SMITH, Alice Margaret Gullen, 1911-
SIGNIFICANT ENCOUNTERS: A CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL EVALUATION OF LANDMARKS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF IMAGINATIVE LITERATURE PRINTED IN ENGLISH FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH, 1658--1865; AND THEIR AVAILABILITY IN FIFTEEN SELECTED GREAT LAKES AREA COLLECTIONS.

Wayne State University, Ed.D., 1966
Education, teacher training

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan
SIGNIFICANT ENCOUNTERS: A CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL EVALUATION OF LANDMARKS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF IMAGINATIVE LITERATURE PRINTED IN ENGLISH FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH, 1658—1865; AND THEIR AVAILABILITY IN FIFTEEN SELECTED GREAT LAKES AREA COLLECTIONS

by

Alice Margaret Gullen Smith

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Office for Graduate Studies, Graduate Division of Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

1966

MAJOR: TEACHER EDUCATION

APPROVED BY: 

[Signatures]

[Date: 8/5/1966]
DEDICATION

To my two equally dear Mothers:
The young Alice who first read to me from
these tales and verses; Mabel of my young
adult and now mature years, whose favorites
are included here.
And to my Father, George Edgar Cullen, Sr.,
now eighty-four, whose scholarship has deep
roots in the past.
PREFACE

It was my original intent to dedicate this work to the late Eloise Ramsey who, for many years, was the head of Children's Literature at Wayne State University. It was she who first gave me the idea which became this dissertation. Many of her own books as well as the books in the Wayne State University collection which bears her name make up a part of the library resources which I used for data gathering. This dissertation could be called the first piece of research which has fundamentally come from that collection.

As my work grew, however, I began to realize how many people were responsible for the form it has finally taken. The only way to give credit is to describe those people here.

Eloise Ramsey was very like Charles Darwin. She was a unique and scholarly person with a genius all of her own. She grew up in a childhood rich with the best children's books. She was able to share that richness with many students but for other students she needed interpretation. Darwin had his Huxley. Late in Professor Ramsey's life, she found a Huxley in Florence Damon Cleary, then chairman of the University's Library Science Department. Possessing a childhood that was similar in experiences rich with books, Professor Cleary was equally dedicated to the belief that this heritage must be maintained and shared.
It was Professor Cleary, who in collaboration with Dr. Flint Purdy, head of the University Libraries, drafted a successful proposal for a grant from the Detroit McGregor Foundation. This procured a small stipend for Professor Ramsey as "librarian-in-charge" to build a children's rare book collection. There were also funds for book selection and equipment. Two major collections resulted, The Ramsey Collection of Rare Books for Children and Youth and the Historical Collection with its sub-collection of magazines which includes every issue of both St. Nicholas and The Youth's Companion.

Professor Cleary ordered shelving with locked cases for the Ramsey Collection and open shelves for the Historical Collection. She saw to it that a separate catalog was purchased and located in the fourth floor library adjacent to the Ramsey Collection and easily accessible. She also arranged for a seminar room in which the Historical Collection and the magazines were housed.

Until her death, Professor Ramsey selected the books herself, a never ending process now completely taken over by Mr. Manheim who has always done the ordering. Mr. Howard Sullivan, then head of the University Library Acquisitions Department, tracked down and purchased such important personal collections as the "Beauchamp." This kind of purchase adds immeasurably to the value of institutional collections such as the Ramsey.

Miss Joan Cusenza of the University Library's cataloging department eventually became the sole cataloger of the Ramsey Collection. As a friend, admirer, and able student, and through her close work with the
growing collection, Miss Cusenza came to understand Professor Ramsey's purposes and her unique arrangement of the books better than any other colleague. Her knowledge and love of the books has also increased. As she pursues the Ramsey notes and compiles a catalog of representative titles from the collection, Miss Cusenza is becoming one of the most valuable resources the University is fortunate to possess. My gratitude is extended to her for the generous way in which she has shared notes, knowledge, and books with me.

Contrary to a maligning image of the librarian, other librarians have been equally generous with their friendliness and their aid. All of the librarians-in-charge of the surveyed collections answered letters promptly, welcomed me to their domains, treated me with every courtesy, duplicated material, spent time looking up hard to locate data, answered my every question. My remembrance of the survey visits will always be some of the most pleasant in my life.

Two "old" friends and two new went far beyond the pleasantry of one-day courtesies. The "old" friends were Marion Young, chief of children's services at the Detroit Public Library, and the late Frances Brewer, head of the Rare Book Room, also at the Detroit Public Library.

Marion Young "loaned" me her office until I was fortunate enough to obtain my number 13 carrel at the Main Library. She helped me go through the shelf list of the Children's Historical Collection; she took me to the stacks and saw that I could put my hands on the books I needed; and she sent me interloans of more than a dozen books that have been indispensable to my work. This took many hours out of her busy schedule.
The late Frances Brewer, too, gave me the run of her stacks and boxes of books. She helped me rummage and forage. Dusty, we sat on stepladders and talked about the format and contents of the books.

The two new friends live miles apart. Each knows about the other and admires her work. Neither has met. The first is Sister Mary Muriel Tarr, C. S. A., of Martin College in Fond du Lac, Wisconsin. She loaned me, a complete stranger, her thought provoking and beautifully written thesis, "Children's Books in England From 1800-1900." Neither she nor I expected that my use of her work would be for so long a period of time. I gratefully acknowledge her trust and the fine quality of her scholarship. So pleased was I with this quality that I introduced Sister Muriel by way of her book to my other new friend, Judith St. John of the Osborne Collection in the Toronto Public Library, Boys' and Girls' House.

Miss St. John is librarian-in-charge at Osborne and compiler of that beautiful and classic source book, The Osborne Catalog. She welcomed me, alone, with my class, and then with my daughter Martha in memorable visits. She allowed us complete access to all of the books, files, card catalogs, and notes. She brought out German and Scandinavian source books for Martha to translate for me while I translated the French. She treated me as a long lost friend. It is true that long ago my family came from Toronto, that our fathers went to the same university and were "dissenting" ministers of the same cloth, that we even discovered long ago friendships between some of our people but this discovery came after the initial help and courtesy given to an unknown visitor.
With one exception, a memorable class trip, my visits to Toronto were of several days duration. A great deal of my reading was done at Osborne. It was there that I cut my original list of five hundred titles down to two hundred. It later dwindled to the 159 listed on the worksheet, finally to the 123 annotated in the body of the study. I came early in the morning, left late at night. During each of these visits and in our frequent communications, Judith St. John was enthusiastic, gentle, and unflagging in her help. It can truly be said that without her much of what is verifiable, important, and of unique interest would never have been included in this dissertation.

One helpful person I met only over the telephone and by letter. This is d'Alte Welch, the writer of that great Bibliography of American Children's Books to 1820 that has taken so many work filled years to complete. While I was in Cleveland, both Mr. Welch and his family (wife and children) invited me out to see their famous private collection. Mr. Welch was leaving for out of town and I had flown in for a long eighteen-hour day. It was impossible for me to get to their home and keep within the necessity of my time schedule but their warm invitation by phone and later by letter still glow in my mind.

Coming back home again to Wayne, there is last but not least, "Ted" Manheim. Everybody at Wayne knows "Ted," the Education Librarian on the fourth floor of the General Library. Along with his numerous other duties, "Ted" always did Miss Ramsey's book orders. He does them still. His is the major responsibility for the continued building of both the Ramsey and the Historical Collections. He is a modest but knowledgeable
man. He loaned me a key to the locked cases. He advised me of new acquisition: that would be helpful to me. He allowed me the "interloan" privilege of too many books to mention. Every dissertation writer needs a professional friend like Theodore Manheim. Very few writers are as fortunate as I.

These are a few of the people who helped me realize that there was no one professional person to whom I could rightfully dedicate this work. It seemed to me that most of the people who believed in a heritage of children's books had grown up in an environment lush with these books. This was true in our own family. Many of the stories, poems, and rhymes are so inextricably a part of my childhood that to read them evokes long corridors of thought. I hear my mother reading Eliza Lee Follen's "Three Little Kittens," or "The Night Before Christmas," or "This is the House that Jack Built." I see my brother, sister, and myself playing Robinson Crusoe with a wheelbarrow island in the backyard. I laugh at myself teaching the letters as Goody Two-Shoes did, not knowing that this was Locke's method, not knowing Locke. I feel my own three children pressed against me as we wished on the first star and I told them about the Taylors of Ongar and "Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star."

My father still reads aloud from his worn green leather book of Songs of Innocence or recites Edmund Lear. His great grandchildren now listen to "Little Lamb, Who Made Thee?" or laugh at the rhyming antics of Mr. Lear. Grandmother Mabel, the second Mother, reads aloud from Alice. She is half blind but her heart knows the words. These are the materials that build a heritage. And this is the reason that I dedicate
my work to my two mothers (the sweet young woman and the equally sweet eightyish grandmother) and to my father. They represent those other mothers and fathers of Eloise Ramsey, of Florence Cleary, of Judith St. John, who gave the heritage to their children, some of whom were scholars, as is my father, in other areas but never felt themselves to be "above" the literature of childhood.

In a more present workaday world, very special thanks goes to my doctoral committee chaired by Professor Wilhelm Reitz, chairman of the Evaluation and Research Department for the College of Education at Wayne State University. I doubt if any doctoral committee has ever been more supportive or more agreeable. The committee members represent greatly diverse areas: Professor Thelma James of international folklore fame; Dr. Juanita Collier of Psychology and the special advocate of Creativity; Dr. Ruth Ellsworth of Teacher Education Experimental Programs and Socio-Historic studies; and Dr. Flint Purdy, the already mentioned head of the Wayne State University Libraries.

Dr. Purdy directed me to bibliographic sources for models unknown to me. Without his realizing it, his keen questions helped me sharpen and clarify my problem. Dr. Ellsworth assessed the background essays and gave valuable hints which resulted in a part of the format of the dissertation. Dr. Collier sparked my preliminary investigation of such psychologists as Jerome Bruner, Ernest Schactel, and the Getzels-Jackson team. It was this inquiry as much as any other factor that led me to wonder about the place of imagination in the development of a literature for children. Professor James, my friend and literary guide since 1929,
is responsible for whatever quality is good in my writing. The errors are my own. My drafts followed her around the Orient. She took time to correct and mail them flying back to me.

Dr. Reitz has guided me from the moment I entered the doctoral program. It is an anomaly of fate that he should have chosen and been as patient with so divergent a student as I. I am sure the Evaluation and Research Department has never before sponsored so non statistical a piece of research. Yet, Dr. Reitz has encouraged me, and never stilled when he thought praise was merited. He has been meticulous in his evaluation. His perceptions have been uncannily correct. I am proud that he has been my adviser.

As every graduate of a doctoral program knows, few dissertations can be successfully completed without expert secretarial assistance of a very special quality. Angela King of the Library Science Department did the query letters, the proposal, and the drafts of the first section of the dissertation. But my good friend, Carolyn Trent of Education Admissions, has carried the brunt of the work: the check lists, the beautiful charts, several drafts, the final copy. Neither she nor I dreamed that the work would be so extensive. Some people would have thrown up their hands in horror but Carolyn found other people to help with the typing. Such people as Carolyn are the unsung heroines of every graduate school. There is no adequate "Thank you."

One final word must be said. While all my family has been helpful and most patient: brother, sisters, all three children and their spouses; the most helpful, the most patient of them all has been my husband, Norman. Very few men are proud of a wife who reaches for a doctorate. Norman has helped me reach.
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PART I
INTRODUCTION

Children's Literature: Heritage of the Past

During the first excitement engendered by a revival of interest in the origins of creativity, misunderstandings developed between the two cultures of science and the humanities. C. P. Snow had much to say about this rift and the seriousness of its effects on adults and the world in which they live.¹

Many psychologists warn that today's child is also faced with serious conflicts. Four of these psychologists speak to the quality and kind of literature which feeds young minds.

Jacob W. Getzels and Phillip W. Jackson in their book, Creativity and Intelligence, state:

There is ample evidence that the criteria of factualism and usefulness . . . are being insinuated into many childhood experiences once viewed as the happy hunting ground for . . . children. [Imaginative literature is frowned upon.] Rumpelstiltskin and Goldilocks on the child's bookshelf are being shouldered aside by Nurse Nancy and Mr. Fixit. . . . Here the key adjectives are "realistic" and "educational". . . . Instead of "imaginative" or "exciting" or even just plain "enjoyable," If there is not time enough for the younger child to read a fairy tale, how can there be any time at all for the adolescent and the adult to read a poem—much less to compose one?²

²Jacob W. Getzels and Phillip W. Jackson, Creativity and Intelligence: Explorations with Gifted Students (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1962), p. 121.
In their book, Getzels and Jackson refer to Schactel as a scholar who reveals the psychological realities which lie behind today's glibly used terms: "organization man," "inner directed," "outer directed." Schactel, himself, uses the terms "allocentric" and "autocentric," and "embeddedness," explaining that the stereotype organization man reads only what is prescribed for him by today's culture, turning from one current best seller to another, forgetting his need for a classic type of literature. This need begins in childhood, but another need, to be practical in a world of danger, causes him to lose sight of what could sustain him. This blindness causes him also to lose sight of his ability to be creative. He fears the unknown of creativity. Schactel states that he refuses to grow and becomes "embedded in a cocoon of short sightedness."2

Schactel calls the sustaining literature "significant encounters" which must begin in childhood. Only the mature adult is able to continue these encounters for "inherent in every real encounter with either a work of art, a myth, a fairy tale is an active effort of the total personality..."3 This total involvement of self is the goal of every (healthy) personality.

1ibid.


3ibid., p. 262.
Bruner, the fourth psychologist, speaks of a "grammar of metaphor" which can only come from early and intimate knowledge of the myth, the fairy tale, and the literature of great religions. 1

Schactel reinforces Bruner, "For the greater part of history, people read or listened to the same stories many times. This is as true of the Bible as it is of the Arabian Nights; and it is equally true of the sermons of Buddha."

Such concern is not new to the twentieth century. All through the history of children's literature there have been the suppressors of imaginative literature and the liberators. Chaucer's "Wife of Bath" bemoaned, "... no man can see elves mo." 3 Lamb, piqued at not being able to find a copy of Goody Two Shoes in a book store, wrote to Coleridge, "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 ... [without] being fed with tales of old wives fables in childhood." 4

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2 Schactel, op. cit., p. 261.
Pushed by the sociological phenomena that are indigenous to an age of space, librarians and teachers who are concerned with children's literature find themselves facing this misunderstanding as defined by C. P. Snow.\(^1\) Increasing explosions of population, knowledge, governmental theories, strivings for individual and group freedoms, and the thin hope for survival have made the quest for better ways of teaching the old wisdoms and the new technologies so urgent that delight may be lost altogether.

The resultant changes in the character of American education have precipitated redefinition of aims, content, and skills in all discipline areas. Some of these disciplines are involved in the restructuring of the teaching of English, one part of which is children's literature. Multi-level teachers of English as well as professionally trained librarians in schools and children's service divisions of public libraries now find more goals in common than they once recognized.

Psychologist Jerome Bruner and English professor Northrop Frye add to this ferment in education, for Bruner proposes "teaching according to the structure of each discipline,"\(^2\) and Frye describes his version of the structure of English. Much of it is built with the forms of literature considered to be the materials of children's literature.\(^3\)

\(^1\) Supra, p. 2.

\(^2\) Bruner, op. cit., pp. 6-7. On page 3, Bruner states, "To learn structure . . . is to learn how things are related." He amplifies this definition on pp. 51-53.

Bruner proposes the "grammar of metaphor." Frye defines the "motive for metaphor" as man's "desire to associate with" and finally to identify with what goes on outside." This is an extension of the imaginative framework that reaches from early mythology, legends, and folk tales to the literary forms of fiction, drama, and poetry that are found alike in adult and in children's literature.

The common goals of teaching literature are stated by such diverse scholars as Pooley, Gross, Meckel, Haviland, and Frye, as well as by those people who serve on committees formed by the National Council of Teachers of English and the many library groups concerned with children's work. Some of the goals are:

2. Frye, loc. cit.
1. To broaden, deepen, and enrich the imaginative life of the student.
2. To teach the child his mother tongue and its variety of uses.
3. To extend horizons through individualized reading.
4. To elevate taste in reading.
5. To transmit the cultural and humanistic heritage as it is found in literature.
6. To delight.

Such experiences are entirely separated from the mechanics of learning to read, either as a beginning or as a remedial process. Teaching literature demands its own techniques, skills, and knowledge. The more the teacher works directly with children or is training teachers who will work with children, the more these techniques involve the arts of storytelling and of reading aloud to groups. Teachers at all levels are concerned with book selection and with both group and individual reading guidance.

A statement by Mary Gould Davis concerning the major skills it takes to make a storyteller applies to any area of the literature teaching process:

1) A knowledge of the literature. (Based on firsthand knowledge of the books, and ability to discern which books are of value. Such critical analysis comes slowly, after much reading, much comparison.)
2) Complete command of one's own resources as its interpreter.

Power, Haviland, and Hardendorff emphasize the importance of this lifelong firsthand knowledge of children's books themselves as distinguished from the reading of secondary sources—books of criticism. None of the tasks of the teacher of literature or the children's librarian can be accomplished without such knowledge.

Well trained teachers possessing all these skills are needed more than ever. Schools are bulging from the population explosion. New knowledge is crowding for admission to every curriculum area. At the same time, research in the field of teacher education discloses evident lacks, both in teacher preparation and in the teaching act itself. This dual inadequacy is found at both the elementary and secondary levels. Many teachers dislike their curriculum areas or the materials they are using. This is in direct opposition to Lou LaBrant's statement that "[sic]... the teacher of English must love reading," and "[sic]... show through example how an intelligent human selects, studies, thinks about the materials in his chosen field."^5

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^2 Haviland, op. cit., p. 21.
^4 Meckel, op. cit., p. 999. (Meckel cites Pooley as well as others.)
Finally, there is little common agreement as to what is worth teaching. In the much quoted words of William Riley Parker, even graduate students whose major interest is literature often have no common knowledge of "... the simplest Bible story, or myth, ... or fairy tale, or piece of children's literature." This means no common knowledge of the materials which form the structure of the discipline of English.

The literature of research in librarianship itself is sadly lacking in research that pertains to the teaching or investigation of children's literature. Gross comments on the increasing numbers of library positions in children's work with a dearth of people to fill them. If the positions are filled with untrained people, then some sort of compensatory or on the job training must go on in the institutions that hire them. There is a great need for ways to increase opportunities for library school training in children's work. At the same time, there is fear for the quality of training that now exists. "Classes must cover more and more subject matter to expose all students to the ever widening scope of library service." Within those library training schools whose requirement is only a year of graduate work for a library degree, some phase of the work must be neglected. It is often the training for work with children that has no priority.

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2 Gross, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
Some library administrators burdened with many conflicting duties and specially trained in technology, business administration, or academic librarianship may not recognize the need for the great amount of specialized training demanded in the area of children's work, nor the need for book collections of adequate size to aid in such training. This situation is not new. Spencer G. Shaw traces some incidence of the oversight. Against this he balances the problems inherent in the need to specialize, the need of an adequate overview of librarianship. He clarifies the reasons for the occasional lack of administrative understanding of the problems posed by these two legitimate needs.¹

Any collection is bound to contain books of differing qualities. Here the student is enabled to compare and evaluate. He may see for himself the development of writing for children. Many children's rooms in public libraries, in addition to collections of books maintained for the use of children, maintain historical collections of children's books. These are for the use of adults, both children's graduate librarians and for the persons employed without professional training. These collections, which may or may not contain rare books, are often available to other seriously interested people. They have not been made only for the rarity of the books but also for the sake of understanding and enjoying the forerunners of today's juveniles. Colleges, universities and library schools in which emphasis is placed upon the preparation of

professional teachers and children's librarians strive for such historical collections and for a staff to use these important resources wisely, both for knowledge and for pleasure.

Effie Powers in the still quoted classic, Library Service for Children, presents the unchanged view of the Board of Education for Librarianship of the American Library Association:

The professional preparation of the children's librarian is no different in quantity or quality from the training of librarians in other fields. The content of the curriculum is different. To the fundamentals of library science common to all well organized curricula, there are added courses in the literature of childhood, book selection, story telling, child psychology, the study of reading habits, and the sources of folklore, ..., The curriculum should also include some instruction in educational methods, especially in this day of changing standards of teaching and experimental education. ¹

Professionally trained school librarians (who must have teacher certification as well as training in librarianship) have the same need for quality education of those "different" curriculum elements discussed by Powers if they are to maintain school libraries which go "beyond the requirements of the instructional program, and unfold for the many private quests of children and young people the imagination of mankind."²

The needs, as stated at the Project English Conference, are for research that will:

¹Powers, op. cit., p. 301.

1) Set up a common foundation of literature which will promote the achievement of the listed goals, provide a "grammar of metaphor," and build a multi-level understanding of the structure of English as a discipline.

2) Give teachers an opportunity to know important literature materials so thoroughly that they will enjoy them and continue this enjoyment through their teaching.

Two Dimensions of the Study's Purpose

One form of reality lies in children's books, the life that is lived in and through them. These books are the primary sources for this study. Reflection of that reality can be found in the secondary sources, those materials written about the children's books by bibliophiles, librarians, historical scholars, sometimes by teachers of literature, and of the history of children's literature.

Working through these two dimensions, this critical and analytical historical study is designed as one way of meeting the needed research. The twofold purpose is:

A) To set up a model collection of titles significant as "landmarks" in the writing of imaginative literature for children and youth printed in English during the years 1658-1865. This list could be used as a selection tool for college and library school teachers of survey courses in children's literature.

B) To augment the usefulness of this selection tool, the critically annotated titles which make up the body of the instrument are

\[\text{1Needed Research in the Teaching of English, op. cit., p. 51.}\]
built into a Union Catalog of fifteen Great Lakes Area collections of books for children.¹ These collections are treated in terms of: (1) holdings of the titles according to any edition, and (2) the services available to teachers, librarians, and other scholars interested in using any of the listed holdings.

There are two sets of questions to be answered by this study. The first set is concerned with furthering purpose A.

1. The titles which can be used as representative "landmarks."

2. What the reference books have written about the history of children's books have to say about these titles in terms of:
   a) landmark place of the book itself;
   b) publisher's information about the first edition;
   c) historical and/or sociological forces producing each book and reflected in each book;
   d) anecdotal evidence about the author and the first illustrator (if there is an illustrator);
   e) purpose of the author in writing the book;
   f) information on the illustrations if any;
   g) other works similar to or inspired by this title.

3. Which of these books are still in print as of December, 1964.

4. How readable these titles are today in terms of literary criticism of children's books.

5. How representative these books are of the subject categories used in classifying children's books in the 1960's.

¹See Part II, Chapter III for the list of collections.
The second set furthers purpose B.

1. Holdings of the collections surveyed in the Great Lakes Area in terms of the "landmark" titles selected for purpose A.

2. Editions of the "landmark" titles held in these categories in terms of:
   a) earliest edition,
   b) abridgements,
   c) condensations,
   d) chapbooks,
   e) number of illustrated editions,
   f) most important illustrated editions,
   g) printed with other materials,
   h) selections from,
   i) holograph copies,
   j) facsimile copies,
   k) latest edition.

3. Services offered by the fifteen collections in these terms:
   a) Shelving of the books.
   b) Checklist or card catalog available for checking or other uses.
   c) Printed catalog, supplement.
   d) Other available printed material.
   e) Kinds of study facilities (if any) available.
   f) Permission for class visits.
   g) Permission for individual visits.
h) Hours and days the collection or library is open.
i) Regularly scheduled lectures.
j) Lectures on request.
k) Availability of interloan privileges.
l) Form of duplication available or permissible.

The Significance of the Study

The study is significant in that it meets the needs so succinctly stated in the Project English Conference on Needed Research in the Teaching of English.¹

The present study sets up a number of works in children's literature, including the myth, the fairy tale, and the Bible story suggested by William Riley Parker, which could be used as a common foundation of literature providing a "grammar of metaphor," and building towards multi-level understanding of the structure of English as a discipline.

This study gives teachers of children's literature an opportunity to know specific materials in the history of children's literature so thoroughly that they will enjoy them and communicate this enjoyment through their teaching.

The study is significant in that it ties together the information presented by a great number of respected and worthwhile references in the field for those who are new to the professional literature.

The study is significant in that it identifies which "landmark" titles are available for reading in a variety of early editions in terms

¹Needed Research in the Teaching of English, op. cit.
of the services offered by those collections holding the titles, in
terms of those titles which are still in print.

The study is significant as a book selection tool for those
college and library school staffs who are desirous of setting up a
collection of "landmarks" for use in teaching history of children's
literature. Through review of the annotations they may decide which
titles meet their selection needs. Through availing themselves of
duplication privileges offered by the surveyed institutions, they may
purchase duplicated copies as their budgets allow. The list of titles
available in print permits a choice of many "landmarks" that may be
purchased in either hard or soft covers.

Assumptions Governing the Significance of the Study

The study and its significance are based upon the following
assumptions:

1. The major assumption: a common body of children's literature
which needs to be known by all people who work with children and books
can be extrapolated from present reference materials about such litera-
ture, and does exist in primary form in a great number of easily access-
ible institutional collections of early books for children.

2. Primary sources need to be studied for the learning in depth
which is so necessary for the effective understanding and teaching of
early books for children.

3. Secondary source materials have become so numerous that they
need to be summarized in a form easily available to those people who are
concerned with teaching survey courses in the history of children's
literature in colleges and library schools.

4. Critical historical studies such as this are important in that they add to the body of significant knowledge in the discipline about which they are written.

5. The validity of the choice of titles for a model collection must be tested in further research which cannot be a part of this study.

6. Current research in creativity supports the idea of the importance of a child's early acquaintance with "metaphor" and "analogy" as found in the works of imaginative literature.

Definition of Terms

Bibliographic Form

According to the style and form prepared by the H. W. Wilson Company in their book catalogs for the use of librarians, teachers, and booksellers as book selection tools.

Catalog

Synonymous with the large telephone directory size book in which book titles are entered in any of several arrangements (chronologically by publication date, alphabetically by title, subject, or surname of author) with relevant bibliographic detail and with comments assessing the value of the entries as well as describing their content in a narrative called "annotation." Such an annotation may be as short as fifty words, as long as five hundred, excluding the bibliographic format from the word count,
Collections of Children's Books

Thirteen of the collections are listed in Ash's Subject Collections, two are in Welch. Those selected by Welch are collections of rare books for children. Among the fifteen selected for this study no distinction has been made as to the basis of selection other than: for children, rare, or historical, housed by an educational institution. The study is concerned with only a selective number of the books containing imaginative literature.

Imaginative Literature

May be poetry; folklore such as nursery rhymes, fairy tales, legends, sagas as written down for children; fiction as a literary term denoting not factual although characters and happenings may give a semblance of reality. To be distinguished from belles lettres in that the latter refers to "artistic writings worthy of being remembered." Other terms used for children's literature by the sources to be quoted are: juveniles, books for the nursery, etc. Of these, only books such as imaginative juveniles etc. are used.


3Webster's Unabridged Dictionary, 2d ed.
Landmarks

The Oxford English Dictionary definitions of landmark are: "boundary, dividing line, benchmark or hallmark." In terms of the study it will be used for a title which is a benchmark representative of a particular author, illustrator, or type of illustration in terms of newness of a subject category of story such as the first "school story."

Librarian

Any professionally trained person whether children's librarian in a public library or a librarian in a school library (who has certification both as a teacher and a librarian). A professional person who has the responsibility for one of the surveyed collections is called "Librarian-in-Charge."
RELATED LITERATURE

The literature reviewed, pertinent to the purposes of the investigation, focuses heavily on four areas concerning children's books from 1638-1865.¹

2. Descriptions of content of children's books.
3. Descriptions of writers of their books, their illustrators (if any), their publishers—with some emphasis upon dates and places of first editions of those books chosen as "landmarks."
4. Sociological and historical influences on children's books and as reflected through children's books.

The investigator began with a "known" list of titles—"known" to her, to librarians in charge of historical collections of children's literature, to many teachers of the history of children's literature. She expected to add to this list from research done in several seemingly disparate disciplines. She consulted the following bibliographic tools for listings in the graduate areas of library science, folklore, education, and children's literature, as defined for use in this study.²

¹See Definition of Terms, p. 17.
²Ibid.
Library Research in Progress describes all research reported to the Library Services Branch of the Bureau of Educational Research and Development. This includes studies sponsored by private or governmental agencies, work for Master's degrees as well as for doctoral degrees, research done by individual staff members of university or library school faculties, and personal research done by professional librarians, some of whom are directors of libraries or supervisors of school library districts, and similar categories.¹

Danton reports all the doctoral research done in library science from the time the first library science doctoral degree was granted in 1936 until June, 1959. He also reports doctoral research in other disciplines related to library science such as history, children's literature, and education (school library work).²

Library Literature is one of the Wilson and Company bibliographic tools. It covers articles, books, research, and gives bibliographies on particular subjects of interest to librarians.³


Only the issues of Dissertation Abstracts published subsequent to June, 1959 were consulted since Danton covers all the information on doctoral research completed prior to that date.¹

There was little material recorded of the kind pertaining to children's literature. Nothing was cited for the history of children's literature that was not already included in the "known" list that, with only a few additions found in unconventional ways, has become "Authorities A," "B," and "C." The investigator examined a number of the microfilmed dissertations listed under children's literature. None proved of value for use in this study.

Although many more have been consulted, twenty-seven works pertaining to the aforementioned areas are reviewed in this section. Final authorities for the majority of first edition dates and publication are Osborne,² Rosenbach,³ Blanck,⁴ and Welch.⁵ This information, ¹Dissertation Abstracts, XX-XXIII (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, July 1959-June, 1963).


⁵Welch, op. cit.
when not within the scope of these reliable four, if found at all, has been located through the use of those standard bibliographic aids, the "Retrospective Lists," entered in Altick and Wright.¹

Each work in "Authorities A" can be found in one of the following categories: Analysis of Children's Classics, Bibliographies, Catalogs, Collections of By-gone Days, General Overview of the Total Period, and Specific Overviews of Limited Periods. Although a brief statement is made about each of the works, five of those in the General Overview class, one in the Bibliographies class, and one in the Catalogs class are relied upon most heavily as sources of information reported, confirmed, or disputed concerning the total period under investigation. Respectively, they are Darton,² Meigs,³ Muir,⁴ Thwaite,⁵ Welch,⁶ and Osborne.⁷ Next in order of reliance in reporting, confirming, and disputing information about the limited periods within the scope of their

²Darton, op. cit.
⁶Welch, op. cit.
individual works are Barry,\textsuperscript{1} Cruse (two works),\textsuperscript{2} Halsey,\textsuperscript{3} the Hewins Lectures,\textsuperscript{4} Sloane,\textsuperscript{5} and Tarr.\textsuperscript{6} The remainder of the groups is used to supplement the data. All groups are described in the following paragraphs.

\textbf{Analysis of Children's Classics}

The lucid style of Hazard, a French professor, together with his lack of bibliographic details almost blinds the reader to his penetrating analyses. In his disarming way, he adds weight to one side of a seesaw of criticism with damning opinions concerning the "regiment" of writers, a clean up squad led by Mrs. Barbauld, Mme. de Genlis, Mrs. Trimmer, and Mrs. Fairchild. His sentiments so clearly agree with

\textsuperscript{1}Florence V. Barry, \textit{A Century of Children's Books} (New York: George H. Doran Co., n.d.).

\textsuperscript{2}Amy Cruse, \textit{The Englishman and His Books in the Early Nineteenth Century} (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., n.d.).

\textsuperscript{3}Amy Cruse, \textit{The Victorians and Their Reading} (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1962).


\textsuperscript{6}M. Muriel Tarr, "Children's Books in England from 1800-1900" (unpublished Master's dissertation, Marquette University, 1940).
those of Lamb and Byron, and so disagree with those of many children
who read and loved much that was written by this overly anxious bevy.

However, Hazard has an almost infallible instinct for choosing
what children everywhere enjoy. He shows this in his survey of
children's literature in France, Germany, and Italy, highlighting
omnipresent delight in the fairy tale.

His comments about children's innate knowledge of what they want
in their reading are quoted wherever anyone has anything to do with
children's reading interests.

They beg for pictures and stories which they immediately
alter or destroy, or turn into something which suits their
own fancy better. And they must have plenty of them, an
abundance, for they are hard to satisfy. We have no sooner
finished telling a tale than they cry: "Begin all over
again!" No sooner have they learned to read, then they
expect wonders of those little black letters that come to
life before their eyes. These magic books are such a joy!
They see a whole new world opening before them, a world in
which they will still be playing, but at far vaster games.

But men in stupidity, not in unkindness, do not listen to the
children, try to sugar-coat morals and lessons with ersatz story lines.

Children and men talk together without understanding each other.

"Give us books," say the children; "give us wings.
You who are powerful and strong, help us to escape into the
faraway. Build us azure palaces in the midst of enchanted
gardens. Show us fairies strolling about in the moonlight.
We are willing to learn everything that we are taught at
school, but, please, let us keep our dreams." 1

Some men still do not listen.

1Paul Hazard, Books, Children, and Men, trans. Marguerite Mitchell

2Ibid., p. 4.
Hazard then, in *Books, Children, and Men*, treats of many things: fairy tales, French, German and Norse; the moralistic women crew of writers who mopped up Lilliputian vice, and spread straw which some children would spin into gold. He thumps hard for *Robinson Crusoe* and other adult oriented heroes adopted by children. He believes in the lines of the nursery rhyme that move alike through great poetry and lesser, through fiction and non-fiction for both the child and the adult with scant recognition of the source. He believes with wonder in the superiority of world northern writers over those of the south. He is more aware of the United States than some critics in that he includes Irving, Hawthorne, and Mark Twain (who does not come within the scope of this study) as among his "greats" for children. He marches in the parade for John Newbery, bearing that wiley old bookseller's slogan, "Trade and Plumb-cake for ever, Huzza!" And finally, he gives usable criteria for what children like in stories.

Green, in *Tellers of Tales*, also deals with writers of classics and with the fairy tale. His classics are of a different vintage than those of Hazard. Although he uses C. S. Lewis of the twentieth century as the last of the important few authors whom he discusses, he gives unusual information about the authors who are included in this study. His chapter on the eighteenth century fantasy is one that should be read by every student of children's literature. In this chapter he points out the hilariousness of Catherine Sinclair who was the first pre-Victorian

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1 Found at the end of many of Newbery's Lilliputian volumes for children.
writer to describe boys and girls as antic playing, lovable, little
monsters. He approves of her extravagant humor.

Green also identifies the weird fairy tale which came from
Scotland to be obscured by its robust companion, the English Jack of
giant killing fame and other similar exploits. He identifies the
school tale, especially the tale for English boys. All of his authors
are English. He admires American authors, but they are not within the
scope of his book.¹

Bibliographies

Of the two bibliographies, both of which are outstanding in their
fields, the older one by Jacob Blanck, *Peter Parley to Penrod: A Bibliog-
graphical Description of the Best-Loved American Juvenile Books*, covers
the world of children's books that are purely American in their origin
of thought, production, and background.² From it, eighteen items have
been selected for the check list of titles to be located and read for the
study.

In his informative preface, Blanck delineates his scope:

... in no sense is this selection offered with the sugges-
tion that it is all-representative. Rather it is a list of
those outstanding books [some of] which have withstood the
years of change in reading tastes and are favorites still.
Certain of the books are seldom read these days but are
included because of their position as milestones in juvenile
reading during the past century. Too, this is an attempt to
direct attention to certain books, once popular that have
been all but forgotten or overlooked and to furnish in broad
strokes a picture of Young America's reading tastes.³

¹Roger Lancelyn Green, *Tellers of Tales* (Leicester, England:

²Blanck, *op. cit.*

³Ibid., p. 1.
With few changes in wording, Blanck's definition of milestones is in accord with the investigator's own definition of "landmarks."

Another interesting aspect of his thinking with which this investigator agrees concerns the importance of his choices. In comparing his attitude with that of some rare book collectors, Blanck states that if significance is to be a measure of selection, then "... just consider the effect that Rollo or Fauntleroy had not only on juvenile fiction but on the juvenile himself."1

The more recent of the two bibliographies, d'Alte Welch's "A Bibliography of Children's Books Printed Prior to 1821," has been underway for twenty-two years.2 When completed, it will cover all of the books indicated in its title and definition of "narrative books for children" held within any collection (both institutional and private) that Welch can find. Working primarily under the aegis of the American Antiquarian Society, visiting collections everywhere, the peripatetic Welch has microfilmed imprints, checked the Library of Congress Union Catalog as well as examined vast numbers of juveniles. All of his findings are not of use in this study. His scope is too vast. And though his "narrative" books exclude many of the categories also excluded by this more selective study, his fine line between "books of instruction" and "books for amusement or leisure reading" becomes erased by his lack of emphasis on "imaginative literature."3

1Ibid., p. ii.

2Welch, op. cit.

3This is no criticism of Welch, simply the difference in scope, highlighting the importance of definition.
In a valuable preface to his bibliography, in addition to useful information concerning the history of several important publishing families, Welch presents conclusions and recommendations derived from his research that are important to this study. The first conclusion implies that anyone who wishes will understand the origins of American children’s books printed prior to 1821. The second implies that it is difficult to assign correct dates of first publication to many titles important in the history of children’s literature.

Welch states the first conclusion, "The majority of American children’s books are reprinted from English children’s books."¹

To illustrate the second conclusion, he presents a table listing the important titles and the many first publication dates assigned to each title by people who, Welch considers, are important in American publishing. He resolves the confusion for himself by identifying the authorities he depends upon for the publication dates which he assigns to the titles he uses in his bibliography.²

His recommendation is: "An extensive bibliography of English children's books needs to be written which at least makes an attempt to make assigned dates and imprints of the same book uniform. It is not within the scope of this book [Welch’s] to do so."³

The present study of children's books, 1658-1865, partially meets Welch's recommendation in that it "attempts to make assigned dates" according to the authorities quoted for those titles and editions.

¹Welch, op. cit., p. 134.
²Ibid., p. 143.
³Ibid., p. 134.
included in the annotated catalog. It is not within the scope of this study to extend such assignment to other titles or editions.

Undoubtedly the Welch bibliography in progress beyond "C" will include the other titles printed before 1821 which are annotated in Part II of this study. Although the printing of the present portion is intended to provide working copies for correction and revision, people in the field look forward to its completion with the same assurance stated by Clifford K. Shipton, "Of the importance of this work there is no need to say anything; it is obviously one of the great bibliographical contributions of our time."

Catalogs

The catalogs, basic reference tools on the shelves of those who know children's literature, have already been mentioned in connection with early bibliographic information. They now will be discussed in the order of further use in this study.

Gumuchian, Les Livres de l'Enfance, containing over 6,000 items was prepared originally for a French bookseller's collection. It includes titles of English, French, German, and American children's books with annotations in the original language in which each book was first written and printed. The introduction is in French and English. Volume I is the catalog with descriptions more of format than of content. Volume II contains plates of the illustrations and in some instances of

1 Ibid., p. 123.

the title pages of the books in the collection. Some of the first editions of titles included in this study can be found only in the one-time Gumuchian collection.¹

Rosenbach's Early American Children's Books covers only ten thousand books. Annotations are graphic and detailed, giving choice bits of authentic information about authors, editions, publishers, and the first American illustrators. The work includes seven firsts among titles on the present study's list and gives information about others. Not only does the introduction give an excellent thumbnail sketch of the development of children's literature in the United States but the catalog with its annotated list of books through description and plates gives wonderful examples of early colonial printing in the United States.²

The Osborne Collection of Children's Books: 1566-1910 is a fully annotated catalog of about 3,000 books. It has been augmented by a small supplement celebrating the opening of new quarters for the collection and recording entries for new acquisitions of other titles within the same dates.

The arrangement of the book is useful. In the preface, Edgar Osborne, the donor of the collection, sketches the development of a literature for children. He places firsts or landmarks in the subject categories used in Boys and Girls House, Toronto Public Library. He

¹The famous collection is housed at the Free Library of Philadelphia. Ellen Shaffer is the head of the rare book section and devotes much time and care to the children's books.

²Rosenbach, op. cit.
outlines the purposes, in terms of use, of the collection. These purposes are similar in scope to those the investigator of this study employs in setting up her hypothetical collection of landmark books.

Edgar Osborne states his purposes when he describes his pleasure that his

... representative collection of children's books published in England during many past years ... would be available for study at the training school for librarians, ... might prove of benefit to those already ... engaged in library work with children, or in writing or publishing children's books ... 

... in addition to colorful plates from originals of important editions, the book contains an annotated list of engravers and another of publishers and booksellers. There is a separate chronological listing of the editions and titles published, 1566-1799. All of the information given is only for the titles and editions of those titles which make up the Osborne Collection.

Collections of By-gone Days

Although all five of the collections have been compiled by bibliophiles who wish to share their enjoyment of children's "quaint" books, they have more differences in both format and content than they have similarities.

Lucas, in his two books, *Forgotten Tales of Long Ago*¹ and *Old Fashioned Tales*,² presents entire stories which are representative of the years in which they were popular, circa 1790-1830. He traces the development of "the intent to give pleasure in the nursery." The stories read well, even today. In some cases they are the only available printed material of specific titles or representative of authors that the investigator of this study could find in the Great Lakes Area collections of children's books.

Both of Lucas' prefaces explain his personal search for children's literature of the late 18th and early 19th centuries that could be read with pleasure in "modern" days. They also give evidence of his fear (shared by Tuer and James) that stories worthy of being remembered might be forgotten or never known by future generations of children.

Tuer, in describing his two books, *Pages and Pictures from Forgotten Books*³ and *Stories from Old Fashioned Children's Books*,⁴ uses the word "quaint" in much the same fashion as Lucas uses it. Although Tuer presents portions of stories, some entire bodies of one collection of poems, his emphasis is upon variety. He gives no explanation for


cutting some stories off in the middle or even after one page. He
does include "250 amusing cuts" which emphasize his often used term
"quaint."

James, in *Children's Books of Yesterday*, 1 relies almost entirely
upon the use of reproductions from minute parts of children's books.
He includes illustrations, title pages, and samples of print which give
tantalizing glimpses of what children's books once were. There is an
explanatory legend at the bottom of many pages or on opposite pages.
Such legends include information about publishers, illustrators, authors,
historical events, and sometimes story content of the reproductions
which they accompany.

The little verse under the frontispiece in *Old Fashioned Tales*
warns the reader who feels that old fashioned materials are too quaint:

> The children come, the children go;
> Today grows quickly yesterday;
> And we who quiz quaint fashions so
> We soon shall seem as quaint as they. 2

**General Overview of the Total Period**

Of those works giving a general overview of the entire period
covered (1658-1865), Darton is most useful. In his preface to the first
edition (1937), he writes:

1Philip James, *Children's Books of Yesterday* (London: The Studio
Ltd., 1933).

The story of English Children's Books has not yet, so far as I know, been written as a continuous whole, or as a minor chapter in the history of English social life, which is what the present volume is meant to furnish. It has in fact been told only once with any completeness, in Mrs. Field's The Child and His Book (1892). That, however, has no closely sustained argument— I speak without prejudice, because I was a member of the firm which published it—and virtually stops short with the accession of Victoria; thereby omitting, as other works have, the period when children's books in the modern sense really "grew up."

Darton states that he does not intend this to be a collection of "queer facts or antiquarian scraps, but a record of what certain human beings meant to write and their reasons for writing it, if they can be discovered." It is valuable for this very record and for commercial and bibliographic details which only a publisher descended of publishers proud of their books for children could enumerate. He gives some provision for the book collector's point of view (which teachers of literature should know), little to that of the educational historian or psychologist though he does go into detail about expanding influences of Locke and Rousseau. Neither does he attempt to discuss aesthetic merit. Because of his extensive and wholly adequate reference to Mrs. Field and

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1Darton, op. cit., p. 69. Darton's own writing is criticized by college students as going off in all directions at once, "putting information about a subject in too many different places rather than where you can get it all at once." Those people who have read Mrs. Field realize that, in truth, Darton follows through on his belief on the importance of a "closely sustained argument." Mrs. Field writes like a female Hazlitt when it comes to fascination of minute detail and ramble. Darton takes a major thesis: the pattern of what the Englishman was to become in the 1860's was "hammered" into being during the seventeenth century (about 1688). Every stage of his "becoming" has its counterpart in the growth of a literature for children.
to his own other scholarly works such as his chapter (Volume XI, Chapter XV) in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* and his contributions to the tenth edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.1 Darton's views of social history are here followed closely in the sections for each of the historical periods: Puritan, Georgian, and Victorian.

Muir, *English Children's Books, 1600 to 1900*, a bibliophile and book collector, admits his debt to Darton (as do all other scholars in the field). He presents more plates, many in color, with anecdotes about all the topics which are used in annotating the titles chosen for this study. His treatment of illustrators is extensive and his bibliographies about them are useful. His chapter headings utilize many of Darton's phrases. He differs from Darton in that he adversely considers the "monstrous" regiment in which he includes men as well as women of the late 18th and early 19th centuries.2

Adams, *About Books and Children: Historical Survey of Children's Literature*,3 easily more readable but less scholarly than Darton, presents her work in the twentieth century manner of large print and wide margins.

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1 Students need to be aware of these authoritative reference sources and their valuable bibliographies for extensive reading in areas covered by this study as well as in areas not within the scope of this study.

2 Muir, *op. cit.* The same women anathematized by Hazard, *et al*.

that is accepted for textbooks on any level. Her scope is too wide, swinging from educational methods of 'the venerable Bede' down to the twentieth century developments. In between she sandwiches in some of the important titles in the development of children's literature and illustrating. Although the physical limitations of large print and small paragraphs too often preclude the presentation of much information about a given subject, what she states is sound and occasionally contains information which cannot be found elsewhere.

Meigs, *Critical History of Children's Literature*, in scope, covers the same area as Adams with more titles mentioned, more said about each topic. The book is divided into four parts, each written by a different author covering four periods of time. Two are germane to this study: 'Roots in the Past,' up to 1840 (Meigs) and 'Widening Horizons,' 1840-1890 (Eaton). Subject areas of children's books familiar to all twentieth century workers with children and books are introduced. Many titles are included under each section with extensive and good bibliographies enlarging the value of the material offered. Dates and other bibliographic information are not always in accord with those given in other sources, but the quality of feeling for children's books and the amount of material covered for American children's books is invaluable. There are no plates.

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1Meigs, et al., *op. cit.* Without discounting the value of this book, the student should be aware of criticism of bibliographic details given in the *Papers of the Bibliographic Society of America, LVIII* (Second Quarter, 1954), 199-208.
Thwaite, From Primer to Pleasure: An Introduction to the History of Children's Books in England, from the Invention of Printing to 1900. The most recently published of this group of works, slants her material for the use of teachers and librarians. As do the other "Authorities" in this group, she includes primers and other school materials which are excluded by the limitations of this study. Her chapter on such material, however, does not detract from her heavy emphasis upon the social conditions which influenced children's books and which showed through them a prime consideration throughout this study. She puts little comparative emphasis upon illustration although her book does contain a middle section of black and white reproductions. Her presentation is lucid without being juvenile (even in her discussion of the intricacies that were family relationship and business in the world of early publishers of juveniles). Though written from the point of view of an Englishwoman for material to be used primarily in England, she, nevertheless, manages to present more American titles and more about many of these titles than can often be found elsewhere. Important bibliographies are annotated. Each chapter has its own listing of page references to important material touched upon but not exhaustively covered in the text. Next to Darton and Osborne, this is one of the most comprehensively useful of the works reviewed for purposes of this study.

1Thwaite, op. cit.
Specific Overviews of Limited Periods

Of the eight books in this group, the two works of Cruse supply background and reading habits shared by every member of the middle class Victorian family. Cruse's two titles are *The Englishman and His Books in the Early Nineteenth Century* and *The Victorians and Their Reading*.\(^1\)

The first of these titles focuses attention upon the readers of the books that were coming into existence, in the forms of new types of writing, during the period from 1790 to 1837. The second of the titles puts the same focus upon those people who read during the early years of Victoria's reign. The primary emphasis in both books is upon what books adults read. The inference and sometimes the plain statement is that in reading families the books of the adult were also claimed by the child. In Victorian families there was much stress upon reading aloud to the entire family. This encouraged children of all ages to continue reading on their own. In this fashion the Waverly novels, the Leather Stocking series, the Pickwick Papers all became a part of the common literary background. This was not true of all children. Cruse states the many reasons for underscoring the differences between such adult books made beloved through family contagion and the adult books which children adopted themselves.

Tarr's study, "Children's Books in England from 1800-1900,"\(^2\) gives great critical literary analysis of a selected number of titles and authors of the nineteenth century, together with many excellent citations

\(^1\)Cruse, *op. cit.*

\(^2\)Tarr, *op. cit.*
from Darton, Gardner and Ramsey, and others in "Authorities A." She cites copious and apt quotations from the children's books themselves and from several early anthologies of children's literature. Her viewpoint is that of an educator, well versed in the art of literary criticism, scholarly, interested in children's books of other years and their implications for children and their literature today. This work is one of the two that were prepared as work leading toward a graduate degree from an American university. The theme concerns itself with this question: "Of what materials and according to what patterns were the children's books written in England from 1800-1900 fashioned?" In conclusion she asks several questions for three of which there are partial answers in the present study:

1. To what extent do they children's books reflect the political and historical temper of the time?
2. To what extent did children's books produced in England influence those produced in America and vice-versa?
3. To what extent do they reflect the "attitudes towards" childhood during the 19th century?

Sloane, Children's Books in England and America in the Seventeenth Century, is the second of the group whose original work was done as research for a university. The books he discusses are the precursors by a century of those discussed in Tarr's work. He authenticates what was read by whom during the Puritan era, and what the attitudes were toward books. He appends a check list of annotated and well documented titles after his historical chapters.

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2Tarr, op. cit., p. 1. 3Ibid. 4Sloane, op. cit.
Halsey, *Forgotten Books of the American Nursery,* is the bridge between Sloane and Tarr. Her thorough coverage of American children's books from pre-Revolutionary War days is concerned with sociological as well as with historical reflections. Since the great majority of early books used in the United States were English in origin, she includes some titles that were touched upon by Sloane. Halsey's time span is more extensive. She runs up into the first part of the area covered by Tarr. The three works complement each other, each adding what the others cannot contribute.

Barry, in *A Century of Children's Books,* covers children's books from 1700 to 1825. Her chronology is good although it needs comparison with those in more recent works. Her chapter on chapbooks and ballads sheds light on Puritan and Georgian days. Barry vividly discusses the influence that eastern stories have on the fairy tale. She adds significant details to the portion on the Lilliputian Library. Her section that traces the growth of poetry for children is unexcelled and is the basis in this study of criticism and evaluation in the annotations of children's poetic works.

*The Hewins Lectures* is a collection of lectures that have been presented by New England residents over the years from 1947-1962 to discuss "the writing and publishing of children's books in New England's fertile years." Although other sections have also been cited, the

1Halsey, op. cit.  
2Barry, op. cit.  
3The Hewins Lectures, op. cit., p. vii.
lectures from which materials have been used most extensively in this
study are Alice Jordan's "Introduction to the Whole of the 19th Century
all material about Jacob Abbott, about the American Sunday School
Movement, and the information in Sir Andrews' "Criticism and Reviewing
of Children's Books."

The remainder of the books are supplementary but important.
Gardner and Ramsey, Handbook of Children's Literature, have long been
recognized authorities in knowing equally well the fields of adult and
of children's literature. Their text is bibliographically correct
although in sad need of updating. Their section on the history of
children's literature is as good as anything that has been written and
has been extensively quoted by the American authorities who have written
since the Gardner and Ramsey work was first published. Their criteria
are excellent.¹

In Fingerposts to Children's Reading, Field discusses many of the
books included in this study in terms of their impact upon character
development.² He often uses the same purposes to advance his theme
that the authors used in writing the books. He stresses the influences
of books in personal lives, in the home, in the school, and in the
Sunday school. He describes the role of the children's library as it

¹Gardner and Ramsey, op. cit.

²Walter Taylor Field, Fingerposts to Children's Reading (Chicago:
A. C. McClurg and Co., 1911).
was in 1911, the publication date of his book. Field emphasizes that he includes "all the great books that every child should love and know, together with a fair representation of other and less important writings . . ."

Summary

In a summary of the related literature, these things are evident. There are a great number of works written about the history of children's books as a subject to be studied, as curiosities for bibliophiles, and about the books themselves in content and in influence. More has been written than can be encompassed in such a review as this. Some of the works give great evidence of long and close association with the children's books as well as with the influence these books have had on children of many generations. Some are concerned primarily with rarity, exact placement of publication time, exact information about the location of printers, and the precise imprints used. Some are concerned with the teaching of this wealth of material to adults who will pass on the heritage. Others are concerned that too much of that which is valuable from the past may be lost in the twentieth century's great production of materials and information.

The topics covered in the literature reviewed that are of most relevance to this study are:

1. The identification and description of "landmarks" in the history of children's literature.

1 Ibid., p. 40.
2. Information about the rise of publishing of children's books.

3. Importance of the authors of "landmark" books.

4. Outlines of the social history of the cultures in which the books for children were written and published.

5. History of the conflict between those people who advocate books of fact for children and those people who advocate books of fantasy.

6. Recommendations for areas of further study in the history of children's books. One recommendation comes from Welch¹ and another from Tarr.²

¹Supra, p. 29.
²Supra, p. 40.
DESIGN AND PROCEDURES

The overall objective of the study is to build a union catalog of no more than 200 or no less than 100 titles significant in the development of imaginative literature for children printed in English, 1658-1865.

Sources of Data for Purpose A

Purpose A of the study, to build the catalog, follows bibliographic, historical, and critical methods of investigation. The data are gathered from library resources, both primary and secondary, available at Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, and at the Osborne Collection, Toronto, Canada. The primary sources are the children's books themselves. The secondary sources are a number of textbooks, bibliographies, and critical historical studies used in teaching the history of children's literature, known to college teachers, librarians, collectors of children's rare books, and librarians-in-charge of collections of historical or rare books for children.

These secondary sources are used as authorities both in the selection of "landmark" titles and in locating information to answer the questions which the study has raised about the titles. Throughout this study these secondary sources are designated as "Authorities A," "Authorities B," "Authorities C," and "Other Authorities."
"Authorities A" contain books which give an overview of one or more periods of writing and printing for children such as the much respected work of Darton. "Authorities B" contain books which treat a particular title or class of works such as Alice in Wonderland or nursery rhymes. "Authorities C" treat the historical or sociological background of the years covered in the study with little or no reference to children's books, e.g., The Georgian Child. The caption, "Other Authorities," is self-definitive.

The complete list for each class is given in the Bibliography, each under its respective heading. Classes "A," "B," and "C" are the basic "Authorities" used for material in the study, referred to when spoken of as "Authorities A," "Authorities B," "Authorities C," or even as "The Authorities." Other authorities are always referred to as "Other." "Authorities A" comprise the group under discussion in the section, Related Literature.

If the catalog is to be a union catalog, then every title in the annotated section of the study must be not only shelved in one of the institutional collections surveyed, but available for the use of the specialized clientele who will need and want to read the book. Due to these stipulations, selection of titles becomes a continuing process throughout the entire study, not ending until after the data received from the survey of the collections have been analyzed.

Criteria and delimitations of the first phase of title selections are listed below:
1. Each title must be suggested by one or more of "Authorities A" as being significant in the development of imaginative literature for children. The classifications of imaginative literature follow those subject headings which are commonly used in children's libraries today. (See the Appendix for the classifications.) "Significant" in this use means: representative of a trend in writing for children (e.g., didactic); illustrations for children (e.g., the Bewicks and their long popular woodcuts); an author who is indicative of a period or significant in himself (e.g., Charlotte Yonge, representative of the Church of England upper-middle class, who yet wrote voluminously in the subject area of family stories, historical stories, young adult novels, etc.); or adult material so decidedly adopted by young people or so instantly and continuously adapted for young people that to think of the title is to equate it as a juvenile rather than as an adult piece of fiction (e.g., Robinson Crusoe).

2. Each title must have been printed in English, in book form, during the years 1658-1865. This does not preclude those few books which were first printed or written in any language other than English. It does mean the first printing in English that was used by children or that became important for them.

3. The title must have been continuously in print at one time or another for five years or more. Granny’s Wonderful Chair was not immediately kept in print. Mary Mapes Dodge remedied this, reprinted the title in 1904; it has never been out of print since.
Although a nice balance of the kinds of material ready by children is sought, it has been necessary to exclude some of the rich sources from which much child lore comes. Chapbooks, magazines, penny dreadfuls, and the fascinating oddities of publishing for children which prevailed during the popularity of the toy-book must be left for the probings of other investigators. It is true that in some few instances material that was first printed in book form for children did later come out in chapbook form. This is indicated in the sections on history and whenever such a form appears and is noted in the card entry of any of the collections surveyed. Some of the titles under discussion were first printed in magazine form. It is the printing of the book, however, that is emphasized and not the magazine. If the title was printed in magazine form before 1865 but not in book form until after 1865, it is excluded from the final title list and is not annotated. Again, a few of the smaller books from time to time have been classed as "Toy-books." Although the class, "Toy-books," is excluded, one or two are discussed for their significance in the production of books for the nursery.

Data Gathering for Purpose A

To facilitate the selection process, four sets of cards have been set up for data about the titles.

The first set of five hundred and ten cards is filed chronologically according to publication date, from the earliest date of 1658 (Comenius' *Orbis Pictus*) to 1865 (*Alice in Wonderland*). The cards indicate author and full title of the book, last name of the Authority.
("A," "B," and "C") who cites the book as a landmark, and a brief statement concerning the significance of the landmark.

The second set is arranged alphabetically by a short title of the children's book. Each title is assigned a sequential Arabic numeral to be used as the title code number for the rest of the study, which allows the investigator to number the cards and papers on which the data are to be written.

The third set of cards is an author file.

The fourth set is introduced when any one of the 510 titles failed to meet any criterion for selection. The fourth set of cards is a classified file. The classes or categories are the criteria for selection of the titles. They may also be the criteria for exclusion. A title is filed under the major criterion on the basis of which it is excluded, then filed chronologically by first date of publication. Whenever two or more cards are filed for the same publication date, they are first arranged alphabetically by author, then by title.

All of the material presented about the content of selected titles is outlined. The data are filed in folders, cross listed by title, author, reference source, and historical period. The major scheme for filing is by the Arabic code number and alphabetically according to short titles. A comprehensive annotation including the bibliographic format has been derived through critical analysis of the content as well as by analysis of the information about the title of

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1 The numbers were not assigned until after the fourth set of cards (discard file) was set up and in use.
each book found in the "Authorities." A check list has been constructed which assures the placing of important categories of material in each annotation in the same sequence.  

Data Processing for Purpose A

The data are presented in narrative form. The scope of each annotation is determined by the amount of relevant materials that is in each authority as well as by the importance of each "landmark." The annotations vary in length, from 60 to 500 words, without bibliographic material.

The bibliographic form is: Arabic code number, first publication date of the book, last name of the author followed by the first name, then initials or other names, pseudonym if any, full title (as given by "The Authorities''), place of publication, publisher, codes of Great Lakes Area institutions holding any edition of the title, and subject category or categories under which the title may fall.

The annotations are arranged chronologically by historical period: Puritan, Georgian, and Victorian. Each group of annotations is preceded by a brief essay given a necessary overview of the cultures which existed during the time writing for children grew.

Data for the historical periods are also kept in file folders. In the beginning there was one folder for each period. As the pattern developed, new folders were prepared using such headings as: Puritan—Attitude towards children; or, Victorian—Influence of Transportation.

