continued by the English Rousseauists in the last quarter of the eighteenth century in England. The fairy tale was then replaced by the scientific tale:

> Au lieu de fournir à l'enfant des livres de rêve et de merveilles, où il aurait trouvé ses chimères réalisées, toute la littérature anglaise au XVIIIe siècle semble prendre à tâche de démolir, systématiquement, ses châteaux aériens; et, en revanche, de lui faire avaler, telle une potion de rhubarbe sous un peu de confiture, force science et force sagesse.

The replacement of fairy tales with tales of natural science was the final coup de grâce to imaginative literature for children. The moralizing of fairy tales was just as effective in dispelling the fairy tale in England.


Moralizing of fairy tales was by no means confined to England, although the English examples are the most representative. Perrault himself added "moralites" in verse to his Contes, although his first edition stated that there was no need for one.¹ Once parents began to fret over the portrayal of wicked stepmothers or about the conniving ethics in Puss in Boots, the fairy tale was doomed. For example a 1765 London edition of Mother Goose appends moral tags to the nursery rhymes. To the rhyme of the cradle in the treetop the editor adds, "The more you think of dying, the better you will live." To the story of Jack and Jill he appends, "This may serve as a warning to the proud and ambitious who climb so high that they generally fall at last."²

Such moralizing leads directly into the moral tale which flourished in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Mother Truth steps in as rival to Mother Goose.³ The moral tale thus created will be investigated in later chapters.

What happens to the native English fairy character, that real but impish Tom Thumb, epitomizes what happens to all fairy figures in England in this period. Tom Thumb is changed from

¹Weekes, Literature and the Child, p. 51.
³Ibid.
his earlier romance and chapbook versions into a pedagogue. In 1746 was printed *The Travels of Tom Thumb over England and Wales* containing Descriptions of whatever is most remarkable in the several Countries, interspersed with many pleasant Adventures that happened to him personally during the Course of his Journey, Written by Himselfe. The accent is on Tom Thumb as mentor not adventurer. The final humiliation to the character occurs in 1780 when *Tom Thumb's Exhibition* appeared in which Tom "changed his fairy dress for a school master's gown" and waits for his pupils "in a large commodious room at Mr. Lovegoods', number 3 in Wiseman's Buildings, at the upper end of Education Road."¹

Another example of Tom Thumb turned slave of the moralizing educator exists in a John Newbery book of 1775. In it Tom Thumb describes his collection of natural wonders, "each of which I hope will be found to suggest and inculcate some useful lesson of morality," he chirps. Tom closes with:

> If, however there are any persons so weak as to take pleasure in perusing romantic improbabilities, and trifling and impossible wonders, I shall refer them to the childish and contemptible histories of Tom Hickathrift and Jack the Giant Killer, or to the fabulous accounts which have been frequently published of, Your very obedient, humble Servant and affectionate Well Wisher, T. T.²

² Cited by Rosenbach, *Early American Children's Books*, p. 95.
As the fairy figure moved from sprite to straightlaced pedant, the fairy tale was subsumed under the moral and educational tale which dates from mid-eighteenth century.

Perrault, then, despite the number of adult editions, was not so popular in the eighteenth century as he is today. The common sense attitude of the eighteenth-century parent militated against Perrault's complete success in captivating the youth of England. For those fanciful fairy tales the English child in the eighteenth century did get his hands on, outside of the English chapbook heroes, credit must be given to Perrault.¹

A French imitator of Perrault was actually translated into English and circulated before Perrault's works. The author was Marie Catherine Jumelle de Berneville, Comtesse D'Aulnoy (Aulnoy) who lived from 1650 to 1705. Her History of the Tales of the Fairies appeared in English translation in 1699, a year after its original French publication as Contes des Fées. Madame D'Aulnoy, besides being the first writer to use the title fairy tales in her works,² was the first acknowledged writer of fairy tales for children in England. Countess D'Aulnoy is some-

¹ A boy, born 1760, lists among his reading, chapbook and romance heroes like Tom Thumb, Jack the Giant Killer and the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, and The Fairy Tales. Though Perrault was not in suitable editions for children, at least one child appropriated them. See An Account of the Infancy, Religious and Literary Life of Adam Clarke, p. 24.

² Muir, National Book League, p. 83.
times referred to as Catherine de la Motte as she was the widow of Francis de la Motte. Left with four children, she was an attendant to the Queen of Spain.\(^1\)

Her fairy tales, though derivative,\(^2\) were known as well or better than Perrault's in England. In some ways D'Aulnoy is simpler than Perrault, but she has:

un luxes de détails pittoresques qui trainenent trop en longeur, un esprit salonnier, des figures "de tendre porcelaine" qu'on doit pas trop remuer de peur de les casser, une élégance qui annonce le XVIII\(^e\) siècle, et avec cela, un fine ironie, une philosophie quelque peu sombre, un veine de cruauté qui vous inquiète légèrement, lorsque vous pensez à la vie de l'auteur, mais qui est compensée par une morale assez bien soutenue.\(^3\)

While the porcelain-like artificiality of the characters in D'Aulnoy did not sit too well with an English audience which grew up on realism even in fairy tales, the fact that D'Aulnoy always gave a well-supported moral added much to her popular dissemination in the eighteenth century. Her tales were better known in England than those of Perrault.\(^4\)

\(^1\)Preface, Queen Mab: Containing a Select Collection of Only the Best, most Instructive and Entertaining Tales of the Fairies . . . (London: J. Dodsley, 1770), p. iii.

\(^2\)Judith St. John, The Osborne Collection, p. 20 claims D'Aulnoy borrowed her plots from others, especially from Giovanni Battista Basile's Pentamerone (1637).

\(^3\)Storer, La Mode des Contes de Fées, p. 41.

Just as did Perrault, D'Aulnoy addresses herself to the adult reader. In a preface to her fairy tales which is addressed to "Ladies," she promises:

These Entertaining Tales are address'd to You, as they are intended to promote Virtue. They are very Entertaining and Instructive and the Moral shews the Design of improving the Mind.

Whatever one may think of the artificial characters in D'Aulnoy, one must grant that a moral is always appended. To the story of Leander and Florina, the moral comment is that lust brings harm into marriage whereas true love does not:

"Our Smithfield Bargains then would cease, and Wedlock throw her chains aside."

Another example of her moralizing is:

See, Generous, Youthful Souls, see here,
What 'tis to Love, and persevere,
See, spiteful Wretches, Gorgon's Fate,
And learn to shun those Ills which Envy dates.

D'Aulnoy is no less gory than Perrault. In the tale of Gracioso, for instance, a fairy is jealous and does justice as she flies to a palace where she wrings off the wicked Queen's

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1 The History of the Tales of the Fairies (London: C. Hitch and L. Hawes and others, 1758), preface, sig. A2. Hereinafter referred to as Tales of the Fairies, the same edition unless otherwise specified.

2 Ibid., p. 49. One suspects the English translator Anglicized the references.

3 Ibid., p. 24.
neck, tearing her limb from limb.¹

Perhaps D'Aulnoy's rather obvious morals to her tales
saved her from censorship or parental disapproval in the eight-
teenth century. A modern reader is more likely to see her book
as a strange combination of lengthy romances of the Italian or
Spanish type, mostly dealing with elopements.² Only the fairies
interspersed as machines of justice or injustice make D'Aulnoy's
work stand out of the mass of romance writers of her day.

Nonetheless, just as Boreman is often overshadowed by the
later achievements of Newbery, so too is D'Aulnoy often robbed
of her pioneer status in England by attention to Charles
Perrault. Whoever was more popular in the eighteenth century,
Perrault is more readable and popular today than Countess
D'Aulnoy.

To summarize the trends of children's literature in the
first half of the eighteenth century is simply to document the
sketchiness of the offerings for children. In contrast with
the previous century, it has been shown that some advances had
been made in the number of books available for children from

¹Ibid., p. 23.

²Yonge, "Children's Literature of the Last Century," p. 230. Yonge justly labels the work of D'Aulnoy as "queer." For a more sympathetic and perhaps the only large scale consid-
eration of D'Aulnoy as a writer of fairy tales, see Kurt Karl
Krüger, Die Marchen der Baronin Aulnoy (Leipzig: Herrm. Ulrich,
1914). This was originally a University of Leipzig dissertation.
1700 to 1744. To begin with, the first secular books for children appear which are not text books. This means that children's books are no longer merely tract-like catechisms with some grudging condescension to amusement. It is as if Isaac Watts' call for a work in the same vein as his Divine and Moral Songs without the solemnities of religion was being fulfilled.

Outside of the Puritan tracts that appeared in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Thomas Boreman must be given credit for the first true children's books of amusement in England. The Gigantick Histories of Boreman, though they had limited circulation, were at last non-school books intended for children's amusement during leisure moments. Their miniature size, their woodcuts and their bright covers in Dutch boards illustrate that children's books become not only interesting in content under Boreman but physically attractive as well.

Ironically, due to his past popularity, Boreman is not well known today. The scarcity of copies of his books is directly related to this fact. It is so with most children's books; the more popular of them literally become read to pieces.

Boreman has often been eclipsed by the later work of John Newbery, who is often seen as the founder of children's literature. More properly, the title belongs to Boreman, although it must be admitted that Newbery later made a much more extensive, popular and commercial success with his line of children's books than Thomas Boreman did. Even so, Boreman is of historical im-
portance to the development of children's literature in England. It was he who first developed the features and contents of children's books which later writers capitalized upon.

It must also be admitted, however, that the contents of the Boreman books, while appealing in their diminutiveness, are often unimaginative, especially after the first volume of the *Gigantick Histories* when Boreman announces in a letter that he will leave off giants and fairy tales and concentrate on what is real. The result is some pedestrian tours through the Tower of London and similar sites in London.

Purely imaginative work for children that merely amused them, not simply works of instruction, first appeared in England in the works of Countess D'Aulnoy (1699 in England) and Charles Perrault (English translation, 1729). The fairy tale, however, had a hard struggle against the soberness and common sense of the age of reason. It must be remembered that Locke, though he asked for specific works for children, in no case recommended works of pure amusement. Locke wanted children amused so that they would be better or more usefully instructed. Locke was a pragmatist, as were the host of parents who followed his practical

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advice.

This does not mean that there was no access to imaginative literature for the child:

Let us not pity the children of the eighteenth century too deeply because they lived in an unimaginative age. If fairy tales were frowned upon officially, the stuff of dreams was not wholly lacking. . . .

Besides The History of the Tales of the Fairies, and Mother Goose, the child in England in the eighteenth century had native English tales, such as those of Tom Hickathrift and Jack the Giant Killer which Steele's godson avidly read. In fact Steele's eight-year-old godson and his sister Betty between them read all or most of what was available. They shunned Aesop but read romances and folk tales; the girl read fairy tales, then just coming into their brief lifespan in England.

Unfortunately, such children's reading was not given the approbation which Steele expressed. Instead, parents and educators took the same stories which children read willingly and, perhaps inspired by Locke, tried to make learning instruments of the fairy tales. The result was not only Perrault moralized but Tom Thumb and Robin Goodfellow and Robin Hood on the side of parents. For instance, the children were given Robin Hood not in chapbooks which treated his exploits favorably, but in cau­tionary tales. Children were told that Robin Hood "neglected to

learn a trade" and was justly outlawed.¹

The moralizing of the fairy tale leads naturally into the moral tale proper which does not appear in full bloom until after 1744. The reaction to the fairy tale by parents and teachers is already present in the first half of the eighteenth century. The reaction, as has been shown, will become so pronounced by century's end that the fairy tale will be banished completely from the nursery and supplanted by the moral and scientific tale.

In the first half of the eighteenth century children's literature is not yet a fantastically successful business, although the many editions of Boreman, Perrault and D'Aulnoy prefigure the possibilities which do materialize later in the eighteenth century. It was Boreman, Perrault and D'Aulnoy plus minor writers, such as Mary Cooper, who first created a secular literature for children marked by amusement prevailing over instruction in religion or in deportment. It remained for the last half of the century to improve and extend the work which such writers began. Not only will the second half-century moralize and edit the fairy tales but it will supplant them with entirely new

educational tales. While the fairy tale per se merges into the oriental tale and the novel,¹ a new form of children's literature will supplant what the fairy tale meant to the children of the eighteenth century. The successors to Boreman in England are largely responsible for such a metamorphosis. It is their work which will be studied in the following chapters.

CHAPTER IV

CHILDREN'S LITERATURE: 1744-1765

In the early eighteenth century there still remained the need for someone to gather the various threads of interest in children's books and weave them into sustained, consistent work directed at children's interests, not merely to proselytize children with adult morality. That person was John Newbery, bookseller near St. Paul's Church.

So important is Newbery that the children's books studied in this chapter are almost exclusively his. Newbery began publishing for children in 1744 and died in 1767, the year in which his most famous book, *The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes* reached a third edition.¹

John Newbery, the son of a farmer in Berkshire county, England, was born in 1713. He was apprenticed at sixteen to William Ayres, a printer, who was the proprietor of *The Reading Mercury* which William Carnan took over in 1730. On Carnan's death, Newbery became joint owner in 1737 of Carnan's estate.

¹Newbery's publishing house produced children's books until the nineteenth century; the works of Newbery's successors will be considered in later chapters along with those of rival publishing firms.
In 1739 Newbery married William Carnan's widow, Mary Carnan, and became stepfather to her three children. Newbery's first book, published at Reading in 1740 was *The Whole Duty of Man*, a reprint of the seventeenth-century work ascribed to Richard Allestree. This first publication was not beyond the pale of typical moral treatises of the time and was not as yet aimed at the juvenile market. In 1743 Newbery with three children of his own and his stepchildren went to London.¹

John Newbery opened his shop in 1744 at a warehouse at the Bible and Crown near Devereux Court without Temple Bar.² At this address he produced his first work for children, but he soon moved, in July or August, 1745, to the Bible and Sun (later Number 65), Saint Paul's Churchyard.³ It was here that Newbery produced for twenty-three years not only children's literature but adult literature, books of medicine, newspapers and journals.

The shop of John Newbery was also an emporium in which were sold nostrums such as Cephalic Snuff, Dr. Hooper's Female Pills

¹ Thwaite, *Pocket-Book*, pp. 29, 39, 32.


³ Sydney Roscoe, Newbery-Carnan-Power: A Provisional Check-List of Books for the Entertainment, Instruction and Education of Children and Young People, issued under the Imprints of John Newbery and his Family in the Period 1742-1802 (London: For the Author by Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1966), p. iv. Hereinafter referred to as A Check-List. For the specifics of where Newbery's shop was located, see Thwaite, *Pocket-Book*, pp. 32-33.
and Cook's Rheumatic Powder. The most celebrated of these drugs and Newbery's most profitable sideline was Dr. James's Fever Powder, which was widely used in the eighteenth century.

There are several testimonies to the life and character of John Newbery. He appears as Dr. Primrose in Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield* in which he is characterized as "the philanthropic bookseller in St. Paul's Churchyard." Goldsmith later praised Newbery as "the honestest man in the nation." Newbery is caricatured by Samuel Johnson in *The Idler*:

Among the principal names of this moderate set is that great philosopher Jack Whirler, whose business keeps him in perpetual motion, and whose motion always eludes his business; who is always to do what he never does, who cannot stand still, because he is wanted in another place, and who is wanted in many places because he stays in none. Jack has more business than he can conveniently transact in one house, he has therefore one habitation near Bow Church and another about a mile distant. By this ingenious distribution of himself between two houses, Jack has contrived to be found at neither. Jack's trade is extensive, and he has many dealers; his conversation is sprightly, and he has many companions; his disposition is kind, and he has many friends.

Johnson knew Newbery well; Newbery published *The Idler*, and

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1For a list of the nostrums which Newbery sold, see Welsh, *A Bookseller*, p. 22.


3*The Idler*, No. 19 (Saturday, August 19, 1758), cited by Welsh, *A Bookseller*, p. 74.
Johnson contributed to Newbery's *The Public Ledger* (1759).¹ Johnson was also indebted to Newbery for occasional loans. In his life of Goldsmith, Prior lists seven memoranda of money borrowed by Johnson of Newbery from 1751 to 1760.² Newbery was thus no Edmund Curll; his literary portrait hardly matches that of the unscrupulous bookseller often satirized in the century.

Sir John Hawkins, in his life of Johnson, called Newbery:

> a man of a projecting head, a good understanding, and great integrity; and who, by a fortunate connection with Dr. James, the physician, and the honest exertions of his own industry, became the founder of a family.³

The rising by one's own industry which impressed Hawkins is the main feature to be seen in the success stories for children which Newbery published and sometimes wrote himself. The first such success story appeared in 1744. This year, used to mark this chapter division, is important since no one before that date seems to have asked himself what kind of book would really please a child.⁴

The advertisement heralding the new work for children appeared on June 18, 1744:

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This Day is publish'd According to Act of Parliament (Neatly bound and gilt) A LITTLE PRETTY POCKET-BOOK, intended for the Instruction and Amusement of little Master Tommy and pretty Miss Polly; with an agreeable Letter to each from Jack the Giant-Killer; and also a Ball and Pincushion; the Use of which will infallibly make Tommy a good Boy and Polly a good Girl. To the whole is prefix'd, a Lecture on Education, humbly address'd to all Parents, Guardians, Governesses, etc.; wherein Rules are laid down for making their Children strong, hardy, healthy, virtuous, wise, and happy . . . Printed for J. Newbery, at the Bible and Crown, near Devereux Court, without Temple Bar. Price of the Book alone 6 d., with Ball or Pincushion 8 d.¹

The significant feature of this advertisement is that Newbery openly avowed amusement as a direct intention of a book for children. Earlier books, such as Bunyan's and Watts', may have provided some amusement, but they reluctantly admitted it.² If not greatly different in kind at this stage of the Newbery books, A Little Pretty Pocket-Book is different in degree from the earlier juvenile works.

Newbery is often posited as the author of the 1744 publication,³ but the book was published anonymously. It is not improbable that Newbery wrote it as no other claimants for the authorship of A Little Pretty Pocket-Book have been discovered.


²Thwaite, Pocket-Book, p. 3.

³Roscoe, A Check-List, p. 44 states that The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature, II, 561 assigns the authorship to Newbery. Darton, Children's Books in England, p. 4 agrees that the book is in character with Newbery.
The text is, however, more important than the attribution. The book was three and three-fourths inches by two and one-half inches and covered with Dutch boards, and dedicated "To the Parents, Guardians, and Nurses in Great-Britain and Ireland." The size and binding were already a feature of the earlier Boreman publications. The number of illustrations in *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book* marks a significant change in children's books. There are sixty-five illustrations in a text of ninety-six pages. Most of the illustrations depict children at play with both boys and girls dressed in clothes which were cut-down imitations of those their parents wore.

The preface to the book shows an indebtedness to John Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*. The Newbery book reads like a synopsis of Locke's observations and even credits Locke for some of them:

Would you have a Hardy Child, give him common Diet only, cloath him thin, let him have good Exercise, and be as much exposed to Hardships as his natural Constitution will admit. The face of a Child, when it comes into the World (says the great Mr. Locke) is as tender and susceptible of injuries as any other part of the Body; yet, by being always exposed, it becomes Proof against the severest Season and the most inclement Weather.²

¹I have used the facsimile of the 1767 edition which Thwaite has published. It represents one of the earliest of the complete texts available.

Newbery asks the parents whether they wish a healthy son, and answers with Lockean directives on diet and exercise. Newbery is as anti-physic as was Locke and he, as did Locke, urges the parent himself to educate the child.\(^1\) A comparison of the complete preface with Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* would in itself be a study. Newbery's debt to Locke is obvious from the beginning of his first published work for children. Examples of John Newbery's reliance on Locke will be seen in later Newbery works.

As for the text proper, *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book* represents a miscellany more like Mary Cooper's *A Child's New Play-Thing* than the *Gigantick Histories* which it resembles in format. The contents include letters from Jack-the-Giant-Killer, an advertisement, an alphabet, a poetical description of the four seasons and select proverbs for children's use. The book is a pastiche of the alphabets that Locke called for, some poetry, and a chapbook character, Jack-the-Giant-Killer, enlisted to enforce rules of deportment.

If there is a theme to *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book* it is that learning brings a reward. In a letter to Master Tommy the giant killer tells the child to learn songs because they will earn him the favor of gentlemen and ladies. The book is replete

\(^1\) *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57. For the complete text of the original preface, which is too long to cite here in its entirety, see pp. 55-62.
with what can best be termed Newbery's "coach and six" philosophy. The coach represents the stock reward which Newbery promises the boy who learns his book well. A country boy, for instance, who learns his book and is dutiful to everyone, especially his parents "... purchased him the Esteem of the greatest People, and raised him from a mean State of Life to a Coach and Six, in which he rides to this Day." Miss Polly is not left out of the reward that Master Tommy gets. She is told that since she stayed with her book and her needle, Lady Meanwell will give her a present of a fine gold watch and a ride in her own coach. 1

The "coach and six" philosophy is a distinctive hallmark of the entire John Newbery canon. There are other indications in the Newbery books of a middle-classness that is marked by a rags-to-riches theme or a feeling that all diligence pays. As in Pamela, virtue is rewarded. For instance, the moral to "The Great A Play," i.e. an alphabet, warns:

Chuck-farthing, like Trade,
Requires great Care;
The more you observe,
The better you'll fare. 2

This middle-class orientation was best reflected in the motto

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1 Ibid., pp. 66, 121-122. Later, in America, Horatio Alger similarly rewarded shoeshine boys with bank presidencies.

2 Ibid., p. 71.
of a later Newbery work: "Trade and Plumb-cake for ever. Huzza!"¹

Newbery was definitely writing for the middle classes on their way up socially and materially. For instance, under the picture of a little boy and girl bestowing charity:

All good Boys and Girls, when they see a poor Man, or Woman, or a Child in Want, will give them either Money or such Meat and Drink as they have to spare; which makes the whole world love them.

Though the Newbery publications were cheap (sixpence or eightpence), they were not read by the poor but by children of rich middle and upper class parents.²

A Little Pretty Pocket-Book with its mixture of morality and amusement, with its sentimental portraits of children aiding the poor, has no high literary merit. It does represent a clear blend of simplicity, humor and exhortation, although parts, like "Time's Address to Plutus and Cupid," are out of character with the rest of the book.³ While the amusement may be thinly scattered and while there may be some adult pieces in it, the total

¹Nurse Truelove's New Year's Gift (Worcester, Massachusetts: Isaiah Thomas, 1786), p. 58. This edition hereinafter referred to as New Year's Gift.

²Ibid., pp. 126, 88. The poor had to wait another half century for cheap books of their own when the Sunday School tracts of Hannah More and others proliferated.

³Ibid., pp. 35, 38.
effect of the work is natural. ¹

A Little Pretty Pocket-Book is not so important for what it is but for what it represents--one of the most influential and important books in the evolution of juvenile literature. ² John Newbery’s first commercial success in books for children went through ten editions by 1760. Had Newbery printed nothing more, he would have earned a place in the history of children’s literature.

Newbery did produce many more books for children. It is claimed that Newbery and his firm, from 1744 to 1802, produced for youth nearly four hundred works. ³ This chapter is concerned only with those books which appeared from 1744 to 1767 in Newbery’s lifetime. It is claimed that Newbery produced at least fifty original books in the period to 1767. ⁴

Newbery’s next substantial success after A Little Pretty Pocket-Book was The Circle of the Sciences which was printed from 1745 to 1748. It consisted of ten volumes “published by the King’s authority,” and dedicated to the children of the royal family. It contained single volumes on grammar, arithmetic,


²Rosenbach, Early American Children’s Books, p. 54.

³Roscoe, A Check-List, pp. 1-81.

⁴Halsey, Forgotten Books, p. 53.
rhetoric, poetry, logic, geography, chronology, and writing and two volumes on spelling. Remaining in print for half a century, the volumes of The Circle of the Sciences are properly textbooks but they were intended and used as domestic manuals for improving proficiency at home in various fields. The volumes on logic and rhetoric would not have met with the approbation of John Locke; Newbery is less slavish in his following of Locke in this series than he was in A Little Pretty Pocket-Book. Each volume issued separately or sold in series had the key phrase "made familiar and easy to young gentlemen and ladies," which indicates that the books were intended as primers to aid the parents in instructing their own children, as Locke recommended. However successful the question and answer format of The Circle of the Sciences was with children, it was not entertaining literature in the tradition of A Little Pretty Pocket-Book, nor was A Museum for young Gentlemen and Ladies or A Private Tutor for Little Masters and Misses which was advertised in 1750 and which reached twelve editions by 1799.

The Lilliputian Magazine; or the Young Gentleman and Lady's

1 For a rather complete history of the editions of The Circle of the Sciences, see Roscoe, A Check-List, pp. 11-14. That Newbery had not completely forsaken Locke is seen in the fifth volume of the series: Logic Made familiar and easy to Young Gentlemen and Ladies (London: J. Newbery, 1748), p. iv in which Newbery cites an unnamed modern logician "to whose excellent writings we own ourselves indebted." This is most probably John Locke.

2 Roscoe, A Check-List, pp. 50-51.
Golden Library, being an attempt to amend the world, to render the Society of Man more Amiable, and to Establish the Plainness, Simplicity and Wisdom of the Golden Age, so much celebrated by the Poets and Historians, advertised in 1751 and published in 1752 or after, was a return to the miscellany tradition which Newbery began in 1744. In the title, "Magazine" is used in the sense of miscellany or storehouse, not periodical; there is no record that the Lilliputian Magazine was ever issued in monthly parts. The work has been attributed to Christopher Smart or to Oliver Goldsmith. The book has for framework the Lilliputian Society, which is a cross between the Spectator Club and the Royal Society for children. The Lilliputian Magazine contains an adventure of children among thieves, an anti-cock-fighting letter, songs, riddles, "The History of Master Peter Primrose," a list of subscribers, jests, a juvenile Androcles and the lion.

1 The Goldsmith attribution seems incorrect since Welsh, A Bookseller, p. 35 and most critics place Goldsmith's meeting with Newbery at 1757 or 1758. From that time on Oliver Goldsmith was in Newbery's literary employ, hackwriting adult and at least one children's book but possibly many others. Barry, A Century of Children's Books, p. 64 rejects the Goldsmith attribution because Goldsmith was not in England when Lilliputian Magazine was first printed. The attribution to Christopher Smart is as least sounder on dates. Welsh, A Bookseller, p. 30 says that Newbery and Smart first met ca. 1750 to 1752. Smart became John Newbery's son-in-law in 1753 when he married Anna Maria Carnan, daughter of Mrs. Newbery by her first husband. Newbery could have written the work himself as well.
One of the short stories included is "The History of Miss Sally Spellwell." It represents Newbery's "coach and six" philosophy again. In brief, Miss Spellwell is the daughter of a country curate who died before she was born. Orphaned at twelve, Sally sews a lot and teaches young children to read until an accident serves to relieve her of poverty—a postchaise breaks down near her cottage. A lady in it, taken by the goodness of the child who offers her hospitality, discovers that Sally's father was a fellow student of her husband at the university. Sally is taken in and soon becomes the Lady's daughter-in-law. The story ends with the former Miss Spellwell riding in her own coach and with a motto promising:

If Virtue, Learning, Goodness are your Aim,
Each pretty Miss may hope to do the same.  

Newbery's promise of edifying entertainment is fulfilled in this volume and in the other works he produced.

The coach and six promise is offered again in A Pretty Book of Pictures for Little Masters and Misses or Tommy Trip's History

1 Janice Dohm, "Two and a half centuries of children's books: John Newbery, 1713-1767 and Frederic Melcher, 1879-1963," The Junior Bookshelf, XXVII (October, 1963), 192. I was unable to consult any edition of Lilliputian Magazine. There are eight copies extant, six of these in private hands at the time this study began.

of Beasts and Birds which was advertised for sale in 1752 with extant editions dating from the 1760's.¹ Two examples of its rags to riches enticement are:

He who ne'er learns his A, B, C,
For ever will a Blockhead be;
But he who to his Book's inclin'd
Will soon a golden Treasure find.

and "The Student":

From a Wretch cloath'd with Rags, begging alms at the Gate,
To a Nobleman bless'd with a plenteous Estate;
I am raised by my Learning, by Virtue and Truth,
And may this be the Fortune of every good Youth.²

In the Newbery publications thus far can be seen a simplistic ethic that is sentimental in the modern-day meaning of the term. Children who give their mites to beggars get even more money from their parents. Virtue always pays when children who are diligent and who learn well become rich Lord Mayors. The Richardsonian morality by which maids become ladies of the manor

¹See Roscoe, A Check-List, pp. 62-63. Roscoe lists fourteen editions of the work to 1787.

²Both quotations are from A Pretty Book of Pictures for Little Masters and Misses, or, Tommy Trip's History of Beasts and Birds . . . With a Familiar Description of Each in Verse and Prose . . . To which is prefix'd, the History of Little Tom Trip himself, of his Dog Jouler, and of Woglog the great Giant. Written by Oliver Goldsmith for John Newbery, "the Philanthropic Bookseller of St. Paul's Churchyard." The Fifteenth Edition. Embellished with Charming Engravings on Wood from the Original Blocks engraved by Thomas Bewick, for T. Saint of Newcastle in 1779. With the History, Adventures and Seclusion of the said Blocks for Nearly 100 Years set Forth in a Preface by the Publisher (London: Bewick Repository for Edwin Pearson, 1867), n.p. (facing title page), and xvi. Hereinafter referred to as A Pretty Book of Pictures.
can be seen in sharper, more obvious form in Newbery's books.

Even the more fanciful parts of the book, *A Pretty Book of Pictures*, for instance, Tommy Trip riding his dog Jouler, are made to enforce morality. Tommy leaves apples, oranges or plum cakes only at the doors of children who learn their books. Besides rewards for the good, Newbery has punishment for the children who are mean. The latter children are made to feel guilty in the anti-cock-fighting letter and in the passage on kindness to animals taken from *The Guardian* (Number 61). In *The Guardian* passage the fact that children in a Christian nation grow up to hurt animals is deplored. Locke is cited as authority on children being taught to treat animals with kindness. The article holds that man is as responsible for his treatment of animals as he is for his own species.

When animals are held on the same plane as humans, depiction of animals soon becomes sentimentalized. It will be seen how the tendency to pity animal suffering is accelerated and reflected by and in humanitarian reform within the latter part of the eighteenth century. For the moment, it is enough to note that a tenderness and concern for animals is evident in much children's literature from Newbery's day on.

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1 Contained pp. 111-124 in *ibid*.

In the prolific 1750's Newbery put out two holiday books in separate editions: Nurse Truelove's Christmas Box and Nurse Truelove's New Year's Gift: Or, the Book of Books for Children. Adorned with Cuts. And designed for a present to every little boy who would become a great man, and ride upon a fine horse; and to every little girl, who would become a fine woman, and ride in a Lord-Mayor's gilt coach. The latter title is enough to indicate that the rags to riches theme is present again. More blatant in its appeal to the middle-class children is the slant toward tradesmen. In a story of Mrs. Williams' College, Master Long, son of a Lord Mayor, objects to sharing a plum cake with the son of a mere tradesman. Mrs. Williams shows Master Long how indebted he must be to the tradesman for procuring all the ingredients in the cake. "Nay," she says, "you are indebted to Trade for the very Clothes that you wear, and, but for the Tradesman, you would not have a Shoe to your Foot." The story ends with a slogan that fits all John Newbery publications: "Trade and Plumb Cake for ever. Huzza!"

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1 I have used an American edition (Worcester, Massachusetts: Isaiah Thomas, 1786) in microcard facsimile. There is little difference in Thomas' editions and Newbery's originals since Thomas pirated Newbery's works, changing topical references at most. For instance in the title above Thomas changed Lord-Mayor's to Governor's coach for his American audience. No such change by Thomas appears in any of his editions cited in this dissertation. All further references to this edition will be referred to as New Year's Gift.

2 New Year's Gift, pp. 56, 68.
Another tale in New Year's Gift, "A Little Tale: The Benefit of Being Good," is just as blatant in its commercialization of virtue rewarded. In it, children who are good reap various rewards for their conduct. Mrs. Likelihood rewards the children's prayers with cherries. "The little old woman cut shorter" gives the children a magpie which teaches them to read. Mrs. To-and-again gives them a syllabub because they are not scared of witches and hobgoblins and therefore do not require a candle in their bedroom at night. The reader is told, "you see the consequences of being good."2

Just as bald is an advertising message, a device that Newbery used in most of his children's works. The books in Mrs. Williams' college just happen to be a list of the Newbery nursery books available at the sign of the Bible and Sun.3

As the Newbery books outlined above illustrate a tendency to provide a sentimental and simplistic ethic for the children of merchants and tradesmen, it would be helpful to investigate middle-classness and sentimentality, especially since these terms carry different connotations today than in the eighteenth century.

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1 The fabulous is often at service of the practical in Newbery. Talking birds do not merely entertain, they teach.


3 Ibid., p. 40.
The phrase middle class would not have been recognizable to the middle class in the eighteenth century. According to the OED, the term middle class dates from 1812. As applied in the eighteenth century, however, it did not refer to a class so much as a segment of a society united by common interests. Middle-classness was determined not so much by man's economic situation as by his attitudes.

The records of the eighteenth century are filled with success stories rivalling John Newbery's own life. Many occupations in the eighteenth century (lawyers, teachers, writers, actors) begin as trades and become professions within the same century. It is not so much the lives of the Defoes or the Newberys that are needed here to reinforce the theory of the rising middle classes. The rise is fact and is mirrored in the individuals and the professions they dignified. More particularly in our study we are interested in the attitudes which form a pattern of middle-class behavior in the eighteenth century. What the sons and daughters of tradesmen thought and believed, not merely the

1 Spearman, The Novel and Society, pp. 37, 43.


fact that they entered drawing rooms, is important to our study.

Among the attitudes which seem to form a pattern of middle-class behavior in the eighteenth century one might list puritanism, interest in trade, an eager curiosity about the world, especially in social and geographical exploration, sentimentalism, a zeal for education as a means of practical success or of social prestige, and social responsibility to one's family.¹

Most of the above characteristics have been seen in scaled-down form for children in Newbery's books. Puritanism has been investigated in a previous chapter. Newbery's interest in trade has been noted above. Samuel Johnson attested to the importance of trade in 1757:

> There was never from the earliest ages a time in which trade so much engaged the attention of mankind, or commercial gain was sought with such general emulation.²

At century's end a father reminded his son that he lived in a mercantile country and asked him who was more useful to the country: a lord powdered in the height of fashion who lives in grandeur or a merchant who enriches his country and contributes


to the felicity of the world. 1 Sentimentality will be defined later. A zeal for education as a means of practical success is the formula in many Newbery books. Newbery catered to and mirrored the middle-class interests of the eighteenth century by making his books appeal both to the middle-class child and the parent. That the middle class was interested in education can be seen early in the century when Steele deplored the fact that "only the middle kind of people" were concerned with teaching the young, restraining the wicked and providing for the aged. 2 It is only natural that tradesmen and farmers, themselves of little or no education, would desire to educate their sons and daughters. 3 This zeal lasts throughout the century as the later champions of schools for the poor were the middle classes. 4 With the establishment of a middle class came a new thirst for knowledge which began to be felt and supplied. 5


5 Berkeley, "About Books that Amused and Taught the Children of Olden Days," p. 149.
The common needs of the middle class often produced similar common values. To a greater degree than is generally supposed, the middle class shared certain fundamental ideas of right and wrong. These values, however, were so much taken for granted or assumed among adults that they were rarely described or discussed, either by the people themselves or in their reading matter.¹ On the other hand, in the children's literature of the time, these common but unspoken values were often introduced and discussed since children's books were frequently the means of didactic inculcation. This does not mean that the values introduced in children's literature will be identical with those found in adult literature. If anything the values in children's literature are likely to be more idealistic and simplified for the young readers. Ordinarily the middle classes shared a climate of opinion that was so obvious that it was not discussed but assumed:

In the middle-class way of thinking, the universe was a moral universe, governed by reasonable laws, in which right was unmistakably opposed to "interest." Middle-class interest opposed all actions that upset practical security. All such subversive actions were sin.²


Interest in manners and education founded on a utilitarian ethic produced a middle class conceived of as divided into shared interests rather than strict classes. The result was a vast audience which revolutionized publication practices not only by making the novel a success but by providing the writer with an instant public. Not only were the middle classes a popular market, which meant that the writer was no longer dependent on patronage, but the middle class eventually produced its own writers. That there was a new reading class spawned by a democratization of culture is seen in the fact that Swift wrote in such a way that this hired help could understand his writings, and Addison and Steele wrote "to criticize life in such way as might gratify the curiosity of persons of all conditions, and of each sex."  

Such a monolithic readership as the middle class was easily catered to in words which stressed the practicality of earning a living. The result was that the novel became the didactic enter-

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1 Spearman, The Novel and Society, p. 43.

2 C. T. Winchester, "The Literature of the Age of Queen Anne: General Characteristics of the Age," in An Old Castle and other Essays (New York: Macmillan Co., 1922), p. 148 claims that there were 300,000 middle-class people within five miles of Parliament in the eighteenth century.


4 Fisher, "Realism and Morality in English Fiction before 1750," p. 83.
tainment of the adult middle class. What the novel was to the adult middle class, juvenile fiction was to their children. As was noted in a previous chapter, the same movement that frowned upon the fantastic in novels worked against imagination in children's literature:

Such things as moon-leaping cows, Banbury cock-horses, booted cats, stirred but faint enthusiasm in the eighteenth-century middle-class mind. They were not yet "commercial propositions." They were not "respectable," in the Georgian or original sense of that very English adjective. They were the imbecilities of the peasantry.

The middle class did not want impossibilities; it wanted realism; it wanted to be able to recognize itself in what it read. The result in literature for adult or child was "Trade and plumb cake for ever. Huzza!" This could not be a natural war cry in England until mid-eighteenth century. It remained natural for at least a century. Literature for children which was born at the same time as a middle class and a reading public is almost entirely a product of the middle class:

The reading habit had come into the middling social life, and the English novel was born. The microcosm of children was to receive the reflections of this great change in the English character. Internal peace, increasing trade at home and abroad, wider literacy in all but the lowest classes, made such an opportunity...

1 Townsend, Written for Children, p. 16 connects the middle class with the rise both of the novel and of children's literature.


3 Humphreys, The Augustan World, p. 91.
for a quick brain as had not existed hitherto; and Newbery possessed the business intuition and the vague idealism to seize it.

Children's literature, in other words, was both a product and a reflection of middle-class mores in the eighteenth century.

It is not surprising, therefore, that children's literature of the eighteenth century reflects a quality often associated with the middle-class mind—sentimentalism. Discussion of sentimentality is complicated by the fact that sentimentality and sensibility often overlap. The earliest recorded usages of the term **sentimental** date from the 1740's. Whether the term was first used by Laurence Sterne in an undated letter (before 1741) to his future wife, or in a letter to Samuel Richardson from Lady Bradshaigh (Mrs. Balfour) ca. 1749, or in Horace Walpole's correspondence in 1746, the word seems newly coined at that time. In the Bradshaigh letter there is complaint about the term's vagueness:

Pray, sir, give me leave to ask you ... what, in your opinion, is the meaning of the word sentimental, so much in vogue amongst the polite, both in town and country? In letters and common conversation, I have asked several who make use of it, and have generally received for an answer, it is—It is—sentimental.

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Everything clever and agreeable is comprehended in that word. Whatever the term denoted, it is obvious that in the 1740's the word had favorable connotation. This is important because any definition of the term has to recognize an evolving meaning since by the end of the century, the word _sentimental_ was in disfavor with the same classes who earlier affected and championed its use. To Laurence Sterne, the word _sentiment_ suggested a pleasant philandering with emotion. _Sentimental_ as used in and by Sterne meant an indulgence in emotions for their own sake or a use of emotion rather than intellect. The famous passage in _Tristram Shandy_ in which Uncle Toby refused to kill a fly, explaining that the world was wide enough for both of them, is a good epitome of indulgence in the fad of sentimentality. "It was Sterne who taught the men and women of the Eighteenth Century what an exquisite pleasure might be derived from feeling the pulse of their emotions." No one writer, however, could


have "invented" the emotion. Sentimentality was in the air during the period.¹

Strictly speaking, the cult of the sentimental has a pedigree that goes back at least a hundred years before Sterne to the anti-Hobbesian philosophers and clerics who wished to combat Hobbes' philosophy in the *Leviathan* (1651) which saw man as naturally selfish and motivated primarily by self-interest. The opponents of Hobbes, searching for proof of man's benevolence and compassion, countered that man had a moral sense and was naturally virtuous and benevolent. The result was a snowballing sentimental ethic which has been traced to Francis Hutcheson, the Third Earl of Shaftesbury, Adam Smith or to the latitudinarian preachers who opposed Hobbes. Ironically, it is Hobbes in his anti-sentimentalism who forced his opponents into the opposite camp—the view that man was naturally perfectible and basically good, not depraved as the Puritans saw him and not egotistically selfish as Hobbes viewed him.²


One would have to investigate in full the works of Shaftesbury, Adam Smith, David Hume, Jean Jacques Rousseau and others to find the connection of sentimentality with the changing ethics of the times:

It would seem justifiable to conclude that the sentimental ethic was a continuous development and that it was basically the same urge however its expression varied from one writer to another. Shaftesbury's gentleman or man of taste, Hume's and Smith's man of sympathy and moral sense, the man of feeling of the novelist and dramatist, Rousseau's child of nature, all belong to the same family.