1A sample of the check list is in the Appendix.
Sources of Data for Purpose B

Purpose B of the study, to augment the book catalog into a union catalog of fifteen Great Lakes Institutional Collections, follows the survey method. Data have been collected by means of two check lists: (1) significant editions of the titles annotated for Purpose A as found in the holdings of each of the fifteen collections of children's books (Titles and Editions of Titles Held), and (2) services available at each of the fifteen collections for teachers, librarians, and other scholars (Services Available).

The data obtained by the check lists are of several types: (1) dichotomous (yes or no); (2) simple frequencies in numbers of editions of specific dates of editions of titles held by each collection; (3) hours, days, and times of the year collections are open for services; and (4) names: of illustrators, certain publishers whose names are of particular significance in the original publication or pirate-publication of children's books, important people editing content or adding explanatory prefaces or introductions. Without elaborate and superfluous coding, frequencies could not represent the desired data. Those people who would most use the data would be discouraged by material which would demand laborious decoding. However, there are tables which do use simple frequencies and percentages in summarizing. These present the analyses graphically in forms which can be readily interpreted.

Data are hand tabulated to accommodate the scope of both verbal and numerical responses. Data are transcribed from the check lists on which the investigator originally recorded them during surveys of the collections.
Gathering and Processing Data for Purpose B

Institutional data gathering involves a visit to each institution and an interview with the librarian-in-charge of each collection. Extensive correspondence is needed to fit the largest part of such data gathering into a three-month schedule.¹

Correspondence takes many forms:

1. Letters of query introduce the investigator, state the purpose of the study, and invite the librarian-in-charge of the collection to participate in a one-day survey in terms of the purpose of the study. The participation includes a brief semi-structured interview.

2. Letters of confirmation acknowledge receipt of the date-convenient slip, thank the librarian-in-charge for his courtesy, express pleasure at the prospect of meeting him, and advise him of the day and time of the investigator’s arrival.

3. Follow-up letters ask for further participation on the part of the librarian-in-charge or some member of his staff. In event the investigator should discover during review of the data before processing it that some data are missing, she would then ask if it were possible for these to be supplied. A part of this follow-up process is a letter of appreciation.

¹The Quigley Collection at Grand Rapids, Michigan, one of the Detroit Public Library collections, and the Osborne Collection at Toronto, Canada had been visited in 1964. They were visited again in 1965.
4. Each letter of appreciation is a personal one, thanking the librarian-in-charge for the many acts of thoughtfulness given during the course of the visitation. Some of these are mentioned in the Acknowledgements of this study.

The collections visited are listed either in Ash or in Welch. Ash gives a skeleton description of approximately eighty children's collections. His data are dependent upon the returns of a survey form sent by mail.\(^1\) Welch gives more information based on the purposes of his bibliography. Much of Welch's information is derived from his visits to collections.\(^2\)

Data gathering for Purpose B, then, was undertaken by the investigator through scheduled visits to each of the collections. One full day was allotted to each institution outside of the Metropolitan Detroit area. This did not include transportation time.

The tasks accomplished by the investigator are listed in order of priority:

1. Interview, checking Services Available worksheet, discussing the purpose of the collection and its specialties.

2. Transcribing data from the card catalog, shelf lists or other lists available.

3. Reading children's books not available at Detroit or Toronto.

\(^1\)Subject Collections, comp. Lee Ash, \textit{op. cit.}

\(^2\)Welch, \textit{op. cit.}
4. Reading and sometimes zeroxing unusual background material, e.g., material on Thomas Boreman found at the University of Rochester.

5. Examining the collection (the books themselves). Tasks 1 and 2 are basic to this part of the study. If this accomplishment takes all of the time scheduled, the other tasks cannot be undertaken.

Five of the institutions to be visited were located in Chicago and Wisconsin. These visits were scheduled to take place during a one-week block of time. During the first visit (at the University of Chicago, Brittanica Collection), the investigator found that the Services Available worksheet was adequate but that the Titles and Editions of Titles Held worksheet was not.¹

Using the coded short title card file, the investigator had constructed a Title and Editions of Titles inventory booklet. This was hectographed in worksheet form. One hundred and fifty-nine titles were included. The titles ran vertically down the left-hand column. Categories to be checked were in columns to the right of the title list. The categories paralleled the questions asked to further the first part of Purpose B.

¹See samples of worksheets in Appendix.
Validating the Instrument

The errors included the omission of important titles (such as Aesop), the inclusion of titles that, in the judgment of many librarians-in-charge, did not belong in a children's collection (such as Pickwick Papers), the omission of categories of editions held by some collections, and insufficient room to transcribe all of the data sought for each title.

The investigator recorded the necessary data on the backs of the worksheets, thus saving her the delay of return trips. Upon her return to Detroit, the doctoral committee gave valuable suggestions for designing a new instrument.

The redesigned and reliable instrument is mimeographed on large fold-in sheets of paper. The original coding is retained. This means that some titles are now designated as a sub of an Arabic numeral, e.g., 5a or 5b. Numbers assigned to deleted titles are not reassigned. Therefore, in the final listings of titles although every title included is annotated by virtue of all the criteria, the annotations are not sequential in number. There are numerical gaps.

Instead of being printed on the worksheet, the titles are now printed on stickers. The column heading, "Title," is retained but the column space itself is empty. Only the stickers of the titles held by the collection surveyed are placed there. No title sticker is placed until all of the data for every edition of the previous title have been recorded. Thus, if a title is held in two editions, it is arranged in this fashion: 2. Adventures of a Donkey 1810 1812
The information for the edition of each date proceeds horizontally across the page. The earliest edition is placed first. Succeeding editions follow in vertical columns. If the next title held is 3, Adventures of a Pincushion, it is not recorded until after all the vertical columns belonging to title number 2 are recorded.

If no title is held between number 3 and number 9 (Alice's Adventures in Wonderland), then the next sticker placed after number 3 is that of number 9, Alice's Adventures in Wonderland.

Analysis of Data and Findings

Part II of the study is made up of the findings and the summaries. The first chapter is the Union Catalog, arranged by period with the annotations immediately following the description of the period to which it belongs.

Chapter II presents an analysis of the data concerning the overall growth and development of children's literature during the time span under study. There are summary statements about the eras of least development, about the eras of sustained growth, and about the most productive eras. These are followed by a table depicting the frequencies and percentages of titles in the catalog as published by ten-year periods. There is a summary statement concerning the subject categories under which the books fall during these years. This is followed by a table of frequencies and percentages which show the allocation of such categories in each of the three historical periods. Finally, there are verbal summaries concerning historical events as revealed in the children's books, and sociological implications in children's books.
Chapter III presents the data from the survey of institutional holdings of Titles and Editions Held. There is a brief prefatory statement followed by fifteen charts, one for each institution. There is a statement and a table depicting the numbers and percentages of titles held by the institutions. The institutional codes for each collection are listed. The codes are followed by the alphabetical short title list with the code of each institution holding that title included as a part of that title's entry in the list.

Chapter IV gives an analysis of the data from the portion of the survey concerned with Services Available. After a brief summary statement, the one-page check list with the data recorded is replicated. There is a statement concerning the availability of titles in the catalog as shown in Books in Print (December, 1964), followed by a list of those books in print. The total picture of what titles are available for use in what form is summarized and then presented in a table of frequencies and percentages for these categories: (1) available at some collection, (2) available by interloan, (3) available by duplication, and (4) available for purchase as noted in Books in Print.

Summary

In summary then, the graphic presentations are the catalog and twenty-four tables and charts.

The catalog is an acceptably bibliographic and fully annotated list of children's books arranged by their first date of print in the English language from 1658 through 1865. It is suitable to be used as a selection tool or as a model collection of books in the teaching of
historical survey courses in children's literature. The catalog contains the substantive bulk of the findings.

The tables and charts are as follows:

1. Titles published from 1650 through 1865 by twenty-four-year periods.
2. The categories into which the titles fall.
3. Titles and editions of titles held by each collection.
   There is one chart and a brief descriptive statement for each collection which maintains a check list or catalog of its holdings and whose books are shelved. If the holdings are not available, there is a statement to that effect.
4. Total number of titles held by each collection.
5. The code for each collection.
6. Titles held by each collection (alphabetical title arrangement, each title followed by the code of each collection holding that title).
7. Tabular data from the check list concerning services offered by each collection.
8. An alphabetical arrangement of titles from the catalog listed in Books in Print.
9. The availability of titles in the collections (by interloan, through duplication processes, as shown by Books in Print).

The generalizations, implications, and suggestions for further research are indicated as the concluding section of the study.
PART II
CHAPTER I

THE PURITAN ERA

The Puritan in England

Sloane is definitive in stating that the seventeenth century is the age of the Puritan.\(^1\) Divisions of time, however, like all classification schemes are man made. There are no distinct lines dividing one century from another. Within each century, the decades may contain harbingers of change.

Darton exemplifies both the extremes that exist within decades of the same century and the manner in which the spirit of one century shades into the next. He maintains "The greater part of works for or about children which are called 'puritan' were written and published after the Restoration (of Charles II): most of them after the Act of Uniformity of 1662."\(^2\) This is to say, after the Puritan was no longer acceptable at court.

Darton then shows that the purpose and spirit of Puritanism can be traced from Bunyan (1676-1686), through Isacc Watts (1715 _passim_) of a generation later, and through all early American children's books which were still Puritan at the time of the American Revolution. The purpose is obvious in the works of Mrs. Sherwood (1802-1847) and in all

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\(^1\)Sloane, _op. cit._, p. 65.

\(^2\)Darton, _op. cit._, p. 53.
oral tales of any century. Surprisingly, it is evident in those works of Charles Kingsley that he wrote as fantasy for his own children (1863).\textsuperscript{1} Sloane defends his chronological placement of the Puritan era as he points out the vast differences which exist between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries. These differences are not only in the idiom of language but in the realm of ideas. In the seventeenth century and the immediate decades following, for the common people there was a "centrality" of religion. "To man's relation with God all other circumstances of his life was peripheral."\textsuperscript{2} For the followers of the restored King Charles, however, a reaction to puritanical morals had set in.

\textbf{Religion and Philosophy}

It is misleading to assume that England's entire population of 5,000,000 people held one single form of religion.\textsuperscript{3} There was much dissension concerning what form of religion should dominate. During the first years of the Civil Wars (1642-1649), of the Commonwealth (1649-1653), and of the Protectorate (1653-1658), Puritanism was predominant. With the advent of each succeeding ruler, a different

\textsuperscript{1}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{2}Sloane, loc. cit.

Will and Ariel Durant, The Age of Louis XIV (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963), p. 257. This figure is cited by the Durants who state that "... religion had taken on a measure of social stratification: the poor favoring the dissenting sects -- -- or the Catholics; the middle classes ... Puritans; the aristocracy and most of the gentry ... the disestablished Puritan Church," p. 154.
form of religion either became preferred officially or the influence of that religion was increasingly feared by the masses of people.\footnote{Ibid.}

There were other groups in society as well as the Puritan, for this was a baroque world in which irreconcilable oppositions had to coexist. There were the Non-Puritans, the Calvinists, and the "Less-Calvinists."\footnote{Sloane, op. cit., p. 65.} There were educators, scientists, rational theologians, and printers and booksellers who were fast becoming publishers.

Educators slowly found support in the methods of science. Scientists, with the discovery of the laws of a rational universe, were turning people's attention from the creator to the creation. Rationalists, affected by Renaissance Platonism, found God in immanent reason, present in everything and everyone. This was antithetical to Puritan ideas.

These divergent beliefs led to such "anarchy" as that induced by Familists, Seekers, Quakers, and their like who believed in the innocence of childhood and the divine origin of the soul. Some men were beginning to think of children as innocents to be sheltered from corruption.\footnote{Darton, op. cit., p. 53.} Other men believed in religious persecution, even of children. Between 1660 and 1668, there were 60,000 arrests for religious nonconformity. \"Five thousand of those so arrested died in jail.\"\footnote{Durant, op. cit., p. 256.}
Social Conditions

It was difficult to exist in the seventeenth century. On the surface the people who were becoming a strong middle class appeared to have more chance for physical life than the poor. In reality, the diseases which ravished the poor became epidemic. This, seen through twentieth century eyes, was to be expected. The most effective seventeenth century way of treating such diseases as smallpox was to isolate the individual. When it was possible, he was sent miles away from home. This was done with children of monied families. The poor had neither means with which to send their children away nor places to send them.

In the towns and cities, streets were narrow and houses were close together or attached to one another. There were no sanitation facilities. It was said that the traveller could smell London for miles before he could see the city.

Early in the century, poor rural families were able to eke out their incomes through practicing the cottage system of manufacture. Gloves and many similar articles could be brought home where everyone in the family would do his share of work. Child labor at home was not only accepted but expected. Such matter of fact acceptance of child labor carried over into the factory system. Under the factory system the idea of the production line began. Since factories were built in towns and cities, the rural poor abandoned their cottages, their rights to the common property of England, and crowded into the miserable conditions of the city.¹

¹Each English district, not including the land belonging strictly to the wealthy, had large tracts of land for common grazing purposes and for gardens. E. W. Bovill, English Country Life (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 1-12.
Disease was everywhere. Since smallpox was dread yet common, each man expected to become pock marked at some stage of his life. The worst of the diseases was the plague. In 1663 the plague devastated Amsterdam. The English quarantined Dutch ships but in spite of this in 1664 one Londoner died of the disease. In April of 1665 two died. In May of that year forty-three died. The country was also stricken with drought. By June the proportions of the epidemic were so large all public places were closed. But the plague was too widely spread to be stopped. During 1665 one seventh of the English population died from its effects.¹

The country had not recovered from this blow when two more disasters occurred. In June of 1666 the Dutch sailed up the Thames and destroyed many English vessels within sight of London. Three months later, on September 2, a bakery in Pudding Lane caught fire. In three days the conflagration had burned down most of London north of the river. Two thirds of London was wiped out. This included most of the commercial city. The great majority of the booksellers were wiped out. The seventeenth century man had every right to believe that life was miserable and death was not far away.²

The Spread of Literacy

In spite of wars, religious persecution, bad living conditions, and early death, the people had moments of zest in living.

¹Durant, op. cit., p. 257.
²Ibid.
Comenius gives evidence that the England of 1641 was rapidly becoming a literate nation. In a letter written during a professional visit to London in October, 1664, he exclaims about the numbers and the quality of the books he saw, "There are truly not more bookstalls in Frankfort at the time of the fair than there are here everyday. Bacon's work, De Scientarum Argumentis, has recently appeared in England."\(^1\)

He indicates that it was common practice "for men and youths to copy out the sermons (in Sunday church meetings) with their pens." They could do this rapidly "for the vernacular schools during the reign of King James (1, r. 1603-1625) taught them the art of stenography (tachygraphia) even to the country folk."\(^2\)

Printing and the Reformation had created a growing demand for reading materials. Steinberg documents the steady spread of literacy with figures exemplifying this growth and demand:

In 1587 the Stationers Company fixed an edition at 1,250 or 1,500 copies. School books, prayer books and catechisms were allowed four impressions of 2,500 or 3,000 each annually... In 1635 the number of copies was raised to "1,500 or 2,000 at the most" unless "upon good reason shewed" special permission might be granted to 3,000.\(^3\)

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\(^2\) Ibid.

\(^3\) S. H. Steinberg, Five Hundred Years of Printing (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books), p. 336.
NOTE: Both Webster and OED give "pedlar" as an acceptable spelling, p. 7. OED puts "pedlar" first, Webster lists "peddler" first but states that "pedlar" is equally acceptable.

Forty-three years later in February, 1678, although a "normal" printing of 2,000 copies was allowed for Pilgrim's Progress, by the end of the same year 10,000 copies had been struck. Four thousand of these were by a pirating rival. When the lawful fourth edition came out in 1680, there were already six other pirated editions.

This was the beginning of the "best sellers," a term usually applied to adult books, although there are exceptions to every rule. Children's works are not apt to fall into the categories of "best sellers." Children's books have a tendency to be either ephemeral or "steady sellers." "Steady sellers" sometimes continue to sell for three hundred years or more.

The spread of literacy was affected by what was available for children to read. Darton maintains that "there were no children's books in England before the seventeenth century." Sloan disagrees. In his definition of literature for children he includes the significant idea that until the seventeenth century all literature was addressed by intent to both the young and the old. "In the language of title pages," they were not "only profitable for youth but pleasant for old age."  

The Running Stationers and Their Wares

There is evidence that the adult and the child of all classes read the cheaply printed flimsy "chapbooks" sold by the pedlars. The pedlars were called chapmen or the running stationers in order to

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1Darton, op. cit., p. 98.
2Sloane, op. cit., p. 65.
distinguish them from the stationers who sold in stalls or shops. The printer, who served as publisher as well as an astute business man, was intent on spreading his wares. For many years licensing acts confined such establishments to London.¹ There were no country or small town stores. Roads were poor, often non-existent.

Generations of the common people lived and died without ever having travelled more than five or ten miles away from home. There were annual or semi-annual fairs with stalls flung up for selling every possible commodity. In between fairs the pedlars made welcome visits to all parts of the British Isles. Scotch pedlars roamed the European continent.

The pedlar's pack contained popular medicines, tax receipts, burial woolens with directions for wrapping the humble dead who left no means for such luxuries as coffins. The chapman also carried printed materials such as calendars, almanacs, and chapbooks.

As a class the chapbook contained all the popular literature of four centuries. Each printing reduced story content to more degenerate forms. The phrases were "drasty." Woodcuts were strictly faithful in their open representation of the very coarse texts. Such coarseness did not necessarily come from a nasty mind. It was a reflection of contemporary manners, outspokenness, and the facts of everyday life as they were then lived. However, the "books" were so hastily put together

with an eye only to profit, that the format was mean, the illustrations were ill-cut, the text was rambling and ungrammatical. It was only because the reader knew the plot of the story so well that he could make sense from the seemingly unconnected series of events that were called a "history."

However, the core of interest in those "histories" is still sound. They pass at once into action, which is what a child wants. And sometimes there is laughter. With all their obvious faults, the chapbook carried on much that otherwise might have been lost to children's literature.

Secular Legacies from the Past

The stories of imagination came from the Middle Ages which had, in turn, received them from more ancient days. There were fables, stories of mythology, romances such as Bevis of Southampton and St. George of the fiery dragon. Grail stories sprang up from the continent. Malory, early printed by Caxton, wrote about King Arthur. The leisure and the cultivated class who read Malory also read Shakespeare and Spenser. The Ploughman's child depended upon hearing ballads. There were a few extolling Arthur, the hero of the court, and there were others about Robin Hood, the hero of the people. In Elizabethan days Robin Hood had become the favorite subject for May Day plays and games in bawdy style. Rhymes were sung by nurses, old wives, mothers, and were chanted by children in their games. All these became the staples of literary fare rivalled by the Bible.

1Barry, op. cit., p. 18. 2Ibid., pp. 28-34.
Biblical Legacies from the Past

Trevelyan states that hundreds of Englishmen read or heard the Bible with close attention as the word of God. The effect of this continued domestic study upon the national character and intelligence was greater than that of any literary movement. New worlds of poetry and of history were opened to people who often had little else to read. It created the habit of reading and reflection and turned many people into great masters of the English tongue.

Through the Bible the deeds and thoughts of men who had lived and died myriads of years before in the Eastern Mediterranean were translated into a growing language and

... coloured the daily speech and thought of the Briton ...

The Bible in English history may be regarded as a Renaissance of Hebrew literature far more widespread and potent than ever the classical renaissance which ... provided the mental background of the better educated. The Bible and the classics together stimulated and enlarged the culture of the British as their ocean voyages stimulated and enlarged their practical outlook on life.¹

All this depended upon the ability to read,

Censorship and Anonymous Printing

Strong dependence upon Biblical "truths," the Counter-Reformation, the Index-Prohibitorium, and the fear of ill effects on adult and child from degenerate literature began the problem of censorship which still exists in the twentieth century. Such prohibitions as well as the

numerous licensing acts caused subterfuge in printing.\(^1\) To deliberately confuse authorities and thus escape punishment, the real or fictitious name of the printer was sometimes combined with the real or fictitious name of a town. "Utopia" showing the popularity of Thomas More was a favorite name much used. Children's books were also published with the same anonymity. This has caused great difficulty in tracing who the author or the illustrator was and where the book was published. Titles were often the same for entirely dissimilar books. Even material that was signed was pirated with no recognition for the author. Content was changed without permission of the author and with no concept of what was suitable for children.

**Some Results of Subterfuge in Printing**

There are three books which exemplify these ills of printing. They are: (1) Nathaniel Crouch's *The Youth's Token*, (2) *A Little Book for Little Children* by Thomas White, and (3) *A Little Book for Little Children* by T. W. (undated but with a woodcut frontispiece of Queen Anne). The British Museum possesses the two "little" books of the same title bound together.

Crouch was a literary pirate. He was a publisher descended from a family of publisher-writers. Although he published under his own name, in writing he assumed the names of Richard or Robert Burton. This made him so famous as Burton that he almost lost his own identity as Crouch.

\(^1\)See p. 67 of this study.
In his own disreputable way, Crouch produced a landmark for children. He melted down the best of English histories into twelve penny books which were intended to appeal to children's interests. Muir states that the series "seems to mark the first real reading material to provide children with reading matter (not literary) . . . to which they would look forward with pleasure and excitement in leisure time."¹

For one book in this series, Crouch usurped Samuel Crossman's serious work, Youth Monitor (1664). Crouch suppressed the author's name and added a miscellaneous collection of exciting tales and lively engravings. The stories were semi-historical about the youth of well known people such as the Old Testament Isaac, Queen Elizabeth, Jane Grey, and others. The first edition came out in 1678. This was a handsome volume of 450 pages with clear print and clear cuts. Halsey states that the cuts are too clear. They are revolting to people today. They are a reflection of a very outspoken age.²

Some of the most popular titles in the Crouch series are:

1. English Empire in America. Benjamin Franklin contributed to this. He felt it was important for children to read material that was founded on truths about the little known American colonies.

¹Muir, op. cit., p. 35.
²Halsey, op. cit., pp. 36-37.
2. Winter Evenings' Entertainment. This became a popular title and was used by many publishers for other collections of children's material. This volume includes stories, riddles, and jingles. It is a general miscellany.

3. The Youth's Divine Past-Time. This is a collection of the "best known" Bible stories taken primarily from the Old Testament.

Crouch also utilized the spirit of Locke's suggestions for making reading pleasant. In a book of "emblems," Crouch included a "lottery," Judith St. John states that this included:

"... a movable indicator and directions for its use. The author, feeling that he might be criticized for making use of such a game, says: "Possibly this Device may be censured, and reputed as a great an Indecorum as erecting an ale-house at the church-stile." However, he assures his readers that it is intended only as a moral pastime."

This is evidence of what the "Less-Puritan" considered acceptable for children in 1684.

What the Puritan Wanted for Children

The strict Puritan was the man of single purpose. All that he feared of war, plague, sin, and death influenced him in this single purpose "to arouse in man and child desire for saving knowledge and to minister to that desire." Puritans "addressed children for the same purpose that they addressed adults."^2


In spite of the fact that "The authors wrote to the end that children might be saved from Hell with the implication that salvation is extremely difficult," they meant their books to "give children pleasure and to make them happy: it was their idea of happiness which is foreign today."¹

James Janeway exemplifies the Puritan writer in his most extreme zeal. He wrote *A Token for Children* and *A Token for Youth*. These two books were in great vogue between 1670 and 1720. They were meant for children's leisure reading but not intended for their delight.

In *A Token for Children* thirteen children died. Their lives and deaths give one viewpoint of what the Puritan adult expected the Puritan child to feel about his life and the world about him. The story of one of the children gives the flavor of the entire book. Eight-year-old Sarah Howley was so affected by a sermon she heard that she wept and prayed to the Lord after she got home from church. Then she got her brother and sister to pray with her. She increased in devoutness until, at the age of fourteen, she became ill. She did not die before she had "wrestled" with sin and "became much swallowed up with thoughts of God's Free Love to her Soul."²

This is not "imaginative" literature. It is not literature to delight children. However, it affected children. Many years later, William Godwin, the early Victorian publisher born in "Georgian" days,

¹Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
related his reactions after reading Janeway. "I felt as if I were willing to die with them if I could with equal success engage the admiration of my friends and mankind."¹

Rosenbach lists The Token as the most popular of its kind in colonial America. He states "... it was not introduced to America until 1700 ... it was frequently reprinted ... an inspiration for numerous imitations."²

Cotton Mather augmented its colonial influence by producing "The Token for the Children of New England."

Men and Ideas

Two men of the seventeenth century greatly influenced the Puritans of both England and the American colonies in their attitudes toward children and books for children. This influence affected both the format and the content of children's books.

The first of these two men was a Moravian bishop, John Amos Comenius.³ In 1641 Comenius was invited to draw up a document concerning the reform of the British school system. Although the English Civil War interfered with carrying out the plans, Comenius did visit England. During his stay, he wrote frequent letters describing English life.

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²Rosenbach, op. cit., p. xxx.

³In the chronology of books for this period, Comenius's Orbis Sensualium Pictus is annotated as a landmark. Comenius's direct influence on children's books is discussed in the annotation.
Although his comments are as revealing of himself as they are of the English, they give a firsthand account of some aspects of English life.

He begins a letter dated October 18, 1641 by stating that he wanted a quiet arrival.¹ This did not happen. He was besieged with visitors. However, he believed that even more would have come if they had spoken Latin better or if they had realized that he spoke English well.

He was delighted with England. He described it as being "different from other corners of the earth (with) much that is worthy ... especially those matters that concern the glory of God and the flourishing state of the Church and the schools. ... London has 120 Parish churches with such a crowd on Sundays that the space was insufficient.²"

Other proposed undertakings of the time are noted by Comenius: school reform for the instruction of all youth of all classes; the founding of a special school for youths of noble birth, separated from "all contact with plebians;" and the compiling of an Index of all the known authors of the time.

As a farseeing educator, Comenius was committed to educational reform on a world-wide scale. He drew up plans for American Indians as specifically as he did for continental Europeans and the English.

He was equally interested in the idea of the *Index Auctorem*. He sat in on the Parliamentary session during which an "N. Harrison" gave

¹ Young, *op. cit.*., p. 65.
² Ibid.
a detailed proposal for the undertaking. Comenius was pleased that influential men in favor of the Index were arranging the assignment of students from Cambridge and Oxford for the purpose of gathering material about the authors. He believed in the involvement of students in the intellectual milieu of their times.

The second man, John Locke, was an English philosopher of the fast rising middle class. He was a practical man who knew how to stay out of trouble in an age of turmoil. In his thoughts concerning child rearing, he synthesized his own shrewdness and the child rearing practices handed down through the generations of English mothers. In his vivid comparison of the mind of a young child to an empty wax tablet, he put into words what these mothers knew all along. "The Monstrous Regiment" of writers, both men and women, of the middle and late eighteenth century claimed his description as their banner. They were certain that they were the best fitted to make right impressions upon the tablet of the mind.

Locke, himself, was very plain about what books a child should read. When a child begins, he should have

... some easy pleasant book suited to his capacity ... wherein the Entertainment that he finds might draw him on, and reward his Pains in reading and yet not such as should fill his Head with perfectly useless Trumpery or lay up Principles of Vice and Folly. To this purpose I think Aesop's Fables the best which being stories apt to delight and entertain a Child, may yet afford useful Reflections to a grown Man; and if his Memory retain them all his Life after he will not repent to find them there amongst his manly Thoughts and serious Business.¹

¹ Barry, op. cit., p. 10.
He preferred that the Aesop should have pictures in it. Next he recommended *Reynard the Fox*. Barry suggests that talking beasts are as near the supernatural that practical Locke can get. As opposed to Locke's adult judgment, she reminds that Steele's godson could not abide fables. Once he recognized that these fables ridiculed the follies of mankind, they were no longer "true" to his needs as a child. Other stories of the boy's own choosing would seem "useless Trumpery" to moralistic Locke. But Steele recognizes the value of an unpointed moral. He comments that the boy has made "Remarks which might be of service to him during the Course of his whole Life."*  

The children whom Locke tutored did not attempt to find fault with his recommendations. They were delighted that he taught without using Books of Courtesy. They were happy with his ideas about physical training. Barry states that the key to Locke is to be found in "the letters of his friends and the records of his pupils,"* 2 The third Lord Shaftesbury, author of the Characteristics, wrote about his childhood. In his memoirs, he remembers other schoolmasters with distaste. He placed Locke as one "to whom next his immediate parents he owed the highest gratitude and duty."* 3  

Locke believed in teaching children not what to think, but how to think. In spite of this, one little boy brought up according to Locke's plan turned out at six to have incredible knowledge. There was nothing in Locke's theory to account for the encyclopaedic knowledge of this

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1 *Ibid.*, p. 13. Sir Richard Steele described the reading of his eight-year-old godson and his even younger goddaughter in *The Tatler*, No. 95 (1709). This is an early declaration of what children chose to read when they were allowed choice. Also see Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 33.


child. His practice was different. He replaced Latin and Greek with
gometry, chronology, use of globes, and some part of Newton's
philosophy. This helps to explain the "pedantries of later children's
books" written by the followers of Locke.\(^1\)

The Puritan Era in Early America---
the Prevailing Spirit in
the Colonies

On the surface, life in the colonies was entirely moulded by one
unifying force. Rosenbach describes it in this fashion:

The whole of the intellectual activity of the New England
Colonies was in the puritanical clergy, men of the caliber
of Cotton Mather... it is not therefore a matter of
surprise that the books printed at that time had a strongly
religious bias.\(^2\)

The prevailing principle was "Not born to live, but born to die."\(^3\)

Halsey gives her opinion about the Puritan conception of life,

... an error to be rectified by suffering rather than as
a joy to be accepted with thanksgiving... preparation for
death and the dreadful day of judgment (were) the chief end
of existence.\(^4\)

Children had to be instructed in ways of achieving this goal.
One of the chief means of instruction was through the use of printed
catechisms. Children were expected to memorize these rules:

\(^{1}\)ibid., pp. 8-9.
\(^{2}\)Rosenbach, op. cit., p. xxviii.
\(^{3}\)ibid.
\(^{4}\)Halsey, op. cit., p. 5.
The Puritan child was taught early that he was sinful. He believed that he was sinful. To obtain importance in life, death was necessary. Adults remembered their own difficulties in trying to be godly and magnified their memories as they projected their own fears into the children. To engrave this idea on their minds, small children were drilled with the thought that life gave short time to prepare for death. Two-year olds were asked to memorize verses like the following:

I, in the burying place may see Graves shorter than I;  
From death's arrest no age is free  
Young children too may die;  
My God May such an awful sight  
Awakening be to me.  
Oh! That by Grace I might  
For death prepared be.\(^1\)

The Puritans used a great deal of verse. It was always found to be an easy way of persuading a child to learn biblical "truths" and to receive moral instruction. Cotton Mather urged the use of Dr. Watts's verses upon his docile congregation. Rosenbach states that the great popularity of Dr. Watts's works "is one of the best guides to our understanding the mental outlook of the times."\(^2\)

However, the minds and manners of the children were not sacrificed to their souls. There was recognition of "the importance of knowing how to live well in order to know how to die well."\(^3\)

This resulted in the production of numerous school books. Some

\(^1\) Ibid., p. 9.  
\(^2\) Rosenbach, op. cit., p. xxxvi.  
\(^3\) Ibid., p. xxxviii.
of these could be described as a class of books different from the catechism.\(^1\)

The most famous of the school books is the *New England Primer*. Rosenbach estimates that over six million of these were published between 1680 and 1830.\(^2\) It was the "first to provide children with religious education in a form in which they could assimilate it."\(^3\)

The only toys for children were homemade. The girl who had managed to keep her imagination alive could use a stick of wood for a doll and acorns for tea cups and saucers. Ever since the invention of guns boys have seemed to be able to imagine any rod like instrument for a gun. Sling shots are as old as (older than) the biblical David. Some children, notably one of Dr. Cotton's sons, had imagination enough to dream that dying was not the purpose of living. He refused to memorize his father's gruesome lessons.

Halsey relates that a Boston merchant in 1695 "suggested importing small quantities of English toys."\(^4\) He believed that they would sell. However, merchants were canny enough to run their businesses according to "the law of supply and demand." No one acted upon this suggestion until 1712. Even then it was an exceptional undertaking and a small venture for ministers constantly warned against such amusements as wiles of the devil.

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\(^1\)The textbooks were moral, of course, and primarily religious. But there are many differences between the two. The textbook could almost be called a precursor of the storybook.

\(^3\)ibid., p. xxxvii.  
Halsey continues, "Home in the 17th and 18th centuries was a place where for children the rule 'to be seen, not heard' was strictly enforced." This intensified the emphasis upon death. There was a strange mingling of pomp and meagre preparation in funerals for the small. The children in the Mather family must have helped in the preparation of their two-year old brother. He was laid in a coffin elaborate for their day and lowered into a grave that was filled with two feet of water. This was a forcible reminder of the thought, "graves shorter than I."

Other Influences

But there were the influences from abroad. The respectable Dr. Locke had gained so solid a reputation that attention had to be paid to his ideas. They were revolutionary. He advocated dancing as a health aid. This was a shock, especially as he mentioned it as important before book learning. He admonished "that reading be never made a task. And in his fancy: learning be made a play and recreation for children."1

Chapbook influence was everywhere. It nourished the sub-literature of children: "The History of the Babes-in-the-Wood," "The History of Jack-the-Giant-Killer," nursery rhymes. Puritan ministers suspected that mothers encouraged these stories. They did. As an inducement to the children for learning their catechism, mothers bribed them with a story or a rhyme told softly when no one else was around. The French

1Ibid., p. 45.
influence was also feared. Such influence might bring unwanted softness to the needed hard core of moral fibre. French influence on morals and manners was as dreaded by the Puritan and other protestants in the colonies as it was in England. The fairy tales that had circulated orally and in print by way of the chapbook contained elegance, extravagance, a hint of delightful sin that seemed the trappings of the devil to those people whose faith lay in austerity. Halsey believes that social mores and attitudes are shown in the book illustrations of an era.\(^1\) She states that "the contemporary opinion of the French character is quaintly shown in the portrait of the Devil dressed as a French gentleman, his cloven foot disclosing his identity."\(^2\)

This was a carry-over from the general English distrust of "The Merrie Monarch" Charles who had spent so many years at the Catholic French Court.\(^3\) The distrust was intensified upon the accession of James to the throne. Although the colonists had fled to escape religious persecution, the emotional and educational ties with the mother country were strong. Even the later eighteenth century revolution which made the United States a separate nation could not entirely break the intangible ties made fast through many generations.

\(^1\)ibid., p. 135.
\(^2\)ibid., p. 26.

\(^3\)At the beginning of Charles's "Glorious Revolution" the English people were so delighted at the overthrow of a despotic Puritanism that they did not have a worried thought about Charles's possible leanings towards Catholicism. After the flush of novelty died away, the people perceived many implications which led them into fear.
Welch bases his entire bibliographic thesis upon the belief that the majority of American children's books before 1821 were English.¹ Rosenbach substantiates this when he states, "The story of children's books in America is naturally more bound up with the history of English juvenile literature than with that of any other country."¹ He continues by giving a look into the next century, "After the Declaration of Independence, the gradual development of patriotism and the elimination of the English and the European element from American juveniles forms a most interesting study.²

Halsey depicts the imminent break down of overt Puritanical control of literature and leisure time when she describes the effect of John Locke and Isaac Watts in the colonial attitudes towards books for children. "We find that Locke sowed the seed, Watts watered the soil in which the seed fell ..." She, then, adds that John Newbery of the eighteenth century England augmented the growth of these ideas which were planted in the seventeenth century. His effect was noticeable, startling, and long lasting.³ Because of this preparation, many books had their unpublished origin in the seventeenth century but were not available to a reading public until the next century was several years advanced.

¹Welch, op. cit., p. 134.
²Rosenbach, op. cit., p. xiviii.
³Halsey, op. cit., p. 124.
Other books were published in a variety of languages foreign to the English speaking people. Perrault and Mme. D'Aulnoy were published in French in the last decades of the seventeenth century. The translation of these books began to be evident about 1709. These titles, however, were not widely available or even published in English until the nineteenth century. It is true that the educated man, and sometimes his sister, read foreign books in the language in which they were originally printed (notably French and Latin) but such examples were not universal.

It is difficult to assess the state of affairs concerning children's books in the seventeenth century. What was suppressed or considered unfit for children did not die. Its influence carried over into all succeeding centuries, even down to the present twentieth century. Other seventeenth century influences are continually cropping up: violence of emotional (as contrasted with reasoned) censorship of books, the didactic or moral tale in sugared format, the publishing of books for children and youth as an enterprise markedly different from publishing for adults, and the continued resurgence of the much opposed fairy tale.

Thwaite posits the early and continued hardiness of the fairy tale as a concept of great importance:

This flowering of the fairy tale in France at the end of the seventeenth century is an exciting and significant episode in the story of children's literature.¹

¹Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
Thwaite counters this with her statement that "The popularity of the fairy tale was soon to be rivalled by the oriental tale with its even more bizarre and exotic attractions." 1

Thus during the struggle and fierce moralism of the Puritan era distracting influences from abroad were creeping in to be welcomed by the children. They came in through the back door with the chapmen for a stay of centuries.

Landmarks of the Puritan Period


Although Orbis Pictus is often listed as a textbook, it is primarily known as the first picture or illustrated book meant for children. Judith St. John even goes so far as to state that "it marks the beginning of juvenile literature in its own right." 2

1Ibid., p. 56.

2The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 112. There are many opinions concerning the date of the first publication in English, e.g., see Thwaite, p. 29.
Thwaite further identifies it as "a notable and not-to-be-forgotten landmark of the seventeenth century in the form of an importation from the continent. . . . the first picture book for children designed for their interest . . ."\(^1\)

Information about the printer and publisher is sparse. Both men lived and carried on their businesses in London. John Redmayne was the printer. John Williams, the bookseller who died in 1682 or 1683, was succeeded by a son, John. Their establishment was in Fleet Street. Other booksellers and publishers of the same family name continued in the business until well into the nineteenth century. It is not yet verified that this was a continuation of the same firm that published *Orbis Pictus*.

More is known about the translator who was responsible for the publication of the first English versions. Charles Hoole (sometimes referred to as Hole) was a schoolmaster enlightened in the "newer educational media" of the seventeenth century. Hoole dated his translation "from his school in Lothbury, London, January 25, 1658."\(^2\)

He published several books on education himself. Among his titles was *A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School* which came out in 1639. He describes his work as "shewing a way to teach little children to read English with delight and profit."\(^3\) This is in strict accord with the world known philosophy of Comenius and explains Hoole's desire to see that *Orbis Pictus* was available in English.

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\(^1\)Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

\(^2\)The Osborne Collection, *loc. cit.*

\(^3\)Sloane, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.
In history, John Comenius stands out as a learned Moravian bishop interested in educating all children, both girls and boys, from the American Indian to the English child and the continental child, through his methods of utilizing the "sense approach." These methods include the familiar dicta: begin with the child and his interests, realizing that the child understands best that which is in his visible and touchable world. In spite of his genuine concern for all children, Comenius exemplifies the accepted social trend of the time that a "gentlemen" is first concerned with the education of upper class boys. Therefore, it cannot be considered a paradox that Comenius should advocate special schools for boys in which they would be educated among a student body of their peers with emphasis upon knowledge useful only to people of their own upper stratum.

Considered the first real pioneer in modern educational theory, Comenius began to express his ideas in print with the publication of a book on grammar when he was only twenty-four. He understood that feudalism would wane as the vernacular of each country found its way into print. He believed that only then could the common man begin his long road towards achieving an education.

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1Comenius is variously described as John Amos Comenius, Johann, or as Komensky. The country from which he came is also described by its variety of correct names: Bohemia, Moravia, Czechoslovakia. The student can discover much information about the man in his letters and documents in Robert Fitzgibbon Young's Comenius in England, Document No. V (London: Oxford University Press, 1932).

2Ibid., p. xiii.

Adams describes Comenius as the instigator of grading in the school system. She also traces the growth of his idea of pictures in early lesson books from the New England Primer with its crude little woodcuts through such popular books as Mary Wollstonecraft's Blossoms of Morality (illustrated by Bewick in the late eighteenth century) and such nineteenth century books as Baldwin's Outlines of English History."

During the Bohemian portion of the Thirty Years War, Comenius, as a protestant bishop, lost his home, country, and his wife and children. Scholars of all countries gave him refuge. For a time he lived in exile in Poland, then in Holland. His wanderings, of necessity, were frequent. His persecution and family tragedies appeared to intensify the concern he had, not only for children but for education that would bring men to their senses and to the establishment of a peaceful world as opposed to one that would be rent with hate, intrigue, and bloodshed. He conducted schools in several countries. From his own experience in teaching he drew the plan for Orbis Pictus. This exemplified his sense method of teaching, coupled with an emphasis upon character development.

The preface of Orbis Pictus states the author's purpose:

Instruction is the means to expel Rudeness with which young wits ought to be well furnished in Schools: But so, as that the teaching be 1. True, 2. Full, 3. Clear, and 4. Solid... The ground of this business is that sensual objects may be rightly presented to senses... this... is the foundation of all the rest: because we can neither act nor speak wisely, unless we first rightly understand all the things which are to be done and whereof we are to speak.2

1Adams, op. cit., p. 42.
He called his little book a "brief of the whole world."

The text treats 175 different subjects with which the child was or, in the opinion of Comenius, ought to be familiar. The arrangement includes: a symbolical alphabet and pictures about the world, heaven, fire, air, water, clouds, earth, fruits of the earth, ending with the last judgment. Each topic takes up an entire page.

A woodcut covers the top of the page with each figure within the cut numbered. Each number matches a like number identifying the words which describe the figure. Thus, if the cut is of a room in the house, each piece of furniture has a number. Then, in the text, the number matches the word which names the piece of furniture. The words, nomenclature, or phrases are arranged in two columns. One column is in Latin, the other in English. Such an arrangement fits another belief of Comenius, that "the first tasks of learners ought to be little and single."

The book ends with these words: "Thus thou hast seen in short all things that can be shewed, and hast learned the chief words of the English and Latin tongue."

Although Comenius's work was not immediately accepted, especially in the United States, the concepts about teaching are still in evidence today. There were a few immediate followers. Muir states that the publisher's of T. W.'s Little Book copied the layout to some extent.

1 This is a description not only of the original edition but of those editions held by the three collections identified by symbols in the bibliographic data of this annotation.

2 Comenius, op. cit., p. xiii.

3 Muir, op. cit., p. 217.
Sloane indicates that Orbis Pictus was of direct influence in the use of rhymed and illustrated alphabets during the seventeenth century.\(^1\) Sloane also identifies Comenius as the distant begetter of Tom Swift and of Buck Rogers.\(^2\)

Thwaite describes a book published in 1712 giving terms which define hundreds of numbered figures printed in thirty-eight copperplates. The text (or nomenclature) was arranged in two columns, one in English and the other in French.\(^3\) It is only one example of the influence exerted by Orbis Pictus. Osborne states that "It became a pattern for hundreds of books published during the next two centuries, with the original title retained in many cases."\(^4\) The features most copied were the nomenclatures printed in two languages and the numbered woodcuts.

It is thought that the original woodcuts for Orbis Pictus were done by Comenius himself, adaptations of sketches that he used in his own teaching.\(^5\) No other illustrator has been mentioned in connection with this book.

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\(^1\) Sloane, op. cit., p. 29.

\(^2\) Ibid.

\(^3\) Thwaite, op. cit., pp. 208-209. This book was also cited by Sloane.

\(^4\) The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 112.

\(^5\) Muir, op. cit., p. 218.

Adventure. Adopted.

This is the first exciting book that was read by children with the full approval of any adult who might be concerned with the reading of those children. Halsey states that it was so acceptable that in the American colonies it even superseded the Book of Martyrs as a household treasure, becoming "...the daily conversation of a thousand..." received in New England with far greater eagerness than in the author’s own country." Each of the authorities in Bibliography "A" considers Pilgrim’s Progress as one of the greatest books ever written, a classic of adventure for children as well as an adventurous parable or allegory for adults.

The publisher, Nathaniel Ponder, who later published Bunyan’s A Book for Boys and Girls (infra), was surprised at the immediate success of Pilgrim’s Progress (Part I). Ponder, the son of a nonconformist mercer, in 1669 set up as a bookseller at the sign of the Peacock in Chancery Lane, London. In 1676 he opened another place of business

1Halsey, op. cit., p. 10.

2The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 491.
in the Poultry from which, it is thought, he published other editions and writings of Bunyan.

The publishers of Parts II and III as well as of other well known editions of Pilgrim's Progress, John Clarke and Charles Hitch, were also Londoners and at differing times each served as Master of the important Company of Stationers. Clarke was established at the Golden Ball in Duck Lane.\(^1\) Hitch was at the Red Lion, Paternoster Row.\(^2\)

The writer, John Bunyan, was a very plain man. He followed his father's trade as a tinker in Bedfordshire, England. Conscripted at sixteen, he served in the Parliamentary forces for thirty months and did not begin to think about religion until after the second Cromwellian Civil War. Upon his conversion as a Baptist, he began to repent his wild youth when he read "merry" books, ballads, and newspapers. He felt a call to preach, without a license for preaching, in the days when people had to steal away to carry out religious observances that were not approved by the government. As a result, he was imprisoned in Bedford Gaol for twelve years. It was during the last period of his third term of imprisonment that he wrote Pilgrim's Progress.

In an amusing doggerel preface Bunyan claims that he wrote the book to amuse himself. It is true that during his years in prison he spent much time in writing. He wrote eight religious tracts and one major work, his spiritual autobiography, a rather frightening picture of the devout Puritan mind. Allegorical Pilgrim's Progress, intended

\(^{1}\text{Ibid., p. 470.}\)

\(^{2}\text{Ibid., p. 478.}\)
by the publisher for adult sale, depicted the Puritan who was life-long unconsciously influenced by early reading of chapbooks and ballads.


It is in outline an adventure story, complete with giants and fabulous monsters, sword contests, ill fortunes from which the hero is regularly delivered, and the happiest of all endings... the most perfect and complex of fairy-tales; and it shows an alarming familiarity with the writings of the damned.

Militant Part I includes the fiend Appollyon, the Slough of Despond, and Vanity Fair. There are faithful friends and dangerous enemies, strange visions, along with rewards for bravery and endurance.

The less militant Part II in sunnier fashion describes the pilgrimage of Christian's wife, Christiana, with their four boys and with Mercy, Christiana's friend. Mr. Greatheart emerges to become a hero fit to win young imagination.

Every age makes its own evaluation of Bunyan's masterpiece. Louisa May Alcott paid tribute when she had each of the four March sisters in *Little Women* receive a copy for her one treasured Christmas gift. The thirty editions printed in 1964 imply that readers of that year still found it an exciting book. Thousands of words have been printed evaluating its worth. Scholars have spent their lives investigating the body of literature that has grown up about *Pilgrim's Progress*.

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1Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
2Thwaite, *op. cit.*
3Sarah L. Prakken (ed.), *Books in Print* (New York: Bowker, 1965). Eight of these editions are in paperback.
Muir suggests that the "locus classicus" of these investigations is F. N. Harrison's *A Bibliography of the Works of John Bunyan* and its *Sotheby Sale Catalog* supplement.¹

In summarizing the impact of *Pilgrim's Progress* upon the world, Darton writes that it "has been translated into every known language"² . . . has been . . . "edited" . . . "adapted" . . . "shortened" . . . "cut" . . . even made into moral plays and written into words of one syllable."³

Almost immediately, the influence reached across the Atlantic to the American colonies. Halsey cites a 1681 publication of the unabridged *Pilgrim's Progress* by a Samuel Green of Boston. Neither Rosenbach nor Welch make any mention of such an American edition. Each of these two bibliographic authorities lists *The Christian Pilgrim* as taken by the Worcester, Massachusetts printer, Isaiah Thomas, from Elizabeth Newbery's condensation of 1789 which was also called *The Christian Pilgrim*.⁴

Although many artists have been inspired to illustrate Christian's journeys, Philip Hofer believes that there has never been a well illustrated edition for children. He attributes this to the fact that the book is written on so grand a scale and means so many different things to so many different people. Among the illustrators whom he lists as

²The Durants say 108 languages.
³Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
"magnificent" failures are:

Thomas Stothard in his 1788 edition by Pickering.

English William Harvey.

Early American Alexander Anderson of the white line woodcuts and famed illustrator of the Munro and Francis "Only True Mother Goose."

William Blake with watercolors unpublished during his lifetime but put out by the Limited Editions Club in 1941.

19th century Scotsman William Strang.

Thwaite adds Edward Ardizzone to the list indicating that, in her opinion, the illustrators are not failures. Chinese born Ardizzone, in talking about himself, states that soon after he was sent to school at the age of five in England, he received a pocket-sized edition of Pilgrim's Progress. It was illustrated with thumbnail sketches by an unknown artist. The sketches were as important to the boy as the story.

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Known as the first collection of "emblems" especially written for children, Darton states that they contain "the secret spirit of all the Puritan books for children."¹

The seventy-four meditations in verse were published only two years after publication of the second part of the *Pilgrim's Progress.*² Nathaniel Ponder and John Bunyan, respectively, were publisher and author for each of these two dissimilar books. But both men had risen in the world since the publication of the first part of the *Pilgrim's Progress.* Ponder had opened his second shop in the Poultry.³ Bunyan had become the leading and most widely respected Baptist minister in the British Isles.⁴

During the worldly rise of these two men, fashions in "good godly" literature for the adult had begun to change. For many years the "emblem" had been popular.⁵ Bunyan did not attempt to utilize the

¹Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
²Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
³The Osborne Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 431.
⁴Durant, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

"Emblems were meditative verse, each one of which was accompanied by its own woodcut or illustration. Woodcut and verse were so blended that each was dependent upon the other for bringing out the full flavor of the theme. Themes were chosen from such worldly knowledge as insects, birds, animals, or everyday events (the ringing of bells). The worldly idea was described then interpreted according to spiritual "truths." Francis Quarles and George Withers were two of the best known writers of emblems for adults. Withers is also known to hymnologists for his "rocking hymns."
medium in a form for children until after it had reached its nadir for adults. He chose the form with care, recognizing that children were drawn by brevity, verse, familiar incidents, and pictures. In spite of this, he did not use the word "emblem" in the title which he gave to the book.

For generations scholars were puzzled over a bibliographic anomaly. Divine Emblems was listed with John Bunyan as author. No historical tracing could ever find that he had written such a work. He was credited with having written A Book for Boys and Girls. The fate of the book between 1686 and 1724 is, perhaps, still not fully known. It is now believed that in 1701 an unknown editor changed the subtitle to Temporal Things Spiritualized. At the same time, this editor reduced the emblems from 74 to 49 and made other extensive textual changes. In 1724 the original title was dropped and the book became well known as Divine Emblems or Temporal Things Spiritualized.

John Marshall, a chapbook publisher of good godly books in Gracechurch Street, put out the 1724 edition, replete with one woodcut for each emblem. It is this edition and copies of it that went to the American colonies. Strangely enough, the first edition which sold for

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2Ibid., pp. 70-71. Marshall is a well known publishing name. This John Marshall is not to be confused with the J. Marshall who was the later Newbery's rival. See Chapter II of this study on the Georgian era.

sixpence contained no pictures although one of its 74 verses was printed with an accompaniment of a few bars of music.¹

Bunyan's threefold purpose is best shown through these extracts from his preface:

To show them how each Fingle-fangle,  
On which they doting are, their souls entangle,  
As with a Web, a Trap, a Gin, or Snare,  
While by their Play-things, I would them entice,  
To mount their Thoughts from what are childish Toys,  
To Heaven for that's prepar'd for Girls and Boys.  
Nor do I so confine myself to these  
As to shun graver things, I seek to please,  
Those more compos'd with better things than Toys:  
Tho' thus I would be catching Girls and Boys.²

The Title-page will show, if there thou look,  
Who are the proper subjects of this Book.  
They'r Boys and Girls of all Sorts and Degrees,  
From those of Age, to Children on the Knees.  
We now have Boys with Beards, and Girls that be Big as old Women, wanting Gravity.³

The book itself contains a preface, the emblems, an ABC, spelling lessons made up of religious words that should be known by every Puritan child, the Ten Commandments, the Apostle's Creed, the Lord's Prayer in verse, and simple arithmetical and reading lessons. The emblems or verses make up the section that was most read for pleasure. Elva Smith classifies the verses according to three categories, giving one line examples for each class. They are:

¹Huir, op. cit., p. 29.
²Halsey, op. cit., p. 13.
³Darton, op. cit., p. 66.
1. Those that pertain to the child's everyday life;
2. Those that primarily teach a moral;
3. Those that could be considered poetry.  

Halsey's statements agree with the first class. She writes that many small boys probably turned eagerly to "The Boy and the Watchmaker," "Upon the Boy and his Paper of Plumbs," as well as to those about "Weather-cocks, Hobby-horses, Horses, and Drums."  

Muir affirms the moral aspect. "There is no nonsense about it, he is out to save their souls, and to rescue them from the insidious clutches of Satan." For example, he quotes from the emblem of "Chick and Shell":

The shell doth crack, the chick doth chirp and peep,
The Flesh decays, as men do pray and weep.  

Thwaite believes that the verses "are very different from the harsh and urgent sermonisings of Janeway and White" even though "every theme has its religious lesson . . ." Thwaite gives Emblem No. 8, "The Swallow" as an example of those lyrics which exhibit sweetness, a sense of poetry with the singing quality that a child likes.

This pretty bird, oh! how she flies and sings!
But could she do so, if she had not wings?
Her wings bespeak my faith, her songs, my peace,
When I believe and sing, my doubtings cease.  

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2Halsey, op. cit., p. 12.
3Muir, op. cit., p. 29.
4Thwaite, op. cit., p. 27.
While Tarr evaluates the verses as bad poetry, she believes that Bunyan held the children's interest, not only because there was nothing else in this popular form for children but also because he incorporated some of the charm of the medieval bestiary in many of the verses. For her example, Tarr quotes from "The Frog."

The frog by nature is both damp and cold,
Her mouth is large, her belly much will hold.
She sits somewhat ascending, loves to be
Croaking in gardens though unpleasantly.

The analogy drawn from this verse is less strained than those in many of the others: "The hypocrite is like unto this frog . . . . He is of nature cold, his mouth is wide to prate, and at true goodness to deride."

Darton emphasizes that the "dual nature of Puritanism is clear in this masterful little book." Through it is revealed the tortured yearnings of a gentle soul who wanted good things for children whom adults were only beginning to dare to understand. This appeal may be obscure for twentieth century man but it shone for eighteenth and nineteenth century man. The book remained constantly in print until well into the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, nothing has been known to be recorded concerning the artists who so carefully designed and printed the woodcuts which were so integral a part of each emblem.

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1 Tarr, op. cit., p. 10.
2 Ibid.
3 Darton, op. cit., p. 67. Also see Elva Smith, op. cit., p. 45 for a description of a later example of emblems for children. This is "A curious and quaint little book, first published in 1772." English John Harris published a popular eleventh edition of it in 1812.
CHAPTER II

THE GEORGIAN AGE

Defining the Georgian Age

Setting time limits for the Georgian Age depends upon an arbitrary definition of what is Georgian. One obvious definition places the age within the reigns of the Georges I, II, III, and IV (1714-1830). This excludes the reign of Queen Anne (1700-1714).

Trevelyan suggests that such exclusion omits the very beginnings of all those attributes which are now thought to be Georgian. He states:

. . . by the end of Anne's reign the fortunate eighteenth century was well launched upon its reasonable and civilized course. [Britain appeared] as a nation of closely knit people . . . the steady sole mistress of the seas, a power coequal with France, and the seat of an ordered freedom admired by continental philosophers of the coming era . . . relatively more important in the world in 1713 than in 1815 or 1819. ¹

Yet each of these successes contained elements of radical change which would grow from dormancy to wild eruption just prior to and during the 19th century reign of Queen Victoria.

During the early years of the eighteenth century there had been an outburst of productivity in science, philosophy, and literature. The world knew and respected Newton, Locke, Defoe, Addison, Steele, and Swift. It applauded this first period of Alexander Pope in which caustic wit

and the maxims of Deism were equally employed in the poetry of Neo-
Classicism. The outburst of literature was such as was not matched in
that age anywhere in the world. Printers were becoming publishers and
"by making literature salable . . . helped create the professional man
of letters."

In consideration of these trends it seems necessary to include
the reign of Anne (1700-1714) as an integral part of the Geogian Age. More aspects of English life continued to be similar during this long
span of one hundred and thirty years (1700-1830) than had ever been
ture before or would ever be true again.

R. G. White in Life in Regency England marks the reign of George
IV as " . . . perhaps the last truly historical age, in the sense that
it is divided from us by a real chasm in time. The chasm with the
railways." Between Anne and George IV, then, came the gradual rise of the
middle class, a further sense of government by the people as opposed to
government by the reigning monarch, a shift in religious belief from the
predominance of the Puritan to the influence of the Evangelical sects,

1William Flint Thrall and Addison Hibbard, A Handbook to Litera-
(For definitions of Classicism and Neo-Classicism as used in this work, see p. 90 and pp. 310-314.)
2Durant, op. cit., p. 311.
3Thrall and Hibbard, op. cit., p. 378.
4Darton, op. cit., p. 112 equates the Georgian period solely
with the reigns of the 'Hanoverians'--the early Georges.
5R. J. White, Life in Regency England (London: B. T. Batsford
public debate and arousal over the need of schooling for the poor and for girls, increasing belief that children were a class by themselves rather than miniature adults, the change over from printer to publisher, and the establishment of the author and the illustrator as professional people able to earn a living for themselves—not dependent upon the patronage of the wealthy or the aristocratic.

**Political Background**

Until well on in the eighteenth century antagonism was still alive between those whose sympathies lay with the white cockade or the black cockade. The old song, "Charlie over the water, Charlie over the sea..." roused fear in those people who felt that by some trick a French king might yet rule Britain. "Serious Jacobitism was no mere flourish of toasts drunk over punchbowls symbolically brimming with water..." This was a serious manifestation of loyalty that might bring danger and its attendant death. Just as the Puritan child was taught the "glory" of living well so that he might die well, the Georgian child was taught the implications for ruin or for fortune that went with a choice of political party.²

The twenty-six years of comparative peace that followed the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht allayed enough of the fear to allow an increase in wealth and in the social importance of the continuously rising middle class. Hanoverian George I did nothing to disturb the peace. He knew little of the English language and less of English customs. He left much of law making and even of ruling to his loyal supporters. They took

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¹Roe, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

²Ibid., p. 2.
advantage of the fear of Jacobitism by forwarding the rule of the people.

George II (1727-1760) was thirty years old when his father ascended to the throne of England. He, too, was less English than he was Hanoverian. It was not until the rule of English born George III (1760-1811) during the last decades of the century that any attempt was made to see that "the king was to rule as well as to reign." Autocracy was renewed.

In his home politics (and personal life), the Englishman towards the end of the eighteenth century was more perturbed over the French Revolution than he was over the American Revolution. Only some of the English realized that Locke's influence on political thought had passed to France with Voltaire in 1729, to Montesquieu, and that such thoughts "found voice in Rousseau and others before and during the French Revolution... in full blast in the constituent Assembly's Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789... the Rights that Locke had vindicated became the Bill of Rights in the first ten amendments to the American Constitution."^2

Twentieth century man, in his retrospection, is prone to look on the successive struggles with revolutionary and with Napoleonic France as almost continuous. In reality there were 14 important months of precarious peace between the two distinctly different types of wars. This peace existed from March, 1802 through May, 1803. Mathieson insists that "from the spiritual point of view the two periods are sharply defined,

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2Durant, op. cit., pp. 582-583.
the keynote of the one being internal repression, of the other external defense."

The earlier war carried threats of invasion with actual landings in Wales (1796) and Ireland (which was in rebellion during this 1798 landing). Jacobitism was dreaded, yet all of this was as nothing in comparison to Bonaparte's elaborate preparations for invasion. The adults pushed their fears onto the children saying, "Boney will get you if you aren't good."

Social Life

Revolution in Clothing

Revolutions were not only political. There was a slow moving rebellion in the fashions of the day. During the time of gentle Anne girls and boys alike were dressed as small copies of their elders (boys even wore wigs). "The idea of dressing a child as a child did not come into being until 1770 or '75." There was no wholesale revolution of juvenile dress. Years elapsed before the child whose parents dressed him in the freer clothing designed for a child ceased to be conspicuous and suffer the jeers of other children.

Girls, women, and babies wore stays or boning. In the time of Queen Anne the female headdress of all ages was the high wired "penner" with long flowing straps coming down almost to the dress hem. Hats

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1 Mathieson, op. cit., p. 91.
2 Fashion here is used in terms of clothing and personal accessories.
3 Roe, op. cit., p. 48.
shrank to caps and then swelled to ornate over-sized mob caps. Skirt lengths were not shortened to the ankle until the late eighteenth century when the fashionable imitated peasant dress. For health reasons, no one wore undergarments as twentieth century people conceive of them, especially underpants, until the female pantaletts came into vogue. A shift was worn under all clothing. A shift was also worn as bed dress along with a night cap. Undress was considered the looser type of clothing that everyone wore at home. The night cap could also be worn then for comfort.

Although both boys and girls when very small wore frocks, boys, in the days of Anne, graduated to knee breeches, vests, ruffled cravats, a tricorn hat, and the best knee stockings. Women's legs were decently covered but a well turned leg for all to view was an asset to man and boy. Coats had no collars until the end of the eighteenth century.

The greatest revolution, in the 1790's, was the advent of panta­loons or trousers. Boys' trousers were loose fitting, those for men became skin tight. The sparse jacket replacing the old tunic (with the tight trousers) became known as "the skeleton suit." It was adorned with many buttons of brass or copper.

Shortly before this, female extreme decollete had its ridiculous counterpart in the small girl's dress. At all times the little girl wore shoes identical in cut with women's shoes, even to high heels and fancy embroideried trimming. Streets were seldom clean enough for such dainty shoes so pattens (clogs) were worn. Garters were embroidered with "poesies" which were not flowers but couplets (one on each leg) such as the following:
My heart is fixt I will not range.
Rachel Oldroyd, 1737.

I like my choyce to [sic] well to change.
Rachel Oldroyd, July 8, 1737.

Both ornamental and useful aprons were worn as well as the pinafore. "Pockets" were a necessity but not a part of the dress. They were tie-on bags which could be worn outside or inside the dress. The ties were ribbon. Without knowledge of the pocket half the meaning of the following nursery rhyme is gone:

Lucy Locket lost her pocket
Kitty Fisher found it;
Not a penny was there in it
Only ribbon round it.

All children knew how to use the tinder box, holding flint and steel, to strike a light. Many carried their own. Adults often recalled that one of their earliest remembered sounds was that of flint striking on steel as someone started the early morning household fire.

Finally, some forms of dress were a language that could be read by everyone:

People dressed the part they had to play in life, or at least displayed some ... insignia of ... craft or calling ... a judge's wig ... a bishop's lawn sleeves ... a paper cap on ... a carpenter ... an apron twisted like a sash about the waist of a weaver ... social status like the merchant's broadcloth and the gentleman's silk cravat. People, especially women, also dressed according to their age. ... The costume of a matron differed greatly from that of a spinster.

1Ibid., p. 65. The verses could be, and often were, political in nature.

2The pocket is not to be confused with the reticule which was carried slung over one arm.


4Roe, op. cit., p. 55.

5White, op. cit., p. 21.
Toys and Games

During the eighteenth century the scope of children's toys was enlarging. There were all kinds of dolls. Many of these were dressed in clothes to which tapes or straps were attached to the shoulders. These represented the leading-strings with which young children were controlled. There were also balls, boats, toy coaches, whistles, jumping jacks, monkeys-on-sticks, paper windmills on stick handles, drums, trumpets, toy soldiers of lead and tin as well as of other substances, farmyards and their figures, hoops, and marbles.

Then there were the automata which today would qualify as scientific toys. Some were mechanically operated but others were too horribly alive. An example of this are movable figures which were made to move by the struggle of live birds encaged within them. Captive birds, themselves, were considered playthings, as were cockshafers. They were secured by strings which were often fastened to holding sticks. Then there were artificial birds in cages and mechanical music-boxes.

Photography was as yet unknown, although there are allusions in early literature to cameras. What is meant by this is what Roe calls, "an ancestor of the view-finder in modern photography." ¹

There were card games of all kinds from Whist (earlier called Whisk) through Cribbage, Loo, Brag (ancestor of the American-born Poker) through Snip-Snap-Snorum (Snap).² There were Chess, Draughts, and Backgammon. And in an age of almost universal betting there were games of

¹Roe, op. cit., p. 22.

²Darton, op. cit., p. 152 states that when Newbery became a children's publisher there was "an incursion of the book-trade into the toy trade" by means of "educational" card games. See page 125 of this work for information about Newbery.
chance with most lotteries "open to all with money in their pockets."

There were skipping, kite-flying, blowing bubbles with clay pipes, and swinging on the garden swing called (swing-swang). The child of "common" people still was able to do real swimming, although many people were afraid of water. But the middle and upper class child had to do fashionable bathing. This meant going to the seashore to be forcibly plunged into the water by the means of dipping seats or paddles and bathing attendants. This involved the use of a cabin-like machine which carried the "bather" into the water. Bathing dress was almost as voluminous as street dress. The sea-dip became a dreaded "pleasure."^2

Manners

Although manners varied greatly from class to class, social status was not the only factor that influenced the evolution from the bestial to the civilized. Many of Hogarth's pictures shockingly portray the thick sediment of London's poverty and depravity. Some of his other pictures satirize the thin veneer of culture acquired by many people who considered themselves "the elect." While Robert Raikes, the Wesley brothers and others^3 were setting up Sunday schools to elevate manners as well as the learning of street children, barbarity was the accepted

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^1Roe, op. cit., p. 23. The "all" included children. Roe goes on to say that although Parliament banned Hazard, Faro, and Basset in 1739, lotteries were not really dead. In fact the Lottery of 1753 raised funds to establish the British Museum.

^2See Roe, op. cit., p. 29, passim for a description of early cricket, golf and other past-times.

^3These people are discussed under the topic, Men and Ideas in another section of this chapter.
fact in the nurseries of "good" people.

"Children's nannies threatened them with switches and shut them up in terrifyingly dark cupboards when they were naughty; uneaten and nauseating food came back, meal after meal—and day after day in case of need—till it was finished."

There was another side to the picture. "There were beloved nurses...as well...All shades of treatment...had a place in the picture, and even what would now be reckoned harshness has to be judged in the light of what was then accepted as reasonable discipline."

Moral and civil life was so full of rigor that parents felt children needed to be kept from the evils that could befall them. "Even youngsters might be hanged or transported for life..."

Conflicting Ethics

Boisterous, hedonistic beliefs existed side by side with the strict beliefs of the Evangelical religious groups, the Quakers and others who felt man must account for his deeds to God. Betting, gaming, and cockfights were the order of the day. "The English would lay odds on anything from a horse-race to the gambols of a couple of flies on a windowpane." The more cruel sports did not become illegal until 1835. Even then dog fighting (till the death) was not excluded by this law.

In the first part of the eighteenth century the idea that spirituous drink could be more evil than good was foreign to the common man.

1Bovill, *op. cit.*, p. 113.  
2Roe, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.  
4White, *op. cit.*, p. 10.  
5Bovill, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
Cottage families brewed their own beer. It formed a nourishing part of their diet. "The average consumption of a labourer's family was two quarts a day in winter, rising to five quarts in July and August." Heavy taxes on malt and barley changed drinking habits. Tea took the place of beer in the home. Those who still drank beer went to the public houses. However, gin began to be substituted for beer as the popular low-priced beverage. Naturally high spirits were heightened by the effects of gin. The disheartened used it as an opiate. The vicious drank themselves into villainous courage. "The annual consumption at this period [1750] has been reckoned at six gallons per head of the population. . . . Every facility was offered to the poor, not so much for drinking, as for making themselves drunk. . . ."

City streets and country lanes became equally unsafe from marauders. Mathieson quotes Smollett to the effect that in 1730 "thieves and robbers were now becoming more desperate and savage than they had ever appeared since mankind were civilized." In 1751 Hugh Walpole wrote, "One is forced to travel, even at noon, as if one were going to battle."

Crime Deterrent

Capital punishment was sought as a deterrent to crime. The list of capital offenses grew to enormous proportions. During the reign of George II, "from 1727 to 1760, capital offenses were created at the rate of one for every year of his reign."

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1 Bovill, op. cit., p. 20.  
3 Ibid., p. 114.  
5 Ibid., p. 114.
Often judges were more lenient in their decisions than the laws they sought to administer. While great numbers of men and women were doomed to Australian exile in lieu of the death sentence, the threat of execution hung over them if they should dare to return. Some of the convicted preferred death to transportation in unseaworthy ships and the hard life of an unchosen country.

Whatever the motives of parents, entire families gathered to witness executions. If this was not possible, the family packed a lunch and went on a Sunday picnic to view the tarred and hanging remains of the executed. Children were admonished to remember these gruesome sights and to refrain from doing evil.

The slow but definite establishment of two institutions, however, did more to deter crime than all the executions. One was an improvement in city street lighting leading to lighting commissions. The other was the establishment of a police force. In 1762 the Westminster Paving and Lighting Act was passed. Oil burning street lamps were built. Private enterprise did succeed in maintaining coal-gas lamps in 1807. The public was delighted. Unfortunately the vested interests of the whale-oil trade detained continued success until a much later date.

Before 1780 the blind magistrate Sir John Fielding established the Bow Street Horse Patrols and the Bow Street Runners (precursors of the C. I. D.) who wore such bright red waistcoats that they were known as the

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1Darton, op. cit., p. 176 quotes at length from a juvenile book, Mrs. Sherwood's Fairchild Family, in which the parents take their children to witness such a scene. The Fairchild Family is annotated later in this chapter.

2White, op. cit., p. 78.
"Robin Redbreasts." Concomittant with these "police," as well as before, "the civil arm was made up of a motley crew of local constables, thief takers . . . aided by informers, tipstaves, 'specials' and beadles, not forgetting the traditional watch."¹ The men making up the watch were called "Charleys." It was they who patrolled the more respectable neighborhoods calling out the midnight hour, "twelve o'clock and all is well,"²

Sir Robert Peel's police were not established until 1829. "Their uniform--blue coat, white trousers, and a hard varnished topper--soon became familiar; . . . it is from these 'Peelers' (as they were called) that the . . . British Police Force . . . traces much of its descent.³

London

Such protection naturally first sprang up in London. By the end of the eighteenth century London not only had a population of over a million but had become the fashionable locale for seasonal visits. For many years the nation's most wealthy land holders had also owned a home in London. After the French Wars, however, even the less wealthy took up the practice of renting houses or rooms in London. Some people went when Parliament opened in February and stayed until July. The true season began in April. The migration continued from January until the end of May. It swelled by hordes of servants . . . troops of horses . . . carriages . . . not the least anxious of the travellers . . . were the family butlers, preceding their masters and mistresses . . . with chests of plate

¹Roe, op. cit., p. 110. Roe describes the spoofing of the police by George Cruikshank's illustrations in John Payne Collier's 1828 book about Punch and Judy.

²White, op. cit., p. 82.

³Roe, op. cit., p. 110.
Transportation

Such transportation could not have been accomplished without two innovations: the improvement of the roads and the development of the fast long distant coaches.

Telford and Macadam are the great names in the early production of the hard, smooth surfaced roads which allowed the horse drawn coaches to clip along at fantastic and often dangerous speeds. The turnpike trusts were effective in expediting improvements to the arterial highways ignoring the "green lanes" that led to much of rural and almost hidden England. ²

Between 1750 and 1830 the time it took a stagecoach "to travel from London to Edinburgh fell from 10 days to 46 hours; from London to Bath [it dropped] from two days to 14 hours."³ A coachmaster's worries sprang from this need for speed. A horse for a fast coach lived only three years. Some "fast" horses were difficult to handle. A coachman had to be able to handle any kind of horse and drive in any kind of weather. He had to stop at uncertain places on the road to pick up both parcels and passengers. "A coachman usually drove about fifty miles a day but there were men ... who covered ... 112 miles ... daily."⁴

¹Bovill, op. cit., pp. 119-120. See Mrs. Pinchard's The Blind Child annotated in this chapter. In this story, as in many of the others the custom of going to London for the season is elaborated upon.

²See Bovill, Chapter X, "Swell Dragsmen," pp. 139-147 for a detailed description of the rise of the coach and the intricacy of its maintenance and charm. This includes descriptions of the post houses and coaching inns.

³Ibid., pp. 139-147.

⁴Ibid., p. 148.
Superior coachmen had good manners and immaculate appearance. These attributes combined with their skill in handling coaches and horses helped them become popular heroes. "The aristocracy and the gentry used to entertain these great men in their servants' halls, and vie with each other for the privilege of sharing the box seat of the coach with them."

During the Regency coaching was at its height. It was described with admiration and love by such men as Washington Irving, Charles Dickens, and Thomas Hughes in his classic, the children's book, Tom Brown's School Days.

Although the coaches brought a dramatic spectacle into the everyday lives of many rural Englishmen the great majority of common people travelled by other means. "Shank's mare" was still the most common and economical way to travel. There are records of men who often walked 30 miles to London and back in one day. The common man also used the old diligence or "humble" stage-wagon, the pack-horse, the post-horse and, the carrier's cart. Economy was not the only reason for such means of travel. Outside of the turnpikes the roads were in shocking condition. The Romans had left excellent roads which remained England's main

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1Ibid., p. 150.


3Charles Dickens, Pickwick Papers.

4Thomas Hughes, Tom Brown's School Days (London: Dent, 1857), Chapter IV. See annotations, Victorian Age, this study. Hughes reminisced about the age of his boyhood and of days before that time when coaching was domestic England's great pride.
thoroughfares until after the Middle Ages. Through neglect the roads fell into decay and England remained almost roadless until the latter decades of the eighteenth century.

Canals and Bridges

Two other events in the history of English transportation and communication came with the construction of canals and bridges. Bovill affirms that "James Brindley's Manchester canal in 1761 . . . inaugurated the canal era [which] . . . helped considerably to ease the fuel problem of the towns and villages through which the new waterways passed." White maintains that London's famous Westminster Bridge, "was a landmark in the transformation of medieval London into a modern city . . . . It was under construction from 1739 to 1750 . . . . "

Other Centers of Culture

But canals, bridges and roads joined London to other cities. Many of these were cultural centers. Erasmus Darwin and the Lunar Society were in the Birmingham area. There was a long lasting school of painting at Norwich. And Edinburgh claimed to be the Athens of the North. Many people who wrote for children lived in such centers and visited London infrequently.

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1Bovill, op. cit., p. 46, states " . . . the science of road making . . . left the country with the Romans." For a history of road conditions see Bovill, Chapter IV, pp. 46-60.

2Ibid., p. 60.

3White, op. cit., p. 62.

4Ibid., p. 64.
Spread of Literacy

It was during the eighteenth century that "the commercial middle class and especially womankind acquired a taste for reading." Three of the many factors that encouraged this were: 1) the sudden appearance of newspapers in towns and cities all over the country, 2) the rise of the novel, and 3) the establishment of the lending library.

Newspapers

Two of the first bi-weekly newspapers were established at Norwich and at Bristol. Mathieson discusses their growth. In 1790 there were 146 newspapers in Great Britain and Ireland. In 1821 there were 284. The total issues equalled 23,600,000 copies.

The Novel

Fielding, Richardson, and Smollett are credited with being the first to write in the form of the novel. Darton suggests that the novel reading habit reached the nursery almost before the grown-ups had acquired it. His reasoning is based upon the quickness with which many of these novels went into special editions for children.

Richardson, the "originator" of the domestic novel, produced Pamela (in 1741), Clarissa Harlowe (in 1747-48), and Sir Charles Grandison (1753). "Grandison" is the masculine counterpart of the two long

1 S. H. Steinberg, op. cit., p. 238.  
2 Ibid., p. 238.  
4 See Thrall and Hibbard, op. cit., p. 322, for a definition of the "novel."  
5 Darton, op. cit., p. 108.
suffering heroines, Pamela and Clarissa, Muir lists some of the abridge-
ments of these three novels. A 240-page pocket edition of Pamela,
Clarissa, and Grandison in one volume was published by Baldwin in 1756.
It was entitled The Paths of Virtue Delineated. A French follower of
Rousseau's philosophy, Arnaud Berquin, abridged Grandison in French as

The Lending Library

The novel reading habit was encouraged by the lending library.
Scotch Allan Ramsay founded the first lending library when he attached
one to his Edinburgh bookstore in 1726. The Reverend Samuel Fancourt, a
dissenting minister, established London's first lending libraries. His
first venture was during the 1730's, his second in 1746. Neither of
these was a lasting success. What was known as the 'British Library' in
the Strand became an established and familiar institution under John Bell.

Mathieson feels that the growth of the circulating (or lending)
library equalled the growth of the newspapers. In 1770 there were four
such libraries in London. In 1821 the number had grown to 100 with 900
throughout the country. In addition to this there were nearly 2,000
book clubs.

The booksellers were much alarmed by this rapid growth. They
feared that the sale of books would diminish. Instead, sales were in-
creased. Not only did taste for reading become more general but many

1Muir, op. cit., p. 71.
2See Annotations, this Chapter, The Children's Friend, for a
discussion of Arnaud Berquin.
3Steinberg, op. cit., p. 259.
borrowers liked the books they read so much that they bought them.¹

Freedom of the Press

The greatest stroke for literacy and printing came at the end of
the eighteenth century. This was in "Mirabeau's pamphlet Sur la Liberté
de la Presse: imitation de l'anglaes, Londres (1778), which was in fact a
paraphrase of the Areopagitica." This was instrumental in the declara-
tion by the French National Assembly of its famous eleventh clause of the
Rights of Man: freedom of speech, thought, and the press. This clause
has since appeared in every written democratic constitution.²

The Taste for Reading and
Children's Booksellers

Thwaite declares that even in publishing for children, "Spring
was in the air . . . a little Renaissance in quality for children's
books began."³

The English Bookseller (who was often his own printer or publisher)
was a canny businessman. He saw two things: 1) doting relatives enjoyed
buying books for children, and 2) many children of the fast rising middle
class had money in their pockets to spend as they pleased. Several book-
sellers determined to secure this market for themselves. For many years
John Newbery of St. Paul's churchyard in London was considered to be the
first of these bookseller-cum-publishers to concentrate on producing and
marketing children's books. Recently there has been some controversy

¹S. H. Steinberg, op. cit., p. 260.
²Ibid., p. 270.
³Thwaite, op. cit., p. 25.
about this matter. Thomas Boreman, also of London, has been acclaimed as a bookseller (et al) who made a special effort to appeal to children some years before Newbery went into business.¹

It is very likely that there may have been several forerunners of both these men. Children's books are highly perishable at best. The legatee who has received old children's books may not have known their value and may have either disposed of them or relegated them to some, as yet, unexplored closet or cupboard. Whatever the reason recreational books meant for children with imprints earlier than Boreman or Newbery are not known to be extant.

**Thomas Boreman**

Less is known about Thomas Boreman than scholars would like to know. He published adult as well as children's books and he sometimes published with other people. Although he probably wrote the material for his group of children's books himself, he also was known as an editor or a compiler of other people's materials. Some of his places of business have been listed as: "Near the Giants in the Guildhall," "At the Boot and Crown on Ludgate Hill," and "At the Sign of the Cock on Ludgate Hill." Muir believes one or two of these addresses may have been "the warehouses where at different times he kept his stock."²

Boreman was important in the trend of publishing for boys and girls both in England and in the American Colonies. Muir claims him as a pioneer

¹Among those who cite Boreman are: Thwaite, op. cit., pp. 42-43, and Welch, op. cit., p. 143.

²Muir, op. cit., p. 60. Unless otherwise stated, all of the children's publishers discussed in this section of this work were located in London, England.
in the field. He states that this is "attested to not merely by his
dates but by the fact that Newbery issued a series of London books which
was a complete imitation of Boreman's own series."¹

Thwaite also believes there is no doubt that Newbery was ac­
quainted with the work of Boreman. She mentions that Boreman's volumes
were even smaller than Newbery's, "not two inches square."¹ She also
states that some of the other features attributed as Newbery firsts had
already been used by Boreman. Among these were the use of Dutch flowery
covers and the address or dedication to "Little Masters and Misses."²

Boreman's purpose in writing has been clearly stated in both the
works which he wrote for children and those which he compiled. In dis­
cussing Boreman as a compiler, Judith St. John in the Osborne Catalog
quotes him as stating, "Most books which have been made use of to intro­
duce children into a habit of reading . . . tend rather to cloy than to
entertain them."³ Boreman purported to entertain as well as instruct.

Thwaite also quotes purpose from one of Boreman's prefaces.
¹... there is no fixing the attention of the mind [of little children]
but by amusing it.⁴

¹Muir, op. cit., p. 61. The dates of Boreman's publishing for
children were 1736-1743. Newbery's first book for children was published
in 1744, A Little Pretty Pocket Book. See Annotations Section in this
chapter.

²Thwaite, op. cit., p. 42. Welch, op. cit., p. 142, adds that
there were even a list of subscribers to each publication published.
³This was in its work.

³Osborne, op. cit., p. 198.

⁴Thwaite, op. cit., p. 42. Thwaite does not tell the name of the
book to which the preface belongs.
Stone, in his little 41-page book, *The Gigantick Histories*, gives excellent descriptions of the little books that Boreman wrote himself. These are mainly about London. The major titles described in detail by Stone are from the series of little books that make up his magnum opus, *The Gigantick Histories*. They are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Publication</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1741</td>
<td><em>Curiosities in the Tower of London, Two Volumes.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1741</td>
<td><em>The History and Description of the Famous Cathedral of St. Paul's London, Two Volumes,</em> (Eighteen pages of Volume II are devoted to &quot;An Account of the Monument of the Fire of London.&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1742</td>
<td><em>Westminster Abbey, Two Volumes.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1Wilbur Macey Stone, *The Gigantick Histories* (Portland, Maine: The Southworth Press, 1933). Only two hundred and fifty copies of this book were printed. The University of Rochester (N. Y.), Rare Book Room, is one of the institutional collections holding a copy of the titles.
The story about the giants:

• • • tells of Gogmagog
And of King Brute,
And of his friend Corineus, who
in fights that mighty giant slew.¹

Although the fabled origin of these giants goes back to Albion,
records show that wickerwork and pasteboard effegies were carried in the processions of the Lord Mayor in the time of Henry VIII.²

The figures were kept in Guildhall and finally perished in the great fire of London. When the building was restored in 1669, the giants were replaced by more substantial heroic statues. . . .³

Each volume measured "two and one-quarter by one and three-quarter inches . . . each contained more than one hundred pages."⁴

The Tower of London volumes were similar in size and character to the earlier work on giants. They open with a eulogistic poem to the author. In this poem Boreman, who was the author, evidences the same

¹Ibid., p. 10. Taken from the Preface of Volume I.
²Ibid., p. 6.
³Ibid., p. 7. The giants have always been literary favorites. John Newbery used them; John Marshall's juvenile library (1800) "exploited them"; Harvey Darton, in 1923, used them in his toy theatre play "The London Review."
⁴Ibid., p. 9.
antipathy towards old English folk tales as Locke did. He writes:

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.

The writer signs himself as "Thy affectionate friend, and well-wisher, A. Z."²

Although Boreman used woodcuts in all of his books he let himself go in the illustrations for the Tower of London. He used 12 full-page cuts of various animals that were kept in the tower zoo. Among his cuts were those of a lion (with a human face), a racoon chained in a pit, and a porcupine. He itemized the charges for seeing these animals.³

The last of the two volumes about St. Paul's Cathedral is especially noteworthy for several reasons. The frontispiece had a portrait of Sir Christopher Wren, the architect who designed the cathedral. The book contained many words too difficult for children such as: entablature, cornice, architrave, "freeze" (frieze), etc. As an aid, Boreman included a glossary to define the terms. Unfortunately, the definitions were ambiguous and as difficult as the words themselves, for example:

Entablature, the architrave, freeze, and cornice of a column together.⁴

Stone dismisses the Abbey books as "mortuary"; Boreman himself realized they were dull.⁵

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¹Ibid., p. 17. ²Ibid., p. 18.
³Ibid., p. 19.
⁴Ibid., p. 27. Some were amusing, for example: "Arch, a hollow building in the form of a rainbow."
⁵Ibid., p. 32.
Daniel Cajanus, The Swedish Giant of the last book, was an authentic person who was born in Finland in 1707. Trying to overcome the hurt of an unhappy love affair, he landed in England and rented himself out to a showman. His contract expired on August 24, 1742 so he set out to see the sights of England. While he was staring at the Guildhall effegies of giants in London, he found so many crowds gathering around him that he left the city (and subsequently England) at once. Boreman writes the story in a "sprightly, interesting style."

Among the subscribers to Boreman's books are the names of children from Portugal, Spain, Ireland, and the American Colonies. Welch states while these books were "never published in America they are important." His reasons for their importance include their size, binding, subscription lists, purpose of amusement, and subject matter.

Welch feels that the Gigantick Histories are especially important. Thwaite agrees with him. She carries his reasoning about the importance of the Histories one step further when she states that they "probably began topographical books for boys and girls."

John Newbery

Thousands of words have been written eulogizing John Newbery. The Twentieth Century Annual Newbery Award to the author of the best book of each year written for boys and girls is in his honor. Many authorities on children's books never mention Boreman. They attribute the "firsts"
listed above for Boreman as being innovations begun by Newbery.

Muir adds a note of explanation.

The greater probability is that the thing was in the air, that several publishers decided to cash in on it about the same time, that they all took the chapbook as their model and that Newbery was the most enterprising and the most successful of them all.

Although Newbery came of a book-selling family, his own father was a farmer at Waltham St. Lawrence, Berkshire. As a boy, Newbery read widely. When he was sixteen, he became assistant to William Carnan, printer, of Reading. Not long after Carnan's death in 1737, Newbery married his widow, Elizabeth, by whom he had three children. One of the children, Francis, succeeded his father in the business.

In 1744, the Newbery's moved to London where they began publishing on a larger scale. Within a year they had moved again to the famous The Bible and the Sun, in St. Paul's churchyard.

Welch states that while Newbery is hailed as the first publisher to cater to a juvenile audience by printing to delight youngsters after the principles laid down by John Locke, he did not invent a new type of recreational book. He merely capitalized on Locke's theories. His genius lay in the number of good children's books he printed and in his methods of successfully marketing them.

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1Muir, op. cit., p. 67.
2Newbery was born there in 1713.
3Francis was first destined for a medical career. The family also sold over 30 patent medicenes. The best known of these was Dr. James' Fever Powder which is alluded to in text and advertisement of many Newbery publications. Francis' inheritance in the business made him the partner in charge of the Dr. James side of the business with a share in publishing. See Darton, op. cit., p. 123.
4Welch, op. cit., p. 144.
Newbery used every marketing device. He listed his own publications in the backs of his books. He mentioned them in the texts. He advertised in both English and American newspapers. After 23 years of business when he died on December 22, 1767, "he was a well-to-do man."

In spite of being a shrewd business man who liked to hear the clink of money in his pocket, he had a genuine affection for children. He continually signed himself, "your friend." He also knew many of the elements that are a part of the young child's interests such as animals and quaint or odd-sounding names. Some of these are: Woglog, Grumlo, Tommy Trip and his dog Jowler, old Zig-Zag.

His books can be classed under such categories as those of humor, animals, knowledge,\(^2\) songs and verse or rhymes, narrative with a strong story line. Several examples of his work are discussed later in this chapter in the section on Annotations, Georgian Age. Twenty of the books are purely recreational. Some important examples of his work that either have no copies extant today or have single copies located in such institutions as the British Museum are *The Lilliputian Magazine* and *The Circle of the Sciences*.

*The Lilliputian Magazine* was intended to be recreational. It was originally advertised as a periodical with separate monthly issues. The

\(^1\) Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

\(^2\) ibid., p. 211. "The range of non-fiction books offered to children by John Newbery, for their entertainment, not merely for their instruction, indicates that this branch of their literature was on the threshold of development."
only survival of this work is a collective volume.\(^1\) It was issued as a volume in 1752. The contents are varied. A part of its contents includes an Androcles lion tale, an anti-cock fighting letter, riddles, jokes, and some stories such as the "History of Master Peter Primrose."\(^2\)

Well read Newbery made use of Swift's idea of Lilliputia. The theme of several of his books is a voyage to an imaginary country. However, he uses the term "Lilliputians" (as did Boreman) to designate the little people for whom he planned his books.\(^3\) "The magazine describes a 'Lilliputian Society' . . . founded on the 'usefulness of learning and the benefits of being good.'"\(^4\)

The Circle of the Sciences (1745) is a compendium of knowledge for the young scholar, a first in a field that is now a perennial feature of publishing.\(^5\) The advertisement hoped that the book would seem an amusement, not a task. The contents covered Grammar, Writing, Arithmetic, Rhetoric, Poetry, "Logick," Geography, and Chronology. The age old method of the catechism, the dialogue, comprised the method of presentation. This continued to be the "favorite method in instructional works for a

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 221. Thwaite calls this the first juvenile periodical. Darton, op. cit., p. 126, however, states that "no monthly issue has been traced, nor does the text suggest that method of issue."

\(^2\)Darton, op. cit., p. 127. On pages 122, 124, 126-130 Darton gives an interesting description of many titles (both recreational and instructive) along with remarks about the facets of Newbery's character revealed by each book. Muir, op. cit., pp. 75-76, gives a list of Newbery publications as written down by Charles Welsh, a one-time partner in the firm of Griffith and Farran, "which was in direct descent from Newbery."

\(^3\)See Barry, op. cit., Chapter III, "The Lilliputian Library" for the evolution of the term and the influence of the books which fall within this category.

century or more. . . .” Darton believes that the book "purveyed palatable instruction rather than amusement."2

Many of Newbery's books are attributed to the pen of Oliver Goldsmith. There is no verification for any of these beliefs but the stories still circulate. It is true that Goldsmith and Newbery were good friends. Goldsmith did write for several of Newbery's adult magazines. It is possible that the two men may have discussed some of the juveniles before they were written down. It is generally accepted that Goldsmith was describing Newbery when he wrote of the genial bookseller in The Vicar of Wakefield.3

Before his death in 1767 John Newbery "established the young reader's right to have books published regularly--books which are the ancestors of the story books of contemporary life enjoyed today. He showed that books for young people, properly designed and marketed, were an important part of the book trade. . . ."4

Darton raises three questions about Newbery's books and his influence on later books.

1. What was Newbery's social or mercantile inheritance?
2. What was the real nature of existing children's books?
3. What materials did Newbery use?


2Darton, op. cit., p. 126. He classes the 1753 Descriptions of St. Paul's, the Tower, and Westminster with The Circle. The Descriptions are the books which leaned so heavily on Boreman's topographical books, this work, supra. Newbery's were for older boys and girls.

3For further discussion of the friendship between the two men and their business relationships see Darton, op. cit., pp. 122-124.

Questions two and three need detailed answering and demand sections of this chapter for themselves. A single quotation from Darton answers question one.

[The clue] lies in his [Newbery's] slogan—'Trade and Plumb-cake forever.' That would not have been a natural war-cry for a middle-class commercial man in England before . . . the reign of George II . . . internal peace, increasing trade at home and abroad, wider literacy in all but the lowest classes, made such an opportunity for a quick brain as had not previously existed.

Nature of Existing Children's Books

The real nature of existing children's books [of the time] lay in the fact that they were "almost entirely a product of the large domesticated middle-class, which began to exist, free of civil war, not wildly excited about religion nor very heedful of political arts, but increasingly conscious and desirous of freedom under the Hanoverian dynasty. . . . The reading habit had come into middling social life." 1

Children's books reflected this habit as it was influenced by the adults who were important in the children's lives. Newbery was quick to seize upon the dual purpose that he must observe: a) to make instruction seem apparent to the adults who bought the books; and b) to provide amusement so obviously that he could entice the children.

Materials in the Books

The materials were still those that had been used for generations. There was the fable, both for amusement and education. The romance still

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1Darton, op. cit., p. 5. Darton adds, "It the[war-cry] was natural for at least a century afterwards."

2Ibid., p. 5. Supra, this section, pp. 143-153, for a discussion of what classes were greatly influenced by religion.
existed in a semi-literary sense. Conduct and education were implicit as in Newbery's first juvenile, *A Pretty Little Pocket Book* (1744). The use of "Jack" in many of the little books implied some relationship with the fairy tale. This was used in clumsy fashion. And, of course, a moral had to be tacked on to placate a public which had been taught to expect this during the Puritanical years.

The style which Newbery made his own required new definitions of both instruction and amusement. He dragged instruction in "by the scruff." Books are "taken up with pictures of children playing games, and little rymes not very securely relevant to them."  

Included in this style were the various commercial touches which "made it clear that the producer had a social rather than a scholastic or religious market in view."  

Later History of Newbery Publications

After the death of John Newbery, the publishing house split in several directions. Two immediate successors were Francis Newbery (John's son) and Thomas Carnan (step-son). Francis and Carnan published together until about 1782 although ill-feeling had sprung up between them before that. To complicate matters, a nephew of John Newbery's with the identical name of John's son, Francis, also received a part of the business. There was rivalry between the two Francis'.

Upon the death of nephew Francis, his wife, Elizabeth, ran the business until she acquired a business manager by the name of John Harris.

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1Darton, op. cit., p. 2.

2Ibid.
Many of Elizabeth's publications were pirated in the colonies. But John Harris, acquiring her firm in 1801, became "one of the most enterprising publishers to make innovations in publications for children in this first decade of the nineteenth century. . . . [He] carried on (at Ludgate Hill) the business John Newbery had founded at No. 65."

Other Publishers for Children

The rather vivid social phenomenon of flourishing commercial enterprise in children's books was exemplified by other publishers than Newbery and his successors. Thwaite identifies the following publishers as those who came into justifiable prominence in the years of the Napoleonic Wars.

John Marshall, pioneer in the 1780's who published the works of Lady Fenn and the Kilner sisters.

William Darton, responsible for giving the works of the Taylor sisters to the world.

John Stockdale, who published the stories of Thomas Day.

Joseph Johnson, Maria Edgeworth's publisher.

Tabart and Company's Juvenile Library which issued many of the old fairy tales.

William Godwin, "one of the most important and new-fashioned of publishers of books for youth through his 'Juvenile Library' 1805-1825."

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1Thwaite, op. cit., p. 84. See Welch, op. cit., pp. 144-148. On p. 144 Welch lists John Newbery's immediate heirs: Francis Jr. (his son), Mary Power (his daughter), Thomas Carnan (step-son), and Francis Sr. (nephew).

2Thwaite, op. cit., p. 86. See Annotations of this period for further identification of these important publishers. There were many others, but these are some of the firms and men deserving of further study.
William Godwin

Although Godwin is often referred to as the publisher of Charles and Mary Lamb, he was an author in his own right. He wrote for his own firm anonymously, partially because of pecuniary troubles and a reputation as an atheist and revolutionary. His chief pseudonyms were "Edward Baldwin" and "Theophilus Marcliffe." He invented as well as rewrote fables, especially for children up to eight years of age. His aim was to make the endings both instructive and happy. The keynote of his writing was a "serious simplicity."

Godwin’s second wife, Mary Jane Clermont, planned the 1805 beginning of the bookshop and publishing venture for children. At first the firm was listed under the name of its manager, Thomas Hodgkins. About the time of the business’s removal from "near" Oxford Street to Skinner Street, Mrs. Godwin listed the firm under her own name. She possessed the business ability that Godwin lacked.

Darton believes that "Godwin is the nucleus of many of the 'smaller movements' in children's literature at this point..." Godwin not only befriended the Lambs and their followers but he translated the

1Godwin’s first wife was author and free thinker, Mary Wollstonecraft (d. 1797). Their daughter married Shelley who was a Godwin admirer. Shelley was enthralled with Godwin’s revolutionary treatise of 1793, An Inquiry into Political Justice. There are many excellent biographies of both William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft. H. R. James’ sketch, a book entitled Mary Wollstonecraft (London: OUP, 1932) contains many quick references to Godwin and in Appendix B lists an important number of references which include the happenings of the rather important Godwin literary circle. Godwin was also known for his adult novel, Caleb Williams (1794).

2Darton, op. cit., p. 201,
first English edition of *Swiss Family Robinson*,¹ stood up for fairy tales in the midst of one of the lively differences of opinion which always arise between people-of-fact and people-of-fancy² (paradoxically he aided the cause of the moral tale),³ and he furthered innovations in the illustration of children's books by sponsoring William Hulready.⁴

**Illustration in Children's Books**

Until about 1825 (with the invention of the steam cylinder press) all printing was done by a handpress. This was equally true of reproducing illustrations. The usual techniques were wood engravings (cuts), copper engravings, and steel engravings. Sometimes an artist did both the design and the engraving. More often the engraver transferred the design to the type of engraving that was his specialty.

There are three fundamental methods of printing: relief, intaglio, and planographic. In a relief method, such as woodcut, the letters or portion of a design to be printed are raised up. For intaglio the design is incised, made below the surface (as in copper engraving). If a flat surface is treated in part with a substance that repels ink then a design can be printed from the untreated portion which receives the

¹*Supra*, annotations, Georgian Age.

²Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 219. "The Tabart Series under discussion on this and following pages is indicative of the rising publishing trend which put emphasis on the fairy tale as a heritage for children."

³*Supra*, section on Rousseau, p. 153.

⁴*Supra*, following section on Children's Illustrators.
ink. This is the principle behind the planographic method.\(^1\)

Lithography was accidentally discovered by Alois Senefelder in 1796. He wrote his mother's laundry list with a greasy pencil on a porous stone. He then experimented until he had developed a full-fledged printing process.\(^2\)

The first successful adaptation of lithography to color printing was done in 1816 by a J. A. Barth of Breslau. Such work was too expensive to use in children's books until the 1860's.

Hand coloring was widely used until about 1835. For this reason the percentage of colorful illustrations (in comparison to black and white) was small. Metal blocks were preferred to wooden blocks for pictures that were to be colored. The outlines were bolder. Publishers (such as Harris)\(^3\) made a widespread change from wood blocks to metal plates.\(^4\)

In the 1820's-1830's young children were given their first series of cheerful, inelegant but colorful, little picture books and easy stories. Thomas Dean had begun his firm in Threadneedle Street at the end of the 18th century. It was first known as Dean and Mundy, then as Dean and Company. The books were ephemeral but provided "a quantity of picture books for young readers which filled a need and stimulated trade."\(^5\)

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\(^1\)Planographic: printing from an image on the same plane as the non-image portions. For these definitions see Mahoney, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-163.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 166.

\(^3\)Supra, *Later History of Newbery publications*.

\(^4\)Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

\(^5\)Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 198. The firm used hand coloring until the 1860's.
One of the first metals to be tried for book illustrations was copper. It was especially good for maps, music, and as a fine arts media. Among the great 18th century artists who did their own copper engraving were William Blake and William Hogarth. Hogarth began as a professional engraver of other artists' drawings, progressed to the satire in picture of 18th century life as mentioned earlier in this work.  

Matching Pictures With Text

In the early eighteenth century printers still followed the hap-hazard method of their predecessors in improper placing of pictures in a text. It made no difference whether the book were fiction, non-fiction or school book. In the seventeen-seventies a young wood cut apprentice began to change this practice. He introduced the matching of pictures to letters and words. The young apprentice was Thomas Bewick who produced a series of twenty-four miniature cuts of animals and birds to illustrate the letters of the alphabet. Each cut was under one inch square, finished with . . . perfection and accuracy. . . . The little book was an immediate success, and . . . [a] most consistent seller. . . .

In 1790 a little book called The Enigmatical Alphabet posed a series of riddles each of which was answered by a letter of the alphabet. A stream of attractive ABC books flowed from about 1800 on. Each of these was dependent upon illustration and design for a great deal of its attractiveness.

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1Mahoney, op. cit., p. 164.

2Muir, op. cit., p. 220; Muir discussing The Only Method to Make Reading Easy.
Early illustration for children was done as part-time and usually anonymous work. Two artists who illustrated children's books during the Georgian period but who did not earn a living by this work are: Richard Corbould (1757-1831) and Thomas Stothard.¹

Muir dates the emergence of the "recognized professional book illustrator of juveniles with the Bewicks and Cruikshank..."²

The Bewicks, Thomas and John

Until the end of the 18th century most illustration for children was still anonymous. Thomas Bewick who matched word and picture, who was considered the "earliest in modern times to have earned his living almost exclusively by illustrating... was also among the earliest to have his name featured on the title page..."³ Excellent as his work was the results of his woodcuts were often lamentable due to the unskilled people who sometimes did the printing and to the poor quality of paper that was used in the interests of cheapness. When Bewick supervised the use of his blocks, the production was better.

He devised several techniques which brought back the popularity of the woodcut for book illustration. He produced a new type of engraving tool and he developed two processes: 'use of the 'white line,'

¹Ibid., p. 174. For a bibliography of books illustrated by them see Mahoney, op. cit., pp. 400 and 440.

²Ibid., p. 174.

³Ibid., p. 173.
use of the end-grain block."

After he became a partner in the Newcastle firm for which he had been working, he took his brother John on as an apprentice.

Although John is responsible for illustrating a long list of books, he has five great works. They are: *Gay's Fables* (1779); *Select Fables* (1784); *General History of Quadrupeds* (1790); *The History of British Birds* (1797-1804); and *The Fables of Aesop* (1818).

John Bewick is best known for the delicacy and imagination with which he did children and interior scenes in Berquin's *The Looking Glass for the Mind* (1791). Both brothers illustrated children's books together. Each also did wood engravings for such romantic poets as Goldsmith and Parnell in 1795.

George Cruikshank

An illustrator quite different from either of the Bewicks but equally worthy of recognition is George Cruikshank. Muir describes him as "a strange and prolific artist . . . eerie and unworlby . . . with a positive leeriness about his hobgoblins, witches, and other creatures. . . ." The best known of Cruikshank's goblins are those done for the

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1Mahoney, op. cit., pp. 15, 163, 164. Adams, op. cit., p. 366, explains that: "the white line . . . gives better shading in the wood cut . . ."; using the end grain means using "blocks cut across [the grain] instead of with the grain. . . ." An end grain block could withstand more printing pressure than one in which the grain side was uppermost.

2Mahoney, op. cit., p. 16.

3Supra, annotations, 1791.

4Supra, Romanticism.

5Muir, op. cit., p. 173.
Grimm brother's stories. They were engraved in copper.\(^1\) He is also remembered for his *Punch and Judy* and as Dickens' (Phiz) incomparable Boz.

**William Mulready**

William Mulready, an Englishman born in Ireland (1786-1863), came into fame with a publication of John Harris's. This is a delightful verse story, *The Butterfly's Ball and the Grasshopper's Feast*, written by William Roscoe, a fifty-three year old member of Parliament, for his little son, Robert. The poem first appeared in magazine form in November of 1806. A large edition was ready to sell "in plain or colored form" on January 1, 1807.\(^2\) This contained six engravings after Mulready with the text engraved below the pictures.\(^3\)

Mulready illustrated other similar verses for Harris. Mahoney lists these as *Lion's Masquerade*, *Peacock at Home*, and *Elephant's Ball*, all published in 1807.\(^4\) The illustrations matched the spontaneity and freshness of the verses. The drawings were puckish and full of spirited mischief. Neither verses nor illustrations had any trace of "moral value ... archness, patronage, grown-up-ness, be-good-ness."\(^5\)

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\(^4\) Mahoney, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19, differs by stating that there were 14 hand-colored pictures, twelve of which Mulready did with original pen and brush drawings.

\(^5\) Darton, *op. cit.*, describes these and other similar verses on pp. 205-207. In his *Index* he calls them the *Butterfly's Ball Series*. 
simply good fun, the first of a new class of writing for children for the purpose of sheer enjoyment. For the first time illustrations were coequal with text.

Lewis Carroll used the easy rhythm of this class of writing in parts of *Alice in Wonderland*. Dr. Seuss (Theodore Geisel) of the twentieth century uses the same rhythm and fanciful ideas in his better long verses.

Although simultaneously employed by Harris and Godwin for a few years, Mulready did most of his early work for Godwin. He illustrated many of Godwin's own stories and most of those written by Charles and Mary Lamb. Godwin even wrote an account of Mulready's early life and struggles in *The Looking Glass* (Hodgkins, 1805).¹

Mulready's fine drawings for Godwin were done on copper plates. Many of them were engraved by Blake. In later years Mulready did work with the Pre-Raphaelites and was published by Cundall and by Moxon.²

**William Blake**

Many people do not think of William Blake, the mystic genius, as either a writer or an illustrator for children. Unsung in his own day, acclaim for his work has grown with the years. In the twentieth century

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¹Hodgkins was another of Godwin's pseudonyms. See Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 202; Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 88. Thwaite explains that the "account" was written by "Theophilus Marcliffe" (pseud.). Hodgkins was the publisher. Both were Godwin.

²See this work, Chapter III, Victorian Period, section on illustration. Material on Mulready is scattered on several different pages, mixed with material about other people, in the sources already cited: Darton, Mahoney, Muir, and Thwaite.
this acclaim has reached such a volume that it would be sacrilege to attempt an overall assessment of the man in this work. Nevertheless, he needs to be briefly discussed in terms of the illustrations that he did for children's books.

Blake was poor, proud, possessed a religious belief that fit into no accepted creed, and spent part of his life quarreling with his benefactors. He began as an engraver, specializing in copper work, engraving after the drawings of such people as Mulready. Much of his work is in such obscurity that even today many people believe that some illustrations ascribed to other artists are in reality Blake's.

To eke out his living Blake turned out potboilers and received commissions from Johnson, the publisher. He was never an ingratiating illustrator for themes depicting real life. As a consequence many of the potboiler illustrations, in connection with the texts they illustrate, are almost humorous.

His work was eclectic. Some examples of this are his illustrations for the Bible and for Milton's Comus. His water color drawings for the Bible are "Perhaps the best Bible illustrations of modern times. . . ."

The eight little known designs that Blake did for Comus express the "frankly childlike idealism" which he reveals in his early poetry.

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1He is also discussed in this work, supra, Annotations for the Georgian Period: 1789, Songs of Innocence; 1791, Original Stories from Real Life; the various works by the Lambs.

2Supra, section on Mulready.

3See Darton, op. cit., Chapter XI, passim.

4Mahoney, op. cit., p. 23.

5Ibid., p. 182.
These illustrations were "not planned for children . . . [but] speak directly to boys and girls because of their high spirits, their fancy and humor. . . ."  

Blake's devoted wife worked with him in tinting many of the impressions of his drawings. "Blake [often] ground mixed his colors himself on a piece of marble with carpenter's glue for binder.\(^1\)"

Working during a period when the engraver was as important as the artist, Blake was one of the real pioneers. With his combination of etherealness, imaginative design, sense of color, almost contradictory sense of austerity and gayety, craftsmanship with metal work, and skill in making his own colors Blake has left . . . no descendents in a direct line, yet perhaps his belief as shown in illustration, in the importance of childhood, his compassion and tenderness for children, may have been the forerunner of the interest in the child for himself . . . and of the efforts to understand children, which were to characterize the century to come.\(^3\)

Through the work of such men illustration for children's books, came into being during the Georgian period. Illustrators could support themselves. Books were sometimes bought because of the illustrations and the illustrator. Text and picture were often coequal. And the real picture book for the small child began,

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 24.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 23.

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 24. On pp. 511, 512 Mahoney gives three excellent references for reading in depth about William Blake and his art.
Major Forms of Writing for Children

Although the annotations for this period show a variety of types of material published for children, the major form of writing for them was moral or didactic in both prose and verse. Darton divides them into three categories: The Tales of the Theorists; The Didactic Moral Tale; The Persuasive Moral Tale (mostly verse). Thwaite includes all of the categories under the heading of Moral Tale. Muir uses his "Monstrous Regiment" to indicate a large group of writers who published moral and didactic prose and verse from about 1760 through the 1830's. This regiment did include at least one man, Thomas Day. Dr. Aiken might be added to the roster. However, there are other men who certainly wrote "moral" tales.

There were five major influences on these didactic and moral writers. Three of them can be represented by men: Robert Raikes (and the Sunday School), John Wesley (and the Evangelical movement in religion), and Jean Jacques Rousseau (and the impelling force of his own philosophy with its views on liberty and on education). The other two influences are the changing views of education in that day and the Romantic Movement in writing and literary criticism. The men are each concerned

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1 See next section, this work.

2 Darton, *op. cit.*, headings for Chapters IX, X, and XI respectively.

3 Muir, *op. cit.*, heading for Chapter III.

4 The most representative of the authors listed by Muir on pp. 94-99 are discussed in the annotations at the end of this chapter on the Georgian period.

5 It is wise to keep in mind that life in general was still concerned with the residue of Puritan ideas.
with one facet of "Education." Their concern had great implications for the kinds of books that would be written for children. The dedicated group of people in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century who wrote for children were very serious minded. The women, especially, wrote minor but continuous educational treatises that were read and believed in by the adults who bought books for children. Thus, the influenced and the influencers formed a circle of interaction. It is sometimes difficult to know where one leaves off and the other begins.

Robert Raikes and the Sunday School

Just as John Newbery did not begin publishing for children but utilized and bettered ideas already in practice so Robert Raikes did not start the Sunday School but changed and enlarged its scope. For many years country people, in their homes as well as in their churches, had utilized Sunday as a day for teaching children. Gloucester printer and newspaper editor Robert Raikes investigated what had been done in this educational attempt. For twenty years he had been concerned with prison reform and the rehabilitation of the criminal. His newspaper, The Gloucester Journal served as an organ for disseminating his social philosophy to a reading public.¹

In despair Raikes came to the conclusion that it was too late to reform adults. The teaching of positive values must begin with the young. The prevailing views of the age, however, contained the idea that the children of the poor were a different species than the children of

¹J. Henry Harris, Robert Raikes: The Man and His Work (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1899), p. 103. Harris states that back files of the Journal are of great value in documenting the social history of the eighteenth century. Unless designated otherwise, all material on Raikes is taken from this book by Harris.
other classes, therefore, they could not be taught virtue. Raikes de-
cided to do what he called "botanizing with human nature."

He began his experiment with a few of the worst "toughs" in
Sooty Alley, the dwelling place of the chimney sweeps. He taught these
boys himself until the first school mistress of the four he ultimately
employed was ready. She moved from her small public house, the Trumpet,
to Southgate Street directly across from Robert Raikes' own church, the
St. Mary de Crypt Cathedral.

It was difficult to gather the boys together. Some of them were
factory workers. Sunday was their day of pleasure. It was a weekly
Sarturnalalia with gaming, cock fighting, gin swilling, and general car-
ousing. Most of the boys had to be bribed. Those who had no jobs came
for clothes and food. Others came for money. Parents who wanted their
reluctant children to attend school sometimes fastened 14 pound weights
to the boys' legs, or logs of wood tied to their ankles, to keep them
from running away.

Although Raikes dressed like a dandy, took snuff, and often went
about accompanied by a manservant, he was not afraid of any hoodlum. He
towered above the boys with his lanky height. He caned them when he
thought it was necessary, and they usually accepted the punishment. Some-
times he dragged the worst terrorizers home, watched the parent mete out
punishment, then brought the sniveling boy back to school.

Raikes' authoritarian manner reflected the prevailing attitude of

1 Ibid., p. 73. [He] "believed hungry children were easier handled
and better taught by being fed."

2 Ibid., p. 39.
the times concerning the "rightful" punishment of children and the philosophy of doing one's duty. For example, one who knows what is right has a duty to teach others to do right. His belief in right caused him to emphasize bathing, combing hair, wearing clean clothes, using good manners.

As he led his ragged contingent through the city streets he was called 'Wild Goose Bobby.'\(^1\) Raggedness did not embarrass him. Foul language and harmful tricks did. "He was a terror to all evil doers and a praise to them that did well."\(^2\)

Once started, the schools were kept in four places: 1) at Mrs. Mary Critchley's house on Southgate Street; 2) in St. Mary de Crypt Cathedral; 3) in the Crypt grammar school adjacent to the church; and 4) at the Corn Exchange. The last meeting place was only used for twelve months when attendance at each "school" swelled to over 120.

In the beginning only boys were permitted to attend. Eventually girls came as well.

A similar group of Sunday Schools was being conducted at the same time in another part of Gloucester by a Reverend Thomas Stock. At times the rivalry between the two groups was so high that townspeople divided themselves into Stockites and Raikites. In spite of this it has generally been conceded that the birth of the Sunday School Movement began with Robert Raikes on November 3, 1783.\(^3\)

Raikes used his own newspaper as an organ for editorializing about

1\(^{\text{ibid.}, \ pp. \ 37-39.}\)  
2\(^{\text{ibid.}, \ p. \ 39.}\)  
3\(^{\text{ibid.}, \ p. \ 35. \ This \ was \ after \ his \ first \ experiment \ which \ he \ did \ not \ publicize \ until \ he \ decided \ it \ was \ a \ success.}\)
the need of education for children of the lower classes. At first he
was especially concerned for the child whose parents had criminal records.
When he discovered through his years of attempting prison reform that he
was not reaching the children, he changed his approach. He decided that
the only way to reform was to prevent criminals from being made. He be­
lieved that getting a child young enough and teaching him morals, ethics,
manners, as well as how to read and think for himself would be a preven­
tive.1

Raikes was aided in publicizing his theories and his schools not
only by his Methodist friends John and Charles Wesley but also by the
editor of another publication, Gentleman's Magazine.2 This influential
magazine "opened its columns for the advocacy of the ideas and obtained
publicity and support."3 It published letters written by Raikes describ­
ing his experiment and it encouraged discussion through printing letters
from others on the subject and through editorials.4

One year after the movement began (1784), 2,000 children were
admitted to a Sunday School in Leeds,5

Four years after the beginning, the Gentleman's Magazine printed
that there were then "250,000 children being taught in the Sunday Schools."6

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1 Ibid., p. 101, passim.
2 While Raikes' Gloucester newspaper is not listed in Thrall and
Hibbard's Handbook, op. cit., p. 262. The Gentleman's Magazine is ranked
as the first English literary magazine, founded in 1731.
3 Harris, op. cit., p. 63.
4 Ibid., p. 63, passim. On p. 60 Harris names John Nichols as
pseudonymous "Mr. Urban" who gave the aid.
5 Ibid., p. 74.
6 Ibid., p. 75.
As important a personage as the Dean of Lincoln observed "that the teaching of children did and would have far reaching and beneficial influences upon families and neighborhoods. . . ."

To sum up the current opinion of the time, a correspondent to the Gentleman's Magazine projected what these "far reaching influences" might be:

. . .many thousands of children when adults . . . will then have the capacity of contributing to the sciences; thousands of others for the want of the capacity to read—the introduction to all knowledge—will take up the alternative of idle and unprofitable company.  

However pleased Raikes was with the acclaim given to his project, he was the first to admit that Sunday teaching was not enough. The children needed more hours of school if they were to continue to learn. With this idea in mind, he set up an industrial school. He even advocated national schools of education.

What Raikes did not anticipate were the side influences of his movement. As well as the numbers of children who by learning to read created a market for books and book clubs, there were the many women who wrote for children and who were active in the Sunday School Movement. They described the Sunday School work in "do-good" stories for middle-class children. They wrote nauseous little tracts for the poorer or Sunday School children. These women were even active in a schism in the purpose of the schools. The most influential of these women, Hannah More, a children's writer, believed in "unequal" teaching: for example,

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1Ibid., p. 77. Other dignataries are quoted who voice the same opinions: for example, The Bishops of Salisbury and Llandoff.

2Ibid., p. 80.
a farmer's son deserved to be taught reading and ciphering but the child of a day laborer should be content with less. Mrs. Trimmer (another of the militant regiment of writers) feared that learning might encourage the wrong kind of boys to aspire to be "nobles of the land and to take the place of the hereditary nobility."

Mrs. Trimmer did start a Sunday School at Brentford. To aid in the "right sort of reading" she "produced a number of 'Series of Prints' (small books of copperplates) to illustrate sacred and profane history and volumes of 'Lessons' to accompany them." The Kilner sisters also wrote to help supply material for the Brentford Sunday School.

As a final outcome, special Sunday School magazines as well as books suitable for reading on Sundays became a trend in publishing for the growing "army" of small readers.

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**John Wesley and His Brother Charles**

(Representatives of One Form of Evangelicalism)

Wesleyan Methodists conducted Sunday Schools of a very liberal nature that encouraged all manner of reading and learning for any boy and girl who wanted to learn. However, before Methodism, the Wesleys were zealous Anglicans. Had this not been true, neither John nor Charles Wesley could have attended Oxford University.

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1Mathieson, op. cit., p. 60.  2Ibid., p. 61.
5Mathieson, op. cit., p. 59. Some unliberal prelates believed that the Sunday Schools were seed beds of Jacobinism and that a "little army" [of 10 and 12 year-olds] was being trained to overthrow the government.
At Oxford the two brothers belonged to a devotional society nick-named "The Methodists." After much soul searching John changed from sacramental to personal religion. He spent the rest of his life preaching his tenet of conversion. The public was so excited by this belief that other clergy refused to allow such meetings within their church walls. In answer to the problem posed by this, Wesley instigated open-air meetings and services conducted in homes. His friend Whitfield (a later influence in changing Methodism from its original form) helped to set up meetings in such other convenient places as Lady Huntingdon's drawing room or homes large enough to seat the interested.

The denomination grew. In 1738 there were only ten Evangelical preachers. In 1764 there were fifty. In 1791 (the year of John Wesley's death) there were five hundred.

John Wesley set up a school, Kingswood, where he put into practice his theory of education and of moral discipline. It was an experimental school with the pupil population made up of 28 boys all under 12 years of age. They were the sons of Wesley's itinerant preachers. After suffering vicissitudes similar to those experienced during all experimental programs, the school was finally considered a success.

Beyond advancing education for boys and girls of all ages and classes, and advocating reading and books as a basis of knowledge, the Evangelical revival rendered one of the greatest services to humanity--

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1 Ibid., pp. 32-34. The final change was due to inspiration Wesley received from the Moravian Sect. (This is the religious group of which Comenius was Bishop.)

2 Ibid., p. 33.
Wesley published much about 'that execrable' slavery. He influenced Wilberforce and Granville Sharpe. Sharpe worked with Benjamin Franklin and the Quaker Anthony Benezet (the slave's best friend in America) towards the abolishment of the slave trade.

Slaves, the wickedness of slavery, the problem inherent in such a 'degrading' system were frequent themes or side issues in much of the literature for children and young people.

Two other influences on children were: 1) the hymns of Charles Wesley and 2) Evangelical support and extension of the Sunday School.

Hymnology is a study in itself. In comparison with conditions in Germany it was late developing in England, nevertheless, it grew from the seventeenth century "Graces" which Robert Herrick wrote for children and the Rocking Hymns of George Wither through Watts' Divine Songs (1715) to Charles Wesley's Hymns for Children (1763).