It is not our purpose here to decide which philosopher was of most influence on a cult which pervaded an era. Not to seek a single founder in a Sterne or a Shaftesbury is the best approach that can be taken here, short of a full-scale investigation into the pedigree of sentimentality.

More important than who started it is what is sentimentality. An appeal to emotions rather than intellect seems the common denominator of most definitions. "A writer who is primarily concerned with trying to enlist the reader's sympathies.


through an emotional appeal"¹ is termed a sentimentalist. Specifically, sentimentality is not simply a high degree of emotionality; it is consciously stimulated emotion, self-conscious emotionality which later becomes a test of fineness of nature, a part of social education and a fad.² When sentimentality becomes a test of fineness of nature, it merges with sensibility.

While the terms sentiment and sensibility fuse, especially in the later eighteenth century, sensibility in its restricted sense can be defined as "extreme delicacy and keenness of feeling and ultra-refinement of sensitiveness to beauty both natural and moral."³ It can easily be seen why and how sensibility came to mean moral sensitivity, roughly the equivalent of conscience.⁴ For example, the OED defines one meaning of the word as "capacity for refined emotion; delicate sensitiveness of taste; also readiness to feel compassion for suffering, and to be moved by the pathetic in literature or art."⁵ This is the meaning of sensi-

¹Johnson, "Sentimentalism in the Works of Sarah Fielding," p. 3.
⁵Volume XIX, p. 461, definition no. 6.
bility that appears most often in children's literature, a readiness to feel compassion and to be moved by pathos.

The qualities which at first made sensibility so appealing bring about its caricature later in the century when the word assumes a pejorative sense. The word sensibility acquires a pejorative use especially when a writer is castigating false sensibility, for instance, the woman who will wipe her eyes at a drama but not at a scene in real life. Mary Wollstonecraft best analyzed sensibility overdone:

... it is the result of acute senses, finely fashioned nerves, which vibrate at the slightest touch, and convey much clear intelligence to the brain, that it does not require to be arranged by the judgment. Such persons instantly enter into the characters of others, and instinctively discern what will give pain to every human being; their own feelings are so varied that they seem to contain in themselves not only all passions of the species, but their various modifications. Exquisite pain and pleasure is their portion; nature wears for them a different aspect than is displayed to common mortals.  

The first to use the word sentiment in a pejorative way was Hannah More in 1767 in an essay on the danger of sentimental or romantic connections in which she complained about the varnish

1 "Z," "How to Cultivate and Improve the Sensibility of the Heart," The Lady's Monthly Museum, II (1799), 118.

of virtue concealing vice. The word *sentimental* was used derisively in *A School for Scandal*, when Lady Sneerwell calls Joseph Surface a "sentimental knave." In Sheridan's *The Rivals*, the prologue uses the phrase "the sentimental Muse" with derision.

The cult or fad of both *sentimental* and *sensibility* share the same fate. Newly-coined phrases in mid-century, they degenerate by century's end to pejorative terms. So much is the fate of the words shared that many writers see *sensibility* and *sentimentality* as synonymous terms. In this study it will not always be possible to distinguish between sentimentality and sensibility in children's literature. However, where a distinction would be important, we would label a passage in which a writer is using


emotional scenes consciously to make his readers feel for a character as an example of sentimentality. Sensibility we would use in the *Oxford English Dictionary* meaning as a capacity for refined emotion; readiness to feel compassion for suffering and the pathetic in literature when this is purposely cultivated or encouraged in an individual. For instance, when an author complains that if tender passions of love, pity, compassion and sorrow are not frequently exercised by real or imaginary objects the heart becomes unfeeling and callous, this would be an example of sensibility deliberately cultivated for a moral and social purpose. Sensibility becomes an indication of virtue used by an author to show a state of refinement and tenderness.

Sentimentalism, if not subject to an exact delineation, has some basic elements: the presence of a moral element or problem; an appeal to emotions over intellect; the artificial, improbable or the exaggerated; good or perfectible human beings as characters.

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and an emphasis on pity. One could isolate other qualities to be found in the man of sensibility or of sentimentality: good will toward men, delight in actions that have an obligation, feeling the misery of others with inward pain. Tears are also associated with both sentiment and sensibility. In an ode, "To Sensibility," Helen Maria Williams asks: "Who, for her apathy, would lose the sacred Power to weep?" Tears became pleasurable to the sentimental. It is asked later in the century by two writers of children's works whether any distress which produces tears can be without pleasure. So much does sentimentality involve a cult of tears for their own sake that one writer wonders whether the sale of pocket handkerchiefs greatly increased about the middle of the eighteenth century.

Sensibility and sentimentality are both allied with benevolence, which again indicates their interrelatedness. One writer

1 Arthur Sherbo, *English Sentimental Drama* (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1957), cited by a review, *MLQ*, XIX (1958), 183. Sherbo is applying the term strictly to the drama but the qualities isolated would fit no less in adult or juvenile fiction.

2 *The Prompter*, No. 63 (June 17, 1735), cited by Crane, "Suggestions toward a Genealogy of the 'Man of Feeling,'" p. 219.


defines sentimentality as an emphasis on and admiration of a highly self-conscious benevolence. ¹ Another writer sees the capacity for various modes of benevolence as properly belonging to sensibility.²

Certainly the cult of feeling prompted by the emotional fixations of the sentimentalist or the cultist of sensibility helped spread humanitarianism. The emotional extravagance of the literature of the period must not be seen merely as a literary or a social fad. It is at the same time the manifestation of a changing point of view.³ The cult of sentiment naturally leads to a search for objects to be pitied and relieved. Therefore attention to the destitute, the imprisoned, to children and animals results in a reinvestigation of the treatment of orphans, Negroes, and animals and of the institutions of schools, prisons and hospitals.⁴


The connection between sentimentality and sensibility and children's literature should be apparent. "When good conduct becomes almost altogether a matter of exercising the good passions, sentimentalism is not only possible but almost inevitable."¹ This can be seen in the definitions and lists of qualities to be found in the cult of emotion of the sentimentalist and the man of exquisite sensibility:

Aussi ne nous étonnerons-nous pas si la littérature enfantine de la fin du XVIIIᵉ et du début du XIXᵉ siècle appartient au genre sentimental. ...²

It is not surprising that the virtues which adults of the times were interested in would be impressed upon the children. What is surprising is that though sentimentality and sensibility have been much studied in separate genres, no one has investigated sentimentality in children's literature.³ As books for children are filled with admonitions concerning conduct in the straight

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³ The drama, the novel and philosophy have received several studies each, all of which exclude children's literature.
courtesy literature tradition or in its later fictional dress, one can expect to find much sentimentality in it. The equation of good conduct with virtue is found in every Newbery book investigated. The equation will become more obvious as the century progresses so that the good boy becomes the sickeningly good boy, too good to be true. Children in children’s books who are paragons of virtue spend every waking hour inculcating good or relieving suffering. For example, a bird caught by a birdcatcher describes its exquisite sufferings (itself a change in sensibility to pathetic fallacy), but then the bird describes his rescue by a girl who has no other sentiments than those of nature. The bird finds the girl’s solicitude entirely engaged in relieving of pain, succoring of innocence, preserving of life and restoring beauty.¹

There are innumerable examples such as the above of sentimentality in children’s literature, so that the evolution of the genre or sub-genre of children’s literature marks a similar evolution in the changing attitudes toward sentimentality and sensibility. Sensibility in children’s literature is not only a product of the times but a mirror of it. The uses and abuses of sentiment are amply reflected in the literature for children of the eighteenth century. As a matter of fact, because of the

simplicity inherent in books for children, sensibility can be more clearly seen in the works which were sold to the sons and daughters of merchants and tradesmen than in adult works. Specific examples of sentimentality will be made evident in the consideration of individual works throughout this study. It will be seen that all aspects singled out by commentators on the social scene, from pity to false sensibility, from self-approving joy to an equation of good conduct with virtue will be evidenced in children's literature. From little Billys and Arabellas giving their allowances to the poor to eighteenth-century prodigies questioning the slave trade, children's literature in the century epitomizes sensibility no less and perhaps better than other genres.

To return to specific works produced by John Newbery, it can be seen that the virtue-pays theme of the early Newbery books is part of a sentimental ethic that equates hard work with instant financial and social success. It must be remembered that it was not the poor for whom John Newbery was writing but the middle-class children who might rise, just as Newbery did, from obscurity to fame, from ignorance to knowledge and money.

Not all of John Newbery's works are prose fiction. In 1761 he produced *The Newtonian System of Philosophy Adapted to the Capacities of Young Gentlemen and Ladies, and familiarized and made entertaining by Objects with which they are intimately acquainted. Being the Substance of Six Lectures read to the*
Lilliputian Society by Tom Telescope, A. M. And Collected and methodized for the Benefit of the Youth of these Kingdoms. . . . 1

In this work, sometimes called The Philosophy of Tops and Balls, Tom Telescope, a precocious child, comments on the frivolity of adults and recommends to them the study of philosophy. As in The Circle of the Sciences, Newbery is interested in familiarizing and adapting adult study for children's use, especially for parents who were not themselves well-versed in the subjects.

In the same year or a year or two later, Newbery returned to the fictional novelette for children. He published a short novel of thirty-one pages, The Renowned History of Giles Gingerbread who lived upon Learning by Tom Trip. 2 Giles Gingerbread has been attributed to John Newbery, Oliver Goldsmith and Giles Jones. 3 Text, not authorship, is important in this anonymous work. In it Sir Toby Thompson tells his own rags-to-riches

1 (London: John Newbery, 1761). There were at least seven editions to 1787.

2 I have used an undated edition (York: J. Kendrew, n.d.). All references to the work, unless otherwise specified, will be to this edition and will be referred to as Giles Gingerbread. Roscoe, A Check-List, p. 54 questions the 1761 date and places the first edition at 1765. The book is definitely a product of the work of Newbery in the 1760's, which is exact enough for our purposes.

3 Giles Jones was an intimate friend of Newbery and was the resident secretary of the York Building Water Company. John Nichols, Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century (London: For the Author, 1812-1815), III, 466 credits Giles Jones and his brother, Griffith, an editor of The London Chronicle, Daily Advertiser and The Public Ledger for many years, with many of Newbery's most popular books.
story to a poor boy. He relates how he was befriended by Mr. Goodwill, rewarded for informing on a wicked servant, taken in as a partner with Goodwill, how Goodwill dies, leaving Toby everything, including the inevitable coach with six horses. It is such a reward that is similarly held out to the poor boy:

... a poor man or a poor boy, may get a coach if he will endeavour to deserve it. Merit and industry may entitle a man to any thing.

After this revelation, the plot is predictable. Giles learns his book, Sir Toby hears of it and takes him to London in his coach. The only significant difference between this and earlier coach and six stories is that there is provided a dramatic foil to Giles--"the boy who knew nothing" becomes friendless, is disgraced and a burden to mankind.¹ That the deserving always get rewarded by an advance in social standing and that the lazy always get punished is part of a simplistic ethic that identifies good conduct with virtue, which, as was shown above, inevitably breeds sentimentality.

The Twelfth-Day Gift: or, the Grand Exhibition, containing a curious Collection of Pieces in Prose and Verse (many of them original) which were delivered to a numberous and polite Audience, on the subject of Religion, Morality, History, Polity, Prudence, and Economy, at the most noble the Marquis of Setstar's by a Society of Young Gentlemen and Ladies, and registered at their

¹Giles Gingerbread, pp. 10-16, 6, 25, 27-29.
Request by their old Friend Mr. Newbery. With which are intermixed some occasional Reflections, and a Narrative containing the Characters and behaviour of the several Persons Concerned\(^1\) appeared in 1764. Although its title page ends with "Example draws where precept fails/ and Sermons are less read than Tales," this volume is not prose fiction and seems unlike most of John Newbery's books for children.\(^2\) The Twelfth-Day Gift, as was Newbery's first work, is a medley, this time taken from a variety of famous sources: Addison's Hymns, Pope's "Universal Prayer," a story from The Spectator, an eastern tale from The Rambler, and the King's speech to Westmoreland from Henry V.\(^3\)

A year later Newbery again turned from the medley format of children's literature for the last time before his death to publish juvenile fiction. In 1765 he advertised:

> The Philosophers, Politicians, Necromancers, and the Learned in every Faculty are desired to observe that on the 1st of January, being New Year's Day (Oh, that we may all lead new lives!), Mr. Newbery intends to publish the following important Volumes, bound and gilt, and hereby invites all his little Friends who are good to call for them at the Bible and Sun, in St. Paul's Churchyard: but those who are naughty are to have none. He then lists The History of Giles Gingerbread and

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\(^1\)Title cited by Harker, "Some Eighteenth-Century Children's Books," p. 555. I was unable to read a copy of any of the six editions of the work in the eighteenth century.

\(^2\)Roscoe, A Check-List, p. 76 suspects that the 1764 advertisement was premature as the earliest edition he could locate was 1767.

\(^3\)Barry, A Century of Children's Books, p. 234.
other books. There is in the Press and speedily will be published either by Subscription or otherwise, as the Public shall please to determine, The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes, otherwise called Margery Two-Shoes.¹

Though not the first story written for children, The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes was the most influential of the stories for children written in the eighteenth century. The work was originally printed in 1765,² and went through innumerable editions. One writer was able to locate 174 English and American editions of the work up to the nineteenth century.³ Little Goody Two-Shoes is still in print.⁴

Not on popularity alone is interest grounded in Little Goody Two-Shoes. It is seen as almost the first child's novel in the English language, the first sustained narrative written expressly for children.⁵ Goody Two-Shoes also epitomizes the special features and innovations which John Newbery brought to a sober and primitive field. While A Little Pretty Pocket-Book

¹Cited by ibid., pp. 67-68.


was Newbery's first publication for children, to look at The
 History of Little Goody Two-Shoes is to see at once how John
Newbery developed and how, therefore, the history of children's
literature improved in the twenty years since Newbery's first
book for youth. It is also to see at once why Goody Two-Shoes
was important to and influential in the development of a litera-
ture for children.

The plot of Goody Two-Shoes follows the typical pattern
seen in the earlier books of Newbery. Like many of the other
Newbery books, Little Goody Two-Shoes is a progenitor of the
poor-boy-makes-good story. The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes
tells the story of Margery Meanwell, alias Little Goody Two-Shoes
or Mrs. Margery Two-Shoes. Her story is narrated for those:

Who from a State of Rags and Care
And having Shoes but half a Pair,
Their Fortune and Their Fame would fix,
And Gallop in a Coach and Six.¹

Margery Meanwell and her brother Tommy are the children of
a tenant-farmer who is victimized by Sir Timothy Gripe and Farmer
Graspall. Sir Timothy harasses Mr. Meanwell who goes to court

¹The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes; Otherwise called,
Mrs. Margery Two-Shoes . . . A Facsimile Reproduction of the
Edition of 1766 with an introduction . . . by Charles Welsh
(London: Griffith and Faran, 1882), title page. Hereinafter
abbreviated GTS. All further references to this book will be to
this edition, a facsimile of the earliest edition not in private
hands when this study began. See Roberts supra for details of
the first edition which does not differ significantly in text
from the third edition of 1766.
three times, each time succeeding in keeping out Sir Timothy. Finally, when Mr. Meanwell can no longer afford the price of justice, the entire Meanwell family is turned out of doors. Margery's father soon dies of a fever aggravated by not being near Dr. James's Fever Powder.¹ A few days later Mrs. Meanwell dies of a broken heart and Margery and Tommy are left alone. The orphans live on hedge berries until a clergyman, Mr. Smith, and his wife take them in. When Goody is given her first shoes (she was so poor that she had only one before this time) she cries proudly, "See two shoes" to the townspeople. Thus, Margery receives her fetching nickname.

Meanwhile, Tommy is sent to sea and Margery is again turned out when Farmer Graspall threatens the cleric with cutting his tithes. The original woodcuts Newbery commissioned for the book encourage the child to "Pray look at him," [Tommy] in his sailor suit, as they earlier portrayed Margery and Tommy left "to the Wide World."

Goody is undaunted. A natural rustic genius, she learns to read by walking with the children who are returning from school. One chapter later, she is already a "trotting tutoress" who instructs the slower children. A typical Newbery heroine, Goody is

¹Sold by John Newbery! Newbery sprinkles informal advertisements for his books and wares in many of his children's books. See Muir, English Children's Books, p. 66 for further examples of advertising messages interpolated in Newbery books.
a quick study.

Goody is not totally perfect; she falls asleep in church. When she appears at night the country louts assume she is a ghost; thereupon she delivers an admonition against superstition.

Chapter eight is "Something which happened to Little Two-Shoes in a Barn, more dreadful than the Ghost in the Church." This turns out to be a robbery plot which Goody foils, even though the victim would have been her nemesis, Sir Timothy Gripe. Goody returns good for evil and the child-reader is encouraged to emulate her.

The last chapter in the first of two sections in Goody Two-Shoes finds the heroine appointed principal of a "country college" or dame school. Part Two is entitled "The Renowned History of Mrs. Margery Two-Shoes, President of ABC College." Poor peasant rises by education and book learning to principal of a college. A description of the school follows. It is a rather progressive Neo-Lockean school. The ushers at the school are birds; the door keeper is a dog, and a lamb carries home the school-books. This is rather permissive even by today's standards. "Ralph the Raven" arranges upper-case alphabetic letters and "Tom the Pigeon" takes care of the lower-case letters. Margery's kindness to animals is thus rewarded by the help she receives in her rather revolutionary school. A progressive, Goody disavows use of the hornbook for rote learning, instead scatters the alphabet around the classroom. Goody makes learning a game, and her
pupils learn despite themselves. This is straight out of Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*. If Goody had not read Locke, it is evident that her author did. While the children are being enchanted with "Put them right, Ralph," a command to a raven to spell words correctly, they get morality lessons against superstition and meanness.

How then does *Goody Two-Shoes* differ from the earlier moralists in children's literature, John Bunyan and Isaac Watts? It is mainly in that the morality in Newbery's publication comes through the action; it is not merely tagged on. Even an obvious moral on death comes off in Newbery's book in charming detail:

Epitaph of a Dormouse really written by a little boy

I

In paper case
Hard by this place,
Dead a poor dormouse lies;
And soon or late,
Summoned by Fate,
Each Prince, each Monarch dies.

II

Ye Sons of Verse,
While I rehearse,
Attend instructive rhyme;
No sins had Dor
To answer for—
Repent of yours in time.¹

The metamorphosis that English medieval drama experienced is seen here. The steady secularization of religious drama finds paral-

¹GTS, p. 114.
lel in the shrinking of moral to fit action, not vice versa as in the earlier books for children. There is a similar parallel in later drama. Like Ibsen's *A Doll House*, Goody Two-Shoes is a story that "... grows up in the middle." Goody Two-Shoes began with an essay on land reform but the book soon yields to a realistic story. Just as Ibsen did later, Newbery converted sentimental morality into realism.

The rest of Goody Two-Shoes consists of anecdotes in the life of Goody. There is the history of Mr. Lovewell, a ship magnate who loses all, including a son in Florence and a daughter in the Barbadoes. The children are united through the agency of Goody. In another incident, Jumper, the dog door-keeper, instinctively pulls out Goody and her pupils, thereby averting disaster just before the roof of the school caves in. There are also marital troubles, so Goody invests in a "Considering Cap," the three sides of which read: "I may be wrong," "It's fifty to one you are," and "I'll consider on't." How Goody comes up with betting odds is never explained, but her three-sided cap brings domestic bliss to the couples of her community.

Goody herself soon partakes of marital bliss. Sir Charles Jones proposes to her. And of course at her marriage her long-lost brother Tom appears as a splendid, handsome and rich gentleman. Margery, now Lady Jones, gives advice on "the true use of

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riches," and takes in the children of Sir Timothy Gripe. The story ends with the death of Goody which everyone mourns.

Two appendices follow. The Golden Dream or the Ingenious Conversion of Midas's Lesson is really Goody's advice on riches revisited. "The Adventures of Tom in Prester John's Country and the Hottentots" is promised as a sequel, and finally there is a letter from the printer. ¹

That is the plot of Goody Two-Shoes. To appreciate it genuinely it should be seen in an early eighteenth-century copy. The original woodcuts by Thomas Bewick as well as the size are integral to the book. It measured two and three-fourths by four inches,² small enough to be slipped into a child's pocket. One should see an original or facsimile edition as later editions are often expurgated or revised.

The first imitation of Goody Two-Shoes was probably The Orphan: or the Entertaining History of Goody Goosecap by Toby Teachem, published ca. 1780 by John Marshall. There was a similar or identical text in the 1790's entitled The Entertaining History of Little Goody Goosecap Containing a Variety of Amusing and Instructive Adventures. Goody Goosecap is not so competent

¹ Roberts, "The 1765 Edition of Goody Two-Shoes," p. 69 points out that the appendices appear only in the second and later editions and do not represent Newbery's first intention. They are excrescences, not essential to the plot of the book.

² Welsh, Introduction, GTS, p. xxiii.
as the original Goody. The heroine of the book is often not the child but an adult. Goody Goosecap is befriended by a Mrs. Bountiful, a widow. When Goody falls into a ditch while pursuing some flowers and almost drowns, she receives a moral lecture. In the earlier book Goody Two-Shoes herself delivered the moral lectures. Goosecap is excused for being charmed by the flowers but is told she should have asked someone to pluck them for her.¹

In the imitation of Goody Two-Shoes, Goody Goosecap's history and that of the people she meets is adult, labored and heavy. For instance, there is "The History of Miss Martha Wilson" who was ruined by wicked men. The author appends a note that this tale is told to regulate children's future conduct.² Newbery would have saved the details for an adult work.

There are other differences between Goody Two-Shoes and Goody Goosecap. In some thirty years, the child heroine falls victim to the cult of sensibility. When Goody Goosecap, who is really Fanny Fairchild, gets a diamond necklace she lets fall a flood of tears in gratitude and withdraws to her room to compose herself. Fanny Fairchild often weeps. When Mrs. Bountiful on her deathbed presents Fanny to her son who has 10,000 pounds, the reader is told that Fanny "was drowned in tears." Goody

¹(London: For John Harris, & Baldwin and Cradock, n.d. [1790?]), pp. 9, 11-12. All further references to this book will be to this edition and will be abbreviated Goosecap.
²Ibid., pp. 28-29.
Goosecap is "the child of feeling" to rival the "man of feeling." The book ends with Fanny's marriage, not her death; there is an even happier ending in the imitation than in the original.  

The main difference in the 1790 book is that the author has converted a Cinderella story into a cautionary tale. A child, for instance, is robbed by a stranger who offers her sugar plums and who ties her to a tree after stripping her naked. Mrs. Bountiful hopes that the child's punishment "would be a lesson to her in future, not to trust to the stories of strangers, or to stray out of the sight of her parents." There are few parents or guardians available in the early Newbery books to give moral lectures.  

Imitations of Little Goody Two-Shoes show not only the popularity of the original, but the changing fashions of the times. In 1815 appeared Mary Belson Elliott's A Modern Little Goody Two-Shoes, a nineteenth-century bastardization of the original. And in 1818 the same author published The Adventures of Thomas Two-Shoes Being a Sequel of the Modern Goody Two-Shoes.  

Similar touchstones to the times other than outright imitations of Goody Two-Shoes are the expurgations of selected passages of the original work. For instance, for the overscrupulous in the 1790's on, the supposed ghost is left out. Even though the  

1Ibid., pp. 34, 40.  
2Ibid., pp. 63, 58.
story seeks to demonstrate that there are no ghosts, the story was felt to be undesirable for children. The chapter in which Margery was taken for a witch is similarly deleted in expurgated copies of the 1790's and later. Another example of cutting of the original: "The pirates took his daughter, and attempted to rob her of her chastity." The last three words are omitted in later, fastidious editions.2

Numerous chapbooks, alphabets and abridgements of Goody Two-Shoes also appeared. These too attest to the popularity of the original work published by Newbery.

One cannot say, "written by Newbery," even though his hand seems evident in many passages. Credit for authorship is split. Oliver Goldsmith, Griffith Jones and Giles Jones, his brother, were all writing for Newbery in 1765 when Goody Two-Shoes first appeared. Newbery could have written the book as well. As many editors, not content with leaving the work anonymous as it first appeared, insist on listing Oliver Goldsmith as the author, it is necessary to review attribution of this, one of the first novels written in English for children.

Oliver Goldsmith was writing for Newbery before the 1760's. Thomas Bewick, the famous engraver who did the woodcuts, according


to his daughter's testimony, claimed Goldsmith as the author. Washington Irving and other writers, using parallel passages from *A Vicar of Wakefield* as evidence, assumed the author to be Goldsmith. To cite parallel passages from *A Vicar of Wakefield* or "The Deserted Village," in which a clergyman also appears, or to cite the chapter on land reform in the first few pages of Goody Two-Shoes as proof of Goldsmith's influence seems weak.

A stronger argument might be Goldsmith's own words in comment on children's literature. He suggests the ideal type of children's book that ought to be written:

Instead, therefore, of romances, which praise young men of spirit, who go through a variety of adventures, and at last conclude a life of dissipation, folly, and extravagance in riches and matrimony, there should be some men of wit employed to compose books that might equally interest the passion of our youth, where such an one might be raised for having resisted allurements when young, and how at last became lord mayor; how he was married to a lady of great sense, fortune, and beauty: to be as explicit as possible, the old story of Whittington, were the cat left out, might be more serviceable to the tender mind, than either Tom Jones, Joseph Andrews, or a hundred others, where frugality is the only good quality the hero is not possessed of. Were our school-masters if any of them have sense enough to draw up such a work, thus employed, it would be much more serviceable to their pupils, than all

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1 See Washington Irving, *Oliver Goldsmith: A Biography* (Rev. ed. in one volume; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1864), pp. 201-202. Darton, *CHEL*, XI, p. 376 sees Goldsmith's attribution amounting almost to certainty. The latest summation of the evidence for Goldsmith's authorship is Sister M. Charles Veronica, "'Goody' by Goldy?" *Elementary English*, XLIII (October, 1965), 574-575, which is not convincing. For example, Sister Veronica compares the clergyman in "Deserted Village" ("a Man he was to all the country dear," l. 141) with Mr. Smith's being a very worthy clergyman in Goody Two-Shoes.
the grammars and dictionaries they may publish these ten years.\footnote{The Bee, No. 6 (Sat., Nov. 10, 1758), in James Prior, ed., Miscellaneous Works of Oliver Goldsmith, M. B. Including a Variety of Pieces now first collected (London: John Murray, 1837), I, 102.}

If Goldsmith wrote the above passage before he met Newbery one could say Goldsmith's views on children's literature bore fruit in \textit{Giles Gingerbread} and \textit{Goody Two-Shoes}. While no one knows how Goldsmith and Newbery met,\footnote{Ralph Martin Wardle, Oliver Goldsmith (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1957), p. 109.} Goldsmith was writing adult works for Newbery by January, 1758 or a few months earlier.\footnote{Kent, Goldsmith and his Booksellers, p. 61.} It could be that Goldsmith was merely mirroring the taste of Newbery for whom he was then writing.

Besides inconclusive parallels from Goldsmith’s other works, there is negative evidence against Goldsmith’s authorship. There is on the part of Goldsmith no acknowledgement that he wrote the book, no presentation copy and no receipt from Newbery for his services.\footnote{Stone, "The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes," p. 336.} Granted the negative evidence and the inconclusiveness of other evidence, the best judgment on the attribution of \textit{Goody Two-Shoes} to Goldsmith is that his part in the book will always be uncertain.\footnote{Dohm, "Two and a Half Centuries of Children's Books," p. 192. The only book ascribed with certainty to Goldsmith among the children's books is \textit{A History of England in a Series of Letters from a Nobleman to his Son} (London: J. Newbery, 1764).}
The case for John Newbery as the author of *Goody Two-Shoes*, though less trumpeted than that for Goldsmith, seems somewhat sounder. One author traces the grammatical faults in *Goody Two-Shoes* ("She was in Hope he would have sent to the Clerk," "Therefore she laid very still," and "Don't the ox plough?") to John Newbery's private memoranda where the same mistakes recur. However, the preface to *Goody Two-Shoes* militates against Newbery as the author. *Goody Two-Shoes* begins, not with the story of Margery and Tommy but with an essay on land reform. In this first chapter the fictional reader interrupts the book and asks whether the book is meant for children. The rejoinder is: "Why do you suppose this is written by Mr. Newbery, Sir, this may have come from another hand."²

The book has also been attributed to either or both of the Jones brothers who worked with Newbery on occasion, Giles and Griffith Jones.³ A conservative conclusion is to accept none of the claimants as the author of the text, leaving *Goody Two-Shoes* anonymous until and if more conclusive evidence is unearthed.

Attention to attribution ought not divert the reader from analysis of the contents of *Goody Two-Shoes*. The most significant

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² *GTS*, p. 11.
feature about Goody Two-Shoes in comparison with earlier works for children, even John Newbery's, is that most padding is omitted; there are few interlarded stories and anecdotes to clog the narrative.¹ The book is also strongly secular in its approach. For instance, when Margery's father dies, the author says simply, "He died miserably." After the mother dies suitably of a broken heart the reader is told, "It would have melted your heart" to see the orphans turned out,² but God is not mentioned nor religion endorsed as in the earlier Puritan stories. All of Newbery's books seem to have a strong secular flavor, perhaps in reaction to the Puritan books for children.

There is also the influence of Locke as seen in the schoolroom and in the games employed to encourage children to learn. The letter games Goody invents are seen as among the "twenty other ways" Locke hinted at to cozen children to read.³ This is not to deny the originality of The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes. At last a success story was written in secular terms with humor and charm for the child in an edition especially arranged for him. The length (140 pages) alone shows a sustained consistent effort that is far beyond what the chapbook offered. The near two hundred editions attest to the book's popularity

¹Moore, Literature Old and New for Children, p. 181.
²GTS, p. 13.
³Barry, A Century of Children's Books, p. 69. See STCE, sec. 146, p. 182.
with children. To know Goody Two-Shoes is to know the best of Newbery's productions; to know Newbery is to know children's literature in the eighteenth century; to know that literature is to know the range and the potential of literature for children in English. Goody Two-Shoes shows what can be done with the novel for children by a writer with a gift of humor.\(^1\) Newbery discarded most of the padding common in children's books of the period: extraneous information, interlarded stories, disjointed moralizing, and improbable travel sketches. Instead Newbery develops his theme around a central figure of a serious little girl engaged in practical everyday affairs.\(^2\)

More importantly, Goody Two-Shoes begins the moral tale for children as illustrated in its attack on eighteenth-century landlords or in its sentimental ethic in which virtue is rewarded and the erring are punished.\(^3\)

Goody Two-Shoes, however, was once almost out of print—not because of its obvious defects, such as its child heroine speaking like a middle-aged woman\(^4\) and other violations of verisimilitude—but because it was displaced by a changing fashion in the later

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 68.

\(^2\)Moore, Literature Old and New for Children, p. 181.

\(^3\)Avery, Nineteenth Century Children, p. 29.

eighteenth century. Charles Lamb describes well the books that succeeded *Goody Two-Shoes* in a letter to Samuel Taylor Coleridge:

*Goody Two-Shoes* is almost out of print. Mrs. Barbauld's stuff has banished all the old classics of the nursery. The shopman at Newbery's hardly deigned to reach them off an exploded corner of a shelf when Mary asked for them. Mrs. Barbauld's and Mrs. Trimmer's nonsense lay in piles about. Knowledge must come to a child in the shape of knowledge, and his empty noodle 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 while 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. Is there no possibility of averting this sore evil? Think what 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.

When science took over, the imaginative tale, as in *Goody Two-Shoes*, was doomed. *Goody Two-Shoes* did manage to stay in print; Lamb's fears therefore were unjustified, but *Goody Two-Shoes* yielded in popularity to the work of Barbauld and Trimmer which Lamb did predict. The books of Barbauld and Trimmer will be discussed in later chapters.

First the contribution of John Newbery ought to be summarized. Then the works of other writers for children contemporary with *Goody Two-Shoes* will be investigated.

Simply to list the works of Newbery would be to write the first chapter of a history of children's books in England as well.

as a chapter of real history.¹ Some of the more prominent titles in the Newbery canon have been discussed above. John Newbery published sixty-seven books for children in a little over twenty years of book publishing.² These alone would make Newbery prestigious in the children's book field. What is more, John Newbery, besides influencing the quality of children's literature for decades, founded a publishing firm which alone produced from 1744 to 1802 almost four hundred books that can be labelled children's literature.

On John Newbery's death in 1767, Francis Newbery, his son, succeeded to the business in partnership with Thomas Carnan, the son of John Newbery's wife by her first husband. Francis Newbery, the son, gave up active publishing in 1779 or 1780. Thomas Carnan died in 1788. Carnan's publishing rights succeeded to Elizabeth Newbery, the wife of Francis Newbery, John Newbery's nephew. Francis the nephew had published on his own until 1780 when he died. His widow Elizabeth continued the business. She was bought out in 1802 and she died in 1821. Another branch of publishing under the Newbery name was that headed by the son of Mary Newbery and Michael Power, John Power, the grandson of John Newbery, who

²Muir, English Children's Books, p. 66.
published from 1780 to 1792.¹

But mere numbers of books do not illustrate the importance of Newbery in the sphere of children's literature. Not only is Newbery the first to show consistent interest in the field of children's literature but in his work can be seen, in petto, the entire spectrum of children's literature from grammar and morality books to nursery rhymes and the children's novel.²

John Newbery decided the form and substance of children's literature for three or four generations.³ Besides being the first to open a shop where books for children were available in great quantity, besides being the first publisher for children to advertise widely, Newbery produced a series of books for children with specially commissioned original woodcuts and with attractive bindings.⁴

Whatever Newbery's books owed to others, they had a distinctive style all their own.⁵ The qualities contained in the Newbery books ought to be analyzed. For all their faults these Newbery books possessed an originality of style marked by simpli-

¹ Roscoe, A Check-List, p. iv. Much credit should be given Roscoe for sorting out the confusing details of the various segments of the Newbery publishing firm.

² CHEL, p. 377.

³ Osborne, "Children's Books to 1800," p. 20.

⁴ Dohm, "Two and a half centuries of children's books," p. 192.

⁵ Thwaite, Pocket-Book, p. 18.
city and homeliness.\(^1\) Not only is the admonitory tone of the Puritans missing in Newbery, it is replaced with a distinctive cheeriness in content.\(^2\) There is much humor and levity in the productions of the bookseller whose motto was "Trade and Plumb Cake For Ever." The cheerfulness distinctly Newbery's is traceable to the motivation that Newbery reinforced in his readers. No longer were children to be ruled by fear as they had been in the Janeway books. In Newbery's books the child is ruled by love of study which is fostered by mixing amusement with study. John Locke could not have done better than the Newbery books in which children learn because it is profitable. Children do good in Newbery's books not because they fear hell but because they will benefit with a coach and riches.\(^3\) The religious ethic has been supplanted by a mercantile one. Newbery successfully catered to and capitalized on the middle class of the day by providing the juvenile novel for the children of novel-reading parents. Thus, though Newbery does not escape the charge of catering to the moral craze of the times, he at least infused imagination and adventure into his children's books.\(^4\) He thus changed the character


\(^2\) Egoff, Children's Periodicals of the Nineteenth Century, p. 9.

\(^3\) Earle, *Child Life in Colonial Days*, p. 287.

\(^4\) Moses, *Children's Books and Reading*, p. 49.
of children's books for generations and influenced the child of the times. Lamb and Coleridge have already been cited in defense of *Goody Two-Shoes*. Robert Southey epitomizes the children for generations after Newbery's life who read the gilt-covered productions from the Bible and Sun. Robert Southey was given twenty such books, including *Giles Gingerbread* and *The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes*. In gratitude, he testified they "... laid the foundation of a love of books. ..."1 Newbery influenced children directly for decades and indirectly to this day influenced the quality of books for children.2

To appreciate Newbery's efforts in the context of his own times it would be well to contrast his work for children with that of other writers in the same time span, the 1740's to the 1760's.

There is only one work of the 1740's for children extant to rival Newbery's productions in the same decade:3 *The Governess:

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2 This is seen in the annual medal of excellence in children's literature which is given to modern children's books. The award is named after John Newbery.

3 Mary Mitchell Collyer was the author of *A Christmas Box for Masters and Misses* (1748-1749) but no copies of this book for children survive. The work of Boreman and Cooper, since it precedes Newbery's, was covered in the previous chapter.
Or, The Little Female Academy Calculated for the Entertainment and Instruction of Young Ladies in their Education (1745) by Sarah Fielding (1710-1768), sister of Henry Fielding. This, the only work for children written by Miss Fielding, went through eight editions in the eighteenth century.\(^1\) The Governess was not a manual for governesses, but a primer for girls on behavior toward each other and their teachers.\(^2\)

The Governess covers nine days at the school of Mrs. Teachum, a gentlewoman who teaches reading, working and behavior to nine pupils who range in age from six to fourteen with the majority of them between six and twelve. Most of the plot consists of the girls telling their true confessions of former days when they were disobedient or unruly. The stories are allowed to the girls as entertainment on days when their deportment warrants. In the most lively scene in the book, the girls' deportment does not warrant reward. There is a beautiful knock-down, drag-out fight\(^3\) that is reminiscent of the Molly Seagrim battle


\(^2\) See Letter of Miss J. Collier to Samuel Richardson in Richardson, Correspondence II, pp. 61ff., cited by Georg Plügge, Miss Sarah Fielding als Romanschriftstellerin (Bautzen: E. M. Monse, 1898), pp. 8-9.

\(^3\) (5th ed., revised and corrected; London: A. Millar and sold by T. Cadell, 1768), p. 45. All references to this work will be to this edition unless otherwise specified and will be abbreviated The Governess.
in the churchyard in *Tom Jones*. Eight pupils fight over an apple. The ninth pupil, Miss Jenny Peace, does not. It is she who brings a truce to the quarrelling students, and once they make up, suggests that they tell stories.

The rest of the book consists of the stories told for the next eight days, each story illustrating some bad trait from the girls' past life which they now much repent. Miss Jenny chooses to tell the story of two giants, Barbarico and Beneficio, a fairy tale which is allowed only because of its high moral content. This harks back to the dedication of the novel which aims to inculcate an early inclination to benevolence and a love of virtue in the minds of young women by showing them that their true interests should be in cherishing and improving their amiable dispositions and habits.¹

As in Newbery, Fielding's book for children inculcates a virtue-rewarded message. For instance, Mrs. Teachum tells her pupils that all her endeavors are to make them happy and if they will be good they "... will reap no small advantage from it."² In comparison with Newbery, Fielding seems to have more sentimentality in her work, i.e. indulgence of emotions for their own sake. When the peacemaker, Jenny Peace, leaves the school there is an emotional scene that one writer calls a "carnival of weeping"

¹ *The Governess*, p. iii.
that is "staged for no other purpose than eliciting of tears."\textsuperscript{1} Even the usually stolid Mrs. Teachum weeps as the tears go on for three pages.

Despite its sentimental and heavy moralizing, The Governess is important as one of the earliest books for children in England. It represents the first use of the boarding-school setting which it popularized for many years.\textsuperscript{2} The Governess represents as well a moral tale for children which antedates The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes by a generation. It lacks the charm of the latter work but it was influential. The Governess influenced Mary Lamb's Mrs. Leicester's School (1809), Dorothy Kilner's Village School (ca. 1795) and Martha Butt Sherwood's The Governess (1820). Sherwood's version of The Governess was a ruthless revision which dropped all but one of the fairy tales and stuck original sin on every page.\textsuperscript{3} Sherwood provides an interesting touchstone into the taste in children's literature seventy years after Sarah Fielding's work, but the Sherwood version is justly seen as one of the fiercest examples of editorial recension in the whole of literature.\textsuperscript{4}

\textsuperscript{1}Johnson, "Sentimentalism in the Works of Sarah Fielding," p. 36.

\textsuperscript{2}Gardiner, English Girlhood at School, p. 341.

\textsuperscript{3}F. J. Harvey Darton, The Life and Times of Mrs. Sherwood From the Diaries of Captain and Mrs. Sherwood (London: Wells, Gardner, Darton & Co., Ltd. [1910]), p. 35.

\textsuperscript{4}CHEL, p. 380.
Another work for children influenced by Sarah Fielding's *The Governess* was *The Young Misses Magazine, Containing Dialogues between a Governess and several Young Ladies her Scholars* . . . by Jeanne Marie Le Prince de Beaumont. Not a periodical, the two-volume book appeared in 1757. Madame Beaumont came to England in 1748 where she became interested in education and began to write for children. In *Young Misses Magazine*, a governess, Mrs. Affable, instructs six young ladies aged five to thirteen years. This is the framework, very likely borrowed from Sarah Fielding, which holds together the dialogues, fairy tales, Biblical stories and geography lessons.

The fairy tales are easily the most entertaining part of *Young Misses Magazine*. They are, however, admitted, as they were in *The Governess*, to enforce a moral. The fairy Candida tells a king that she assumed the shape of a rabbit because she knew that those who are kind to beasts are kind to man.¹ Even the famous tale of "The Beauty and the Beast," which first appears in Beaumont's book is told for a moral:

Observe also, my dear children, that those who do well are always rewarded; if Beauty had refused to die instead of her father, or if she had been ungrateful to poor beast, she would not have been a great queen afterwards.

¹ *The Young Misses Magazine: Containing Dialogues Between a Governess and Several Young Ladies of Quality, Her Scholars* . . . Translated from the French of Mademoiselle Le Prince de Beaumont (Edinburgh: For Silvester Doig, 1795), pp. 15-16. This is not to be confused with its sequel, *The Young Ladies Magazine* by the same author which appeared in 1760.
The author even steps in to correct her own stories through her persona, Mrs. Affable, who says of one story that if she were the fairy she would have severely punished the mother who spoiled her boy by giving him sweetmeats. The book abounds in such advice. Girls are told that riches will not get them respect. The result is constant priggishness. Lady Sensible, one of the pupils, says doing good is so pleasurable she cannot see how anyone can be wicked.¹

Besides the framework, Madame Beaumont shares the sentimental ethic seen in Sarah Fielding which states that doing good makes you feel good and is invariably rewarded. Such sentimental simplicity, which repels today, drew raves in the later eighteenth century. In 1775 a review of another of Beaumont's books found her popular because of attention to the morality in her works, delicacy of feeling, diversified characters, naturalness of style and readiness of invention.² Madame Beaumont deserves some fame if only for providing the last spark of the fairy tale in England with her famous "Beauty and the Beast."³

Another imitation of The Governess' framework was A Description of Millenium Hall (1762) which has been attributed to Goldsmith. There is little evidence for this attribution and

¹Ibid., pp. 77, 102, 103, 181.
³Averill, The History of French Children's Books, p. 11.
the editor of the modern definitive edition makes no mention of Goldsmith as author. The book is usually seen as the work of Sarah Scott, sister of Elizabeth Montagu, although Goldsmith may have had some hand in its revision. Millenium Hall purports to be an account written by a gentleman who meets on his travels a community of women in the country who are devoted to works of philanthropy—Mrs. Mancel, Mrs. Morgan and others. The school run by the ladies includes a group of young girls aged ten to fourteen. The school is also a haven for impecunious ladies and for ex-circus performers and freaks who are protected from sensation seekers. Millenium Hall even had provision for animals who were preserved from hunters.

Millenium Hall was dedicated to John Newbery in a Lockean preface that compares the minds of children to sheets of white paper and gives Newbery credit for his constant endeavors to in-


culcate the best principles in the minds of youth. Sentimentality can be seen in the title of the work which promises to "... excite in the Reader proper Sentiments of Humanity." The book presents a veritable utopia which, besides being a haven for freaks, is a boarding house for poor children. Every child after the fifth one born to any poor family is taken in as soon as it can walk. Even animals are released from "forced slavery," especially those animals cruelly trained to jump over sticks and to perform tricks for man's amusement. ¹

Since Millemium Hall reached four editions by 1778, it can be numbered among the successes of the publisher John Newbery. It is placed here since it represents an imitation of a rival work, The Governess by Sarah Fielding.

There was little else available in England from 1744 to 1765 for children that did not come from John Newbery's shop. "Newbery's is such a fresh lone voice in children's literature at this time that he is a bit hard to explain."² Newbery's sixty volumes seem few today in an era of prolific publications for children but John Newbery's works for children had little competition, excepting sporadic books among the early children's books such as The Governess, Young Misses Magazine, and Millenium Hall.

¹ Ibid., pp. 1-2, 24-26, 23, 17.
² Egoff, Children's Periodicals in the Nineteenth Century, p. 8.
CHAPTER V

CHILDREN'S LITERATURE: 1766-1789

The literature for children in the first two-thirds of the eighteenth century largely showed the influence of John Locke. While Locke's influence can be found until the end of the century, his vogue is properly from 1725 to 1765.1 It is Jean Jacques Rousseau who is of most influence on the literature produced for children in England in the last part of the eighteenth century. It is estimated that two hundred treatises on education published before the end of the eighteenth century were in some way influenced by Rousseau's Emile.2 Emile was originally published in Amsterdam in 1761 and the following year appeared in Paris, followed the same year by an English translation. There were eleven French and five English editions within the century.

It is worthwhile to investigate further one of the

1MacLean, John Locke, p. 2.


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seminal books in the history of literature. Unlike John Locke's Some Thoughts Concerning Education with which Rousseau sometimes agrees and to which it is indebted, Emile is a novel which relates the development of a child of nature. In his preface Rousseau illustrates a difference in treatment from Locke in the investigation of the child. Rousseau claims that nothing is known of childhood because authors ask what a man ought to know instead of what a child is capable of learning. "They are always looking for the man in the child, without considering what he is before he becomes a man."

Rousseau's actual program for the child at first sounds like Locke revisited. Some of the prescriptions and proscriptions for the child read like Locke's treatise. Rousseau is anti-physic; he wants Emile kept from doctors and cites "that wise man, Locke," as agreeing with him. Rousseau recommends that children not be delicately nurtured but accustomed to hardships of climate and condition. However, the actual undertaking of education assumed in Emile goes far beyond Locke:

I have therefore decided to take an imaginary pupil to assume on my own part the age, health, knowledge,


2 "Author's Preface," Emile, translated by Barbara Foxley (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd.; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. [1957]), p. 1. All references to Emile unless otherwise specified will be to this edition; book number will be indicated in Roman numerals; page number will be indicated in Arabic numerals.
and talents required for the work of his education, to guide him from birth to manhood, when he needs no guide but himself.

Rousseau in the novel becomes the tutor of young Émile, insisting as a cardinal rule that the child obey him.¹

Rousseau's program for the child includes manual labor and bodily exercise with the child's education often consisting of conditioning. For example, the tutor fires a pistol with a small charge, gradually increasing the charge until the child is accustomed to the loudest explosions. In a similar way, the child becomes accustomed to spiders and toads. Thus the child learns to bear pain which Rousseau labelled the first and most useful lesson for the child, arguing that children are made small and weak on purpose to teach them valuable lessons.²

Rousseau eventually splits with Locke's pedagogy. He finds reasoning with children to be at the height of fashion and traces its origins to Locke's maxims. Rousseau finds the system of reasoning with children to be unjustified by its results. This does not mean that he replaced reasoning with authoritarian commands to the child. On the contrary, Rousseau states that the child is to be given no orders. The child is merely to know that he is weak and that the tutor is strong and thus his condition puts him at the mercy of the tutor or guardian.³

¹I, 21, 18, 20, 5.
²I, 23, 31, 30; II, 41.
³II, 53, 55.
That the child was perfectible was Rousseau's constant statement. He goes further than the tabula rasa theory of Locke. For Rousseau there is no original sin and the first impulses of nature are always right. Therefore, he says, education in the earliest years ought merely be negative, i.e. keep the child from vice and error.¹

In many ways Rousseau contrives to have nature implant lessons in the child, and even to dole out rewards and punishments. For instance, if the child should break the windows of his room:

Let the wind blow upon him night and day, and do not be afraid of his catching cold; it is better to catch cold than to be reckless. Never complain of the inconvenience he causes you, but let him feel it first.

Rousseau does not mention what happens should the child catch pneumonia, but one suspects that would be part of the lesson too. Rousseau constantly insists that punishment not be imposed by the tutor, but that it should grow out of the child's fault or error. The most the tutor should do in punishment is to arrange so that ill effects naturally come from bad actions. When the child lies, for example, he should not be believed when he later speaks the truth or should be falsely accused when he is innocent.

As for rewards, Rousseau is rather parsimonious with these as contrasted with Locke. Rousseau cites Locke as saying that things should be arranged so that experience will convince a

¹II, 56, 57.
child that the most generous giver gets the biggest share. Rousseau disagrees since he wants children to perform good actions even when no reward ensues.¹

As part of the program to protect the child from evil and error, Émile is kept from books. At twelve, Rousseau boasts, Émile will hardly know what a book is. Later, the one and only book allowed Émile is Robinson Crusoe. With this single exception allowed because Robinson Crusoe enables Émile to live by his own wits in a state of nature, Émile reads no books. Books were thought dangerous by Rousseau since they could give the child a false picture of life or acquaint him with evils he need not be familiar with. Clearly it is the misuse of books that made Rousseau proscribe them:

The misuse of books is the death of sound learning. People think they know what they have read and take no pains to learn. Too much reading only produces a pretentious ignoramus.

Therefore the child is to learn from direct experience, not from books. As Rousseau curtly puts it, "Émile's knowledge is confined to nature and things."²

This is not to suggest that Émile is always to be a recluse. Émile will eventually live among his fellow men, but for his period of training he is kept from society.³ Émile is often

¹II, 64, 65, 67.
²II, 80; II, 147, 170; IV, 214; V, 414.
³IV, 202.
popularly viewed as a hermit. In fact, Émile attends fairs, ice cream parties, banquets and he races with other children.¹

The substance of Rousseau's *Émile* has been detailed in brief outline. Its most characteristic statement is so obvious as to seem simplistic to a modern reader—the child is not a man. This was, however, a cardinal principle of Rousseau since much of Émile's education is in reaction to the treatment of the child as if he were an adult. In Rousseau the child is more a young animal, less a young adult:

Rousseau seems to have initiated the idea that childhood is something inherently different from manhood and—but this does not necessarily follow—it has its rights and privileges.²

The beginnings of the cult of the child and the central dictum that the child be taught by experience are the main features of *Émile*.

Rousseau's statements on pedagogy seem clear enough, but it must be pointed out that *Émile's* influence was spread not only by what was understood in *Émile*, but also by what was misunderstood.³ For example, "Teach your scholar to observe the phenomena of nature,"⁴ was a rule corrupted by Rousseauists who made


⁴Émile, II, 131.
children memorize geographical facts through books which Rousseau had clearly prohibited. Some followers of Rousseau mistook guiding a child, which Rousseau recommended, for delivering lectures at a child, which he did not recommend.¹ Ironically, starting as Rousseau did from ideas of love and respect for childhood, some followers of Rousseau became instruments of a blind tyranny which Rousseau would not have countenanced. So thoroughly did they analyze the nature of the child that they deceived themselves into believing that they understood it.²

Rousseau's more positive influence has been traced to some major propositions in the field of education. Among these are: the importance of manual activities, the need for physical exercise, the mild treatment of children with discipline coming by natural consequences, and the radically new idea of following nature.³ That cult of childhood seen in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century is traceable to Jean Jacques Rousseau. Within a year or two of Émile, little Émiles were being educated all over Europe.⁴

¹Pickard, I Could a Tale Unfold, p. 182.
In England Rousseau had a far-reaching popularity. Rousseau was widely known through the favorable reviews his works received in magazines. For instance, The Monthly Review in 1763 called *Emile*, "Perhaps the most extraordinary treatise that ever appeared since the invention of printing."  

Another review found the book "ingenious, entertaining, paradoxical, and whimsical."  

There was some opposition to *Emile* among the English reviewers. The dominant charge was that *Emile* proposed an impractical mode of education which was impossible to execute. Another complaint was that Rousseau was anti-sentiment, that is, Rousseau did not deliberately seek out objects for *Emile* to pity. One reviewer asks why the pleasures of relieving the distressed should be withheld from the young. Through such criticism and appreciation, Rousseau's return to nature was readily assimilated in England because his ideas were in harmony with contemporary English thought.  

Although Rousseau's *Emile* was quickly and, in general, enthusiastically lauded by the reviewers, the influence of Rousseau

1 XXVII, 96.
5 Babenroth, English Childhood, p. 212.
on the content of children's literature was, surprisingly, long-delayed. It was not until the 1780's that the philosophy of Rousseau as expressed in *Émile* was made palatable for children's consumption in books designed for them. This is ironic, since, as seen above, Rousseau allowed but a single book to *Émile*. To the imitation *Émiles* in later children's books, no such limitations existed. It took a generation for Rousseau's philosophy to invade children's literature. Rousseau will be returned to when the children's literature of the 1780's, which is large stamped by that philosopher, is considered.

In the 1760's, Rousseau's was not yet a direct influence on children's literature. John Newbery died in 1767 but the tradition he set in children's literature was perpetuated in his publishing house. In 1768, under the pseudonym of Solomon Winlove, appeared *An Approved Collection of Entertaining Stories Calculated for the Instruction and Amusement of all little Masters and Misses*. The book went through six editions, all printed by Elizabeth Newbery. The book is a collection, not a children's novel, and marks a return of the fairy tale and nursery rhyme metamorphosed into a moral tale. Jack Horner in this version, for instance, loves to read and is rewarded for it. He gives a beggar sixpence and gets an invisible coat which enables him not to perform wonders but to see which children are naughty and which are

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1 Roscoe, *A Check-List*, p. 79.
good.¹

Francis Newbery produced The Brother's Gift; Or, The Naughty Girl Reformed in 1768. In this tale Kitty Bland is reformed through the agency of her brother, Billy. A similar story issued by Elizabeth Newbery in the same year was The Sister's Gift, Or, the Bad Boy Reformed Published for the Advantage of the Rising Generation. In this story Kitty Somers is a paragon of virtue; whereas her brother George is naughty. George does cruel things like sticking pins in flies and making them pull playing cards until they drop from exhaustion and dropping a cat from a church steeple. When his sister paints his sins black, he reforms.²

It should be apparent from the brief summaries of the books outlined since 1767 that Newbery's death displaced some humor from children's books. Children became more perfect in post-Newbery juvenile books with a bad child often as foil to the good, all without the relief of humor and charm that was seen, for example, in Goody Two-Shoes. The good child like Goody begins to become insufferable under Newbery's successors. At least, however, the faults of the children are realistic and suited to their age. George Somers was only eight when he stuck pins in flies; his twelve-year-old sister who knows better talks him out

¹(Worcester, Massachusetts: Isaiah Thomas, 1789), pp. 10-17.
²(York: J. Kendrew, n.d.), pp. 18, 20, 27.
of the practice by telling him that the fly feels the pin the way the human body feels a sword.¹

Sometimes the accounts of child behavior are simply unbelievable. For example, Filial Duty (ca. 1770) relates a series of pedestrian historical tales of children who showed remarkable filial devotion. An eight-year-old child, for instance, whose parents are too poor to afford a coverlid to keep off flies strips himself to the waist and exposes his skin to the flies. "When they are filled with my blood, said he, they will let my parents be at rest."²

The historical account and the moral tale displaced the fairy tale, as was shown above. Francis, Newbery, John Newbery's nephew, produced in 1772 The Prettiest Book for Children Being the History of the Enchanted Castle under the pseudonym of Don Stephano Bunyano. The title seems to indicate that at last children would be getting imaginative stories. For a while the reader's expectations seem fulfilled. Don Stephano Bunyano is just back from seeing a giant. Alas, the giant is Instruction, the virtuous governor of the Enchanted Castle. Bunyano soon launches into a diatribe against nursery rhymes and nonsensical stories which make greater babies of children than they were be-

¹Ibid., p. 22.

fore they read them. Such books are compared to rattles or hobby horses. Bunyano says that if children are going to read they might as well get reason and understanding at the same time.¹

Bunyano is evidently a servant in the employ of John Locke and his followers. Even in that part of the book children might have relished most, Bunyano's fight with a giant, the giant surrenders and gives up his enchanted castle, converting it into a picture gallery, museum and library.²

Not only does The Prettiest Book for Children recommend a Lockean theory of knowledge, but it would incur the wrath of Rousseau for recommending a list of Mr. Newbery's books, and for providing the children with a catalogue of bad behavior: fibbing, name-calling, torturing animals, playing with firecrackers, disobeying parents, and neglecting one's books.³ Rousseau wanted Émile kept from learning bad habits through books, even those which attempted to proscribe such actions.

Children's books after Newbery often catalogue the crimes of children. These were seldom mentioned in Newbery; instead the virtues of industry and love of books were emphasized. Juvenile Trials for Robbing Orchards, Telling Fibs, and other Heinous Offences by Richard Johnson does catalogue the petty crimes of

²Cited by Barry, A Century of Children's Books, p. 57.
³The Prettiest Book for Children, pp. 9, 13.
children. In this book of 1772 a tutor and governess devise a plan for self government of pupils, probably inspired by Sarah Fielding's *Governess*. Whether children enjoyed an entire book on their follies or not, the book reached eight editions by 1816.¹

One of the few books of the period with some of the John Newbery touch is *The Picture Exhibition; Containing the Original Drawings of Eighteen Disciples*. . . . which was written by Richard Johnson and published in 1774. Just as did John Newbery in *Goody Two-Shoes* and other works, the author puts in adult references. The miniature woodcuts in *Goody Two-Shoes* were listed as by Michaelangelo. Likewise, *The Picture Exhibition* is supposed to be by Peter Paul Rubens with other works parallel to those in adult literature. There appears the picture of "The Idler by Master Johnson," and "Leap Frog by Mr. Godfrey Kneller." The book also includes a list of the Newbery publications available in the 1770's. The motivation for study is similar to that in early John Newbery works. Children are told to learn since otherwise they would have no chance of "making any figure in the world."²

¹Margaret J. P. Weedon, "Richard Johnson and the Successors to John Newbery," *The Library*, IV, 5th series (1949), 50. Weedon is the source of the Richard Johnson attribution of this book and any others listed as his in the above text. Weedon hereinafter referred to as "Richard Johnson."

²(Worcester, Massachusetts: Isaiah Thomas, 1788), pp. 38, 102, 48, 111.
Besides showing the advantages of industry over idleness, the Picture Exhibition is also concerned with eliminating cruelty toward animals. Children are warned that those who are cruel to animals when young will be guilty of other inhumanities later. Stealing bird nests is compared with the Athenian youth who put out birds' eyes with a needle. This sentimental concern for animals and the attempt to eradicate class snobbery stamp the book as middle class. Children are told not to despise the poor who are more serene than the exalted. At least they are not uneasy about gilded carriages. But even when the moral lesson is directed against class snobbery, it seems to reinforce it. For example, the reader is told not to stand up during leapfrog and dump one's playmates. This fault is excused of those boys whose parents cannot bestow on them a liberal education, those who "... are incapable of any great ideas, and who, being suffered constantly to range about the streets, learn nothing but cruelty and naughtiness."¹

There is some imagination in Vice in Its Proper Shape Or, the Wonderful and Melancholy Transformation of Several Naughty Masters and Misses into Those Contemptible Animals which they most Resemble in Disposition, Printed for the Benefit of all good Boys and Girls which appeared sometime before 1781, probably in 1775. Jack Idle drowns while climbing a tree when he is playing

¹Ibid., pp. 37, 55-56, 29, 106.
hockey and is reincarnated as an ass. Master Anthony Greedyguts, who dies at the age of twelve through gorging himself, becomes a pig, and suitably enough Miss Dorothy Chatterfast becomes a magpie.

The coach and six philosophy which was somewhat transmuted in post-Newbery books appears again in *The History of Little King Pippin with an Account of the Melancholy Death of four naughty boys, who were Devoured by Wild Beasts, and the Wonderful Delivery of Master Harry Harmless, by a Little White Horse* which was advertised in 1768 but most likely did not appear until 1775. The frontispiece to the edition reads:

> Wou'd you be learned, good, and great,  
> Our hero strive to imitate;  
> For merit was the only thing,  
> That made poor Pippin's son a King. 

The book tells the story of Peter Pippin, son of Gaffer and Gammer Pippin, whose first job in life as a child is chasing crows from the corn; between chores he reads. Mrs. Bountiful hears him cry for a book and sends him to school at her expense. At school Pippin is soon dubbed "king" because he settles the quarrels of his fellow classmates. Eventually "King" Pippin is taken in by William Worthy who gives him a position in a counting house. The

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1 *Vice in Its Proper Shape* . . . (Worcester, Massachusetts: Isaiah Thomas, 1789).

2 (Philadelphia: Young, Stewart, and McCulloch, 1786), n.p. facing title page.
life story of Peter Pippin is an epitome of one of its morals, "Good fortune is generally attendant on good and virtuous actions." Good fortune is not attendant on bad actions as the wicked children in the book meet dire ends. George Graceless, trying to get a turtledove's eggs, falls into a river and drowns. Harry Harmless urges his classmates to leave robins alone since they were the birds that covered the children in the ballad of the children in the wood. For this good action of Harry, the beasts do not eat him but they do devour the other truants who stole the robins' nest. Judging from this book, one would guess that good children have gotten heroic, that bad children have gotten perverse since the 1740's.

In Richard Johnson's Juvenile Biographer (1780) children too good or too bad to be true are used as foils. Miss Betsey Allgood is foil to Master Billy Badenough who kills birds and robs their nests. The good who are praised are those like seven-year-old Miss Nancy Careful who waters her father's tomb with her tears. Her brother becomes heir to a merchant in a counting house and eventually a member of Parliament. Not only are bad children inattentive to the sensibilities of animals, but good

1 Ibid., pp. 1-30, 39, 11, 28, 34.
children in this work are scrupulously attentive to the needs of animals and of the poor. Polly Charity pretends to be eating her cake but slips it into her pocket and gives it to a poor child.1

Virtue and Vice; or the History of Charles Careful, and Harry Heedless Showing the Good Effects of Caution and Prudence. And the many Inconveniences that Harry Heedless experienced from his Rashness and Disobedience, while Master Careful became a great Man, only by his Merit (1780) continues the pattern of extreme foils to teach behavior. Charles Careful and Harry Heedless are sons of neighboring gentlemen. Harry falls out of a tree when bird-nesting. Harry has too much pocket money; Charles has a moderate amount. Charles inherits a fortune and a coach and six. Harry is dismissed from school and his father does not want him, so Charles gets Harry a job with a merchant.2 The obvious moral is that the good boy who minds his parents will ride a coach and that the careless child will go barefoot and forlorn.3

When a children's version of some stories from the Arabian Nights' Entertainment is issued in 1780 under the title The Oriental Moralist, one is certain that imaginative stories for

3Harwood, Love for Animals, p. 252.
4(London: E. Newbery, n.d.), The stories are listed as translated by Rev. Mr. Cooper.
children have arrived. Actually, the stories are told for the
sake of the moral, and the eastern tale was allowed no more
memory in children's books than was the fairy tale. For example,
in *The Oriental Moralist*, the moralist intrudes on the action:

> It may not be amiss to remind my youthful readers that
> unwarrantable curiosity, and a degree of obstinacy
> too natural to young people, were the causes of the
> third Calendar losing his eye.

It is amazing that the children were given the stories at all.

The most imaginative children's literature in the period
being discussed was undoubtedly *Mother Goose's Melody: Sonnets
for the Cradle*, which was advertised for sale in 1780-1781. This
fact supports the Stationer's Hall entry of December 28, 1780,
but no copy is extant of this edition. The earliest extant copy
is an American edition of 1786 and the first English edition ex­
tant is of 1791, from Francis Power and Company. The ninety-six
page book is in two parts. Part one has lullabies of an old
nurse, and part two has "lullabies" of Shakespeare. The book has
been attributed to Goldsmith.1 *Mother Goose's Melody* is properly

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1 "Prince Agib and the Adamantine Mountain," cited by Barry,
*Century of Children's Books*, p. 53.

2 Margaret J. P. Weedon, "Mother Goose's Melody," *The
Library*, VI, 5th ser. (December, 1951), 216.

3 See *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes*, edited by Iona
and Peter Opie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), p. 34 in which
it is claimed that on the night of January 29, 1768 when *The Good
Natured Man* was produced, Goldsmith sang a song about a woman
ossed in a blanket as high as the moon. This song appears in
Mother Goose's Melody. Whitmore, *Mother Goose*, p. 6, sees the
coincidence as certainly of some force.
a song book and ordinarily would be excluded from our study, but the book is the only child's edition of some of the nursery rhymes which have come down to this day and represents a rare edition of rhymes which were often suppressed in favor of true histories or more realistic stories. So out of character with most of the books of its times is Mother Goose's Melody that one writer suspects that the book was written in the 1760's and held up since the commercial success of nursery rhymes was in doubt, and that the book only came to light after the death of John Newbery, when Elizabeth Newbery took over in January, 1780. 1 If this contention is true it would explain why this book of all those published after John Newbery's death differs in openly advocating the proscribed nursery rhymes and fairy tales.

Another book of a different stamp than the usual secular offerings of John Newbery and his successors was Hymns in Prose by Anna Laetitia Barbauld which first appeared in 1781 and reached a fifth edition by 1794. Laetitia Aikin (1743-1825) at the age of three was a precocious child who knew French, Latin and Greek. She married Rochemont Barbauld, a clergyman's son who became a Unitarian. Mr. and Mrs. Barbauld established a school in the village of Palgrave. It was here that Mrs. Barbauld wrote Hymns in Prose for her adopted nephew, Charles, because, as she put it in her preface, she could find no book for children printed on

good paper in large type with wide spaces between the lines and suited to the comprehension of the youngest reader. The technical innovation of large type with well-spaced lines enabled small children to do their own reading instead of having the books read at them. As for content, Barbauld's book is rather humdrum, due somewhat to the fact that she is talking down to three-year-olds. *Hymns in Prose* is most un-Rousseauistic in its insistence that children learn religion from the earliest age. *Emile* was not taught religion directly. The aim stated by Barbauld is enough to indicate how she differs from Rousseau. She writes, she says, to impress ideas of God by connecting religion with a variety of sensible objects to form deep, strong and permanent associations and lay a foundation for future life. Such a statement might have won Barbauld the approbation of Locke and the scorn of Rousseau, but when she states that she wants her hymns committed to memory, she loses the support of both philosophers. One sample should be enough to indicate the pedestrian nature of Barbauld's highly successful *Hymns in Prose*:

The cattle can lie down to sleep in the cool shade, but we can do what is better; we can raise our voices to heaven; we can praise the great God who made us.

It is no wonder that Samuel Johnson castigated her work for its

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She tells the children, "This is a cat, and that is a dog, with four legs and a tail; see there! you are much better than a cat or a dog, for you can speak."¹

Johnson's criticism could also fit Barbauld's Early Lessons for Children which appeared in 1780. These were texts for teaching young children to read at home. The passage which probably incurred Johnson's wrath was:

But can Puss talk? No. Can Puss read? No. Then that is the reason why you are better than Puss because you can talk and read.²

Four-year-old Charles and his mother go on walks during which he receives much natural knowledge which is directed to the worship of God. But nature is ready to punish and reward children in this work; for instance, a disobedient lamb gets devoured by wolves. A naughty boy who treats a robin cruelly is deserted by his parents and finally is eaten by bears.³ Perhaps Barbauld had read her Rousseau. Her aim seems to preclude his methods, but her methods in stories for children seem to make much use of Rousseau's central dictum that the child should learn through nature.


and be punished and rewarded by it.

Most of Barbauld, however, is very simplistic and not prose fiction so much as guided tours through God's nature. All good is rewarded, all evil is punished. For instance, a boy who eats all his cake in a short time is sick. Little Billy who gives some cake to an old blind fiddler enjoys good digestion and a virtuous glow. It is no wonder that Lamb, Johnson, and Coleridge did not like Barbauld, whom Coleridge characterized as "that pleonasm of nakedness, as if it were not enough to be bare, she was also bald." But the judgment of Johnson and others did not prevail. Barbauld's publications were small in quantity and quality, but they had influence immeasurably greater and more tenacious than Sarah Fielding's *Governess.*

The first clear, favorable reaction in children's literature to Rousseau's *Emile* occurred ca. 1783 in Lady Eleanor Fenn's *Fables in Monosyllables* by Mrs. Teachwell. The title page includes a quotation from Rousseau on the utility of childhood impressions. The preface pays Rousseau his first compliment and criticism in a children's book:

> However mistaken, however detestable, many notions of Rousseau's may be; there are useful maxims to be gleaned from his work respecting children. I wish

the wheat were separated from the chaff.

The ambivalence toward Rousseau noted in adult reviews of his work is met here in children's books. Fenn goes on to agree with Rousseau that most fables are bad for children, claiming however that her own fables are exempted from his charges.\(^1\) The fact that an author of fables felt obliged to defend herself against his charges shows Rousseau's influence on the age.

In 1786 Rousseau was assimilated into a children's book, not simply discussed in prefatory matter. Juvenile Rambles Through the Paths of Nature argues that the child should be reared in natural surroundings, that he should be taught only what is natural and necessary, that he should learn no artificial manners or ideas, and that he should be extremely idealistic.\(^2\) As the dedication is signed R. J., this is presumably written by Richard Johnson. The plot of Juvenile Rambles is simple. Children on a country walk see various natural phenomena such as trees, sheep, peacocks and a porcupine. The tour guide is knowledgeable even though the children have no questions but listen attentively to the sermons on nature. While the book defends hunting, it recommends that if birds are not killed instantly, their necks be


twisted to put them out of misery. The children are also told that it is all right to cage canaries but never wild birds. There is some agonizing over whether "innocent sheep" are to be killed for man's food, but the final argument is that one must kill sheep since they would starve to death if allowed to increase promiscuously.¹

It is not Juvenile Rambles but a work which was in its second volume in the same year (1786) that marks the most conscious imitation of *Emile* in children's literature in England. In 1783, 1786 and 1789 the three parts of The History of Sandford and Merton, a Work Intended for the Use of Children were issued. The book was written by Thomas Day (1748-1789), an eccentric philanthropist, whose father left him 1200 pounds a year.² Day read philosophy at Oxford where he met Richard Lovell Edgeworth and developed a life-long friendship and exchange with Edgeworth and his daughter Maria. Day left Oxford without taking a degree, and witnessed Richard Lovell Edgeworth's experiment on his two-year-old son Richard Edgeworth. Day was greatly influenced by Rousseau at the time. In a letter to Richard Lovell Edgeworth, Day stated that if all books were destroyed, the one book after


²Lockwood, "Thomas Day," p. 75.
the Bible he would like to save would be Rousseau's *Emile*. So
taken was Day with Rousseau's experiments in raising a child of
nature that he adopted two foundling girls. One twelve-year-old
he named Sabrina Sidney; the other, Lucretia, an eleven-year-old,
was taken from a London foundling hospital. Day tried to raise
them like *Emile*, inculcating a hatred of dress, luxury, fine peo-
ple, fashions and titles, forbidding continual talk, abstruse
reasoning and ridicule. Actually, Day, a bachelor at the time,
had the girls bound to Richard Edgeworth, who was married, but
Day's purpose was to form a future wife for himself. The exper-
iment failed. Lucretia became apprenticed to a milliner and mar-
rried a draper. Sabrina did not take too well to the hot sealing
wax applied to her arms or to the pistol fired at her skirts to
accustom her to terrifying weapons as was *Emile*. Day gave up,
sent her to a boarding school and Sabrina later married a barris-
ter. In 1778 Day married Esther Milnes, a product of society
rather than nature. The following year Day retired to Essex, then
to Surrey where he lived on an uncultivated estate. Even in re-
tirement, Day's experimentation was not over. It is said he ad-

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vised his wife to walk barefoot in the snow, and that he was easily distressed by cruelty to animals. Ironically, Day died from his experiments in the taming of nature. He died of a kick from a horse he was trying to train.

Day's life is important since his personal experiments in Rousseau were repeated in Sandford and Merton. The book itself grew out of Day's friendship with Richard Lovell Edgeworth and his daughter, Maria. Day began *The History of Sandford and Merton* as a short story to be inserted in the Edgeworth's *Harry and Lucy*. But Edgeworth's wife, Honor Sneyd Edgeworth, died in 1778 and Richard Edgeworth's book was not published until 1801. Meanwhile Day carried on on his own until he had a lengthy novel.

It is difficult to summarize compactly a three-volume novel, but the reader should have an idea of the details in Day's novel for children in order to appreciate both Day's contribution to the genre and his indebtedness to Jean Jacques Rousseau.

In *The History of Sandford and Merton*, six-year-old Tommy Merton, the son of a rich Jamaica planter is brought to England by his parents to be educated. Tommy had been spoiled by his

1 Wright, "Sensibility in English Prose Fiction," p. 137, n. 16.
2 [James Kier], *An Account of the Life and Writings of Thomas Day, Esq.* (London: John Stockdale, 1791), p. 131, note o.
mother and is taken to the same district of western England where Harry Sandford, son of a farmer, lives. Harry is hardy and humane and is a pupil of Mr. Barlow, the clergyman. One day when Master Tommy is out walking with a nurse, a snake coils around his leg. Harry just happens to be present to fling the snake away. So begins an acquaintance between the two boys. Invited to the Merton house, Harry is philosophically indifferent to luxury: he will not drink from a silver cup since it takes too much care to keep it clean; he refuses wine since he does not wish to cultivate a taste for things difficult to obtain.¹

Impressed by the wisdom of the rustic child, Mr. Merton asks Mr. Barlow to take Tommy as a pupil. Barlow agrees provided he be seen as a friend of Mr. Merton and that he receive no pay for his services. The first lesson inculcated by Barlow on Tommy is the necessity of work. Tommy refuses to help in the garden and gets no dinner; next morning he asks for a hoe and the stories read aloud by Mr. Barlow and Harry that night all relate to the usefulness of work.

Of course, Tommy soon yearns to read and in two months does so. Tommy also learns not to command a neighbor boy, Jacky. Tommy falls into a ditch when trying to punish the peasant boy. Just as in *Emile*, punishments come directly from nature not from man. Tommy gives bread and clothes to the peasant child. Mr.

¹For an excellent summary of the plot, I am indebted to Gignilliat, *Life*, pp. 264-290.
Barlow reproaches Tom for this act of philanthropy because the bread was not his to give. Jacky, the poor boy, returns the clothes since they are too fine and because his friends called him a Frenchman when he wore them. Mr. Barlow steps in to show Tommy what real benevolence is and they give Jacky's family food and more suitable clothing.

Harry becomes a champion of the unfortunate. He beats a boy who is beating an animal. He even takes a whipping from Squire Chace for refusing to tell which way the fox went. "I don't choose to betray the unfortunate," he says. The wicked squire is punished when his horse runs away. Harry stops the horse with the frightened squire still on it and refuses the guinea reward that the squire offers.

Tommy continues to learn useful skills—he makes bread and sees a windmill. Some inserted stories help the cause. "The Two Brothers" tells of Alonzo and Pizarro who go to the Spanish Main for gold. Pizarro would have starved with his gold had not Alonzo provided food by tilling the soil. Day regularly interrupts the progress of his novel to insert a story which Tommy or Harry just happens to be reading. The stories inculcate the moral lessons of the day. For instance, Tommy is moved to action when two bailiffs come to seize the house of Farmer Tosset. He gets forty pounds from his parents to relieve the family and elicits tears of gratitude and pleasure all around. This provokes Mr. Barlow's story of the polar bear's love for its cubs.
Tommy Merton learns to be humane. For instance, Barlow subdues a wild bear running into a crowd; Tommy, similarly inspired, subdues a monkey. When Tommy tames a robin, a cat eats it and Barlow educates Tom and the cat by putting a hot gridiron near the caged bird. Tommy also learns arithmetic, the windlass, compass, the telescope and how to operate machinery.

When Harry and Tommy go to a house party at the Merton mansion, the superiority of nature over artificial society is made obvious. The spoiled children of the rich are rude and haughty except for Miss Sukey Simmons, who was raised on cold baths and long walks. Tommy regresses in this society. There is a fight in which Tommy hits Harry. Harry warns the children not to attend a bull baiting; they go and are punished when the bull breaks a rope, trapping some and goring others. The bull is about to gore Tommy when Harry seizes a pitchfork and wounds the bull in the flank. When the bull is ready to take on Harry, a grateful Negro whom Harry had given his last sixpence, saves Harry from the charging bull.

Mr. Merton begins to despair, feeling his son is radically corrupted. Barlow reassures him. Tom is thrown by a horse when he uses pins for spurs. Andrew Campbell, an itinerant Scotsman, saves Harry's pet lamb. From Campbell's story it is discovered that Sukey Simmons is the niece of the colonel whom Campbell served faithfully in America. Mr. Merton gives Campbell tools and horses. He lives on a farm and Barlow gives him a sheep and
a cow as the highlander grows frantic with gratitude. Tommy soon perceives that a man is of more worth if he improves himself than if he has all the finery and magnificence which society worships. Tommy takes the powder out of his hair, and removes his shoe buckles. The result, according to his mother, is that he looks like a plowboy. Tommy answers that he had bid adieu to finery and continues to live as a farm boy.

At the end of the book, Tommy is returned to his parents. Mr. Barlow is presented with several hundred pounds but he refuses it. Tommy tells Harry, "You have taught me how much better it is to be useful than rich or fine; how much more amiable to be good than to be great."  

If the summary of Sandford and Merton makes the book seem pedestrian, let the reader be assured that it is. A thread of humanitarian philosophy runs through a tenuous story filled with fat moral interludes. One writer finds the book steeped in rhetorical pomposity and questions whether Day understood children since there is so little verisimilitude of them in Sandford and Merton. The fault is more properly attributed to one of the main characters, Mr. Barlow, one of "the dreariest and most insufferable of pedagogues, . . . [who] advocates a mode of life

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1 Cited by Gignilliat, Life, p. 413.
2 Harwood, Love for Animals, p. 252.
3 Scott, The Exemplary Mr. Day, p. 88.
wholly at variance with the instincts and habits of his age."\(^1\)

Barlow constantly wrings a lesson in natural science out of every object. "Tommy could not smell a rose without being reminded of its calyx and corolla, nor enjoy the sunshine without a lesson in astronomy."\(^2\)

Yet *Sandford and Merton* was immensely popular. It became the prototype of hordes of books for children for thirty or forty years, all characterized by quantities of information and behavioral instruction dispensed by omniscient parents.\(^3\) It is the book marked by "improving conversations" that is representative of Thomas Day's influence for decades:

Never since the days of Socrates did so many improving conversations take place. Sometimes the pedantic tutor walks abroad with the abnormally inquiring pupil, who extracts masses of information and pious reflection from him. Sometimes it is the omniscient maiden aunt who starts the dialogue and the children keep the ball rolling at a bewildering rate. Commerce, theology, botany, architecture, astronomy, ancient geography, politeness, cheese-making, the history of the Jews are some of the topics touched upon, and the knowledge of the aunt and the interest of the children are alike inexhaustible.\(^4\)

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2. Stephen G. Tallentyre [Evelyn Beatrice Hall], "The Road to Knowledge A Hundred Years Ago," *The Cornhill Magazine*, LXXXII (September, 1900), 822.


Sandford and Merton reached forty-three editions by 1883. For further witness to the book's popularity it is noted that the novel was even taught in schools and remained a textbook for seventy-five years.

However lame and contrived Day's book may strike one today, it is important to discover those qualities which made it a classic in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. One may well ask why such an absurd book became a classic. Looking more closely at some of the qualities of Sandford and Merton, one finds it obvious that Day cashed in on the cult of sentiment that was rampant in his day. For instance, there is that primitivism delighting in the noble savage which dovetails with Rousseau's child of nature. For instance, a Negro comments on the fact that the poor are starving while the rich masters feast, yet his people would not permit such injustice. The Negro also delivers a sermon on child care that reads as if the Negro had read Rousseau:

"I have observed your children here with astonishment: as soon as they are born, it seems to be the business of all about them to render them weak, helpless, and unable to use any of their limbs. The little Negro, on the contrary, is scarcely born before he

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1 Coveney, Poor Monkey, p. 12.
3 Sadler, Thomas Day, An English Disciple of Rousseau, p. 47.
learns to crawl about upon the ground. ¹

Tommy learns not to have racial prejudice and reflects with shame on his former opinions concerning blacks.

Tommy also learns the joy of benevolence and the self-approving tears of compassion when he brings clothes to a poor family:

As they were returning, Tommy said that he had never spent any money with so much pleasure, as that with which he had purchased clothes for this poor family; and that for the future he would take care of all the money that was given him, for that purpose, instead of laying it out in eatables and play-things. ²

Kindness to animals, as shown above, was one of the hallmarks of the man of sensibility. Harry is practically born with it. Harry goes supperless to bed that he might feed the robins. Even toads and spiders that other children destroy are safe with Harry. Harry used to say they had a right to live as well as we and it was cruel to kill them because we do not like them. ³

There is great emphasis as well in Sandford and Merton on the cultivation of feeling. For instance, when Tommy gives clothes to a poor boy he formerly abused, the reader is told nothing could equal the joy in the poor boy's countenance except

¹ (London: J. Stockdale, 1789), II, 281. I have used the first edition of the second and third volumes (1786 and 1789) and the fourth edition of volume one (1787) for all quotations from Sandford and Merton which are referred to as S&M.

² Ibid., I, 120.

³ Ibid., I, 17. Compare with passage supra on Uncle Toby and the fly in Tristram Shandy.
the joy Tommy felt at doing a generous act. Day reinforces this more explicitly in a sermon from Barlow who tells Tommy that nobody is loved unless he is benevolent; besides, he may need the assistance of the lowly:

Therefore every sensible man will behave well to every thing around him; he will behave well, because it is his duty to do it, because every benevolent person feels the greatest pleasure in doing good, and even because it is his own interest to make as many friends as possible.¹

When disinterest becomes enlightened self-interest, the synthesis of Hobbes and the latitudinarians is complete. One does good in Day's book because it makes one feel good and because it is useful. The result is a sentimental utilitarian ethic that Day popularized and reflected. This is seen when the poor Negro whom Harry gave his last mite saves him from a charging bull, or when the boy to whom Tommy gave the clothes rescues Tommy from the forest. Therefore, when Tommy gives a shilling to a poor man, feeling one of the greatest pleasures of his life, it is only two pages later that the same beggar rescues Tommy from a wild dog.²

There is even a cult of distress in Day by which the hard-luck story of every chance beggar is given as reward for a contribution. After hearing the tale of woe of the Scotsman, Andrew Campbell, Mr. Merton says, "there must be something in the dis-

¹Ibid., I, 103, 104.
²Ibid., III, 97-99.
tress of every honest man which ought to interest his fellow creatures. . . ."¹

Many of the attitudes seen in Day: the recommendations for a life of simplicity, primitivism, a faith in the noble savage, kindness to animals, a life of nature preferred to that of civiliza-
tion are traceable in general to the Weltanschauung of Day's age and in particular to the philosophy of Jean Jacques Rousseau as expressed in Émile. It was shown earlier that Day greatly admired the work of Rousseau. It was seen that he aided Richard Lovell Edgeworth in raising Richard Edgeworth on the regimen of Rousseau. Day's similarly disastrous experiment with raising two foundling girls was also in direct imitation of Émile. It is not surprising, therefore, that much of Sandford and Merton illustrates the philosophy of Jean Jacques Rousseau. So much is Rousseau used by Day that Sandford and Merton has been labelled "L'Émile anglais."²

Some of the contributions of Rousseau to Sandford and Mer-
ton will be examined in detail. First of all there is the theme of the book that the simple life and work performed with one's own hands and education by example are the ways to perfect a child. This is reminiscent of the plan of Émile.³ Within

¹Ibid., III, 104.