Wesley's little book was published in the heyday of John Newbery and his bustling commercialism, between Tommy Tripp's History of Birds

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1 For a complete discussion see Mathieson, op. cit., pp. 34-40; 65-75. This describes the gradual process towards abolition. It includes a discussion of Lord Mansfield's 1783 judgement "that slavery could not be enforced at law within the bounds of England," This left several hundred destitute slaves in London. For them in 1787, Sharpe established the African Colony of Sierra Leone. Mathieson also discusses some of the 'weaknesses' of Evangelicalism. For an understanding of the varieties of Evangelicalism (for example, Anglican vs. Methodist), see Amy Cruse, The Englishman and His Books in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Crowell, n.d.) Chapter IV, "The Clapham Sect."

2 See Thwaite, op. cit., p. 249, for discussion; Darton, op. cit., pp. 158, 174 and 148n.

3 See Annotations, this work, Georgian Period, 1715 Isaac Watts Divine Songs.
Many of Wesley's hymns, even today, are included in many collections of hymns and poems that [in the opinion of their editors] every child should know.2

Charles and John were both gentle in their attitudes towards children. Although their mother, Susannah, had 18 children, she always found time to have one hour a week apiece devoted to each of her children. During that hour her time and attention were the sole property of that child. No one else could claim even one minute. She impressed upon her children the belief that the supreme edict of Jesus was, "Suffer the little children to come unto me."3

Charles shows this influence and feeling in his hymns. One quatrain memorized by hundreds of children shows his feeling:

Gentle Jesus, meek and mild,
Look upon a little child.
Pity my simplicity,
Suffer me to come to Thee.4

Other familiar first lines of hymns which lead into thought expressing belief in a God who is good to His "children" are:

1See annotations, Georgian Period, 1763, Little Goody Two-Shoes (author unknown).

2An example of one such collection is Francis Turner Palgrave's The Treasury of Sacred Song; Selected from the English Lyrical Poetry Four Centuries (Clarendon Press, 1890). This bibliographical data is from a book in the personal library of the writer of this work. There are more recent editions.

3"Susannah Wesley and Her Influence on Children" from the unpublished memoirs of Dr. George Edgar Gullen, Detroit, 1965.

4Smith, op. cit., p. 47.
"Oh, for a thousand tongues to tell;"\(^1\)

"A charge to keep have I;"\(^2\)

"Jesus, lover of my soul;"\(^3\)

"Spirit of faith come down;"\(^4\)

Children's minds were fed on more than hymns. Elva Smith suggests that the influence of the Evangelical family and of the Sunday School caused the development of the religious story for children.\(^5\) Mrs. Sherwood (The Fairchild Family, 1818), Charlotte Yonge (The Daisy Chain, 1856), and American Susan B. Warner (Wide Wide World, 1850) are representative in the historical growth of this genre which reached a climax at the end of Victoria's long reign.\(^6\)

**Rousseau**

Jean Jacques Rousseau is credited with having more influence on education and on writing for children than any other man of his age. Matthew Josephson in his biography *Jean Jacques Rousseau* even goes so far as to state that "after 1760 the eighteenth century belonged to Rousseau."\(^7\)

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\(^4\) *Ibid.*, p. 67. These are similar in spirit to hymns for children by the Taylor sisters in 1808, Felicia Hemans in 1827. See this work, Annotations, Georgian Period, 1808, 1827.

\(^5\) *Smith, op. cit.*, p. 102.

\(^6\) Sherwood and Yonge are discussed in this work under Annotations, Georgian Period, according to their respective dates of publication: 1818, 1856. Warner is under Annotations, Victorian Regime, 1850.

Some Beliefs About Rousseau's Influence

While Josephson's statement is primarily concerned with education and "the liberation of the child," Darton concerns himself with the impact of Rousseau on children's books. He prefaces his chapter on writers who are theorists [followers of Rousseau] with the following:

In the period following Newbery's death [1767], the works of Rousseau had a very direct effect upon English books for children. Many writers acknowledged their debt to Emile.¹

Thwaite strikes a different note. She couples the influence of the Romantic writers with the influence of Rousseau in her statement:

Rousseau and the Romantic writers who followed him were soon to open up new feeling for the wonders of nature . . . towards the end of the century . . . this . . . began to invade children's books.²

Presenting a third point of view, Barry states her belief that "In England Rousseau's teaching had more effect on the actual life of the family than on books."³

Barry elaborates this view when she defines the writers for children as they were in the period immediately following Rousseau.

Most writers of children's books were theorists of one sort or another and now that they had begun to draw from life with Pamela, etc., they tried to make it fit their theories. Thus, the new books were hardly less didactic than the old.⁴

¹Darton, op. cit., p. 141. Note: Darton separates the 18th and early 19th century writers of didactic story into the "theorists" and the "moralists." Elva Smith, in her History of Children's Literature, op. cit., appears to give equal emphasis to the influence of the Sunday Schools, Evangelicalism, and all educational theories (not just the Roussean) upon all of the English writers of the children's moral story. See p. 77, passim.

²Thwaite, op. cit., p. 141.

³Barry, op. cit., p. 105.

⁴Ibid., p. 105.
Each of these statements involve the influence of the man Rousseau as he made himself and his life felt through *Emile*, a romance as well as a book of revolutionary educational theory.

Who Rousseau Was

Rousseau was born in Geneva, Switzerland. His forebearers were refugee Huguenots of varying temperaments. Each paternal generation produced not only fine watchmakers but one or more renegades from the Calvinistic atmosphere of Geneva. Rousseau's father, Isaac, was one of the renegades, a man with a Gypsy nature. His interests were many: hunting, fishing, violin playing, singing, dancing, arguing, reading, discussing the virtues of freedom and the restrictions of Calvinistic life (even though he was a devout Christian in principle). Much of Isaac's family conversation ended in tears and maudlin memories of his wife, Suzanne, who died when Jacques was born. Remembering such moments Rousseau wrote, "I cost my mother her life, and my birth was the first of my misfortunes. . . . I felt before I thought."!

As was the custom, both Isaac and Suzanne had something tangible to trade each other in their marriage. Suzanne had an ample dowry including money and a well selected library. Isaac brought his trade of watchmaking and "an excellent competence for those days..."! But after Suzanne's death Isaac paid little attention to business. He was forced to sell his good house in the better part of Geneva and move to a

1Quoted in Josephson, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
2Ibid., p. 11.
3Ibid., p. 9.
lower class more populous section on the right bank of the Rhone. Here the family lived in a gloomy third floor apartment.

Jacques spent much of his early life reading his mother's books in his father's dusty workshop. Father and son read many books together: Ovid, Tacitus, Plutarch, and the frivolous seventeenth century romances. They wept together as they read and they sometimes read to each other all night long.

However, this happy though unusual parent-child relationship ended when Jean Jacques was ten. Isaac was caught poaching. He was too quarrelsome with the owner of the property and had to take refuge beyond the nearby frontier. Jean and his brother became the charges of an uncle. The brother ran away but Jacques and a cousin were boarded with Pastor Lambercier in a little village not far from Geneva.

Life in the village brought good and bad to Jean. He had a garden and a good playmate. The pastor taught the boys their lessons. But the pastor's strange sister awakened "a precocious sex impulse . . . [which] determined all his tastes, desires, passim, and in a contrary sense to that which should have followed naturally. . . . To be at the knees of an imperious mistress, to obey her orders, to be forced to beg her pardon!"

From this time on successive incidents of injustice, sympathetic

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1 Ibid., p. 11.
3 Ibid., pp. 17, 18.
4 Ibid., p. 19.
response to others, and an almost unbelievable number of misadventures occurred to Jean. He describes them all in his "confessions" and relates the effect he believed they had in forming his adult character.\(^1\)

One definite turning point in his life came upon his return to Geneva from the pastor's home. Jean was twelve. His uncle apprenticed him to a young mean-tempered engraver. The boy was beaten, almost starved. He found surcease from his dreary life in a lending library of somewhat salacious books and in occasional Sunday holidays with other boys outside the city walls. On one holiday he did not return to the walls until after the entrance gate was locked. Being afraid to return to his master, he traveled away across the Swiss border finally arriving at the home of attractive Madame de Warens in Annecy.

Madame was instrumental in his taking instruction at a Catholic monastery. She became his friend, mother, confidante, and mistress for a decade or more. Thus began Jean's series of travels and his amours with both women and religion.\(^2\)

During Rousseau's 26th year, Madame de Warens and he moved to Les Charmettes, a house built in the midst of an orchard and surrounded by flowers. Here Rousseau put himself to systematic study for the first time in his life. It was France's age of enlightenment. He bought and read all the great works of his time. Of all the authors whom he explored, Fenélon touched him the most. Josephson describes the appeal thus:

\(^1\)ibid., p. 19-21.

\(^2\)ibid., pp. 29-92.
The moral conscience in Fenélon ... made a lasting appeal to Rousseau who stated, 'If Fenélon had lived in my time ... I would have tried to be his lackey, his valet.'

Here, too, he experimented with science, he toyed with the music by which he was later to earn his meagre living, he even wrote a little. He did not envisage the stirring people who would soon enter his life: Diderot, the other encyclopedists, Mme. de Houdetot (and her comte). He was not yet "citizen" Rousseau. He did not yet know the loyal Therese Levasseur who was to become the tragic mother of his five deserted children.

Rousseau did not begin his serious writing until he was forty. *Julie* or the New Heloïse, *Social Contract* and *Emile* followed closely upon one another. *Julie* endeared him to the female contingent posing a new attitude about morals to a lax age. *Social Contract* began his ideas on education. But *Emile*, his philosophical romance, completed when he was fifty, was dearest to his heart. It contained the essence of all he believed and the bitterness he now felt at having abandoned his children to institutional dehumanizing.

**Emile**

In format *Emile* is divided into four books which describe the life and education of the protagonist, Emile, during childhood, adolescence, manhood, the choosing of the right mate, and the development of a true spiritual life. The style is a mixture of simplicity, complexity, pathos, bathos, shrewd logic, contradictory statements, prejudice, wisdom, and astounding prognostication of future world events. In short, it resembles the amazing life of Jean Jacques Rousseau himself.

It has been called a seminal book.¹ The authorities on history of children's literature all agree that it is important without entirely agreeing upon the manner in which it is important. Those areas in which the authorities do agree are these:

1. Rousseau sets up a specific group of books "fit" for a child or youth to read. The first in importance of these books is Robinson Crusoe, not to be read by Emile until he is twelve. From the emphasis put upon Crusoe comes a group of books called the Robinsonnades.²

2. Some of the books for the older Emile are those of Fenélon, Ovid, and Plutarch: Fenélon for spiritual guidance and purity of motive, Ovid to represent classic literature, and Plutarch for the inspiration which comes from the lives of great men.³ Fables are not only excluded as desirable reading for child and youth but are dissected with great care. La Fontaine, with his wit and elegance, is acceptable for the mature adult.


²Darton, op. cit., p. 113, passim. Robinsonnade is defined on p. 113. Darton contends that there are "three potential Crusoes, the lonely savage, the mariner of York, and the rational-natural man. While pages 113-120 concern this category of children's books, on pages 119 and 120 Darton lists a few Robinsonnade titles (with publication dates) which are worth exploring. Each book in the annotated sections of this work which may be classified as a Robinsonnade is so labeled.

³These are some of the books that the young Jean and his father read together. See this work, p. 156.
3. Rousseau indicates a need for change in morals (both public and family) and blazes a path meant to lead to this change. In very human fashion each of his followers adapted the direction of this path to suit his own perceptions.

4. Rousseau intensifies the "liberation" of the child, a process begun and carried on by such predecessors as Comenius, Bunyan, Fenelon. The impact of Rousseau's thought is so great upon succeeding educators that Pestalozzi (1746-1827), Froebel (1782-1852), and Herbart (1776-1841) were among the educators who modified and extended the "liberating" process. They gave such endowments to twentieth century educators as: "the whole personality;" the idea that education is moral albeit secular; "learning through doing;" adjustment of one's life to the lives and personalities of others; relating the new and unknown to the familiar.\(^1\) In short, education builds personality, develops character, and produces the "good" citizen.

5. Education begins before the child can speak or "understand."

\(^1\)Adams, op. cit., pp. 53-61. On p. 54 Adams lists children's books influenced by Pestalozzi. On p. 56 she lists those influenced by Froebel. On pp. 61, passim she discusses the many late Georgian and Regency children's books which emphasized character building.
Rousseau begins *Emile* with his familiar theme:

> God makes all things good;  
> Man meddles with them and  
> They become evil.¹

He then goes on to say that in spite of this we need the right kind of education:

> We are born weak, we need strength; helpless, we need aid; foolish we need reason . . . all that we need . . . is the gift of education . . . This education comes to us from nature, from men, or from things . . . If their teaching conflicts, the scholar is ill-educated . . . if [it] . . . agrees . . . he is well-educated.²

He cites Plato's *Republic* as being the finest treatise on education ever written. He believes:

> The most dangerous period in human life lies between birth and the age of twelve.³

He warns:

> Hold childhood in reverence, and do not be in any hurry to judge it for good or ill . . . Give nature time to work before you take over her business . . . You assert . . . you . . . value . . . time and are afraid to waste it . . . you are afraid to see him [a child] spending his early years doing nothing . . . Is it nothing to be happy, nothing to run and jump all day? He will never be so busy again all his life long.⁴

Because of the child's need for play, Rousseau cautions against forcing a child to read too soon. When it is time for a child to read, do not use Locke's contrived devices.

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¹Rousseau, op. cit., p. 5.  
²ibid., p. 5.  
³ibid., p. 57.  
⁴ibid., p. 71.
There is a better way... it consists in the desire to read... Arouse this desire... Present interest, that is the motive power, the only motive power that takes us far and safely.

Education for Sophy (Emile's mate) was no less thorough but not of so intellectual a nature as education for Emile. This was, in part, due to reaction to the loose morals of the time. However, it was also a reflection of the accepted attitude towards woman, her intellectual abilities, her place in the world. None of this curtailed the activities of the female blue stockings who became intellectual followers of Rousseau.

Feminine Counterparts of Emile

Mme. de Genlis and Mme. d'Epinay were the two French women writers for children who were the most ardent exponents of Rousseau's educational philosophy. They were a part of the Parisian, sophisticated, intellectual circle that alternately lionized and derogated Rousseau. Mme. de Genlis worked out her own scheme of practical education (on Rousseau's principle) in Adèle et Théodore.²

Mme. Louise d'Esclavelles d'Epinay followed Rousseau's principles with more exactitude than any other writers for children. She published her Conversations d'Emilie at his request in 1774.³

¹Ibid., p. 81.
²French publication, 1782; English, 1783. Barry, op. cit., p. 96. Mme. de Genlis is represented in the Annotations for this Chapter, Sacred Dramas, 1786.
³Published in English by John Marshall in 1787. Barry, op. cit., p. 96. Mme. d'Epinay later became vitriolic about Rousseau in her acid and doctored Memoirs that were accepted as true until the 1930's (Josephson, op. cit., p. 532).
She was crowned by the French Academy for this work "of great benefit to humanity" in 1783. She writes vividly but unfortunately appears not to have a trace of any sense of humor. Although known as somewhat of a libertine in her own life, she upholds strict virtue for her little "Emilie." English women writers, who would have flinched at accepting the woman herself in their social circles, followed the design of Emilie for their own didactic stories.

Emilie shares the natural education of Emile and, just as he does, gains her knowledge from experience. However, while Emile could play his first twelve years Emilie could enjoy only the first ten. She is not allowed to romp. She must play sedately with her doll and sew. Emilie's mother is her sole companion. She sees that her little daughter is educated every moment of the day.

Madame d'Epinay pictures herself as the stern, unpalatable parent. Although Emilie manages to appear lifelike, Barry paints a sad picture of the little girl who contemplates her tenth birthday with the belief that when she awakens she will "no longer be a child."2

The mother punishes through a catechismal dialogue and by having the child read aloud stories with titles such as "The Naughty Girl." She forbids fairy tales, even Madame D'Aulnay's.3 She would, however, tolerate myths for she considered them moral.4

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1Thwaite, op. cit., p. 238.
2Barry, op. cit., p. 98.
3See Annotations, this chapter, Tales of the Fairies.
4This is Rousseau's idea. Supra, p. 160.
Rousseau and Romanticism

Rousseau was aware of the influence that he had on women writers. It is possible that he was not aware of the influence that he had on the literary criticism, philosophy, and the school of writing that grew during the last part of the Georgian Regime: Romanticism. Scholars disagree as to just what constitutes a good definition of Romanticism. It was certainly a pendulum swing away from the strict rules of Neo-Classicism and the caustic but precisely formulated wit of Pope.\(^1\) Some of the benchmarks (or "earmarks") listed as belonging to the Romantic movement are certainly an integral part of writing for children. Such marks are not only identifying features of the mood, tone, and sometimes the style of the great majority of children's books but many of them also served as theme (or at least background) for the stories, books, and even poems.

The following selection from the earmarks of Romanticism as listed in Thrall and Hibbard's *A Handbook to Literature* are indicative of this trend: sensibility, love of nature, sympathetic interest in the past (especially the medieval), mysticism, individualism, idealization of rural life, interest in human rights, sympathy with animal life, collection and imitation of popular ballads, sentimental melancholy. Finally, the writer for both adult and child tends to see the individual at the very center of life and all experience.\(^3\) It is quite possible that

\(^1\)Definitions of Neo-Classicism and Romanticism are those used by Thrall and Hibbard, *op. cit.*, pp. 306-314 and 427-432, respectively.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 430.

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 431.
Rousseau is the personification of most of these "earmarks."

Summary

In England then, children's books during the reign of the Georges were influenced by pressures from home and abroad. During this time the concept of the child as an individual in its own right grew until it flowered with Rousseau near the end of the 18th century. Each of Rousseau's followers interpreted the "child personality" and how it should be molded in a variety of ways. This resulted in a disparate type of material such as the romance for children, and the moral or didactic story.

Rousseau was only one man albeit an unusual one in the growth of this concept of the "liberation of the child." Some of the notable people who helped build the concept were publishers, newspaper editors, ministers of the gospel, educators, parents, and the growing crew of professional writers and illustrators.

The fairy tale was still suspect although children still hankered after fantasy. Pictures became an increasing part of the child's book. Verse increased. Levity raised its head.

Darton sums up the important steps in the production of books for children when he describes reading for pleasure as:

one change that really came about in the underlying conception of children's books [especially] in the middle and later years of George III. They had become marketable ware under George II. They became a minor social necessity and an expression of general social life under his grandson [George IV].

\[\text{Darton, op. cit., p. 145.}\]
As this supply and demand grew, children's books became much more definitely self-contained pieces of fiction—a recognized semi-artistic literary form, with philosophic purpose subordinated to the story, and moral atmosphere, rather than a particular moral axiom the mainstay.¹

**American Colonies During the Georgian Period**

During these long years defined as the Georgian Period (1700-1830), American Colonial manners, morals, tastes, beliefs, and political loyalties were undergoing a drastic change. Political and religious upheaval falls into three classifications. Arranged chronologically they are: The Colonial years, 1700-1760; the Revolutionary years, 1760-1790; the Federalist years, 1790-1830.²

**Colonial Religious Changes**

Change during the Colonial years was gradual. Puritan and Colonial attitudes continued to dominate in all areas of life. It fostered the impulse to independence and freedom. The Mathers were the most influential religious leaders until about 1720. In spite of their dominance religious controversy continued to flourish. An expression of this flared up in the many religious revivals that swept the country from 1720-1750. It was during revival years that the Wesleys (John and Charles) and their friend

¹Ibid., p. 158.

²These are terms defined by Thrall and Hibbard, op. cit., pp. 94-95, to explain the literary thought of the years under discussion. The writer of this work agrees with their statement on p. 392, that "no change, no political and religious upheaval... can be isolated from the literature of the time." It is self-evident that as this work is concerned with the growth of children's literature "of the time," it, too, must be concerned with the impact of these upheavals.
Whitfield visited America. It was through involvement in the first revival movement that Jonathon Edwards became the most noted American preacher and didactic philosopher.¹

Colonial Class Changes

During the earliest Colonial days all of the people were greatly concerned with the common problems of "possessing the land, cultivating it, making it safe and fruitful. Wilderness, Indians and disease were the common foes that demanded . . . strict attention." ² There were indentured people and there were apprentices. The indentured usually became a freeman. The apprentice had opportunity to become a master. There were some few people of great wealth, usually in the Southern Colonies. The clerics and those who governed were accorded the most status when status was considered.

Once the colonists had begun to solve the most harassing of their common problems they found other channels for utilizing their amazingly abundant energies. Thus, during the first half of the eighteenth century an enormous and wealthy merchant class arose. The ambitious men who produced this class "sought for their families the material results of wealth which only a place like Boston could bestow. Many children, therefore, were sent to this town to acquire suitable education in books, accomplishments, and deportment."³

¹Ibid., pp. 94-95.
²Ibid., p. 94.
³Halsey, op. cit., p. 81.
Changes in Colonial Cities

Just as Boston early contained a "Brahmin" atmosphere, two of the other major cities developed their own distinctiveness. New York was the most cosmopolitan. The Dutch element left its mark on street names, in customs, and in the long chanted, much sold "Cries of New York."\(^1\)

The "cries" portray the daily life of the city showing the chimney-sweep "a necessary and suffering class of human beings . . ."\(^2\) the sound of the daily morning gun from Governor's Island, the types of food indigenous to America and easily procurable from the street vendors who were so often children.\(^3\) New York, too, became a hot bed or stronghold for the Tories and firm believers in the King and his Crown.

Philadelphia, on the other hand, always imbued a strong feeling of its own unique importance. The most prominent as well as the most energetic of its citizens were Quakers, unafraid to proclaim the leadings of their own personal "inner light." As a city, Philadelphia had more local pride and less discretion (especially in the printing of pirated books) than any other city.\(^4\) It is typical of such a spirit that: 1) Benjamin Franklin should found the great educational institution, the

\(^1\)Ibid., pp. 180-182. The "Cries" of New York as well as of London and of Philadelphia are discussed in this Chapter, Annotations, Mother Goose's Melodies.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 181.

\(^3\)Among these foods were hot ears of corn, watermelons, as well as New England oysters and clams.

\(^4\)Rosenbach, op. cit., p. xlix.
American Library, here,\(^1\) and 2) that the early residence of the New Republic's President was in Philadelphia.\(^2\)

**Revolutionary Period**

**Political Changes**

The Revolutionary period is so tied in with the rebellious rise of feeling that separation from England must occur, and with the struggle assuring this separation that everything else was either subservient to this issue or radically influenced by it. The events that precipitated and consummated the change are:

1. Response to the Stamp Act in 1765.
2. The First Continental Congress in 1774.
3. The beginnings of armed rebellion in 1775.
4. The *Declaration of Independence* in 1776.
5. The surrender of Cornwallis in 1781.
7. The establishment of a Federal government in 1789. \(^3\)

**Revolutionary Period**

**Changes in the Lives of Children**

Although the effect of the desire for freedom and the ensuing six years of war had an effect on the lives of all people it had a special effect on the children. It has been stated that children are good haters.

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\(^1\)The credo of the American Public Library is set forth in its *Library Bill of Rights* (adopted June 18, 1948, and amended February 1, 1961 by the American Library Association Council).

\(^2\)Halsey, *op. cit.*, p. 122. Chronologically, the residency belongs in the Revolutionary Period. However, it is as indicative of the early Philadelphian spirit of independence and liberty as the Liberty Bell itself.

\(^3\)Thrall and Hibbard, *op. cit.*, p. 414.
Halsey gives examples of the influence that constant topic of conversation had in developing these feelings. "Little ones [were] acquainted with the word of command before they [could] distinctly speak and shoulder [ed], . . . a gun before they [were] well able to walk."* 

While "the children of freedom" had their own special kinds of deprivations, the children of the Tories also had problems that very few people were to recognize until generations later. Whig children [the American patriots] had to be moved from such Tory cities as New York to supposedly safer quarters in the countryside. Food was often scarce. Most possessions could not be taken with them. Boys, as much as they could, often had to take over the regular duties of their fathers who were away fighting.

Many Tory children were also sent away. Their pilgrimages were different in that some were sent across the ocean to unknown relatives and a strange country, while others were sent away from dispossessed homes confiscated by the patriots to whatever temporary quarters could be found behind the British lines. Many of the families were never reunited. In some few instances parents deeded property over to their small children hoping to save it from eventual confiscation.²

For all children the songs, rhymes, and games centered in the events that excited the country. Josiah Quincy, at the age of five or six, played constantly at driving the British out of Boston.³

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1Halsey, op. cit., p. 92.
2Ibid., p. 92, 98, 99.
3Ibid., p. 93.
Whig children sang about Major André:

When he was executed
He looked both meek and mild;

It moved each heart to pity

And everyone wished him released--
And Arnold in his stead.¹

Loyalist children (Tories) sang back such verses as these about the characters of the rebel army:

With loud peals of laughter, your sides
Sirs, would crack
To see General Convict and Colonel Shoe-black,
With their hunting-shirts and rifle-guns. . . . ²

Publishers of children's books who were even suspected of loyalist or ambiguous tendencies were pressured into giving up their businesses. One of these was Boston's John Mein who "was forced to close his London Book-store in Boston and to return to England in 1770. . . ."³

As long as New York was held by the Loyalists, conditions were different there. Goods of all descriptions continued to be imported. And such publishers as Valentine Nutter and Hugh Gaine sold a wide variety of children's books (mostly pirated from Newbery) as well as "bibles, prayer-books and patent medicines warranted genuine."⁴

Federalist Period Political Changes

Federalist days brought both international and internal change. It saw the emergence of the United States as a world force through the

¹Ibid., p. 97. ²Ibid., p. 98.
³Ibid., p. 89. ⁴Ibid., p. 89.
war of 1812. Internally there was good feeling although the beginnings of the mid-century social issues were felt. Literary development was rapid.¹

Among the other important events in the developing Federalist America were the following:

1. 1800, founding of the Library of Congress;
2. 1820, the Missouri Compromise;²
3. 1823, the Monroe Doctrine;
4. 1829, egalitarianism asserted over Federalism by the election of Andrew Jackson, seventh President.³

Spread of Literacy

Americans in the first quarter of the eighteenth century gladly welcomed the newspapers that served the early settlements and the towns. The continued circular influences, each upon the other, of technical printing improvements, growing literacy of ever widening classes, more demand in reading matter, cheaper production meaning less expensive publications appeared to aid the cause of increasing literacy. "The transformation of the newspaper into an instrument of mass information and mass education, into the voice . . . of democracy, is the major

¹See Thrall and Hibbard, op. cit., p. 200 for a resume of the development of adult literature at this time.

²Ibid., p. 414. This came twelve years after the abolition of the importation of slaves and established a pattern of political compromise over the issue of slavery.

³Ibid., p. 414.
contribution of the United States of America to the history of the printed word.\textsuperscript{11}

An example of the American popularity of its newspapers can be found in the annals of Philadelphia. Thursdays were red letter days "for the residents of the Quaker town. . . . On that day Thomas Bradford sent forth . . . the weekly number of the 'Pennsylvania Journal,' and . . . his rival journalists, Franklin and Hall, issued the 'Pennsylvania Gazette.'\textsuperscript{12} The subscribers could always look forward to a pleasant evening reading 'the local occurrences of the past week, the 'freshest foreign advices,' and the various bits of information that had filtered slowly from the northern and more southern provinces.'\textsuperscript{13} There were also editorials, letters, and columns full of wonderful and exciting advertisements.

At the same time that the newspaper clientele was growing there was a great novel-reading public. Whole families read aloud such works as the Richardson novels (\textit{Pamela}, et. al.). The tears and "sensibility" aroused by this ritual reading were an accepted part of family life. Halsey tells of the family who paused in its reading of \textit{Grandison} while each member of the family retired to his "own chamber" to weep bitterly.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1}Steinberg, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 322-323. On p. 322 Steinberg explains that English newspapers, "up to the middle of the 19th century, were severely handicapped by the stamp duty. It was enacted in 1712 and its amount was successively raised . . . until 1855, when it was at last abolished." This kept prices unbearably high ("a tax on knowledge") and forced editors to conserve space by eliminating headlines, good spacing, and other eye-saving devices.
\item \textsuperscript{2}Halsey, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 59.
\item \textsuperscript{3}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 59.
\end{itemize}
After the orgy of tears was over, everyone returned to the fireside and the reading was resumed.¹

Early Colonial children had few books meant solely for the use of children. All children who read read adult books. There was not so much an invitation for them to read the adult books as there was an implicit assumption that as miniature adults they read what was adult. Halsey states:

The beginning of juvenile literature is . . . a comparatively modern invention of about seventeen hundred and forty-five. From that date can be traced the slow growth of a literature written with an avowed intention of furnishing amusement as well as instruction. . . .²

The men who had the greatest influence in advancing the growth of this literature for the amusement of children were the Englishmen, John Locke and John Newbery.³ Halsey describes the largest bulk of the books comprising this literature as "toy books." She uses the term in her discussion of the very small books printed by Newbery and by those

¹Ibid., p. 80. Halsey states that being aware "of such family practice, as he wrote his novels," Richardson sometimes stepped aside from the main narrative to tell them a moral tale.

²Ibid., p. 33. d'Alte Welch, in the introduction to A Bibliography of American Children's Books Printed Prior to 1821, Parts A-C, p. 134, states: "The majority of children's books [of this time] are reprinted from English editions." On p. 142 he adds, "After the American Revolution, especially after 1785, there was a marked increase in the production of children's books."

³Supra. John Locke is discussed most extensively in the section on the Puritan Era. John Newbery is discussed in the Georgian Period, this chapter.
Early American Publishers
of Children's Books

Several men were responsible for bringing the gilt and flowery books of Newbery to America. Among these were Hugh Gaine, James Rivington, John Mein, Benjamin Franklin and Isaiah Thomas.2

Hugh Gaine and James Rivington

Halsey writes that "Gaine and Rivington alone have left records of printing children's story-books in the town of New York before the Revolution. . . ."3 Gaine had also printed one of the earliest American editions of Pilgrim's Progress.4 Rivington is credited with beginning the American custom of labeling every book as printed in America, ostensibly written by American authors. Until he began this practice it had generally been possible to tell if a book had first been produced in England. However, because of the practice, "after 1761 the advertisement

1Halsey, op. cit., p. 34, passim. Welch, op. cit., pp. 141-147 and Rosenbach, op. cit., pp. xlii, lv, also refer to the American Newbery editions as "toy books." Percy Muir, op. cit., pp. 181-200, uses the phrase as a generic term for a specific class of books produced during the mid-nineteenth century. Thwaite, op. cit., pp. 200-202, concurs with Muir's definition. In this work the term "toy books" is employed in the sense that Muir and Thwaite each employ it. For further discussion see this work, Victorian Regime, Children's Publishers.

2It is impossible to list the many printers or publishers who had early influence. Rosenbach, op. cit., pp. 315-351 gives a more exhaustive list. Thomas Fleet, while not specifically connected with Newbery books, is important in that he is involved with a years1 old controversy concerning the origin of Mother Goose. See this Chapter, Annotations, Mother Goose's Melody.

3Halsey, op. cit., p. 68.

of books is no longer a guide to the issues of the Colonial press.¹

John Muir

Southern Americans, even in the first years of George Washington's marriage to Martha Custic, sent directly to London for toys, candles, and books. But in such northern towns as Boston, people bought from their local booksellers. John Muir was one of the Bostonians. His "London Book-Store" in King Street not only sold books but housed a circulating library of ten thousand volumes. In spite of his early popularity, he was accused of violating the "Non-Importation Agreement" when he tried to continue selling his little Newbery books. In 1770 he closed his shop and went to England.²

Isaiah Thomas, The American Newbery

Isaiah Thomas, printer, publisher, and bookseller of Boston and Worcester, Massachusetts, has been considered the American John Newbery. Founder of the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Thomas deliberately imitated Newbery's Lilliputian Library in every possible way. He copied bindings, illustrations and text.³

Although Thomas also copied Newbery's methods of self-advertisement in the texts of the books, he did try to acclimatize his books as much as possible to the American way of life. His children rode in the

¹Ibid., p. 65. Benjamin Franklin's great influence upon printing and upon American thought and letters is so evident that it does not need further discussion here.
²Ibid., pp. 73-75.
³Rosenbach, op. cit., p. xlii.
'Governeur's gilt coach, not in the Lord Mayor's coach... London town... becomes Boston town, and so forth.' Neither did he use the flowered Dutch covers which were unobtainable in the 1780's. He made do, instead, with marbled or embossed paper.

In describing the importance of Isaiah Thomas, Halsey states:

Thomas's publications ranked as among the very best of the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and were sought by book-dealers in the various states. At one time he had sixteen presses, seven of which were in Worcester. He had also four bookstores in various towns of Massachusetts, one in Concord, New Hampshire, one in Baltimore, and one in Albany.

Although he did no original work for children, Thomas did provide a home printed library of good quality for American children. He pirated from Newbery and his successors but he 'far surpassed the work of any other American printer of children's books (except possibly those of Bache in Philadelphia). . . .' Not long after his early apprenticeship Thomas learned to engrave the all important cuts of his time. There has been some scholarly controversy concerning some of the cuts engraved in a few of Thomas's children's books. The question is: Did Thomas use Bewick cuts or did he design his own cuts after Bewick?

1Ibid., p. xliii.

2Meigs, op. cit., p. 130.

3Halsey, op. cit., p. 102.

4Ibid., p. 104. Benjamin F. Bache was a grandson of Benjamin Franklin. Bache owed his business to his grandfather who was extremely proud of him.

5Ibid., pp. 117, 118. See also Mahoney, op. cit., pp. 18 and 89.
Illustration in American Children's Books

Isaiah Thomas's emphasis upon "cuts" in the books he produced for children illustrates the point that pictures in books for children had become an accepted feature. The first printed acknowledgement that pictures were commendable to parents because of their entertainment value for children came in 1741 with old Thomas Fleet's The Parent's Gift. Franklin encouraged the idea in 1747 with his reprint of a school book, Delworth's New Guide to the English Tongue, containing a section on fables each of which had its own cut.¹

In 1747 and 1748, the children's versified editions of the very popular The History of the Holy Jesus each contained more than a dozen cuts.² The Bewick illustrations imported from England inspired many American imitators. The first person to successfully copy them was a New York city physician, Dr. Alexander Anderson.

Alexander Anderson,
The American Bewick

Like other engravers of his day, Anderson began by cutting in type-metal, or engraving upon copper. In 1794 he began to feel that he could do better on wood. By 1800 he was so satisfied with his wood engraving that he discontinued the use of type metal, still using copper on occasion. In 1812 he gave up using copper and turned entirely to wood. He engraved for publishers in many cities but the best of his work was done for Sydney Babcock of New Haven from 1805 to 1840. His work is so

¹Ibid., p. 38.
²Ibid., p. 39.
distinctive that it can usually be recognized even when it is not signed.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 166-168. Also see Mahoney, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 89.}

\textbf{Humor and Color in Pictures}

The copperplate engraver who did the most for children's books was William Charles, the Philadelphia caricaturist of the War of 1812. He introduced whimsey to American children in his engravings of both text and picture for the old rhyme, "Tom, the Piper's Son." He introduced color in children's illustrations to Philadelphia both in books of moral verse and in an aqua-tint version of the "Peacock at Home.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 170-171, \textit{passim}. Halsey goes into detail describing the methods used for the pictures and the types of books in which the pictures were used.}"

\textbf{The Sunday School Movement in America}

Many of the best illustrations were used to make "moral" books for children more palatable. Halsey devises her own categories for these "moral" tales. She calls them: 1) the Religion-in-Play, 2) the Ethics-in-Play, and 3) the Labor-in-Play stories.\footnote{Ibid., p. 150.}

Children's books in America were still bound up with English juveniles. The American writers were greatly inspired by Maria Edgeworth and Hannah More.\footnote{\textit{Supra}, annotations.} Those who imitated Miss Edgeworth followed her educational system. Those who emulated Mrs. More put their faith in her
religious tracts. Hannah More also did allegories and religious dramas. These were written "to cooperate with the teaching of the first Sabbath Day Schools. ..."1

Ten years after the opening of Robert Raikes Gloucester Sunday Schools, a Bishop White opened one in Philadelphia. He was annoyed by the poor children in his diocese (not of his flock) who drowned his services with their street fighting noise. He gathered them together in two Sunday sessions, morning and afternoon, with paid instructors.2

The first Sunday School library was an attempt to build a collection of books suitable for Sunday reading.3 Among those few thought worthy were works by Miss Edgeworth and Mrs. More. Halsey believes that Mrs. More's influence on the character of Sunday School books "did much to incline many unknown American women of the nineteenth century to take up this class of books as their own field for religious effort and pecuniary profit."4

Another incentive for writers to work for children came from the founding of the American Sunday School Union in 1824. Between the 1790's and this time (1824) a great many religious publication societies had sprung up. The union of these societies formed a committee to judge and pronounce on all of the manuscripts submitted by American writers. By

1Halsey, op. cit., p. 150.
2Ibid., p. 151.
3Ibid., p. 152.
this time Sunday Schools were held for all children, not just the illiterate. Material was needed for lessons and for leisure reading all of which were kept in the Sunday School library.

There were hundreds of stories turned out to fit these needs.¹ The stories had to be moral, contain direct religious teaching, and warnings against the lures of sin. Many children turned away from stories written especially for them to seek adventure in the newer writing for adults.²

Other Stories for Children

Even publications not issued under religious auspices were completely drenched with religion. "The books for American children . . . divided themselves into three classes: the denominational story, to set forth the doctrines of one church; the educational tale; and the moral narrative of American life.³

¹Ibid., p. 204. The growth of this literature was so remarkable that by 1828 the union "had issued over seven hundred of these religious trifles, varying from a sixteen-page duodecimo to a small octavo volume . . . most of these appear to have been written by [now unknown] Americans. . . ."

²Ibid., pp. 201-203. See Thwaite, op. cit., p. 200 for her reference to the important arrival of good American writing in the form of essays by Geoffrey Crayon (Washington Irving) and the "novels" of James Fenimore Cooper. Both men became known during the first decade of the nineteenth century.

³Halsey, op. cit., p. 204. A study of the annotations of this period shows that there were some gleams of charm and humor printed even in America during these years. Change was in the air.
Summary

Until the early 1800's American children's books were primarily reproductions or pirated editions of English juveniles. The revolutionary war did much to discourage the importation of such foreign books and to encourage a national spirit. While this national spirit was first evidenced in ballads, rhymes, and the changing of names and places from English to American in already existing books, it did emerge as big business under the auspices of the National Sunday School Union.

Illustration grew in importance although it had much to gain in quality. The progress in the knowledge of industrial arts had encouraged an increase in the numbers of publishers. Cheap home products came into use. But the cheaper books "lost their charming gilt, flowery, Dutch, and silver wrappers" for the marbelized and sometimes gray colored materials that were at hand.

Storybook literature began to emphasize the value of general knowledge. "[Mrs.] More had started the stream of goody-goody books, while Miss Edgeworth . . . [and others] were the originators of the deluge of conversational bores, babies, boys and teachers that threatened to flood the family book shelves of America. . . ."

It was time for new writers of life and vitality to come upon the scene.

\[\text{Ibid.},\ p.\ 188.\]
1707 Aulnoy, Marie Catherine Jumelle de Berneville, Comtesse D'.

* Tales of the Fairies (Contes des Fées) * in three parts.

* Volume IV of The Diverting Works of the Countess D'Annois. *

Newly done into English. For J. Nicholson and J. Sprint,

Andrew Bell and S. Burroios.¹ MIGR - Q, Ca OTP. 137.

Fairy Tales.

Representative of the graceful and elaborate French fairy tales
told to amuse the court of Louis the XV at Versailles, this group of
tales was translated into English before the familiar stories of
Perrault. They were immediately published as individual stories in chap-
books intended for adults. Although adults read them, the children
seized them as their own. Henceforth, they were printed as nursery
chapbooks. The best of them are still printed today: "The Yellow
Wood," "Graciosa and Percinet," "Goldylocks," and "The Pot of Carna-
tions."

Many of the authorities disagree about the first date of pub-
lication in English. Barry states that the stories were translated
into English as a collection for T. Cockerill in 1699 to be sold for
12 shillings.² Barry next lists the collected works of Mme. D'Aulnoy

¹From the notes of Eloise Ramsey, late librarian-in-charge of
the Children's Rare Book Collection at Wayne State University, Detroit,
Michigan.

²Barry, *op. cit.*, n., p. 45.
published as stated in the bibliographical heading of this annotation. She lists the publisher as "John Nicholson, at the King's Arms, and at the Cross Keys and Bible in Cornhill...". Darton and Smith hold to 1707 as the first publication date in English. However, it is well to remember Darton's own warning against certain bibliography, implying that the loss of any extant first printing (in English) of many important titles is "the horrid fate of old children's books."

Smith states that the tales were published in France as Contes Nouvelles; ou Les Fées à la Mode in 1698. Judith St. John lists Dutch publication of the stories (and "Nouveau Contes") in French during the years 1709 and 1719 respectively.

Mme. D'Aulnoy was a part of a circle of noble French women who were sometimes admitted to the literary salon of the male wits, writers, and philosophers of the "grand siècle under the magnificence of Le Roi Soleil." Hille, L'Heritier formed the circle in which unhappily married Mme. D'Aulnoy introduced the telling of fairy stories. This storytelling became such a fashionable rage that eventually the tales told by everyone were collected in forty-one volumes called Cabinet des Fées (published in Amsterdam, Paris and Geneva, 1785-89). Many of the

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1 Ibid.  
2 Ibid.  
3 Darton, op. cit., p. 88.  
4 Smith, op. cit., p. 205.  
5 Darton, op. cit., p. 89.  
6 Smith, op. cit., p. 205.  
7 The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 20.  
8 Muir, op. cit., p. 36.  
9 Darton, op. cit., p. 89.
stories were based on folklore. Others were "rubbish which is hardly folklore at all."¹

Mme. D'Aulnoy, herself, came from the family of de Berneville. Her complete married name was Marie Catherine La Mothe, Countess D'Aulnoy. "Other English versions of her name are d'Anois, d'Alnois, and d'Aulnois, and her husband's family name is also rendered de la Motte."²

La Comtesse did not intend her stories for children. She had "no illusion about the audience to which her tales were directed."³ She dedicated them to "Son Altesse Royale Madame, the wife of Philippe d'Orleans, who was the brother of Louis XIV..."⁴ She used the characters and background of fairyland in ways too sophisticated for children. Such sophistication was appreciated by other adults than those of her own French group. Jonathon Swift wrote to his Stella about his delight in reading them.⁵

Romantic love plays an important part in all of the stories. Characters of high nobility are a must. This social status is sometimes hidden from the eyes of a protagonist by magic or by necessary subterfuge until the happy ending. There are descriptions of shepards and sheperdesses (or other pseudo-country people) curiously dressed, dancing, singing, happy. Whatever is cruel or bloody is suppressed. The supernatural seems reasonable. Rewards are given in terms of gold, gold.
silver, diamonds, or the hand of the reigning prince) in marriage.

Much of the most popular fairy tales serves as an example. In this fairytale, three tasks are set three tasks. The son who accomplishes them will receive the kingdom.

During the course of his adventures, the cat who, unbeknownst to him, is under enchantment, She helps him achieve success in life; she suddenly appears at the last hour under enchantment.

The style is poetic and mountains. The magic number three probably ends immediately after the charm is taken, been modified by many retellings and descriptions always remain the same.

Some of the tales are so well known that they are almost unrecognizable. Many people have adapted and studied them from borrowed sources, chiefly from Polyanthus, Battista Basile. 1

1752, M. Cooper published some tales in The Osborne Collection. The Osborne Collection.
silver, diamonds, or the hand of the beautiful princess (or the charming prince) in marriage.

Much of the most popular and long-lived story, "The White Cat," serves as an example. In this familiar tale three sons of a wise king are set three tasks. The son who most successfully accomplishes these tasks will receive the kingdom. The hero son has great odds against him. During the course of his journeys, he meets and marries a white cat who, unbeknownst to him, is a beautiful princess under enchantment. She helps him achieve success and by urging him to sacrifice her cat life she suddenly appears as the beautiful (and rich) princess no longer under enchantment.

The style is poetic. The descriptions are tantalizing. Suspense mounts. The magic number three appears to assure success. The story ends immediately after the climax. Mme. D'Aulnoy's original tale has been modified by many retellings but the basic plot and many of the descriptions always remain the same.

Some of the tales are so long (for example, "The Blue-bird") that they are almost "nouvelles." Many of the stories are "rewritten from borrowed sources, chiefly from the 1637 Pentamerone of Giovanni Battista Basile."

Many people have adapted and retold the D'Aulnoy stories. In 1752, M. Cooper published some of the tales in London under the title: The Court of Queen Mab. This edition was pirated in the United States.

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1The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 20.
Other early American adaptations printed some of the French tales along with one or more selections from Arabian Tales. Phillip James in his *Children's Books of Yesterday* shows a photograph of the frontispiece and the title page of this book which M. Cooper printed and sold in London, Paternoster Row. The title page lists the nine stories included and states, "written by the Countess D'Aulnoy." The frontispiece is an engraving by Boitard showing an 18th century mother telling the stories to her children.

The most famous of the writers who has consistently retold the D'Aulnoy tales is Andrew Lange, the Scotch born folklorist. His "rainbow" or colour series of fairy tale books, begun in 1889, are still favorites with boys and girls who like fairy tales. While all of the tales in each of the "rainbow" books are not from D'Aulnoy, Lang adds notes telling which story is hers, which story comes from what other source. He also gives background material about Mme. D'Aulnoy, her contemporaries, and the part they all played in the *Cabinet des Fées*.

From the time of M. Cooper's edition (mentioned above) down to

1Welch, op. cit., pp. 205-206. See Darton, op. cit., p. 101 for his only mention of M. Cooper, "otherwise unknown."

2James, op. cit., p. 18.

3These bear such titles as: The *Blue Fairy Book*; The *Red Fairy Book*--the Green, the Yellow, the Crimson, etc. For quick information about these see Andrew Lang by Roger Lancelyn Green (New York: Walck, 1962), pp. 39-55, pp. 79-80. See also Green's *Teller of Tales* (Leicester, England: Edmund Ward, 1953), Chapter VIII, "Andrew Lang."
the twentieth century illustrations of Warren Chappell,¹ the D'Aulnoy tales have lent themselves admirably to illustration. Among some of the best known and older well illustrated editions are the following done in England:


2) *Madame D'Aulnoy's Fairy Tales,* 3 volumes. Illustrated by the famous Kate Greenaway. Galt and Inglis, 1871.


A notable American edition was entitled, *The White Cat and Other Old French Tales,* arranged by the poet and author, Rachel Field, and illustrated by Elizabeth MacKinstry for Macmillan Company in 1928.


This work marks the beginning of poetry expressly meant for children. It clearly shows the changing Puritan attitude of tense and frightened love for children to one of tender understanding and solicitude. Hymnologists before Watts had written "rocking hymns," hymnologists after him would write others. Watts¹ "Cradle Hymn," however, is the loveliest of them all. Other verses in the collection are evidence

that from this day forward simile, song, and verse would no longer be considered "snares of the devil"; they would, instead, be instruments for leading children towards "joy in the Lord" and ultimately into joy of life itself.

M. Lawrence, at the sign of the Angel in the Poultry Market, had Watts' songs printed for him as "Divine" without the odious twin tag of "Moral." It was not until the 1850's that the verses became inseparably known as "Divine and Moral Songs." Between 1715 and 1730 the little volume went through eight authorized editions in fifteen years. All editions until 1750 contained the author's explanatory preface.

Isaac Watts, a clothier's son, became first a tutor and then a well known and beloved non-conformist minister at a chapel in Mark Lane, London. He actively opposed the Puritan stigma against singing in churches through his preparation and use of over 450 hymns many of which are still sung today in non-Roman Christian churches. As was the custom, Watts and his church flourished under patronage. His patrons were Sir Thomas and Lady Abney of Stoke Newington.

In 1712 Watts went for a short visit with the Abneys and stayed for thirty-six years. During his first years with the family he continued to refine and apply his Lockean theories of education and writing for children in his relationship with the three little Abney daughters, Sarah, Mary, and Elizabeth. It was for them that he wrote his little verses, not only to teach them to love God and be compassionate towards the more unfortunate, but to delight them with rhythm, rhyme, and imagery.
In speaking of verse, his own statements of purpose are:

... There is great delight in the learning of truths and duties this way. There is something amusing and entertaining in rhymes and metre that will incline children to make this part of their business a diversion. ... What is learned in verse is longer retained in memory and sooner recollected.

... This will be a constant furniture ... something to think about when alone, and sing over to themselves. ... Thus, they will not be forced to seek relief for an emptiness of mind out of the loose and dangerous sonnets of the age. ... 

In theme the forty-six verses paralleled those of Bunyan. There were rhymed commandments and rules, 'Hozannas' in three metres--paeans of praise echoing Watts' hymns, "Jesus Shall Reign," "Joy to the World."

Eight showed the tradition of fear surrounding obedience to God and parents. These include a series of "against" verses: against lying, against scoffing, against cursing, against evil companions. ¹

If the talents of a poet include memorable descriptions of the senses, touch, sight, sound, and inner feeling, Watts exhibits these, especially in his descriptions of what is seen and what is internally felt. In describing the much quoted 'Little Busy Bee' and life's "Shining Hour," he writes:

How skillfully she builds her cell
How neat she spreads her wax. ...

He draws pictures of childhood vagaries, reluctances, and fears which are as true of 20th century children as they were of 18th century children: the child who wants to lie abed, the child who fights and bites but who is told that only dogs and cats do such things, the child who becomes aware that neighboring peoples live in misery and want, the

¹Reference to John Bunyan's "Emblems." See Puritan Era, emblems and annotations, this study.
child who longs for the touch of tenderness. The parent, too, is aware that his own inner rigidities and "righteous crusades" are inexplicable to the young child.

Soft, my child, I did not chide thee,
    Though my song might sound too hard;
'Tis thy Mother sits beside thee,
    And her arms shall be thy guard.

The parent knows that even zeal for good might frighten a child. This is not his intent.

Such verse is now called doggerel. It was once a fresh breeze in the stifled land of childhood. It became hackneyed in much the same way that other too frequently quoted often parodied lines have become dull and lifeless. Generations of school church recitations diminished the lustre. Lewis Carroll's burlesques in "Alice" delighted the bored who had been forcibly spoon fed with the verses and their far fetched commentaries. The satire is lost on today's children and the Carroll heat has consumed Watts' soft candle-light.

How doth the little busy bee
    Improve each shining hour
And gather honey all the day
From every opening flower!

How doth the little crocodile
    Improve his shining tail
And pour the water of the Nile
On every shining scale!²

In spite of the loss of popular acclaim, Watts' influence on the writing of verse for children has been tremendous. Many lines from

¹Isaac Watts, Divine Songs Attempted in Easy Language for the Use of Children (London: M. Lawrence, 1715).

²Martin Gardner, The Annotated Alice (New York: Charles N. Potter, Inc., 1960), pp. 38, 39 quoting Lewis Carroll's Alice's Adventures in Wonderland. Here Gardner states the concept that Carroll's verses are parodies of well known works. He places Watts' verse and Carroll's parody side by side (as quoted above). Gardner continues the comparison for each stanza. Throughout the book, Gardner compares other parodies and the originals which they parodied.
Blake, the Taylor sisters, Christina Rosetti, and Robert Louis Stevenson are almost exact copies of lines first written by Watts.¹

Every decade of printing served up imitations of the songs. Watts asked for "follow-ups" that would be better than his own "feeble" attempts to help children over the rough spots in their lives. The Taylor sisters accepted his challenge albeit apologizing for their temerity in attempting to emulate the "great" Dr. Watts.² Neither self-righteous Mrs. Cockle nor self-assured Mrs. Trimmer apologized for their heinous cramming of misinterpreted Watts into reluctant young minds. They waved the banner for the march of the Sunday Schools into middle class and lower class homes.³

Earliest editions were not illustrated. Among the most interesting of the later illustrated editions are those which exemplify the woodcuts of Thomas Bewick,⁴ the Kronheim plates used in editions put out by the Religious Tract Society,⁵ and Edmund Evans' color engravings after the manner of Georgie Cave France Gaskin, wife of the Director of the Birmingham Jeweller's and Goldsmith's school.⁶

¹Barry, op. cit., pp. 194-205 traces this evolution.
²Ibid., pp. 202-208.
³Muir, op. cit., pp. 58 and 73 and Darton, op. cit., p. 111.
⁴The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 85.
⁵Ibid.
⁶Ibid., p. 86.

Although written for a larger public, this "marks the true beginning of the adventure story for young people. . . ."\(^1\)

Muir gives a brief summary of its immediate publishing history.

The first part of the story was published on April 25, 1719 and was very soon pirated. By the first week in August an unauthorized abridged edition had been published as a pocket-sized volume, and with this publication Defoe's story may be said, in the very year of its birth, to have started its career as a book for children. The second part also appeared in 1719, and the third in 1720.\(^2\)

In 1722 Edward Medwinter, a London printer, commissioned Thomas Gent, a bookseller in York, to compress the whole story into one volume—its 750 or more octavo pages being reduced to less than 200 in duodecimo—and this edition was continually reprinted during the eighteenth century. Its obstinate popularity may be gauged from the fact that the authorized publisher of the unabridged version was eventually driven to buy a share in this abridgement.\(^3\)

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\(^1\)Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 159.


\(^3\)Ibid., p. 41.
In spite of this pirating, within four months the book had gone through four lawful editions.\(^1\) A complete tracing of lawful editions, both abridged and unabridged is lengthy and irrelevant for the needs of this study. It is interesting, however, to be aware of a few of the important early American editions. Clarence S. Brigham in his "Bibliography of American Editions of Robinson Crusoe to 1830\(^2\) states that the earliest located American edition was published in 1774 by Hugh Gaine in New York.\(^3\) The most important American abridgement was "published by Isaiah Thomas in 1786, with the title Travels of Robinson Crusoe, it presumably followed the text of an earlier English edition."\(^4\) This was a chapbook. He issued a second edition of it at Worcester in a 31 page toy book with Dutch flowery paper covers. In fact, "nearly half of the Robinson Crusoes to 1800, and even to 1830, were chapbooks in flowered and fancy paper covers and with small woodcuts."\(^5\)

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\(^1\)Durant, op. cit., p. 337. See James, op. cit., p. 19 for an illustration from the 11th edition of Robinson Crusoe, 1755.


\(^3\)Ibid., p. 138.

\(^4\)Ibid., p. 139.

They were replete with such advice as the following printed by Isaiah Thomas:

Note: If you learn this book well, and are good, you can buy a larger and more complete history of Mr. Crusoe, at your friend the Bookseller's, in Worcester near the Court-House.¹

It is possible that in all its forms Robinson Crusoe is the most widely printed English Romance. The British Museum alone has approximately 600 editions. The Hubbard Collection at the University of Michigan has nearly a thousand. None of these figures begin to include the imitations called by the French word "Robinsonades."² There are Arctic Crusoes, Canadian Crusoes, Rival Crusoes, not to mention Crusoes under other names.³ What kind of man brought this to pass?

Daniel Defoe was the son of James Foe, a butcher of strong Presbyterian doctrine. Young Daniel was expected to become a preacher. He rebelled, entered business and politics, married and raised a family of seven children. During his business career he became, successively, a wholesale hosier; secretary, manager and owner of a tile factory; a journalist. Through believing in out-of-favor political and religious views, he became bankrupt in each business failure. Like other well known dissenters, he was jailed (and even condemned to the pillory). He was saved by Robert Harley, secretary of state, who recognized Defoe's journalistic ability and employed this ability in governmental uses for Queen Anne.

Once safely launched as a writer, Defoe ran a triweekly four-page

¹Ibid., p. 140. Quoted also by Halsey, op. cit., p. 118.
²Infra for further discussion.
³Supra, section on Rousseau.
periodical, *The Review*, until 1713. He wrote powerful pamphlets, full length books, short biographies of several criminals, a poem of twelve books, serious works on every conceivable theme, and potboilers. In all, he is said to have written 210 volumes with scarcely a dull page in any of them.¹

It is claimed that the Scottish sailing master, Alexander Selkirk, gave Defoe a written record of his four years on one of the Juan Fernández Islands off the coast of Chile.² From this raw material Defoe developed this most famous of English novels, *Robinson Crusoe*.

Clarence S. Brigham in his "Bibliography of American Editions of Robinson Crusoe to 1830"³ calls this

... the most widely read, published, translated, adapted, and imitated of any romance written in the English language. Generally considered a book for children, it has attracted adult readers in every country in the world.⁴

Brigham goes on to state that Defoe follows the moral or pietistic design of stories for children in his day. Crusoe frequently exhorts "his readers to obtain moral or religious help from the castaway's experiences. His greatest aim was to convert the native, Friday, to the Christian faith. [In spite of this didacticism] Defoe's straightforward and imaginative narrative, the glamor of the desert island, and the example of overcoming the handicaps of solitude and the necessities of life, made the story fascinating to all readers, both young and old."⁵

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¹Durant, *op. cit.*, p. 338.
²Ibid., pp. 336-337.
³Brigham, *op. cit.*, p. 137.
⁴Ibid.
⁵Ibid.
Contrary to the accepted twentieth-century misconception as stated by Brigham, Defoe did not intend *Robinson Crusoe* to be a children's book. The implied formula for seventeenth and eighteenth-century children's books was a pattern almost unconsciously followed by writers who rarely wrote for children. The expressions of religious belief in *Robinson Crusoe* were a part of Defoe's own convictions. His straightforward writing came from his long "apprenticeship" in using his literary talent in a variety of ways. He practiced (perhaps with tongue in cheek) writing from the viewpoint of many different kinds of people. For example, one day he wrote as though he were a pious Quaker; the next day as a Turk ridiculing Christian intolerance. The greater share of his writing was done because he needed to earn a living for his large family who had grown accustomed to a certain amount of comfort.

Phillip Hofer in discussing children's classics states that children adopted the story because it contains the most appealing situation that an author ever invented. Thwaite augments this statement when she quotes from *Robinson Crusoe*:

> It happen'd one Day about Noon going towards my boat I was exceedingly surpris'd with the Print of a man's naked Foot on the Shore, which was very plain to be seen in the Sand; I stood like one Thunder-struck, or as if I had seen an Apparition.

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1. Supra.


She then comments, "This was the kind of writing to set a boy's imagination aflame, and the book from which it comes needs no introduction."¹

Although the story itself needs no more introduction than has already been given, there is further reason for the firm hold Robinson Crusoe has as a long lasting children's classic.

This stems from the two concepts found in Darton's assertion that "Robinson Crusoe must be regarded as two kinds of book—an adventure story, and a romance which could serve the ends of a school of philosophic thought."²

The adventure story is one form of the novel which had its modern inception during the Georgian period. Few twentieth century people in considering good children's books that live and move think in terms of novels for children. Yet publisher's lists, reviews, and discussions of current publications tend to show that a book of substance and depth for children might be termed a novel in the earliest sense of the word.