²Phrase used by Delattre, "La littérature enfantine en Angleterre," p. 104.

³Harwood, Love for Animals, p. 252.
sandford and Merton can be found almost every major doctrine advocated by Rousseau in Œmile: a life close to nature, the separation of child from home and family, the tutor who works not for money but for respect, the natural method of discipline as the spur of necessity.¹

While Tommy Merton is the overprotected and spoiled hothouse flower, Harry is the nature boy who runs about in the fields and is active, strong, fresh and hardy. If anything, Harry is a too-perfect Œmile with too few faults. The only fault ascribed to Harry in the book is a habit he once had of putting cockchafers on pins and twirling them around. When told this is equivalent to a knife thrust through a human hand, Harry nurses the cockchafer until it is well. Ever since Harry even steps out of the way of worms.²

The reader may think Harry's actions are extreme, but Day went even further and applied Rousseau to the behavior of dogs. Jowler, the city-bred dog, who grows up near a plentiful kitchen is gluttonous, cowardly and weak. Keeper, bred in a country cottage, is constantly outdoors in all weather and is therefore hardy, active and diligent.³

Another comparison of Sandford and Merton with Œmile is in

¹Moore, Literature Old and New, pp. 187, 190.
³Ibid., I, 75-77.
the role of Mr. Barlow. He is a friend, not a schoolmaster, since
Barlow is certain this position will give him more influence and
authority. ¹ This compares with Rousseau's comments on the rela-
tionship of the tutor to Émile. "The reader will bear in mind
that this tutor is not a paid servant, but the father's friend."²

Other parts of Sandford and Merton also come straight from
Émile: the sermons on the evils of fashionable life, the plumping
for the dignity of labor, the education of children on Rousseau's
rational principles, that is, that learning come from their own
acts, the kindness to animals and the blessings of the simple
life.³ Other specific parallels between Émile and Sandford and
Merton include teaching the child the compass and explaining the
telescope through the refraction of water. Also in Émile a little
girl gets cherries only after doing her mathematics exercises.
This is parallel with Tommy's being denied cherries since he re-
fused to garden. Similarly the raising of a child in a natural
environment like Robinson Crusoe's is compatible with Sandford
and Merton and Émile.⁴ Likewise, most of the experiments on cos-

¹Ibid., I, 53.
²Émile, I, 26.
³Avery, Nineteenth Century Children, p. 19.
⁴Parallels noted by Gignilliat, Life, pp. 266, 276, 283.
mography and physics in Sandford and Merton come from Émile, Book Two.¹

Many of the incidents and most of the philosophy of Sandford and Merton are Rousseauistic in origin. Tommy generalizes that those with little have a good nature and that innate goodness of man acted on by hardy environment brings self-reliance and courage; a luxurious environment results in pride, dishonesty, callousness, cowardice.²

Some differences from Rousseau are also evident in Day's book. For instance, Tommy reads five years before Émile did and religion is impressed on Tommy at the age of six not sixteen. The most basic difference, however, is that Émile invariably learns directly from experience through self-discovery. He is not given long explanations nor is he reasoned with. Barlow allows Tommy to learn many things by experience, but he adds many lectures. He must explain to Tommy the meaning of his experiences; he must read him tales containing the experiences of others with morals neatly attached; he must reason with Tommy on gentlemanly prejudices and punish him for them.³

One writer admits that Day read Émile and absorbed it but

²Gignilliat, Life, p. 293.
³Ibid., p. 294.
questions how much of it really sank in. For instance, Rousseau in *Émile*, Book four, states: "Généralement les gens qui savent peu, parlent beaucoup et les gens qui savent beaucoup parlent peu." If Day had absorbed Rousseau he would not have invented the ever-teaching, always reproving Mr. Barlow. In other words, Day, for all his zeal for Rousseau's philosophy, stops short of the negative education that a child can receive only through nature. Day compromises and has the youth surrender to a tutor. Day, a fervent follower of Rousseau, hedges on the methods used by Rousseau. Day and his followers, such as Richard and Maria Edgeworth, were anxious to take over the child. The result was infant prodigies who replaced the natural child who was the ideal for Rousseau. Day and others did not proceed on the fundamental belief of Rousseau that the child was not a little man but rather on the traditional plan that treated a child as if he were to be made into an adult as soon as possible. The result was the moral tale, which, in Day's time and after, represented in fact a misapplication or perversion of the theory of Rousseau, for it used methods like book learning and memorization which Rousseau inveighed against.

Whether Day's book is seen as embodying pure or perverted

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2 Carrière, "A French Adaptation of Sandford and Merton," p. 239.
3 Babenroth, *English Childhood*, p. 256.
Rousseauism, it was, despite its priggishness, immensely popular in the dissemination of Rousseau in England. The book is seen as the only channel through which the ideas of Jean Jacques Rousseau took hold in the minds of the English public even though this was done without their knowing it.¹

Sandford and Merton, besides a disseminator of Rousseau in England, was the first example of the moral tale in England with all of its substantive characteristics.² Day's book may have been influenced by other books. Day himself admits one in his preface, Henry Brooke's The Fool of Quality. Day complains that Brooke did not write a children's book but a sentimental novel.³ There are several parallels between Brooke's book of 1765 to 1770 and Day's of 1783, 1786, and 1789. For instance, the sons of the Earl of Moreland, Richard and Henry, are comparable to Tommy Merton and Harry Sandford. Mr. Fenton in Brooke's book is a double for Barlow. Actually, the debt of both authors was to a common source, Émile. There are some differences between Day and Brooke.

Mais les temps ont marché entre 1766 et 1783. Le jeune comte élève chez des paysans, devient un vrai fils de labourer. Le pieux marchand richissime, précepteur idéal du jeune comte, se transforme en un simple pasteur de campagne dont la figure évangélique est tempérée par un bon sens pratique qui le rend indulgent à certaines


²Carrière, "A French Adaptation of Sandford and Merton," p. 239.

³S&M, I, iv-v.
Il est la faiblesse du monde. Par une évolution également caractéristique, les parents de Thomas Merton n'appartiennent plus à la grand noblesse, mais sont de planters revenus depuis peu des Antilles après fortune faite.

... [In contrast with The Fool of Quality] Sandford and Merton, au contraire, est un vrai livre pour enfants, qui connut un succès immédiat et durable et agit sur d'innombrables jeunes cerveaux. ...

It is Day's egalitarianism that is seen as most characteristic of the work. Day was definitely a leveler who portrayed most of the rich characters as stupid, bored or crafty; by contrast the poor are always honest, faithful and worthy. It is Day's liberalism that gave the book one of the few criticisms it received in contemporaneous reviews. One reviewer admits that there is much good sense in the book, but discovers a prejudice against those in the upper classes of society carried to an unjustifiable height and a great danger of the book's sowing the seeds of democracy and republicanism in youth. 2

Sandford and Merton generally received much praise from Day's contemporaries: "This author deserves praise, both for the plan, and the execution of his work, which is much the best we have seen, and is adapted to the capacities of very young children." 3

Popular for well over a century, Day's book had at least

3 The English Review, II (November, 1783), 379, cited by Gignilliat, Life, p. 98.
three waves of popularity. The first was from 1786 to 1798; the second from 1808 to 1830 and the last from 1850 to 1890.\(^1\) A writer in 1938 found the book was then still sold,\(^2\) but it is doubtful if any child today reads *Sandford and Merton*. The book, however, was influential on later writers for children, not only by making Rousseau suitable for children but by popularizing the moral tale in which the child of nature becomes greatly admired for his wisdom but an insufferable pedant. Whereas Rousseau took the child into nature to see objects, children's book writers in England imitated this by preparing lessons of encyclopedic range and variety, using a conversational style or weaving the information into the form of fiction.\(^3\) A distinction should be made between content and method. In content the works of Day and his imitators for several decades lean toward Rousseau especially in interest in things as opposed to mere words. The method of lecturing the student was that of the old-fashioned theology. The moral writers were influenced by Rousseau in externals, but they remained as didactic as Watts and earlier children's writers.\(^4\)

True followers of Rousseau would undoubtedly have used no

\(^1\)Gignilliat, *Life*, p. 337, and Scott, *The Exemplary Mr. Day*, p. 190 give roughly the same dates for Day's popularity.


children's books at all, since Émile was only permitted Robinson Crusoe. To make up for this void some believers in Rousseau invented the stock literary character, the parent or relative or friend who knew all the questions and answers to make a profitable lesson of everything and so rendered every experience educational and almost always dull.¹

A more interesting but less successful work of Thomas Day, The History of Little Jack, appeared in The Children's Miscellany in 1788.² The History of Little Jack was published separately from 1800 on. The difference between this work and Sandford and Merton lies in the aim of the book. Day is out not so much to correct the education of a well-born person but to attempt the reverse—to exalt the character of an abandoned infant of lowly birth.³ This is closer to the successful formula of the popular Newbery books. Day's The History of Little Jack is much shorter than Sandford and Merton, the former book running to only fifty-eight pages within a larger anthology which Day may have edited as well.⁴

¹Meigs, A Critical History, p. 97.
²(London: John Stockdale, 1788). All references to this book will be to this edition, unless otherwise specified, and will be abbreviated CM.
⁴Gignilliat, Life, p. 300. Other selections in the anthology The Children's Miscellany will be considered after Little Jack.
Like Sandford and Merton, The History of Little Jack is a defense of poor-but-honest types. There is a lame old man who finds a foundling. Though he can hardly afford to raise the infant, he does so through the help of a goat that has conveniently lost its kid. Jack grows up like Émile in the country and away from the pernicious influences of civilization. Of course he thrives:

It was wonderful to see how this child thus left to nature, increased in strength and vigor. Unfettered by bandages or restraints, his limbs acquired their due proportions and form; his countenance was full and florid, and gave indications of perfect health; and, at an age when other children are scarcely able to support themselves with the assistance of a nurse, this little foundling could run alone.

There are sentimental touches in Little Jack like the affection of the goat for Jack. She is even called "his mama"! The old man becomes Jack's tutor and the child of nature theme from Rousseau is reinforced. There are some differences from Rousseau's book. For instance, the old man is anxious that Jack should learn to read as soon as possible. Rousseau was in no such hurry; his protegé read a single book in his first eighteen years of outdoor existence.

Jack, though he lived crudely, was no enemy to sensibility. The author states that Jack could not discourse on sensibility but that he felt the reality of it in his heart.²

¹CM, p. 7.
²Ibid., p. 11.
An accident in which a carriage breaks down finds a lady giving Jack some money. The money she gives him for shoes and stockings is to no avail as Jack is unacquainted with such and cannot get used to wearing them. At the age of twelve, sooner than Œmile, Jack is on his own when his guardian dies. The boy is turned out and taken in by a farmer who teaches him to milk and plow, but the farmer soon dies of a fever and Jack is turned out for the second time.¹

Jack remains an eternal optimist and comes upon a foundry where the master of the forge gives him a job. Coincidence enters as the lady from the carriage incident just happens to be visiting the factory that day and takes Jack in when he gets fired for fighting when his fellow workers tease him about his goat-mother.²

After witnessing hundreds of pages of the virtues of Harry Sandford, it is refreshing to see a boy with faults. Jack is a stable-boy in the lady's employ and wins the admiration of all. Jack makes friends with Master Willets and contrives to be in the same room when Willets receives his tutoring. In this manner, Jack picks up a sizeable education. One of Master Willets¹ friends with a great love of finery and affectation could not stand to be in the room with Jack. Jack dresses a monkey like the child fop, and the young gentleman is so enraged that he runs a

¹Ibid., pp. 13, 18-19.
²Ibid., pp. 26-27.
sward through the monkey. 1

Jack is turned out when he refuses to apologize. He joins the army and goes to Africa where he gets lost in the woods and rejoices that he is free from society: "I shall have no body to quarrel with me, or baa, or laugh at my poor daddy and mammy." Jack lives on roots and leads "a kind of savage, but tolerably contented life" during which he enjoys perfect health." 2

Eventually rescued, Jack arrives in India where he joins another regiment. When he is taken hostage by the Tartars, Jack alone among the prisoners is accustomed to the vicissitudes of life and remains cheerful at his reversal of fortune. Life with nature conditioned Jack for anything. When the Tartar horses become ill, Jack is the only Englishman who knows anything about farriery, for which he is rewarded by the Khan. Finally Jack arrives without accident at an English settlement with the skins of horses from which he makes a moderate profit. 3

Now a man of means, Jack becomes a foreman at his old factory and eventually a partner with his former boss. Jack reaches a middle-class pinnacle of achievement. He becomes one of the most respectable manufacturers in the country. Jack builds his

1 Gignilliat, Life, p. 98, note 8 sees the incident as borrowed from Fanny Burney's Evelina (1778), citing the Everyman edition, pp. 504-506.
2 CM, pp. 44, 46.
3 Ibid., pp. 50, 56.
house on the very spot where the old hut of his guardian stood; he retires there occasionally and he is noted for his benevolence. The book ends with the moral which states that it does not matter how a man comes into the world so long as he discharges his duty to it.¹

The main virtue of Little Jack in comparison with the same author's History of Sandford and Merton is brevity. A story of fifty-eight pages cannot be as full of moral advice and sermonizing as was Sandford and Merton with its hundreds of pages in three volumes. What is more, there is no Mr. Barlow in this story, the old beggar dying off early, and Jacky soon put on his own. As in the Newbery stories, there is soon no parent or guardian around to clog the narrative with sermonizing. Little Jack resembles in its compression one of the interlarded short stories in Sandford and Merton. Though Little Jack went through many editions in separate publication, it never reached the popularity of Sandford and Merton.² Little Jack has more direct narrative. Instead of attacking a fop by argumentation, Day gives a scene in which Jack humiliates a fop. Instead of urging a natural edu-

¹Ibid., p. 58.

²The main criticism of Little Jack has been the ludicrous goat feature. Apparently even Day's friends could not dissuade him from this. Richard Edgeworth wrote to Day (September 29, 1789), "We admire Little Jack very much—I see you were resolved to introduce Nurse Goat somewhere or other. . . ." This was cited by Gignilliat, Life, p. 306.
tion, Day has Jack acquire one. With the exception of the goat and some formality of language one agrees that Day at last learned how to reach children.¹

In the same book, The Children's Miscellany, appeared "The History of Philip Quarll," which was an abridgement for children of an imitation of Robinson Crusoe. Philip Quarll was also known as The English Hermit and was first published in 1727, reaching a twelfth edition by 1786.² Philip Quarll in the children's edition is marked by a primitivism that outdoes Rousseau. It finds the uncultured savage happier than the European.³

The superiority of the savage comes from his hardiness which proceeds from his life in nature. In the text the prefatory matter is borne out. Philip Quarll, an Englishman, is abandoned like Robinson Crusoe on an island. He is similarly resourceful; for instance, he uses garters to run through the gills of a large cod. Quarll is a man of more sensibility than Crusoe. Quarll at first has qualms about killing birds and animals. He lives on roots for a while until he overcomes his scruples because all things, he argues, were made for man, and not to use a gift

¹ Gignilliat, Life, p. 307.

² See Arundell Esdaile, "Author and Publisher in 1727: 'The English Hermit,'" The Library, 4th ser., II (1901), pp. 185-192.

is to undervalue it. Quarll laments the killing of a female deer and resolves in the future to take animals alive and kill only what he needs. Like Crusoe and like Émile, Quarll finds himself happier in his state, comparing himself to Adam before the fall. Rousseau had similarly denied original sin. As a matter of fact Quarll rationalized that he was happier than Adam since Adam needed a companion and he did not. This shows how self reliant Quarll is compared with Crusoe. For instance, Robinson Crusoe ends with Crusoe's rescue; Philip Quarll does not. For thirty years Quarll lives in happiness on an island with no desire to return to society; whereas when his opportunity comes, Crusoe returns gladly to society. Philip Quarll even prefers a monkey as his man friday to a boy who deserted him.¹

Just as in Émile, punishment grows out of the circumstances of crimes. For instance, a storm destroys the robbers who steal Quarll's possessions.² Besides testimony to the growth of Rousseauism in England, Philip Quarll is an excellent touchstone to the growth of primitivism and interest in the savage life that had taken hold since Robinson Crusoe (1719). Philip Quarll, though originally an adult work, was later popular with children as witnessed by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, who tells of reading the

¹CM. pp. 207, 251, 253, 276, 281, 334.
²Ibid., p. 313.
story at the age of six.¹

The other pieces in The Children's Miscellany are compatible with Rousseau and Day. For instance, the pride of a little girl is reformed by disastrous experience in "History of the Little Girl." Her snobbery punishes her, not her father. This is as Rousseau would have it. Love of finery is rebuked in "The Nosegay."

Day's books, including The Children's Miscellany, which was largely or all his, were influential on the English Rousseauists who wrote children's books. Eleanor Fenn (1743-1813) also wrote many books influenced by Emile. It should be remembered that her Fables in Monosyllables was the first children's book to note the existence of Rousseau. Lady Eleanor Fenn, born Eleanor Frere, was married in 1766 to Sir John Fenn, the antiquary. Lady Fenn wrote under the pseudonyms of Mrs. Lovechild and Mrs. Teachwell. The total number of her books is not known, but I have located fourteen titles attributed to her and there may be more since she wrote anonymously. Eight of the works will be scanned to give the reader an idea of the range of Lady Fenn. In many cases the mention of full titles of some of the works illustrates her didactic intent. While dates are somewhat approximate, I will consider her work in the 1780's, although her publications run from 1768 to the 1800's. In 1783 appeared Rational Sports in

¹Letter to Thomas Poole, October 9, 1797, in Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, I, 12.
Dialogues Passing among the Children of a Family, Designed as a Hint to Mothers how They may Inform the Minds of their little People Respecting the Objects with which they are Surrounded.¹

The title of Rational Sports is enough to indicate that Fenn had a Rousseauistic interest in familiarizing children with the objects of nature. The result is eight dialogues between seven children, five boys and two girls. Such subjects as "The Trades," "The Insects," and "The Timber Merchants" are discussed. Surely, Rousseau would not approve of the method; he would sanction the contents of the book. Rational Sports also provides an interesting touchstone on the development or regression of children's literature since John Newbery's day. Newbery's Twelfth Day Gift was marked by a sermon in which the mayor's son was reminded of his indebtedness to merchants for the ingredients of a cake. Fenn goes further in her book and has a grandfather leave a cake which goes to the children only if they can explain the nature of each ingredient and tell where it came from. Fenn, then, in Rational Sports provides a modification of Rousseau. Children learn from experience, but the experience is controlled and directed by a guardian who is obsessed with providing object lessons. Fenn suggests that children look at gnats upon the window, study the origin of the fly upon sugar, and then view the

¹ (London: John Marshall and Co., n.d. [ca. 1783]). The dedication, p. x is signed July 16, 1783.
same under a microscope.¹

Interest in experimentation in natural science is continued in the two volume Cobwebs to Catch Flies or Dialogues in Short Sentences Adapted to Children from the Age of Three to Eight Years. For her very young audience Fenn conducted experiments in contact with nature. Mamma puts a wood-louse in William's hand to explain that creature. In Émile the reader is certain Émile could find his own wood-lice or his tutor would have contrived in secret to have him encounter one. Fenn is more obvious in her nature teaching. She admits her plan is deliberately to explain to children what meets their eyes early. The result is that children learn a reverence for animal creatures that Rousseau would have blessed along with a view of pity as the first sentiment to touch the human heart:

To become sensitive and pitiful the child must know that he has fellow-creatures who suffer as he has suffered, who feel the pains he has felt, and others which he can form some idea of, being capable of feeling them himself. Indeed, how can we let ourselves be stirred by pity unless we go beyond ourselves, and identify with the suffering animal, by leaving, so to speak, our own nature, and taking his.²

One questions whether kindness to animals in Rousseau was meant to become a fastidious sensibility. In Fenn's Cobwebs, for instance, little William will not drink his milk since a fly is

¹Ibid., pp. 37, xiv.
²Émile, IV, 184.
stuck on the edge of a basin drinking the milk. William is not disturbed by the dirt but feels for the fly and therefore will not hinder it from getting his breakfast. William's mother approves, saying, "Good child . . . we will look at him as he eats. See how he sucks through his long tube. How pleased he is."¹

Fenn's eagerness to impose object lessons on children is taken not only from Rousseau. The dedication claims that if the child's mind is as Locke would have it, then:

> Who would leave their common-place book among fools, to be scrawled upon? Yet how often are nurses and common servants allowed to give the first intimation to children, respecting the objects with which they are surrounded.²

It is not in the nature lore which, although contrived, is believable, but in the depiction of the good child that Fenn exaggerates. In one section, for example, James talks Ned out of going on a carousel since their mother has not given permission. Ned answers, "How happy am I to have an elder brother who is so prudent," and James replies with, "I am no less happy that you are so willing to be advised."³

Cobwebs was reviewed in its own time and damned with faint praise: "The dialogues, if not very entertaining or instructive,

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²Ibid., pp. vi, viii.
are however level to the capacities of children."¹ Fenn saw such criticism as the highest compliment. In her dedication she quotes a mother who scoffs at Fenn's work, saying that children could write it themselves. Fenn answers:

Now that is precisely the highest compliment which I could receive. If it be such then they will understand and relish it, they will read it with propriety; they will imbibe notions of tenderness toward the brute creation almost with their milk.²

There is no denying Fenn's real attempt to write for the children in simplified language. This is in contrast to Day who "loaded his gun with flowers of rhetoric and overshot infant comprehension."³ Fenn is more in the Mrs. Barbauld tradition of simplified language directed at the young.

The usual plot of Fenn's stories involves the child too good to be true, a device overworked in most stories of the times. In Sketches of Little Girls (1783) Ellen discovers her brother has spilled ink on her new satin bag. Instead of scolding him, she comforts him and is more sorry to see her brother in tears than to see her own loss.⁴ This is hard to accept from a seven-year-old girl, even an eighteenth-century child who was often expected to behave like a miniature adult.

¹ Article 31, The Monthly Review, LXX (1784), 482.
² Cobwebs, I, vii.
³ Halsey, Forgotten Books, p. 132.
The Juvenile Tatler by a Society of Young Ladies Under the Tuition of Mrs. Teachwell is more subtle in its framework. The pupils of Mrs. Teachwell who published their own compositions in The Female Guardian (also by Fenn), put their works in an urn and they are read aloud for entertainment. The contents include "The Innocent Romp" and "The Prudent Daughter." The satires are all the same. Some good children and some foolish ones are paired. "The Innocent Romp" has a tomboy who is interesting to watch as she chases a housemaid with a rotten apple which hits Lord Prim and therefore costs her a suitor. Miss Briskly is full of such tricks. She takes a cat in baby linen to the curate to get it christened. Though Fenn inveighs against the tomboy, Miss Briskly, she remains a memorable character, perhaps more real than the Ellens who do not cry when their brothers ruin their handbags.

The Female Guardian designed to correct some of the Foibles Incident to Girls and supply them with Innocent Amusement for their Hours of Leisure, by a Lady is an acknowledged juvenile imitation of The Guardian. It contains thirty-three pieces plus Mrs. T.'s library for her young ladies. Mrs. T. is an orphan whose property was stolen from her by Mr. Raven. She resolves to

1 (London: John Marshall, n.d. [1790]). This was originally published ca. 1783 according to Barry, A Century of Children's Books p. 119 by a reference to air balloons within the book.

2 Cited by Avery, Nineteenth Century Children, p. 203.
teach and take in orphan girls.¹

At the school the girls put their compositions into an urn. The best of these are transcribed by Mrs. T. It is a rather Lockeian school with all exercises given as amusements not tasks. But there are evidences of Rousseau's influence as well, although a distorted Rousseau. Polly Gentle rejoices to see a fly restored to life and the author hopes the same feelings will prevail when Polly becomes a mother. More baldly, Fenn states, "a mother must seize every occasion for giving a lesson to her children."²

The Rational Dame, or Hints Towards Supplying Prattle for Children (ca. 1785) is perhaps Fenn's most blatant attempt at pushing rational knowledge as opposed to mere amusement. In her modification of Rousseau, Fenn suggests that parents take children on walks since children enjoy it, questions will arise, affections will seize the occasion, and lastly "innumerable occasions for information arise."³ Children's literature has changed radically from Newbery's times when, in the 1780's, information alone is given as justification for juvenile literature. There is no longer the sugar coating of amusement to make the book palatable.

¹(London: John Marshall, n.d. [1784]), p. 6. This seems a first edition and the work preceded Juvenile Tatler so that the date of the book is probably 1784.

²Ibid., pp. 19, 8, 45, 36.

Fenn pleads for rational information, the metamorphoses of insects and similar wonders but no deceit:

Tell them plain, simple truth—there is no need of invention; the world is full of wonders—banishing all fabulous narratives, let us introduce our little people to the wonders of the insect world.1

The result is a book that appeals to parents not children. A review of The Rational Dame in 1787 complained of the technical words which children could not understand.2 A modern writer finds the book "intolerably dull and dreary..."3

Fenn's The Fairy Spectator; or, the Invisible Monitor by Mrs. Teachwell and her Family is Fenn's most imaginative work. In it the fairy tale is moralized. Mrs. Teachwell asks a child why she wants a fairy guardian. Miss Sprightly answers, "Because she would teach me to be good." When Lady Fenn states, "I will write you a Dialogue in which the Fairy shall converse, and I will give you a Moral for your Dream," she betrays the Rousseauistic attitude toward fairy tales.4

Rousseau was not the only educator or parent who opposed the fairy tale, but he was influential in displacing such stories from the English nursery. First, Émile reads hardly any books,

1 Ibid., p. x.
2 The Critical Review, LXIV (August, 1787), 159.
3 Yonge, "Children's Literature of the Last Century," p. 231.
4 Cited by Barry, A Century of Children's Books, p. 121.
let alone fairy tales. Also Rousseau admits fables for Émile only when the boy is eighteen years old. "Le Temps des Fautes est celui des Fables," Rousseau says. Only the adolescent, not the child, should be allowed such stories.¹

Fenn's work is among the earliest consistent references to Rousseau in children's literature. She shows that Day's lead in anglicizing the tenets of Rousseau for a British audience was not a false trail and helped convert the moral tale to an instructive one. She succeeded in her aim to teach children "to look from nature up to nature's God."² If that was not quite what Rousseau wanted it did not matter. Rousseau's philosophy was assimilated and modified for children, not swallowed whole.

Other women who show some influence of Rousseau in books for children in the 1780's are the Kilner sisters, Dorothy (1755-1836) and Mary Jane (1753-1832). Little is known about these women except their pseudonyms. Dorothy signed her books Mary Pelham or M.P. which may have stood for Maryland Point, her home in Essex Village. Mary Jane used the initials S.S. Dorothy Kilner was said to be a friend of Sarah Trimmer.³ Between them the Kilner sisters produced at least twenty titles in the 1780's

¹Andreae, The Dawn of Juvenile Literature, p. 63.
²The Rational Dame, p. xi.
and 1790's. Some of their works in the 1780's will be considered now; later works are taken up in the following chapter. Mary Jane Kilner published (ca. 1783) William Sedley: Or, the Evil Day Deferred, a story which is marked by some of the most sentimental and realistic touches seen in the century's children's books. First William Sedley is told to pity the poor chimney sweep, something that Blake was to plead for later. William's sensibility is explicitly mentioned: "His sensibility represented the wants of the orphan boy." William Sedley is the first true child of sensibility although other children in juvenile fiction display the quality before this date. Mary Jane Kilner provides another sentimental touch when Sedley will not part with the silver medal given him by his grandfather. This sounds like the refusal to part with an uncle's portrait in The School for Scandal. Sedley is adamant and would not even part with the medal though it would save him from prison. The poor chimney sweeper that Sedley disparaged earlier just happens by to loan Sedley the money. The only charming realistic touch in the whole novel is little Bobby, who is weeping near a window, sucking the corner of his handkerchief, and now and then touching a fly on the glass to see it walk from place to place.¹

Jemima Placid; or the Advantage of Good-Nature... was printed ca. 1788 by John Marshall. The book is signed S.S. but

has been listed as the work of Mary Jane Kilner or Dorothy Kilner. More commonly, it is seen as the work of Mary Jane Kilner. The book is most unRousseauistic because, as one writer puts it, there is not an ounce of theory in the book.¹ The preface to the book admits the aim of the publication is to prove that pain will proceed from ill temper and happiness from placidity.² Possibly this could be applied to fit Rousseau's premise that reward and punishment should proceed directly from a child's actions. In general, however, the book is not an expression of any philosophy, but simply the story of a child too serene to be believed. Jemima when bleeding profusely from a blow, does not cry, not even when vinegar is applied to her cut head. She seldom cried unless from sensibility or when parting with friends. Jemima is rather stoic for a six-year-old, but then she is an ideal offered to children, not a real child.

Another work of Mary Jane Kilner's, The Happy Family; or Memoirs of Mr. and Mrs. Norton intended to Show the Delightful Effects of Filial Obedience, which appeared even earlier (ca. 1775), is definitely not in the Rousseauistic tradition. The preface claims as a purpose:

To represent TIME as valuable; study amusing and profitable; INTEGRITY indispensable; VIRTUE amiable;

¹Barry, A Century of Children's Books, p. 129.
and the paths of RELIGION as the ways of pleasantness; is the plan of this little work; and to draw the attention of young minds to these important views, is the motive for publishing it.

This runs counter to Rousseau's paradoxical rule: "Do not save time but lose it." Kilner's work is also opposed to sports and pastimes, seeing these as inferior to lessons. Boys who cannot join two letters know how to fly kites. Rousseau would have blessed them, but Kilner uses them as object lessons to denounce ignorance.

What is original in Kilner's book is an anachronistic touch. In a story told on the fifth of the seven evenings which make up the book, Edmund Trueman, only seven, could already trace the finger of God in all he saw. This harks back to the Puritan stories of at least seventy-five years earlier in England.

More in the spirit of Mary Jane Kilner's own times is a passage on the Negro, probably the first in a juvenile work in which children themselves comment on and feel for a Negro. A child relates seeing a Negro in chains:

As we passed, he cried aloud to us, and endeavoured to hold up his irons to our view, which he struck with his hand in a very expressive manner, the tear starting in his eye. He seemed by his manner to be demanding the cause of his confinement. —How affecting!—for a man in the prime of life to be bound in irons, and perhaps

1 Emile, II, 57.
3 Ibid., p. 61.
doomed to endure all the hardships and cruelties, which it is well known are practiced upon these poor men. . . .

Who could resist the sentimentalized portrait, especially when it came from the lips of a simple child?

Perhaps it could be said that the punishments in The Happy Family come from nature itself. Rousseau wrote "... [Elles] ne doivent jamais être proposée pour l'objet et le prix de l'étude et de la vertue." Kilner, although she follows this directive from Rousseau, is rather vindictive in applying it. A child who falls off a window seat almost drowns in a pool and loses a tooth. When she plays with a red hot poker, she is burnt to death. In Rousseau the children at least live to profit from their mistakes. In Kilner stories, the knowledge often comes too late.

Mary Jane Kilner also wrote The Adventures of a Pincushion designed chiefly for the use of Young Ladies, in two volumes, which appeared in 1783. This is the first use in children's literature of an autobiography of an inanimate object. The idea came from adult literature, especially Charles Johnstone's novel, Chrysal: or, the Adventures of a Guinea, which appeared in 1760. Smollett's Adventures of an Atom followed in 1769. The device

1 Ibid., p. 22.
2 Cited by Andreae, The Dawn of Juvenile Literature, p. 68.
4 Barry, A Century of Children's Books, p. 144.
enabled the novelist to satirize many elements in society. In children's literature the device was used after Kilner in Richard Johnson's *The Adventures of a Silver Penny* printed by E. Newbery (1787?), *The Adventures of a Kite* (ca. 1789) and *The Adventures of a Silver Threepence* (n.d.). In *Adventures of a Pincushion* the preface reveals an unassuming purpose—"to present some innocent pages for youth which do not corrupt but which possibly amuse. Lest the reader be taken in by the imaginative framework of the book, the preface strongly warns the child reader that pincushions cannot talk and that the author is only using make-believe."¹

Kilner's warning was not needed since any child could see that the pincushion, while it relates the various adventures, so identifies with parents that no child could be taken in. For instance, the pincushion comes out strongly against nail-biting. A truly imaginative work would not use such sermons. Kilner's work is ingenious in the adventures which are treated, but it is not imaginative.

Punishment in Kilner's *Adventures of a Pincushion* is as Rousseau would have it. Children are punished through their own faults. For example, Charlotte Airy cannot go out since she never puts things where they belong and is therefore not ready when her sister Martha, who is perfection personified, and her

mama go. The pincushion preaches as if it were a tutor. The pin-
cushion is lost under a bookcase and when it tries to escape, the
bookcase presses closer. The result is a moral lesson from Emile
passed on to children:

... and though children are not pincushions,
yet they will find, that whenever they are
fretful and dissatisfied, they will be unhappy
and never succeed in any thing they undertake.

If the pangs of conscience do not work, nature acts as authority
figure. Betsey Lloyd is knocked down by a horse and breaks her
leg since she earlier lied when she said she was going horseback
riding.¹

Most of the time the Rousseauistic message is encrusted by
Kilner's sermons which Rousseau would not approve. For instance,
when the pincushion is reduced to dirt and torn apart after being
pecked by hens, the object uses the catastrophe to teach children
in very pompous language. The children are reminded:

... that no seeming security can guard from those
accidents, which may in a moment reduce the prospector
of affluence to a state of poverty and distress; and
therefore it is a mark of folly, as well as meanness, to
be proud of those distinctions, which are at all times
precarious in enjoyment, and uncertain in possession.²

The most enjoyable of the ninety-six pages which make up
the text of the two-volume Adventures of a Pincushion are those
in which the author uses various stratagems to place the pin-

¹Ibid., I, 15-19; II, 7; I, 42, 43.
²Ibid., II, 46.
cushion in eyewitness position. At one point, for instance, the pincushion, wrapped in paper, is placed on a shelf. On the paper, fortunately, is a poem which is quoted for two pages, even though it is labelled "fragment." Occasionally *Adventures of a Pincushion* provides an index to the times. A young woman, for example, who steals two silver spoons from a friend's table, is prosecuted by her friend and transported for life.  

Mary Jane Kilner followed her *Pincushion* volume for girls with something comparable for boys, *Memoirs of a Pegtop* by the *Author of Adventures of a Pincushion*, published ca. 1788. Kilner in her preface admits the precedent of her previous book for girls as well as *Adventures of a Dog*, halfpenny and a bank note. Like *Pincushion*, *Pegtop* deals with the history of the boys who gain possession of a particular pegtop which gives a first-person account of his life. As in the previous book, Kilner apologizes for a talking object. Pathetic fallacy runs through this work. The pegtop, learning it will be put in a circle and split by another top relates its fears:


3 I have used (York: T. Wilson and R. Spence, n.d. [1800?]) for all citations from this text.

4 She probably refers to Francis Coventry's *Pompey the Little* (1751); *The Adventures of a Silver Penny* (n.d. [1787?]), and Thomas Bridges' *The Adventures of a Bank Note* (1770).
It is impossible to describe the uneasiness I felt at this spectacle, which was increased when another was thrown in, which approached so near as twice to assault my sides with great violence.

Besides the inevitable sermons and the intricacy of the plot (the pegtop is abandoned in a library which enables it to write its memoirs), there is the punishment of nature. George Mealwell fakes a robbery to avoid being punished. He scratches his face and rolls in brambles but unluckily gets a thorn in his eye, is almost blinded, and nearly dies before a surgeon, with great difficulty, gets the thorn out. But nature is mild in comparison with the parents who, according to Rousseau, were not to do the punishing. The father of the boy is ready to whip him, adding "and as for your eye, if you had quite lost it, it would have been what you deserved."  

There is much vindictiveness in the Kilner stories, especially those written by Dorothy Kilner.

Dorothy Kilner wrote The Holiday Present (ca. 1783) which tells of the six children of Mr. and Mrs. Jennet. Of George, Charles, Maria, Charlotte and Harriot, only Charles is naughty, and is often made to wear a fool's cap which says, "the wearer of this has told a lie." The book is notable for the punishments which Kilner hands out to naughty children. Mr. Jennet ties his son's hands and legs together for an entire day, and Mrs. Jennet—

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net, when Charlotte refuses to wear the fool's cap, threatens to gag her.\(^1\)

Dorothy Kilner wrote *The Life and Perambulation of a Mouse*, a two-volume book which appeared ca. 1784.\(^2\) As John Marshall's publications are often undated, it is hard to say whether Dorothy or Mary Jane was the first to write an adventure of a non-human object for children. Dorothy Kilner’s book is more entertaining than her sister’s books. *The Life and Perambulation of a Mouse* is told in first person by Nimble, a mouse, who tells of his own life and that of his three brothers, Longtail, Softdown and Brighteyes. After Mary Jane Kilner’s book, the reader expects to find plenty of sermons given directly by the mouse. There are many of these and occasionally the mouse narrator sounds too literary:

> After we were a little recovered from the fatigue of mind as well as of body, which we had lately gone through, we regaled very heartily upon the corn that surrounded us, and then fell into a charming sleep.\(^3\)

But it is in the vivid action and adventures of the mice as they steal plum cakes, outwit footmen, escape traps, or hide in ladies’

\(^1\) Avery, *Nineteenth Century Children*, p. 205.

\(^2\) (London: J. Marshall, n.d.). All references unless specified will be to this edition, presumably the first, and will be abbreviated *Mouse*.

shoes that the charm of the book lies.¹

The mice often run into the same trouble that a child might encounter. They are rewarded and punished in a way that Rousseau recommended. The mouse who upsets a hot iron is burnt. A girl who is scared by a cow almost drowns and gets a violent cold. A child who flees a wasp backs into a window and bleeds. A mouse who disobeys his mother's advice is killed. There are many sermons against cruelty to animals. A boy who ties a string to a mouse's tail to make the cat jump for it is horsewhipped by his father. When the boy objects, the father tells him the mouse did not like its treatment either. Punishment in Kilner is often excessive, and there are many graphic passages. As John grinds the mouse Softdown under his foot, Nimble narrates the painful event:

> My very blood runs cold within me at the recollection of seeing Softdown's blood as it squirted from beneath the monster's foot; whilst the craunch of his bones petrified me with horror.²

A Dorothy Kilner book intended for younger children was The Good Child's Delight Or, the Road to Knowledge, in Short Entertaining Lessons of One and Two Syllables (ca. 1785). The rewards are simple and understandable to young children. A boy who returns buns which fall from the basket of a peddler is given two

¹Barry, A Century of Children's Books, p. 140.

²Mouse, p. 37, cited by Avery, Nineteenth Century Children, p. 30. All other references in the above paragraph are from Mouse, pp. 19, 21, 40, 47.
tarts and a bun as reward. The boy who eats others that fall gets beaten with a stick. As for punishments, Kilner does not always lean toward the Rousseauistic premise that they should grow out of the occasion. A boy who fell into a pond is rescued and his father, angry because the boy went on the ice, ties his legs and arms with strings and makes him sit so all day until bed time.¹

In Dorothy Kilner's *The Rotchfords; Or, the Friendly Counsellor Designed for the Instruction and Amusement of the Youth of Both Sexes*, the sensationalistic is repeated. Little George puts his hand through the window of a coach glass. This occurs at the end of volume one. In the next volume it is discovered that the arm has to be amputated. A sentimentalized scene ensues in which George says, "... they cut off my arm? I did not think my papa would let me be used so!" The mother faints, and George thinks Mama Rotchford is dead. Such tales of distress and violent punishment abound in Kilner stories. In their fierceness they resemble the Puritan stories of the previous century. Kilner admits in her preface that her principal design is to inculcate the benevolent religion of Christianity and to teach the young to reflect on each word and action.² If petrifying the young makes them reflective, Kilner is very successful.

Other lessons in the book are not so painful nor so graphic. The children are taught that Negroes have the same exquisite sensations as whites, and a Negro boy who is taken in acts as a satiric judge of Christians. The boy at first refuses to be baptized since he finds many Christians insincere. The children learn that helping others makes one feel good and that aid to the distressed, though often painful, is rewarding. James gets permanent "scars of Honor" on his arm and is told that reflecting on the scene will bring heart-felt delight.¹

Kindness to animals is stressed and stretched so that the blind beggar whose dog had to be killed, after fiercely defending his master, is to be skinned and made into a pillow for the blind beggar. Such sentimentality toward animals seems excessive, but so is the description of the delights one receives by being good and of the punishment when a child is naughty. A child who says he hates old lazy folks is labelled "an unnatural monster."

There is similar punitive treatment, sometimes directly from nature, in Kilner's Short Conversations, or an Easy Road to the Temple of Fame (ca. 1786). In this story, a mother recommends her daughter's mouth be tied up if she persists in lying, and the story is told of a girl who fell out a window she was told to stay away from. In her fall she lost three teeth. But for sheer

¹Ibid., II, 84, 110, 97.
²Ibid., II, 89; I, 10.
sadistic delight there is the passage in which Jack is tied to a rolling stone and horsewhipped since he did something similar to a cat.¹

The excesses of the Kilners will be reinvestigated in the next chapter. Their achievements in the 1780's should be summarized. The Kilners are seen as the Smolletts of children's tales, being among the few writers who animated the moral tale before Maria Edgeworth.² Their books are not steeped in esoteric lore as were most English books for children which imitated Rousseau. Instead they deal with the simple, everyday sort of incidents which any child would know. Each book is rendered in the same style,³ so that often the same book is attributed to both Kilner sisters. Together, they popularized the moral tale and presented lively stories through intricate manipulation of everyday objects.

It was a friend of Dorothy Kilner, Sarah Kirby Trimmer, who greatly influenced imaginative literature for children in the 1780's and after. Trimmer's Fabulous Histories Designed for the Instruction of Children, Respecting their Treatment of Animals, which first appeared in 1786, reached a thirteenth edition by 1821

²Avery, Nineteenth Century Children, p. 28.
so that two editions appear every three years for a generation. 1

Sarah Kirby Trimmer (1741-1810) was the mother of twelve children, none of whom survived her. She was the daughter of John Kirby, an artist who knew Hogarth, Reynolds and Johnson. As a child, Sarah Kirby showed her predilection for learning. She once charmed Samuel Johnson during a dispute concerning *Paradise Lost* by producing a copy from her own pocket. 2 In 1762 Sarah Kirby married James Trimmer and later became an early adherent of Robert Raikes' Sunday School movement. Influenced by Mrs. Barbauld's *Easy Lessons for Children*, Sarah Trimmer wrote her own *An Easy Introduction to the Knowledge of Nature* (1782). In it, Henry and Charlotte go on Rousseauistic walks with their mother who tells them of sheep, dogs, insects and gooseberries, adding many sermons against cruelty to animals 3 and with much reference to God's role in nature, making the book a christianized version of the lessons in *Emile* for younger children.

Along with Barbauld, Day and Fenn, Trimmer is one of the earliest of the children's writers to incorporate Rousseau. Trimmer's romance with Rousseau is short-lived, for she soon became

1CHEL, 379.


very critical of Rousseau as seen in *The Guardian of Education*, a periodical she founded in 1802 to review children's books and campaign against the deistic and freethinking tendencies of some of them.

Another early animal story was Trimmer's *Fabulous Histories*, or *History of the Robins*, as it is more commonly known. This long narrative (308 pages in two volumes) shifts interest from the Benson Family to a family of robins. Most of the attention, however, is on the robin family and the story is often told from the point of view of the birds. The robins' names are: Robin, Dicky, Flapsy and Pecksy. While it is refreshing and imaginative not to find a story based on the actions of the good and the bad child, the robins are often mere stand-ins for children. For instance, Pecksy is the good child and Robin the bad child:

> Young creatures, like us, said Pecksy, certainly stand in need of instruction, and ought to think ourselves happy in having parents who are willing to take the trouble of teaching us what is necessary for us to know. I dread the day when I must quit the nest and take care of myself.¹

There is nonetheless an inescapable charm involved in this story in which a child can enter into the inner workings of a robin family. Some of the interest, however, is diluted when the birds are used to enforce object lessons. A robin who is shot, while expiring, tells children that his death ought to be a lesson

¹(10th ed.; London: Whittingham and Arliss, 1815), II, 27. All further references to this work will be to this edition, unless otherwise specified, and will be abbreviated *FH*. 
on obedience to one's parents. The book abounds in such object lessons that children perhaps ignored in favor of the imaginative story. The lessons really intrude when the child is not allowed, as Rousseau wished, to experience nature directly and to draw his own conclusions. When Frederick, who is only six, is taken to see pigs on a farm, Mother Benson seizes the occasion to compare the pigs' greediness with Frederick's fondness for strawberries. The child's curiosity is channeled to improve behavior and to awake sensibility. For instance, Mrs. Benson states that, as a child, she used to be cruel to insects, until her father showed them to her under a microscope, and Mrs. Benson testifies that she still cannot see anything put to death without imagining she hears its bones crack or sees blood gushing from its veins and arteries. At least Mrs. Benson spares her own children from her father's methods.¹

Trimmer alternates in the book from an attempt at increasing children's sensibility toward animals to a fear that she may have gone too far. Pathetic fallacy, for example, is used to an excessive degree in describing the death of Hen Redbreast which is related by the mate of the dying robin. The mate tries to console Hen Redbreast who replies:

"Your consolations come too late; the blow is struck, I feel my death approaching. The horror which seized me when I missed my nestlings, and supposed myself robbed at

¹Ibid., II, 116, 66, 73.
once of my mate and infants, was too powerful for my weak frame to sustain. Oh! why will the human race be so wantonly cruel."

The agonies of death now came on, after a few convulsive pangs, she breathed her last, and left me an unhappy widower.

All this ensues because some foolish boys went bird-nesting. The feelings of birds are often taken into account. For instance, Mrs. Benson buys larks rather than see them killed and roasted on a spit. She even takes care that her food is dressed plainly so that no more lives be sacrificed for it than nature requires for her subsistence. Mrs. Wilson, a farmer's wife and a friend of Mrs. Benson, is similarly delicate. Besides not killing her own chickens (others do it for her), Mrs. Wilson makes sure her chickens are not kept near fowls which are at liberty. What is more, Mrs. Wilson will not even destroy webs of garden spiders, stating that she would not like her own little ones taken from her arms or their warm beds and crushed to death. ¹

As if Mrs. Trimmer were seeking a brake on the pathetic fallacy to which her plot and framework naturally lead, she inserts warnings against being too indulgent to animals. She includes Mrs. Addis, who is too indulgent to animals and neglects her own family to care for her pets, as a foil to herself. Trimmer warns the reader not to indulge his feelings too far with respect to animals given to man for food. All one need do is to avoid barbarity. She is quick to add that people are more important than

¹Ibid., I, 63, 47; II, 155, 62-63, 75.
animals and one's tender feelings toward the latter should not obscure the higher claim of humans.¹

Trimmer puts a similar brake on the fancifulness of the fantastic tale. For instance, she points out in a footnote that "the mock bird is properly a native of America, but is introduced for the sake of the moral."² When a writer feels the need for such realism one cannot expect the purely imaginative tale for children that The History of the Robins might have been. Speculation on what the book might have been had imagination been given freer rein ought not blind one to what the book actually was. If Mrs. Trimmer did not look at the nest of birds from the viewpoint of the fabulist, she did so through a child's point of view, even viewing the Benson household from the viewpoint of a bird.³ Fabulous Histories was also the first story to have a theme of kindness to dumb creatures.⁴ This theme is often so overstated that one critic dismissed the book feeling it wearisome to come into contact with a person of only one idea.⁵ Admittedly, Trimmer's wordy style was not truly, in today's terms, "adapted to the

¹Ibid., II, 2-15, 92; I, 11-12.
²Ibid., II, 54.
³Barry, A Century of Children's Books, p. 137.
⁵Moses, Children's Books and Reading, p. 107.
comprehension of young persons," as she boasted in her preface.  

Fabulous Histories may be compared with The Life and Perambulation of a Mouse by Dorothy Kilner which came out a year after the Trimmer book. Kilner's book is more entertaining as the mice scamper in robin-hood style, robbing rich and poor alike. Mrs. Trimmer's work is more hidebound by ethics and propriety.  

The good child and the good mice in Trimmer's book are likely to seem prigs. This is not to automatically condemn the book:

If Mrs. Trimmer does dispense a good deal of priggery, she is merely following the current fashion; but at the same time, she was in her period a person of excellent sense to realize that humanitarianism and overfondness for pets could be carried too far.

Trimmer's book does have charm. With its cool, observant, sensible morality, it is further a good tool for seeing the social history of the times.  

Like her or not today, the importance of Sarah Trimmer to her contemporaries and to child readers for decades lies in the fact that she was important.

It was a Frenchman, influenced by Trimmer and Rousseau, who did much to influence the nature of children's books in the late eighteenth century. This was Arnaud Berquin (1749-1791), author

1 Sangster, Pity My Simplicity, p. 54.
2 Avery, Nineteenth Century Children, pp. 29-30.
3 Harwood, Love for Animals, p. 255.
of *L'Ami des Enfants* which came out in serial form twice a month from January, 1782 to December, 1783 for a total of twenty-four volumes. Berquin was a writer of romances who translated Trimmer's *An Introduction to the Knowledge of Nature and Day's Sanford and Merton* into French. In 1784 he received a prize from the French Academy for *L'Ami des Enfants*.\(^1\) Berquin's book was first translated into English by M. A. Meilan from 1783 to 1784, also in twenty-four volumes. Later editions in the century are in two, six or eight volumes, and are known mostly as *The Children's Friend*. Other adaptations were immensely popular. It is estimated that *L'Ami des Enfants* reached a publication of 20,000 copies in ten years.\(^2\) The English counterpart was said to have "universal popularity," and said to be found in every house where there were children.\(^3\)

*The Children's Friend* was a miscellany of closet drama, tales, letters, dialogues and poetry, not all entirely original with Berquin. In his "Prospectus," Berquin admits that he selected some of his tales from the German stories of Christian Felix Weisse (1725-1804) who published *Der Kinderfreund* (1775) which also appeared in twenty-four parts and Johann Heinrich Campe

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2*CHEL*, p. 378.

(1748-1818) who adapted Robinson Crusoe into German (1779). Berquin was also an admirer of the work of Sarah Trimmer, and may have been influenced as well by her. In his preface, Berquin admits that every one of his stories shows that domestic happiness lies in one's temper and that the origin of every social virtue is in the heart. As they attempt to prove social virtue stems from feeling, Berquin's tales can be expected to border on the sentimental.

The preface to Berquin's work shows that he had read Rousseau. Berquin insists that the punishments in his book are all made the consequence of children's faults and that pleasure directly results from good actions. Berquin is as adamant against fables as was Rousseau. He promises only such adventures as may be witnessed in everyday life, not marvelous and romantic tales.

Berquin's hints in the preface that he will follow the cult of sentimentality and the lead of Rousseau are soon borne out. There are, first of all, sentimental touches. Mr. Dexter, for example, tells Percival in "Old Colin" that giving to others is the only pleasure that never weakens. This is not reprehensible;

1"Prospectus," The Children's Friend, Translated from the French of Mr. Berquin, by Lucas Williams, Esq. A New corrected Edition. . . . (London: J. Stockdale and others, 1793), I, x, ix. All further references to this text will be to this edition and will be abbreviated CF.

2Muir, English Children's Books, p. 87, note 1.

3"Author's Preface," CF, pp. x, ix.
the cult of sensibility, which Berquin on occasion recommends, is. For instance, Commodore Freeport watches the faces of his children when he relates his battles to see who feels for him most. Apparently Commodore Freeport had never read *King Lear*; his system, however, is highly commended and seems successful. Perhaps the child with the most cultivated display of sensibility is young Abel who jumps onto the grave of his parents daily until a merchant hears of it, and takes him in. Abel grows up in the business and marries the merchant's daughter. As if it were not obvious, Berquin attributes Abel's success to his sensations. The only slight complication is that Abel gets an annual fever on the anniversary of his parents' death. Evidently, Berquin never seriously considered the possibility of such stories helping boost the affected sensibility which was often satirized in the period in adult and in some children's literature. Perhaps Berquin had too much faith in the simplicity of the child to suspect him of craftiness because Berquin seems to have been an early romantic, at least as far as seeing the child in a rosy light was concerned. Berquin's "Verses on an Infant in the Cradle" calls infancy "the only age that tastes of bliss."  

Like Wordsworth, Berquin was influenced by Rousseau. Berquin mentions Rousseau favorably as a great man in *The Children's Friend*. This is also evidenced in the story of Narcissus and

\[ ^{1}\text{Ibid., I, 100; III, 89; III, 8-14; I, 66.} \]
Hippolytus which reads like Sandford and Merton. Narcissus Chambers is the rich child bred with "utmost delicacy" who wears a fine scarlet coat. Hippolytus Marvel is the child whose parents have a moderate income and who is well exercised and developed at the age of nine. He is healthy, robust and wears a thin linen jacket. Mr. Chambers asks Mr. Marvel how to raise a child. It is discovered that Hippolytus had only his father for a tutor; whereas Narcissus had plenty of tutors. The result is a horror-success story. Narcissus dies of a distemper. Hippolytus lives and pleases his parents and his wife.¹ The parent as self-appointed tutor, the outdoor exercise, the distaste for finery and the satire of the rich seem to derive from Émile. Berquin's eight pages are as indebted to Rousseau as Day's hundreds of pages.

The Rousseau gambit that the child receive direct punishment for his crimes is borne out in several Berquin stories. In "The Children who would be their own Masters" the children beg the parents to direct their lives after a day of freedom in which they get sick on wine and rich food and in which they are almost drowned in the forbidden pond and become very ill. If this sounds like card-stacking (the father watches the children in hiding), it should be remembered that Rousseau suggested that the tutor contrive to make it appear as if nature were doing the punishing. Likewise in "The Little Miss Deceived by her Maid,"

¹Ibid., VI, 78; I, 281-288.
Amelia Barlow is in league with a wicked nurse who steals sugar and tea for her in exchange for the keys to mamma's drawers. When Amelia confesses, her father does not punish her, saying her deed itself will punish her. Sure enough the nurse spreads stories about her, and Amelia is teased by her friends. Amelia is thus shown how she has hurt herself and she profits from her disgrace.¹

Berquin sometimes overdraws his stories or makes them too sensationalistic. The child who spends his allowance on pastry, for example, is stealing one page later. He goes to India, enlists in the army and finally murders his parents with a hatchet. Berquin does say, "the remainder is too horrid to relate," but his premise that a child can become criminal by degrees is rather overstated.²

Also overdone are the too perfect children. Matilda is hard to believe in; she is a child who kneels during thunderstorms and prays for all the other children who are afraid of thunder. There is the beggar who refuses silver and accepts only half a crown since he expects to be in heaven within eight days and his children can work; he suggests therefore that the silver be given to those who will beg longer than he. The prize for youthful submissiveness, however, belongs to three-year-old Caroline, who

¹Ibid., I, 254-265; 67-82.
²Ibid., IV, 210-225.
does not mind when the hairdresser makes her bald. After all, her hair is not lost, it is still in the drawer. Such children not only act too adult but they often talk in like fashion: "I have sufficiently felt the wearisomeness of doing nothing," says a child we are asked to believe in.¹

As Berquin's work in England was known through many compilations, it would be well to review other titles which represent abridgments from L'Ami des Enfants. The one that made Berquin a household word was The Looking Glass of the Mind which first appeared in 1787 and which had an enormous sale of perhaps 50,000 copies² in ten editions by 1871 and in editions which appeared as late as 1885.³

In The Looking Glass, Rousseau's influence is again apparent. One story in particular, "Caroline, or a Lesson to Cure Vanity," seems to have been written in response to a directive from Émile:

If I had to bring such a spoilt child to his senses, I would take care that his smartest clothes were the most uncomfortable, that he was always cramped, constrained, and embarrassed in every way; freedom and mirth should flee before his splendour. If he wanted to take part in the games of children more simply dressed, they would cease their play and run away.⁴

¹Ibid., VI, 67; I, 88, 125.
²"Berquin's Looking-Glass for the Mind," p. 112.
³Muir, National Book League, p. 94.
⁴Emile, II, 91-92.
The above is comparable to the story of Caroline in which her finery constricts her. When she puts on her shoes, her limbs are under great restraint and her motions lose their ease and freedom. Caroline thus learns not to wish for finery as it keeps her from playing games because at first she fears ruining her new frock and later finds she cannot run in her trussed-up condition. It is as if Rousseau wrote the story for Berquin, so closely does it parallel the lesson from *Emile*.

There are other evidences of Rousseau's influence in the book. The comparison is made again between the indoor rich child and the outdoor poor child. Augustus wears a thin jacket and cultivates his garden. Antony wears a rich velvet coat and lolls bored in a coach. When Mr. Lenox, Antony's father, tries the outdoor regimen on his son, it is too late since the boy is fourteen. Antony sinks back to idleness and weakness and dies young, while Augustus lives to do credit to his family and his children. There are also stories in which the poor prove superior to the rich. After a day in the fields, a boy learns not to despise his father's "worthy tenant." The effects of nature work on girls.

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1 The Looking-Glass for the Mind Being an Elegant Collection of Delightful and Interesting Tales Chiefly Translated from M. Berquin's Much Admired L'Ami des Enfants • • • (New York: David Longworth, 1800), pp. 193-194. All further references to this edition will be abbreviated LG. The translation of the original edition (1787) is ascribed to Rev. Mr. Cooper who may also have been the editor. See Forrest Bowe, "Authorship of the Blossoms of Morality," American Notes and Queries, III (1965), 147-149.
too, as Bella finds her heart and her mind moved to benevolence
and tenderness after a morning in a garden.¹

There is again the cult of feeling seen in Berquin's work.
Charity is amply rewarded by the feelings it provides. A phy-
sician looks at six starving people eating at his table and smiles
at a most pleasing scene. There are even characters who arrange
to have their sensibilities influenced or increased almost on an
appointment basis. Mr. Glover who earlier saw little Jack, then
five years old, weeping on his mother's grave and who took the
boy in, whenever his mind is oppressed, visits the spot where the
original affecting scene took place and it never fails to raise
his spirits.² This exercising of one's capacity for emotion is
sensibility, not the more sentimentality that constantly states
that doing good makes one feel good, which is present in Berquin
as well.

If the adults like Mr. Glover are hard to believe in, so
occasionally are the children. Little Harry refuses food from
his father, and pretends to be sick since the family is starving
and he is the eldest and can therefore best stand the hunger. Of
course, this melts the heart of a physician who is affected by
the family and feeds them. The landlord is similarly affected,

¹Ibid., pp. 149, 156, 112, 62.
²Ibid., pp. 38, 87-88.
even settling an annuity on Harry.\(^1\)

And there is gore and sensationalism. Bella serves her alcoholic husband, Jonathan, his own son in a basket to eat, saying that if he does not, famine and misery will soon kill the child. Of course, Jonathan reforms.\(^2\)

Sentimentality also is applied to animals, and there is much made of bird-nest stealing and cruelty to animals. Sometimes this leads to pathetic fallacy. Flora rescues a little lamb from a herd, "tied together like so many criminals." It is raised by Flora and even named "Baby." Perhaps the most bizarre example of this is a story, touching on the macabre, which places the sensibility of birds over that of humans. Since Nancy forgets to take care of her canary, it dies. Her father addresses the dead bird and wishes he had twisted its head off rather than cause it "extreme agony" at the hands of "so merciless a guardian" as his daughter. The bird is stuffed and hung from the ceiling as a memorial to Nancy's carelessness. Eventually, the bird is taken down, but it is replaced whenever Nancy is guilty of inattention or giddiness, and Nancy could often hear it saying, "Alas, poor cherry, what a cruel death you suffered!"\(^3\) Evidently, Berquin never considered the possible damage to Nancy's psyche the punish-

\(^1\)Ibid., pp. 35-38.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 129.

\(^3\)Ibid., pp. 95-97.
ment would create, but it has been seen in the Kilner stories, and will be seen later, that many English writers took Rousseau's direction that a parent should arrange to have nature punish or reward a child to mean that a parent should create punishment that would haunt the child for life.

This is not to suggest that there are no merits in the Berquin book. The very sensationalistic passages may have been the ones children most enjoyed. The artificiality by which the good is always rewarded was once considered meritorious in children's literature which was meant to be of an improving nature. An 1863 edition of The Looking-Glass finds the fact that virtue is always viewed as the source of happiness and vice as the best feature of the book, along with the fact that there are no enchanted castles or supernatural agents in the book, but common everyday objects.¹

Most of the qualities seen in the other compilations of Berquin can also be seen in The Blossoms of Morality Intended for the Amusement and Instruction of Young Ladies and Gentlemen By the Editor of the Looking Glass for the Mind.² The book contains only twenty-three stories and has traditionally been assumed to


²(London: E. Newbery, 1789).
be primarily Berquin's.  

The Rousseauistic contrast between the two boys raised indoors or outside is seen in "The History of Ernestus and Fragilius." Again social leveling is encouraged as the Wilsons invite little Jackson, son of a gardener, to a feast. The parents hide behind a screen and watch their children cane him. Three pages later, the parents again watch and are greatly affected as the children kiss Jackson. Jackson is too good to be true—even trying to save his attackers from the parents. And once more the reader is told of the delights which a story of distress can occasion, as delightful sensations may come and who would want to miss a taste of tenderness and sensibility.  

As The Blossoms of Morality was an Elizabeth Newbery publication, it is not surprising to see an advertising plug for other books she published. The advertisement, moreover, shows the middle-class audience that was reached by such books. Young Theophilus not only asks for more gilt books from St. Paul's.

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1 Bowe, "Authorship of The Blossoms of Morality," pp. 147-149 makes a convincing case for Berquin not being credited with the stories in Blossoms of Morality. Bowe points out that of the twenty-three stories, only two come from L'Ami des Enfants. Weedon, "Richard Johnson," p. 13, sees the author-editor as Richard Johnson, a hack writer for Elizabeth Newbery. More work needs to be done in this area. This work is listed under Berquin for convenience as he is the undisputed author of some of the works. The work illustrates some of the qualities seen in Berquin. Authorship is not crucial.

Churchyard but pities the ignorance of those boys whose parents cannot afford to buy them such a nice library. The boy's father agrees but also suggests they look at the book of nature as Rousseau recommended.¹

The Blossoms of Morality, whoever compiled it and whatever its features or faults, went through fifteen editions from 1789 to 1837.²

An even shorter compilation of Berquin tales, Select Stories for the Instruction and Entertainment of Children was printed in 1787.³ It contains only seventeen stories, whose titles, as in most Berquin tales, often reveal their subject matter. "A Good Heart Compensates for Indiscretions, a Drama," "The Young Sparrows," and "Vanity Punished." These stories, like those in any of Berquin's books in English, The Children's Friend, The Blossoms of Morality and The Looking-Glass for the Mind, reveal a similarity of technique. To have read one is to have read dozens of the stories:

There is the invariable tactlessly virtuous mamma, much addicted to finding her sermons not only in stones, but in every object met with during the day's experiences. An equally sermonizing but occasionally humorous papa, a good little girl and ditto small boy, all surprisingly and delightfully quickly contaminated by bad or reformed by good examples. Then a kind of

¹Ibid., p. 31.
²Weedon, "Richard Johnson," p. 42.
³(London: John Stockdale and others, 1787).
Greek chorus of respectful, perfect mannered servants.

The artificiality of Berquin seems the main charge against him; the poor are always ill but honest; the rich are invariably doling alms; children are perfect or sinful. There is a snobbishness about his works that is hard to ignore. The stories always deal with the aristocracy. True, there are the poor and unfortunate, but they are there for children to learn life from, not as genuine objects of sympathy and charity. Perhaps this is why an eighteenth-century reviewer of Berquin was disturbed by the dedication of Select Stories to Robert Raikes, founder of the Sunday school:

... but we think that most of those who have read the "Children's Friend," will join us in being of a different opinion; for M. Berquin intended his work for children of a rank that will never be met with in a Sunday school.²

There is a rigidity in Berquin that is seen in his stark contrasts, of virtue or of social class:

He would have the children with all the virtues or all the faults, he would have them love restraint rather than freedom, he would have the poor to provide an opportunity for charity on the part of the rich, he would have them love the cold even though they were freezing and despise wealth even though they had none; for this is the best of all possible worlds and must not be changed.³

¹ Maud Slessor, "The Improving Tales of M. Berquin, 'L'Ami des Enfants,'" The Bookman, LXXXIV (April, 1933), 240.


³ Egoff, Nineteenth Century Children's Periodicals, p. 8.
Contrasted with Day, Berquin is conservative in his use of *Emile*. His child heroes are less hard and self reliant than *Emile*. As many of the stories show, the children not only admit the mastery of their parents, they beg for it. Children are given less freedom in Berquin than in Day. Berquin is similarly conservative with regard to social mobility. In Day the problem was that most of the rich were satirized and all the poor were honest. Berquin does not go so far, for his is clearly a world run by the aristocracy. There are few success stories like *The History of Little Jack* in Berquin. The poor are mere stage fixtures used to make the rich feel good. Neither side wishes to trade places with the other, so that stories of little boys rising from poverty to riches would be out of place.

If Berquin's faults seem glaring, it must be remembered that his books were popular with children well into the nineteenth century, and they inspired many other works, such as the six-volume *Evenings at Home* (1792-1796). Fanny Burney praised Berquin, and, as a child, Jane Austen read him.

A French writer even more prolific and similarly influential in England during Berquin's time was Stephanie Félicité Ducrest de St. Aubin, Comtesse de Genlis (1746-1830), who wrote nearly

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one hundred volumes during the age of Louis XV. ¹ De Genlis wrote many books which would not have circulated well in England had British matrons known De Genlis was mistress to the Duke of Orleans, Philippe Egalité.²

Among Madame de Genlis' works directed at children are Théâtre a l'usage des jeunes Personnes, ou Théâtre d'éducation (1779-1780), Adèle et Théodore, ou lettres sur l'éducation (1782), and Veillées du Château (1784). All these works were quickly translated into English. Theatre of Education is not considered here since it is drama rather than fiction. Adèle and Théodore appeared first in English in 1783, but it is more properly a treatise on education and a novel for adults, which Sarah Trimmer and Robert Raikes felt contained Locke and Rousseau in a form more pleasing than the original.³ It is a four-volume "courtesy novel" which deals with the correspondence of le Baron and la Baronne d'Almanne who leave Paris to spend four years educating their children on Rousseauistic lines. Their letters describe their methods.⁴ Madame de Genlis was known, however, especially for her large opus, Les Veillées du Château, in three volumes of two thousand total pages, which was translated into English in

¹Moses, Children's Books and Reading, p. 66.
³Andreae, The Dawn of Juvenile Literature, p. 100.
1785, a year after initial publication. As Tales of the Castle, the book was in tremendous vogue in England. The four-volume work reached nine editions in its first twenty-five years. 1

Madame de Genlis directly inspired many English writers. Adele and Theodore gave Sarah Trimmer the idea of putting prints in nurseries to teach children natural science and geographical facts. She was also inspired to write A Description of a Set of Prints in Six Volumes (ca. 1787). 2 De Genlis also influenced Maria Edgeworth, who attempted a translation of Adele and Theodore, but was beaten to the press with it. 3 The Tales of the Castle framework as well as the humanitarian incidents were additional influences on the writings of Maria Edgeworth. 4 Tales of the Castle also spawned Mrs. Pilkington’s Tales of the Cottage (1799) 5 and Charlotte Sanders’ The Little Family (1797).

Tales of the Castle deals with the children of a Baroness, Madame de Clemire, who retires to a country villa while her husband is away on business for a few years. The time is spent


4Paterson, The Edgeworths, p. 77.

5Barry, A Century of Children’s Books, p. 238.
trying out educational theory on her three children, Cesar, Caroline and Pulchine, inculcating Rousseauistic principles of education in them. Madame de Genlis had a double purpose in her writings. "La préoccupation de Mme. de Genlis de faire aimer la vertu est sans doute plus proche de l'enseignement de Rousseau que des préceptes évangéliques. ... [Thus she] elevant à la mode de Jean-Jacques ses filles naturelles. ... "¹ Madame de Genlis was an early disciple of Rousseau who for a time was also her friend. Rousseau saw her as the most natural and cheerful girl he had ever met. De Genlis remained loyal to her master. At the age of seventy she stated: "What I pride myself on, is knowing twenty trades, by all of which I could earn my bread."² One enthusiast for Madame de Genlis' work states that her works had more influence in England than Emile, both in popularizing educational narrative and in furthering creative fiction for children.³

Interspersed with the lessons on natural science are stories which illustrate Rousseauistic principles. Delphine, for instance, eats unwholesome food, wears tight-fitting fashionable clothes and cannot abide wind, rain, sun and dust. She is sati-


²Cited by Barry, A Century of Children's Books, p. 102.

rized for her delicacy, her fear of riding in a coach and her shrieking at the sight of a spider or mouse. She is cured by a Swiss doctor who puts her in a dairy. Doralice is satirized because she is an adherent of the new gothic sensibility who likes artificial gardens and ruins. Her mother Eglantine cures her of her predilection for the artificial and the affected by showing her Switzerland's natural beauty.¹

De Genlis is just as parsimonious as Rousseau with books to be allowed children. She permits them to read Epinay's *Conversations d'Emilie* and Berquin's *The Children's Friend.*²

Madame de Genlis is also a disciple of the cult of feeling. A story is told of a little boy who strips off his clothes when he and his brother are lost in a snowbank, feeling it is less painful to suffer than to see his brother suffer. The mother who tells the story uses it to show that man is not naturally selfish but selfless. This leads to an apostrophe to pity:

Oh! my child how sublime is pity, sincerity can inspire virtue like this! Far from enfeebling it ennobles the soul, makes it insensible of danger, superior to pain, and fearless of death! Never blush at such sensations:

¹*Tales of the Castle or, Stories of Instruction and Delight Being Les Veilles du Chateau Written in French by Madame la Comtesse de Genlis*. . . Translated into English by Thomas Holcroft (Dublin: For Messrs. Moncrieffe, Walker, White, Byrne and Parker, 1789), I, 15, 150–151, 16. All references to this work will be to this edition and will be abbreviated TC.

²*Tbid.*, I, 24. Muir, *English Children's Books*, p. 72, note 1 claims De Genlis allowed her child characters to read only three books, all by Richardson. This is incorrect.
cherish feelings so active and compassionate, so natural to the heart of man, and which he never can lose, without debasing his nature.

Another sentimental scene shows dutiful children who will not stop shooing flies off their aged parents until Eugenia offers to relieve them from the task. She has ten guineas for the old folks but fears counting them lest she wake them up. "... She stopped, and fixing her eyes upon the old man, the sweet tears of sensibility began to trickle." The rich girl, Eugenia, has to leave hurriedly since the sight of the old man is too powerful to be resisted.¹

Children are made to feel great anxiety when they misplace or lose something. This is likewise connected with the cult of feeling. In one story a mother keeps an account of all the objects her daughter loses, and estimates that the total is 103,000 francs or enough to feed twenty unfortunate families for life. Children in De Genlis' works are made to feel keenly that they are robbing the poor when they waste something. De Genlis stops short of those guided by the evangelical spirit who would give all to the poor. De Genlis answers, "religion does not require us to sacrifice every convenience of life to our humanity." Like Berquin, de Genlis is on the side of the aristocrat with the poor being introduced into stories as object lessons for children to relieve or as warnings. For instance, a girl who wants gauze

¹ TC, I, 91, 246, 248.
frippery is told it "might save a dying girl and a distracted mother. . . . "

There are some departures from Rousseau in de Genlis. In general, the difference is one of method. While, as mentioned above, de Genlis permitted the children a few books, Tales of the Castle is replete with stories told by parents and tutors. The stories do in effect what Rousseau wanted nature to do. The children, for example, after hearing the story of Eglantine, vow never to lose any more gloves and handkerchiefs nor to waste bread and butter.2

As to her methods, de Genlis, in comparison with the Kilner sisters or Sarah Trimmer, seldom finds it necessary to use violent means of punishment. She boasts that children who are affectionate and active are easy to move because of their sensibility.3 De Genlis was a disciple of Rousseau after her own fashion.4

While Rousseau did not encourage fairy tales for children, Madame de Genlis went further. Besides pointing out the defects in Madame D'Aulnoy's stories (then out of fashion), Madame de Clemire vows to tell a story in which natural phenomena rival the wonders of fairy tales. She uses volcanoes, earthquakes, meteor-

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1 Ibid., I, 139, 119, 118.
2 Ibid., I, 161.
3 Ibid., I, 127.
4 Hazard, Books, Children and Men, p. 15.
ites, lodestone mountains and silver mines to convince her children that natural wonders far outweigh imaginative works.¹

Although Rousseau did not endorse any method of telling stories to children, he would have been pleased with the results. "Men may be taught by fables; children require the naked truth."² Is it any wonder that his disciples like Madame de Genlis took him literally and banished all works of imagination? So determined is Madame de Genlis, through her alter ego, Madame de Clemire, to keep children from fairy tales that she deprives them of her own instructive stories for three weeks when she finds them reading contraband fairy tales.³

In addition to providing popular reading material, Madame de Genlis contributed valuable techniques to juvenile fiction which include realistic characterization and motivation, individualized dialogue and the use of unusual settings and characters. Because of these and because of her popularization of Rousseau, she deserves an important place in the history of juvenile fiction in England.⁴

Madame de Genlis also overextends Rousseau's plea that chil-

²Emile, II, 77.
³TC, I, 265.
dren see nature. When she runs out of natural history, the children are taken to see factories. If Madame de Clemire's stories in Tales of the Castle are believable and fascinating, her children are not. When one child is punished by not being allowed to hear the history lessons for eight days, the other children beg not to be told any stories during Pulceria's absence.¹

Madame de Genlis is not without fault. Some of the children are too perfect to be believed. The main objection to de Genlis in her own time in England was that she used falsehood and deceit as an instrument of education, and that she tried to give children of ten or twelve more knowledge and experience than those of twenty usually possess. Such regular children as exist in de Genlis are fit only to live with one another, one critic observes.²

Conversations d'Emilie, published in 1783, received a prize from the French Academy and was translated into English in 1787. It was written by Louise Frances Petronille Tardieu D'Esclavelles, Marquise d'Epinay. Madame D'Epinay is more faithful to Rousseau than was Madame de Genlis. Emilie seems an obedient younger sister of Émile and shares his natural education. She passes ten years outdoors, and her enlightened parent, who is the counterpart

¹ TC, III, 204; I, 690.

of Émile's guardian, believes the time not wasted. Nature reprimands Emilie. An accident on a ladder convinces Emilie that she ought not climb so high. The girl is educated every minute of the day; even during recreation she receives instruction through stories. Her mother is her sole companion. The book is thus a simplified Émile without Berquin's humor to relieve it.¹

The mother is the perfect parent. Emilie is a lifelike child only until she is corrupted through the worship of reason. Epinay differs in following Rousseau by including moral tales which convince Emilie of her naughtiness. Madame d'Épinay was too true a disciple of Rousseau to follow him slavishly. She ignored his strictures on reading and was ready to tolerate myths for the sake of the morality. Perhaps the best criticism of Epinay's methods come from her own creation, Emilie, who declares to her mother: "In my whole life I never saw you play at anything." There is no room for frivolity in the serious regimen of many of Rousseau's followers. Epinay included nature and reason; she forgot love:

Émilie: Mamma! Mamma! Let me come and kiss you.
Mamma: Most willingly; but you will tell me upon what account.²

There were scores of other books for children in the 1780's that were published anonymously or by writers less known than

¹Barry, A Century of Children's Books, pp. 97-98.
²Ibid., pp. 99, 100.
Berquin or de Genlis. Some of these follow Rousseau slavishly, others ignore him. In 1785 Richard Johnson, a hack writer for Elizabeth Newbery, had published The History of Master Jackey and Miss Harriot Gracemore. The story resembles some old John Newbery plots. The story takes place in a county in England near the borders of the Severn where the Earl of Fairfame, like Mr. Allworthy, is noted for his generosity to the poor. The Earl hears of the good deportment of Jackey, son of a tradesman of indifferent circumstances and Miss Harriot, daughter of a grocer. Jackey's cousin Tom is the bad child who acts as foil to Jackey and Harriot. The Earl leaves 500 pounds to each of them, besides his properties and titles when he dies.¹

The moral of the story harks back to John Newbery's coach-and-six philosophy. Children are told to follow the example of Jackey and Harriot if they wish to be rich and happy:

> From their example virtue learn to prize,  
> That so you may to their attainments rise.²

The History of Master Jackey and Miss Harriot seems to be anachronistic for a story as late as 1785.

The 1787 story May Day; Or, Anecdotes of Miss Lydia Lively Intended to Improve and Amuse the Rising Generation is more in

¹Harker, "Some Eighteenth-Century Children's Books," p. 553 comments, "There was evidently some laxity in the law of entail in the county of Salop just then."

²The History of Master Jackey and Miss Harriot Gracemore (Worcester, Massachusetts: Isaiah Thomas, 1787), p. 29.
the line of what one expects in a children's book twenty years after John Newbery's death. There is first of all a cult of feeling that is noticeably absent in Master Jackey's adventures. A child who gives up his own clothes is told that the delight in being generous and affectionate is beyond all pleasures in life, and when Lydia offers to forego a new pink slip to help keep children from the workhouse, her mother exclaims, "Come to my arms, and enjoy a pleasure you so richly deserve! that of making these poor people happy." Even the baaing of a lamb incites sensibility. 1

Although the author of May Day was influenced by the cult of feeling that Rousseau was somewhat responsible for, there is no certainty that the author read Rousseau, although one passage gives an interesting parallel. The mother of Lydia does not encourage her child to give money to the poor, suggesting that Lydia give them time or work instead. 2 This is comparable to a passage in which Rousseau suggests that the child not give alms:

A child would rather give a hundred coins than one cake. But get this prodigal giver to distribute what is dear to him, his toys, his sweets, his own lunch, and we shall soon see if you have made him really generous. 3

Lydia herself often makes May Day hard to believe. She has

1 (London: John Marshall, 1787), pp. 40, 102, 125, 63.
2 Ibid., p. 43.
3 Emile, II, 67.
few faults and amends with alacrity those she finds. When presented with the choice of two dolls, Lydia chooses the one she does not care for in deference to another girl. When Lydia is playing with a puzzle (it is a map of Europe—no idle recreation here), brother Edwin three times throws his cap on the pieces, but Lydia remains serene since she does not want to miss the stories she is allowed when she is good. The mother meanwhile secretly watches, giving as excuse for not interrupting earlier, "I had in mind to give you an opportunity of showing how good you could be." The book is obsessed, as are many other English adaptations of Rousseau, with providing opportunity not only for children to learn but to improve their behavior. The result is perfect, priggish children.

Anecdotes of a Little Family Interspersed with Fables, Stories and Allegories Illustrated with Suitable Morals for Children appeared in the same year as May Day. It is most similar to the Kilner stories, as, for instance, the preface points out that birds do not really talk and that children should be told so. There is also an incident of a child sparing a fly in a basin of milk similar to Lady Fenn's Cobwebs to Catch Flies. Eliza rescues a fly slipping into the cream and lets it dry on her finger until it flies away. The mother witnesses the action and approves.

1 Ibid., pp. 79-80, 18-19.

2 (London: E. Newbery, 1787).
When Harry protests this is too much pain for a trifle, Mrs. Selwyn gives a moral lecture on the good of industrious insects. Post-Rousseau fictional parents inevitably seize the occasion. No learning moment is ever lost.

There is another defender of the fly in The History of Primrose Prettyface Who By her Sweetness of Temper, and Love of Learning was raised from being the Daughter of a Poor Cottager, to Great Riches, and the Dignity of Lady of the Manor. Fanny Thomson alias Primrose Prettyface sees a boy torturing a fly and is so vexed that she must recover before reprimanding the boy. She promises to chill him with horror stories lest he persist in his errors, pointing out that the smaller the animal, the more acute its sensibility. As far as plot is concerned, Primrose Prettyface reads like an early John Newbery novel. Fanny Thomson, the daughter of poor parents, meets Lady Worthy who gives her books to teach school to village children. She is taken in by Squire H. but a fire drives her out. Fanny earns ten guineas in a contest as a prize for obedience and marries Sir William

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1 Original published ca. 1783 by J. Marshall. The edition used for all references to this text and abbreviated Primrose is (London: John Harris and Baldwin and Cradock, 1830).

2 Ibid., p. 28.

3 Trimmer, The Guardian of Education, I (1802), 436, stated it was published by John Newbery; although there is no evidence that this is so, it might account for the nature of the plot which seems out of place in the 1780's. Trimmer is cited by St. John, The Osborne Collection, p. 260.
Worthy, rich and just back from the university.

The only difference one can detect between this book and the typical Newbery novel is a sensationalism or vindictiveness of punishment. For instance, the butler who reads in bed goes insane after he burns the house down. The boy who steals apples dies in a fire with the footman. And Tom Dawson, a boy who went bird-nesting, drowns.¹ The survival of the Newbery success story, even though somewhat modified, illustrates that periods and fashions in children's literature, as in adult literature, overlap.

More likely the typical book of the 1780's was a moral tale, such as The History of Three Brothers, a Moral and Entertaining Tale, Founded on Fact, which was advertised in 1788. In this tale are three brothers, sons of Mr. Smithson, a reputable merchant in north England: Eugene, who is volatile and naughty, Richard, who is a lazy simpleton, and Cassander, who is just right, neither lethargic nor volatile.²

Many of the moral tales were deliberately not placed in London and demonstrate an interest in rural settings that became fashionable after Émile. Richard Johnson's The Hermit of the Forest and the Wandering Infants, a Rural Fragment was pub-

¹Primrose, pp. 58, 59, 57, 38.
²The edition used for the plot summary is (New York: Samuel Campbell, 1794).
lished in ten editions from 1788 to 1815. In this tale Honestus, a farmer who had been driven off his property, retires to a life of seclusion for ten years. He finds two abandoned children and raises them until a fox hunt happens by and Mr. Simpson discovers his lost children. His brother admits abandoning them in the forest of Englewood. A happy ending is provided for the benevolent old man. He returns to his farm site to work up his sensibility, planning to shed tears on the ruins. Instead, he finds the buildings still there and his daughter whom he thought had been killed. A lot of action and a lot of sentiment is used, but the book differs markedly from the success story of Newbery days.