The school of philosophic thought mentioned by Darton involves Rousseau, his conscious and his unconscious influence.³ This philosophy, of which Crusoe, the man cut off from his fellows was an unconscious emblem, "inspired some of the best . . . [English Children's books] in the pre-Alice epoch."⁴

On the other hand many of the Robinsonnades⁵ (imitations of

¹Ibid. ²Darton, op. cit., p. 106. ³Supra, section on Rousseau. ⁴Darton, op. cit., p. 112. ⁵Note the different spellings of Robinsonnades. Brigham, as quoted above, uses one version. Most of the authorities in Bibliography A of this work use the spelling "Robinsonnades."
Robinson Crusoe) have been written by moralists who seized upon the exciting "castaway" theme to "suit their purposes of education." Actually, many of the heroes of such tales are presumed to have been real people. They are part of a group that Darton discusses as examples of "derelict humanity." Twentieth century psychologists could document the reasons children are so entranced by so called derelicts who raise themselves without benefit of irksome scoldings, chidings, rules and regulations as prescribed by parents and teachers. The same reasons might apply to the adults who still enjoy such vicarious escape from the strictures of civilization.

Among the early imitations (Robinsonnades) that "did not unduly stress" didactism were: the Adventures of Philip Quarll, the English Hermit (1727); the Adventures of Peter Wilkins (1750); and The Life and Adventures of Henry Lanson (ca. 1774). 

Philip Quarll, written by Peter Longueville (pseudonym: Mr. [Edward] Dorrington) took place on an uninhabited South Sea Island. The hero loves his solitude and is unhappy when a ship comes to rescue him. He decides to stay on the island. The story was popular for over a century and went into many chapbook editions. According to Darton, the first American edition was printed at Boston in 1795.

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1Thwaite, op. cit., p. 160.
2Darton, op. cit., p. 114.
3Ibid., pp. 114-115.
It is interesting to note that William Godwin (the writer editor) took advantage of the similar appeal boys and girls found in both Robinson Crusoe and in Philip Quarll. He included both of them in his Tabart’s Popular Stories some of which were later reprinted in a set of thirty stories under the title The Young Lady’s and Gentleman’s Library.¹

Peter Wilkins by Robert Paltock is a better written book than Philip Quarll. It is one of the earliest romances about flying. It is a less realistic story than many of the Robinsonnades and might almost be called a precursor of some twentieth century science fiction.

Henry Lanson² was reality fictionalized. The hero, the son of a Virginian planter, was not only really marooned but he spent his time busily converting West Indian natives to Christianity. No one knows the real date of his adventures but the books describe them as happening in 1774.

In spite of the moralizing which went on in such books, the early educator, writer, and critical reviewer, Mrs. Trimmer, gave Robinson Crusoe (and books of its category) cautious praise. Thwaite quotes from one of Mrs. Trimmer’s reviews in which she “felt it [Robinson] should not be given to ‘all boys without discrimination, as it might lead to an early taste for a rambling life and a desire for adventure.”³

¹The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 48.
²Darton, op. cit., p. 115 gives the impression that Henry Lanson authored his own semi-fictionalized version of his adventures. No other possibility of an author is mentioned.
³Mrs. Trimmer as quoted in Thwaite, op. cit., p. 103. See also annotations, this chapter, Mrs. Trimmer.
In spite of the furor that Robinson Crusoe has caused, Philip Hofer gives his belief that it has never been a well illustrated book. He states:

The very first editions in England, Holland, and France (1719-21) are as good as any. They have a few nice simple engravings—the Dutch and French ones being after designs by Bernard Picart. Yet after a hundred and fifty years later a publisher was using the same illustrations... in smaller form.1

Hofer does suggest two illustrated editions which he believes are "good." The earlier of these was done by the Bewicks and is good because of its simple form. The best modern attempt is that of N. C. Wyeth done in about 1920.2

Muir lists several people whose illustrations were thought good by their contemporaries. These illustrators are: Gordon Browne,3 George Cruikshank,4 Charles Keene,5 and the famous painter Millais.6 One year, after publishers found that books could be sold on the strength of their illustrations, "four new editions of Robinson Crusoe were commissioned by different publishers... each [edition] illustrated by a different artist."7 Three of the publishing houses are still known today. These are Routledge, Macmillan, and Cassell.

1 Philip Hofer in Mahoney, op. cit., p. 190.
2 Ibid., p. 131
3 Muir, op. cit., p. 201.
4 Ibid., p. 197.
5 Ibid., p. 180.
6 Ibid., p. 181.
7 Ibid.
This is the first translation of Aesop's fables to be consistently used for children and for more than two hundred years accepted as the collection to hold first place in the nursery.

Although it had gone through three editions by 1731, Darton states that its place did not entirely supersede the well-known L'Estrange translation until after it was "adorned with the splendid engravings of Bewick [becoming] . . . at once the most popular Aesop of its time. . . ."1

The first American edition was printed and sold in Philadelphia by R. Aitken on Front Street opposite the London Coffee House in 1777. An Aitken fourth (American) edition came out in 1802.2

Samuel Croxall, one time Archdeacon of Hereford [England] was a prominent theologian of his day. He was publicly and privately disgusted with the blatant Toryism of Sir Roger L'Estrange. He felt that party bias was evident in and marred the Aesop which L'Estrange published (on commission from a group of booksellers) in 1692. He also felt that the

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L'Estrange translation was too "racy" for children. He would not recognize that L'Estrange did exhibit a sense of humor and a sympathy for human foibles that was unusual in works that children read.

While L'Estrange was a Tory and a dreaded press censor (exhibiting in his censorship capacity a sometimes ruthless power), Darton believes that Croxall was a "toady." In evidence of this belief Darton recounts a part of Croxall's obsequious dedication of the fables to five-year-old George, Baron Halifax:

... My Lord ... when I tell the World you are the most lovely and engaging child that ever was born, I cannot be charged with offending in point of flattery. No one ever saw you but thought the same.2

Croxall represented the Protestant upsurge of the Hanoverian reigns. He had written an ode to George I on his ascension. A part of his criticism of L'Estrange was that he [L'Estrange] had been "Pensioner to a Popish Prince."3 To be such a pensioner was to be out of step with the times.

Croxall, just as so many other influential people did, upheld Locke's belief4 that the best pleasure reading for a child was a suitable "Aesop." Croxall also followed Locke's criteria for such an "Aesop."

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1 The Golden Cockerel Press evidently felt that L'Estrange's style was not marred by such raciness. In 1927 they published an edition based on his simple style. Muir, op. cit., p. 23.

2 From Croxall's dedication as quoted in Darton, op. cit., p. 19.

3 Ibid., p. 19.

4 Supra, Puritan Era, Locke. Also see Darton, op. cit., p. 18.
1) It should contain language suitable for a child, nothing offensive.

2) It should be simply written.

3) It should contain pictures.

The many "Aesops" which preceded Croxall's version had been read by children but had not been written for children. Often the language was coarse and the concepts pornographic. Sometimes the work was dull and unattractive. Some of the collections which preceded those of Croxall (and of L'Estrange) are as follows:

1484 The Caxton translation from the French, Literally "read to pieces";

1617 Brinsley's Latin and Greek text as grim as its title, Puerilis Confabulatiunculæ;  

1651 Ogelby's paraphrase in verse. A beautiful version with elegant pictures by Hollar, Faithorne, and others, meant for sophisticated adults. Large and bulky.¹

Darton deplores the fact that Locke with his easy lucid style did not attempt to prepare a collection for children following his own precepts.² His only effort was a very small specimen published in 1704. It was scholastic and dull.

There is no doubt that Croxall's work was intended solely for children. He felt that children should not be contaminated by previous versions, especially by the L'Estrange version. He meant his translation

¹Huir, op. cit., p. 71. Also see this annotation below, the editions listed under illustrations.

²Darton, op. cit., p. 18.
It was time that someone produced an Aesop just for children. The fables "were probably the most familiar collection of stories in seventeenth century Europe." They were known to almost everyone who had been to school in England for they were used almost universally as an elementary Latin textbook.

The text of Croxall's collection contained approximately two hundred fables, each adorned with its own small but charming woodcut. It was the charm of these cuts that later inspired the Bewick illustrations for Croxall's fables. Thwaite claims that Croxall's applications "... went into much detail about the moral lessons they contained for his own day. Yet in the telling of the incidents he had a happy touch at times...".

Croxall wrote well. His translation has been chosen by twentieth century artists as the fables they preferred to illustrate. Darton, Thwaite, and Osborne all concur on this point. Sloane, in his checklist covering works meant for children and published from 1600 to 1700 does not include any fables. He states, p. 120, that like fairytales, fables "were children's books only when specifically addressed to children. And Aesop was addressed to seventeenth century children only as a school book." Thus, by omission he puts L'Estrange's fables in the category of not being specifically for children. He adds emphasis to such an inference by his inclusion in his list on p. 188 of a work by L'Estrange meant for children and published in 1681, eleven years before the 1692 publishing date of his fables.

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1 Ibid., p. 18; Muir, op. cit., p. 24; Osborne, op. cit., p. 3; and Thwaite, op. cit., p. 8, all concur on this point. Sloane, op. cit., in his checklist covering works meant for children and published from 1600 to 1700 does not include any fables. He states, p. 120, that like fairytales, fables "were children's books only when specifically addressed to children. And Aesop was addressed to seventeenth century children only as a school book." Thus, by omission he puts L'Estrange's fables in the category of not being specifically for children. He adds emphasis to such an inference by his inclusion in his list on p. 188 of a work by L'Estrange meant for children and published in 1681, eleven years before the 1692 publishing date of his fables.

2 Sloane, op. cit., p. 120.

3 Thwaite, op. cit., p. 8. See Darton, op. cit., p. 20 for a sidelight about one of Croxall's applications. Here Croxall is concerned for fear children might really believe that foxes eat grapes.

4 Infra, this annotation.
in a quotation from the Dictionary of National Biography calls the style "naive, clear, and forcible."\(^1\)

It is difficult today to always know if a specific edition of Aesop contains Croxall's versions, translations of other scholars, or a combination of stories translated by many people. Quite often the preface or introduction will tell. Sometimes the forematter is misleading in that it gives the name of an editor who revised, or used some tales from Croxall along with translations of his own or tales selected from other translators. Generally a first edition contained forematter explaining how the collection came into being and from what sources the fables were obtained. Later printings of that edition through mischance, haste, or even by intent, would omit such explanatory material. Those who knew would forget. This is especially true when collections include tales from L'Estrange, Croxall, Gay, La Fontaine and the Jataka tales. Adult and child alike group them all simply as Aesop.\(^2\)

Each edition of Croxall had new features. These ranged from simplified morals (applications) to "improved" lives of Aesop, and catalogues "of the various editions of Aesop's fables, in the original

\(^1\)Darton, op. cit., p. 20.

\(^2\)Joseph Jacobs, the folklorist, gives a scholarly history of the Aesop tales in The Fables of Aesop, Selected, Told Anew, and Their History Traced (New York: Macmillan, 1963), pp. 167-174. Jacobs does not even mention Croxall. He considers that the two important English fabulists are Caxton and L'Estrange; Caxton because he first translated the German collection of Stainhövel; L'Estrange because he added to the numbers of tales in English collections by translating unfamiliar fables from sources up until then not translated into English.
language as well as in the translations..."1

Like other beast tales the Aesopian fable "cries out to be illustrated."2 Hofer emphasizes this when he applauds the successful designs for editions of Aesop which "begin with the first illustrated edition, Ulm, Germany, about 1476..."3 This edition, of course, was not planned for children, nor were many of the other well designed editions which Hofer lists. He does agree, however, upon the excellence of the original designs for Croxall and their elegant counterparts, the cuts of John and Thomas Bewick.

The most distinguished twentieth century version of the Croxall Aesop was illustrated by Boris Artzybasheff. As a child in Russia, the artist spent much of his time drawing animals and observing peasant types and customs. His dramatic woodcuts exhibit a blend of Ukrainian folk design and the strong simple elements which make up the basic pattern of the fable. Artzybasheff has retained the word "application" as used by Croxall in place of the commonly used word "moral."4

1Judith St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 3 describes an 1802 edition which includes such a "catalogue" of editions--"from 1476 to 1796." In her section on "Aesop and Other Fabulist," St. John lists several Croxall editions, pp. 2-7.

2Thwaite, op. cit., p. 8.

3Philip Hofer in Mahoney, op. cit., p. 184.
The first fables in graceful light-hearted verse that conceived of lovable animals worthy of observation in whom the liveable lessons of philosophy could be found. Although this translation does not do justice to the poetry of the writer, it is the first English translation of the fables published by themselves. Roger L'Estrange had included some of La Fontaine's tales among the five hundred fables, translated from a variety of sources, which he published in 1692.

The first six books of the fables were published in French in 1688. They went immediately into many fine French, German, and Dutch editions. They were equally well received in France. The critics agreed with the public and La Fontaine became the most widely read author in the land.

A contemporary of Francois Fenélon, La Fontaine came from the middle class. His father was the local Master of the Waters and Forests at Chateau-Thierry in Champagne. As a boy, La Fontaine loved woods, fields, and streams with all their inhabitants. He befriended every

1. From the notes of Eloise Ramsey in vault, Wayne State University Libraries.

2. Supra, Croxall's Aesop. Darton, op. cit., p. 15, passim. This was a large politically biased volume not "handy" (Darton) for children to use.


4. Philip Hofer in Mahoney, op. cit., p. 189.

living creature, winged and footed. He learned their habits, and seemed to understand their "aims, worries, and thoughts, . . . all he had to do, when he wrote, was to make these multipede philosophers speak, and he became another Aesop. . . ."1

Although most literary people involved with the court of Louis the XIV were enemies, La Fontaine was a part of a "half-legendary friendship . . . involving Boileau [who hated Fenelon], Moliere, Racine, and . . . himself."2 He did live the amatory life of the times, involving marriage, separation, and support by several well-to-do and "noble" French women. The Durants report that he then (once safely supported) "divided his time . . . into two parts: one part for sleep, the other for doing nothing."3 This was an understatement of the truth. He still spent much time observing his great loves, the creatures of "those woods, fields, and streams," much time in writing his graceful, gentle verse which was sometimes pure fairy tale, sometimes Boccocianese. (Such risqué verse was told in so simple fashion that even "blushing" maidens read it.)4

La Fontaine was not above pretense. He allowed his public to believe that the fables were paraphrases of Aesop and Phaedrus. Some were. Some were "fabliaux" of France. Some were taken from the Indian Bidpai. The Durants write that ". . . most of them were re-created in the bubbling rivulet of La Fontaine's mind. . . ."5

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1ibid., p. 144.  
2ibid.  
3ibid., p. 146.  
4ibid., p. 144.  
5ibid., p. 145.
The first of his fables, perhaps unwittingly, summarized the story of his own seemingly careless life. This is "The Grasshopper and the Ant." Some of his equally well known tales are: "Belling, the Cat," "The Man, the Boy, and the Donkey," and "The Milkmaid and Her Pail of Milk." These are usually now told in prose without reference to or perhaps knowledge of their originator. There are many twentieth century collections of stories for children which include these fables.\(^1\)

There have been many attempts at translating La Fontaine into English for children. Although several of these have been in collections of tales from other fabulists, nevertheless, there have been many notable one author (La Fontaine) editions. They are best known as a combination of author (La Fontaine) and illustrator (varied, during the decades).\(^3\) Among these are:

- **Fables of La Fontaine**, 2 v, illustrated by Jean Ignace Isidore Germain. Tappan and Dennett, 1841.\(^4\)
- **Fables of La Fontaine**, illustrated by Paul Gustave Doré. Cassell, 1867. (Just after *Alice in Wonderland*.)

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 146. The Durants state that La Fontaine was not as unfortunate as the Grasshopper. Mme. de Sablière cared for him until her death (1693) then he "repented" (after a stroke) and turned to the church until his death in 1695, age 74.

\(^2\)A still well known example, published in 1926 by Doubleday is *Tales of Laughter* edited by Kate Douglas Wiggin and Nora Archibald Smith (with decorations by Elizabeth Mackinstry).

\(^3\)The original list of these editions is found in Mahoney, *op. cit.*, p. 485. Additional information is found as indicated by each footnote.

\(^4\)It is possible that the Dennett (publisher) linked with Tappan is J. Dennett of Leather Lane, Holborn cited by Osborne, *op. cit.*, as being in business about 1817.

A Hundred Fables of La Fontaine. With pictures by Percy Billinghurst. John Lane, 1900. 


Fables of La Fontaine. Illustrated by André Helle. Harper, 1940. 

Ramsey believes that until the advent of Boutet de Monvel, translations of La Fontaine for children were mediocre. Until then: 1) the translator's knowledge of French and its English equivalent was poor, 2) his knowledge of French was poor, 3) his knowledge of poetry was deplorable, and 4) his understanding of children was lacking. 

It is apparent that historians of children's literature appear 


1There are two items to notice about this imprint: a) S.P.C.K., and b) the date of publication. Judith St. John in Osborne on p. 496 describes a) S.P.C.K. (The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge) as founded by the Church of England in 1698. It was tri-purposed in that it aimed to establish charity schools; to disperse religious tracts and books; and also to encourage circulating parochial libraries in England and America; and b) Thwaite, op. cit., p. 240 states that Boutet de Monvel "heralds the beginning of the French Picture Book [for children about] . . . the end of the eighteenth century."

2Held by The Osborne Collection. See The Osborne Collection, op. cit., pp. 5, 482. It is interesting to note that the publisher, Lane, used the sign the Bodley Head which is a twentieth century symbol of quality publishing.

3Bull is an Irish-born Englishman.

4From the notes of Eloise Ramsey, Wayne State University Libraries Vault.
uninformed about the place of La Fontaine. They have recorded only a few things: 1) he is included in collections of fables from the seventeenth century through the twentieth century, 2) his fables in verse have always been light-hearted and gay even in pointing a moral, and 3) he was recommended as being worthy of reading.

One of these recommendations came from Philip Dormer Stanhope, fourth Earl of Chesterfield, patron of Johnson, and author of the famous Letters, 1764. His advice (about reading) to both his "natural" son and his godson was against romances and fairy tales but for fables, especially the fables of La Fontaine. He evaluated them as amusing, instructive, and equal [in value] to the works of Molière, Puffendorf, etc. Darton sums up Chesterfield's comments when he states:

... he [Chesterfield] had a very clear idea of the distinction between fable and fiction, and their social value.

It appears that even the edition (or editions) of which Chesterfield was speaking must have been well illustrated. Philip Hofer states that even the first French edition was well illustrated by the vignettes of Francois Chauveau. In fact, he continues, since then La Fontaine "has been well and frequently illustrated. Indeed, one cannot conceive of an unillustrated edition."
Among the many fine French illustrated editions were:

1775-9 The four-volume great folio edition with J. B. Oudry's designs.

1796 A Paris edition with the charming engravings of Simon and Coiny.

Then, of course, there was Boutet de Monvel, already mentioned.

Darton describes an odd side story which involves both Aesop and La Fontaine. One of Aesop's chief English illustrators decided to do a version of his own. In 1687, seeing the vogue of the French La Fontaine, he added a French text to the English. For the English version of the fables he procured the famous Mrs. Astra Behn. The result was not for children. It was purely an attempt to "cash in" on what was then fashionable.

It is evidence of the popularity of La Fontaine on both sides of the channel. It also shows that even in the seventeenth century good illustrators had a hand in deciding the fortunes of material worthy of illustration. Philip Hofer believes that fables have always been worthy material.

Two outstanding twentieth century illustrated editions are:

1930 Rudolph Ruzichas 2 volume "sensitive" engravings in the Limited Editions Club issue, printed by Updike.

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2Ibid. Among other things, Astra Behn was known as a 17th century playwright. In 1689 she produced the moral Oroonoko.

3Hofer in Mahoney, op. cit., p. 184. Supra, annotations, Croxall's Aesop.

4Ibid.
Darton sums up La Fontaine's place as well as the evolution of the Aesopian fable by the early decades of the eighteenth century when he writes:

La Fontaine in France (and in translations in England), Gay (1729) in England, kept the fable, ostensibly or putatively Aesop's but with a great deal of wholly original invention added, well alive as a book for the general reader, and their versions were used by or adapted for young people.  

1726 Swift, Jonathan. Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World. In four parts. By Lemuel Gulliver, first a surgeon, and then a captain of several ships. London:


Gulliver's Travels shares the same popularity as Robinson Crusoe. It was the first book (adopted by children and immediately put into an abridged form meant for them) that utilized the child's love of seeing things upside down. Darton classes Gulliver as one of the outstanding inventions of its era, in fact of all writing in western civilization: it is

1 Ibid.

2 Darton, op. cit., p. 18. Also see Darton on Gay, pp. 18 and 96; Thwaite, op. cit., p. 157; Durant, op. cit., p. 312, 354, 360; Mahoney, op. cit., pp. 16 and 17; The Osborne Collection, op. cit., pp. 4 and 5.

3 Darton, op. cit., p. 107.
a unique example of that new form, the novel. Thwaite classes it as "one of the two outstanding successes of the early eighteenth century, which were to have far-reaching influence on children's books, and become classics..." Thwaite further considers Gulliver as one of the most important influences in the development of the adventure story for children.

Benjamin Motte succeeded to the printing and bookselling business of Benjamin Tooke at the Middle Temple Gate in Fleet Street. He was Swift's London agent. St. John gives the following account of the publishing:

The first issue appeared on October 28, 1726. Ten thousand copies are reputed to have been sold in three weeks.

The first abridged edition for children, the form that was followed by most subsequent abridgements, was published without authorization, by J. Stone and R. King in 1727. This contained 'Lilliput' and Brobdingnag only. The first chapbook editions seem to have appeared in about the middle of the eighteenth century, and to have contained 'Lilliput' only.

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1 Ibid., p. 107. Supra, annotation on Robinson Crusoe and Georgian Age, section on the rise of the novel.

2 Thwaite, op. cit., p. 40. The other book, of course, is Robinson Crusoe.

3 Ibid. The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 486.

4 Ibid. p. 309.

5 Ibid., p. 309.

6 Ibid., p. 42. Muir also states that "Gulliver appears comparatively infrequently in chapbooks." See p. 42 for Muir's hypothetical reasons for this.
Rosenbach lists an abridgement for children as the first edition of this work to be published in America in 1787. He describes the edition as follows:

... The Adventures of Captain Gulliver, in a voyage to the Islands of Lilliput and Brobdingnag. Abridged from the works of the celebrated Dean Swift. Adorned with cuts. Philadelphia: Young and McCulloch, 1787. . . . It is the same as the edition published in London by P. Osborne and T. Griffith, and J. Mozley, Gainsborough, 1735. Both probably go back to a Newbery original. . . .

Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's [Anglican] Cathedral in Dublin was a Juvenalian satirist with no thought of writing for children. His own early childhood was miserable. He was annoyed at being born in Dublin, Ireland. This was a severe handicap for an Englishman, especially for one of Tory politics and religion. His father, steward of the King's Inns in Dublin, died before Jonathan's birth. His mother immediately gave the baby to a wet nurse who took him to England for three years. During that time he never saw his mother.

The rest of his childhood years were equally insecure. The mother, whom he finally grew to love, handed him over to an uncle for education. This meant: at age six a boarding school in Kilkenny; at

1Rosenbach, op. cit., p. 56, n. 124.

2Ibid., p. 56. Tracing editions of such long popular stories as this is so involved that only the scholar interested in this one title would be concerned with such knowledge. It does not fall within the scope of this work to provide detailed tracing. Interested readers are advised to begin with the bibliographies such as H. Williams, The Motte editions of "Gulliver's Travels," as listed on p. 43 in Muir, op. cit. He may then search out the other sections of the D'AlletWelch "Bibliography of American Children's Books" . . . some sections of which are so repeatedly referred to in this work. (Unfortunately, the writer of this work does not have access to the other sections for present reference.)
age fifteen, Trinity College, Dublin. During his seven years at Trinity College he was delinquent, disobedient, frequently punished, notably poor in theology, reduced to poverty when his uncle became bankrupt, forced to flee to England upon his uncle's death. This last was during the uprising of Ireland for James II.

He became secretary to Sir William Temple, the friend and advisor of kings. Temple sent Swift to Oxford where he received a Master of Arts degree. During his years with Temple, Swift met Esther Johnson, one of the two loves of his life—each of whom he played against the other. He eventually married Esther who was the "Stella" to whom he wrote his strange and much publicized letters.¹

The Durants (Will and Ariel) believe that much of Swift's savagery was due to the insecurity of his early life and to his physical ailments. They report:

As early as 1694, aged twenty-seven, he had begun to suffer from vertigo in the labyrinth of the ear; occasionally and incalculably he experienced fits of dizziness deafness . . . [the remedy] . . . a complex liquid to be held in a bag inside Swift's wig. The malady became worse with the years, and may have caused his insanity. . . . Probably he was impotent. . . . His malaise was heightened by a painful keeness of the senses. . . . He was especially sensitive to odors in city streets and in human beings. . . . He concluded that the human race stank.²

Swift, in exaggerated heights, exhibited the love of nonsense that has been so large a part of the Englishman and his taste in


²Durant, op. cit., pp. 354-355. See the verses on p. 355 which describe Swift's conception of a lovable woman and of a nice young woman. They are olfactory.
reading and writing. Darton points out this trait as being evident under George I. He links the Gulliver theme with a then common chap-book called *The World Turned Upside Down*. Such turning of the tables could be construed on a child's level as simple satire which could only enhance the delight of good storytelling. Swift told a good story.\(^2\)

Britain's growing place as mistress of the seas augmented the interest of the young in the romance of far away lands. The good storytelling, abetted by the nonsense, made Lemuel Gulliver's "Several Remote Nations" seem very real and no more far distant than Australia or the Americas. Darton states that due to the popularity of Defoe and Swift with young Georgian readers "whatever stern parents might think, fiction meant for children was inevitable; indeed, close at hand."\(^3\)

Just before Swift began to write Gulliver, he quarreled violently with the second of his two loves, Vanessa Vonhomrigh, over his secret

\(^1\)Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

\(^2\)While much of Swift's other works are hardly relevant to Gulliver as a book for children, nevertheless, two of his activities do show this addiction to nonsense which is so large an attraction in Gulliver.

One is the running series of incidents in which Swift under the name of Isaac Bickerstaffe carried out a hoax against John Partridge, a pretentious cobbler-astrologist who published yearly almanacs. Durant, *op. cit.*, p. 352 states: "The wits of the city took up the hoax . . . and Stella, inaugurating *The Tatler* . . . adopted Isaac Bickerstaffe as its imaginary editor."

The second example can be found in Swift's *Tale of a Tub* and in his love for that work which (Durant, p. 348) "is a major exposition of Swift's religious or irreligious philosophy." It is not the theme, however, which illustrates his talent for whimsy, nonsense, and the topsyturvy but his style of writing which makes use of allegory, conceit, metaphor and simile in so fantastic a fashion. Gulliver is written in the same vein. (See this annotation below, the paragraphs discussing Gulliver.)

\(^3\)Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
marriage to Esther [Stella]. Consumptive, despairing, and frightened, Vanessa died. Swift took a sudden trip and did not reappear until four months later. Then he began to write Gulliver which he conceived as an angry, savage, satire against the confused bad smelling world in which he lived such a mixed-up life. When he had completed the work, he took it and himself to London. He received two hundred pounds for its anonymous publication. He then "went to Alexander Pope's house in Twickenham to enjoy the expected storm."

The first public reaction was one of delight. Few people read further than the voyages of Lilliput and Brobdingnag. Perhaps this is why these two sections were the only "travels" that were first abridged for children.

In each section, however, Swift reveals his keen observation of the small details about a strange place that are so endearing to children. These details emphasize the "strangeness" of each land. A child can well imagine Gulliver's discomfiture at being tied down (in the land of Lilliput) by such small creatures, the tickle as these little people swarmed over him poking into his ears and eyes. A child is delighted at Gulliver as an archway with legs astraddle while a miniature army marches in between his feet. And what strange joy a child feels at the thought of small cooks and bakers working day and night to supply food for oneself.

Each of these reactions has its counterpart in feeling small in

\[1\]bid., p. 358.

\[2\]bid., see pp. 358-360 for descriptions of Parts I-IV of Gulliver.
the land of Brobdingnag. Perhaps a child recognizes that the gentle handling the princess accords Gulliver has much in common with the manner in which kindly and perceptive adults handle little children.

The sky island of Laputa in the third voyage would pose no strains on the imagination of the twentieth century child who calmly faces the prospect of space platforms. It might be said that in this section is one of the forerunners of a common form of twentieth century science fiction.

As for the Houyhnhms in voyage four, any child who has loved horse stories has never needed to be told that horses are more intelligent, gentle, and handsome than human beings. To such a child, Swift is not being fantastic. He is reasonable, in the logic of childhood.

Gulliver still holds a place in twentieth century reading. He has endured in the variety of special edition classics put out by such outstanding publishing houses as Macmillan. He has been repersonified through the work of Walt Disney and his associates both in film and in the many books which are an aftermath of the film.

Beyond this there have even been books which owe more to Gulliver than Anne and Jane Taylor's 1810 version of The World Turned Upside Down¹. Two of these "imitations" or "sequels" are:

1) **Mistress Masham's Repose** by Terence Hanbury White
   (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1946) A stray colony of Lilliputians made their way to England. Years later they were discovered by a little girl who needed them.

¹Darton, op. cit., p. 107.
2) *Castaways in Lilliput* by Henry Winterfield. Illustrations by William M. Hutchinson (New York: Harcourt, 1960). This German author captures the delight that two modern children feel when their boat takes them to Lilliput.

Even the earliest editions of *Gulliver* are usually illustrated. Many of these illustrations have been copied throughout the immediately following years. The subject is exceedingly attractive and pictures enhance the text. Three editions listed by Judith St. John¹ exemplify the varieties of illustrations:

1) William Godwin's Tabart² edition of 1805. This includes a rewritten version of all four parts "embellished with beautiful engravings, from original designs made on purpose, by Messrs. Craig and Corbould." There are thirty-six pages to each part and three hand-colored copperplates.

2. An edition of the "Cranford" series—"classics" put out in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. This Osborne copy has one hundred illustrations by Charles E. Brock in the manner of Randolph Caldecott who greatly

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¹The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 309.

²Supra, section on Children's Publishers, William Godwin.
influenced Brock.¹


St. John describes the illustrations thus:

Most of the designs appeared as line-drawings in an edition published in 1899. They have been revised and colored by the artist and new designs have been added. The end-papers are illustrated.²

1729 Perrault, Charles. Histories or Tales of Past Times . . . 
With Morals. Translated into English by Robert Samber.

This little volume of nine stories marks the first appearance in English of some of the most beloved fairy tales of all time, still favorites of twentieth century children.⁴ It also marks the first appearance of the name Mother Goose in English. The frontispiece, a woodcut

¹The Osborne Collection, op. cit., pp. 309, 437. On p. 437 St. John describes Brock, a painter, as one of "four artist brothers who shared a studio in Cambridge." Also see: Muir, op. cit., pp. 183 and 191 wherein he describes the famous Cranford Series. An edition of Washington Irving's Sketchbook under the title of Old Christmas (1875) is reported as the first in the series, p. 183. On p. 191 Muir affirms that this Macmillan series "form one of the most consistently elegant and attractive efforts in that sphere."

²The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 309.

³Smith, op. cit., p. 205 lists the first publication date as 1719. Percy Muir op. cit., details his research on this matter. His findings are given in the third and fourth paragraphs on p. 49, and No. 5 of his list of English translations on p. 51.

⁴Hazard, op. cit., p. 8, declares: "Then, and for the first time . . . all the children in the world . . . had a book after their own hearts. . . ."
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of a woman telling a story to three children, has these words in the upper right hand corner: "Mother Goose's Tales."

As far as present research can tell us, the publisher (printer and bookseller) had his establishment at Sir Isaac Newton's Head, near Suffolk Street, Charing-cross; and R. Montague, the corner of Great Queen Street, near Drury Lane.¹

There is a great deal of controversy concerning the actual author (or compiler) of the tales, and concerning the first translator into English.

During the popularity of the "powdered" fairy tale at the French court of Louis XIV, one group of tales was outstanding because 1) its style was simple, clear, and direct, and 2) its originator was a man. Some people hold that the man in question was actually a youth, eighteen year old Pierre Perrault d'Armancourt, the oldest son of Charles Perrault. The father, Charles, was an academician of note and a Parisian lawyer. During Charles' lifetime no edition listed him as the author. Every title page carried the name of the son. Muir presents the interesting hypothesis that the idea was Pierre's, the writing was Charles', the title page was a gesture of affection from the father to please the son.²

Barchilon and Pettit present the meagre information that has been gathered about the translator, Robert Samber.


²Muir, op. cit., p. 46. Muir has done much research on this topic. He discusses his findings on pp. 45-50. Here he describes the French custom of "Privilege," the only form of "Copyright" in France at that time.
... He was a prolific translator, as the catalog of the British museum shows. He translated works from Latin, from Italian, and from French.

The text which he used for his translation was the French edition of 1721 or its reprint of 1729 published in Holland. In these the sequence in the original Perrault edition of 1697 has been changed.1

Hence, the order of the first eight stories (which are both Perrault's and the most famous of the nine) is thus:

1. "The Little Red Riding Hood"
2. "The Fairy"
3. "The Bluebeard"
4. "The Sleeping Beauty in the Wood"
5. "Puss in Boots" (or, "The Master Cat")
6. "Cinderella" (or, "The Little Glass Slipper")
7. "Riquet a la Houpe" ("Riquet with the Tuft")2
8. "Little Poucet and His Brothers" (Now known as "Hop-o'-My-
   Thumb" and not to be confused with the English
   "Tom Thumb,"3)

The ninth story is not by Perrault but by Jeanne L'Héritier, another of the French noblewomen who belonged to the storytelling group at the court of Louis XIV.4 The title is, "The Discreet Princess," or

1 Barchilon and Petit, op. cit., p. 47.
2 One form of "Beauty and the Beast" tales. Also see this section, annotations, Mme. de Beaumont.
3 "Tom Thumb" was ancient in 1621. See Sloane, op. cit., pp. 73 and 74. "Tom" was evident in print in the American Colonies at least as early as 1780. Rosenbach, op. cit., p. 311 and pp. 41, 42, n. 91.
4 See Muir, op. cit., p. 46 for a discussion of Mme. L'Héritier and her relationship to the Perraults.
"The Adventures of Finetta."

Samber appears to be representative of the scholarly men of the early Georgian days who were dependent upon the patronage of the nobility for support both financially and emotionally. He dedicated his translation to handsome Countess Granville.

Barchilon and Pettit believe that Samber's translation is "competent" though it often "is too literal and betrays a lack of intimacy with the French language." Samber also takes occasion to add his own digressions from the text; for example, an amusing interpolation in "The Sleeping Beauty" reads:

How an ogre is a giant that has long teeth and claws, with a raw head and bloody bones, that runs away with naughty little boys and girls and eats them up.

Another of the controversies which arises over the Perrault tales is his purpose. Although the stories may have been retold from those folk tales handed down by word of mouth through the years, and although these specific tales may have been told to the court of Louis the XIV, nevertheless, Perrault seems to have meant them for children. Barchilon and Pettit document this in several quotations from the works of Perrault and in the conclusions they state from their research.3 One of their important conclusions is the result of their comparison of Perrault's beliefs about the value of fairy tales for children and the

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1 Barchilon and Pettit, op. cit., p. 48.

2 Ibid., p. 48 in the text and p. 43 in the facsimile of the 1729 edition of the tales that is bound with the text.

3 Ibid., pp. 25 and 26. Also see their bibliography and notes, pp. 39 and 40.
twentieth century Neo-Freudian psychoanalytic statements about this value for children. These researchers say:

... we believe that, dimly, he was aware of their deeper and unconscious meaning and message. Psychoanalysts hold that the child, through comparison between the fantastic and the real, gradually learns to test reality. When the child learns that the fairy tale is fictitious he learns to enjoy it as fiction. This is one giant step not only in the process of rational maturation but in esthetic development as well. For he becomes aware of the distinction between the stage and reality. Eventually he craves more and more fiction ... and incorporates it in ... his dreams. ... He soon prefers the fairy tale to his own fancies: it is ... more beautiful ... more satisfying. ... The fairy tale is his apprenticeship to life.¹

It appears that Samber, too, felt that children needed fairy tales. He meant his translation for children. He felt strongly that French fairy tales were superior to English nursery rhymes. Barchilon and Pettit state:

He seems to despise children's writers who "content themselves in Venting some poor insipid trifling Tale in a little tinkling Jingle, adding some pretty Witticism, or insignificant useless Reflection, which they call a Moral, and think they have done the Business."²

Although the first eight (or at least seven of the eight) of the Perrault-Samber tales are familiar to most literate English (French, German, Italian, and Scandinavian)³ reading people, nevertheless, certain parts of each story have changed during the years between 1729 and

¹Ibid., pp. 26 and 27. Also supra, pp. 2-7.

²Barchilon and Pettit, op. cit., p. 47. It is amusing but human that Samber should think the "morals" written by others insignificant while his own he would consider as weighty and important.

³Among other authorities, Thwaite, op. cit., documents this on pages 236-246.
1965. A few of the changes are as follows:

In "Red Riding Hood" the wolf originally ate up both the grandmother and the little girl. In more modern versions, woodcutters rush in and save the child. Sometimes the grandmother is saved, too.

In "The Fairy" the child from whose mouth roses, pearls, and diamonds drop calls her mother "mama" as she speaks to the king's son who marries her. The unfortunate sister who spewed snakes and toads is named "Fanny." These are slight anachronisms which are not in twentieth century versions.

Many versions of the "Sleeping Beauty" end with happy marriage ceremonies. Perrault adds the jealous feelings of the bridegroom's mother and her ugly attempts to have the beauty cooked and served up to her as a tasty dish.

"Cinderella" called "Cinderilla" in the facsimile edition has so many versions that it is impossible to list the numbers of varieties here. There is one obvious difference between the Perrault-Samber tale and many of the versions that followed: in contrast to others of these eight tales, the "Cinderella" ending is gentle, kind, and forgiving. The wicked are punished only by kindness for Cinderella was "as good as handsome."

"Riquet of the Tuft" is perhaps the least known of the eight stories. Riquet (the family name) not only had a strange tuft of hair growing from his head but he had a hump back, a lame foot, squinty eyes, and a bulbous red nose. In spite of this he was courtly, kind, witty, and a wealthy prince. He fell in love with a stupid beautiful princess. Due to gifts of the fairies, given at their birth, Riquet was able to
make his love intelligent and she was able to bestow good looks upon him.

"Hop 'O My Thumb" combines elements of "Babes in the Wood" and "Hansel and Gretel." The ending is happy. The reader is assured that the hero did not really rob the ogre. He only took away the seven league boots so that they could be used for good and not for evil. In fact, the end of the story itemizes some of the good that Hop 'O My Thumb does with the boots.

The moralities at the end of each tale have not always been included in later editions or separate printings of each individual story. They are witty, adult, sometimes cynical, but typical of the age in which they were written. Some of them indicate that the stories to which they are appended have allegorical significance.

One of the most obvious of these verses is the one that accompanies "Little Red Riding Hood." It reads:

From this short story easy we discern
What conduct all young people ought to learn.
But above all, the growing ladies fair,
. . . . . . . . . . .
ill do they listen to all sorts of tongues,
Since some enchantment and lure like Sirens songs.
No wonder therefore 'tis if  overpowered,
So many of them has the wolfe devour'd.
The wolfe, I say, for wolves so sure they are
Of every sort, and every character.
Some of them mild and gentle-humoured be
Of noise and gall, and
rancour wholly free;
Who tame, familiar, full of
complaisance;
Ogle, leer, languish, cajole
and glance;
With luring tongues and
language wondrous sweet,
Follow young ladies as they
walk the street,
Ev'n to their very houses and
beside,
And though their true designs
they artful bide,
Yet ah! these simpering Wolves,
who does not see
Most dang'rous of all Wolves
in fact to be?

This "morality" has quite a modern ring. In actuality, since
Perrault did not touch on such implications in his beautiful handling
of the story, this may be his admission of the Rabelaisian style of
some of the sources which are indicated as the originals of the plots.
Thwaite writes that Perrault's stories were "founded on original tales,
some of which had already appeared in two Italian collections, the
Placevolli Noti of Straparola (1550) and Il Penteramerone of Basile
(1634-36) . . ."² Barchilon and Pettit amplify Thwaite's statement
when they take each story, title by title, and briefly document what
they have discovered to be the history of each theme or plot.³

Eighteenth century writers, educators, and parents (on the whole)
disapproved of fairy tales. Many of such tales were not only imported

¹Barchilon and Pettit, op. cit., from the section which is the
facsimile of Samber's translation, pp. 6-8.
²Thwaite, op. cit., p. 34.
evils but they came surrounded by an aura of earlier erotic writing meant for adults. Influential 'Rousseau would have no such fantastic creatures [as the fairies]. . . [and] the general opinion of the Blue-Stockings was against them . . . on the grounds of truth and reasonableness.'

This general disapproval of the fairy tale was augmented by the fact that so many of them came out in crude chapbook form. As these:

little books were made for the sole purpose of being sold to an undiscriminating clientele they [the chapbooks] showed much variety in their subject matter, and were by no means confined to stories which have survived to form part of children's literature. . . . There were all kinds of superstitious, morbid, and sensational matters, quite unsuitable for children. . . .

Although the demand for many-paged hardback books was growing, the output (especially for children) was still small in the mid-eighteenth century. For example, the [assumed] first English edition of Perrault's eight tales came out in 1729; by 1777 F. Newbery and B. Collins (of Salisbury) had put out only the seventh edition of Perrault.

It took another twenty-five years before a twelfth edition was put out in 1802. All this, while the population was growing as it had never grown before.

As flimsy as the chapbooks seemed to be, they were a force that exerted great influence. Not only Perrault's stories but the Robin Hood legends, the King Arthur tales, and the old romances such as King George

1Darton, op. cit., p. 96. Also supra, section on Rousseau and annotations, Mrs. Trimmer; Maria Edgeworth.

2Thwaite, op. cit., p. 82. Also see Muir, op. cit., pp. 49-50.

3Muir, op. cit., p. 51.
and the Dragon were among the memorable favorites kept alive by such flimsy means.

Thwaite explains the influence of the chapbooks:

... they have a distinct importance in the evolution of literature for children. They were not merely the "underground" or "comic" literature of their age, they had some influence on the format and contents of children's books when these began to be published regularly. And in an age of rationalism, they kept alive in rudimentary fashion, traditional and imaginative stories which children were unlikely to meet with as yet in any better form.¹

Like Gulliver's Travels, the Perrault tales cry out for illustration. The illustrations in the Samber translated English text (reproduced in Barchilon and Pettit) "are copies of those in the Dutch editions. They compare favorably with the illustrations in the original French edition and its many copies."²

As individual titles from many writers became popular they were either published singly or in collections without regard to authors. Thus, D'Aulnoy, Perrault, and many other writers were represented in one book together. This resulted in illustrators producing pictures for groups of diverse fairy tales not just for the tales of Perrault. This practice became especially prevalent during the middle part of the

¹Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 34. Also see the following Victorian Regime: Catnack Press.

²Barchilon and Pettit, *op. cit.*, p. 48. These are woodcuts. The frontispiece (already described at the beginning of this annotation) is a full page. It must be remembered, however, that the original book was small, approximately three by six inches in size. Each story was headed by a tiny woodcut depicting the theme of that story; for example, 'The Sleeping Beauty' has a young woman reclining on a couch. She appears to be awakening from a deep sleep. Also infra, annotation on "A Pretty Little Pocket Book" for a further discussion of size in children's books. The eighteenth century popular form was "Lilliputian."
nineteenth century.  

It was not until after 1865 that publishers took a firm stand in producing children’s illustrations with quality in color. Some of the illustrators who pioneered in the use of good color used Perrault tales (as well as other fairy tales) as their themes. Two of the best known of these illustrators are Walter Crane and Kate Greenaway.

Walter Crane did "Puss in Boots" with a "stunning use of black" in contrast to bright color. Jacqueline Overton states "Puss begging a pair of boots from the miller’s son is one of Crane’s most delightful early pictures."

Overton also discusses the early Greenaway toy books "done about 1871 and published by Gall and Ingliss..." Greenaway’s first attempts had been crude and the color poorly reproduced. However, "Blue Beard," "Puss in Boots," "Hop O’ My Thumb," and "Red Riding Hood" were better and became great favorites.

An outstanding series of collections of fairy tales (French, and from other nations) was the "colour" or "rainbow" series edited by Scotch

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1Infra, Victorian Regime annotations, The Fairy Library illustrations by Cruikshank.

2Although 1865 is the cut-off date for the scope of this study, date illustrating the rise of quality in the illustration of children’s books is given in the following chapter, The Victorian Regime.


4Ibid., p. 77.
folklorist, author, and critic Andrew Lang. In 1889 he issued The Blue Fairy Book and began the custom of a yearly volume of fairy tale, true story, and romance that he continued until his death. Henry Justice Ford did the first illustrations for the entire series. Ford was noted for his illustration of fairy tales. He was also a portrait and landscape painter as well as a classics scholar. George Percy Jacomb Hood cooperated with Ford in the illustration of the first book in the series.

Perrault titles published singly have often been noted for their outstanding illustrations. This is especially true of many twentieth century picture books for children. Among these are two selected, edited, and illustrated by Marcia Brown.

Puss in Boots was the runner-up for the Caldecott award for the best picture book of 1953. Cinderella was the Caldecott award winner of 1955. Puss is done in strong bold colors. Cinderella has flowing lines, pastel dress colors emphasized by deep purples, shocking pink, and bold black. These are vivid departures from the children's illustrations of the previous century.

1 Supra, annotations of Tales of the Fairies by Mme. d'Aulnoy.
2 Green, Tellers of Tales, op. cit., p. 119.
3 Judith St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., pp. 443-444.
4 Ibid., p. 35.

The first of its category printed specifically for children, this favorite's popularity lasted for over a hundred and fifty years. Parson Weems of American fame as an inaccurate biographer but an astute bookseller wrote from Virginia (after 1775) that 'Telemaque in English and French are much wanted.'

Charles Lamb, in 1808, wrote his *Adventures of Ulysses* as a continuation of *Telemachus* and because he was inspired by it.

None of the sources used for this study give information about the publisher of the 1742 edition. Thwaite tells that the first volume in an English edition was printed (not necessarily released or sold) late in 1699 "by A. and J. Churchill." Thwaite, op. cit., p. 67 n. 2, The sources for the 1742 date are: a) The Ramsey notes which list Ozel as translator but give no more information; and b) Barry, op. cit., p. 256. This source states "2 volumes." Neither Rosenbach, op. cit., nor Welch in parts D-G, "A Bibliography of American Children's Books," op. cit., mention *Telemachus*. Rosenbach, p. 109 n. 208 cites a Fenélon title, "On Faithfulness in Little Things."
Ordained at twenty-four, Fenelon received the post as Superior of the Convent of New Catholics in St. Anne's Street, Paris. Later he was sent to the region of La Rochelle to convert Huguenots. He did not receive as many converts as some of his colleagues did but he carried out his work so gently that his work was more efficacious and lasting. As a result of these experiences (and perhaps as an aid in his task) he wrote a treatise, "On the Education of Daughters." This work is similar to the philosophy of Rousseau in its insistence upon the use of gentle methods in teaching.

When Fenelon was thirty-eight (in 1639), he was made tutor to Louis, Duke of Burgundy, the eight-year-old grandson of the king. The boy was spoiled, fierce, headstrong but possessed of a brilliant mind. Fenelon won the boy's love and respect through the same gentle teaching methods he had been advocating for so long.

In spite of his kindness and understanding of youth and children, Fenelon was ambitious. He dreamed of becoming the Dauphin's Richelieu. He believed in the divine right of kings but he also believed that no king should use that right to harm his subjects in any way. He felt that he must inculcate this principle and a strong love of God in the boy he expected to become king. The Dauphin's behavior improved so markedly that in gratitude Louis XIV made Fenelon Archbishop of Cambray.

1 Durant, op. cit., p. 81.

2 Judith St. John lists this title in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 117. The title was printed by W. Darton in 1812 for Protestant mothers.
During the time of his tutorship, Fenélon became much influenced by the religious beliefs of young widowed Mme. Motte-Bruiy, who advocated the "quietism" that was feared by Bousset and other church dignitaries. Fenélon was influential in having Mme. Bruyon become a part of the teaching staff for a school founded by Mme. de Maintenon at St.-Cyr. The fear resulting from this action and from a printed debate between Fenélon and Bousset caused the king to take away the tutorship. Fenélon and young Louis were not able to see each other for some time.

The furor might have died down but an unfortunate happening occurred. Telemachus was printed. Fenélon insisted that the book was a harmless romance that he had written especially for his pupil. Louis XIV insisted that the book was a polemic against him and his wars.

The Durants quote excerpts from the sayings of "Mentor," Fenélon's "Mouthpiece" in the romance. A few of the statements that infuriated the king are:

All the human race is one family.

War is sometimes necessary but it is the shame of the human race. Do not tell me, O Kings, that one should desire war to acquire glory.

Whoever prefers his own glory to the sentiments of humanity is a monster of pride and not a man.

Absolute power degrades every subject to the condition of a slave.

1Durant, op. cit., p. 83 describes this movement as becoming "Pietism" in Germany, The Netherlands, a part of the Quaker belief of the thinking of the "Cambridge Platonists in England," and it spread among the dévots in France."

2Ibid., p. 84.
The printer of the book was arrested and police confiscated the copies. Nevertheless, the book was immediately reprinted (in French) in Holland.

... for a century, and a half it was the most widely read and best loved of all French books.¹

Rousseau, who openly avowed the great influence of Fenelon upon his own educational beliefs, classed Télémaque (Telemachus) as the great book that he would have Emile (as an adolescent) read.² He praised it for its spirituality, its aims for mankind, the inspiration (which he felt) it gave all high minded youth. Many of the eighteenth century writers for children also included Fenelon (and Telemachus) as the great influence in their thinking and writing. Notable among these is Madame de Genlis who, in her turn, was to have great influence on other more obscure writers for children.³

The Adventures of Telemachus itself appears to concern the search of Telemachus for his father, Ulysses. All evidence to the contrary, he believes that Ulysses is alive. Minerva, under the guise of Mentor, conducts and advises Telemachus through all his wanderings. The youth is beset by many temptations. Calypso who had loved Ulysses also falls in love with Telemachus. Mentor contrives to hasten the youth's departure from the island. Success, in turn, is met with other types of

¹Ibid., p. 84. See pp. 85-86 for a summary of the age in which Fenelon lived. Durant includes the changes of thought which were then sweeping all Europe. Also see pp. 695-697.

²Rousseau, Emile, op. cit., p. 431. Also supra, section on Rousseau.

³Thwaite, op. cit., p. 67. Also infra, annotations of The Theater of Education by Mme. de Genlis.
misadventure which place Mentor and Telemachus in other locales before they finally return to Ithaca and the aid of Penelope, Telemachus' mother. During this time, Telemachus is enamoured by other beautiful maidens (one of whom, Antiope, he desires to marry); enters the fields of Elysium to seek his father among the dead; is assured that Ulysses lives; and during the final lap of the journey home, receives instruction in good government from Mentor.

It is from this instruction that the Durants quoted the excerpts which so incensed Louis XIV.¹

The book is full of mythological allusions and metaphor. It is written with a grace and style that are more feminine than masculine. The conversations are formal, according to the manner of written conversations in the day of Fenélon.

In the translator's preface to the edition held by Wayne State University's Ramsey Collection, the translator has the following to say about editions and illustrations of Telemachus:

...it has passed through innumerable editions; art has been exhausted to adorn it, and learning to illustrate its beauties; it has been translated into every language in Europe, the Turkish not excepted; and there are no less than five translations of it in our own. ...²

Although this Appleton published volume is undated, one of the advertisements in the back of the book suggests a possible date. This is an excerpt which is headed "Stanley J. Weyman in The Book-Buyer." It is extolling the merits of a deluxe edition of the Alexandre Dumas

¹Supra, this annotation.
²Adventures of Telemachus, translated by D. Hawksworth; illustrated by First-Rate Artists (New York: Appleton, n.d.), Preface(not paged).
The Three Musketeers. This phrase is from the excerpt "... the latest form of his greatest work [The Three Musketeers] first published exactly fifty years ago..."

The first publication date of The Three Musketeers was in 1844. This places the publication of the volume of Telemachus now under discussion in 1894—or roughly, at the end of the nineteenth century. This implies that from 1742 to 1894 or later (for English editions) Telemachus went through several well illustrated editions put out by such reputable publishers as Appleton and Company. Unfortunately, none of the sources used in this study trace any of the editions or any of the illustrators.

It has already been mentioned that Lamb's Adventures of Ulysses is one of the next landmarks of importance for children in this category of the Greek Epic. More recent works are:


2. Andrew Lang's Tales of Troy and Greece, London: Longmans, 1907. Illustrated by H. J. Ford, re-issued in two volumes in "Longmans Class Books of English Literature" as Tales of Troy and Greek Seas, 1909. Two-thirds of the book was re-printed in 1962 by Dent in "Children's Illustrated Classics, No. 35." Illustrated by Joan Kiddell-Monroe. (The first translations were done in 1879.) Macmillan did a revised

1 Ibid. Advertisement for "O. Appleton and Company's Publications," next to the last leaf in the volume, unpaged.

2 This means 152 years of English editions, 185 years of editions in several languages.

3 Infra, Victorian Regime annotations.
editions of this as *Iliad* (in 1929), *Odyssey* (in 1921).


4. *Odyssey of Homer;* retold by Alfred J. Church. Macmillan, 1951 (*New Children's Classics*). Also illustrated by John Flaxman. First publication was in 1906.


1744 [Newbery, John.] *A Little Pretty Pocket Book Intended for the Instruction and Amusement of Little Master Tommy and Pretty Miss Polly.* London: The Bible and the Crown, near Devereux Court, without Temple Bar. ICU - B, MIGR - Q, OCI - T, O0x M. 89. Miscellaneous Collection. (Miscellany)

"With this title John Newbery ventures into publishing books for children." Darton goes so far as to compare 1744 in publishing for children with 1066 in the history of England. He states:

There is written history and even a kind of archeology about the period before Newbery the Conqueror, ... Its value is precisely the value of pre-Norman history. It is the chronicle of the English people in their capacity of parents, guardians, and educators of children.

... the earlier strands of writing and thought were part of the fabric of everyday life [and of Newbery's books]. ... If 1744 is ... a line drawn, it is only an

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1 Notes of Eloise Ramsey in Vault of Wayne State University Libraries. Ramsey also designates the category "a little miscellany for children." Supra, Publishers, Newbery.
imaginary one. . . . Another could be drawn as . . . usefully at the year 1865.¹

For the first time a publisher, putting out a book specifically for children announces in his advertising as well as on his title page that he is wedding instruction and amusement. Barry² as well as Muir,³ quote from the Penny London Morning Advertiser on June 13, 1744.

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 read from Jack the Giant Killer, as 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 prefixed a letter on education humbly addressed to all Parents, Guardians, Governesses, and c., wherein rules are laid down for making their children strong, healthy, virtuous, wise, and happy. . . .

... Price of the Book alone, 6d., with a Ball or Pincushion, ⁸d.⁴

The time of publication was also the time of the Jacobite Rising,⁵ This brought financial difficulties to Newbery who was still a very new publisher-bookseller. He offered his creditors "the security of his stock-in-trade, with a promise to pay twenty shillings in the pound when

¹Darton, op. cit., pp. 7-8. Darton, whose first publication date was 1932, continues, "but people still living . . . [1932] were children in 1865, and never saw the line and are unaware of it now." The implications, concerning the gray area which change grows, are clear.

²Barry, op. cit., p. 229, Appendix A, III.

³Muir, op. cit., p. 65. Thwaite, op. cit., p. 46 cites the date as "18th June, 1744" instead of Muir's June 13.

⁴Muir, loc. cit.

⁵Supra, historical background of Georgian Period.
times should improve. . . [At that time] 1,000 copies of [Little Pretty Pocket Book] were valued at £13. . . ."\textsuperscript{1}

Newbery survived what might have been disaster. The Pocket Book continued as a steady seller. In 1783, not quite forty years after its original publication, it was still in Carnan's list.\textsuperscript{2}

Although the Pocket Book was not among the five listed by Welch\textsuperscript{3} as being most frequently published in the American Colonies by Isaiah Thomas, it did receive an American transfiguration. This was a normal procedure with Isaiah Thomas (and other American publishers). For example, Thomas would often change some of Newbery's titles or content.\textsuperscript{4} In this instance (the Pocket Book), Thomas made several changes in his 1787 edition.\textsuperscript{5} The most important of these was his addition of a long appendix of 163 "Rules for behaviour in children."\textsuperscript{11} They were more didactic than the original Newbery precepts. Barry emphasizes this when she writes, "But the Newbery pedant is never quite serious."\textsuperscript{16}

Darton believes that Newbery had several purposes in writing

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1}Nuir, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 65.
\item \textsuperscript{2}Ibid. Carnan was one of Newbery's inheritors.
\item \textsuperscript{3}Welch, "American Children's Books,"A-C, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 144.
\item \textsuperscript{4}Thwaite, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 247.
\item \textsuperscript{5}Ibid., p. 248. Thwaite made a comparison of the English 1767 edition with the reprint of the 1787 Thomas (first) edition as issued in facsimile by Kelcher in 1944. The Kelcher edition was in honor of the 200th anniversary of the first printing in 1744.
\item \textsuperscript{6}Barry, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 61.
\end{itemize}
the Pocket Book.¹ Two of these are the most evident:

1. "... the claim to provide amusement with instruction."
2. a purpose to sell his wares. To achieve this "the producer had a social rather than a scholastic or religious market quite plainly in view."

In other words, Newbery wanted the adults to buy his book but he wanted the children to enjoy it. He wasn't quite sure enough of himself so that he could openly emphasize the idea of sheer enjoyment for children.

One of the adult touches was Newbery's use of two quotations (from Dryden and Pope) on gardening and education, interests of the day:

Children, like tender Osiers, take the Bow
And as they first are fashioned always grow. ¹

Just as the Twig is bent the Tree's inclined,
'Tis Education forms the vulgar mind. ²

The little book (4 by 2½ inches) also contained a preface to adults, alphabets, moral maxims, other verses, proverbs, fables, letters from Jack-the-Giant-Killer, and games. It included the first light hearted rhyme beginning:

¹Darton, op. cit., p. 3.
²Ibid.
³Ibid.
⁴Barry, op. cit., p. 60. This is from Dryden.
⁵Ibid., p. 61. This is from Pope.
Great A B and C
And tumble down D
The Cat's a blind buff
And she cannot see.¹

"Jack" was a clever touch. His purported letters were moral but he hinted at England's own fairy folk. In fact, his manner was that of Newbery's, cheerful and full of the spirit of play.²

Two features which set the books apart from the earlier textbooks which had contained A B C verses are these:

1. Its friendly and familiar style;
2. Its descriptions in verse of the many games which children play and enjoy.³

There were crude illustrations, little woodcuts, sometimes adapted from previous use. Crude as they were, there was an illustration for each page.

Both A B C and accompanying picture were forerunners of the great variety of 19th century A B C illustrated books: comic alphabets, railway alphabets, animal alphabets; alphabets of every shape, mood, variety and color. The best of these can be found exemplified by Kate Greenaway's A Apple Pie published in 1886 and printed in color by Evans;⁴ Walter Crane's (Toy Books) The Railroad Alphabet; and The Farmyard Alphabet published by Routledge, about 1864 or 1865.⁵

¹Thwaite, op. cit., p. 6. ²Ibid., p. 47 ³Ibid. ⁴Muir, op. cit., p. 200. The Greenaway books were undated. Muir cites his source for the publication dates. ⁵Thwaite, op. cit., p. 201.

The first boarding school story. It could even be classified as the first school story in any modern sense of the word "school" although this one is definitely about and for girls.

The second edition was published in 1749, the fourth in 1758 (all by Millar). In 1781 the sixth edition bore the name of Thomas Cadell as publisher. He had joined the Millar establishment in the Strand as an apprentice. He became a partner, and finally took over the business in 1767.