Further illustration of the tradition of natural punishment inspired by Rousseau is the short (31 pages) and unsubtle *History of Tommy Careless or the Misfortunes of a Week*, printed in 1788. In one week Tommy falls out of a window and therefore cannot go on an outing since his clothes are ruined, loses his kite, falls out of a forbidden apple tree, burns his finger while melting lead, kills a bird by forgetting to water it, and pulls hairs out of a horse which kicks him. The book ends with Tommy's fingers in a mousetrap.

1 Weedon, "Richard Johnson," p. 45.

2 I used (Boston: Samuel Hall, 1789) edition which shows how quickly the English works were pirated.

3 (Worcester, Massachusetts: Isaiah Thomas, 1795).
In 1788 appeared another improving conversation of the endless number in the 1780's and 1790's. This was *A Birthday Present: Or A New Year's Gift, Being Nine Days Conversation Between a Mother and Daughter*. The book is simply nine days' conversations between a mother and daughter. The child Maria learns through her own experiences. She testifies, for instance, that during her birthday party she was merry and diverted, "but something more seemed wanting to make one truly happy." This is the right moment for mamma to demonstrate that one cannot be happy without religion. In fact mamma tells her child to have a deep faith in and dependence on Jesus Christ.1 This is a rare endorsement of religion in children's literature of the eighteenth century. Once the Puritan books for children died out, a deistic or sectarian approach was used in many of the books following Rousseau. God, if mentioned at all, is not so obviously invoked as in *A Birthday Present*.

Another non-Rousseauistic touch to *A Birthday Present* was a plea for moderation in walking and sports. Also Maria is given books by her mother which Rousseau did not recommend before the age of eighteen. On the pleasures of sympathy the mother recommends no such moderation. The child is told not to resist sympathy because she fears it might make her unhappy. She is told

1(Boston: David Carlisle and Caleb Bingham, 1803), pp. 15, 11-17, 88.
that such sadness is virtuous and not without its own satisfaction.¹

Rather fittingly, the last work to be considered from the 1780's reflects the tendencies of much of the century's work. It is a success story that is influenced by the primitivism of Defoe's Robinson Crusoe and Rousseau's Émile: The History of Prince Lee Boo, A Native of the Pelew Islands brought to England by Captain Wilson, which first appeared in 1789. The Negro, who, as we have seen in other children's books, was often a symbol of natural man oppressed by civilized man, was often used for satiric comment on civilization as well as to elicit sympathy against the slave trade. Prince Lee Boo is simply a more intense and sustained plea against slavery. The 178-page book was immensely popular, reaching fifteen editions by 1819 and twenty editions by 1850.²

The Negro child who is rescued by Captain Wilson from a life of slavery is grateful to the English whom he looks upon as superior humans. As Lee Boo grows up and gets more acquainted with English ways, he sees more defects in civilization than he had imagined. For instance, Lee Boo rebukes beggars he meets but not old ones who are unable to work. Lee Boo does not drink alcohol since he feels it is not fit for a gentleman. Much of the

¹Ibid., pp. 61, 98, 47.
²CEBEL, II, 563.
book consists of Lee Boo proving his worthiness. When told, for example, that cleanliness is next to godliness, Lee scrubs up thirty-four times a day. The author points out that this is preferable to those dirty people in rags; even the poor ought to be clean. ¹ This is one of the few harsh barbs directed at the poor in all of children's literature of the eighteenth century. The poor are more usually industrious like Lee Boo, clean to a fault and honest to the point of scrupulosity.

Lee Boo is scrupulous in his diligence. He even saves the stones of fruit since he aims to benefit his own country from his experience. ² In many ways, Lee Boo, a Negro, is superior to his white English friends. He is peacemaker between Captain Wilson and his son and drops tears of sensibility over both. The reader is cautioned directly to go and do as "this unenlightened child of nature." ³

At the age of twenty, Lee Boo dies from smallpox. He is buried in Rotherhithe Churchyard in a tomb inscribed at the expense of the East India Company:

Stop, reader Stop!—let Nature claim a tear


² Ibid., p. 172.

A prince of Mine, Lee Boo, lies bury'd here.\footnote{1}

Prince Lee Boo evidently claimed a tear for at least fifty years because a reviewer in 1844 stated, "We would wish this beautiful character to live in the hearts of all children."\footnote{2}

The influences noted in children's books from the death of John Newbery to the end of the 1780's continue for many years. The qualities noted in them are: Rousseauism with its reliance on nature as father figure for children, a glorification of primitivism and the noble savage, a sentimentality that stressed feeling over intellect along with paradoxically a desire to impress facts of natural lore on children. The result is often the inquisitive child of sensibility eager for books and nature versus the spoiled truant insensible to others who lives and dies unhappily.

The genuine disciples of Rousseau and those who unconsciously echoed Rousseau's theories helped form a literature for children that Rousseau would not have recommended. It should be remembered that Rousseau allowed but a single book to \textit{Émile} and stated, "Jusque à la douzième année le corps seul est susceptible d'être cultivé avec profit,"\footnote{3} but the English followers of Rousseau...
Seuau wrote books for children anyway. The effect of Rousseau's restriction is paradoxical. He forbade his model child to read:

Whereupon a host of professional writers rallied under a pseudo-Rousseauian banner for the production of fiction worthy to rank with "Robinson." Children thus became a reading public to be reckoned with—a public eclectic in its tastes, untutored but often unerring in its judgment of literature. . . .

While the English followers of Rousseau latched on to the utility of Rousseau's method, they left no place for imagination or fantasy. Everything was calculated, reflective. Because children's books were more simplistic, scaled-down versions of adult books, Rousseau's Emile was shrunk to extreme and bald characterization. Forgetting that Rousseau's Emile was only a pedagogic demonstration that was by nature artificial, the imitators of Emile came up with the quasi-infallible child, an insufferable pedant.

Even when the English followers use the same methods as Rousseau, the results are often different. The aim in Rousseau was to encourage the child to develop his own personality with the external world of nature as the best textbook. The Englishman Thomas Day and others took their fictional pupils on long walks in woods where they received short stories with long morals which drove them into a state of exhausted virtue and submission.

1 Averill, The History of French Children's Books, p. 4.
3 Harwood, Love for Animals, p. 251.
The gentle methods of Rousseau calcify in the hands of his English proteges who, despite his admonitions, wrote children's books.
CHAPTER VI

JUVENILE FICTION IN ENGLAND: 1790-1799

Children's literature in the 1790's does not differ substantially from that of the previous decade. Juvenile books published in the 1790's are included in a separate chapter because of sheer numbers produced in the ten-year period 1790 to 1799. To illustrate, a study of books produced for children in England gives the following figures for the eighteenth century:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number of Books Published</th>
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<tr>
<td>1750-1759</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>1760-1769</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>1770-1779</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>1780-1789</td>
<td>90</td>
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<tr>
<td>1790-1799</td>
<td>110</td>
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These figures are rather low since the Newbery firm alone produced nearly four hundred children's books in the eighteenth century.\(^1\)

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\(^1\)"Book Production for Children in relation to National Movements: Comparative Tables by Decades among Four National Units" (Table CCXII), in Martin, "Nationalism in Children's Literature," p. 421.

\(^2\)Roscoe, A Check-List lists 397 books of the Newbery, Car- nan, Power publishing dynasty from 1744 to 1802 which he considers to be children's books. Other writers place the number of Newbery books for children at approximately 200. See Moses, Children's Books and Reading, p. 48 and Hewins, The History of Children's Books, p. 116.
more than the total for all publishers listed in the above chart. Whatever the precise number of books for children, the chart shows a fantastic growth in the number of books for the young in the last decades of the eighteenth century. Thomas Day and others complained in the 1780's that they could find few books suitable for children. Whether this was an excuse for writing their own works, the complaints of the scarcity of books for children are replaced at the end of the eighteenth century with complaints of their numbers. In 1788 one reviewer commented:

Children's books are now almost as numerous [as novels], and the same difficulty occurs; though in these, indeed, we have only the multiplicity to object to; whereas in the novels, we have not only their number, but often their tendency, to reprehend.¹

By separating the works for children printed in the 1790's from those of the 1780's, one can more readily isolate the influence of Barbauld, Day and Trimmer on later writers. There may also be the influence of the French Revolution that was not witnessed in the children's books of the 1780's but may be seen in the 1790's. For example, one children's writer was upset about the effects of modern philosophy on juvenile books, especially that dating from the French Revolution.² A modern writer corroborates the effects of the French Revolution on children's liter-

²Trimmer, The Guardian of Education, II (1803), 188.
nature, stating that the goodness of human nature was seen in practically all writers for children before the Revolution but after the Revolution there was an evangelical insistence on human depravity. If the French Revolution did affect juvenile fiction this would parallel the effect it had on adult fiction in England.

Any influence of the French Revolution notwithstanding, the English books for children in the 1790's are not different in kind from those of the 1780's but reveal a continuation of the trends set by Barbauld, Trimmer and Day in the 1780's. The work of Dorothy Kilner in 1790 is not appreciably different from that she produced in the 1780's. As many of her works were treated in the last chapter, she will be treated briefly here. Moral and Instructive Tales for the Improvement of Young Ladies: Calculated to Amuse the Mind and Form the Heart in Virtue appeared ca. 1790. One difference between it and previous literature for children is a change from The Governess (1745) in which Sarah Fielding advised children to be cautious when they dispense charity lest they be duped to Dorothy Kilner's admission that children may be deceived by a phony beggar. Kilner adds, however, that the doubts one

1Spearman, The Novel and Society, p. 223.

might have about the authenticity of a beggar derive more from avarice and an unfeeling heart than from prudential considerations. The cult of feeling exhibited in Kilner's works was present in works of the previous decade. In the 1790 book Dorothy Kilner describes a Miss Goodwill who visits the poor where often she finds scenes of such "exquisite misery" that the impressions remain in her heart and produce new benevolence.¹

The plot of Moral and Instructive Tales owes something to the popular Sandford and Merton (1783-1789). Just as Harry Sandford was sent from the West Indies plantations to get an education, Kilner sends a girl, the daughter of a Barbadoes planter, to Mrs. Benwell, a governess sixty miles from London.² Needless to say, the girl learns lessons in benevolence, humility, and love of the outdoors.

Another Dorothy Kilner book, The History of a Great Many Little Boys and Girls for the Amusement of all Good Children of Four and Five Years of Age, is Kilner's first attempt at imitating the Barbauld success with the youngest of English readers. The book is pedestrian, perhaps owing to its purpose. Kilner's preface complains that most books for children are filled with incidents uninteresting to four and five-year-olds, such as mar-


²Note how the Rousseau dictum that parents educate their own children is subverted. The parents are often conveniently absent so that the children are put in the care of a relative or governess.
riage or arriving at great wealth through wisdom and goodness.  

The book itself replaces the monetary success story familiar to readers of John Newbery with a domestic treat. Rather than a coach and six of his own, Master George Trueman gets to ride a horse home since he refused cakes from a stranger. Examples of the cautionary tales in this book again reveal how severely punitive the Kilner sisters were in punishing the unruly. In this book, children are dunked in water or put with the hogs to cure selfishness, left out in the cold for telling a lie. The lessons for the four- and five-year-old are, if overdone, at least vivid.

In *The Histories of More Children than One or, Goodness Better than Beauty*, Kilner continues the vindictive punishment. A boy who did not learn his lessons is tied to a tree, while his mother assures him no parent enjoys punishing children. Rousseau's complaint that such books sometimes teach vice rather than virtue may be supported by this book. Certainly Master John and Miss Mary Strictum are not so memorable as Master Thomas and Miss Kitty whose parents have spoiled them. Thomas brings his father's horse into the parlor and his sister screams, scaring the horse, which kicks Tom's head against the table corner, breaking


a looking glass which smashes Kitty's dolls. At least Rousseau would have been pleased that the punishment grew directly from the action.

Dorothy Kilner's *The Village School* (ca. 1795) is again in a rural setting. Mrs. Bell keeps a school in a village forty miles from London where Mr. Right, a clergymen, and his wife send three children of their own. The book is again marked by gorier versions of the punishments which nature gives in *Emile*. Roger Riot pushes a boy down a well and the boy dies. The boy who tells a lie one day has real pains later and his parents do not believe him. He was really run over by a chariot, but his parents, who do not believe him, beat him and he dies.

The only condescension to childhood negligence concerns a child who skipped school to rescue a poor lamb: he is commended. This aside, the book is a series of cautions, even complaints, about books of amusement which are seen as no better than a bat or a ball. The reader has come a long way since the stories of John Newbery. The book is a lot longer than *Goody Two-Shoes*. *The Village School* is two volumes which total two hundred pages of rather random, plotless incident. Perhaps the disasters and abundance of incident compensate for the lack of plot. The book

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just jogs along until rounded out or stopped. In The Village School characters die, decline, are transported, banished to Cornish tin mines, and Mrs. Bell dies in a school fire since Dorothy Kilner had to end the story somehow.¹ Even the ending of the book is used for a moral. After Mrs. Bell burns, the child reader is warned to be careful with candles.²

Dorothy Kilner's last book of the century is somewhat more imaginative. The Rational Brutes or Talking Animals, which appeared ca. 1799 tells of Mrs. Benfield, who relates stories to her children in which animals talk in first person. There is much charm to the stories of the pig, owl and fish given by an assembly of imaginative creatures. Unfortunately, the cautionary purpose intervenes again as the fish tells of the agonies of a worm on a fisherman's hook.³ Perhaps the exception made in the way of sensibility was due to the feminine qualities that the word connoted. Jemima Placid never wept unless from sensibility. Anecdotes of a Boarding School also ends with an exquisite display of sensibility when the mother comes to take a child away from the school where she has been settled.⁴ Of course, such a

¹Avery, Nineteenth Century Children, p. 30.
²The Village School, II, 94.
³(London: J. Harris and Darton and Harvey, 1803), 148.
⁴Avery, Nineteenth Century Children, p. 35.
scene existed in Sarah Fielding's *The Governess* forty years before.

To sum up the work of Dorothy and Mary Jane Kilner one could cite example after example of excesses in their tales of警告 to youth:

There is a nauseating fascination about these arch and insipid anecdotes that tempts one to continue to quote them. But they are all very much of a piece, and whether the pivot of the story is a child, a mouse, a peg-top or a pin-cushion, they are all variations on similar themes.¹

In the early 1790's a new author known for *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* (1780) and later *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792) entered the children's book field. In between these two works Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin (1759-1797) translated *Moralisches Elementarbuch* by Christian Gotthilf Salzmann, founder of a school operated on Rousseau's principles. Salzmann's original book reached a third edition by 1782 and Wollstonecraft's translation entitled *Elements of Morality* was published in 1790 with original engravings by William Blake.

The prefatory advertisement of *Elements of Morality* by Mary Wollstonecraft admits that she took some liberties with the text of Salzmann. She shifted the scene from Germany to England. Herr Herman and his wife Sophie with their children, Louise and Ludwig, become Mr. and Mrs. Jones with their children, Mary and Charles. Wollstonecraft admits too that she made some changes in

¹Muir, *English Children's Books*, p. 84.
the incidents. Her characters do not weep, kiss and fall upon one another's necks as in the original. A less understandable, but more realistic change is that of a poor man who lost the use of his hands in war. In Wollstonecraft he loses the use of his hands because he worked in a white lead factory.¹ Interest in manufacture which began in the 1780's is by the 1790's taken for granted.

The plot of Elements of Morality is rather pedestrian. Mr. Jones is the virtuous paragon, that perfect parent whom the reader soon tires of. When his boy is impaled on a nail the father gives a sermon on anger. "A soothing reflection, truly, when one's foot is pierced by a long nail!"² In another story the children are left to spend the day after their own devices, as they were in Berquin, with the same disastrous consequences.³ At least this story fulfills the aim of the book. Wollstonecraft states that children are not to be commanded, claiming instead that "It [her book] makes them [children] forcibly feel the bad consequences of extravagance, the happiness of having parents." If the contents of Elements of Morality are rather commonplace, this is


somewhat attributable to the didactic aim of the book: to give children a taste for domestic pleasures,\(^1\) and the fact that the book was a hack-work translation of a German text.

In 1791 Mary Wollstonecraft produced an original and more famous book for children, *Original Stories from Real Life*, which was embellished with six plates which William Blake designed. The price of the book was only two shillings without the Blake engravings and six shillings with them.\(^2\) *Original Stories*, Wollstonecraft noted in *Elements of Morality*, was on the same plan as the Salzmann work,\(^3\) but it was not a translation. To readers acquainted with Day and his source *Emile*, the plot will sound familiar. Mary and Caroline's father, who is conveniently away, puts his children under the care of a widowed relative, Mrs. Mason, "a lady of obtrusive wisdom and goodness," who shadows them, moralizes and praises. When Caroline fears storms, she is informed that Mrs. Mason has no such fears because a mind in love with virtue overcomes the fear of death. When Mary is rude to a

\(^1\) *Elements of Morality, for the Use of Children; with an Introductory Address to Parents, Translated from the German of the Rev. C. G. Salzmann* (Providence, Rhode Island: Carter and Wilkinson, 1795), pp. xvi, xviii.

\(^2\) Wardle, *Mary Wollstonecraft: A Critical Biography*, p. 91. *Original Stories* is most prized by collectors for the Blake engravings which, along with *Elements of Morality*, are the only works Blake did for children's fiction. They were evidently a sound investment even if they did triple the price of the book.

\(^3\) *Elements of Morality*, advertisement, p. iv.
visitor, Mrs. Mason informs her that she is accustomed to thinking of others, and that her greatest pleasure arises from the habitual exercise of charity in its various branches.¹

Mary and Caroline get many lessons on the treatment of animals. Mrs. Mason is a "fussbudget" on the care of and the avoidance of cruelty to animals. If she has to destroy insects to preserve her garden, she has it done in the quickest way. She gets her feet wet since she purposely avoids walking on some snails. When Mary announces that she would have killed the snail, Mrs. Mason is horrified, and notes that the girl has been much neglected but she will now be attended to. Mrs. Mason lets even caterpillars and spiders crawl over her hand. When the children object, she says, "You are often troublesome. I am stronger than you--yet I do not kill you."² But the most memorable lesson on anti-cruelty to animals is delivered by Mrs. Mason when she finds a lark with a broken leg caused by a boy firing at it. The bird's "exquisite pain" is described graphically. The children turn away, but not Mrs. Mason, who rises to the occasion and states:

"I must put it out of pain; to leave it in its present state would be cruel; and avoiding an unpleasant sensation myself, I should allow the bird to die by inches, and call this treatment tenderness, when


it should be weakness or selfishness." Saying so, she put her foot on the bird's head, turning her own another way.¹

There are other incidents about animals though none so graphic as the self-proclaimed, tender-hearted Mrs. Mason doing her duty by stepping on the head of a wounded lark. The reason for the great number of stories about animals lies in another book by Wollstonecraft, *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters with Reflections on Female Conduct* (1787) in which Wollstonecraft noted that the first objects to capture a child's attention were animals and thus animals have the best effect in forming the temper and cultivating the heart of a child.² Or as she states in *Original Stories*, "It is only to animals that children can do good, men are their superiors." Animals also provide in Wollstonecraft opportunity for children to prove their sensibility and tender-heartedness.³

However, the exercise in sensibility which animals occasion in children is not to be represented as false sensibility. This is best illustrated in Mrs. Mason's foot work with the lark.

There are also innumerable lessons which oppose the affectation

¹ *Original Stories, from Real Life with Conversations Calculated to Regulate the Affections and Form the Mind to Truth and Goodness* (Dublin: J. Jones, 1792), pp. 5-6, 2-3, 6-7. Hereinafter this edition referred to as *Original Stories.*


³ *Original Stories*, p. 15.
of sensibility when it ignores real needs. The person who weeps at a tragedy or an affecting tale and boasts of his sensibility while ignoring the needs of those around him is criticised many times in the story. True sensibility by contrast aids the poor and takes care of wounded animals. Thus in her farewell advice to Caroline and Mary, after almost two hundred pages of tutelage, Mrs. Mason reminds the girls:

You have already felt the pleasure of doing good; ever recollect that vanity must be conquered, if you wish to gratify benevolence; and practice economy to enable you to be generous.¹

Feeling then is directly related to sensibility which Wollstonecraft defines as "... a kind of instinct, strengthened by reflection. ... "²

To exercise that sensibility, like Rousseau, Wollstonecraft proscribes improbable tales and superstitious accounts of strange beings. Instead, the children confront real needs and give part of their pocket money to relieve beggars.³ This is opposed to Rousseau's recommendations that children give their own work, not money which they scarcely know the value of. Rousseau's influence on Wollstonecraft was acknowledged by her. She admits that even though she challenged Rousseau's attitude toward women as crea-

¹Ibid., pp. 82-83, 165-166, 173.
²Thoughts on the Education of Daughters, p. 18.
³Ibid., pp. 18, 139.
tures of sensibility rather than reason in *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, she confessed she was always "half in love with him."¹ She read *Emile* in March, 1788, and she found in Rousseau an "uncommon portion of sensibility and penetration."² The main Rousseauistic features in *Original Stories* would be the nature worship which Mrs. Mason teaches and the direct experience method of reward and punishment.

Mary Wollstonecraft had, besides the example of Rousseau, Thomas Day's *Sandford and Merton*, and Sarah Trimmer's *Fabulous Histories* as models for loosely strung narrative designed to inculcate virtues in children by means of precept and example. It is speculated that James Johnson, Mary Wollstonecraft's printer for whom she did hack work, gave her a hint to do something in the manner of Trimmer's successful *History of the Robins* (1786) and that Wollstonecraft wrote *Original Stories* in 1787 or 1788.³ In some ways, Wollstonecraft's juvenile book is better than the books ground out by Trimmer and Day. "In some respects it showed a healthier tissue, since it lacked their relentless opposition


of the model child and the scapegrace."

The biggest blot on the book is the characterization of Mrs. Mason. "Nothing softer than granite could suggest her outline." Mrs. Mason seldom smiles, seldom approves, and seldom loves. On one rare occasion when the girls act according to the specifications, Mrs. Mason allows them to hold her hand: "Give me your hands my little girls, . . . you have acted like rational creatures." There are no perfect children in the book, only the perfect monitor whose great fault is that she has none. One recognizes why her own children and husband died so quickly:

I think Mrs. Mason's most terrible characteristic . . . is the readiness with which her decisions spring fully-armed from her brain. She knows not only everything, but herself too: she has no doubts.

Despite Mrs. Mason, or because of her, since parents bought the book, Original Stories for children was popular. There were six London editions by 1835, two Dublin editions by 1803 and a German translation in 1795.

Another female writer for children in the 1790's was Elizabeth Pinchard. She was considerably more obscure than the notor-

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4 Editor's Introduction, Original Stories, ed. by Lucas, p. xii.
ious and famous Mary Wollstonecraft. Mrs. Pinchard was the wife of an attorney in Taunton. She wrote at least three books for children in the 1790's: *The Blind Child* (1791), *Dramatic Dialogues* (1792) and *The Two Cousins, A Moral Story* (1794).

The plot of *The Blind Child*, or *Anecdotes of the Wyndham Family, Written for the use of Young People, by a Lady* has a familiar ring. Mr. Wyndham, a merchant, after a winter in London, takes his four children to Belle-ville in the country. There is some difference in the avowed purpose of the author:

> My principal aim, ... is to repress that excessive softness of heart, which too frequently involves its possessor in a train of evils, and which is by no means true sensibility, that exquisite gift of heaven which no one can esteem more highly than myself, thus its abuse every day serves more and more to convince me, it can never be sufficiently discouraged and contemned. . . .

It is not surprising that the text of the book pits true versus false sensibility. When Emily does not shirk her duty near a sickbed, the surgeon exclaims that it is a mark of true sensibility, stating that in his practice he sees much exaggerated feeling and people running away from scenes which cause pain or inconvenience. When Mr. Wyndham is upset at the illness of a friend, he does not sigh nor sadden his family. This is labelled true sensibility; whereas sighing would be a mark of phony sensibility.¹

The main sentimental scenes are provided by the blind child, Helen, aged nine, who loses her sight after a violent cold. She

is not coddled and gets exercise and outdoor living, just as the
other children do, on good, Rousseauistic lines. Mrs. Pinchard
was evidently in agreement with Mary Wollstonecraft's chapter,
"The Benefit of Bodily Pain," in which privations are portrayed
as making us feel what wretches feel and thus teaching us to be
tender-hearted. ¹ Helen complains, "Why cannot I have any notion
of a glorious morning?"² An operation which restores her sight
solves her problems.

The only contemporaneous criticism of the book located was
that by Sarah Trimmer, who complained that Helen, the blind girl,
was not cheerful enough.³ Perfection was not only sought of the
normal child, but of the handicapped as well. Evidently there was
little criticism of the book, which reached ten editions by 1814.⁴

In Elizabeth Pinchard's next published work for children,
Dramatic Dialogues for the Use of Young Persons in Two Volumes,
appears the same penchant for displaying false versus true sen­sibility. In a series of closet dramas, Mrs. Pinchard shows how
Isabella is disabled from action when her parrot smashes into a
window. The bird is in pain, but she cannot make herself go near
it for fear of becoming ill. Of course, the child of true sen­

¹Original Stories, pp. 154-155.
²The Blind Child, pp. 12, 25.
³The Guardian of Education, II (1803), 496.
sibility, Cecilia, is not disabled by her emotions and cures the bird. The reader is reminded that false sensibility creates distresses rather than relieving them and that the best way of conquering excessive feeling is by not indulging it. The satirization of false sensibility which begins to appear in adult literature in the 1760's with Hannah More reaches children's literature in the 1790's. This at least demonstrates that a writer for children could no longer recommend the delights of sensibility without distinguishing it from mere affectation.

Pinchard's *The Two Cousins, A Moral Story for the Use of Young Persons, in Which is exemplified the Necessity of Moderation and Justice to the Attainment of Happiness* is a similar plea for moderation and justice. In this story, reminiscent of the country and the city mouse fable, Mrs. Leyster, a widow, and her only daughter Constatia live in a village near the industrious poor at Fair Lawn. Constatia puts to shame her city cousin. The story contains the first direct quotation from Rousseau since Fenn's *Fables in Monosyllables* (1783):

Here the badge of Rousseau is actually worn upon the sleeve of the lady author who introduces a passage in French from that author and translated it into English for the benefit of her readers.

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The longest book for children was *Evenings at Home* in six volumes from 1792 to 1796. It was written by John Aikin (1747-1822) and his sister Anna Laetitia Aikin (later Barbauld). John Aikin was a physician who retired from medicine and who educated his two youngest brothers at home by himself. He wrote five and one-half volumes; Mrs. Barbauld wrote the rest.\(^1\) Of the ninety-nine separate pieces in *Evenings at Home*, Mrs. Barbauld wrote fourteen; the rest were by her brother.\(^2\) As Mrs. Barbauld's contribution to children's literature has been discussed already and the book is essentially John Aikin's, it will be treated as his.

*Evenings at Home* is a potpourri of dialogue, allegory, drama and stories. The framework of the book is rather simple. The Fairbourne family has a regular story time at which improving tales are often told. Besides object lessons on the oak tree and other natural phenomena, there is "A Dialogue on Different Stations in Life," in which Little Sally Meanwell visits Miss Harriet, daughter of Sir Thomas Pemberton. The visit confirms Sally's mother's suspicions that rich children are not happy since the baker's children yearn for their dolls and similar unpleasantness. The mother even suggests that Sally enjoyed the coach ride

\(^1\) *Ibid.*, I, 370.  

more than Miss Pemberton, who takes it for granted. Besides, she argues, it would be less of a hardship for her daughter if she never rode in a coach again.  

Another unhappy rich child is "Lord Linger," who orders his pony and then sends it back without riding it. He starts for a drive, decides to walk, tries billiards, reading, geography and archery in quick succession. Watching some school children at play, the spoiled child wishes he were a poor schoolboy. Lessons predominate over stories and dramas. In "Things by their right names," Charles asks his father for some bloody murder story and his father obliges with the story of a battle, adding, "I do not know of any murders half so bloody."  

Some of the lessons are inspired by Rousseau. Children learn that delicacies are pernicious since even a cat goes to an early death through asthma brought on by a liking for delicacies. When the children hear of a boy who did not study, but went to sea, a child gets wanderlust. His father shows him how much necessary knowledge goes into a ship, and the story ends with the boy begging to be shown longitude and latitude on a globe. There is  

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3 Cited by The Critical Review, n.s. IX (1793), 455-456.
also that conditioning to pain observed in both Rousseau and Day. A child is told to watch her mother being bled in order to get her accustomed to distress so that she can aid her fellow creatures in distress. The most famous study in the miscellany, "Eyes and no Eyes," written by John Aikin, deals with Master Robert and Master William who go on a nature walk. Master William finds mistletoe and wants to know what it is, sees a woodpecker, watches wheat gathered and so on. Although both boys go on the same walk, Master Robert has to report back that he saw nothing.¹

It is easy to see why one writer complains that the histories, fables and dialogues which make up Evenings at Home "... sous la mince enveloppe du recit, transparaissait toujours le but premier: instruire et moraliser."² The compilation was, however, immensely popular, reaching sixteen editions by 1849³ and was reprinted up to 1888.⁴ The book's most famous defender was Charles Kingsley, who admits reading it along with many stupid old-fashioned books for boys. He is grateful for the lesson

of using one's own tools and common sense. Although the book cannot be classified essentially as fiction, Evenings at Home is seen as the best example in the period of a miscellany.  

Evenings at Home suggests a comparison with Thomas Day. There is the same passion for improving the occasion and imparting information. But there is at least one important difference. In Day the rich are all idle, vain and useless. John Aikin and his sister are more conservative than the radical Day. They lived through the French Revolution. "They were of the opinion that the deserving poor should be assisted, but kept severely in their place." For example, when Charles pities a poor weaver, Mr. Everard says such work would be difficult for Charles but the poor are used to it and content; besides it is good for small children to put in a day's work for their bread. The French Revolution brought a conservative brake to the liberal causes espoused by Day a few years earlier.

Another in the group of women who wrote for children was

2Avery, Nineteenth Century Children, p. 22.
3Moore, Literature Old and New, p. 186.
5Evenings at Home, I, 24.
Mary Hopkins Pilkington (1766-1839). Mary Pilkington was the daughter of a Cambridge surgeon who died when she was fifteen, leaving her penniless. She was raised by a grandfather and in 1786 she married a surgeon who was her father's successor. When her husband joined the navy, she became a governess for eight years. Later she turned to literature and produced some fifty books. Among her works for children are: The Force of Example (1797); Edward Barnard, or Merit Exalted (1797); Tales of the Hermitage (1799); Biography for Girls (1799); Biography for Boys (1799); Henry or The Foundling (1799).

The Force of Example: Or, The History of Henry and Caroline presents the familiar contrast of spoiled versus unspoiled children. The unspoiled are the four children of Mr. Lushington. The spoiled are the children of Mr. Henly, Adolphus and Emily. Mr. Henly dies; his two children are raised by the Lushingtons. Adolphus is incorrigible; he runs away from school, goes to sea and dies "occasioned wholly by his folly and self-will" because he climbs ropes on a bet while a ship is in motion. Emily, however, impressed by the virtue of her cousins, reforms. Adolphus' death is used as a moral lesson. Mr. Lushington reads the chil-


The Force of Example is filled with similar moral lessons. Children are allowed to use their pocket money to relieve the poor, something Rousseau opposed. Pilkington also goes beyond the admonitions of Mary Wollstonecraft in stating that children should not stop to wonder if the object of their charity might be a fake beggar. If they did, they would rob themselves of the first of all enjoyments.¹

Tales of the Hermitage Written for the Instruction and Amusement of the Rising Generation (1798) was inspired by the popular Tales of the Castle by Madame de Genlis. In Pilkington's book a hermit, Father Cuthbert, writes stories for the amusement of children of the lower classes but dies before he finishes the manuscript which Tales of the Hermitage purports to be. It contains at least one Rousseauistic short story, "The Fruits of Disobedience," in which Mr. Darnley and his sister raise the children by themselves, although they can well afford a school. One day the children are left at home and they leave the garden. Eliza is kidnapped and her beautiful hair is cut off; she is dressed with rags and made to do lacemaking. Eventually she is rescued and the children vow to attend their father's orders.²

¹(London: E. Newbery, 1797), pp. 157, 159, 47, 114.
There is a sameness in "Pride Subdues," in which Mr. Fitzhenry is called to the East Indies and has to leave his daughter with Mrs. Cleveland, his sister-in-law. It is the overworked story of the children brought to reason and feeling by a benevolent aunt. There is also another indication of anti-slavery sentiment in "The Faithful Slave; or the Little Negro Boy," in which Julius Godfrey asks his papa why he cannot buy a Negro slave. Julius claims that black people have no feelings, but his father counters with an "artless tale of sorrow" which impresses Julius's "feeling heart."  

Tales of the Hermitage reached a fifth edition by 1811 and the book was favorably reviewed.

Pilkington's Henry; Or, The Foundling (1799) is more of a novel than her previous works. It has touches of Tom Jones (the bad tutor, the mistaken identity and the discovery of a rightful father and the contrast of the Blifil-like nephews with Henry). Henry is discovered after 139 pages to be the son of the Earl of Penton. Henry, like Tom Jones, has a "feeling heart," but Pilkington sentimentalizes the scenes so that there are vast differences in treatment between this foundling story and that written by Henry Fielding. There are torrents of tears: Captain Manly weeps when he adopts Henry. When Lord Penton shows Henry


to his wife the scene was so "exhaustingly interesting that Lord Penton feared for his Lady's health. . . ." When Lord Penton relates how he sent the infant with friends, he testifies that he dropped plenty of tears on the child's face. The man of feeling was becoming fashionable in adult literature; it is no wonder that the child of feeling also appears. As a review of another of Pilkington's books put it:

The sentiments, as usual with our tender-hearted authoress, are here full of humanity, and calculated to both personal worth and social happiness.

Our tender-hearted author produced two more books in the same year which are of a piece with the above works: Biography for Boys and Biography for Girls. Biography for Boys; or Characteristic Histories Calculated to Impress the Youthful Mind with an Admiration of Virtuous Principles and Detestation of Vicious Ones reinforces the reward principle seen in the story Henry. There are seven stories. The hero of one is "united to a young lady of exquisite beauty and superior merit" and "the possession of an estate of the value of a hundred thousand pounds." The bad child is vicious and stabs someone and is hanged for it. There are lots of abandoned children and jealous step-brothers.

3 Avery, Nineteenth Century Children, p. 32.
were five editions of the work to 1821.¹

Biography for Girls; or, Moral and Instructive Examples for young Ladies (1799) is similar in format. It gives the lives of six girls, one of whom does not let the feelings of her heart and sensibility sway her to help the poor. Louisa Harrington, a proud girl, on the way to Portsmouth Fair runs down a child who is likely to die of the injuries. A furious crowd breaks her carriage into a thousand pieces. Louisa, however, is "totally insensible to compassion or tenderness," eats plum cake and drinks chocolate while a surgeon remonstrates with her. Louisa is not converted to sensibility and her sins find her out later when she is on the point of betrothal to an earl's son who recognizes her as the girl who was so abusive at Portsmouth. Louisa falls into consumption when she is jilted and dies at twenty-one. Good girls get 10,000 pounds and a husband.² Pilkington's stories read like Newbery's except that, like Mary Wollstonecraft, Pilkington does not equate virtue with industry. In the Pilkington and Wollstonecraft stories and in many others of the 1780's and 1790's, the good child is rewarded by material good or by affection for his behavior or his benevolence.

A more obscure writer for children, Lucy Peacock, was a bookseller in Oxford street and the author of several books for

¹Welch, A Bibliography, LXXII, 79.
²Avery, Nineteenth Century Children, p. 31.
children such as *The Six Princesses of Babylon* (1786); *The Knight of the Rose* (1793); *Ambrose and Eleanora* (1796); *The Visit for a Week* (1794) and *The Little Emigrant* (1799).¹ The last two tales mentioned will be considered in detail. *The Visit for a Week; or Hints on the Improvement of Time Containing Original Tales, Anecdotes from Natural and Moral History, &c.* (1794) has a familiar framework. Clara and William Clement, aged ten and fourteen, visit their aunt in Gloucestershire for a week. Clara had been spoiled by her mother who died just after seeing the error of her ways. The children do not want to go, but they are treated to a nature walk, they visit the cottages of the poor, see glass beehives, hear short true tales and use a microscope. Predictably, they get to stay because an arrangement is made whereby they will go to their aunt every summer and stay with their father in the winter.²

Since the children's faults are "not from a bad or insensible heart, but from an erroneous education," the book indoctrinates them with lessons from nature, as in *Emile*. A girl who hated spiders visits them in a garden every day. The children are treated to a plethora of facts that Rousseau would not have allowed. The knowledgeable aunt, for example, in response to an

¹ *A Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 265-266.
² (London: Hookham and Carpenter and For the Author, 1794), pp. 1-220.
eager question, states:

With respect to our own country, the ingenious art of clock-making was introduced into it in 1622, by Hugens, a native of Holland.¹

Dull as it seems, this work had eight editions in the first sixteen years after it was printed.²

Lucy Peacock's *The Little Emigrant, A Tale; Interspersed with Amusing Anecdotes and Instructive Conversations* is half the length of *A Visit for a Week*. In it Louisa, the eleven-year-old daughter of a curate takes in a nine-year-old girl, Annette d'Aberg, who speaks only French. They swap language lessons, and Annette is adopted until the missing parents provide for her and Louisa. The cult of feeling is again overdrawn. The children are told that God has given men a delight in benevolence as a reward to get such deeds performed. When Louisa hears sobbing, "... her heart became strongly interested." And there are the inevitable quiz kids. "Hieroglyphics were, I think, said Louisa, much in use amongst the Egyptians?" The book is, however, one of the few children's books which inculcates Rousseau's desire that children not give pocket money, but the fruit of their own labor.³

Lucy Peacock, for all her faults or excesses, is one of the few

¹Ibid., pp. 10, 84, 27.
²Welch, *A Bibliography*, LXXII, 56.
true novelists for children in the 1790's, not a mere antholo-
gizer.

Priscilla Wakefield (1751-1832) was the daughter of Daniel
Bell of Stanford Hill, Middlesex. She married a merchant and was
a member of the Society of Friends, known especially for her phil-
thropic work among the poor such as promoting savings banks for
them.¹ She wrote a dozen or more children's books between 1794
and 1820. One editor traced sixty editions of twelve of her books
in the years 1795 to 1818.² Among the books are Leisure Hours:
or Entertaining Dialogues between Persons Eminent for Virtue and
Magnanimity (1794) which is biographical history, not fiction;
Juvenile Anecdotes Founded on Facts (1798); Mental Improvement
(1794 or 1795); and Domestic Information (1798). The bias against
fiction was noted by Wakefield in an introduction to her Juvenile
Anecdotes in which she suggests that children complain that moral
tales told to improve them are simply not true. Therefore she
compiles anecdotes of real children to inspire them.³

In Mental Improvement: Or The Beauties and Wonders of
Nature and Art, in a Series of Instructive Conversations, Wake-
field uses fictional characters, the Harcourts: Sophia, 16,

¹DNB (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), XV, 1184.
³Avery, Nineteenth Century Children, p. 31.
Charles, 15, Cecilia, 12 and Henry, 9, plus a visitor, Augusta, 12, who is without a mother and with an ineffectual governess. The contrast is automatically made by Sophia to Cecilia:

How happy are we, my dear sister, to be blessed with kind parents, who devote so much time to our instruction and amusement, with what tenderness do they listen to our conversation, and improve every subject that arises to our advantage?

The Harcourts raise their own children as Rousseau recommended. They all explore nature firsthand as did Émile. They get a description of a whale, sponge, flax, silk, the slave trade and are given quills to look at under a microscope. The children are not only made to feel keenly the woes of the slaves but they vow never to become slave traders. The father asks them whether they are willing to forego the fruit of the labor of slavery: sugar, coffee, rice and calico. The children answer yes, and Mr. Harcourt goes into ecstasy about the sensibility of their uncorrupted hearts.

The reader should be reminded that despite the rather sober narrative of Wakefield's books, she felt she was providing amusement and instruction just as Locke had recommended and Newbery had provided. She states that she used dialogue since it blended amusement and instruction because she wanted her books read from

2 Mental Improvement . . . (First American edition, from the third London edition; New Bedford, Massachusetts: Abraham Shearman, Jr. for Caleb Green & Son, 1799), pp. 9, 26ff, 197, 80.
choice rather than compulsion. She promised entertainment, not mere "dry preceptive lessons." The reader can decide whether she succeeded or not.