Welch records that it was first published in America at Philadelphia. It was "Printed by T. Debsom, at the Stone House, Number 41 Second Street. M, DCC, XCI."

Third sister of Henry Fielding, the novelist, Sarah wrote novels herself. Equally skillful in character drawing and storytelling, she parlayed *David Simple,* her most famous book, into five volumes. Using the style of the day, the epistolary form, Sarah included five letters written by Henry in volume two. She is representative of the genteel,

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2 Welch, *op. cit.*, Parts D-G, p. 556.
3 St. John in *The Osborne Collection, op. cit.*, p. 468.
4 Welch, *op. cit.*, Parts D-G, p. 556.
intelligent but poor, unmarried woman of her day. She accepted her fate believing herself to be an old woman when she became forty-four.

The Governess is a reflection of her interest in education (the one philosophy in which an eighteenth century English woman might indulge). It has been speculated that Sarah attended a school similar to the one described in the story, "Mrs. Teachum," the head of this institution was the widow of a clergyman who had been a very sensible man with great delight "in improving his wife." She, in turn, took great delight in attempting to improve her little female charges. She did this with much subtlety, apparently effacing herself and letting the girls talk things over in the summer house. There they enumerated their problems and difficulties.

There were nine girls. Each one took one day for the telling of her story. Again, following a writing custom of the day, Sarah Fielding gave each character a name which would describe that individual's prevailing attitude towards life, for example, Mrs. Teachum, Miss Lucy Sly, Miss Jenny Peace.

The stories are rambling. Most of them without plot. They do depict character, however. They vividly show the many incidents in life that abet each girl in becoming the kind of person she is at the time she tells her story. There is surprising action beneath the placid surface of the writing. The girls quarrel with words, fists, and fingernails. Clothes are torn and blood flows. Mrs. Teachum sets all aright but the veneer of the image of gentle womanhood is cracked. The girls, descendants of Eve, quarreled over an apple.
There were two "fairy tales" among the stories. They were far from imaginative. Nevertheless, they possessed enough spark so that two austere ladies of the following generations decided that they must be emasculated before they did harm to children.

The first of these tales is, "The Story of the Cruel Giant Barbarica, The Good Giant Benefico, and the Pretty Little Dwarf Mignon." Jenny Peace tells this story with its inevitable moral showing. It does contain elements of violence and fantasy.

Because of these elements, the didactic but genuinely frightened Mrs. Trimmer and Mrs. Sherwood included attacks on The Governess in their crusade against imaginative literature. Mrs. Trimmer wrote about the story. Mrs. Sherwood bowed it. It was not until the major popularity of these two militant women had waned that Charlotte Yonge rescued the story with a gentle reminder that it had charm and value for late nineteenth century readers.

These two diametrically opposed versions of The Governess were published fifty years apart. Mrs. Sherwood’s edition came eighty-five years after Sarah Fielding’s first edition. Charlotte Yonge’s came 135 years after that 1745 publication date. The Yonge volume was still

\[1\text{Under this name it was first printed in the Colonies in a paper-covered book by itself at John Mein’s London Bookstore, North-side of King Street in Boston. See Welch, op. cit., Parts D-G, p. 557.}\]

\[2\text{Infra, annotations, Mrs. Trimmer who damned the book.}\]

\[3\text{Infra, annotations, Mrs. Sherwood who bowed the story.}\]

\[4\text{Muir, op. cit., p. 99. On p. 74 Muir lists Mrs. Trimmer as editor of the 1820 edition. He possibly intended the listing to read ‘Mrs. Sherwood.’ Mrs. Trimmer died in 1810.}\]
popular during the early decades of the twentieth century. Thus, a simple innocuous story not only lived but aroused controversy for over one hundred and fifty years.

The two editions are as follows:

1820 Mary Martha Butts Sherwood, Ed., *The Governess*. 1

Two stories, similar in theme, characters, and style were printed within a year of each other.

The first of these two is *The Academy, or a Picture of Youth*,3 a boy's story. The fictional element is still slight. The moral tone is obvious. The boys are named John Tradewell, John Steadfast, James Feeblelearn, Robert Falsesight. The only illustration is a frontispiece engraving which emphasizes solemnity.

The second story, the Lamb's *Mrs. Leicester's School*,4 while none the less didactic, began to tell stories involving more plot. It lent itself to the trend for good illustration which began in the later 1800's.

For lists of twentieth century school stories see any of the H. W. Wilson Company's Children's Catalogs. Also see, "School Bell Around the World."5

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3 Written by William Mackenzie, published in London by John Harris, 1808. The Osborne and Ramsey Collections hold this title.
4 *Infra*, annotations, 1808, *Mrs. Leicester's School*.
5 Alice Smith, "School Bell Around the World," unpublished Bibliography, Department of Library Science, Wayne State University, 1962. (Mimeoographed)
1757 Le Prince de Beaumont, Jeanne Marie. The Young Misses Magazine Containing Dialogues Between A Governess and Several Young Ladies of Quality Her Scholars: In Which Each Lady Is Made To Speak According to Her Particular Genius, Temper, and Inclination: Their Several Faults Are Pointed Out, and the Easy Way to Mend Them, As Well As To Think and Speak, and Act Properly; No Less Care Being Taken To Form Their Hearts to Goodness, Than To Enlighten Their Understandings With Useful Knowledge. ...


Miscellaneous Collection. School Story.

Primarily important because 'Beauty and the Beast' first appeared in volume I.

No source used in this study states that John Nourse was the publisher of the first edition of this work in English. Evidence does point towards this possibility.

Nourse, bookseller to George III (at the Lamb opposite Catherine Street in the Strand) specialized in publishing French books.² The Osborne Collection holds a third edition, published by him.³ The British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books records four London editions

¹Definition: "The word 'magazine' does not refer to a periodical, but is used in the older sense as a storehouse or repository, The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 128.

²Ibid., p. 488.

³Ibid., p. 128.
(the second through the fifth) published from 1767-1793.\(^1\) The Osborne third edition bears the same date as the edition listed in the *British Museum Catalogue* (without a printer's name). The *Museum Catalogue*, however, lists *Nourse [C., not J.]* as the publisher of the fourth London edition.\(^2\) A connection is indicated. Further research would be needed to vindicate such a connection.\(^3\)

Thwaite comments upon a sequel to the *Young Misses Magazine*. This was *The Young Ladies Magazine* published in 1760.\(^4\) The *Museum Catalogue* lists fourteen editions (in three languages, primarily in English) of the *Young Misses* but does not indicate any holding of a sequel.\(^5\)

The work was originally published in French under the title *Le Magasin des Enfans* (1757). The French word "magasin" is even more misleading than Newbery's use of the word *periodical*. The French term indicated a storehouse of miscellaneous writings.\(^6\)

The author, a voluminous and highly esteemed writer on education, spent much of her life in England. She devoted "all her life and energy to education and the making of books for youth."\(^7\)

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\(^2\)Ibid.

\(^3\)Only parts A-C, D-G, and H of Welch's "Bibliography," *op. cit.*, have been available for this work. Consequently, it is possible that Welch may have information which could clarify this issue.

\(^4\)Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 222n.


\(^6\)Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

\(^7\)Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
Born in 1711 in Raven, the year before Rousseau’s birth, she was the first French writer to make juvenile (albeit educational) writing her prime interest. She married twice (the first unhappy marriage was annulled); published a novel in 1748; then moved to England. "She wrote a complete set of treatises on juvenile education, in dialogue form." Her topics covered religion, morality, history, geography, and elementary physiology. She was in great vogue among the English. Even in 1855 they still felt that her books were among the best to put into the hands of a young girl.

The Young Misses Magazine was largely modeled on Sarah Fielding’s The Governess. Mme. de Le Prince de Beaumont’s governess carried on educational conversations with her students, "young ladies of quality" ages five, seven, ten, twelve, and thirteen. In between the conversations the author sandwiched stories which were intended to aid in inculcating "the spirit of geometry in children." Although some of the stories fit this purpose, two well known fairy tales did not. These were "Beauty and the Beast," already mentioned, and "Prince Désir." These are the only two parts of the work that survive to live glowingly today.

Darton comments that "Beauty and the Beast" had its first "popular presentation" by Gabrielle Susanne Barbot de Gallon de Villeneuve. It was published in the vast cabinet de Feés which ran to forty-one

1 ibid.
2 ibid., p. 90.
3 Supra, annotation of The Governess.
volumes during its Amsterdam, Paris, and Geneva publications, 1785-89.  

The de Villeneuve version is, and was meant to be, adult. Mme. de Beaumont's story was meant for children. As far as is now known, except for her novel, Mme. wrote only for children and youth. Therefore, Darton claims her as "the prepotent author of the well loved story." Both "Beauty and the Beast" and "Prince Désir" have chapters of their own in the evolution of a literature for children. The "Beauty-Beast" story retained its title with surprising exactitude. "Prince Désir" has been known under other names, particularly that of "Prince Dorus."

Although Newbery's rivals, Baldwin of London, and Collins of Salisbury, printed "Beauty and the Beast" as a moral tale, Lamb is usually credited with causing the perpetuation of the story. No one can verify the assertion as a fact. Godwin, Lamb's publisher, published the tale in 1811. Darton asserts that though it was published anonymously "it is disputably Elian." The belief still clings, although there were plenty of cheap editions of the story on the market before and after the Godwin edition.

Lamb did versify "Prince Désir" under the title Prince Dorus.

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1Darton, op. cit., p. 89. Actually, the theme is an ancient one in folklore.

2Ibid. Also see Thwaite, op. cit., p. 35.

3Darton, op. cit., p. 47.

4Ibid., p. 200. Also see Thwaite's interpretation, op. cit., p. 90.

5Infra, annotations, Lamb. Also infra, Victorian Regime annotations, Felix Summerly.
It is attractive, humorous, and illustrated by Mulready.1

About 1818 a Mr. Tabart2 put out a plain standard edition of "the best" of the fairy tales: all of Perrault, "Beauty and the Beast," etc. There was no frippery about these revisions nor were there any morals. He claimed elegance in language but his tone was mild and his presentations had a practical ring.3 The edition contained twenty-six hand colored engravings.

Lang's Rainbow Fairy Tale books included both of Mme. de Beaumont's stories,4 illustrated by Henry Justice Ford.

Among the numerous other illustrated books are Walter Crane's Beauty and the Beast book (1875) published in English, Walter Crane's shilling Toy Book series, and a two-penny chapbook (ca. 1835) published as part of Richardson's Library of Amusement.

During the rage for pantomimes and plays, "Beauty and the Beast" had its share of production. This began with Mme. de Genlis and The Theatre of Education.5 It continued through the Victorian heyday of drama for children. Such drama was intended for home performance.6

1Thwaite, op. cit., p. 90. Infra, annotations, Lamb.

2Darton, op. cit., p. 219, 220.

3Ibid., p. 219, 220. Tabart is an assumed name. It is speculated that Godwin was really "Tabart." Supra, Publishers, Godwin.

4Supra, annotations, The Young Misses Magazine.

5Infra, annotations, Mme. de Genlis.

6Thwaite, op. cit., p. 140. Also infra, Victorian Regime, Historical Background.
1758 (?) Fables in Verse for the Improvement of Young and Old, by Abraham Aesop Esq., to which are added, Fable in Verse and Prose, with the Conversations of Birds and Beasts at Their Several Meetings, Routs, and Great Assemblies, by Woglog, the Great Giant. Illustrated with a great variety of curious cuts after the best masters and an account of the lives of the authors.

Second edition for the booksellers of all nations, and sold at the Bible and Sun, St. Paul's Churchyard.

London: Printed by assignment for J. Newbery and T. Carnan. 1 00x M. 47. Fables. Verse.


No account of the first edition according to the authorities for this work has yet been found. One unusual factor about the known second edition is that it "appeared under T. Carnan's imprint in John Newbery's lifetime."^3

The book went into several editions. The fifth Newbery edition

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1The Eloise Ramsey notes, op. cit. For information about the publishers, supra, Georgian Period, Historical Background, Publishers, Newbery. Also annotations, John Newbery, supra.

2The authorities discussing this Aesop are Darton, Halsey, Muir, Ramsey, St. John in The Osborne Collection, and Thwaite. Each has only a small amount to contribute to the solution of the publication puzzle. Pages will be cited as the authorities are referred to.

3Thwaite, op. cit., p. 48.
came out in 1765. The firm of Darton distributed a Newbery edition (no date) that was speculatively before 1800.

"Woglog, the Great Giant" was one of Newbery's favorite pen names. As much time is devoted to describing his life, his humanity, and his moral tendencies as is devoted to telling the life of Aesop. While Woglog's biography is no doubt partially Newbery autobiography, Aesop's "life is given in stock form from earlier 'adult' editions."

The preface upholds the use and entertainment of the little book for pretty little masters and misses. Newbery does not quote Locke's famous dictum about the value of fables but he does cite Addison, the Bible, Roman History, Boileau, and La Fontaine.

The fables are short, simple, ordinary, moral, and pompous. Being a middle-class giant, Woglog (or Abraham Aesop) satirizes the foibles of the great and the rich. He preaches the reverse gospel of contentment with being mediocre and without money. The rhyme is pedestrian but novel for its day. Having little of this meant for them, children cherished what was theirs.

In recognition of the appeal of such doggerel for children, other fables in verse were published. Representative of these are: 1) 1820, Fables in Rhyme, With Some Originals by Jeffreys Taylor. London.

1 Ramsey notes, op. cit.
2 Ibid.
3 Thwaite, op. cit., p. 253.
4 Darton, op. cit., p. 20.
(The Taylors\textsuperscript{1} were usually published by Darton. It is possible that young Jeffreys was published instead by Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy\textsuperscript{2});

2) 1852, \textit{Old Friends in New Dress, or Familiar Fables in Verse}, London: Harvey and Darton, and William Darton. Nineteen selections from an 1809 two-part edition. The rhyme was purportedly an inducement to get children to memorize Aesop. \textsuperscript{3}

1765 \textbf{The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes; Otherwise called, Mrs. Margery Two-Shoes, With the Means by Which She Acquired Her Learning and Wisdom, and In Consequence Thereof Her Estate; Set Forth at Large for the Benefit of 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.}

See the original manuscript in the Vatican at Rome, and the cuts by Michael Angelo . . . \textsuperscript{4} London: John Newbery in St. Paul's Churchyard. ICU - B, MID - B, MIDW - CH, MIDW - R, NRU - D, OCl - T, O0x M, WIUM - LS, Ca OTP. 72.


The first piece of English fiction deliberately written to amuse children, it followed a watered-down novel form in which the heroine.

\textsuperscript{1}Infra, annotations, Ann Taylor.

\textsuperscript{2}St. John in \textit{The Osborne Collection}, \textit{loc. cit.}

\textsuperscript{3}Ibid. La Fontaine originally was in verse as was much of Gay. Today's adaptations for children usually are transliterated into prose.

\textsuperscript{4}Darton, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 130.
undertook almost the only form of career open to women of her day.\footnote{Ibid. Darton states "almost" the only fiction, etc. Thwaite, op. cit., p. 47 omits the word "almost" giving reasons for her omission. Also see Rosenbach, op. cit., p. 52. \textit{[Goody Two-Shoes is]}... the most celebrated of all the books in John Newbery's Lilliputian Library.}

The publisher, John Newbery,\footnote{Supra, Publishers, John Newbery.} called himself the children's "old friend."\footnote{Darton, op. cit., p. 132.} In 1765, "he had just come of age as a children's publisher in London.\ldots."\footnote{Thwaite, op. cit., p. 49.}

The book was announced in \textit{The London Chronicle} at the beginning of 1765 and published in April of that year.\footnote{Smith, op. cit., p. 67.} At the time of this writing, there is no known copy of the first edition. For many years the third edition was thought to be the only one extant. Charles Welsh had Griffith (in 1881) do a photographic facsimile of this edition.\footnote{See Thwaite, op. cit. Also see Muir, op. cit., p. 76.} Since then copies of the second edition have been discovered.\footnote{Welch, op. cit., Parts D-G, p. 588.}

The first American edition was published by Hugh Gaine in 1775 at the Bible and the Crown in Hanover Square, Philadelphia.\footnote{Ibid., p. 587. Also supra, Publishers, Isaiah Thomas.} The important first Isaiah Thomas edition was printed at Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1787.\footnote{Rosenbach, op. cit., pp. 52, 53.} Thomas, as was his practice, edited the first part of the story according to the "needs" of his American public and substituted his name wherever Newbery's had been.\footnote{Ibid., p. 587. Also supra, Publishers, Isaiah Thomas.}
A 1796 Wilmington, Delaware printer, Peter Brynberg, put an insert near the end of his Goody Two-Shoes which reads:

Such is the state of things in Britain. Americans prize your liberty, guard over rights and be happy.

There has been two hundred years of controversy over the authorship of the book. The writing has been attributed to Oliver Goldsmith, to the Jones Brothers (Giles and Griffith), and to Newbery himself. Well known people who support the Goldsmith theory are Washington Irving, William Godwin (Lamb's publisher), Charlotte Yonge (who included Goody in an anthology), and the Misses Bewick (whose father illustrated the first editions). Darton states that "The tradition and internal evidence for [Goldsmith's authorship of] Goody Two-Shoes are strong, but no more." Goldsmith was closely affiliated and indebted to John Newbery. Their friendship was both social and professional. Samuel Johnson introduced them in 1759. During this time Newbery secured Goldsmith for the 1760 venture, The Polite Ledger.

For the sum of a guinea apiece he [Newbery] obtained for that journal the delightful essays afterwards published by Newbery, Collins, and two others as The Citizen of the World (1762). 1759 seems to have been the true

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1 Ibid., p. 89. For a complete list of located American editions see Welch, op. cit., Parts C-G, pp. 587-592. Also see Welch, Parts A-C, p. 201 n. 34, The Alphabet of Goody Two-Shoes, 27 leaves "engraved on one side only," 1810.

2 Ibid., p. 53.

3 The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 256.

4 Darton, op. cit., p. 124.
beginning of an association which lasted until Newbery's death. Neither the two men nor English literature had cause to regret it.¹

Whoever the author was the book reveals itself as a piece of serious English social history.² Some of the issues which form the background of the story are: enclosure, political conniving of landowners, the oppression of the poor, education (the dame school), and the movement for the prevention of cruelty to animals.³

The editor in his preface comments upon the landowner who was "perpetual [and cruel] overseer," "perpetual churchwarden and judge."⁴

Readers ask if such an introduction is meant for children. Newbery answers that it is meant for "children six feet high" and that such a directive is necessary due to:

the unaccountable and diabolical scheme which many gentlemen now give into, of laying a number of farms into one, and very often of a whole parish into one farm; which in the end must reduce the common people to a state of vassalage . . . and will in time depopulate the kingdom.⁵

The momentum of the story begins when little Margery (Goody Two-Shoes) Meanwell's father is dispossessed of his land. Impoverished by lawsuits, he dies.⁶ The mother, too, dies, leaving Margery and her

¹Ibid., p. 123.
²Ibid., p. 135.
³Supra, Georgian period, Historical Background.
⁴Darton, op. cit., p. 132.
⁵As quoted by Darton, op. cit., p. 132. This is the opinion of the anonymous writer of Goody on the problems of "enclosure."
⁶Newbery, always the business man, wrote in the story that the father died because he did not have any of Dr. James's Fever Powder (the nostrum that made the Newbery fortune).
little brother Tommy to the very untender mercies of the community. It is true that the parson tries to befriend the ill-fed and ill-clad orphans. He buys Margery her first pair of matching shoes. (She is so delighted that she runs to everyone asking them to look at her shoes, hence, her nickname.) He outfits and sends Tommy to sea as a sailor.

The wicked landowners, Graspall and Gripe, threaten to ruin the parson if he keeps Margery in his home. Even rich relatives will not help her. Somehow she learns the alphabet, sets up as a "trotting tutoress," and gets paying students who delight to see her come. In fact, they learn from her tender ministrations when they will not learn from anyone else.

One of Margery's teaching devices is to cut out the letters of the alphabet in large sizes. The children handle the cut-outs, point to them, arrange them as words, keep them for their own (a Lockean idea). Margery rescues and "adopts" five animals: Jumper, the dog; Ralph, the raven; Tippy, the lark; Willy, the lamb; and Tom, the pigeon. She trains them to help her teach. They all live together in a little house.

A wealthy lord of the manor (Jones) falls in love with Margery and marries her. Together they play the part of the "good" landowners who give bountifully to needy people. They have six years of wedded bliss before the husband dies. Widow Margery continues to do good with her inherited fortune even helping Gripe and Graspall when they come upon hard times. Tommy returns having made his fortune. His story has to be told. In this manner the story flows on until the death of Margery, an old lady, beloved by all and much mourned.
Darton and Muir, while conceding the importance of the story as a landmark, deride the story itself. Darton's evaluation reads:

It really is dead, and no amount of sentiment can anyhow revive it, because it is not even a good readable story of its kind... It is entirely of its period and died with it, though, as is the wont of a popular children's book, once established it loosed its grip very slowly. [He adds] But more than most children's books it is an historical document...

Muir's evaluation includes an entire group of "moral" stories. He feels that Goody Two-Shoes is the precursor of this category but that Henry Sandford, of the story Sandford and Merton, is the archetype. In writing about such fictional children, he says:

They are for the most part a collection of insufferable little goody-goodies... The summary of his character (Henry Sandford's) and general behavior and of a few others... suffices for the whole deplorable gang.

A suspicion arises. Are such criticisms an adult's viewpoint about a children's book? The writer of this paper recalls "Goody Two-Shoes" both as told to her and as read to her. As a child she made alphabets like Margery's. She delighted in Margery's cry of "See, two shoes." She enjoyed the happiness of Margery and her five pets as they lived and taught school together. Twentieth century children still like such word pictures. They do not think about the documentation of the social background. The story is the thing.

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1Darton, op. cit., p. 131.

2Infra, annotations, Sandford and Merton.

3Muir, op. cit., p. 68.

4The writer of this study found that children to whom she told the story (in the 1950's) also enjoyed it.
Graduate students in history of children's literature classes at Wayne State University enjoyed reading *Goody Two-Shoes* and declared that they could see its appeal for children.

Illustrators of various editions of the story have evidently also seen what appealed to children. Muir includes three reproductions of illustrations from three separate editions of *Goody Two-Shoes* in his book.\(^1\) In two of these the artist depicts Margery holding up the letters to admiring, eager children. The scenes are out-of-doors. The children are in comfortable informal postures. Each one seems to be enjoying himself.

There is a difference of opinion over who did the illustrations in the first Worcester edition of Isaiah Thomas. For a long time it was thought that at least the frontispiece was the original woodcut as done by Bewick for Newbery's first edition. Halsey lists evidence leading to the conclusion that not only were the cuts imitations of or "after" Bewick but that they may have been done by Thomas himself.\(^2\)

The next most famous illustrated edition is Walter Crane's picture book in the second series of Toy Books printed for Routledge by Edmund Evans, 1875.\(^3\) Jacqueline Overton calls "*Goody Two-Shoes* . . . the most lovable of them all" in this famous series of illustrated beloved stories.\(^4\)

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\(^1\) See Muir, *op. cit.*, for reproduced pages from these editions of *Goody Two-Shoes*: p. 64, plate 26 (a 1766 edition); p. 70, plate 30, (an 1830 edition); and p. 161, plate 67 (an 1867 edition).

\(^2\) Halsey, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-118.

\(^3\) St. John in *The Osborne Collection, op. cit.*, p. 27. Also see *infra*, Victorian Regime, Printers, Publishers and Illustrators.

\(^4\) Overton in Mahoney, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
Several collections of children's old favorites which included Goody Two-Shoes were published in Victorian England. Judith St. John itemizes those by Cundall,¹ Summerly,² and Yonge.³ She also describes a John Harris publication of 1825 called Goody Two-Shoes; or, The History of Little Margery Meanwell in Rhyme.⁴

Muir describes two imitations of Goody Two-Shoes: Primrose Prettyface (17??), and Goody Goosecap (ca. 1780). They are almost exact copies of the Newbery story with only changes of names and a slight altering of some circumstances.⁵ The illustration reproduced from Goody Goosecap gives an excellent and authentic glimpse of women's fashions in the late eighteenth century.⁶

As late as 1924, Goody Two-Shoes was published by Macmillan and colorfully illustrated by Alice Bolingbroke Woodward.⁷ The illustrator's

¹The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 28.
²Ibid., p. 22.
³Ibid., p. 319.
⁴Ibid., p. 256. St. John quotes the unknown author of these verses as describing her reason for giving a new dress to the old story because of "the excellence of the moral interwoven with its diversified incidents, and the admirable lessons it conveys under the form of amusement." This statement is especially interesting in view of Harris's place as a publisher for children: he introduced nonsense and a great deal of illustration. Also see supra, this period, Publishers. Smith, op. cit., describes the edition as being illustrated with cuts at the beginning of each section. The title page is of Margery showing her new shoes.
⁵Muir, op. cit., p. 68.
⁶Ibid., p. 63 n. 22. Muir calls the title Goody Goosecap. The description under the illustration calls the title The Orphan by Taby Teachem.
⁷Smith, op. cit., p. 68; Mahoney, op. cit., p. 447. This is the edition Wayne State University graduate students read.
father was Keeper of Geology at the British Museum. Alice began drawing in the Greek and Roman Galleries when she was eight years old. Although the pictures show Margery in eighteenth century dress, the technique is representative of illustration for children in the 1920's. Colors are bright, shapes are outlined in black, each scene has a poster appearance.


One of the five most popular of Newbery's Lilliputian Library to be printed in the United States. Like Goody Two-Shoes it applies Locke's principle in story form and makes a game out of learning.

It was advertised in the London Chronicle, December 19 - January 1, 1765. The advertisement ended "but those who are naughty shall have none."^3

It quickly went into chapbook form whence because of its cheapness of cost and of paper it: 1) was frequently bought, and 2) was as frequently disintegrated leaving few copies for posterity; for example, it was a chapbook favorite among those purloined from Newbery by

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1Judith St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 461.

2For publisher information, supra, annotations: Little Goody Two-Shoes, Little Pretty Pocket Book. Also see Publishers, John Newbery.

3Thwaite, op. cit., p. 254.
The first American edition was sold for two coppers and printed in Boston by Mein and Fleming in 1768.2

The same puzzle exists over the real author of this story as exists over the author of Goody Two-Shoes.3 While some people believe that it could be one of the Jones boys or Goldsmith, Darton is sure that Newbery himself is the author.4 St. John agrees with Darton and as evidence quotes from Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield in which Newbery is described under the name of Tom Trip.5

Giles is a little boy who very much wants a coach of his own. His father believes that children should be taught that they must learn in this world that one needs to earn what he desires. To do this well, even in Newbery's day (or did Newbery, as a bookseller, want to promote this idea?), a man needed to be literate, to be able to read.

Giles lived upon learning because of the way in which he learned to read. Letters were stamped upon each day's portion of gingerbread. After Giles had learned that day's lesson he was allowed to eat the bread. He could not eat it until he had 'earned' it.

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1Thwaite, op. cit., p. 39. Darton, op. cit., p. 129 mentions a Kendrew chapbook as the only version he has seen; Osborne, op. cit., pp. 314-315, describes a Kendrew chapbook; such a chapbook is the only version seen by the writer of this study.

2Welch, op. cit., Parts D-G, p. 583. Supra, American Publishers, John Mein. Also not listed in Rosenbach or by Muir.

3Supra.

4Darton, op. cit., p. 129.

5Judith St. John in The Osborne Collection, p. 114.
The author includes a poem about Giles and the values of learning:

See here, little Giles,  
With his Gingerbread book  
For which he doth long,  
And at which he doth look;  
Till by longing and looking,  
He gets it by heart,  
And then eats it up  
As we eat up a tart.¹

The chapbooks are decorated with crude cuts. Fifteen of the twenty-two editions (including variants) listed by Welch are described as being illustrated.² Some have one or more woodcuts, some have copper engravings. Some covers are illustrated. Other covers are of Dutch flowery gilt paper some of which have the predominant color of pink.

No other sources discuss illustrations or imitations.

Nursery Rhymes. Verse.

The first time that the term 'Mother Goose' was ever printed in English for children in connection with nursery rhymes. The Opies³ give

¹In the chapbook, The History of Giles Gingerbread . . . Printed and sold by J. Kendrew [1820?] not paged. Also quoted by Judith St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 315.
an equally valid reason for listing this little book as a landmark in
literature for children:

From the point of view of the nursery . . . [it] is important
not only for the number of rhymes it contains, but because
of the number of times it has been reprinted. Its influ-
ence may be noted in almost all subsequent collections[of
children's rhymes]. . . .

It is also important for the fact that many familiar rhymes (such
as 'Jack and Jill') first found their way into print in The Melody.  

Present knowledge about the publication as well as the authorship
of The Melody has been gathered by the experts in this field in labor-
ious and painful fashion. The data are fragmentary and in many cases
derived from speculative and circumstantial evidence. The Opies' dis-
cussion of the 1765 edition of The Melody suggests that 1766 may be as
valid a date as 1765. They write:

If either of these dates [1765-1766] is correct, and it
was printed then, its publisher was John Newbery (since
1780 it was entered for copyright by his stepson and
successor, Thomas Carnan). No edition bearing the J.
Newbery imprint is known. The earliest dated copies
extant were printed after his death in 1791, 1794, and
1796; and of these the two latter editions are pirated
issues: the 1794 (designated 'The Second Worcester
Edition') by Isaiah Thomas of Worcester, Massachusetts,
and the 1796 by Simmons and Kirby of Canterbury . . .
Newbery . . . does not seem to have appreciated the value
of nursery rhymes as a matter for commerce until the
closing years of his life! (1765-67).  

1Ibid., p. 309.

2See this annotation below for a listing of these first-time
printed titles as presented and analyzed by Percy Muir and by other ex-
erts.

3See Bibliography "B" of this study for contemporary authorities
on the nursery rhyme.

John Mein, the American publisher who pirated English books so early and so often, did not advertise "his" edition of _The Melody_ in _The Boston Chronicle_ until "29 August, 1768 . . .[with] nearly complete identity [with the original] . . . except for rearrangement necessitated by the move of one illustration."  

Tracing early editions of nursery rhymes is difficult, even when one is searching for so "simple" a thing as "Mother Goose" and its first use as a title for a rhyme book. There are examples of this difficulty other than the speculation quoted from the Opies. Two of these are cited by:

1. Darton, as he ruminates about the possibility of "Contes de Ma Mere L'Oie" (Tales of My Mother Goose) being printed in _Tommy Thumb's Pretty Song Book_ (1744).

2. The Opies in their discussion of a putative American book called _Songs for the Nursery_ or Mother Goose's _Melodies for Children_ published (?) by Thomas Fleet a publisher in Pudding Lane, Boston, 1719. If such a book had existed, it would have predated the 1765 Newbery edition by fifty-one years.

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1 _Supra_, American Publishers. Also see annotations above.

2 The Opies in _Targ, op. cit.,_ p. 306.

3 Darton, _op. cit.,_ p. 100.

4 _Infra_, for bibliographical detail and place in the development of the nursery rhyme.

5 The Opies in _Targ, op. cit.,_ pp. 311, 312. Unfortunately, the section of the Welch "Bibliography" which traces _The Melody_ is not available for the writer of this study to use.
The publisher, Fleet, is reputed to have been driven wild by his mother-in-law, a Mrs. Elizabeth Verigoose. She crooned songs and rhymes to the six Fleet children until their father printed the book in retribution and derision. It was in a mocking mood that he entitled it 'Mother Goose's Melodies.' And, he arranged for a large, goose-like, idiotic creature with a long neck to be on the title page.*

The Opies² claim this as an amusing but apochryphal tale. It had its start when

John Fleet Eliot, a great grandson of Thomas Fleet . . . launched the tale under the pseudonym, 'Resquiescat,' in The Boston Transcript for 14 January, 1860. According to him it was well known to antiquarians that there was a small book in circulation in London before 1633 . . . which contained . . . pieces identical with those in Mother Goose's Melodies. Further . . . there was [such] a book . . . printed by his great grandfather.³

The man (24-year-old Edward A. Crownshield) who gave young Fleet the information, died eleven months before the article was published. Although the Fleet "quarto" referred to was purportedly in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, repeated searches have failed in locating it.⁴ Nevertheless, there are many reputable people who still believe the tale to be true.⁵

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¹The Opies in Targ, op. cit., p. 312.
²Ibid.
³Ibid.
⁴Ibid., p. 313. Also see Halsey, op. cit., p. 20.
⁵The contents of the Munroe and Francis Mother Goose Quarto, ca. 1825, is supposed to come from this. Also see Smith, op. cit., p. 69.
There are three facsimile copies of The Melody:

1. William H. Whitmore did one printed by Munsell in 1889 from the earliest known perfect copy of the Isaiah Thomas edition in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Massachusetts. (This has a long scholarly introduction.)

2. W. F. Prideaux did one published by Bullen in 1904. This is a reproduction of the 1791 edition of Francis Power, John Newbery's grandson.

3. Frederick Melcher, in 1945 produced his own facsimile of the Worcester copy.

No facsimile copy, however, can help identify the original editor or compiler of the Newbery (or the Power) Mother Goose's Melody. Just as they did in the case of the disputed authorship of so many other titles in Newbery's Lilliputian Library, the "experts" appear to lean toward Goldsmith as the logical editor of The Melody.

Barry, Halsey, and the Opies are among those authorities relating anecdotes that show evidence of Goldsmith's expertise with and

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2 Thwaite, op. cit., p. 45 and Smith, op. cit., p. 69.

3 Baring-Gould, op. cit., p. 50.

4 Barry, op. cit., p. 67.

5 Halsey, op. cit., p. 219.

6 The Opies in Targ, op. cit., pp. 307-308.
love of the rhymes that went into The Melody. Among the fingerplay verses that he taught children such as a Miss Hawkins was, "Two Little Dickie Birds, Sitting on a Wall." An example of a nonsense rhyme which yet told a story is the following verse that Goldsmith not only sang or recited but that is blatantly in the preface of The Melody:

There was an old woman toss'd in a blanket,
Seventeen times as high as the moon;
But where she was going no mortal could tell,
For under her arm she carried a broom.
Old woman, old woman, old woman, said I!
Whither, a whither, a whither so high?
To sweep the cobwebs from the sky,
And I'll be with you by and by.

The other suspected compilers, of course, are Giles Jones and John Newbery himself.

No study of The Melody would be complete without a brief mention of those books in which other nursery rhymes were printed for the first time. Darton lists four of these:

1. Tommy Thumb's Pretty Song Book, Two volumes by Nurse

"Lovechild." Sold by Cooper according to an act of Parliament, 1744. A copy of small volume II (3 by 1 3/4 inches) is in the British Museum. It contains nine well known rhymes (itemized by Muir). Only three are "nasty."

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1Printed in Barry, op. cit., p. 67. Also referred to by the Opies in Targ, op. cit., p. 307.

2Barchilon and Pettit, op. cit., p. v.


4Ibid., p. 101; see Barry's comments, op. cit., p. 250.

5Muir, op. cit., pp. 76-78.
One of these is "Little Robin Red Breast."\(^1\)

2. **The Top Book of All**, 1760, printed in Salisbury and London, possibly by Newbery and Collins.\(^2\)

3. **Gammer Gurton's Garland: or The Nursery Parnassus.**
   New edition. A provincial chapbook meaning there was a source book behind it.\(^3\)

4. The 1791 edition of **Mother Goose's Melody: or Sonnets for the Cradle.** (A reproduction of an unlocated 1781 edition.) Printed by Francis Power, Newbery's grandson.\(^4\)

Darton summarizes this brief synopsis of important rhyme titles by saying:

> These are the first four earliest appearances of the nursery rhyme in English print in England; late, but young and immortal.\(^5\)

The first edition (unacknowledged by Darton) of **The Melody** was divided into two parts.\(^6\) Part one contains fifty-two rhymes with moralizing notes attached. Part two contains songs from Shakespeare.\(^7\)

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\(^1\)Darton, *op. cit.* , p. 102. See Barry's comments, *op. cit.* , p. 251.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 103; Barry, *op. cit.* , p. 251, n2 p. 252.

\(^3\)Darton, *op. cit.* , p. 103. Gammer means grandmother (or old woman); gaffer means grandfather (or old man).

\(^4\)Ibid., p. 105. Darton does not acknowledge (in print) the possibility of a 1765 (or 1766) Newbery **Melody**.

\(^5\)Ibid.

\(^6\)The Power edition is thought to be identical.

\(^7\)Smith, *op. cit.* , p. 206, notes that Part II of the 1780 edition was "entered by T[homas] Carnan at Stationer's Hall, December 28th of that year."
The Baring-Goulds show that twenty-three of the rhymes included in *The Melody* had previously been in print.¹ Muir asserts that only eleven of the rhymes were printed for the first time.² While many of those printed by the Baring-Goulds are familiar to twentieth century people, all of those listed by Muir are well known. The titles listed by Muir are:

1. Hush-a-bye Baby on the Tree Top
2. Cross-patch, Draw the Latch
3. Two Little Dickie Birds Sitting on a Wall
4. Ding-Dong Bell
5. Three Wise Men of Gotham
6. Hey, Diddle, Diddle
7. Jack and Jill
8. See-Saw, Margery Daw
10. Robin and Richard were Two Pretty Men
11. One, Two, Three, Four, Five, I Caught a Hare Alive

It is interesting to note that Sloane³ lists "Dickery, Dickery Dock," and "Ride a Cock Horse" as being included in the early Newbery edition. Neither of these is cited by Muir.⁴ Barchilon and Pettit⁵

¹Baring-Gould, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-65, 224, 247, 249.
²Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
³Sloane, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
⁴Muir, loc. cit. (See above for his list.) It is important to realize that Sloane's sources, *op. cit.*, p. 108 are not the same as those used by Muir, the Opies, or the Baring-Goulds. See the bibliographies listed in each of the last three named authorities.
do include the two in their facsimile version of Power's 1791 edition of The Melody.¹

Part II of The Melody, as seen in the facsimile, includes the following Shakespearean poems called "The Lullabies of Shakespeare":

"Where the bee sucks; "You spotted snakes with double tongue";
"Take, oh! take those lips away"; "When daisies pied, and violets blue";
"When icicles hang on the wall!"; "When roasted crabs hiss in the bowl";
"Tell me where is fancy bred!"; "Under the greenwood tree"; "Who doth ambitions shun!"; "Blow, blow thou winter wind!"; "O Mistress mine, where are you running?!"; "What shall he have that kill'd the deer?!"; "When daffodils begin to'pear!"; "Jog on, jog on, the footpath way!"; "Orpheus with his lute!"; "Hark, hark! the lark at heaven's gate sings"; and,
"The poor soul that sat singing by the sycamore tree."²

Selections from Shakespeare were omitted in the 1824 Boston edition of Munroe and Francis. They substituted Sir Walter Scott's "Donnel Dhu" (this was during the heyday of the Scott vogue). They also omitted all of the notes and changed some of the rhymes. Halsey³ states

¹Ibid., following p. 197. The facsimile uses its own pagination and is the last section in the Barchilon and Pettit work.

²Ibid., pp. 75-92. This is a sequential listing of first lines in the order in which they appear in the facsimile. The majority of these are still familiar and beloved to children in the twentieth century. Most of these verses are included in contemporary anthologies of poetry for children.

³Halsey, op. cit., p. 221.
that amusing as the notes\textsuperscript{1} had been, at last
the nursery had one book free from that advice and precept, which in other verse for children resulted in persistent nagging.\textsuperscript{2}

Many people consider all nursery rhymes to be doggerel. The Opies\textsuperscript{3} quote well known poets and critics to substantiate their belief that the greater share of the rhymes are poetry. Three of the several quotations which they offer as evidence are:

1. "The best of the older ones are nearer to poetry than the greater part of the Oxford Book of English Verse."\textsuperscript{4}
   Robert Graves

2. "They have their own complete little beauty if looked at closely."\textsuperscript{5}
   Walter de la Mare

3. "G. K. Chesterton . . . observed that so simple a line from the nursery as 'Over the Hills and Far Away' is one of the most beautiful in all English poetry. . . ."\textsuperscript{6}
   Ivor Brown

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{1}Here is an example of the notes as given in Barchilon and Pettit, op. cit., p. 31. Rhyme:
"There was an old woman
Liv'd under a hill,
And if she isn't gone
She lives there still."
Comment: "This is a self evident proposition, which is the very essence of truth. She lived under a hill, and if she is not gone she lives there still. Nobody will presume to contradict this."

\textsuperscript{2}Halsey, loc. cit.

\textsuperscript{3}The Opies in Targ, op. cit., pp. 263-265.

\textsuperscript{4}Ibid., p. 263.

\textsuperscript{5}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{6}Ibid., p. 264. Here the Opies quote Ivor Brown on G. K. Chesterton.
\end{flushleft}
The Opies add their own comment to the Ivor Brown-Chesterton statement:

... as if in confirmation, Gay, Swift, Burns, Tennyson, Stevenson, and Henley thought well enough of the line to make it their own.

Barchilon and Pettit in the section of their book entitled, 'The Mother Goose Rhymes as Literature,' also affirm that the nursery rhymes have poetic value. They approve of the way they believe the English start appreciation of poetry with their children and deplore the fact that such experiences are not common to the children of all countries:

The first sounds English-speaking children hear and are taught to say open the golden realm of poetically meant language to beings who are scarcely able to babble. This experience is thoroughly lacking in the education of children of the Latin races.

These authorities believe that the works of such diverse poets as Blake, Wordsworth, Keats, Gertrude Stein, and A. A. Milne 'are unquestionably indebted to the tradition of rhymes.'

This is the converse of the Opies' belief that many verses come from early poets such as Sedley. The lovely ballads which make up so large a category of the rhymes for older boys and girls (for example, "Lavender's Blue, diddle, diddle, lavender's green") were the concern of the upper classes. Some were folk, some were not. The Opies

1Ibid., p. 264.
2Barchilon and Pettit, op. cit., pp. 30-38. Also supra, annotations of Perrault, Tales of My Mother Goose.
3Ibid., p. 30.
4Ibid., p. 30. Also see pp. 36-37 for an explanation of rhythm in the nursery rhyme, and its complement music and melody.
5The Opies in Targ, op. cit., p. 264.
research leads them to believe that more of the verses were written by individual gifted poets than is commonly recognized.¹

Because of the wild extravaganzes (for example, "The cow jumped over the moon") and illustrations of violence (for example, "They cut off their tails with a carving knife.") people concerned with children have feared the verses would cause sadistic and irresponsible tendencies in children. Hence, there have been many attempts to completely suppress the verses.² Some of these people are: George Withers, the hymnologist of 1641; Sarah Trimmer, critic and children's author of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; Samuel Goodrich (the original Peter Parley) the first half of the nineteenth century; "Professor Allen Abbott, 1937; and Geoffrey Hall, 1948 onwards."³

It is probable that most nursery rhymes were not composed for children. Some are survivals of "an adult code of joviality and . . . [hence] strikingly unsuitable for tender ears."⁴ In a statement about those rhymes which were meant for children, the Opies write:

We can say almost without hesitation, that of those pieces which date from before 1800, the only true nursery rhymes (i.e. . . . composed especially for the nursery) are the rhyming alphabets, the infant amusements (verses which accompany a game), and the lullabies. Even the riddles were in the first place designed for adult perplexity.⁵

¹Ibid., p. 264.
²Ibid., p. 264.
³Ibid., p. 264.
⁴Ibid., p. 265. The Opies give several illustrations of this unsuitability on pp. 265 and 266.
⁵Ibid., p. 266.
Because of the original intent of the other rhymes for adult enjoyment, "Puritans" had good cause to advocate the "cleaning up" of some of the lines and some of the illustrations. A knowledge of the unedited versions, however, does "throw an interesting light on . . . [English] social history." Such knowledge helps us recall the attitude towards children in early Hanoverian (Georgian) days:

1. Children were treated as miniature adults even in wearing clothes that were replicas in every detail of adult clothing.
2. Children were expected to conduct themselves and understand as an adult.
3. Children, as a matter of course, heard (what would today be considered objectionable language) and saw their parents in "lamentable positions."[2]

Some rhymes do come from antiquity.[3] It is possible that the "little sample of children's song quoted in the Gospels (Matthew xi, 17; Luke vi, 32) [came] from the Roman nurses' lullaby Lalla, lalla, lalla, aut dormi, aut lacte, in a scholium on Persius, and from Horace's Puerorum Nenia recited by children, . . . while playing 'King of the Castle.'"[4]

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[1] Ibid., p. 268. Also supra, Georgian Era Historical Background.
[3] Ibid., pp. 269-270. The Opies doubt that "King Cole" dates back to a mythical "Brytonne" Prince Cole of the third century A. D.
The Opies present a table compiled from their research which gives an over-all picture of the age of the rhymes. Some of the results are:

1. One in nine of the rhymes... about 8.6 per cent, were known when Charles I was executed in 1649.
2. At least a quarter, and very likely over half of the rhymes are more than 200 years old. [Note: This statement was made in 1950.]
3. Nearly one in four of all the rhymes... may have been known while Shakespeare was still a young man.

Particular sources of rhymes (as has been seen) are both printed and oral. "A spate" of song books were printed especially after the Restoration to meet the English love of singing. Many verses "descended to the nursery" from these. Folk songs and "Fragments of the mummers' play... appeared in books for children long before they were collected by folklorists." Some writers have even gone to great lengths to prove their theory that nursery rhyme characters are real people linked with social and political events. The most influential book to uphold this theory is The Real Personages of Mother Goose by Katherine Elwes Thomas, published in Boston, 1930. The Opies describe it as "a curious mixture of fact and fable, and a cheerful determination to prove that the nursery characters were real persons regardless of what the sources quoted say."

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1 Ibid., p. 271. 2 Ibid., p. 271. 3 Ibid., p. 293. 4 Ibid., pp. 294-295. 5 Ibid., p. 297. 6 See Ibid., pp. 298-302 for the Opies' exegesis of this theory. 7 Ibid., p. 301.
All the editions of The Melody, even the earliest ones, were illustrated. The Opies believe that Newbery and other early publishers unconsciously recognized the need of the young child for illustration that accompanies "text." There is a right time for this and the right kind of "text." The Opies phrase these needs as follow:

In a child's life there is a period when almost the whole extent of his literature is the nursery rhyme. It comes (as far as books are concerned) at the transitional stage pure and simple and the first story book. During this period one can sit a child on one's lap with a good illustrated nursery rhyme book . . . and read the rhymes and point to the pictures for half an hour on end. . . .3

. . . a rhyme in a nursery rhyme book is uninteresting to a small child (indeed, it is disregarded) unless it is accompanied by an illustration. The child looks at the sea of print and says, "Nothing on that page," . . . and he turns over until he comes to a picture and then wants to hear only the single rhyme which happens to be illustrated.4

Following these precepts (which they knew almost intuitively or

1Barchilon and Pettit, op. cit., p. 197, in discussing the illustrations in their facsimile (from the Ball Collection): "We do not know the identity of the illustrator, as the engravings are unsigned but the suggestion is . . . that they are by John Bewick, the brother of Thomas. . . ."


3Ibid., p. v.

4Ibid., p. ix. The Opies divide nursery rhymes into eight categories (many of which have sub-categories): the first is made up of baby games and lullabies primarily used during the time before the baby is old enough to be read to; the second includes most of the "first favorites" with a jiggly jog, "alliterative and onomatopoeic appeal," as simple as "Humpty Dumpty." These are for the lap reading stage. At the beginning of this stage (anywhere from a few months on up), the child is introduced to the illustrated rhyme book under discussion above.
perhaps through business acumen), Newbery (and Carnan as well as Power) rarely printed a rhyme unless it had its accompanying and appropriate woodcut.

In their *Oxford Nursery Rhyme Book* the Opies present several Bewick engravings, those of John as well as of Thomas. Many of them illustrated the rhymes when they were first printed. The Opies gathered them from chapbooks and other juvenile literature in their own collections (with permission) such as the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, and the London Library. They collaborated with an artist, Joan Hassall, one of the finest wood engravers of the twentieth century. A part of her task "was to illustrate those rhymes which never appeared in the early juvenile literature, or of which no satisfactory woodcut impression remains."¹

Other early woodcut illustrations are presented by the Baring-Goulds in their *Annotated Mother Goose*.² They also include sketches from such famous illustrators of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries as Randolph Caldecott, Kate Greenaway, Arthur Rackham, and Maxfield Parrish.³

¹Ibid., p. x. Supra, annotation of John Ruskin who gave Kate Greenaway a task similar to the one the Opies gave Joan Hassall.

²Baring-Gould, op. cit. (Compare their woodcuts with those in the Barchilon-Pettit facsimile, op. cit., above.)

³Delightful as these black and white reproductions are they do not reveal the true beauty of the color, used by each of the illustrators, which makes up so much of the charm of the later good nursery rhyme books; for example, Caldecott, Crane, and Greenaway are noted for being first (by the aid of the printer Edmund Evans) to bring beautiful color designs to children; Rackham's color emphasizes the eerie otherworldliness that is so much a part of his style; Parrish is noted for his unusual blues which are intensified by his startling contrasts with other almost subdued colors.
Two outstanding early twentieth century illustrated editions of nursery rhymes that follow The Melody are as follows:

1. The Boyd Smith Mother Goose, with numerous illustrations in color and black and white from original drawings by E. B. [oyd] Smith; the text carefully collated and verified by Lawrence Elmendorf. Putnam c. 1919. Includes a reprint of the original Mother Goose's Melody as issued by John Newbery of London, circa 1760, and Isaiah Thomas of Worcester, Massachusetts, circa 1785. There are, however, changes in arrangement and also occasionally in the text.

2. The Jessie Willcox Smith Mother Goose [Little Mother Goose]; a careful and full selection of rhymes with illustrations. Dodd, 1914. The first 51 rhymes with their morals taken from the facsimile reproduction of the Isaiah Thomas edition, but there are some variations in the text.

E. Boyd Smith, an American born in Canada, was instrumental in raising the standards of the picture book in the second decade of the twentieth century. This came about as a result of a conference between children's librarians and publishers.

Jessie Willcox Smith, about the same time as E. B. Smith, contributed her share in raising the standards. Her lovely pictures set a new high for book illustration and for the covers of Good Housekeeping and The Ladies Home Journal.

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1. Smith, op. cit., pp. 68-69. Note the dates given by Smith for Newbery and Thomas in contrast to those given at the beginning of this annotation.

2. Ibid., p. 69. For a well known well illustrated edition that follows Halliwell and story of the American Goose or Vergoose family, infra, Victorian Regime, annotation of Halliwell.


4. Ibid., p. 229.
Children who were reared on the nursery rhyme editions of the two Smiths probably never realized that: 1) they were learning and loving the rhymes of 1744 and 1765; and 2) they were exposed to a renaissance of good illustration for children which had its foundation in the illustrations first used in the 1744, 1765, and later nursery rhyme books.


Mrs. Barbauld, a pioneer in writing for children, was among the first to think of and to use the words 'wonder' and 'delight' in connection with a child's thoughts. *Hymns In Prose,* as opposed to Puritan concepts of religion expounds a belief, novel in the eighteenth century, that 'children's thoughts should be led from the beauty of the flower to the wonder of creation.' "Hymns is a compromise between "Emblems" and pictures of nature; a mother's images to give her child a first idea of the love of God."

The printer, who after a fire in Paternoster Road moved to 72 St. Paul's Churchyard, was a kindly benevolent man who published the works of many of the most eminent writers of his day. 2

1Barry, *op. cit.,* p. 149. Barry quotes Mrs. Barbauld: "... all that a child sees, all that he hears, all that affects his mind with wonder of delight."

2Barry, *op. cit.,* p. 480.
In America, John Trumbull, a contemporary of Isaiah Thomas, published The Hymns at his shop in Norwich, Connecticut, 1786.\(^1\) Welch lists 38 located copies of American editions that were printed from that date until 1820.\(^2\) An examination of the list reveals that the pagination was rarely the same in any two editions. One has as few pages as twenty-two. Such change from hand to hand of one editor to another seems to be the fate of every popular children's book. And The Hymns was a popular book in America.\(^3\)

The prime author, Mrs. Barbauld, was an educationist and a Unitarian. From 1780 to 1805 she held first place as the leading "blue-stocking."\(^4\) It may have been her reputation as that "odd creature," an educated woman who displayed her erudition, that excited Charles Lamb's contempt of her work.\(^4\) He felt that Mrs. Barbauld threw the fairy tale out of the door to make room for nature and the coldness of science.

In contrast to Lamb's opinion, Mrs. Barbauld was raised on Arabian Nights (among other things) and never lost her delight in admiration for "Sinbad."\(^5\)

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\(^1\) Welch, *op. cit.*, A-C, pp. 149-209. On p. 149 Welch includes Mrs. Barbauld among the writers who played an important role in America. On p. 209 he gives the bibliographical data for Trumbull's 4th edition of The Hymns.


\(^3\) Halsey, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

\(^4\) *Supra*, Introduction, p. 4. Also *supra*, pp. 24, 25, 36 for opinions of Muir and Hazard on the "Monstrous Regiment" of women writers.

\(^5\) This was before the "acceptable" Lane translation for children of 1839. Mrs. Barbauld may have read the 1704 version by Galland and chapbooks.
She understood the need for and the place of "romances" in reading matter as well as the universal attraction to the horror story. She felt that the "romance" taught compassion, the most needed virtue; and the horror story took man away from his own problems for respite and re-creation. 1

The most lively girl in a large family of predominant masculinity, Letitia learned her lessons with her brothers. She easily became proficient in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and the related languages needed and taught by her cleric father. This served her in good stead when with her husband she opened a school for boys. Although a "dissenter" in religion, Mrs. Barbauld was not orthodox. She represented the growing awareness of people in her century for the beauty of nature. Like Christopher Smart (Newbery's half-mad poet son-in-law) and William Wordsworth, she hoped to present divinity as revealed in the natural world. Consider the following:

There is little need I should tell you of God. . . . Every field is like an open book, every painted flower hath a lesson written as it leaves. 2

The Aikens were a family of writers. Lucy (sister of Letitia and John) wrote for children. Lucy (niece and daughter of John) wrote impassionedly championing the Aiken-Barbauld writings as being more Aiken (John) than Barbauld. She also compiled an anthology of poetry for children, some of it written by herself. 3

2 Quoted by Thwaite, op. cit., p. 55.
3 Infra, annotation, Lucy Aiken, 1801.
John is credited with many published works. Johnson's publisher's advertisement in Miscellaneous Pieces, gives five topics of general interest written by Dr. Aiken but seven on medicine. Two of these are on "Materia Medica," one on "Hospitals," another on chemistry. Considering these unchildlike topics, it is understandable that some people attribute Hymns in Prose to Letitia alone.

Mrs. Barbauld loved children, yearned for a family, adopted a boy whom she raised with the many boys she taught at her school in Palgrave. It was for this adopted child that she wrote her children's works. The first of these, Lessons for Children, was written in 1778. This work inspired later work by the Edgeworths.

She states her purpose for Hymns in Prose in the preface when she writes:

A child, to feel the full force of the idea of God, ought never to remember when he had no such idea. . . . [It must come early in association with] all that a child sees, all that he hears, all that affects his mind with wonder and delight.

She intended her book to help effect that wonder and delight. She acknowledged a debt of belief and inspiration to Dr. Watts but she was afraid of rhyme for small children. Prose seemed a better vehicle for her (this in spite of the fact that she wrote fairly good poetry albeit . . .

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1Aiken and Barbauld, op. cit., just following "Thoughts," p. 266, and just preceding, "The Application of Natural History to Poetry" wherein Dr. Aiken uses the poems of Thompson (on the "Seasons") and others to point out the beauty and wonder of nature.

2Infra, annotation, Maria Edgeworth.

3Quoted by Barry, op. cit., p. 149.

4Supra, Puritan Period, annotation, Isaac Watts.
in hexameter and sometimes in Greek).

On the whole the hymns were short pieces intended for memorization. They had a strong rhythm of their own that aided in their memorization. The hymns were on subjects of interest to a child: lambs, stars, grass, flowers, clouds, sleep. But the emphasis was upon God, the Omniscient, who watched over sleep, lived in the stars, allowed death but death without tears, for He gave Jesus death's conqueror.

The language, while often lovely, is beyond the reading comprehension of a young twentieth century child. It is doubtful if a child of an earlier century would have chosen this book himself. It could well be that the popularity lay with the mothers who wanted a gentle book with which to teach religion to their children. It is a forerunner of twentieth century books of this type even to the degree that it has always been illustrated.

Early editions were "embellished with neat engravings on wood." An American 1814 edition (publisher Samuel Wood) had "numerous woodcuts" by Anderson (the American "Bewick"). An English 1865 edition is the real precursor of the twentieth century children's book about religion in that it had "water colours" by outstanding artists in that media: engraved by James D. Cooper after R. Barnes, T. Kennedy, E. M. Wimperis,

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1Darton, op. cit., p. 218 states it is "a model of lucid ease of expression. You may dislike or disagree with what is said, but you could not say it better, and probably not in so few words."

2Smith, op. cit., p. 85.

3Rosenbach, op. cit., p. 181, n. 482. Here Rosenbach states: "... usually considered to be Mrs. Barbauls's best work."
and W. S. Coleman. (The following year these artists did similar illustrations for Watts' Divine and Moral Songs for Children.)

Two of the twentieth century illustrated books which present religion to a child in a similar fashion are:

1. Small Rain (The text of the Shepherd Psalm selected and illustrated by Jessie Orton Jones.) Viking, 1943. Happy children playing beside the still waters give the idea of God and nature always known and unfearèd by children.

2. This is the Way by Jessie Orton Jones and Elizabeth Orton. Viking, 1951. Faith and hope for all the children of the world from all the scriptures in the world.

Mrs. Barbauld would approve.


Dramatizations of Rousseau's theories, these plays were performed constantly in English girls' schools influencing not only educational beliefs and practices but the printing and production of plays for

\(^{1}\)St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 146 and p. 461.

\(^{2}\)Ibid., p. 461.
children for the next seventy-five years.

Alderman Thomas Cadell had a successful business in the Strand. ¹

With Peter Elmsley, once a printer in Aberdeen, but currently a London importer of foreign books, Cadell founded a literary club of booksellers.²

It is logical that these two should so successfully publish Mme. de Genlis¹ book.

Although Welch,³ and Rosenbach⁴ cite only one locatable American copy of one of the plays, it is evident that others were known in the Colonies. Halsey writes:

In New York, in Miss Dodsworth's most genteel and fashionable school, a play . . . "The Dove" by Madame de Genlis was acted with the same zest by little girls of ten and twelve years of age as they showed in another play . . . a drama by . . . Hannah More.⁵

The plays were produced at the end of the school term in a program for parents. Parents then, as parents in the twentieth century, "appreciated" the histrionic ability of their own daughters.

Madame La Comtesse de Genlis, a French woman and teacher of Louis Philippe, was one of the first women to earn a good living almost exclusively by writing about education and for children. As a result of her experiments in education at Belle-Chasse she came to the conclusion that learning was aided by the use of "theatricals, tableaux, and wall

¹Ibid., p. 468. ²Ibid., p. 474.

³Welch, op. cit., D-G, p. 566.

⁴Rosenbach, op. cit., p. 102. This is "Beauty and the Monster" after Mme. de Beaumont's "Beauty and the Beast." ⁵Halsey, op. cit., p. 134. See next annotation, Hannah More, Sacred Dramas.
Because of this belief she published *Théâtre d'Education* (in France, 1779-80).