In Wakefield's Domestic Information, children again are run through a domestic information course. A mother, using a solar microscope to project images, instructs her daughters, Lucy and Emily. When the children ask to go to a Punch and Judy show, they are told they are too old for such nonsense and mama projects a mass of reticulated rootlets. Emily finds them beautiful but asks for novelty whereupon the mother says, "Behold the wing of an earwig!" Lamb's complaint that science had succeeded to poetry in children's literature no less than in adult literature is borne out by Wakefield's books. She must have caught the zeitgeist of her age since the only negative criticism of her work is a complaint that one of the stories tells of a character who gives up his titles. The critic retorts that society would not benefit from such an action. The same critic worries that Turks in one story are shown to be better than Christians. This could give children wrong ideas, she warns. Wakefield's one major backer among modern critics finds she does realize that children--both boys and girls--need strength, agility and health, and

\[1\] Ibid., p. iv.
\[2\] Riddehough, "Priscilla Wakefield," p. 344.
\[3\] The Guardian of Education, I (1802), 264.
that she is on the side of charity and truth.\footnote{Riddehough, "Priscilla Wakefield," p. 346.}

If one remains somewhat unsure of the permanent contribution, if any, Priscilla Wakefield made to children's literature, there is no doubt about the originality and influence of Maria Edgeworth (1767-1849). Maria was the second child of Richard Lovell Edgeworth and his first wife, Anne Maria Elers, who died while her husband was in France consulting Jean Jacques Rousseau about the education of her son, Richard Edgeworth. Richard Lovell Edgeworth had twenty-one children by four wives: four by Anna Maria Elers, two by Honora Sneyd, nine by Elizabeth Sneyd and six by Frances Anne Beaufort.\footnote{Elisabeth Inglis-Jones, The Great Maria; a Portrait of Maria Edgeworth (London: Faber and Faber [1959]), pp. 13-14. Hereinafter referred to as The Great Maria.} With such a large brood of children, there was room for much experimentation. Rousseau's \textit{Emile} had come out in 1762 and Richard Edgeworth was born in 1764 when Rousseau was the "oracle of the day."\footnote{Charles Birchenough, History of Elementary Education in England and Wales from 1800 to the Present Day (3rd ed.; London: University Tutorial Press Ltd. [1938]), p. 228. Birchenough on the same page seems in error in stating \textit{Emile} was out four years before Richard Edgeworth, the son, was born. Inglis-Jones, The Great Maria, p. 13 lists Richard as born 1764. Legouis, The Early Life of William Wordsworth, p. 56 seems also in error in stating that Richard Edgeworth was only six when his father presented him to Rousseau in 1773. He was eight or nine.} Richard Lovell Edgeworth decided to raise his boy by a regimen that included having the child run barefoot outdoors. Edgeworth even retired to a
country retreat to improve the experiment. Richard Lovell Edgeworth and his friend, Thomas Day, went to Paris to have the boy meet Rousseau. Rousseau and the boy went on a two-hour walk after which Rousseau complained that the child knew lots of history, which was all right if he learned it reasonably and not by rote. Rousseau also found that the boy was too parochially interested in things British. The son later went off to America and Edgeworth candidly admitted the failure of his experiment in raising a son whom he labelled a savage.

Maria Edgeworth then knew Thomas Day, who met her father in 1766. It is said she learned reasoning and the proper use of words from Thomas Day. She also, at the age of fourteen, was treated with tar water for her weak eyes by the ever-helpful Thomas Day. She recovered from the tar water but not from the reasoning of Thomas Day who, her stepmother avers, caught Maria at the right psychological moment in her development. The example of Thomas Day's Sandford and Merton, which was originally to

1 R. L. Edgeworth, Memoirs Begun by Himself and Finished by his daughter, II, 258, cited by Gignilliat, Life, p. 94.


3 Inglis-Jones, The Great Maria, p. 20.

4 Mrs. [Frances Anne] Edgeworth, A Memoir of Maria Edgeworth with a Selection from her Letters Edited by her Children (London: Joseph Masters and Son, 1867), i, 12, cited by Gignilliat, Life, p. 333.
be a short story in a book by Richard Lovell Edgeworth and his then wife Honora Sneyd, may have influenced Maria to write. Besides, there was the practical necessity of Maria's entertaining a large brood of children. In the summer of 1791, Maria was left with the children while her father and stepmother went to England. At leisure moments she wrote down stories which she tested on her young charges.\(^1\) Her works for children from the first were a family affair, pulled to pieces as they sat around the library fire. Her father also criticised and edited them, especially for grammar and composition.\(^2\)

In 1795 the three-volume, *The Parent's Assistant*, was published. No copies of the first edition survive. The second edition in three volumes came out in 1796. Copies of part one of the first volume exist only in the British Museum and the Bodleian.\(^3\) Part two of volume one exists in a unique copy in the Toronto Public Library. By 1800 there was a third edition in six volumes.

There are many stories in *The Parent's Assistant*. The more important of these will be considered. "Simple Susan" is among the most popular of the Edgeworth stories. It tells of Susan


\(^2\)Inglis-Jones, *The Great Maria*, p. 32.

\(^3\)Slade, *Maria Edgeworth*, p. 17.
Price, an especially good girl, who has a foil in Barbara Case, a lawyer's daughter. Bab steals a guinea hen from the industrious Susan, who bakes bread to help a poor ailing mother and also gives up her may-day holiday since her mother is sick. So virtuous is Susan that the poor children sacrifice twelve shillings to Barbara Case to ransom Susan's pet guinea hen. Virtue is soon rewarded and wickedness punished. Susan is befriended by Miss Somers who buys her a gown since "you set an example of industry and good conduct, of which we wish to take public notice, for the benefit of others." Susan's pet lamb Daisy is spared by a sentimental butcher. Barbara gets stung by bees since she does not heed the warning of good Susan and suffers for her own greed.

The snobbish Barbara soon leaves the parish, much to the delight of the remaining children. Farmer Price does not have to go to war as feared earlier in the story. Instead he is given a job collecting rents, now that attorney Case and his ill-behaved children are banished in disgrace. This moral melodrama is suspenseful. The fate of Farmer Price and Susan's pet lamb always hangs in the balance. No less a person than Walter Scott was moved by the action. He confessed: "When the boy brings back the lamb to the little girl, there is nothing for it but to put

down that book and cry."

The use of dramatic foils is repeated in the story of Hal and Benjamin, ten-year-old nephews of Mr. Gresham in "Waste Not, Want Not; or Two Strings to Your Bow." Hal is sorry he spends his money on cakes and cannot help the poor as Benjamin does. Hal also sees another error of his ways when his pretentious uniform is splashed because his cock hat, which has no string, flies off and frightens Lady Diana Sweepstakes' horse. When he and Lady Diana are splashed, Hal is grateful to put on a poor coat which he earlier disdained. Benjamin is not only unmuddied, but he wins the archery tournament since he had providently saved the whipcord from a parcel and had it in reserve when the string of his bow broke.

Edgeworth evidently was influenced by the moral contrasts of two children--the proud pretentious child and the humble resourceful one from Sandford and Merton. There is a continuity between Day and Maria Edgeworth, but there is at least one important difference. Edgeworth had a dramatic genius; her characters are so sharply defined they could easily be converted to the stage. There is also an economy in the telling. Day did

1 Cited by Zimmern, Maria Edgeworth, p. 65.

2 PA, III, 23, 39, 43, 45.

3 "Children Yesterday and To-Day," The Quarterly Review, CLXXXIII (1896), 391.
not stay with the short story; instead he wrote a three-volume novel. Edgeworth also filled three volumes but with short stories, not one long one.

Certainly Day could tell no story in seventeen pages as does Maria Edgeworth in "The White Pigeon." In a story laced with incident, a boy pleads that a pigeon be spared since he, not the pigeon, broke a window. Mr. Somerville is so charmed by the honesty of the boy that he lets both boy and pigeon off, and a poor woman lets the boy keep the pigeon. The boy teaches the pigeon to take messages; for instance, it brings in the price of beef from a far-away market. Thieves steal the pigeon but it remembers its old home and the robbery of Mr. Somerville is foiled, while the boy's father, who refuses a reward, is made the master of a new inn, the White Pigeon. "Those who bring up their children well, will certainly be rewarded for it, be they poor or rich," is the moral. The rewards in the Edgeworth tales are seldom financial as they were in earlier children's literature. In the preface to volume one it is claimed that one cannot reward children with money without indirectly harming them. In the one story where Maria admits the reward of money, Richard Edgeworth, who wrote the preface for his daughter, points out that money is to be considered only the means of gratifying a benevolent wish. Edgeworth admits he is worried about industry and avarice being
connected by children of a commercial nation.¹

The story in which a monetary reward is allowed, "Lazy Lawrence," pits Jem, a paragon of industry, against the titular non-hero. Whereas Lawrence is an idler, Jem weeds gardens, teaches himself to make and sell rush mats and runs errands for his mother, saving only one half hour per day for his playtime. Even the highly successful mat-making comes from watching Lazy Lawrence idly plaiting grass. Jem gets thirty-nine shillings for his labors. When Lawrence is sent to jail, his father, an ale-house owner, confesses he was at fault for bringing up the child in idleness. Jem visits Lawrence in jail, and when Lawrence gets out, he reforms and loses his nickname.²

"The Orphans" is another melodrama built around the industrious deserving poor. When the rent is called for, Mr. Harvey happens to be out of the country, and Mr. Hopkins, the agent, "a hard man," turns the children out. The meanness of the father is mirrored in his daughter, Miss Alice, who is angry since the children would not give up the goat which keeps their mother alive. As in "Simple Susan" the foils run true in adult and child. Bad child of bad parents pairs off against good child of good parents. In "The Orphans" industry again pays off as Edmund makes cloth shoes which the rich clamor for and all three chil-

¹PA, III, 12, 17; I, viii.
²Ibid., I, 42, 43.
dren, aged four, six and nine, work in the paper mills. They live in a ruined castle, where they find a buried treasure which Lawyer Hopkins does them out of. Luckily enough, Mr. Gilbert at the vicarage marked the coins, and eventually Mr. Hopkins is banished with his haughty daughter. The children get a new house which no one envies them because it was earned by the children's good conduct.¹ Even with the addition of more melodramatic elements, the story of the orphans and other short selections in The Parent's Assistant remind one of the early John Newbery stories.

A rare piece of satire in children's literature is "Made­moiselle Panache." Mrs. Temple takes her daughters, Emma and Helen, to see Mademoiselle Panache. The preface to the entire work stated that the point of this particular story was to point out the danger of silly governesses. Mademoiselle Panache in French accent comes off blase, silly and mean. She is not concerned with the morality of Gil Blas as a book for children, and she crushes a spider that Emma fondles. "The young lady looked at the entrails of the spider, and was satisfied. So much for a lesson on humanity." The children learn not to judge people by fine sashes, although they are told that all French governesses are not like Mademoiselle Panache.² This pleasant satire was well within the realm of infant comprehension, but generally

¹Ibid., I, 4, 14-15, 7, 3, 34.
²Ibid., I, ix; II, 14, 27, 42-44.
satire was avoided as in the Kilner sisters' stories, because it was considered too subtle for children.

Maria Edgeworth's most famous story from *The Parent's Assistant* is "The Purple Jar" which tells of seven-year-old Rosamond, who gets no shoes even though she has worn out her old ones because her mother lets her spend the money on a purple jar she admired in an apothecary's window. The jar, she later discovers, is not purple but holds dyed water. For want of shoes, she is not taken on a walk since she is slipshod and her mother will not buy her new shoes.¹ Rosamond pleads:

"Mamma, I'll give you the flower-pot back again, and that purple stuff and all, if you'll only give me the shoes."
"No. Rosamond, you must abide by your own choice: and the best thing you can possibly do is to bear your disappointment with good humor."

Because of an imprudent choice, Rosamond has to wear her non-watertight shoes for a whole month. Fifty years later, a child so punished would have come down with pneumonia in self-defense. Rosamond does not use such revenge, concluding with "I am sure—no, not quite sure, but I hope I shall be wiser another time."²

Rousseau and Locke would have admired the punishment handed Rosamond. Rousseau's influence is apparent throughout the wri-

¹Ibid., I, 1-16.
The influence of Rousseau is evidenced in the use of nature to punish or reward children. Good industrious children gain esteem from the community through their labors. They learn from observation how to make mats or to bake bread and thus keep their families from starvation. The bad child, on the other hand, gets punished for his pride or vanity. Thus Rosamond, Lawrence and Hal profit from the experiences of their fellow children. Nature reinforces their industry or checks their idleness.

The influence of Rousseau on Maria Edgeworth came from her father Richard Lovell Edgeworth, her friend and mentor Thomas Day, and from Rousseau's immense popularity during her lifetime. The influence of Rousseau can be confirmed as well by reference to Practical Education, which Maria Edgeworth wrote in conjunction with her father. Actually, Richard Edgeworth wrote three chapters, Lovell Edgeworth, Maria's brother, wrote a single chapter and all else in the two-volume, twelve hundred page book is properly Maria Edgeworth's. Since Practical Education was essentially Maria's, many of the ideas in it can be attributed to her own beliefs. In this work which is considered the most considerable book produced in England between Locke's Some Thoughts Concerning Education and Spencer's Education,² are many references to Rousseau's Émile, most of them

¹Adams, About Books and Children, pp. 50-51.
²Cambridge History of English Literature, XIV, 393, cited by Andreea, The Dawn of Juvenile Literature, p. 95.
favorable. Maria speaks of Rousseau's eloquence which, along with Locke's reasoning, she hopes has exploded the system of lecturing children upon morality and giving them maxims they do not understand. She also finds Rousseau perfectly right in advising that children never be questioned when it is in their interest to deceive. When she argues that children ought not be compared, she uses Rousseau to reinforce her argument. She paraphrases Rousseau on the idea that the child who hears correct language and is not terrified with his having to write it will do it naturally. She is as opposed as Rousseau to having children dispense their pocket money to the poor, stating, "Charity must in them be a very doubtful virtue."¹ There are many such favorable recommendations of Rousseau's philosophy in Practical Education.

Maria Edgeworth was, however, no slavish imitator of Rousseau. Rousseau was opposed to books for children, yet Maria Edgeworth devotes sixty-nine octavo pages to a chapter entitled "Books." A main objection Maria has against Rousseau is his "very dangerous counsel . . . to teach truth by falsehood." This is the same objection she has to Madame de Genlis, a close follower of Rousseau:

¹Practical Education: By Maria Edgeworth, Author of Letters for Literary Ladies, and The Parent's Assistant, and by Richard Lovell Edgeworth, F.R.S. and M.R.I.A. (London: J. Johnson, 1798), I, ix-x, 191, 197, 276, 381, 334. All references to the first volume will be to this, the first edition of the work, unless otherwise specified and will be abbreviated P.E.
There should be no moral delusions; no artificial course of experience; no plots laid by parents to make out the truth; no listening fathers, mothers or governesses; no pretended confidence, no perfidious friends; in one word no falsehood should be practiced.

Even when Maria Edgeworth opposes Rousseau, for instance, when she opposed the use of dolls, she admits such usage finds "such an able champion in Rousseau." Adapting Rousseau or promoting him, Maria Edgeworth and her father were the chief agents in England in the adaptation, popularization and assimilation of Rousseau.

Ironically, where Edgeworth follows Rousseau most, she was often criticised. A reviewer complained that all the laws of conduct in "Simple Susan" were written by nature on the girl's heart. Maria Edgeworth is often blasted for her treatment of Rosamond in "The Purple Jar," when the punishment clearly would earn the blessing of Locke and Rousseau. Writers complain about the Edgeworthian parent who, like Rosamond's mother, takes almost fiendish delight in showing that the color of the jar depends upon the liquid inside. The mother who can well afford the shoes is criticised for denying shoes to Rosamond, one of the few life-like children in juvenile fiction of the period. Those who love

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1 Ibid., I, 31-185, 191, 192, 3.
3 The Guardian of Education, II (1803), 356.
Rosamond invariably hate her parents. A critic who sees the
children in Edgeworth as healthier and simpler than those presen-
ted by her predecessors questions whether it was wise to endow
a heroine such as Rosamond with such disagreeable parents.¹

The Parent's Assistant was well received in the eighteenth
century. A 1797 review saw the book as sensible, the stories as
well-written, simple and affecting and aimed at developing the
best affections of the heart.² Scott's pleasure in the work has
already been noted. In the late nineteenth and twentieth cen-
turies the criticism is more hostile. John Ruskin wrote with
impatience at the way Edgeworth ground the mills of the gods and
distributed poetic justice. "Taking up one's cross," he says,
"does not at all mean having ovations at dinner parties, and be-
ing put over everybody else's head."³ Probably the most caustic
of critics of Maria Edgeworth sees her as "the most persistently
malignant of all sources of error in the design of children's
literature," adding there is really no calculating the moral
wrong done by the books of Maria Edgeworth. He finds his affec-
tion for the human race would have been increased had he never

¹Frances H. Low, "Favourite Books of Childhood," The Strand
Magazine, VIII (July to December, 1894), 130.

²The Critical Review (January, 1797), cited by Dobson, De
Libris, p. 75.

87-88. In the same passage cited, however, Ruskin admitted that
Edgeworth's Harry and Lucy (1801) were his earliest friends and
inspired him to continue their history.
read The Parent's Assistant:

... however well intentioned, it is bad as literature; it is poorly conceived and written, and, what is worse, it is saturated with affectation. For an impression prevails that one needs to talk down to children;--to keep them constantly reminded that they are innocent, ignorant little things, whose consuming wish it is to be good and go to Sunday-school, and who will be all grateful and docile to whomsoever [sic] provides them with the latest fashion or moral sugar plums. ¹

Maria Edgeworth has also her defenders in nineteenth-century and twentieth-century criticism. Lady Ritchie, Thackeray's daughter, tells how her father read "The Little Merchants" from The Parent's Assistant and how the characters became her daily companions. ² Sir Walter Scott remarked that Maria Edgeworth was "best in the little touches."³ A modern writer sees Maria Edgeworth as probably the first writer in English of stories for and about children who might earn a place in a child's library today.⁴

Maria Edgeworth's contribution to children's literature is that she set an example of a gifted writer who dignified children's literature. She broke with the tradition set by Day and others and stripped away extraneous material. She discarded set


³ Cited by Barry, A Century of Children's Books, p. 182.

patterns and wrote interesting plots; she drew large numbers of well-rounded child characters and wrote much more for entertainment than anyone since John Newbery. Only the didactic moralizing which was deliberate and expected in children's literature of the times mars Maria Edgeworth's accomplishments:

Maria Edgeworth wrote many stories, some deadly dull and unnatural. But at her best, she was a born storyteller. She developed real plots—the first in children's stories since the fairy tales—with well-sustained suspense and surprise endings that took some of the sting out of the inevitable morals.

One is tempted to compare Maria Edgeworth with John Newbery. Both wrote fresh, inventive and suspenseful plots in narrative scaled down for a child. Both created lovable, believable child characters who get rewarded for their virtues. Both were opposed to fairy tales for children, providing instead everyday success stories. There is one important difference between the two writers and that is realism. Newbery tended to exaggerate the monetary rewards which would accrue to the diligent child. Maria Edgeworth, though less exciting in the rewards she doles out, is more realistic. She states that literature should be made agreeable to children:

... But if, mistaking the application of the principle, that literature should be made agreeable to children, we

1 Moore, Literature Old and New, pp. 203-204.
should entice a child to learn his letters by a promise of
a gilt coach, or by telling him that he would be the
cleverest boy in the world if he could but learn the letter
A, we use false and foolish motives; we may possibly by such
means effect the immediate purpose, but we shall assuredly
have reason to repent of such imprudent deceit.

Maria goes on to say that if a child feels he is already the cle­
verest boy in the world he will cease his work, and if he has a
gilt coach he needs a new and larger reward. That reward for
Maria Edgeworth was the education of his understanding.¹

Maria Edgeworth is a utilitarian moralist² who succeeded in
her era in bringing genuine child characters to juvenile fiction.
Of the late Georgian writers, the Kilner sisters perhaps excepted,
all others submerged whatever personality and originality they

¹P.E. I, 58.

²I am not specifically relating this to strict economic
utilitarianism, even though M. Dumont, a Benthamite, was one of
Mr. Edgeworth's closest friends and the family was acquainted
with Dugald Stewart personally and through his writings. See
Gray Cone and Jeanne L. Gilder, eds., Pen Portraits of Literary
Women (New York: Cassell and Co. [1887]), I, 166 see Mr. Edge­
worth as a practical illustration of Bentham's theories. I am
more in agreement with Harriet Jessie Butler and Harold Edgeworth
Butler, The Black Book of Edgeworthstown and other Edgeworth
Memories (London: Faber and Gwyer [1927]), p. 214 that the util­
itarianism in the Edgeworth method was not philosophical theory
but practice. This area needs more study. The only work on the
subject I have located is Mother Mary St. Jerome Keane, S.H.C.J.,
"The Ethical System in The Parent's Assistant by Maria Edge­
worth," an unpublished term paper submitted to Dr. David Spencer,
Loyola University (July, 1965), p. 21 which concludes that the
ethical system in the stories in The Parent's Assistant is an
eclectic melange of many eighteenth-century ideas carried to
their logical conclusions.
might have had.¹

After Maria Edgeworth, the books produced in the eighteenth century for children are deservedly less famous and less studied. While they are an undistinguished lot, they do illustrate qualities and ideas popular in the times studied. Edward Augustus Kendall (1776 to 1842) wrote at least four books for children in the eighteenth century, all on the same plan. The Canary Bird: A Moral Fiction (1799), The Crested Wren (1799), The Sparrow (1799) and Keeper's Travels (1798). They are all humanitarian tales told as first-person accounts by suffering animals. The idea goes back at least to 1751 when Francis Coventry had The History of Pompey the Little; or The Life and Adventures of a Lapdog published. The book was not for children but was an adult "canine Gil Blas."² Kendall's Keeper's Travels in Search of his Master is a canine Gil Blas for juveniles. The intention of the author is to show the results of a single error and the affection of Keeper with the hope that dogs would be treated with kindness. The book then is a sentimentalized humane-society tract which satirizes man with a "the more I see of Man, the more I like my dog" theme. When a spaniel fawns, the reader is asked to forgive it, since that is one of man's vices. Keeper is surprised to encounter a benevolent man since most men he meets devise ways of

¹Avery, Nineteenth Century Children, p. 14.
²Harwood, Love for Animals, p. 206.
torturing him. Not only is man viewed, but the dog possesses the sensibility of man. When someone asks what the dog's superiority to other animals is due to, the reply is to his sensibility which makes him capable of affection and attachment. The reader is reassured of his own role when he is told that the dog's disposition is improved by constant society with man.¹

The book is a picaresque account of the adventures of a dog: being shot with a blunderbuss, almost hanged by a boy in retaliation for the death of a nightingale (the cat did it), and saving a farmer from thieves in his barn. This continues for one hundred twenty pages and is all the result of Keeper's single indiscretion—he looks at some fowls in a basket and loses his master.² Keeper is thus a canine Émile with heavy gobs of moralizing added.

While Keeper's Travels is one of the most realistic of the early animal stories for children and the only serious rival to Sarah Trimmer's Fabulous Histories in its day,³ one has to agree with Sarah Trimmer that Kendall went too far and carried the rights of animals over man who is head of creation.⁴

²Ibid., pp. 34, 76-77, 69, 9.
³Barry, A Century of Children's Books, p. 140.
⁴The Guardian of Education, I (1802), 400.
Keeper's Travels was a lively adventure story for children. The picaresque tale when put into the mouths of birds comes off less successfully. The Crested Wren begins as the natural history of the wren, but the story attached is dull and lifeless. The bird says, "I wish to call your attention to the spirit of politeness." Nature does not make such heavy demands on politeness.¹ Not only moralizing, which is expected, but the pathetic fallacy cited in a previous chapter stamp this work. The book ends with a humane-society tract moral delivered by the bird itself:

May I hope that you will grant my other request?--Will you guard my golden head from harm? At least, will you refrain from harming it yourself, if we should happen to meet?²

The anonymous or lesser known books of the 1790's for children will now be taken up. In 1790 appeared The History of Little Dick Written by Little John. Its preface confirms the view that the number of children's books greatly increased since the earlier part of the century. The author complains that it is not easy to make a new path in such a well-trodden field as that of stories for children. The plot is familiar. Little Dick sells his playthings and gives the proceeds to the poor. And, of course, he gets new and better toys. The moral appended revels in the payoff:

²The Crested Wren, p. 152.
Acting a little as he ought,  
Observe what things for him were bought;  
How great then their reward must be  
Who are from evil wholly free!

The deceit and deception common to the Berquin tales and opposed by Maria Edgeworth are heavily used. Little Dick is scolded for lying to a gentleman disguised as a plowman. Dick learns Rousseauistically. He puts walnut shells on the cat's feet to scare the maid. When the maid sleepwalks, it is Dick who is scared. When Dick is to play the lead in George Barnwell or The London Merchant, he finds he cannot go on, but his conversion is temporary and he dies in a shipwreck, refusing to pray for his deliverance. The most sentimental extravagance is provided by the tombstone of Dick's mother. It states that she died of a broken heart due to the dissipation of the son who built the memorial of her virtue and his own vice.¹

An anonymous work placed the following year (ca. 1791) is in agreement with the punishment meted out to Dick. In this story, a good girl, Miss Caroline, admits that "all children, who will not confine themselves within the bounds prescribed by their parents, ought to suffer for it." They suffer for it on a Rousseauistic plan. A rich girl, for instance, is kidnapped and reduced to begging because she got lost.²


Also in 1791 appeared Martin and James or the Reward of Integrity, a Moral Tale Designed for the Improvement of Children. What the title does not reveal, a brief synopsis of the story will. Mr. Wilson has a good son who gives what money he gets to his mother. He is the smartest boy in school, is orphaned and then befriended by Martin, who has just lost his father, and they both set off for London. When James gives his brown bread to a peddler he not only gets beer and meat in exchange but he receives the wares of the dying peddler who dislikes Martin for trying to supplant James. James helps a one-legged sailor and resists the temptation of the forty crowns he is asked to deliver to the Lord Mayor. He therefore gets a carriage ride from the grateful sailor he helped. When James reaches the Lord Mayor, Martin is brought in accused of robbery and James tearfully accepts the forty crowns as a reward and gets a pardon for Martin. James obtains a liberal education and purchases an estate with a legacy left him by the mayor.¹ Martin and James, as its plot suggests, is a blend of the Newbery monetary reward with the good-bad child contrast popularized by Thomas Day's Sandford and Merton, although used even earlier by the Puritan writers for children of the seventeenth century.

In 1793 appeared another juvenile book easily disposed of in a few sentences. Stephen Jones¹ Rudiments of Reason of a

You can make water ascend by boiling it. If you boil water, it will turn into steam and rise into the air.

A. M.'s more imaginative *The History of the Family at Smiledale, Presented to all Little Boys and Girls Who Wish to be Good, and Make Their Friends Happy* appeared ca. 1794. It contains a series of stories, such as "The Honest Tar," in which the hero wins 10,000 pounds at a lottery. There is also "The History of Sweetpea," the story of a charming chubby fellow who falls asleep in a garden and dreams that he is crowned king of all the good boys. He flies through the air in his dream, a fabulous detail that would not have found its way into the Edgeworth or de Genlis canon. When Sweetpea writes down his dream, a parent reminds him to beware of pride so that his imaginative flight is short-lived.

In 1795 another writer who used the initials, H. S., published *The History of the Davenport Family and Anecdotes of Mary or the Good Governess*. The *Davenport Family* in two volumes tells

1 (New York: Berry and Rogers and Berry, 1793), p. ix.
of two girls who go for daily walks in contrast with their weak cousins. Sophia and Amelia Easy are contrasted with Mary and Caroline Davenport. The book contains a rare find in the 1790's, a fairy tale which goes unfinished in volume one and is used as teaser for the reader to go on to volume two. H. S. describes it as her "first effort and feeble."¹

In H. S.'s next published work, *Anecdotes of Mary; or, the Good Governess*, which came out in 1795, there was a quotation from Rousseau: "Il faut périr les pains des enfants avec les levain de la raison et les acoutumer à la sentir et à la goûter."² In this work, at the age of eight, Lady Mary is put in the care of Mrs. Montfort, who gives her a new regimen which consists of converting her playroom into a study room, learning to rise early, eating dry toast, water and milk for breakfast with one helping of meat and no butter or sugar for dinner. This goes on for seventeen years;³ Mary therefore suffers longer and with more intensity than Émile.

The year 1795 also saw Charlotte Turner Smith's *Rural Walks in Dialogues Intended for the Use of Young Persons* which is a two-volume book totalling 199 pages with a familiar rustic set-

¹The History of the Davenport Family . . . (Boston: Spotswood and Etheridge, 1798), I, 73.


³*Anecdotes of Mary; or, the Good Governess* (London: E. Newbery, 1795), pp. 1-159.
ting, sixty miles from London in a small town where live Mrs. Woodfield, a widow, her two daughters, Elizabeth and Henrietta, plus Caroline, a niece who is the daughter of a dissipated woman.\footnote{1}

The book consists of twelve dialogues in which the reader discovers that Mrs. Woodfield is a whiz on the names of rare flowers. The author opposes children reading novels much the way Rousseau did. The model Woodfield children give their allowances to the poor, a practice which Rousseau did not recommend. Caroline Cecil is given the choice of going to a costly ball or relieving the poor. Her aunt is also "glad of this opportunity of shewing her what real misery was." And there are the usual entreaties against cruelty to animals. Mrs. Woodfield wishes she were a man so that she could turn knight errant to defend the animal from "what are improperly called reasonable beings," and various stratagems are discussed to relieve suffering animals. Mrs. Woodfield blesses a plan to buy birds to save them but worries lest this encourage thievery and cruelty.\footnote{2} At least Turner's book was not quite so simplistic as other books of the times in which the merciful parent simply saved the birds and did not question whether his actions might cause more harm than good. \textit{Rural Walks}

\footnote{1}{It is amazing how often in juvenile books of the 1780's and 1790's that the incompetent parent is deceased or conveniently shelved so that a Mrs. Mason or a Mr. Barlow can take over with an \underline{mile-like} regimen.}

\footnote{2}{\textit{Rural Walks in Dialogues Intended for the Use of Young Persons} (Philadelphia: Thomas Stephens, 1795), I, 31; II, 107; I, 18, 15, 56, 54.}
was praised by Maria Edgeworth as a book with considerable merit.\footnote{P. E., p. 332.}

In 1796, a male writer, now the minority sex among writers for children, produced *The Juvenile Olio; or Mental Medley; consisting of original essays, moral and literary Tales, fables, Reflections, written by a Father, chiefly for the use of his children*. William Fordyce Mavor's stories deal with the advice given the eight children. The book tried to curb childhood indulgence, which it saw as frequently a child's ruin and always his misery. A story is told, therefore, of a boy who dutifully recorded his allowance-balance sheet of two pounds, twelve shillings. He spends four shillings on a bible; two shillings, sixpence on a copy of *Robinson Crusoe*; one shilling, sixpence on a philosophical lecture; four shillings, sixpence is donated to an old soldiers' and sailors' home and so forth. This is to illustrate the dictum of the author that "no one was ever undone who kept an exact account of his income and his expenditures."

The influence of Rousseau can be seen in the natural punishment given a girl whose mother indulges her every whim. She puts her hands in boiling water, "and almost lost the use of her fingers forever." Rousseau's hand is also seen in the description of history as a disgusting litany of follies and crimes showing the intolerance of power, its degradation and misery. The book's merit lies in the variety of its tales, but it is hard to believe
that it was written by a real father for real children. 1

Dr. Mavor, a tutor and compiler of textbooks, 2 also wrote *Youth's Miscellany, Or, a Father's Gift to his Children* (1798). It contains sixty-six stories, essays, letters, fables and natural history lessons. The preface reminds the reader, as did Rousseau, that some children's crimes are confirmed by injudicious attempts to guard them from error. Rousseau's answer was "no books allowed before the age of eighteen." Mavor's answer is his compilation which guards against the glorification of crime. Mavor is not above that deceit which Maria Edgeworth complained about. In Mavor's book a father puts a sheet in a tree to cure his child from fear of ghosts. The compilation suffers from his too practical approach. A father, for instance, congratulates the child who skips a puppet show to go see animals in cages. 3 In this book as in many of the period, it is no surprise that creativity is banished and replaced by learning.

It was not until 1795 that children of the poor, who figure prominently in books for middle-class children throughout the century, begin to receive their own literature. Such was provided by Hannah More (1745-1833) and her sister Sarah. Hannah More

1"The Juvenile Olio," *London Times Educational Supplement*, February 15, 1930, p. 65. I am indebted as well to this article for details of this work which I was unable to locate in any form.


was the daughter of a schoolmaster who came to London in 1772 and met Samuel Johnson, David Garrick, Joshua Reynolds and Horace Walpole. Hannah More knew Walpole and Johnson\(^1\) quite well. In 1785 at the age of forty she retired to a cottage in Cowslip Green.\(^2\) At Somerset she started Sunday schools for poor children and in 1793 began to write Cheap Repository Tracts as an antidote to the atheistic literature she felt was emanating from the French Revolution.\(^3\)

The Cheap Repository Tracts were printed from 1795 to 1798; ninety-nine of these were written by Hannah More, fifty-one others by miscellaneous persons and the rest by her sister, Sarah More. Thus Hannah More wrote about half of the moral tales known as Cheap Repository Tracts. They were immensely popular. Two million were sold or distributed the first year of publication. The More sisters wrote three tracts a month for three years which were published on cheap paper resembling the chapbooks and were meant to be competitive with them. The More sisters were meeting the enemy on his own ground because they were

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\(^1\)For a summary of the Samuel Johnson friendship see Mary Alden Hopkins, Hannah More and her Circle (New York and Toronto: Longmans Green and Co., 1947), pp. 56-61. On Horace Walpole's opinion of her see his letters, edited by Peter Cunningham (London: R. Bentley, 1886), ix, 470.


\(^3\)Avery, Nineteenth Century Children, p. 82.
trying to keep the poor from the bawdy ballads1 available in chapbook form.

Not only were the tracts unlike most children's literature in that they were designed especially for the poor rather than the affluent, but The Cheap Repository Tracts were often anti-Rousseau. One tract speaks of our enemies who are deaf to the voice of divine wisdom and mentions "the affected benevolence of the hardened Rousseau."2 Technically, The Cheap Repository Tracts were no more exclusively children's literature than the chapbooks which they imitated. For example, "Onesimus; or the Run-away Servant Converted, a true story Shewing what a wonderful Improvement in his Condition Onesimus experienced after he became a Christian."3 There were, of course, stories in the series that children would have enjoyed—for instance, "Madge Blarney, the Gipsey Girl." In this story Madge meets a little girl who believes in God and Madge is convinced that if she did too, she would be nice, tidy and clean. Madge goes to church since she would rather offend her mother than God, saying, "Her anger will only cost me a few blows, but God's anger will doom me to ever-


lasting destruction." She decides to go to church even though she is gawked at because she is the child of a transported felon.¹

Hannah and Sarah More's work is not strictly within the purview of this study, but it is mentioned since it represents the only attempt at making literature accessible to the poor child outside of textbooks. While one does not doubt the sincerity of Hannah More, there is in her work a smugness reminiscent of Maria Edgeworth who constantly told the poor how lucky they were to be honest and industrious and not rich and lazy. One author accuses the More sisters of getting vicarious pleasure from the horrors they recount and also of eluding responsibility for those social evils and thus indirectly perpetuating them.²

Hannah More's work, whatever its limitations, was an expression of the feeling of the period and was evidently in accord with its age.³ Two million tracts in one year is a phenomenal record which shows how deeply literature for the poor was needed by adult and child. Fifty years after the first true literature for the middle-class child, there is not yet children's litera-


²Pickard, I Could a Tale Unfold, p. 182.

ture readily accessible to the poor child.

In 1797 when Cheap Repository Tracts were being sold to the poor, the middle-class child was not unprovided for. Charlotte Sanders' The Little Family, Containing a Variety of Moral and Philosophical Matters for the Amusement and Instruction of Young Persons is, in framework, an imitation of Madame de Genlis' Tales of the Castle. Madame de St. Claire retires to a village in Switzerland to educate her three children while M. St. Claire is off to (where else?) the West Indies for two years. The children, aged seven, eleven and twelve, expect, as did the children in Tales of the Castle, that the experience will be dull. Of course they do not know that mother has a microscope handy and lots of expeditions to the poor planned. When Emiline asks, "And what is a planet, mamma?" Madame whips off, "Planets are dark bodies enlightened by the sun." When Emiline, the inquisitive sort, asks why God made the sun, Madame palms off the answer, "Your brother is able, I believe, to answer this question." The children's sensibilities are excited to tears, and many acts of benevolence are recorded but class distinctions remain. Madame puts up a beggar not in her house but in her hayloft. ¹ Hannah More's work seems more humane. M. de St. Claire returns none too soon (volume two, page 139).

Amusement Hall or, an Easy Introduction to the Attainment

¹(Haverhill, Massachusetts: Moore and Stebbins, for David West of Boston, Massachusetts, 1799), pp. 102, 11, 41, 132.
of Useful Knowledge is long on useful knowledge and short on amusement. It was written "by a lady" and was in its second edition by 1797. Its plot is familiar enough. Mrs. Smith is visited by her sister Mrs. Denew and her children. Amelia, age ten, goes along with Laura, who lost her mother. Laura has been sent to be trained to behave. Mrs. Smith relieves a sick lady who dies content when she discovers her children are to be provided for. Mrs. Smith leaves the deathbed without emotion or comment to tell the children that their mother died. Of course she is rewarded when the long-lost grandfather arrives and purchases an estate near the Smiths, leaving Mrs. Smith a legacy to provide for his grandchildren when he dies.¹

William Darton, Senior (1755-1819), one of the few men writing at the time for children, put out A Present for a little Girl (1797) and A Present for a little Boy (1798). The books contain much cautionary advice. Children are told not to climb on chairs as a little girl did so once and was "sadly scalded." A girl who neglects her pets wants to liberate them, but her parents veto the plan, arguing that she accustomed them to luxury and therefore must keep them. A child who, like Harry Sandford, stuck pins in cock-chafers is told "a leg is a leg to a fly as well as to a boy or girl."² Fortunately Darton is not known for

his dubious equations but is more famous as an engraver of his own books and as a bookseller and publisher for children in Gracechurch Street, about 1785.

Elizabeth Helme's Instructive Rambles in London and the Adjacent Villages, Designed to Amuse the Mind, and Improve the Understanding of Youth accentuated improvement of understanding over amusement of the mind. Mr. Richardson, "a considerable merchant of the city of London," reclaims his children, Charles and Mary, from the clutches of Mrs. Bennet, a friend of his wife, who died one year before. Business had kept him away for the year, but when he returns he finds his children have been corrupted with pleasure and he therefore resolves to cure them. He gives them "instructive rambles" instead of balls and operas. They see architectural wonders such as the tower of London, the Royal Exchange, St. Paul's Cathedral and get tearful stories from beggars they are "interested" in. A long-lost uncle comes back rich from India and takes the two orphans that the family had adopted, and of course, the uncle has adventures to relate. 2

The children lament spending their allowances on raree shows and wax works, instead of using it to support poor children. But the children are not to give their money to any casual beg-

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2 (Philadelphia: Budd and Bartram for Thomas Dobson, 1799), pp. 218ff.
gar. For instance, the father tells them that if a beggar appears friendless it is a strong proof that he is of little service to others and is therefore an idler; thus it would be wrong to encourage him. When the children are "interested" they get stories from the unfortunate. Actually, since the poor entertain the rich by telling tales of woe they are hardly getting anything gratis. They have to work for their money even when they beg. A one-legged sailor, for instance, tells a story, the gist of which is that it is better to lose a leg than grow up an idler or drunkard or worse. A woman who was spoiled by a bad education refused as a girl to get inoculated and therefore gets smallpox (Rousseau would have approved the useful lesson). She loses her lover due to pride and insolence. When she is down and out she meets him and sees what she missed out on. She is handy with a needle, so Mr. Richardson gives her work, but she pays for it as Mr. Richardson drags in his children to hear her story to instruct them in wisdom.1

One of the few charming imaginative pieces for children in the 1790's was Richard Johnson's The History of a Doll. It came out undated but there was a 1798 Boston edition so the work is placed at ca. 1798. Extremely short, The History of a Doll read like a much earlier work. As we have seen in the Kilner works, Adventures of a Pincushion and Memoirs of a Peg Top, the prece-

1Ibid., pp. 47, 29, 94, 136.
dent for adventures of things goes back to Charles Johnstone's Chrysal; or the Adventures of a Guinea (1760), an adult novel. This was followed by imitations, Thomas Bridges' The Adventures of a Banknote (1770) and The Adventures of a Silver Threepence, (n.d.) which was a juvenile novel. In 1786 Richard Johnson's The Adventures of a Silver Penny was published. All that distinguishes Johnson's Adventures of a Silver Penny is the ingenuity of a child's cruelty to animals. Abraham Moses Isaac Jacob drops cats from a steeple, rubs rats with turpentine, sets fire to them or blows them up with gunpowder from which practice he almost loses his sight.

Less graphic, Johnson's The History of a Doll has more charm than The Adventures of a Silver Penny. The life story of a doll is told from tree-limb stage to near destruction. Polly Amiable gives it to a girl going to the West Indies. Enroute, it is stepped on by a sailor and a surgeon repairs it. A monkey gets at it in the West Indies and a poor man on the plantation repairs it. He relates his story and thereby relieves himself of his misery. The poor man, a former doll maker, becomes friends with the plantation owner and is thereby saved from poverty. That is it in twenty-nine pages. What is refreshing is the absence of excessive cautionary devices and moralizing, as well

1Weedon, "Richard Johnson," p. 46.
as the presence of some imaginative incidents that befall the
doll.1

A work for children published a year later, Conversations
and Amusing Tales Offered to the Publick for the Youth of Great
Britain, under the pseudonym Harriet English, is opposite in mood
and execution from The History of a Doll. The author boasts that
her work presents a young family in real life and not mere ima-
ginary characters. The perennial maiden aunt, Mrs. Abney, comes
to guide six children. She gives them drawings as prizes for
such things as stating the best distinction between flattery and
praise; the best answer earns a drawing of a robin redbreast
which doubles as a lesson against cruelty. The reader agrees
with Henry who says to his brother Samuel, "I should like my
aunt a great deal better if she were not so grave." Eventually
each child gets a drawing so that the aunt is not cruel. How-
ever, Mrs. Abney's Lady Bountiful attitude toward the poor marks
the books as smugly pretentious. Marian asks Mrs. Abney if God
is bountiful to the poor. Mrs. Abney replies that man is en-
dowed with reason, has the faculties of speech and hearing and
if he happens to be deprived of some of those he still has "the
cheering sun" and the beauties of nature.2

1 The History of a Doll; continuing its Origin and Progress
Through Life with the Various Calamities that Befell it, by Miss
Nancy Meanwell (Boston: John W. Folsom, 1798).

2 (London: For the Author by Charles Clarke and others,
Another work "by a lady" in 1799 was *Memoirs of the Danby Family: Designed Chiefly for the Entertainment and Improvement of Young Persons* (1799). The dedication lets the child reader know which of the two purposes expressed in the title will be uppermost: "It is my earnest desire to make you sensible of the great advantage and utility attendant on an early proficiency in virtue and piety." The book is two hundred fifty-eight pages of heavy moralizing. The children are taken to a picture gallery and the picture which exercises their sensibilities is their favorite: a blind man with a little boy leading him. "... the little boy is so natural, and the blind man looks grateful," all five children chirp. There is an uncle who was kidnapped but who comes back rich. On his return there is much swooning.¹

After *The Danby Family*, the reader joins *The Happy Family at Eason House Exhibited in the Amiable Conduct of the Little Nelsons and Their Parents*, *Interspersed with Select Pieces of Poetry* with something less than enthusiasm. The plot at first seems to justify one's fears. A merchant named Nelson has six children who ask for a summer house. When they get there, they encounter a beggar on their doorstep who dies, leaving a sixteen-month-old child. The child's father, an ex-sailor, turns up for a tearful reunion and tells his story of a shipwreck. The book is interspersed with snatches of poetry, mostly from James

Thomson. The book ends with the family's going back to London. There is some relief provided, however, by a father who admits his own mistake when a boy breaks a toothpick case. In other books of the period the child would cut his hand and thus learn a lesson. In this story the father is angry not at the child but at himself for giving a young child such a thing to play with.¹

In 1799 appears The Golden Gift or Easy Lessons for Young Readers, Being a Series of Instructive and Entertaining Thoughts On Sensible and Diverting Objects, in Words of One and Two Syllables By S.T. A Member of all the Juvenile Societies in Europe, Asia, Africa and America. This is easily one of the most charming books for children since those of John Newbery. The title indicates a style parallel with Newbery books. There are likewise several advertising plugs which are reminiscent of the John Newbery method. The book has a playful style that is indescribable. Here is a sample:

How happy may we think ourselves, when we see one of the demi-gods of the ocean rising to greet one of our British naval Heroes who have so nobly fought and often bled that we little folks of the chit-chat order may enjoy our new cream-milk and tea, coffee, or nice gruel breakfasts, hot or cold flour, rice, potatoe, plum, apple, currant, gooseberry, or the good puddings, dumplings, or rare and rich Easter baughs or baws, as I know many of my old friends in this country call them; and all our good boiled, roasted, baked, potted, stewed, hashed, and often to be slashed beef, mutton, veal, pork, lamb—pretty little ba-ing, ma-ing hopping, skipping, jumping, curly pated wagtail things! cooked otherwise how or by whomsoever they can, shall,

¹(London: T. Hurst, 1799), pp. 147, 159, 8.
will or may, in the month of June, and all the rest that follow, for dinner, at which time I fondly hope all my young readers will sit still, behave well, and with true grace in their infant hearts be truly and daily thankful for what ever they may be served with.

Compare the above with Barbauld's *Easy Lessons*, also written in words of one or two syllables, and it will be obvious that the Newbery charm has been absent from children's literature for thirty years, so much so that one suspects that *The Golden Gift* is an anachronism. It was either written much earlier or was written by an author who was fortunately not in tune with his contemporaries.

Other works of 1799, though less creative and clever than *The Golden Gift*, were in touch with their times. There are three works similar in content and tone, one in 1798 and two in 1799 that aim at getting the child to be humane toward animals. Daniel Jackson Pratt's *Pity's Gift: A Collection of Interesting Tales*, to excite the Compassion of Youth for the Animal Creation appeared in 1798. Pratt (1749-1814) was a clergyman who abandoned his profession for the stage. When he failed at acting he tried writing for a living and was a bookseller in Bath for some time. *Pity's Gift* is a series of sixteen short cautionary tales such as "The Hermit and his Dog," "The Address of the Superan-

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1 (Gainsborough: H. and G. Mozley [1799]), pp. 9, 19, 26, 59-60. The sentence (?) quoted goes on for two more pages!

2 St. John, The Osborne Collection, p. 211, and Welch, A Bibliography, LXXVII, 95.
uated Horse to His Master," and "The Bird-Catcher and his Canary." Humanitarianism is rampant in this book as Mr. John Howard in "The Old Horse in his Travels" puts up a pasture for old horses no longer fit to be ridden. \(^1\) To put it mildly, Pity's Gift overdoes the exercise of sensibility as applied to the animal kingdom. The reader may be able to accept the praise of pleasure when man ministers to bird and beast. "How it refreshes in warm, how it animates one in rigorous weather." The scene when a bird trainer's canary is gotten by a cat is difficult to accept:

> It was really a banquet to see those people gathering themselves into a knot, and, after whispering, wiping their eyes, and blowing their noses, depute one from amongst them to be the medium of conveying into the pocket of the Bird-man the very contribution they had just before received for their own efforts. \(\text{[The musicians move in a procession]}\) . . . that naturally keeps the sensibilities more or less in exercise.

Exercise in sensibility may be healthy; Pratt seems to have overdone the moral calisthenics. One questions his loyalty to man after seeing his devotion to animals: for instance, some children find a bird nest. One boy ties a bird with a string and cruelly drags him. A second child sticks pins through a bird's eyes until it bleeds to death. A third lets the cat eat his bird, and a girl and boy pull another apart in a tug of war. The youngest child puts her bird in a cage and protects it. As

\(^1\) Cited by Berkeley, "About Books that Amused and Taught the Children of Olden Days," p. 122.
punishment, the eldest son is tied by the leg as his father "did to him as he did to the bird." The second child is scratched with pins until his hands "were all over blood." The father lets the dog work over the third child, while the girl who put her bird in a cage is hugged and kissed.\(^1\) Pratt is a sort of Kilner with humane society tendencies. It is refreshing to know that the \textit{lex talionis} treatment the children received was disturbing to a reviewer.\(^2\) Trimmer's objections notwithstanding, the book had two editions the year it came out and reached five editions by 1810.\(^3\)

\textbf{The Hare: Or, Hunting Incompatible with Humanity: Written as a Stimulus to Youth Toward a Proper Treatment of Animals (1799)} is a series of escapades from the life of a hare. Stones are thrown at him, he is shot at, and so forth. There is much opposition to hunting expressed. Other children's books were opposed to cruelty to animals, but even Thomas Day did not object to hunting. Feelings for animals increased or man got softer as the century progressed, if one judges from children's stories. The anti-cruelty to animals sentiment is seen to come out of the spread of Jacobin equalitarian thought during the French Revolu-


\(^2\) The Guardian of Education, I (1802), 304.

\(^3\) Welch, \textit{A Bibliography}, LXXVII, 96.
tion, the 1790's being the most prolific decade for treatises on humanity to animals. The result is much pathetic fallacy in books of the 1780's and 1790's, which personify animals. For instance, the hare loves his place of shelter the way an orphan does a friend who protects him. The hare is not only lyrical ("There is a satisfaction to autumn that far surpasses the rapture of spring or the expectation of summer"), but he appeals to the feeling heart, one of the touchstones of the man of sensibility:

I appeal to the feeling heart which kindles at the contemplation of natural beauties, and experiences within that harmony and delight which it beholds without, to whom it is no joy.\textsuperscript{2}

\textbf{Memoirs of Dick the Little Poney Intended for the Instruction and Amusement of Little Masters and Misses} (1799) is more like The Hare than Keeper's Travels. The picaresque adventures of the pony are related in first person. He is stolen by gypsies; he is castrated, has his ears cropped and his tail cut; his teeth are pulled to make him look older; he wins a race as a racehorse and is given to a young consumptive and finally he is put out to pasture where he writes his memoirs which are left in the hands of his benefactor. \textbf{Memoirs of Dick the Little Poney} is as opposed to hunting as was The Hare and pathetic fallacy is


\textsuperscript{2}(London: Vernor and Hood, 1799), pp. 45, 52-53, 75, 79.
also evident. When his mistress dies, the pony cries:

Tears coursed one another down my face. Stare not, reader, for a horse has tears, and his feelings for the moment are as acute as yours; but he neither increases his misery by painful retrospect on the past or distant anticipations of the future.

The book ends with a pathetic address of a superannuated horse to his master, who has sentenced him to be shot:

Ah! could'st thou bear to see thy servant bleed, E'en though thy pity has decreed his fate? And yet in vain thy heart for life shall plead, If nature has denied a longer date.1

The 1790's in England saw children's literature continue the trends set in the 1780's by Anna Laetitia Barbauld, Thomas Day and Sarah Trimmer. Maria Edgeworth's The Parent's Assistant (1796) and Practical Education (1798) continue the sentimental Rousseauistic influence seen in Day, her friend and advisor. If Barbauld, Edgeworth, Day, Trimmer and others are grouped together the reader should be advised that such is the way their contemporaries saw them.2 They all began to write "almost simultaneously,"3 and many of the writers mentioned were friends.

Maria Edgeworth's original style and dramatic technique stand out from the masses of acknowledged and anonymous children's literature of the decade. As Walter Scott said of her

1(London: Whittingham and Arliss, n.d.), pp. 22-151, 114, 87, 155. The original dedication is dated December 14, 1799 but an advertisement of this edition is dated 1816.

2Avery, Nineteenth Century Children, p. 23.

3"Children Yesterday and To-Day," p. 383.
work, she was best in the little touches. Edgeworth's female counterparts in children's fiction, Mrs. Pilkington, Mrs. Pinkard, Lucy Peacock, Harriet English, Priscilla Wakefield, Elizabeth Sandham, Charlotte Smith, form "a monstrous regiment" of women writers for children. The hordes of female writers for children in the 1780's and especially in the 1790's can be traced to the plentiful supply of novels of the circulating library, which competition led women to stem the torrent by writing entertaining satires to convey wholesome truths to the young. Under the disguise of children's novels, examples were given of virtue rewarded and vice punished.

The explosion in the number of books available to children and the large numbers of writers for children is related to the rise of the numbers of middle-class children to be educated. Mrs. Barbauld characterized the difference between her age and that which followed. She tells parents that they swear by Rousseau but that their parents practiced Rousseau without having read it. "Poverty educated you; wealth will educate him." She says one can try to make the boy hardy by Lockean or Rousseauistic means, but that would not be the same as the father's own boyhood in which half the day was spent outside:

Your life was of little consequence to any one;

1 Muir, English Children's Books, p. 83.

even your parents, encumbered with a numerous family, had little time to indulge the softness of affection, or the solicitude of anxiety and to every one else it was of no consequence at all.  

There are other testimonies to corroborate Barbauld's feeling about the change in education and attitude toward the child. The preface to Berquin's Select Stories cites the improvement of the rising generation as among the developments of moral philosophy in the late eighteenth century.  

Rousseau's influence was still strong in the 1790's. Another reviewer supports the Barbauld analysis of the change in educational writing for children:

It must be conceded to the age we live in, that it discovers a laudable anxiety for the improvement of the rising generation. In no former period, at least, were youth so much an object of literary attention as now. Publications of this happy tendency, seem, of late years in particular, to have engrossed the labours of the English press to a very great degree. Cultivation of science is . . . left almost entirely to the productions of former times, casual conversation, and the schools; and our authors . . . render those who succeed us both wise and better. This is auspicious to social prosperity, and the best interests of humanity.  

Although the nineteenth century is properly the century of the cult of the child, in the late eighteenth century the child had already acquired an importance as he began to be considered worthy of study by persons other than educators. He was not yet

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1 Works, II, 308-309.  
understood as a person. It is only in the nineteenth century when the stature of the child is raised to a being trailing clouds of glory, a prophet and seer, that true imaginative literature becomes available to children. The first true pleasure book for children without moral or instructional aim was *The Butterfly's Ball* (1807) by William Roscoe, and the true dawn of levity in children's literature is seen in Catherine Sinclair's *Holiday House* (1839).

The child of the 1790's although condescended to, to an extent unrealized before in children's literature, was still the product of a system and was converted into a self-conscious prig as was the fashion in the age of Rousseau. The 1790's show somewhat of a reaction to the excesses of the French Revolution by interjection of religion and a check on the equalitarianism most pronounced in the 1780's. The bulk of the work for children in the 1790's is, however, predominantly secular and scientific. Lamb's complaint to Coleridge was borne out. Barbauld and Trimmer did succeed to Newbery and science did succeed to imagination in children's books.


2 Blake's *Songs of Innocence* (1789) is an early attempt at imagination in children's poetry but it is not prose fiction and therefore excluded by the scope of this study.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

That there was a specific literature for children in the eighteenth century is significant. Juvenile literature really opens in the eighteenth century.¹ In England there was no literature exclusively for children until the seventeenth century and no books of amusement until the 1740's. The Newbery firm alone produced nearly four hundred books for the young and eventually inspired many competitors to enter the new field of literature for children. The books produced for children in the eighteenth century number many hundreds and the editions reach the thousands in England not to mention the many pirated editions and translations in other countries.

Not only were there large numbers of books printed for children, but large numbers of writers of the first order participated in the writing of juvenile books.² With a decline in patronage, children's literature became a successful business

¹CHEL, p. 366.
²Delattre, "La littérature enfantine en Angleterre," p. 149.
and a lucrative profession. Literature for children, which began with Thomas Boreman and John Newbery, was created within the years in which authors in England turned from the patron to the public.¹ Halfway through the century books for children became a commercial proposition for the first time,² and by 1780 when patronage was largely a thing of the past,³ booksellers began to commission noted authors rather than anonymous hacks. The 1780's brought children's classics in *Sandford and Merton* and *Fabulous Histories*. The 1790's are noted for *Evenings at Home* and *The Parent's Assistant*. Unfortunately, what attracted the noted writers like Oliver Goldsmith and Maria Edgeworth also attracted the hack writer like Richard Johnson and what has been aptly labelled the monstrous regiment of female writers, many of whom were not authors of fiction so much as instructors of didactic educational experiences.

One is struck not only with the number of books and the number of writers for children in the eighteenth century, but with the range of the works produced for the young. Where there

¹A. S. Collins, *The Profession of Letters*, p. 17, cited by Kent, *Goldsmith and his Booksellers*, p. 2, lists the years 1730-1750 as the years of transition from patronage to public support.


were no books of amusement at all, suddenly there were the children's novel (in three volumes or in chapbook size), closet drama, familiar essays, miscellanies, books of letters and even the first children's magazine. The Juvenile Magazine is the first true periodical for children in England. Earlier magazines were miscellanies published in one or two volumes. The Juvenile Magazine was originally a monthly of sixty pages each, issued from January, 1788 to December, 1788. Epitomizing the attention to children's literature seen in many famous writers of the century is Samuel Johnson's contribution to this periodical, "A Letter from the Celebrated Dr. Johnson, to Miss Susanna Thrale," and "A Letter from the Celebrated Dr. Johnson, to Miss Sophia Thrale." The magazine itself contained many of the favorite forms of children's literature within the century: letters, drama, stories, geography lessons, riddles and so forth. In the eighteenth century in England a child had every type of literature known to modern children at his disposal. Granted the range and the quantity of books available as reading matter for the eighteenth-century child, he need not be pitied.

1 Berquin's L'Ami des Enfans January, 1784 to December, 1783 was first, but we are speaking here of native English works.


3 Moore, Literature Old and New, p. 182.

Once one learns the extent and the quantity of juvenile books, especially fiction in the eighteenth century, one might well wonder why there was a children's literature at all where previously there was little or nothing. One of the many answers has already been suggested, the growing ability of authors to live by their own efforts without the need of patrons. A writer forced to rely on a ready-made public could naturally drift to writing for children, which, since the days of Oliver Goldsmith, had become profitable. ¹ Other external reasons why children's literature crops up when it does are increasing literacy, emergence of the novel, and improved methods of publication and distribution. ² There was as well the interest in children and in education sparked by the empiricism of John Locke and the primitivism of Jean Jacques Rousseau. Locke's contribution to a new understanding of how children learn came in Some Thoughts Concerning Education (1693) which, as noted in previous chapters, was practically a Bible for John Newbery and the earlier children's writers in England. While Locke's influence declines after 1765 when that of Rousseau rises, actually both philosophers agree in many areas on attention to the child's learning. Both Locke and Rousseau show a respect for children and a belief in their capacities. This is markedly absent in the Puritan writ-


² Dohm, "Two and a half centuries of Children's Books," p. 192.
thers of the seventeenth century. Both writers reject abstractions, stress the importance of the useful and betray a distrust for the fanciful and the romantic. In adult and in children's literature this is seen in an emphasis on reason as a guide, the exaltation of the useful and the recognition of the humble and primitive as opposed to the proud and hypocritical.¹

There was a precedent for interest in children from the seventeenth century on in the Puritan desire to reach evil-tainted children.² After Rousseau's Émile, the child was more likely to be pressured not with fear or hell but with information.³ Rousseau was responsible for a new understanding of the child as a child, not as a miniature adult. He constantly stressed that the child was to lose all sense of time and be educated for the moment not for his later life as an adult. Rousseau proscribed books since they might teach bad habits to the natural child who is uninhibited by the corruption of original sin or civilization. Ironically, his imitators produced hundreds of books for children. His followers justified their books because nature talks and the simple life take over and children learn much natural science. The only excuse for the hordes of books put out in the post-Rousseauistic era was that only in

¹Moore, Literature Old and New, p. 184.
books could theorists represent the genuine progress of impossible children and perfect parents.¹

Literature for children, it can be seen, is related to the status of the child. In England, the stature of the child in the eighteenth century was greatly influenced by two major interests of the people—education and humanitarianism. Locke informed a tradition of educational theory in the eighteenth century, but the child was still seen as a small adult to be educated into a regulated manhood. It was logical to fill in the blank tablet of the impressionable child. The true cult of the child, however, began with the cult of sensibility associated with Rousseau.²

Rousseau, however, used Locke. If Locke pleaded for the child it was Rousseau who won the case. Locke and Rousseau both helped improve the status and treatment of the child in England. Nonetheless, either directly or through the books for children that their followers wrote, one must not presume that the eighteenth

¹Barry, A Century of Children's Books, p. 105. The above reasons are not the only ones. The presence of many royal children after the many children of Queen Anne died may have been helpful. George II had three sons and five daughters; George III had six daughters and five sons. See Dorothy Margaret Stuart, The Daughters of George III (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1939). Many books for children were dedicated to royal children, even when patronage was no longer necessary to insure a book's survival. Why children's literature springs up when and as it does would take another extensive study. "There has been no real inquiry into the circumstances which led to the birth of a new kind of literature for the young under the first two Georges," according to Thwaite, Pocket-Book, p. 18.

²Coveney, Poor Monkey, p. 4.
century was necessarily child centered. It was only because the interests of the eighteenth century included children that it became a century of children's books.¹ The child, especially in the early part of the century, was treated as a scaled-down adult:

... un gentilhomme en miniature, silencieux et ennuyé; ou une jeune grande dame, experte déjà en l'art de la révérence, qu'on n'aperçoit que rarement, et toujours artifiée et pomponnée, avec son "corps" de baleine et son lourd panier, son tablier de tulle et son bonnet de rubans, qui n'entre au salon qu'en tremblant, et que la mère accueille avec une indifférente dignité.²

The child dressed in waist coat and knee breeches like his father was expected to act as a lesser adult, even though Locke, Rousseau and Maria Edgeworth all champion the need for play in a child's education. There are, however, in the eighteenth century, as contrasted with earlier centuries, more mentions of the child. He appears as a character more often in adult literature and in domestic records of the times and in portrait-painting he becomes a fixture, but he was still treated as an adult and pushed into early maturity. This does not mean there was necessarily a lack of concern for the child.³ It must be remembered that the Puritans, who looked upon the child as a depraved fragment of iniquity, developed a special literature to save him. Actually,

³ Fleming, Children and Puritanism, pp. 60-61.
where the child had status at all, the literature directed at him reflects it. In the seventeenth century, the child was seen as a miserable little sinner; in the eighteenth century he becomes a self-satisfied prig, the product of a system of education; and in the nineteenth century he is deified as a source of inspiration trailing those clouds of glory.¹ Thus, although the eighteenth century in England was not child-centered, its interest in the child is in effect a moderate view of him, seeing him not as a totally depraved creature, nor yet the inspirer of poetry and the envy of the artist as he was in the Romantic age which sought to prolong childhood. Rather, the child in the eighteenth century becomes a cherished factor in the social life of the times.² After the Puritans, who portrayed the good child dying early, the mid-eighteenth century attitude toward children seems humane. When Hannah More, for instance, was told that Mary Wollstonecraft had written Vindication of the Rights of Women she exclaimed, "Rights of Women! We will be hearing of the Rights of Children next!"³ She was right, but for the true cult of the child inspired by Rousseau one has to wait for the nineteenth century.

Properly speaking, it is not so much the child as education that the eighteenth century was interested in. Literature for

¹Fay, "Historical Survey," pp. 210-211.
²Kiefer, American Children through their Books, p. 1.
³Cited by Hopkins, Hannah More and her Circle, p. 135.
children, whether touted as pure amusement or as a blend of amusement and instruction was often sold with the sanction of John Locke or Jean Jacques Rousseau. Even including the books of John Newbery, the closest books of the eighteenth century to pure amusement are heavily laced with quotations from Locke or practical learning about trades or the exaltation of middle-class virtues. Many of John Newbery's works, such as The Circle of the Sciences, were in fact domestic aids to classroom work. Beyond Newbery in the post-Rousseauistic works of instruction with their "Behold the wing of an earwig" or "Mommy, what is treacle?" questions, the desire to impart educational lessons is more bald. It is not surprising that the middle class received and perpetuated "improving" books for their children, even when, like Locke, Rousseau and others, they had a low opinion of their own schools. Wesley called the public schools of England "nurseries of all manner of wickedness" and Fielding saw them as "nurseries of all vice and immorality."¹

Interest in education was also reflected in the schools founded in the century. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge set up over one hundred schools in the age of Queen Anne in London.² They reached their peak in the 1730's with 132 schools in London for about 5,000 children and 1329 schools

¹Sangster, Pity my Simplicity, pp. 91-92.
in the rest of the country for 10,000 students. They fell into a decline under the Georges and after 1750 they became more and more ineffectual.¹ The Sunday school movement which began in 1780 reached larger numbers of children. By 1787 there were one quarter million children in these schools.² Work for the education of the poor was stifled by the fact that it was opposed by those who felt that such education would make the poor emulate their betters and thus impair their work.³ Isaac Watts, for example, stated that degrees of instruction should be determined by the station of life in which children are placed by God's providence.⁴ Education was not universal popular education but mere tokenism. It was occupational education, at best a preliminary to apprenticeship. Anything more would depend on a higher social status.⁵ One can say, however, that the first attempts toward education for all were taken in the century, sparked perhaps by evangelism and humanitarianism.

Humanitarianism was another reason why the eighteenth century became interested in the child. It should be pointed out

³Sangster, Pity My Simplicity, p. 113.
that the charity schools were supported entirely by private philanthropy. The result was benevolence, that fruition of sensibility which came into being in reaction to the Hobbesian ethic. Philanthropy has always included children within its scope.¹

The poor child, like the prisoner, provoked a new attitude toward the underdog. In other words, there was interest in the child because there was an interest in the rights and conditions of all men. This is seen in Jonas Hanway's interest in chimney sweep reform, John Howard's struggles against prison abuses (1760) and Wilberforce's campaigns beginning in 1788 against slavery.²

The literature produced in the century which reached middle-class children mostly is filled with the urgings of child benevolence to the poor. Sophia, for instance, puts a beggar child in her carriage when her friend, Fanny, encourages her dog to snap at the poor girl. The girl, whose leg is broken, is selfless and merely wants bread for her parents and doesn't mind her injury. Sophia goes into the cottage where she finds a father with a fever, a brother who is hungry and a fagged-out mother. Sophia's heart is affected by this distress and she empties her pocket of every farthing she has, even those she saved to buy her favorite


Because of interest in benevolence and in education, the eighteenth century was interested in the child but he was seldom sought and studied for his own sake. Even the extensive literature designed ostensibly for the middle-class child is a product and a reflection of adult literature and life. The 1760's in England mark many rapid and abrupt changes in social history. 1760 was the year of accession of George III. After this date England underwent swift economic changes, the industrial revolution, the abolition of the open-field system and the stepping up of enclosure. The 1760's are marked by the rise of the middle class in politics and in other areas, and by the beginning of the change of attitude toward slavery. It is more than coincidence that Goody Two-Shoes, the first moral tale for children in England, begins with an essay on land reform that reads like a section of "The Deserted Village." What is more it marks the beginning of the kind of children's literature popular for a half century, literature that is stamped by anti-enclosure and anti-slavery sentiment.

3Spearman, The Novel and Society, p. 29.
Even if the great changes in social history and in literature for children are proven coincidental, there is no denying that juvenile literature reflects some of the same ideals as adult literature and life. It is obvious that in children's literature there was a growth in sentimentality or rather a shift from sentimentality to sensibility in the eighteenth century. This is somewhat simultaneous with adult literature, although, as we have seen, often delayed by a few years. The appearance of the child as a central figure in literature was simultaneous with changes in sensibility at the end of the eighteenth century. In adult literature the empire of reason becomes the empire of morality and sensibility. This is correlated in children's literature, as seen in many of the works consulted for this study. From sentimental characters to false sensibility to an attack on false sensibility, the gamut of children's literature runs as wide as adult literature. Because children's literature is not as deep as that for adults, sentimentality, that foam on the current of feeling of the times, is more easily charted.

As prevalent as sentimentality in post-Rousseauistic children's literature is romanticism or pre-romanticism which is as easy to spot as in adult works. One writer sees in the adult

1Coveney, Poor Monkey, p. ix.
novel the presence of idealized characters regardless of the social status, benevolence, interest in natural beauty, primitivism, simplicity, and the description of emotional states as hallmarks of romanticism.\textsuperscript{1} It should be obvious even from summaries of many of the children's works studied here that all these qualities are found in abundance in children's literature. If anything, these are found more obviously in juvenile fiction. A more comprehensive listing cites twenty qualities associated with the rise of pre-romanticism. Twelve of these are obviously contained in children's literature. The eight which are not found are often too sophisticated for children. One does not expect children's literature to contain imitations of old Scandinavian literature, which is one of the qualities listed.\textsuperscript{2} The other qualities, which include humanitarianism, kindness to animals and interest in the savage, can be found quite openly in juvenile literature. However one defines that much abused word, romanticism, if one agrees that its most enduring form was humanitarianism,\textsuperscript{3} then certainly it is prevalent in children's books of the eighteenth century. Romanticism, while centered in the nineteenth century, has earlier origins in the eighteenth century and

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1} Foster, \textit{The History of the Pre-Romantic Novel}, p. 1.
  \item \textsuperscript{3} Whitney, "Humanitarianism and Romanticism," p. 159.
\end{itemize}
should be investigated further,¹ and children's literature ought not to be overlooked in this important area. The study of the growth of romanticism by and in children's literature of the eighteenth century has not been attempted. Such a study would be related to this one since the cult of feeling which states that man is good because he feels good breeds perfectibilitarianism which makes romanticism possible.

Children's books corroborate and reflect adult expression in art no less than in literature. The genuine variety of animal painting, for example, begins with George Stubbs in the 1770's. By the 1780's when it is no longer a novelty, the animal figures heavily in children's literature. The animal story is used by the Kilners in the 1780's and especially by Kendall and others in the 1790's. When adults in the 1770's and 1780's were buying up George Morland's *Guinea Pigs* and George Stubb's lions, the same vogue is expressed in the books parents gave their children.²

Likewise art reflects a view of childhood at the time. The way a child was dressed indicated the view taken of him. As we have noted earlier, knee breeches, wigs, even short swords were worn by adult and child. A study of the illustrations depicting children reveals that it is not until the third quarter of the


eighteenth century (1770-1775) when the first children's clothes as distinguished from those of adults, are noted.¹ More usually the child was portrayed in waistcoat, hat and knee breeches; caps and aprons, kerchiefs and gowns predominated for girls.²

Not only in art but in adult literature the last decades of the eighteenth century show the child beginning to exist as an important and continual theme in English literature. Childhood as a major theme comes with the generation of Blake and Wordsworth. Earlier the child was a subsidiary element in an adult world.³ In the novel the child was a marionette at best, used for humanitarian or sentimental purposes.⁴ A parallel study of the child in adult and juvenile fiction would be interesting.⁵ Children's literature certainly shared the didacticism of the popular novel in England. If adults received sermons on slavery and the penal laws in the middle of a romance, children were


²Halsey, Forgotten Children's Books, p. 135. The study of the illustrations within children's books would be a separate study. It would be interesting to see the evolution in quality from primitive woodcut to John Bewick print and technically from woodcut to copper plate and from black and white to color print.

³Coveney, Poor Monkey, p. ix.

⁴Janney, Childhood in English, p. 88.

⁵Scudder, Childhood in Literature and Art, p. 4 states a connection between the two but he does not substantiate it.
hardly likely to be spared. As we have seen, they were not. Children's fiction parallels adult fiction in the growth of numbers of books in a comparable period. The Monthly Review and The Critical Review, for instance, reviewed 1300 novels between 1770 and 1800.

There is a correspondent interest in children in poetry and an interest in poetry in children's literature in approximately the same period. In the later eighteenth-century poetry there is more humanitarianism and a greater social consciousness and therefore attention to children. Few children appear in poetry before Thomson, and Thomson is the poet most frequently quoted in children's poetry of the later eighteenth century. There is rather a natural shared connection of children's literature and adult poetry:

Ce culte si particulier des poètes anglais, cette curiosité si affectueuse des romanciers devaient éveiller, chez certains d'entre eux, la tentation d'écrire, pour ces mêmes enfants, des livres spéciaux, et dont le seul but serait de leur plaire, des livres appropriés, à leur âge et à leur imagination, du eux-mêmes seraient, le plus souvent, acteurs et spectateurs

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3 Janney, Childhood in English, pp. 112-113.

As children's literature corroborates adult literature in many respects, it is no surprise that many of the qualities seen in juvenile books were a product and reflection of the times. Utilitarianism, primitivism, didacticism, an interest in the noble savage, anti-slavery, deism and the eastern tale—all are reflected in the many works for children. The shift from the sectarian interests of the late seventeenth century to the secular interests in the eighteenth century to a return to religion after the French Revolution parallels adult literature. To illustrate, one writer lists five ideas in the air in mid-eighteenth century. These are seeing man in a state of nature as originally bad, a law of nature which binds all man, and the belief that the social contract voluntarily and consciously made justifies society; there is also an inequality among men due to private property and peaceful existence of man seen as a norm. Most of these can be traced to Rousseau and Locke and are found in most books for children within the century. Ideas and methods in the

2 Davidson, Rousseau and Education according to Nature, pp. 21-22.
air influenced adult literature; with some modification they were quickly incorporated into children's literature. Interest in animals, for example, is rampant in many children's books in the 1790's when the egalitarian thought of the French Revolution was fully assimilated.

In broad outline the literature for the child is reflective of the shift in values and outlook that is seen in philosophy and literature of the times. Children's books moved from sectarian Puritan literature which told the child to do good because it will get you to heaven to Newbery's secular materialism which preached doing good because it will make you rich and win you esteem to the Day-Trimmer-Barbauld-Edgeworth school which said do good because it will make you feel good. Actually it was the subject matter that was secularized rather than the method. Writers for children were as evangelical in the 1790's as they were in the 1690's; the difference lies in the secularized subject matter. The propagandist spirit motivating their writing is the same—to make over a child with earthly or heavenly wisdom:

In other words, the child at the end of the century was still nurtured on the institutional plan. Where Isaac Watts in the first quarter had been stimulated by religious ideals, Mrs. Barbauld, Aikin, Day and the Edgeworths in the last quarter were in addition fired by enthusiasm for moral tales which incorporated natural science.1

At a time when noble families were being ruined, and the merchant was losing distinguishing characteristics, his industry

1Babenroth, English Childhood, p. 219.
and frugality and acquiring luxurious habits, all ranks, ages and sexes aspired to the same distractions and emulated one another. It is no surprise therefore that the literature directed at the children of the age was aimed at the child of middle-class parents, little Arabellas and Tommies whose parents could afford books for them. The Newbery stories are replete with fictional boys and girls who rise from a mean state to a coach and six, but there were no such books for the real poor. Juvenile books were meant to fascinate the child who had security and plenty to eat.

The middle-class age was also largely a secular one. The waning of Puritan fervor and the rise of scepticism in the times is reflected in the shift in emphasis in children's books from a purely theological character to practical moral instruction. Dogma is replaced by example. If it is true that the late Georgian put more faith in diligence than in religion, then this fact is well reflected in books in which the most trivial incident points its trivial moral. If a child is untidy and does not tie his shoes, he falls downstairs. Before his father calls the doctor, the boy is given a lecture on his choosing evil over good.

1 Gardiner, English Girlhood at School, p. 440.
2 Thwaite, Pocket-Book, p. 47.
3 Kiefer, American Children through their Books, p. 12.
4 Avery, Nineteenth Century Children, p. 11.
The obvious secularism in children's literature did not mean, however, that there was no preaching in children's books. Maria Edgeworth admitted that she wrote for every sect and purposely did not introduce God's superintendence on puerile occasions. Precisely because formal religion was omitted by design, many authors made their works didactic. They teach either by nature as Rousseau wished or by nature with an assist from the parent. With the agency of God omitted, the didactic school which Edgeworth represented gave the child the direct choice of right or wrong, stamping in the right response with the reward of approbation:

The chief aim of the writers appears to be the humiliation of the child hero or heroine who figures in the books, and of children in general; this being brought about by the exhibition on every conceivable occasion of the superior wisdom and virtues of the mamas and governesses.

The didacticism seen in Maria Edgeworth and her followers is merely a reflection of the fashion of the age. A critic of adult fiction says at the end of the eighteenth century it is difficult to distinguish between polemic and fiction. If adult fiction shades off into educational writing, such is even more

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1 Hall, "Edgeworthstown: Memories of Maria Edgeworth," p. 229. Hall reports what Maria Edgeworth admitted to her in private.

2 Low, "Favorite Books of Childhood," p. 130.


pronounced in juvenile fiction. The lectures on natural science are innumerable; the probing questions of inquisitive children are unstoppable. Horace Walpole stated, "natural history is in fashion." The result was the useful-knowledge book crammed with lore on the planets, trees, caterpillars and the hummingbird.

Precisely because children's literature reflects the currents in the minds of the eighteenth-century parent and educator, juvenile fiction ought to be studied for light on utilitarianism, primitivism, deism and scepticism. It has been shown that children's literature can be a corroborative aid to the study of the many facets of sentimentality of the times. Most approaches to children's literature, in the past, have seen it as a thing apart, some quaint bypath, at best, or from the viewpoint of the collector or bibliographer. While all data about children's literature in its pioneer days is valuable, the approach one takes to children's literature, whether historical, psychological or some other, ought not ignore the subject matter of those books and their relation to their times. It is not so simple as judging children's literature as literature, since, as should be obvious from this study, many of the children's books of the eighteenth century are not worthy of study as literature. I agree with the writer who sees the later eighteenth-century story book

1Cited by Collins, Authorship in the Days of Johnson, p. 250.
as the dreariest period in the whole history of children's literature.\footnote{Welsh, "The Children's Books that have Lived," p. 319.} Because children's books are a product and a reflection of their times, I see the approach to them as aids of social history or as corroboration or correction of adult literature to be the prime reason for studying them. They can, of course, be studied by the bibliographer or librarian for other reasons.

The study which approaches children's books solely as literature will find that many of the books are among the most wretched examples of literature he will ever encounter. There are some wonderful exceptions in John Newbery's works and in some of Maria Edgeworth's productions, but with most of the writers for children, to fling down a collection of homilies was looked upon as sufficient.\footnote{Lucas, \textit{Original Stories}, p. viii.}

The student of children's literature of the eighteenth century who admits the inferiority of many of the works studied will also paradoxically agree with Washington Irving that the world is probably not aware of the ingenuity, good sense and humor contained in many works for juveniles.\footnote{Irving, \textit{Oliver Goldsmith}, pp. 201-202.} What this means is that children's literature, since it is more direct and simplified for a child's comprehension, is a more effective mirror of the values
and manners of the times than more pretentious, complex works. More baldly than in other works, and more directly, one can see at once the prosiness, the materialistic values, the absence of imagination of the times.¹ There are some occasional realistic, childlike incidents, vivacious conversation, humor, verse, entertaining histories and woodcuts,² but most of the books strike a modern person as tediously didactic. The form of the didacticism and the contents of the book help keep the reader from generalizing about the half century from Rousseau to Wordsworth. No period deserves more a minimum of generality and a maximum of particular reference. Once grounded in children's literature of the period, one can more easily see the literary climate in which the romantic child was prepared in the period from Emile to the Prelude.³ Children's literature which can nauseate and provide an occasional delicacy is prodigal fare.

More work is needed not only to separate the great from the ordinary in children's literature, but to locate some of the ephemeral books of the century. Fewer of these are today found in private hands than a few decades ago so that study of them is becoming more and more accessible. The Elisabeth Ball collection, formerly private, has recently been given to the Pierpont Morgan

¹Avery, Nineteenth Century Children, p. 14.
³Coveney, Poor Monkey, p. 1.
Library. A catalogue of the contents, which is planned, will prove invaluable to the student as Judith St. John's well-annotated catalogue of the Toronto Public Library's collection now is. Sydney Roscoe's checklist of Newbery's work is a start toward a full bibliography, but it fails to list some copies of the editions used in this study, which were early enough to be included and which come from institutions he has researched. In its present state or in the promised revision, Roscoe's pioneer work is an important tool. The recent unpublished work of Jean Butler Sanders was the only dissertation touching on the field of eighteenth-century children's literature located. It is limited to a single author and therefore has little on the subject of this work. One questions why Sanders' 140-page dissertation would devote thirty-five pages to biography when there are several full-length biographies of Madame de Genlis available. Only thirty-seven pages cover the reception of Madame de Genlis' work in England, with children's literature being studied only up to 1785 when the quantity of books suddenly mushroomed.¹

Among published works, the work of Avery and Riddehough

¹Jean Butler Sanders, "Madame de Genlis and Juvenile Fiction in England" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 1965). There is a master's thesis by Sophia Kodjbanoff, "The History of Children's Books" (University of Chicago, 1911), which is largely paraphrased from secondary sources.
proved very helpful.¹ It should be apparent that more work needs to be done, for instance, on the growth of anti-slavery sentiment in children's literature and on similar themes, as well as on biography and attribution. It is to be hoped that future works which treat John Locke's influence on English literature or the history of sensibility will not ignore the children's book. Attention to children's literature now exists in a fraction of the scholarly studies of the century. We need more books like Dix Harwood's *Love for Animals and How it Developed in Great Britain*, which does not dismiss children's literature as ephemeral, but devotes an entire chapter to it. I agree with Sanders that there is an element of adventure in working in a field so inadequately charted and so little visited by literary critics and historians. "The proximity of the field of children's literature to the field of education has probably deterred many who mistakenly believe it to be inhabited only by little red hen, Rabbit, and Pooh."² There is plenty of room for study of children's literature not only because it influenced future generations--Charles Dickens argued that it would be hard to estimate the amount of gentleness, mercy, courtesy, consideration for the poor, kindness toward animals, love of nature and other influen-

¹Nineteenth Century Children and "Priscilla Wakefield," respectively.

ces which came to him and to his generation through the slight channels of children's books.¹ The slight channels of juvenile books in the eighteenth century, while not so deep as many adult works of the same period, clearly reflect and share the same currents of the age and perhaps more easily lead one back to the emotional, literary and philosophical sources of the century.

¹ Charles Dickens, "Frauds on the Fairies," Household Words, VIII (October 1, 1853), p. 97.
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I am indebted in the bibliography and elsewhere to Miss Judith St. John of the Toronto Public Library for permission to consult the unpublished bibliography which Mr. Herbert Algar was working on before his death. Though incomplete, the Algar bibliography, the product of many years of research in the British Museum, was especially useful in the listing of references to articles in periodicals, especially of the late nineteenth century.
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