Greatly inspired by both Fenélon and Rousseau, Madame described her interpretation of Rousseau's philosophy in *Adèle et Théodore*. This showed a practical education at work in everyday life. It was written in the form of letters to a mother who wanted guidance about her children's education. The mother asks about what books to give the children to read. In her answer, Madame de Genlis reveals the purpose of all her works:

> I neither give my children Fairy Tales to read, nor Arabian Nights; not even Madame d'Aulnoy's Fables which were composed for this purpose. There is scarcely one of them which has a moral tendency.

Until she was seven, Adèle could only read *Les Veilles du Chateau*. In this book a fictitious "Madame de Clemire... supplements the education of her children at her chateau in the country by evening readings." The foolish children ask for fairy tales but their wise mother...  

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3. Arabian Nights was not yet in a form considered suitable for children. Infra, annotation of Arabian Nights.


5. Written by none other than Madame de Genlis herself in 1784, translated into English by T. Holcroft at Dublin in 1785. See Barry, *op. cit.*, pp. 100 and 238 for an account of this book and its influence.

tells them instead about the wonders of fact.

... --a tree which rains down poison, a palace built of ice, a ball of fire in the sky... --adding exact references to their origin and explanation in the histories of travelers and scientists.¹

When the children hopefully ask if, perhaps, fairies are real, their mother tells them that only stupid ignorant peasants believe such nonsense.

Strangely enough, the chateau in the book is the chateau in which Madame de Genlis grew up. Her books are largely autobiographical ² When for a moment she allows herself to forget her theories.²² Her years at the chateau³ were filled with many interests. With great dramatic talent, she wrote plays at eight, acted for the court in her mother's theatricals at eleven, and even her teaching was a successful histrionic venture. She was a talented harpist and flower painter. She was so filled with zest and curiosity that she wanted to see how everything was made and how all work was done. At seventy she was reputed to have said that she could earn her living at twenty different trades.⁴

When the Duke of Orleans appointed her as "governor" to his three sons, she took the opportunity to let the boys "learn by doing." They made experiments in chemistry, ... practiced gardening, carpentry, and other forms of handwork.⁵ And here in the Park at St. Leu they had

¹Ibid., p. 68. ²Barry, op. cit., p. 101.
³The real chateau was "Chateau of St. Aubin."
⁴Barry, op. cit., p. 102. ⁵Ibid., p. 102.
their own theatre "in which they acted moral plays from . . ." the Theater of Education.¹

Barry sums up Madame de Genlis' work when she states, "She dramatised the theories of Rousseau. . . ."²

Madame de Genlis did more than that, however. The first educationist whom she admired had been Fenelon. Rousseau, for all his greatness, believed that a child should not be exposed to religion until he was old enough to choose for himself. Fenelon differed. He believed that a child should be taught about God from the moment he was born. On the issue of God and religious teaching Madame de Genlis sided with Fenelon. "Religion she placed as the foundation of her scheme, and continual occupation and surveillance were its main pillars."³

There were twenty-four plays in the four volumes. Volume III was "intendedly solely for the education of shop-keepers and mechanics."⁴ The dialogue is stilted; no plot is memorable; every story has its much belabored moral. The appeal for children then, as now, is that it gives children an opportunity to move and to talk (two courses of action dear to the hearts and the actual well being of children but too often curtailed in overcrowded classrooms).

One play will serve as an example of 1) the author's purpose and 2) what children did (still do) with this material. This is "Beauty and the Monster," an adaptation of Madame Jeanne Le Prince de Beaumont's

¹Ibid., p. 102. ²Ibid., p. 103.
³Thwaite, op. cit., p. 67.
⁴Judith St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 255.
"Beauty and the Beast."¹ (Interestingly enough, it was this play that was so often printed and enacted in America.)

Madame de Genlis intended the moral to show through: beauty is only skin deep. The girls, however (for after the book was printed, it was primarily girls who read and enacted the plays), loved the play for its exciting story line. Imagine being forced to marry a beast, a wealthy beast, whose fortunes could save the family. And then, after all the anguish of self-sacrifice, imagine that beast turning out to be the most handsome of young men. How satisfying are the paths of virtue!

This is the most exciting of all the plays. Those of Part IV "teach" children of the lower classes to be satisfied with their lot, to work hard at learning and plying a trade so that they need not depend upon the dole, to not aspire above their stations in life for "some must be hewers of wood."²

The first and many subsequent English editions had frontispiece engravings on copper by James Fitler³ the marine engraver to George III of England.⁴

In spite of the book's enormous immediate popularity and the

¹Supra, annotation, de Beaumont, Young Misses Magazine.

²Letitia Barbauld, Hannah More, and other upper middle-class women of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries sincerely believed and advocated such a philosophy for other people, not for themselves. See supra, annotation, Barbauld; infra, Barbauld, More.

³St. John in The Osborne Collection, p. 255.

⁴Ibid., p. 443.
encouragement it gave to the use of dramatics in furthering learning among boys and girls, there are few surviving copies known or located by the experts whose works have been consulted in this study. The Englishman was ambivalent concerning the value of drama and the value of anything championed by the French. His fears were in part due to the hangover of Puritannical morals and wariness concerning any type of invasion (physical, mental, or emotional) by a foreign power. The life and works of Hannah More, a contemporary of Madame de Genlis, exemplifies this paradox.¹

Nevertheless, the educational play and theater for children (two vastly different things) had arrived.²


During this era in which educators were beginning to believe that doing was an integral part of learning, even the people most advanced in their thinking were afraid of dramatics for children. Madame de Genlis had publicized such activity but the Englishman feared anything that was too French. Popular, well-known, and God-fearing, Protestant Hannah More fashioned a wedge [Sacred Dramas] which opened the way towards the acceptance of dramatics for children and young people.³

¹Madame de Genlis, 1746-1830; Hannah More, 1745-1833.
²See annotation directly below; also infra, next chapter, Victorian Regime, plays, etc. for children.
³Thwaite, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-139.
Thomas Cadell of the Strand in London "and his son afterwards, published all her [Hannah's] best-selling books except the tracts, and made a large amount of money for both author and publisher." Thomas was the son of the alderman-publisher who originally came from Bristol, the home of Hannah and her sisters. After the father's death, William Davies joined the firm. Until his own death in 1820, he helped make the business successful.

Everything that Hannah wrote was a best seller. Sacred Dramas ran into nineteen editions and was even published in Ceylon. The natives there were so delighted with the dramas that they copied them on palm leaves, an incident that touched Hannah's sentimental heart. The English public was varied in its reaction to the Dramas although no publication was suppressed. The prevailing controversy seemed to focus around two main questions: 1) was it sacriligious to act out (not read) a drama about biblical characters? and 2) did Hannah's interpretation of

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2 Judith St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 468.
3 Hopkins, op. cit., p. 102.
4 Ibid., p. 103.
5 Hopkins, ibid., p. 103, describes two occurrences of highlighting the opposing views. Daniel in the Lion's Den was enthusiastically received at Doncaster on Saturday, October twelfth, 1793. The next month the bare announcement of such a forthcoming production threw all of the religious people into a frenzy. The preachers especially ranted against the blasphemy of such performances. Tate Wilkinson, the producer on "the York circuit" gave up the attempt to use Biblical dramatizations. These productions were for adults, in public. The title states "for young people" (children), with the implication of school or private theatricals.
Although Halsey does not mention Sacred Dramas, Rosenbach lists an edition published in Philadelphia, 1823, by David Hogan.

Important as Sacred Dramas was in opening the way to the use of dramatics for young people, and in motivating people to recognize the inherent dramatic possibilities in Biblical literature, the author had other important and far reaching influences on literature for children. Darton points this out in one sentence: "Hannah More had a longer and stronger grip on English minor morals [and the moral school of writing for children] than any other writer since Puritan days." She did this in three ways: 1) by starting her Cheap Repository Tracts "which paved the way for the Religious Tract Society in 1799;" 2) by aiding Robert Raikes, the Wesleys, and others in establishing Sunday Schools; and 3) by publishing her tale The Shepard of Salisbury Plain which motivated New England's Samuel Griswold Goodrich (the first and original Peter

1 Mrs. Trimmer was the critic who touched off the spark about "right" and wrong Biblical interpretations. This is amusing in light of the fact that Mrs. Trimmer put out her own interpretation (with pictures) called Sacred Histories (1782-84). See Muir, op. cit., p. 94.

2 She does mention the Search After Happiness being produced often and with great joy by 10-and-12-year-old American girls, Halsey, op. cit., p. 152. See this annotation below for a discussion of The Search.

3 Rosenbach, op. cit., p. 228 n. 62; this has The Search bound with it. Welch, Bibliography, M, is not available to the writer of this work at this time.

4 Darton, op. cit., p. 228. See also Rosenbach, op. cit., p. 135, n. 345.

5 Thwaite, op. cit., p. 59. See this annotation, below.
Parley) into beginning his famous and influential "Peter Parley Series." All of Hannah’s life prepared her to write Sacred Dramas. She was one of five girls born into a religious home in which the father, the headmaster of a boys academy, put equal stress on intellectual and spiritual values. Through a series of misfortunes common in eighteenth century England, well born Jacob More lost his right to family property and income. He left his native shore to settle near Bristol. Helped by wealthy patrons (whose family continued to aid all of the Mores during their long lives), he built a prosperous establishment out of the school at Fishponds, a hamlet only five miles away from thriving Bristol. He reputedly married as well as could be expected under his "unfortunate circumstances." But, of course, his sensible pleasant wife, a farmer’s daughter, was beneath his station in life. She cheerfully acknowledged this; ran her large household efficiently; taught her daughters the necessary arts of housewifery; and sat by silently sewing or mending while her husband read aloud from the classics to the family. The children were also expected to help in teaching classes. All of the girls were intelligent but Hannah was the most precocious and the most indulged.

Such indulgence meant that while the other four girls (Mary, Betty, Sally, and Patty) set up and ran a financially successful school for girls in Bristol, Hannah was not tied down to routine. When she was at home in Bristol, she did many chores that were necessary in running such a school. But she was away from home more months of the year than she was at home. She liked people, and people liked her. All her life she

\[\text{Darton, op. cit., p. 228. Infra, annotation, Griswold, Peter Parley.}\]
had numerous invitations to come and stay months on end at the homes of the wealthy and the literary great. She never outstayed her welcome.

Such visits were an accepted part of life in the eighteenth century. In this aspect as well as in others, Hannah is representative of life in her era. Living eighty-eight active years (1745-1833), Hannah saw much change in England. Her life time spanned:

... the reigns of George the Second, George the Third, George the Fourth, and William the Fourth, missing Victoria's accession by only five years. She was born in an agricultural age and died in the machine age. ... spinning and weaving went out of cottages into factories, small farms gave way to agriculture on a large scale, the American Colonies gained their independence, the French revolution took place, and social welfare work began. ... historic changes are reflected in her writings. Although from today's viewpoint her opinions seem reactionary, ... in her day she was ... a dangerous radical.¹

This radicalism was first noticed when she was sixteen. It was then that she wrote and produced (at a private home theatrical) her first known play, The Search After Happiness: A Pastoral Drama. Today it would be called a dialogue (or a conversation) rather than a drama. "The lyrics were printed in Dodsley's Annual with a hearty recommendation of the play as suitable for the perusal of elegant females because it conveyed important truths in elegant numbers."²

At that time even private theatricals were a daring adventure for proper girls, even if the cast and audience were all female. This heightened the excitement for the girls who were chosen to recite the several parts.

The following selection from this drama not only shows the theme of

¹Hopkins, op. cit., p. 102.
²Ibid., p. 45.
the work but the constant struggle between two desires that tore Hannah all of her life:

Verse is a folly—we must rise above it,
Yet I know not how it is—I love it,
Tho' should we still the rhyming trade pursue,
The men will shun us,—and the women, too:
The men, poor souls! of scholars are afraid,
We shou'd not, did they govern, learn to read,
At least, in no abstruser volume look,
Than the learn'd records—of a Cookery book:

How well these learn'd ladies write,
They seldom act the virtues they recite,
No useful qualities adorn their lives,
They make sad Mothers and still sadder wives.¹

The "drama" goes on to show that there are some exceptions among eighteenth century learned women. It even mentions names. One of these is Aiken (Letitia Barbauld).²

Hannah, however, must have been afraid of her boldness. She backs down and refutes her praise of the exceptional intellectual women by saying:

One virtuous sentiment, one generous deed,
Affords more generous transport to the heart,
Than genius, wit or science can impart;
For these shall flourish, fearless of decay,
When wit shall fail, and science fade away.³

¹As quoted in Hopkins, ibid., p. 47.
²See annotations, supra et infra, Mrs. Barbauld.
³Hopkins, op. cit., p. 47.
In spite of the fact that Hannah and her sisters tried to believe that woman's place was in the home, none of them ever married, and they were all forced to earn their livings by wit and otherwise. In a day when marriages were largely arranged for daughters (openly or in secret), Mr. More did no such arranging for his daughters. No one knows for sure the reasons for this. It could have been that the headmaster could not afford dowries for five girls and so he did not attempt to put up such a customary inducement for any one of them. It could have been that he did not want to lose his "girls."

Hannah was the only one to become engaged. That engagement changed the tenor of her entire life. The bridegroom-to-be, Mr. Turner, three times did not show up at the altar. After a meeting with Hannah "to talk things over," he settled an annuity of several hundred pounds a year upon her in place of marriage. Such pecuniary-balm was an accepted convention of the day. In spite of her "shame" and "heart-sickness," Hannah invested the money at five per cent interest. Then she went to the seashore to recuperate.

During her convalescence she embarked upon a "decorous" flirtation with a handsome young married poet-clergyman who was also convalescing. They wrote poems to each other on paper and on the sand. Later, they visited each other's homes and corresponded. Hannah took her sisters with her when she went to visit the clergyman and his wife. He brought his wife with him when he came to visit Hannah and her sisters. "The

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*Ibid.*, p. 35. Many years later the pair became reunited as "friends." Turner frequently visited the sisters. Hannah gave him presentation copies of each of her first editions. Upon his death, a thousand pounds was left to Hannah.
type of man who henceforth attracted Hannah was now fixed. He was usually married [or over 65], older than she, witty, and distinguished.1

The most important to Hannah of the men on the long list of her male friendships was David Garrick, the actor. Loving him, Hannah, of course, also loved Mrs. Garrick. Whenever she went to London she stayed long months with the Garricks. Through them, Hannah learned to openly enjoy playgoing, though she still refused to listen to anything but sacred music on Sundays. If the Garricks had a Sunday musicale, Hannah would retire to her rooms and firmly shut the doors.

The literary world of London at this time was in full swing:

The novels of Richardson, Smollett, Fielding, and Sterne, had been published; Johnson had produced his dictionary; Hume and Robertson were writing history; Walpole's Castle of Otranto and his Mysterious Mother were best sellers; Chatterton, Macpherson, and Percy had revived interest in early literature. The drama was . . . alive, Goldsmith's and Sheridan's masterpieces were being played, Garrick had brought Shakespeare back to the stage . . . the actors and actresses were excellent.2

And Hannah was accepted by all of these people, Garrick, and others, encouraged and criticized her writings. But it was Garrick who edited and produced her successful play, Percy.

Percy ran twenty-two nights, a spectacular success at a time when playgoers were so few that the drama had to be [changed] . . . frequently.3

It played at Covent Garden, in Drury Lane, and Mrs. Siddons kept it in her repertoire. It was translated into French and German, and even in

1 Ibid., p. 41.
2 Ibid., p. 53.
3 Ibid., p. 81.
book form it was successful. The first edition sold out in a fortnight.

Hannah did much of her writing in her three-room suite at the Garrick home, but even when she was with her sisters at Bristol she sent her plays, act by act, to Garrick for his criticism and editing. She was at Bristol working on another play, The Fatal Falsehood, when Garrick died.

Hannah returned to London at once to be with the bereaved Mrs. Garrick. An eighteenth century widow did not attend her husband's funeral. Hannah was not the widow. So while Mrs. Garrick stayed home, Hannah went to the service which, like a stage production, was open only to those who had tickets. This marked another drastic change in Hannah's life. She lost her spontaneous gaiety and her lighthearted enjoyment of life. She was now ready to become the reformer.

During the first period of mourning, Hannah's play (The Fatal Falsehood) was produced by Mrs. Siddons. Another playwright, Mrs. Cowley, openly accused Hannah of plagiarism. Hannah was furious and eager to retaliate. To soothe her Thomas Caddell, the publisher, persuaded her to finish writing the Sacred Dramas. She had been working at them off and on for several years. They were in blank verse. Verse was her first love. It had the effect of stabilizing her emotions that no other form of writing seemed to achieve. Following Caddell's advice, Hannah completed the work.

The dramas are about Moses, David and Goliath, Belshazzer, Daniel, and Hezekiah. Hezekiah is the only monologue. The wording is stilted according to twentieth century criteria for such writing but it is in accordance with the diction of its time. Ten-and-twelve-year-olds then
read the plays with ease and delight. The style of writing was similar to much of the speech of "cultivated" people. Children were happy to have a "story" that could be play-acted with a certain amount of approval.

The work is dedicated to the Duchess of Beaufort. In her dedication Hannah writes that the little work was "written with a humble wish to promote the love of piety and virtue in young persons."¹

As Hannah entered her Sunday School and Repository Tract stages, she began to feel "guilty about drama, the stage, and perhaps the wickedness such things might engender in young people who were not as properly brought up as she. Like other people of her era, she also feared the evil effects of the "Penny Merriments" (later "Penny Dreadfuls") so she established the cheap Repository Tracts sometimes known as the "Penny Godlinesses."² Darton states that:

> It was . . . by this form of literature . . . that the rather muddy mind of humbler England was penetrated throughout the Georgian era, and beyond it . . . the hungry sheep were fed with little else until Hannah More started the organized diffusion of tracts. . . .³

This was done in connection with the Sunday schools.⁴ Hannah's sisters retired from their money-making school, and among other charities with Hannah, spent much of their gains in setting up a series of rather famous Sunday schools. They often gave the tracts to children

¹Hannah More, Sacred Dramas (London: Printed for T. Caddell, 1782), Preface. (As read in Boys and Girls House, Osborne Collection, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.)

²Darton, op. cit., p. 76.

³Ibid., p. 75.

⁴Supra, Georgian Era, Historical Background: Robert Raikes, the Sunday School Movement.
attending the schools (although the Repository literature was originally intended for adults) and they encouraged people to buy the tracts. Although the stories in each little book pointed up morals, they were sometimes written with zest and an eye to plot. Hannah wrote many of them under the pseudonym of "Z."

There was no attempt to change the existing social order through the stories. The aim was to bring "a message of faith and hope to the poorer classes to enable them to bear their hardships and to improve their situation by industry and pious living." Such stories did, however, expose "something of the miseries of the labouring classes, and by portraying their humanity and their virtue showed the wealthy their duty and responsibilities more plainly."2

The most famous of these is "Z's" The Shepard of Salisbury Plain which had such a stirring effect upon Samuel Goodrich and hundreds of other writers for boys and girls.3

The project was launched in 1795, and within six weeks 300,000 tracts were sold. The first producer was Hazard of Bath. John Marshall took over in London. The original series ended in 1798 but the next year the Religious Tract Society was formed and "henceforth a steady supply of suitable and cheap little books to help the work of the

1Thwaite, op. cit., p. 59.
2Ibid., p. 59.
3Supra.
Sunday schools and to promote the Christian education of young and old was assured.\(^1\)

Throughout all her life Hannah More was known as an educator. She did write three books specifically on the topic of education. One of them was meant to help in educating Princess Charlotte (daughter of George IV) who was thought of as England's problem child. No one expected her to die before she could become queen and her guardians were worried about teaching her to become wise, good, and an example to her people. "Hannah's views on women's education were in advance of those of most people in her time. Her moderate demands carried more weight than radical demands would have done."\(^2\)

She was against the injustice of keeping women ignorant and then scorning them for it. She believed that education should be a preparation for life, not an "adornment." She felt that only exceptional girls should have a classical education but that all girls should learn to cook and sew. She felt that history, geography, and arithmetic (with a tincture of mathematics) should be in the curriculum and that any kind of study was good discipline. She ignored physical training. "No school at that time offered any other exercise than walking out two by two."\(^3\)

During her seventies, Hannah wrote and published three new books (all on religion). When she was eighty, she was revising and republishing earlier works.

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\(^1\)Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 59.


In spite of her great popularity, the enormous sales of her books, and the influence that she had on raising the living conditions and morale of the poor, most people if they know of her at all, think of Hannah More as a hymn writer. She wrote fewer hymns than she did anything else. One, however, that has remained in great favor is a Christmas Hymn. This is the familiar first verse:

0 How Wondrous is the story
Of our blest Redeemer's birth!
See the mighty Lord of Glory
Leaves His Heaven to visit earth!


The foremost example of the moral tale as it was well developed on the Continent and distilled through French influence into the moral tale in English.

Thomas Cadell, in the Strand, publisher of Hannah More, and with Peter Elmsley (importer of foreign books), English publisher of Madame de Genlis, was the logical person to bring out the first English translation of an author whose influence reached to the end of the nineteenth century.

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1 *L'Ami des Enfans* par Arnaud Berquin, Paris: (in 24 volumes), "Avec approbation et privilege du roi."

2 Supra, annotation, Hannah More.

3 Supra, annotation, Madame de Genlis.
The French magazine was modeled on several appearing in other European countries. The foremost of these was *Der Kinderfreund*, a German venture by C. F. Weisse in 1777. Berquin usurped not only the format of the publication but many of the tales.¹

There were two other popular English versions of *The Children's Friend*:

1. *The Looking Glass for the Mind; or, Intellectual Mirror.*
   A selection from Berquin freely adapted by the Reverend W. D. Cooper (pseudonym Richard Johnson²) and published by Elizabeth Newbery in 1787. Issued with illustrations by John Bewick in 1792.³


The bibliographic entries in Welch for located copies shows that all three translations (as well as adaptations of these three) were popular in the United States.⁵ Although some American publication dates are theoretical,⁶ it appears that Volume I of *The Children's Friend* was

¹Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 66. Thwaite uses the phrase "inspired by" rather than the word usurped. Hazard, *op. cit.*, p. 23 is the authority who speaks disparagingly of Berquin.

²St. John in *The Osborne Collection, op. cit.*, p. 166 describes Johnson as "a London printer and literary hack who kept a day-book in which he recorded his business transactions ..., including the Newbery firm. ... It is probable that he used the pseudonym, 'The Reverend M. Cooper.'"

³Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

⁴Ibid., p. 66.


⁶Lack of publication dates printed in the located editions make it difficult to trace the actual date. Advertisements, reviews, and other documents must often be used in determining possible dates.
printed in Boston by John W. Folsom, and sold by him and Benjamin Larkin as early as 1790.1 Welch has located about eighteen American editions of The Children's Friend.2 One of these is an 1812 edition printed in Detroit by Theophilus Mettez.3 Welch has also located about 24 editions of the other translations or hybrids of these translations.4 The interesting fact is that these little stories did come to America and were read by generations of children.

Paul Hazard deplores this fact. He excoriates his countryman when in criticizing Madame de Genlis (and other moralists for children), he writes:

Those years were not good ones for the young of France. As though Adèle et Theodore and Les Veillees du Château were not enough, Berquin set about publishing, from January, 1782 on, L'Ami des Enfans . . . the first of every month a new number made its way to Paris and the provinces. This journal even reached the point where it supported its owner and had its own office at the corner of the rue de l'Université and the rue du Bac.7

After describing Berquin as a "vain, mawkish, sentimental, little

1Welch, op. cit., A-C, p. 223.
2Ibid., pp. 223-227.
3Ibid., p. 226.
4Ibid., pp. 227-237. On these pages can be found bibliographic data about The Looking Glass; Blossoms of Morality; and the hybrids (this writer's term) which includes individual stories selected from Berquin printed alone or with other material.
5Adele and Theodore and Tales of the Castle are popular books by Madame de Genlis. Annotation for her Theatre of Education, supra.
6Hazard is talking about the French publication. English translations were in book form only.
7Hazard, op. cit., p. 23.
man" who "championed the good of humanity in general, but reduced humanity to the aristocracy" (which he reverenced even more than did Madame de Genlis, who at least belonged to it),¹ Hazard comiserates about the influence Berquin had:

... thousands of young people have read him, thousands of young people have been gently oppressed by him. Nor do we have the consolation of believing that his was an exceptional case... Let us cross the channel... where a lovely dawn was speedily obscured [Perrault, Newbery, et al]²... where many rapacious women³ were only waiting to fling themselves upon the children.⁴

The authorities used for this work and children who are cited by these authorities as having read Berquin are alike divided in their opinions about the quality and the influence of the stories. Barry,⁵ Darton,⁶ and Thwaite,⁷ agree that Berquin often shows simplicity, gentleness, love of nature, and skill in story telling. They also agree that he is very definite in pressing home his lessons which inevitably (and sometimes ludicrously) point out the advantages of kindness and good behavior. It is almost as though he were telling children that the only reason to be good is because this is the way you receive material

¹Ibid., p. 25.
²See annotations for Perrault and for Newbery, supra.
³Letitia Barbauld, Hannah More, Mrs. Trimmer, Mrs. Sherwood, and Maria Edgeworth, annotations, supra et infra.
⁴Hazard, op. cit., p. 29.
⁵Barry, op. cit., pp. 91-96. On these pages Barry summarizes many of the stories.
⁶Darton, op. cit., pp. 150-151.
⁷Thwaite, op. cit., p. 66.
rewards and material rewards are the only things that are worthwhile in life.\(^1\)

The following two anecdotes show the divergent opinions of children:

Catherine Sedgwick was a "bookish" little American girl who read most of her children's books in the first decade of the 1800's. She lived in a country town in comfortable circumstances.

The Sedgwick library was probably typical of the average choice in reading matter. \(\ldots\) Half a dozen little story-books, Berquin's "Children's Friend" (the very form and shade of color of its binding with its green edges were never forgotten by any member of the Sedgwick family), and the "Looking Glass for the Mind" were shelved side by side. \(\ldots\)\(^2\)

It is probable that the scarcity of juvenile reading heightened the "keen relish" with which the Sedgwick children read and reread these little books. But they remembered them with love, pleasure, and perhaps nostalgia.

On the other hand, Judith St. John presents the vehement and furious protestations of another little girl (English) who wrote her opinion of Berquin by changing the title of her copy of The Looking Glass to read:

The looking-glass for the mind; or, unintellectual mirror:

\(^1\)Exceptions can be found to this statement. One of them is in a story about a little girl who nurses a smallpox victim while everyone else has run away from the illness. However, Berquin does not appear to have thought through the idea that the child nurse was not immune and might have lost her own life. In advocating the action of his heroine, he advised other children to follow her example, no matter what parents and other adults said.

\(^2\)Halsey, op. cit., pp. 161-162. (See also pp. 159-160.)
being an inelegant collection of the most disagreeable silly stories and uninteresting tales, with twenty-four ugly cuts.1

As it is with most stories, the emotion with which they are received depends upon the child himself and the circumstances surrounding that child. Children who love to read and who cannot find enough material to satisfy their reading appetites will read almost anything. Children also read for the story and ignore or do not even notice material that gluts or repels an adult.2

In writing the tales Berquin used many devices that were popular with writers of his day. He told stories within stories (most of his tales could come under this classification); he used a dialogue or dramatic form in which there was no description or action except as the characters talked about what they saw or what had happened or was happening; he wrote letters; sometimes he told a straight and simple story.

His characters were based on pre-revolutionary children (French) of the upper classes or aristocracy who came into contact with children or adults of distressingly lower circumstances. People were either very very good or very very bad and could change from one characteristic to another with almost magic rapidity. Parents were almost (not quite)

1The Osborne Collection, p. 233. This is an eighth edition of The Looking Glass published for Elizabeth Newbery in 1800. The cuts are by Bewick. Mary Greaves, the thirteen-year-old girl, wrote her opinion in 1848. It is interesting to see the girl's immature handwriting and note that the very formation of her letters show her disgust.

2The opinion of the writer of this work based on: 1) her own reading as a "bookish" child; 2) her observation of her own children; and 3) her many years of observation in working with the pupils in her classrooms and their experiences with and reactions to books. There are many studies which validate this statement but which do not fall within the scope of this work.
invariably wise and just. They hovered over their children, always finding a lesson for them in everything that happened. The children always learned and were grateful that they lived in the best of all possible worlds.

His descriptions of children and many of their actions are convincing. He must have observed children at close hand. His descriptions of nature are loving and often beautiful. His descriptions of food are sometimes mouthwatering.

An example of one of his stories, "The Three Cakes" shows three stories within the framework of one conversation with ensuing action.

Mr. Glassington is telling the story of the cakes to his son, Percival. The story is a dialogue. Conversation is marked thus:

"Mr. G.," "Percival." Three boys: Henry, Francis, and Gratian (who each to to the same boarding school as Percival) have doting mothers who (for various reasons) arrange to have the "cook" of each household send an enormous cake to each boy. Henry eats all his cake himself and becomes ill. Francis hides and hordes his cake, eating a large piece every day. But within a week the cake becomes stale and is invaded by maggots. Gratian shares his cake with everyone and even gives his share to a poor blind fiddler and the fiddler's dog. "Noble" Gratian is content with crumbs and the spilled over currants in the bottom of the container that held the cake. Percival immediately sees what he must do. He asks his father for a knife and explains why he wants the

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knife.

I have only nibbled here a little of my cake, so pleased I was in listening to you! So I will cut it smooth. There, see how well I have ordered it! These scraps, together with the currants, will be more than I shall want for breakfast; and the first poor man that I meet going home shall have the rest, even though he should not play upon the violin.¹

This synopsis and the quotation do exemplify the type of story but they do not show the little touches that would appeal to a child. They are so woven into the story that it is almost impossible to separate them and still keep their meaning; for example, in telling about Henry:

He ate and ate till school began, and after school was over he ate again; at night, too, it was the same thing till bedtime . . . a playmate told me that he put that cake upon his bolster when he went to bed, and waked and waked a dozen times that he might take a bit. I cannot so easily believe this; . . . but, . . . it is very true. . . .²

Beyond the value or non-value of the stories for children, Darton believes that each translation of Berquin is a social and historical document. Some of the things these books reveal are:

1. "... the moral tale . . . was based on educational theory... which had been developed on the Continent."³

2. "... the closeness of upper middle-class intercourse between England and France at this time."⁴

¹Ibid., p. 135.

²Ibid., p. 129. In reading this to twentieth century children, it has been the experience of this writer to see that they can believe it is true. They have done (or would like to have done) the very same thing. Berquin knew children.

³Darton, op. cit., p. 149. It was "purveyed" to England by both Mme. de Genlis and Arnaud Berquin.

⁴Ibid., p. 150.
a) "Translation was reciprocal..."

b) "...the Revolution brought many refugees to England, and they were received by the very class which was so readily devoting itself to the amusement and instruction of children."^1

Halsey believes that the illustrations serve this social and historical documentation as well.^2 She describes the Bewick illustrations as showing fashions of the day in children's clothing:

In "The Looking Glass," for instance, the illustrations copied from engravings by the famous artist Bewick,^4 show that at the end of the eighteenth century children were still clothed like their elders; the coats and waistcoats, knee breeches and hats of the boys were patterned after gentleman's garments. . . .^5

Although the Bewick illustrations are the most famous and were frequently reprinted, there were illustrations done by other people in the same media and in other media.

Judith St. John lists one group of illustrations (forty-four copperplates) engraved by Thomas Cook for a 1793 Edinburgh edition of The Children's Friend.^6 Cook engraved portraits and illustrated books

^1 Ibid., p. 151.  
^2 Ibid., p. 151.  
^3 Halsey, op. cit., p. 135.  
^4 These are the illustrations so despised by Mary Greaves in 1848. (See this annotation above.) Styles can (and did) change in 50 years. What is quaint in 1965 would be simply 'old-hat' in 1848.  
^5 Halsey, p. 135. See Muir, op. cit., p. 69 for one reproduction illustrating Halsey's description. Anne Thaxter Eaton, "Illustrated Books for Children Before 1800," in Mahoney, op. cit., p. 16, also refers to these illustrations (as landmarks in the development of illustrating for children).  
^6 The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 232.
for other children's authors of the times" Lady Fenn, and M. J. M. Kilner.1

George Baxter, who was a wood engraver and who was most famous for inventing a method of oil-colour printing, did his illustrations at a later date.2 These were wood engravings for an 1840 edition (Longman, Orme) of The Looking Glass for the Mind.3

Berquin's stories were so often adapted or his models so slavishly followed that it would be impossible to list all or even many such titles here. However, Lucas gives an interesting account of what happened to one story, "The Three Cakes."

The idea of 'The Three Cakes' was borrowed from M. Berquin by the Taylors for their Original Poems, and Mary Howitt borrowed it, too, also for rhyming purposes.4

Lucas states that L'Ami des Enfans is "the most famous children's book in France."5


1Ibid., p. 439. Infra, annotations, Fenn and Kilner.

2Ibid., p. 435. 3Smith, op. cit., pp. 73-74.


5Ibid., p. x.
The best and most complete example of the moral stories which were the most generally provided reading for children at the time.\textsuperscript{1}

It is Thomas Day's interpretation of Rousseau's *Emile* in story form for boys and girls.\textsuperscript{2}

John Stockdale, theprinter, was an eccentric blacksmith turned publisher whose Piccadilly establishment was called a "literary coffeeshop."\textsuperscript{3}

Originally written for inclusion in R. L. Edgeworth's *Practical Education* (1780), the first version, complete in itself, was, however, first printed in 1783. The second and third parts, published in 1787 and 1789, were sequels to the first part.\textsuperscript{4}

There is an interesting anecdote connected with the third volume. Although Day had a friendly and long lasting relationship with his publisher, he could not forebear lecturing him. He felt that Stockdale was negligent in settling accounts to his own loss. In a letter to the publisher Day writes:

\begin{quote}
I have also to remind you, that you have now had my account for several months, if not for some years, and you have made no progress in settling it; which is disagreeable to me, a man of method and regularity, though an author. . . . There, fore, . . . though I have finished the third volume ready for printing, you may depend on it, I will not send the conclusion, until you let me know, by a letter signed by your wife (for I will not take your word) that all our accounts are exactly balanced. I am your affect. friend.

Thos. Day\textsuperscript{5}
\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{1}Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
\textsuperscript{2}Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 69. Thwaite also feels it is "a precursor of the boys' home adventure stories."
\textsuperscript{3}St. John in The Osborne Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 496.
\textsuperscript{4}Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
\textsuperscript{5}As cited by George Warren Gignilliat, Jr. in *The Author of Sandford and Merton: A Life of Thomas Day, Esquire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), p. 308. Also see The Osborne Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 496.
\end{footnotes}
The letter reveals the character of both men.

Even for this didactic day three volumes of almost unorganized material was too difficult for a large portion of the reading public. Abridgements were needed. Although Stockdale put out what might be called the "authorized" abridgement, there were earlier and even more simple editions.

Gignilliat states that the first of these one volume editions was published in 1792: "London: C. Foster . . . J. & J. Fairbairn, etc."¹

Welch, however, states an earlier date: "Apparently first published by John Wallis, with engravings dated 22 May, 1790."²

Welch then refers to an entry in Richard Johnson's day book concerning some writing that he apparently did in an editing of Sandford and Merton for Elizabeth Newbery.³

Whatever the circumstances of the abridgements, the book had three great periods of popularity, "from 1786 to 1798, from 1808 to 1830, and from 1850 to 1890."⁴

During the first period it was published in other countries (in English) and translated into other languages. "By 1787 it had been published in Ireland, by 1793 in America."⁵ In 1788 the first volume

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¹Gignilliat, op. cit., p. 338.
³Ibid., p. 476 n. 256.1.
⁴Gignilliat, op. cit., p. 337.
⁵See Welch, op. cit., D-G, pp. 473-477 for a list of located American editions, both abridged and unabridged.
was translated into German; by 1789 Arnaud Berquin, famous author of
L'Ami des Enfans who had translated two volumes into French.1

These abridgements not only simplified the language (Mr. Day was
"too learned and heavy for children") but omitted the original preface
and a very wordy conversation on education between two fathers.2

During the second wave of popularity (1808-1830), many other pub­
lishers put out their own editions of the book. Abridgements increased.
Some of them were less than a hundred pages. The price went down. The
public approved of this for everyone wanted the book which was too ex­
pensive for some people to buy.3

In 1850, the third wave of popularity, the book was put out in
numerous cheap editions, profusely illustrated, with strong appeal to
the moral sentiments of Victorian parents. During this period it was
put out in the series editions which were so prominent a part of publish­
ing for children during Victorian years.4 At the same time the story
began to be put into anthologies or collections of famous tales. Cecil
Hartley is an example of an editor who, while adapting to a sense of
Victorian propriety, still retained the utmost veneration for the author
and the story. Mary Goldophin showed the greatest change in her 1868

1Gignilliat, op. cit., p. 337.
2Ibid., pp. 338-339.
3Ibid., See p. 339 for Gignilliat's reference to Amelia Sedley in
Vanity Fair and her wish to buy the book for "Georgy."
4Infra, next chapter, Victorian Regime, Publishers and Publishing
for Children. Well known titles were republished in similar bindings,
print, etc., under a series name by or for a particular publisher; for
example, Routledge's Sixpenny Series.
version, Sandford and Merton in Words of One Syllable.¹

Although it is often true that in order to understand an author's works it is necessary to know about the life of eccentric Thomas Day, While Day meant his book for children,² he also felt that it synthesized much that he felt about life.³

Day's father, also named Thomas, was a highly placed customs inspector who was relatively well-to-do, highly regarded, and blessed by a wealthy patron. When young Thomas was just a little over a year old, the father died. A great deal of money was left in trust for the baby with a decent sum for the widow. Jane Day, as that young widow, concentrated all her love and energy on raising her son until she remarried. Thomas did not seem to be at particular odds with his somewhat indigent stepfather but life did change. The precocious boy was no longer the center of his mother's life. At this rather critical moment, according to the custom of his class and his time, he was sent away to school at Charterhouse. There he became very ill with smallpox which pitted his face so deeply that he became sensitive over his extreme ugliness.

During his varied school and university years, Day went to Oxford, studied law at the Middle Temple, investigated chemistry and other sciences, became known as a chemist, and in later years even acquired


²Ibid., p. 337. "The title page of Volume one... proclaimed it A Work Intended for the Use of Children. Immediately under this was inscribed, 'Suffer the little children to come unto me and forbid them not.'"

³Ibid., p. 263.
skill as a veterinarian. He had many friends. Some of these remained friends for all of his life. Some of them became repelled by his didactic preaching at them or by his too great generosity which expected too great appreciation from those to whom he had given. Erasmus Darwin and James Watts were among his scientific friends. Richard Lovell Edgeworth, father of Maria Edgeworth,¹ was one of the people who remained a constant friend.

One of the many things which Edgeworth and Day had in common was their great sympathy with the educational philosophy of Rousseau and his expression of this philosophy in Emile. When asked that old question what books should be saved if all the books in the world were to perish, Day declared that "after the Bible would be Rousseau's Emilius."²

Personal situations also formed a bond between Edgeworth and Day. For a while, Day was engaged to Edgeworth's sister, Margaret. As long as Day was around to charm her with his talk, she was content to think of marrying him. After he went away for further study (as Emile did after he was trothed to Sophy), Margaret began to remember Day's uncouth manners. The senior Edgeworth (father of Margaret and Richard) abetted Margaret's dissatisfaction. He could never consider Day a gentleman--in spite of all Day's money.

Later, both men (the younger Edgeworth and Day) fell in love with the same two sisters, the Sneyds: Honora first, and Elizabeth later. The much married Edgeworth won out in each instance. This was not so much through Edgeworth's own personal charm (which was considerable) as

¹Infra, annotation, Maria Edgeworth.
²Darton, op. cit., p. 146. See also Gignilliat, op. cit., p. 61.
through Day's obtuseness in demanding that any woman whom he married
must live up to the impossible rules he set up for life with a dream
woman. 1

Partly to insure that there would be such a dream woman, and
partly to experiment with Rousseau's ideas of raising children, Day
"adopted" two little foundling girls: Sabrina and Lucretia. Lucretia
turned out to be "not fit for learning." Day apprenticed her to a
"chamber milliner," gave her a fund of a few hundred pounds and by its
means she found herself a linen-draper husband with whom she was very
happy. 2 Much more happened to Sabrina, who was definitely "fit to
learn." 1

"In the summer of 1770 Day moved with Sabrina into a fine Georgian
building at Stowe Hill, 13 called Stowe House. Here Day became a part of
the "Lichfield Group" and the Lunar Society. The emphasis was upon
"being useful," political liberalism, humanitarianism, and experimenta-
tion. 4 All the members were experimenting with much success. If new
methods could revolutionize industry and science perhaps they might
revolutionize education. Rousseau's methods were new and at hand. Day

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1 Day did try to learn a few social graces for Elizabeth. While he
was on a year's visit to France with Edgeworth, he took dancing lessons.
He ridicules the torture he endured at their hands in his one other chil-
dren's book The History of Little Jack. Gignilliat, op. cit., pp. 96-
97. See also, Little Jack.

2 Ibid., p. 65.

3 Ibid., p. 67.

4 Among the members who became Day's staunch friends were Captain
James Keir, Dr. Darwin, and Dr. William Small. See Gignilliat, op. cit.,
p. 76, passim.
re-energized himself to using these methods "experimentally" on Sabrina. He would make this beautiful girl into a fit intellectual companion for himself.

He began by applying the methods mentioned by Rousseau with respect to boys,1 Sabrina adored him and obeyed him with docility. He discovered, however (after he had sent her away to board with a respectable woman for the sake of decorum), that she was neither as intellectual as he would wish, nor as immune to the fashions of the world as he expected. He began to believe that elevating people beyond their "born stations" was a waste, especially in the case of women. He did not change his opinion when Sabrina married his friend, Becknell.

Ultimately, Day found the right wife. She was Esther Milnes, an heiress, somewhat of a pedant, deeply religious, with a dream of an ideal man that was oddly in keeping with Day's dream of an ideal wife. She was not a meek carbon copy, and she was pretty. She lived the life that Day prescribed primarily because it was the way she, too, wanted to live.

Although the couple spent some time in travel, they permanently settled at an estate in Anningsley. They had no children of their own but they enjoyed other peoples' children. Two of the most important of these children, both in their part in educating them and in terms of the Days' affection for them were Maria Edgeworth2 and their nephew, Thomas Milnes.

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1Ibid., p. 83, for example, to make her fearless "he fired pistols, minus the balls, close to her ears."

2Maria's relationship with them is discussed at greater length, infra, annotation on Maria Edgeworth.
Gignilliat states: "Naturally enough, Day, from his attempts to educate children, acquired an interest in writing books for them." The Edgeworths encouraged that interest. His "lost" Honora, who had married Edgeworth and now had a four-year-old child, joined with her husband in writing a suitable book for the boy. They did not approve of most eighteenth century children's books but they had given him Mrs. Barbauld's *Easy Lessons.*

The Edgeworth's plan was to write an interesting story (then called a history) about a brother and sister named Harry and Lucy. Its time span was to cover all the stages of childhood containing elements of science and literature taught "as a part of each day's life." Part One was to cover two days' experiences. This part actually ends with the children reading stories to each other after breakfast. One of the stories was Mrs. Barbauld's about a little boy who gave some cake to a blind fiddler.

Day intended to write a short story which could be used in similar fashion in *Harry and Lucy.* Honora died, however, and her husband left the reader unfinished. Day continued with his story until it became the book, *Sandford and Merton.* Obviously it owes much "in its framework,  

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2This was a book intended to be read by three and four-year-olds. It was moral and useful. *Supra,* annotation on Letitia Barbauld, *Hymns in Prose.*


4*Supra,* annotation on Berquin, *The Children's Friend.* Note the resemblance.
methods, and incidents" to its progenitors, Mrs. Barbauld’s Lessons and Edgeworth’s Harry and Lucy.

Gignilliat states Day’s purpose in writing the book:

... to provide a suitable reading book for young children which would form and interest their minds. ... He hoped very much that it would please them. ... He hoped by it to instill into them all the hardy virtues which [he thought] a luxurious and effeminate older generation lacked. ... He was much influenced by his own tastes and philosophy ... [including his] interest in stern stoical patriots. ... 2

Day obtained many of his general characters and most of his story from a novelized Emile for adults called Fool of Quality. 3 A great deal of the background of Sandford and Merton, however, as well as some incidents and the descriptions of the children come from Day’s rural life at Anningsley. He enjoyed real-life children. He attempted to instruct them much in the manner that they were instructed in the story. And he believed that his laborers were worthy men who should receive continuous employment even in off seasons when there was little work to be done. 4

The three volumes of Sandford and Merton (as well as the abridgments) are concerned with the daily adventures of two boys. One is a little paragon of virtues, the other is the "Bad Boy" who fundamentally

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1Gignilliat, op. cit., pp. 262-263.

2Gignilliat, op. cit., p. 263 quotes Day as saying, "from their applause alone I shall estimate my success."

3Ibid., p. 264. See also Barry, op. cit., pp. 106-112. Barry also states that although it was not Day’s intent “the Bad Boy lives ... the real hero of Sandford and Merton.”

4Such beliefs are a part of Day’s crusader nature: he believed in the rights of man; he despised the idea of slavery; he championed the negro; but, paradoxically, he was against too many privileges for women, believing that if they had suffrage the world would be ruled by Amazons. See Gignilliat, op. cit., pp. 132-133, 334-335.
has a good nature much spoiled by adult mishandling of the child. These
adventures are interspersed with a loose jumble of fables, historical
anecdotes, and moral homilies. The overarching theme is the education
of the two boys according to Day's conception of Roussellian principles.

The "Bad Boy," Tommy Merton, is the son of a wealthy Jamaican
planter. Mr. and Mrs. Merton have returned to England so that their
overindulged son might receive a suitable education.

The "Good Boy," Harry Sandford, is the son of a prosperous but
spartan living farmer. Mr. Sandford has entrusted his son's education
to the hands of "wise" and "saintly" Mr. Barlow, the vicar of the neigh-
boring countryside.

As the story begins, Tommy and his nurse are on a walk in fields
adjoining the Merton's English estate. They are terrified by a poison-
ous snake that twines itself around Tommy's leg. Harry saves Tommy and
arouses the admiration and gratitude of Mr. Merton. Mrs. Merton is
grateful but not admiring. She is contemptuous and sneering of Harry's
way of life.

Mr. Merton has to overrule his wife's love of luxury and softness
before he can engage Mr. Barlow to teach Tommy at the same time that he
is teaching Harry. Tommy has a hard time of it. Mr. Barlow is often
cold to the spoiled and soft little "gentleman," until Tommy learns by
his own reasoning what is the right thing to do. The characters and
actions of the two boys are constantly and vividly contrasted. Mr.
Barlow finds that it is difficult (though not impossible) to reach the
innate goodness that lies in Tommy's heart. After much struggle, many
pages, and thousands of words, he finally brings Tommy up to the level
of Harry's Godliness and seemingly instinctive "right" action.

During the course of the story the vicar and his charges garden, go on walks, help the poor, read aloud to one another, and discuss weighty philosophical matters. Among the other stories told within the larger story is Androcles and the Lion.¹

A sample of Day's style and of Mr. Barlow's teaching method is as follows:

Mr. Barlow then came to call them in to read, and told Tommy that, as he had been talking so much about good nature to animals, he had looked him out a very pretty story upon the subject, and begged that he would read it well—"That I will," said Tommy, "for I begin to like reading extremely, and I think that I am happier, too, since I learned it; for now I can always divert myself." "Indeed," said Mr. Barlow, "Most people find it so..."

Tommy then read, with a clear and distinct voice, the following story of THE GOOD NATURED LITTLE BOY."²

Illustration for the story did not seem important until 1786. At that time "Stockdale commenced the custom of putting a frontispiece to each volume. For twenty-five years these frontispieces remained standard in Stockdale's three-volume editions... Other firms that began to publish the book after Day's death were not satisfied with mere frontispieces but interspersed illustrations through the volume which served to play up the action and adventure."³

¹For an example of how this is presented see The History of Sandford and Merton corrected and revised by Cecil Hartley (London: Routledge, n.d.), pp. 42-51.


³Ibid., p. 338.
Thomas Stothard designed the early frontispiece. He was a well-known painter who also did illustrations for Pilgrim's Progress (1788-89), Robinson Crusoe (1790), Vicar of Wakefield (1792), and Watts' Songs Divine and Moral for the Use of Children (1832).¹

Cecil Hartley exemplifies the Victorian attitude that was taken towards the need for a different type of illustration. In his preface² to his edition of Sandford and Merton he writes: "The illustrations... will, it is presumed, be found more in accordance with existing taste than with that of the times which are past." However, the "numerous" small black and white engravings of the Hartley edition are not signed.

It was inevitable that a book so well known, so formal in language, with such moralizing and priggish characters would become a target for satire. In 1882, F. C. Burnand published his New History of Sandford and Merton. All of the original characters appeared with no saving graces. Spoiled Tommy never became good. Harry was hypocritical instead of good and encouraged Tommy in his devilry. Mr. Barlow was selfish and brutal. Day's pet ideas were satirized.³ The burlesque became better known than the original and literary historians referred to it with amusement.

Gignilliat feels, however, that in spite of all its faults, "in its solemn way the original had a good many of the credentials of a classic."⁴

¹Eaton in Mahoney, op. cit., p. 18. Also Mahoney, op. cit., p. 440.
²Cecil Hartley's History of Sandford and Merton, op. cit., p. v.
⁴Ibid., p. 344.
Ca. 1783 Fenn, Eleanor, (Frere) Lady ("Mrs. Teachwell," pseud.).

Cobwebs to Catch Flies; or, Dialogues in Short Sentences
Adapted to Children from the Age of Three to Eight Years.

Exhibiting the longest life of all her many works and the most frequently pirated, Cobwebs was a very near relation to Mrs. Barbauld's Lessons for Children. It exemplifies the type of work done so painstakingly by a group of gentlewomen writers of the late 1700's. It is possible that Lady Fenn's work was the most outstanding of that done by the gentle group of women who, although didactic, were not militant. Her popularity, and hence the importance of her publisher, challenged other publishers "Who went out of their way to find writers . . . " of this "minor" moral school.2

The "J" (or John) Marshall who is believed to be the publisher of this work, was a printer and bookseller at 4 Aldermary Churchyard, Bow Lane. About 1787 he began to operate another shop at 17 Queen Street, Cheapside, and transferred his business to 140 Fleet Street in 1805.3

1Darton, op. cit., p. 168. Supra, annotation of Letitia Barbauld and Thomas Day.

2Ibid., p. 168. Muir, op. cit., p. 84, emphasizes the difference between the women who were gentle (Lady Fenn, the Kilner sisters, Mrs. Pilkington, Priscilla Wakefield) and the women whom he calls "monstrous": Mrs. Barbauld, Mrs. Trimmer, and Mrs. Fairchild. Annotations below discuss each of these writers.

3St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 485.
Darton, Muir, and Thwaite each cite Marshall as this important publisher but the dates they give for the beginning of his establishment vary.

Whichever John Marshall published Cobwebs, St. John believes that "these volumes were possibly an experiment of the publisher's" in a day when books meant to be amusing for small children were still a novelty.

Welch identifies his first located American copy as one published by Johnson and Warner, 1813, in Philadelphia. Rosenbach lists a New York, 1834 edition. This is a Mahlon Day publication replete with self advertising (as was the custom) especially in the illustrations.

Although there have not been many copies of Cobwebs located in

1Darton, op. cit., p. 168 states 'Marshall's pre-eminence lasted from about 1780 to 1800.'

2Muir, op. cit., p. 83 devotes a paragraph at the top of the page identifying a "mystery" about the Marshall family as publishers. John Marshall began to publish as early as 1695.

3Thwaite, op. cit., p. 70 in discussing the minor moralists places the publishing dates of John Marshall for these people as beginning in 1780. On p. 86 she reaffirms this statement.

4Judith St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 485, identifies a Richard Marshall of 4 Aldermary Churchyard who "was probably succeeded by John Marshall." It is evident that in many cases it is almost impossible to have "certain bibliography." However, in the light of St. John's painstaking research and considering that Welch in each of the parts of his bibliography cites her, the writer of this work takes St. John as final authority.

5St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 117.

6Welch, op. cit., D-G, p. 552, n. 372. Welch gives clues for an interested student to pursue; for example, Cobwebs was included in another work by M. J. Kilner (a minor moralist discussed below) as advertised in another work cited by Welch on p. 566 of his Bibliography D-G. To follow up this clue is beyond the scope of this work.

7Rosenbach, op. cit., p. 279, n. 791.
America, nevertheless, some "Yankee" children did read Lady Fenn. From
the slight evidence presented, however, it would appear that American
children did not receive these volumes until many years after English
children did.

Eleanor Frere, Lady Fenn, always wrote anonymously. Three of her
pseudonyms were Mrs. Teachwell, Mrs. Lovechild, and Solomon Lovechild.
Her husband was the antiquary Sir John Fenn, first editor of the Paston
letters. In 1787, "He was knighted for his gift of the Paston manuscript
to George III." The Fenns were a childless couple who liked children
and so Lady Fenn wrote for their nieces and nephews. The first books
were "actually made by her, bindings and all."2

Like so many of her colleagues, Lady Fenn was interested in better-
ing the social conditions of the poor and in the education of all chil-
dren. She set up Sunday schools in her village and she revived the
cottage spinning industry.3

She wrote numerous works. St. John lists twelve of these.4 She
even invented a "Game of Grammar," following Locke's principles.

Darton makes the observation that in some respects these women
writers (such as Lady Fenn) did not follow Locke's educational principles
so much as he [Locke] tailored his educational philosophy to fit what

1The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 252. See also: Welch, op.
cit., D-G, p. 553.
2Darton, op. cit., p. 168.
3Ibid., p. 168.
4The Osborne Collection, op. cit., pp. 117, 118, 199, 253, 254.
It is probable that many of Lady Fenn's publications have not been located.
English mothers had been doing for generations.  

Lady Fenn managed to put into print her own philosophy of education and, in some respects, her opinion of the Georgian Age. St. John transcribed some of her beliefs:

Children listen with avidity to tales—let us give them none but rational information . . . amuse them with real wonders [Madame de Genlis said this too] . . . but no deceit; tell them plain simple truth . . . banishing all fabulous narratives. . . 2

The books read by the little tenants of the nursery, assist, no doubt, in forming their matured characters: consequently the task of writing for young children is one of the utmost importance; and those who undertake it should never lose sight of the one great object— which is to plant, and to promote the growth of moral principles in the youthful mind.3

A comment about the society in which she lived comes in a dedicatory letter with which she prefaced a book for boys:

May God preserve you blameless amidst a crooked and perverse generation.4

The two volumes of Cobwebs are both very small. Volume I contains short anecdotes using words up to six syllables. Volume II, in the same fashion, in ascending order uses words of from one to four syllables. Being intended for the child who was beginning to read, it could and was used by mothers, nurses, big sisters, and others who were concerned with children ranging in age from three to eight. The sentences are short in both volumes. In the second volume, however, the concern is more for

1Darton, op. cit., p. 168.
2St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 199.
3Ibid., p. 253.
giving good advice than in teaching a child to read. For example, some
children are at a fair. Little Ned wants to ride the "toss about" but
his older brother will not let him because their mother will not approve.
It is surprising that Ned let himself be persuaded for "his heart danced
to the notes" as he heard the children on the "toss about" singing.¹

The conversation of the two boys is thus:

Ned: How happy I am to have an older brother who is so
  prudent.

James: I am no less happy that you are so willing to
  be advised.²

In early editions each volume had copperplate frontispieces and
oval headpieces. The Osborne Collection contains two editions (1800 and
1815). In these the illustrations are almost the same. There are these
exceptions in the later edition:

... the ladies¹ hats and dresses in the copperplate
frontispieces have been changed to the current fashion;
three headpieces are different, three are omitted; tail-
pieces are included, two of which are signed Bewick.³

The illustrations in the Mahlon Day edition of Cobwebs "are not
copied from those of the English edition.⁴ As was previously mentioned
in this annotation, Day, following the custom of other publishers, adver-
tised himself. He included a woodcut illustration of his own Juvenile
Book Store complete with the street number 372.

¹Eleanor Fenn [Lady], Cobwebs To Catch Flies ... Two Volumes
(London: John Marshall, ca. 1800), not paged.

²Ibid.

³St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 118.

⁴Rosenbach, op. cit., p. 279, n. 791.
Kilner, Dorothy. *The Life and Perambulations of a Mouse.*

One of the best of the animal moralities of this period, certainly the best piece of fiction by this author.¹ These rather merry adventures are important in the development of the animal story as it is known in the twentieth century.

John Marshall, rival publisher of the Newberys, printed over seventy works of the most important of the minor moral writers for children.²

Dorothy Kilner used the pseudonyms M. P. and Mary Pelham. "M. P." stands for Maryland Point, the quiet little Essex village near London (now a part of London) in which the Kilners lived. "Mary Pelham" was adopted to correspond with the initials. This is linked in historical reference with Mary Jane Kilner. Some authorities state that they were sisters.³ Some say that Mary Jane was "Mrs." Kilner, a sister-in-law.⁴ Whatever the relationship, they wrote the same kind of books and for several years it was difficult to determine who wrote which title.⁵

Dorothy wrote for her brother's children who grew up around her in

¹Darton, op. cit., p. 164; Thwaite, op. cit., p. 187
²See annotation of Lady Fenn, supra and infra, of Mary Jane Kilner.
³E. g., Thwaite, op. cit., pp. 70-71.
⁴E. g., Barry, op. cit., p. 127. Also infra, annotation of Mary Jane Kilner.
⁵Family letters appear to be used as evidence in the final decision for neither of the women signed her own name to any book.
Maryland Point. Although she wrote several works of a religious nature for children, she appeared to delight in her fiction, wanting to amuse the children. She was an aunt who played games; loved singing, rhymes and riddles, told stories; and enjoyed small nosegays of hedge flowers picked by little hands.

She became acquainted with Mrs. Trimmer¹ and often sent manuscripts for approval to that stern lady. One of her books, The Village School was possibly written to give Mrs. Trimmer material for children to read in her Brentwood Sunday schools.² In spite of this literary association, Dorothy appears to have led a quiet village life not indulging in obvious good works. Her stories grew naturally out of this happy and uneventful life.

Although the Kilners were not militant in their beliefs, they did hold the strong opinions of their day concerning good behavior for children, the necessity for becoming a good reader, and kindness to all dumb animals. These themes recur with great frequency in their works. The first and last of these themes are obvious in the piece of fiction under discussion.

Darton describes his viewpoint about this work in the following statement:

Her best story for children, The Life and Perambulations of a Mouse, begins with an easy freshness hardly to be seen until Alice appeared eighty years or so later.³

¹Infra, annotation, Mrs. Trimmer.
²Barry, op. cit., p. 128.
³Darton, op. cit., p. 169.
It is easy to follow his reasoning. The story opens with the author enjoying a house party at a pleasant house called Meadow Hall. It is full of lively children. After games and romps, everyone wants a story. The trick is that each person must write the story of his life. The author modestly says that she has nothing exciting in her life about which to write. Just then a tiny voice speaks up. It belongs to Nimble, a very precocious but soft and downy little mouse who delights the children. He has a tale to tell, and he dictates it to the author.

Like Peter Rabbit of a much later date, Nimble is one of four furry little brothers and sisters whose mother has to go off and leave them alone. She charges each of them, Nimble, Longtail, Softdown, and Brighteyes, to be good little mice. But, of course, this is impossible. They get into all kinds of scrapes and some of them are quite unkind. They eat a poor woman's only cake. They chew up the only candle of an old man who cannot see his way to bed without it. They thrill at their first sight of that wicked enemy, a cat. They tease the children and keep them awake at night. They startle a footman. Nimble even buries himself deliciously in a plum cake.

During the course of these and other adventures they act like real outlaws. This, of course, is a part of the appeal to children, even though the description of each act has a moral appended to it. As is the case in all children's stories in which there are strong contrasts between the powers of good and evil, almost every offending character is punished. By the end of Volume II three little mice have met their deaths. Only Nimble is left to tell the sad but exciting tale. He hides in a tin canister.
For the first time in children's stories animals are seen as having feelings, as personified in the way a child personifies them in his play. The moralizing is not too obvious. It would have been even less obvious to the Georgian child who expected that everybody would naturally preach "at" him.

Mrs. Trimmer, who was quite severe in her criticism of contemporary literature for children, softened enough to write a good review in her magazine, The Guardian of Education. She describes the story as:

One of the prettiest and most instructive books that can be found for young readers. A book, indeed, which mothers and even grandmothers may read with interest and pleasure. ¹

The first volume, in its preface, was dated April 13, 1783. The second volume, written some months later, was dated April 13, 1784. This contained further adventures of Nimble and Longtail. Many later editions had the two volumes bound together.²

Early Marshall editions were illustrated by wood engravings attributed to John Bewick.³ Later publishers sometimes selected from the Bewick woodcuts to illustrate their editions.

1783 Kilner, Mary Jane. The Adventures of a Pincushion.

"Designed Chiefly for the Use of Young Ladies." By S. S.


¹As quoted by Judith St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 273.

²Ibid., p. 273. Charlotte Yonge (who is discussed in this work, Victorian Regime, below) included the story in Volume I of her collection called A Storehouse of Stories.

³Ibid., p. 319.
One of the best and most popular of the Georgian minor moral tales, "all very much of a piece . . . [in which] the pivot of the story is a child, a mouse, a peg-top, or a pincushion . . . . "¹

John Marshall, one of the leading publishers of children's books at the time, was the only known publisher for the Kilners during their lives.²

These women writers were fairly well educated, certainly well read. Because of the inspiration derived from their reading, they often modeled their writings upon the once novel ideas of earlier writers for adults. Barry is of the opinion that such writers as Mary Jane Kilner in writing "adventures of things" derived this idea from Charles Johnstone's novel, Chrysal; or, The Adventures of a Guinea.³

If small coins might be supposed to talk as well as great ones (and moralists saw no reason against it), a silver threepence,⁴ the equivalent of a guinea in juvenile commerce, could relate transactions at the Village Shop or at the corner of St. Paul's churchyard which, if less thrilling than the guinea's, were more creditable to those concerned.⁵

Mary Jane Kilner knew children well enough to realize that those objects which a child carried about with himself would have the greatest

¹Muir, op. cit., p. 84. Muir goes on to say that "they are all variations on similar themes," hence, this one is representative of its type within a type; e.g., Mary Jane also wrote Memoirs of a Peg-Top.

²See annotation immediately above for a discussion of the Kilners, their relationship and of John Marshall, their publisher.

³Barry, op. cit., p. 144.

⁴The Adventures of a Silver Threepence cited by Barry, ibid., p. 144 with a reference to a discussion of other "adventures" of things in her Appendix A, VI.

⁵Ibid., p. 144.
fascination for him if they were to talk. These could be a doll, a top, a pincushion. A pincushion was an object that every little girl owned in the eighteenth century.

American children had this (and other Kilner stories) not long after their original publication. Rosenbach cites the first Worcester edition of The Pincushion as being published by Isaiah Thomas in 1788.¹ He quotes the quatrain which introduces the story:

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Imagination here supplies
What nature's sparing hand denies;
And by her magick powers dispense
To meanest objects, thought and sense.²
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The verse illuminates the author's motive which she explains in her preface: "That of presenting the juvenile reader with a few pages which should be innocent of corrupting, if they did not amuse."³ However, Mrs. Kilner not only did intend to amuse but she succeeded.

She also succeeded in sustaining the view of the narrator, the pincushion. Properly, such an article should be in the pocket of its little mistress. The pincushion had been taken out of the child's pocket and was put into a workbag. By mistake it was loaned to a visiting seamstress, carried off in other pockets to other houses. The pincushion could relate only what it saw or heard. For example, it described the Green Parlour in great detail, emphasizing that everything in it was green: walls, carpet, and even the furniture. However, when the ladies went in to dinner, the pincushion could not tell what they talked about

¹Rosenbach, op. cit., p. 58 n. 131.
²Ibid., p. 131.
³Ibid., p. 131.
nor what happened for it was left upon a piece of embroidery.

Although the pincushion frankly gossips, and enjoys it, the author is afraid of being too biting and satirical. She feels that this is not seemly in a book for children, that ridicule is not to be used on children. She does have a gentle humor akin to satire, however, which the woodcuts emphasize.

All illustrations for her books are attributed to the Bewicks. Rosenbach explains that all of the woodcuts in the Worcester edition are from those in the English edition, which were by John Bewick. The cut on page 57 of the Worcester edition is reproduced by E. Pearson in Banbury Chapbooks and described as early John Bewick.\footnote{Rosenbach, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 59. Halsey, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 109 assigns this story to Dorothy Kilner. This points out the difficulty in assessing correct bibliography. The writer of this work is using the authority of Osborne, Ramsey, Thwaite, Rosenbach, Muir, Barry, and Darton for the assigning of authorship to the Kilner titles.}


The third important book in the evolution of the nursery rhyme as it is known in the twentieth century.\footnote{Supra, annotation of \textit{Mother Goose's Melody}.} Many familiar rhymes found their way into print for the first time in this book.
Harding and Wright were printers in St. John's Square, Clerkenwell. John Wright (1770-1807), 'an excellent printer and a worthy man' was succeeded by his brother Joseph Wright who died in 1809. The Baring-Goulds give the address as 37 St. James Street. No information is given about 'R. Triphook,' the person to whom the license was assigned. The name sounds pseudonymous. It is possible that it was Joseph Ritson, himself.

Barry lists the publishing data as "Stockton, Christopher, and Jennett, n.d." As there were three important editions of *Gammer Gurton*, 1784, ca. 1799, and 1810, Barry may be quoting an undated later publication.

The Opies trace these editions as follows:

The first collector to be inspired by *The Melody* was Joseph Ritson. Ritson was a literary antiquary of some repute, a collector of old songs who did not feel he had to "improve" upon them. He had bought a copy of *The Melody* in 1781, and soon afterwards was urging his nephew to collect verses. Altogether there are seventy-nine pieces in his *Gammer Gurton's Garland;* or, *The Nursery Parnassus*, 1784. This collection was reprinted with some small alterations, perhaps in 1799, and then lay unnoticed until seven years after his death when in 1810, one of Ritson's publishers

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1St. John in *The Osborne Collection*, op. cit., p. 477.
3Barry, op. cit., p. 200.
4In lieu of the fact that the Wrights died before the revised and enlarged 1810 edition, Stockton (or Christopher and Jennett) may be the successors. The bibliography is uncertain.
5Mother Goose's Melody, see this work, annotation above.
6The Opies state that since Ritson himself refers to 1784 as being the date of his first edition, there is no doubt about the date's authenticity. Targ, op. cit., p. 309.
produced a much enlarged edition, arranged in four parts; Parts I and II being identical with the first edition (not the second), while Parts III and IV formed valuable supplements.  

Ritson, a highly eccentric and irascible man, was born October 2, 1752, at Stockton-Upon-Tees, Durham. He was educated to become a lawyer but had more interest in English poetry than he had in English law. He was painstaking in his literary work and his demand for accuracy in historians and other writers. He made a vicious attack upon Thomas Warren's History of English Poetry (ca. 1774-1781). The fact that Warren was made England's poet laureate in 1785 did not deter Ritson who felt that he was correct in his judgment.

There are speculations as to who was the contributor of material to Parts III and IV. The Baring-Goulds believe that it was a Francis Douce who took his material from Infant Institutes, "a spoof of Shakespearean comment in terms of a 'learned' essay on nursery rhymes ascribed to the Reverend B. N. Turner . . . a close friend of Sam Johnson."  

The Opies believe that this contributor might have been Douce who was also the ex-keeper of manuscripts in the British Museum. However, they state that on the other hand "it may have been Joseph Haslewood, Ritson's biographer."  

Although many now familiar rhymes first made their appearance in  

1Ibid., p. 309. For a further "history" of the development of the nursery rhyme see annotation of Original Ditties for the Nursery, infra.  


3Targ, op. cit., p. 310. The Opies also comment about Turner. He did not use a source book for his rhymes. He relied on his memory which makes his rhymes different.
the 1784 part of the collection Barry believes that two of them played a great part in developing fine poetry for boys and girls (poetry as considered apart from the nursery rhyme itself). The first of these begins:

Can you make me a cambrick shirt,
Parsley, sage, rosemary, and thyme?
Without any seam or needle work?
And you shall be a true lover of mine.¹

The other is the Christmas Carol:

God bless the master of this house
The mistress also
And all the little children
That round the table go

Other familiar rhymes² are:

1. "A man of words and not of deeds
   Is like a garden, full of weeds."¹

2. "Here stands a fist,
   Who set it there?"

3. "The man in the moon
   Came tumbling down."

4. "A dillar, a dollar,
   A ten o'clock scholar."¹

5. "Hark, hark, the dogs do bark
   The beggars are coming to town."²

6. "I had a little moppet,
   I put it in my pocket."¹

¹Barry, op. cit., p. 200. The Baring-Goulds comment that while Ritson "called this a little English song sung by children and maids," scholars have traced it to a tale in the fourteenth century Gesta Romanorum." Baring-Gould, op. cit., p. 80.

²Barry, op. cit., p. 200. Barry then shows the influence such verse had upon later serious poets for children, pp. 200, 201 passim.

³As identified by first lines or couplets.

⁴In Georgian England the beggars were a real threat.
7. "There was an old woman who lived in a shoe."
8. "Goose-a-goose-a-gander,
   Where shall I wander?"
9. "Old woman, old woman, shall we go a shearing?"
10. "If all the world was apple pie."
11. "Yankee Doodle came to town."
12. "Little Bo-Peep."
13. "I love a sixpence."

There are also several "Dusty Miller" verses, several "Doctor Foster" rhymes, some verses with allusions not meant for children, as well as others of less familiarity.

Beatrix Potter, years later, in The Tale of Timmy Tiptoes made use of the rhyme: "A little old man and I fell out, how shall we bring this matter about?" She uses it in her story by saying, "Down inside the woodpecker's tree, a fat squirrel voice sang this together."^2

The book was illustrated by woodcuts of unidentified origin.

1785 Raspe, Rudolph Erich. The Surprising Travels and Adventures of Baron Munchausen. . . . Humbly dedicated to Mr. Bruce, the Abyssinian Traveller . . . London: Published for the booksellers. ICU - B, MID - CH, MIDW - CH, OOrx M, W1UM - LS, Ca OTP. 1. Nonsense. Tall Tales.

^1Surprisingly enough this did not appear first in America. However, the Gurton version is not the same as the American. See Baring-Gould, op. cit., pp. 93-94.

^2As quoted by the Baring-Goulds, ibid., p. 82 n. 21. The rhymes and their explications can be found on pp. 75-99.
"A book of extravagant absurdity in prose very popular in the nineteenth century... nonsense... to amuse young readers."

It is possible that the 1785 publisher was H. D. Symonds of Paternoster Row, London. He imprudent in a time of worry over Jacobinism and sedition, Symonds 'was imprisoned for publishing political works.'

The first edition contained what, in later editions, was only Chapters II-VI. Still later editions came out in two volumes. Other editions varied in length from about 300 pages down to 76 pages or less. The story was translated into many languages and had worldwide popularity.

'Rudolph Eric Raspe (1737-1794) was a German by birth, who became disgraced in his own country and fled to England. It is reputed that his German crime was stealing jewels. His own life was so unusual that Sir Walter Scott used anecdotes from it for the character Dousterswivel in his Antiquary.

A Baron Munchausen actually existed but did not carry out the feats reputed to him in Raspe's account. The author merely borrowed his name for the tall tales which the Baron was supposed to have recounted.

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1. Thwaite, op. cit., p. 129. Written in English, not a translation.
2. Discussed in St. John's annotation concerning the second volume.
3. Ibid., p. 497.
6. Rosenbach, op. cit., p. 287. St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 292, adds that Scott's idea came from Raspe's "attempt to defraud John Sinclair, father of Catherine Sinclair." (Catherine is discussed in this work, chapter on the Victorian Regime, annotations.)
during wine drinking bouts. According to St. John, "Raspe culled his material from Lucian's True History and various other sources."  

The incredible stories include feasting on live bulls, a crocodile swallowing a lion's head, a horse being tied to a church steeple in a snow storm, voyaging to the moon (incredible in 1785), building an iron bridge of one arch from Africa to Great Britain, etc.

The book was highly regarded by well known people. Florence Nightingale gave a copy to her nephew, Louis, in 1879. Well known artists illustrated various editions of it. For example: Gustave Doré illustrated an adaptation of the text of the first edition put out by Cassell, Petter, and Galpin of London in 1866. Doré was a French painter of mid-Victorian times whose illustrations were famous for their weird and grotesque humor.

An 1868 edition put out by William Tegg of London had six woodcuts by George Cruikshank whose Grimm's Goblins and other ludicrous figures are notable.

There was even an 1810 edition published by R. Harrild of London with plates and a vignette ascribed to Bewick.

\[1\text{ibid.}, \ p. \ 292.\]
\[2\text{ibid.}, \ p. \ 292.\]
\[3\text{ibid.}, \ p. \ 292.\]
\[4\text{ibid.}, \ p. \ 443.\]
\[5\text{ibid.}, \ p. \ 292.\]
\[6\text{Infra, chapter on Victorian Regime, annotation, George Cruikshank.}\]
\[7\text{St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 292.}\]
"The Baron" even travelled to America. Rosenbach lists a twenty-fourth American edition, "Enlarged, corrected, and improved" published in Baltimore by Lucas and Wright in 1836.\(^1\)

It is interesting and perhaps a relief to note that in an age of intense moralism there was a breath of the ludicrous read by child and adult alike with little fear of contamination even though its author was a notorious rogue. It was a precursor of the nonsense for the nursery that was to come soon after the beginning of the nineteenth century.


The first and best of many fictionalized bird stories for children in which the birds are given human characteristics. Important also as (paradoxically) being the only imaginative work of the most militant of women moral writers and educators of the late Georgian period.

Thomas Longman is cited by most of the authorities as being the publisher of the 1786 edition of **Fabulous Histories.** This long-lived firm, still in existence in the twentieth century, was begun by the original publishing Thomas Longman in 1724. A nephew and a grandnephew of

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\(^1\) Rosenbach, op. cit., pp. 286, 287, n. 814.

\(^2\) Although the dedicatory letter is dated November 3, 1785, the authorities generally concede that the publication year is 1786: Darton, p. 159; Muir, p. 94; Thwaite, p. 188.
the same given and surnames were active in the firm at the time Fabulous Histories was published.¹

The Robinson's (G. G. J. and J.)² were in business at 25 Paternoster Row. This publishing house was begun by Cumberland George Robinson who, after London apprenticeship to John Rivington, became known as the "King of the Booksellers." George Jr. and George Sr.'s brother John were the successors in the business at what would seem to be the time Fabulous Histories was published.³

The third person listed in the bibliographic detail at the head of this annotation is benevolent Joseph Johnson, originally of Liverpool. His well known place of business, moved after a fire in 1770, was at 72 St. Paul's Churchyard.⁴ He published many of the most eminent writers of the day from the poet Cowper, the feminist Mary Wollstonecraft,⁵ through the prolific Maria Edgeworth.⁶

Mrs. Trimmer herself is important as: 1) "a pioneer in the education of small children through the use of pictures"⁷; 2) a critic of

¹The information about the Longmans can be found in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 484. The conjecture about which Longman published Fabulous Histories is a deduction of the writer of this work.

²Listed with Longman as co-publishers of the 1786 edition by St. John in The Osborne Collection, ibid., p. 314.

³Ibid., p. 493.

⁴Ibid., p. 480.

⁵Infra, annotation, Mary Wollstonecraft.

⁶Infra, annotation, Maria Edgeworth.

⁷Muir, op. cit., p. 87. This is through the illustrated series of Sacred Histories, etc., not through this story.
children's literature whose reviews influenced the coming generation of "lady" moral writers for children both in England and the United States;¹
3) a prime force in the establishment of Sunday schools and Sunday school libraries after the manner of Robert Raikes.²

Darton's statement about Mrs. Trimmer is both amusing and shrewd in his analysis of her rank among the Georgian writers:

The importance of Sarah Trimmer is that she was important. With fair but not overwhelming social advantages, and . . . no peculiar intellectual eminence, she made herself, in respect of her writings for and about children, completely typical of the non-political, undoctinaire English upper middle class. She was much more the mirror of the average than Maria Edgeworth, and yet in practical affairs both more eager and more distinguished than her literary contemporaries, the Kliners, . . . Aiken, Barbauld, . . . as a specialist in children, on firmer ground, at that time than Lamb or Blake. . . .

She stood for all the solidarity which defeated Napoleon by not understanding him or realizing how huge was the menace of change. Stupid and intelligent at once . . . devout, and at the same time of great kindliness--she lived an honourable career with no doubts of herself or hesitation about public conduct.³

Contrast this with Muir's description of her, "This preposterous woman. . . ."⁴

Born Sarah Kirby at Ipswich on January 6, 1741, Mrs. Trimmer was brought up under the careful guidance of a father who was a man of good

¹Mrs. Trimmer was so negative in her denouncement of imaginative literature that twentieth century specialists do not like to consider her as a critic. Barry calls her a "censor" rather than a critic. Barry, op. cit., p. 241.

²Supra, Georgian Age, Historical Background; Robert Raikes and the Sunday School Movement.


⁴Muir, op. cit., p. 87.
standing, an engraver and artist specializing in architectural drawings. He was a close friend of [the artists] Hogarth, Reynolds, and Gainsborough. Gainsborough, in fact, asked to buried by his side.1

Mr. Kirby rigidly trained his daughter in the art of writing.2 He saw to it that by the time she was ten she wrote in the style of the adults of their period. Through his friends she met Dr. Johnson who gave her a copy of the Rambler. Then she began to model her writing after its style.3

In 1762 she married James Trimmer of Brentford. They had twelve children, six daughters and six sons. It was at the urging of these children that she wrote Fabulous Histories. Most of the background of the story takes place in their home there. Although she sometimes forayed out to not far distant parts of the country, she lived the rest of her home life at Brentford.4

She did not begin to evidence interest in education until she became aware of the need of it for her fast growing family. Then she expanded her interest to take in the education of other people.

She was sharply aroused by Robert Raisel's experimentations with

1Darton, op. cit., p. 159.

2See the annotation on Maria Edgeworth below. Compare this with Mr. Edgeworth's training of his daughter.

3Barry, op. cit., p. 136. Barry notes that Sarah was fifteen when she first met Johnson. She impressed him in conversation, especially because she was carrying a copy of Paradise Lost in her pocket. She referred to this copy as authority for her argument in the discussion. Supra, Historical Background, Customs, for a description of a lady's pocket in Georgian Days.

4Darton, op. cit., p. 160. She died there on December 15, 1810.
Sunday schools. Going beyond his efforts, she started schools at Brentford. She tried her hand at writing material for Sunday school children to read, urging her writer friends also to contribute original reading material. Through this concern she began to put out her "Series of Prints" of both sacred and profane history which were largely made up of copperplates with small lessons in text to accompany the pictures.

She became so famous for her educational wisdom that Queen Charlotte invited her to Windsor Castle in 1786 for a discussion about the future of Sunday schools. In 1787 she founded "a school of industry" at Brentford which was only the beginning of her devotion to this and similar works most of which were connected with the established Church of England.

At this time, France was in a state of turmoil and England was full of refugees. Mrs. Trimmer was afraid of Jacobinism, irreligion, and sedition. She feared for the very life of England. When Joseph Lancaster started a school modeled on the principles of Andrew Bell's use of monitors for discipline but with no religion, Mrs. Trimmer was completely aroused. She was certain that schools without religion were ready instruments "of sedition and rebellion." Even good King George had blessed a whole group of schools organized on the Lancaster plan. She felt that such action proved to her satisfaction her constant statement that "the greatest injury the youth of this nation [England] had ever received was from the introduction of Rousseau's system."²

¹Darton, op. cit., p. 163.
²Ibid., p. 163.
There was a hot debate about the ideas of Bell and Lancaster all over the country. The magazines took it up and lampooned everyone concerned with words and cartoons. Mrs. Trimmer received her share of invectives. If it had not been for the popularity of Fabulous Histories and the influence her two magazines (The Family Magazine, 1778-1789, for the lower classes; The Guardian of Education, 1802-1804, for everyone), her championship of Bell would have meant nothing. She would have been only "an excited old lady at Brentford."2

As it was, two influential societies arose from this conflict. One was the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church. The other was The British and Foreign School Society. Darton claims that England's later elementary school system is based on the second of these two societies.3

It was in The Guardian of Education that Mrs. Trimmer voiced her distaste and fear of the fairy tale. She singled out "Cinderella" as the prime target for her attack. She felt that, among other things, such tales encouraged vanity, false values, envy, pride, and lack of consideration for others. Such books as Robinson Crusoe (in her opinion) led to rambling and not attending to business. She had forgotten that even as a too adult child, she had read and enjoyed everything that she now condemned.4

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1 Bell was depicted as a bell; Lancaster as a dragon.
2 ibid., p. 163.
3 ibid., p. 163.
4 Thwaite, op. cit., p. 187; Barry, op. cit., p. 241; Muir, op. cit., p. 81; Meigs, op. cit., p. 78.
Fortunately, Mrs. Trimmer could, at least temporarily, indulge in fanciful moments with her children. Being an advocate of Locke's principles of education she strongly believed in fables. If a fable contained fancy since it also contained a moral, it was above reproach. *Fabulous Histories*, in her mind, was made up of a series of very instructive fables. Children recognize the playful and fanciful touches which make these "fables" endearing. They, perhaps, also intuit the idea that both fancy and fable in *Fabulous Histories* sprang from the pleasant daily hours that Mrs. Trimmer spent with her children.

Mrs. Trimmer and the children were in the habit of taking nature walks. She taught them to be observant of all living things and that it was their duty to care for all animals. The children evidently had many pets for they constantly wished that their own cats, dogs, and birds could talk, explaining that it would be such fun to have conversations with them.\(^1\)

Mrs. Trimmer had been so rigidly trained that she was unable to talk naturally as other people did. She conversed. Consequently, in her story about the Robin family (*Fabulous Histories*), she had the robins converse. This did not disturb the Trimmer children for they were used to the prissy ways of their basically kind and loving mother.

Even though Mrs. Trimmer adopted names previously used by Newbery when she named the birds, she shows the kind of feeling that small children have in choosing names for pets. She called the fledglings Robin, Dicksy, Flapsy, and Pecksy. The human family is named Benson. But the

\(^1\)It is this writer's observation that twentieth century children feel the same way.
robins do not understand from a human point of view. They look on the Bensons as monstrous beings.

One day when the mother robin was away from the nest, Robin saw one of these monsters for the first time. In his words:

... suddenly we heard a noise against the wall, and presently a great round red face appeared before the nest, with a pair of enormous staring eyes, a very large beak, and below that a wide mouth with two rows of bones that looked as if they could grind us all to pieces in an instant. About the top of this round face, and down the sides, hung something black, but not like feathers...1

This is also from the child's point of view. He is a lilliputian in an adult world. For once, Mrs. Trimmer let herself remember this even though in the next breath she insisted upon pointing a moral. When one of the children hurries to feed his birds without speaking to his family, Mrs. Benson reminds him that he is as dependent upon his family for care as the birds are dependent upon him. Nevertheless, the children are entranced by the way the birds learn in the story; there are singing lessons, flying lessons, a first thrilling view of an unexpectedly large world—the orchard.

James2 reproduces a page of one edition of Fabulous Histories which exemplifies the need of the moralist's constant admonishment about kindness to animals. The reproduction shows both picture and text. In the picture, two little boys are in the process of throwing kittens from the balcony of a definitely upper middle class house,3 The text reads:

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1Trimmer, op. cit., p. 67. See also Barry, op. cit., p. 38. The "monster" was only the friendly gardener.

2Philip James, Children's Books of Yesterday (London: The Studio, 1933).

3Ibid., p. 29.
... we tied bladders to each side of their necks, and then flung them from the top of the house. There was an end of their purring and mewing for some time, I assure you, for they lay a long while struggling and gasping for breath; ... but at last up they jumped, and away they ran scampering. Then out came little Jemmy crying as if he had flown down himself because we hurt the poor cats; he had a dog running after him ... we caught the gentleman and drove him before us into a narrow lane, and then ran hooting after him into the village; a number of boys joined us, and cried out as we did, a mad dog! A mad dog! On this, several people pursued him with cudgels and broomsticks, and at last he was shot by a man, but not dead, so others came and knocked him about the head until he expired. ... 1

James explains that this scene "is introduced so that the author may give a lecture on the line of conduct which ought to regulate the actions of human beings towards those over whom the SUPREME GOVERNOR has given them dominion." 2

Mrs. Trimmer's influence was so great that, unhappily, a great many women imitated the moralizing of Fabulous Histories and neglected the child's eye viewpoint. Halsey has two statements to make about this aspect of the Trimmer influence on America:

1. [She] ... represents the religious emotionalism pervading Sunday school libraries ... [which spread through America]. 3

2. [She] ... exemplifies the transitional stage to the labor-in-play school of writing which was to invade the American nursery in the next century when Parley and Abbott thrived upon the proceeds of the educational narrative. 4

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1 ibid., p. 29. The text in the Histories is on one page and the picture on the facing page but both are numbered 72.

2 ibid., p. 29.

3 Halsey, op. cit., p. 129.

4 ibid., p. 129.
In later editions of *Fabulous Histories* (called simply *The History of the Robins*) not only is the style trimmed of all its artificiality but the moralizing is omitted and only the very interesting story of the bird family is told. A much loved and long read edition of this type was put out by Heath in 1901 with an introduction by Edward Everett Hale.\(^1\)

Early editions following the original text were illustrated by engravings on wood after the manner of Bewick.\(^2\) An example of a later illustrated edition is one published in 1844 by Griffith and Farrar with 24 illustrations from drawings by Harrison Weir.\(^3\) Weir was a nineteenth century artist who 'made a special study of birds, animals, and flowers. He wrote books on these subjects and founded the Cat Show.'\(^4\)

The plates for Weir’s illustrations were engraved by John Greenaway, father of the famous Kate Greenaway of the later Victorian Period. Contemporary stories which were similar but inferior to *Fabulous Histories* were "The Crested Wren" (by Augustus Kendall)\(^5\); Elizabeth Newbery's publications "The Swallow," "The Sparrow," and "The Canary Bird"; and Elizabeth Sandham's "The Adventures of a Bullfinch."

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\(^1\)Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
\(^3\)ibid., p. 314.
\(^4\)ibid., p. 460.
\(^5\)infra, annotation, Augustus Kendall.

A Robinsonnade with a twist that is tailor-made for its age of almost universal belief that writing for children should contain moralistic and religious explication. This, more than the real Crusoe, is the model followed by the next generations' writers of the castaway stories. It exemplifies the influence of Rousseau's Emile as interpreted by Protestant Christian minds both in Germany (here representing the Protestant element on the Continent) and in England. This particular edition rather than Campe's first translation into English in 1781, is the landmark, for it is the version that was most read and most followed both in England and America.

Stockdale, once a Cumberland blacksmith, was John Day's publisher.

1The following authorities cite this edition as being the landmark: Darton, op. cit., p. 115; St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 239; Muir, op. cit., p. 42; Thwaite, op. cit., p. 115. While Thwaite calls this "the Crusoe of Emile . . . the castaway philosophized for the young," the writer of this work believes that the religious element should be noted. This is not only a significant aspect of its time and of moralistic writers, but it is also quite different from Rousseau's ideas as expressed in Emile. Rousseau steered clear of preaching any religion, let alone a Protestant version of religion, to Emile.

2Supra, annotation, John Day.
He was a Picadilly Bookseller for forty years. In spite of his eccentricity his establishment was called "a literary coffee-shop."\(^1\)

Richard Johnson, the literary hack who worked for Elizabeth Newbery often under the name of the Reverend Cooper, is credited with doing a much copied abridged edition, probably in 1790.\(^2\) Stockdale, himself, however, almost immediately (1799) put out a one-volume edition which appears to be as much Stockdale (or whoever edited for him) as it might be Campe.\(^3\)

The first located American copy is cited by Welch as "Printed at Boston, By Thomas and Andrews, at Faust's Statue. Sold at their Book-store, No. 45, Newbury Street, and by said Thomas [Isaiah] at his Book-store in Worcester. Also by J. Boyle and D. West, in Marlborough Street, and B. Guild, B. Larkin, and E. Larkin, jun. in Cornhill, Boston, MDCCXC.\(^4\)

The authorities for this work do not give many biographical details about Campe. St. John states that he "was a German educationist

\(^1\)The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 496.

\(^2\)Welch, op. cit., A-D, p. 269. Note that in the Johnson edition, "Crusoe" was born in Hamburg while in the Stockdale edition, he was born in Essex. The original Crusoe came from York.

\(^3\)The version read by the writer of this work is an 1818 one-volume Stockdale edition. All references to the story and quotations from it in this annotation are in terms of this edition which belongs to MDW - R (a reprint of the 1789 one-volume edition). Whenever possible, the writer of this work read those editions of any work which were available in Detroit. See the design of this study above, Part I, section on scope and limitations.

\(^4\)Welch, op. cit., p. 268, n. 153, 1. Welch lists nine located editions in the United States and Canada on pp. 268-270. Note also nine editions; actual copies and variants total more than nine.
who became the head of a large publishing house. The others agree that he was indebted to both Rousseau and Defoe. He first published the story as Robinson der Jüngere at Hamburg in two volumes in 1779-80. He himself translated it into English and French.  

Stockdale dedicated his "version" to George, Lord Kenyon, Baron of Gredington. After the usual flatteries, including the interesting item that the Baron was a Chief Justice of England, and a patron of the National Schools, a reference is made to "Suffer the little children to come unto him. . . ."  

A preface combines Campe's criticisms of the original Robinson Crusoe and the English editor's smug apology for his deviations from Campe's original.  

The preface asks the reader to note these things:  
1. The "old" Robinson Crusoe was not honest. He had tools.  
   A real castaway would not.  
2. The author (this is probably Campe speaking) has divided the new Robinson's stay on the island into three periods:  
   a) a time in which he has no tools or instruments and is dependent entirely upon his own inventions; b) a period

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1 The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 239.  
2 Muir, op. cit., p. 42; Darton, op. cit., p. 115. On this page Darton writes, "He himself translated the work into English as Robinson the Younger."  
4 Campe, op. cit., pp. v-vi.
in which he receives a companion; and c) a third period in which a shipwrecked European vessel gives him opportunity to acquire tools and other necessities.

The author points out the lessons that a young reader can receive from thinking through the implications of each of these periods. He continues to point out these lessons in copious footnotes throughout the entire volume.

The English editor discusses the passages he omitted; that the footnotes take the place of the "colloquial discourse which...broke too much upon the interest and connection of the narrative!"; the addition of 33 beautiful cuts; and the type with which the book is printed "...neither so small, nor so close, as to strain and fatigue the sight of the juvenile reader."

As the story begins, thoughtless teen-age Robinson, who was never trained to be useful, goes off on a sea voyage for a lark. He has no money. He goes on the chance remark of an acquaintance, the son of the ship's captain. And, he does not send any message to his parents except by word of mouth of another chance acquaintance. His travels zig zag. He is shipwrecked once before he boards a vessel that is bound for Africa. Even then the kind hearted Captain takes time to save passengers from a...
burning ship and goes out of the way to take them to Canada before he
again tries (unsuccessfully) to reach Africa.

When Robinson is cast upon the lonely island from his second ship-
wreck, he has nothing with him except his clothes. He cannot make a fire.
Food is scarce. For a while he lives on raw oysters. Eventually he
finds a lone but fruitful cocoanut tree, potatoes, and llamas. An act of
providence in the form of a lightening bolt gives him fire. Whenever he
is discouraged he stops and sings a hymn that his mother taught him or
recalls a maxim that he learned in school. These are quoted with foot-
notes telling the young reader that such pieces committed to memory will
help him in his life's difficult circumstances.

The methods that Robinson uses to overcome his problems and to make
his life bearable are ingenious, practical, and fascinating. A young
reader of an exploratory turn of mind might very well try some of the
procedures himself. During this time Robinson prays constantly, assesses
his weaknesses, and strives to overcome them. He learns to cook by vari-
ous methods, to invent tools, to milk his llamas, and to become expert
with the bow and spear that he makes, to find a parrot and teach him to
talk. It took him three years to do this. Then, the author thought that
Robinson was ready to discover "Friday."

Friday was a "good" savage who was about to be prepared for eating
by "bad" savages. Well trained Robinson defeats the cannibals and saves
"Friday." A very bloodthirsty description of the battle equals any movie,
television show, or horror comic of the twentieth century, for example:

Crusoe, though loth to shed human blood, yet sensible of
the necessity of killing the wounded savage, gave his
hatchet [to Friday] and turned his eyes from the bloody
use which was going to be made of it.*

The Indian [Friday] ran up to his adversary, struck off his head at a blow, and returned with a cruel smile of gratified revenge. Then making a thousand odd postures, he laid at Robinson's feet, by way of trophy, the hatchet, with the bleeding head of the savage he had killed.2

The two men bury the slain with Christian prayers and retreat to a cave that Robinson has ingeniously fixed up with many conveniences. They wait in the cave for other cannibals, whom they know are on the island, to find them. However, the cannibals go back to their own island. Having found himself a subject, Robinson becomes a king and "lord of all he surveys." He teaches Friday to talk, and through his own actions (not by preaching) he teaches Friday to give up cannibalism. Friday's only unhappiness is that he is separated from his father, "Thursday." The two young men determine to build a boat so that they may sail to Friday's home and find his father.

So the story continues. Robinson and Friday teach themselves many more skills (described in detail): they find a shipwrecked boat which contains more goods than the original Robinson ever retrieved from his. They save a Spanish prisoner from cannibals and discover Friday's father bound and gagged in the cannibal's canoe. The Spaniard is only one of several shipwrecked Spaniards who are on a nearby island. The Spaniards are saved and during their rescue Robinson learns of gold and diamonds that he must (and does) someday return to their rightful owners.

In order that young readers might be chastened into not doing as

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1The asterisk indicates a footnote which tells the reader when it is "allowable" to kill other people.

2Campe, op. cit., p. 186.
Robinson has done, the author contrives to have Robinson lose almost everything (including Friday's father) before he finally returns home. His dear old mother is dead but his aged father receives him and Friday with open arms. Robinson and Friday become much respected carpenters as their life on the island taught them to love working with their hands. For their whole lives they remain "faithful friends and inseparable comrades."

The author concludes with these words:

... Being always actively employed about something useful, they reached a very advanced age in health and peace; and the most remote posterity will respect the memory of two men, who, by their example, have shown to the world in what manner we may best work out our temporal welfare in this life, and our eternal happiness in the next.  

It is no wonder that this was a popular story for more than a hundred years. Everything exciting could and did happen with no guilt feelings for the hand of a just God was everywhere and Robinson, in spite of a "happy" ending, was properly punished. It is also no wonder that Mrs. Trimmer, and other women, feared the influence of the story. It proclaimed that it was perfectly all right for a young man to ramble under specified circumstances. Mother would probably die in his absence, but father (or someone) would always welcome the prodigal home.

The illustrations, as the editor promised, do add to the book both for the original young reader and for the present day social historian. The frontispiece shows the new Robinson as most children think of any

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1 Ibid., p. 364.  
2 Supra, annotation, Sarah Trimmer.  
3 Supra, this annotation.
Robinson: skin clothing, leaf umbrella, homemade spear, and coconuts hanging above his head. The other cuts show fashions of the day, the terrain and animals of the island, Friday, the canoes, many scenes with a wealth of detail that maps the progress of the story. These are the cuts drawn and engraved on wood by John Bewick as used in the 1788 Stockdale edition.


A female Sandford and Merton with better writing, and (from the second edition of 1791 on) the softening beauty of Blake's illustrations, this introduced "advanced" views of education "before French and German matter had been widely disseminated in English nurseries."1 "... the sum and unadorned pattern of the kind of story which the adult world had decided firmly was best suited for the younger one."2

Joseph Johnson, the publisher of such juveniles as Sandford and Merton and the New Robinson Crusoe, was a large hearted and discriminating publisher. "His house was the resort of men of letters of liberal sympathies in days when liberal opinions were not held in ... much esteem.

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1St. John in *The Osborne Collection*, op. cit., p. 239.
2Darton, op. cit., p. 203.
3Meigs, op. cit., p. 83.
Every week there were informal little dinners at his house to which men like Godwin [later, a children's publisher], Hazlitt, ... resorted ... where intellectual people were sure to meet kindred spirits. ...

Mary Wollstonecraft was a protege of Johnson's. It was at his home that she met such men as Blake, Tom Paine, and William Godwin. Johnson employed her as a reader of manuscripts, gave her hack work to do, published her Thoughts on the Education of Daughters in 1787. The same year he published Mary's translation of the German educator Salzman's Elements of Morality for Children. It is thought that Johnson suggested that Mary write a similar group of moralities for children which resulted in her Original Stories.

There is no evidence in Halsey or in Rosenbach that Original Stories was ever known or popular (under that title) in America. Rosenbach does list Salzman, however, stating Mary's part in the translation and the advertisements.

It is difficult to know how much of Mary's educational ideas were hers and how much were the Reverend Salzman's. Mary had vehement opinions.

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1H. R. James, Mary Wollstonecraft; A Sketch (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), p. 42.
2Ibid., p. 45. Thwaite, op. cit., p. 71 gives a later date for this translation, apparently citing the known edition with Blake illustrations. She adds that Mary turned this "into an English story."
3Although St. John in The Osborne Collection lists Mary under "G" for Godwin, Welch does not. The Welch bibliography beyond "H" has not been available for this work.
4Rosenbach, op. cit., p. 91 n. 219. Rosenbach also cites the 1790 translation (with Blake illustrations) as being the first English edition.
She was the eldest daughter (with an older brother) of several children in an upper class family that was fast going downhill. The father, who had inherited a great deal of money, was trained to nothing. Everything he attempted turned out a financial failure. During one five-year period of Mary's life, the family moved seven times. The father often beat wife and children with the exception of the favored oldest son. He, in turn, tyrannized over the other children. Much was expected of and received from Mary by all of the family.

The mother had a lingering terminal illness with Mary in constant attendance. During this time Mr. Wollstonecraft formed an amatory alliance with one of the servants who took over the household.

Mary's militance became more pronounced. She left home, and in a day in which there were almost unsurmountable obstacles in the way of a lone female who must earn a living, she tried to find a way to take care of the younger children. She was a governess. She operated a school with two sisters. She finally became a writer. Her own education had been much neglected. Through personal contacts with other people and through extensive correspondence, she discovered her own lacks and remedied them. Although she was an attractive woman with great charm, through her bitter struggles, she became England's first strong advocate of women's rights. It is, perhaps, in this position that she most deserves fame, rather than as a writer for children.¹

At first glance Original Stories seems an atrocious piece of work for someone of Mary's apparent sensitivity to write. Two little girls,

¹H. R. James, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-41.
Mary and Caroline, are farmed out to a woman who is to teach them. Mrs. Mason is a female Mr. Barlow.\(^1\) She is worse than he, however. She is indomitably right while she advocates reason and joy.

She personifies Mary's belief that punishments should stem from actions, and that if children are shown why things are wrong, they will not do wrong. She further agrees with Mary's beliefs that children err only because they have been mistaught in the first place. Mrs. Mason is strict, though never angry, because it is only through strictness that she can correct the wrong education that the children have already had.

Barry points out that the settings of Mrs. Mason's stories as written by Mary give promise of romance that "is never fulfilled."\(^2\) The whole atmosphere is heavy with sombreness or determined joy. The following description from a visit to a deserted manor house gives a sample of this atmosphere. The children cling, frightened, to Mrs. Mason:

\[\ldots\text{one looks back in a vain hope of escape}\ldots\] when they spoke, the sound seemed to return again, as if unable to penetrate the thick stagnated air. The sun could not dart its purifying rays through the thick gloom, and the fallen leaves contributed to choke up the way and render the air more noxious.\(^3\)

Blake's illustrations are typically Blake. They are decorative and add lightness to the gloom. His children are made angelic by the halos formed from their little round straw hats.

It is often a mistake to read peoples' lives into the stories they

\(^1\)The vicar tutor in Sandford and Merton; see annotation above.

\(^2\)Barry, op. cit., p. 118.

\(^3\)As quoted in Barry, op. cit., p. 118. Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin was the mother of Mary Shelley who wrote Frankenstein. Mary Shelley never saw her mother who died at her birth.
write. It is a temptation here to see that Mrs. Mason might be Mary Wollstonecraft's alter ego trying to be sure that she was right in the things she taught the children as she lived in a world that seemed so dreadfully wrong. When Mrs. Mason gives her one sentence philosophy of life it could have been Mary's, "I am weaned from the world, but not disgusted."

In 1906 the publisher Henry Froude came out with a facsimile of the 1791 edition of *Original Stories* with Blake's illustrations. E. V. Lucas wrote the introduction. Usually mild in his writings and genuinely concerned with early children's literature, Mr. Lucas describes the character of Mrs. Mason as "Gorgon." 2


The first real poetry for children written by the first great author-artist in children's literature.

Thwaite feels that Blake (as personified by the *Songs*) is also important in his dual role of: 1) hastening acceptance of the concept of the importance of the imagination (this helped produce the romantic movement), and 2) abetting the change in


3 Thwaite, *op. cit.*, plate 9 (unpaged in the center of her book) is a reproduction of the cover. The title looks as though it were an outgrowth of the branches of the biblical tree of "the knowledge of good and evil." The bottom line reads, "The author and printer: W. Blake."
the whole conception of the nature and the needs of the child during the coming century, with a consequent deep influence on the writing of children's books. The idea of the child as being a vision of his own, not merely an ungrown man or woman to be quickly moulded to fit an adult world, found vivid expression in these Songs. . . .

Although other authors had their first editions printed and published by people whose professions were printing and publishing, Blake took care of his own production. He and his wife did all of the work on their own premises. Blake did the writing and designing. Together they engraved both print and design and colored the designs.

Blake earned his living as a hack writer, engraver, and sometimes designer for Joseph Johnson, the philanthropic bookseller and publisher. Johnson extended his benevolence to Blake but, perhaps, in the glow of being the entire creator, Blake felt that he must do all of the production himself. In spite of his experience in handling all of the then known production processes, Blake was hampered by lack of money. At the time he was ready to print the verses, he had only ten shillings in the house. Being a mystic he took great stock in the significance of his dreams. In a dream his dead brother gave him the solution to his production problem. Robert suggested a new technical way in which facsimiles of each verse and its intertwined design could be made.

Anne Thaxter Eaton describes the entire process:

1 Ibid., p. 79.

2 Supra, annotations, Thomas Day and Mary Wollstonecraft for more information about Johnson.
... one shilling and ten pence was spent on the materials.
Blake ... copied the poems and outlined the designs and
marginal decorations on the copper with an impervious
liquid, the remainder of the plate was eaten away with
acid, and from the outline of the letter and the design
that was left on the plates Blake printed off his fac-
similes with brown, yellow, or blue for his ground color,
using red for the letters. Each page was then colored by
hand according to the original drawing.¹

Only a man of Blake's strange visionary dedication to his own
dreams in a day of rigid didacticism could apply himself to the tedium
involved in carrying out the reproduction of verse and design. It is
an old but still inspiring story that he taught his wife to help with
every detailed step. Together they ground and mixed the colors on a
piece of marble, using carpenter's glue for a binder. They applied the
colors with a camel's hair brush. Mrs. Blake then bound the pages her-
self as a small octavo volume.²

When the later Songs of Experience were written, Mrs. Blake bound
the two groups of poems together in one volume. Each set had its own
title page with an added general title page.³

There is much disagreement about Blake's place as a poet for
children. In spite of all of her perspicacity about the development of
poetry for children, Barry does not mention Blake nor quote one line

¹Anne Thaxter Eaton, "Illustrators of Children's Books Before
1800," Illustrators of Children's Books, ed. Bertha Mahoney (Boston:
²Ibid., p. 23.
³Ibid., p. 23.
of his that could have influenced this development. Darton is the authority who most concisely presents the mystic artist-philosopher Blake as a part of the Georgian world.

Darton begins his explanation by stating that Blake's spirit is one that poets now (in the second half of the twentieth century) "would like to recapture." However, in the eighteenth century few people even suspected a possibility of such greatness in Blake.

... under George III Blake was simply an obscure writer, painter, and engraver. ... Mrs. Trimmer was better known and more widely read ... than Blake or Lamb. Lamb [who was more a part of the literary "in-circle" than Blake] had heard of ... [Mrs. Trimmer]: there is no evidence that she had ever heard of Lamb ... It is important to get the right local or temporary perspective.

The dozen poems in Songs of Innocence are written from three points of view. Some of the poems are a child's eye view. Some are purely an adult's conception. A few combine perspectives.

When Blake cries out, "And I wrote my happy songs. Every child may joy to hear," he is speaking to the sense of untrammeled thought or feeling of joy in life that momentarily exists in every heart, both adult and child. Although Blake's religion was unorthodox with much that was Swedenborgian in its precepts, he firmly believed that truth

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1Barry, op. cit., p. 194, passim.  
2Darton, op. cit., p. 185.  
3Ibid., p. 185. On page 184 Darton describes Blake's poetry as "music ... for those who are themselves the poets, the dreamers." Such definition excludes far too many teachers and a great many children.  
4Swedenborg was a religious mystic much read by people with inquiring minds. His Arcana Celesta was published in 1749. The father of this writer always read Swedenborg and Blake as cross references one to the other.
was evident only when a man "became as a little child" [of God]. In this respect he mingled something of the Christian vision, something of Rousseau's philosophy, and something of the German Salzman's avant-garde educational beliefs.\(^1\)

Georgian children received a mental diet of what was thought 'wholesome' for them. The process of supplying such a diet involved:

1) Lockean principles as opposed to 2) Roussellian philosophy, and 3) a strange blend of the two schools of educational thinking. Although Blake was nearer to Rousseau (and Romanticism)\(^2\) in spirit than he was to Locke, nevertheless, in his day "He was only a grubby old eccentric communing with God in a back garden, in a world where he, like everyone else, had to earn a living."\(^3\)

In his beautiful explicature of Songs of Innocence, Darton presents the idea that the introductory poem to the little volume is a "text for all that can be said of him [Blake] in a record of real children's books."\(^4\)

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\(^1\) Salzman wrote Elements of Morality translated into English by Mary Wollstonecraft as "hack" work for Joseph Johnson (see this chapter above, annotation, Mary Wollstonecraft, Original Stories. Blake did the designs for this edition after the German illustrator, Chodowiecki).

In the manner of all fine illustrators, Blake read Salzman with great attention so that he could interpret the between the lines message of the author. Salzman needed this kind of interpretation. He was a pioneer in the belief that a child should find no shame in the human body. Rather, a child should believe that the body was a beautiful gift, wonderously made. Salzman taught this and hinted at it in his prose. Blake accomplished a more effective portrayal of the message in his designs for both Elements and Songs of Innocence. Blake's poetry is equally effective in portraying the message in a manner that does not give offense to rigidly prudish minds.

\(^2\) Supra, sections on Locke, Rousseau, and Romanticism.

\(^3\) Darton, op. cit., p. 186.

\(^4\) Ibid., p. 185.
Darton cautions that to understand the full meaning of both the poem (as text) and its author, the reader must use a copy which follows Blake's own punctuation of the engraved first edition,1

INTRODUCTION2

Piping down the valleys wild
Piping songs of pleasant glee
On a cloud I saw a child
And he laughing said to me

Pipe a song about a Lamb:
So I piped with merry cheer,
Piper, pipe that song again--
So I piped, he wept to hear.

Drop thy pipe thy happy pipe
Sing thy songs of happy chear,
So I sung the same again
While he wept with joy to hear,

Piper sit thee down and write
In a book that all may read--
So he vanish'd from my sight,
And I pluck'd a hollow reed.

And I made a rural pen,
And I stain'd the water clear,
And I wrote my happy songs,
Every child may joy to hear.3

These and his other verses were "high thoughts that had no place in the furniture of the nursery library. In the eighties and nineties of that century, and earlier, it was doubtful whether verse form ought

1This can be found in Darton, p. 184.

2"Introduction" is the true and original title. Many people, who are not aware of the implications of the title for understanding the other poems, call it "The Piper."

3As quoted in Darton, op. cit., p. 184.
to be on the shelves."^{1}

Mrs. Barbauld\(^2\) (and earlier, Isaac Watts) were of two minds about the value of verse for children. They recognized its appeal. By this, they meant metre and scansion, the antithesis of prose. Watts,\(^3\) at least, recognized that simple materials with a definite rhythm and rhyme were easier for children to remember than straight and involved prose didacticism. Mrs. Barbauld, on the other hand, eschewed rhyme, and probably did not recognize the strong rhythms of her prose. The Georgian world was only prepared to recognize the turn of the century verses of the Taylor sisters.\(^4\)

The poems, in the order of their arrangement in the volume, can be categorized as follows:

INTRODUCTION is a child's poem. Children identify with the speaker. They enjoy the rippling metre. Some of them even perceive, as does the adult, that joy in life comes and goes but is all the more precious because of its intermittent quality. Although there are deeper significances for the adult the poem, as explained above, is essentially by and for the child heart of any age;

THE ECHOING GREEN is about children, from an adult perception tinged with nostalgia;

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\(^{1}\)Ibid., p. 184.

\(^{2}\)Supra, annotation, Mrs. Letitia Barbauld, Hymns in Prose.

\(^{3}\)Supra, annotation, Isaac Watts, Divine Songs.

\(^{4}\)Infra, annotation, Ann Taylor, Original Songs.
INFANT JOY, adult, is at its best perplexing to children. At its worst it is dismaying; THE SHEPHERD, while not popular with children in secular schools, is a child's poem; THE BLOSSOM and THE LAMB are much beloved by children who are fortunate enough to be introduced to them. In 'The Blossom' children accept the first five lines of each of the two verses. They tend to ignore the refrain of each verse 'Near My Bosom.'

Merry, merry Sparrow! Under leaves so green, A happy Blossom Sees you, swift as arrow, Seek your cradle narrow Near my Bosom.

Pretty, pretty Robin! Under leaves so green, ...

Children like all of 'The Lamb.' It has been set to music. They like to sing it as well as read and speak it.

Little Lamb, who made thee? Dost thou know who made thee? ...

THE LITTLE BLACK BOY speaks out Blake's own philosophy about race and creed all being one in the eyes of God. It also is a graphic portrayal of the intelligent man's dismay over and concern with the slave trade and its unhappy results. It is adult but can be used by children.

1William Blake, Songs of Innocence with decorations by Harold Jones (New York: Barnes, 1961), unpaged.

2Ibid., This is probably the children's favorite.
The last two lines of the sixth and next to the last verse express Blake's creed and what he hoped children, untainted with bias would believe.

When I from black and he from white cloud free
And round the tent of God like lambs we joy.

The thought is continued with the English boy and the "black boy" loving each other because each sees the other as he really is, "a child of God."

THE LAUGHING SONG and SPRING are much liked, definitely children's poems. Children chant "Spring" and skip or march to it.

Sound the flute!
Now it's mute,
Birds delight
Day and night;
Nightingale
In the dale,
Lark in the sky,
Merrily,
Merrily, merrily, to welcome in the year.

Even unfamiliar words (to some American children) such as "flute, mute, nightingale, and lark" do not disturb them.

The feel of the words in the mouth, the rhythm, the rhyme, the thought, all appeal. Together they give sense where individual words in a drill of those words would appall and discourage. It continues:

Little boy,
Full of joy
... ....
Cock does crow,
So do you.
... ....
Merrily, merrily .......
Little Lamb
Here I am
Come and lick . . .

NIGHT is for older boys and girls. "The sun descending in the west..."

A CRADLE SONG is for mothers to croon to their children. Only then does it become a child's poem. The lullabyed child equates the verse with his mother's love and care.

THE CHIMNEY SWEEPER is a sad lesson in the plight of an entire group of children in Georgian and even later England. A child can be attracted by its cry and gain compassion (the most sadly needed virtue of any century) through understanding of another's plight:

When my mother died, I was very young
And when my father sold me, while yet my tongue
Could scarcely cry, "Weep! weep! weep! weep!"
So your chimneys I sweep and in soot I sleep.

Children can bear sorrow when it is introduced to them with wisdom. In a world of sorrow they need to be warned that sorrow exists side by side with joy. Otherwise, when sorrow comes, they never get over feeling that life has played a trick on them. Blake's poems introduce both sorrow and joy, as only a child can feel them.1

Blake's designs and verses are so much a part of one another that a perceiver who once knows them in their unity is never again satisfied

1Recall, as was said above, Blake is not for everyone. He is for the child or adult who can find him by himself; for the teacher who enjoys Blake and can introduce him gently to children who are prepared to receive.
when he sees them separated. However, the poems do carry meaning by themselves. The designs, while always beautiful, cannot stand alone. They draw sustenance from the words.

Some of the poems began to find their way into the middle nineteenth century anthologies for children. This was the beginning of their popularity. Later Songs of Innocence and Songs of Experience came out bound together. Although Blake's illustrations often were used in these volumes, sometimes there were no illustrations, other times the designs came from new illustrators. One of the most recent of these last illustrated editions is the one quoted from in this annotation. The illustrator, bred in the English tradition, followed the spirit of Blake's original illustrations. Each design makes a setting for its own particular poem. Although the children are in what could pass for twentieth century dress, the lines flow like Blake's and the colors are similar to his. They do not reach the Blake pinnacle of beauty but they are good.

Two facsimile editions of Songs of Innocence are:
1) An issue by Benn in 1926
2) "A facsimile in colour, published for the William Blake Trust by The Trianon Press, 1954."

Students should know William Blake's engravings; edited with an

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1 *Songs of Innocence* with decorations by Harold Jones.
introduction by Geoffrey Keynes, Faber, 1950.¹


Good example of the gentle preaching to children which underlies the moral tale so popular in the last decades of the eighteenth century. *The Blind Child* is the first known of many similar stories to expound a 'correct' way of regarding and living with a handicapped child.

Elizabeth Newbery, widow of Francis Newbery,² as far as is now known, published all of Mrs. Pinchard's works.³ The E. Newbery establishment was at No. 20 the corner of St. Paul's Churchyard. At the time the lane was called Ludgate Street.⁴

A second Newbery edition came out in 1793. By 1795 there were

¹This writer echoes Darton's words (op. cit., p. 204). "Biographical and bibliographic details, of a critical kind, lie outside the ... scope of this volume, where the more eminent 'adult' writers like Blake, Lamb, and the Godwins are concerned." Works of such a nature are extensive.

²John Newbery's nephew who inherited a part of his uncle's business.

³Three of these are listed by St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., pp. 289-545.

⁴Darton, op. cit., p. 125. The "Street" was later changed to (Ludgate)"Hill." See also, supra, Historical Background, Publishers, Newbery; annotations such as those involving Reverend Cooper, the literary hack who wrote for E. Newbery; for example, Berquin, rewritten as The Looking Glass for the Mind.
fifteen editions.\(^1\) That same year the first located American title, as cited by Rosenbach, was published in Boston by William Spotsford.\(^2\) Rosenbach also lists a 1796 edition put out by Isaiah Thomas Junior in Worcester.\(^3\) Both of these editions are slightly altered from the English editions. The Spotsford has another work included with it.\(^4\) The Thomas is somewhat abridged.\(^5\)

The author, Mrs. Pinchard, is a minor (though popular) writer of the same moral school as her contemporary, Lady Fenn.\(^6\) Not as much is known, biographically, about Mrs. Pinchard. She was the wife of an attorney in Taunton, apparently of good family with a comfortable but not high income. It is always dangerous to read autobiographical details from the fiction written by a particular author. Nevertheless, it is probable that "the lady" authors, such as Mrs. Pinchard, used their own backgrounds for stories such as these that depend so much upon a family setting in the days of the third George.

Family life was highly extolled at this time. This was in part as a counteraction to the elegant and slightly amoral living which pre-dated

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1Darton differs: 10th edition, 1810, p. 174. Ramsey notes, op. cit., unpaged (arranged on cards by author). A popular title as indicated by the number of authorized editions. These are authorized editions. See footnote 3 this page below.

2Rosenbach, op. cit., p. 84 n. 198.

3Ibid., p. 89 n. 215.

4Ibid., p. 84.

5Ibid., p. 89. Supra, Historical Background, American publishers of Children's Books.

6Supra, annotation, Lady Fenn, Cobwebs to Catch Flies.
the Regency period but reached its climax in the first part of the nineteenth century. Close knit family circles (among the middle and upper-middle class families) were held up as a good example to the poor, and especially to those of the poor who were coralled by the efforts of the people in the Sunday School Movement. While there is no present evidence that Mrs. Pinchard took an active part in that movement her works are moral enough to be included in reading lists for the Sunday School Libraries.\(^1\)

A caution should be added here. Darton remarks that "... the atmosphere of the moral tale was not utterly stultifying and conservative."\(^2\) This is true of The Blind Child. Considering the difference between what was acceptable in "genteel" discourse and writing for children during the late seventeen hundreds and what is considered acceptable writing for children in the twentieth century, Mrs. Pinchard exhibits charm and an easy narrative flow.

The two predominant themes of the story concern the already mentioned areas of eighteenth century concern: 1) How to handle a blind (handicapped) child; and 2) Life in a happy family. Although the first theme has dependence upon the second, the emphasis on childhood blindness is the more important of the two. Medical knowledge, although considered advanced, did not touch upon twentieth century ideas of hygiene and contagion. Births, often aided only by too often ignorant midwives, were

\(^1\) Supra, Historical Background: George III, Regency Life, Sunday School Movement.

\(^2\) Darton, op. cit., p. 174.
accomplished under conditions of appalling uncleanliness. (The best homes were often extremely unhygienic.) Many children were blinded at birth. Other children contracted infections which few people knew how to combat.

A well known example of such an infection is the one contracted by teen-age Maria Edgeworth. Everyone despaired for her sight. Eccentric Thomas Day, a chemist as well as a writer, cured the ailment by constant application of an eyewash of his own formula and a nauseous daily drink of tar-water.\(^1\) Too many children were not fortunate enough to have such able assistance. In fact, most Georgian parents believed that such afflictions came from God and must be endured with grace.

Mrs. Pinchard states her purpose in the preface to the story:

\[\ldots\] the principal aim, it will be seen, is to repress that excessive softness of heart which too frequently involves the possessor in a train of evils, and which is by no means true sensibility, that exquisite gift of heaven.\(^2\)

Although the bibliographic detail for the book does not indicate that there was ever any intent to publish it in two volumes, the story is divided into two parts. The first part, with which we are the most concerned, involves the blind child. The second part continues the family’s placid adventures after the blindness has been cured.

The mother, Mrs. Windham, is happy that her blind little daughter is reconciled to her affliction and can do so many things for herself. The child’s plight has become rumor among the countryfolk who make

\(^1\)Gignilliat, *The Author of Sandford and Merton*, op. cit., p. 258. 
\(^2\)From the preface to the second Newbery edition of 1793, p. 1.
excuses to visit the Windham's and attempt to commiserate. Mrs. Windham will have none of this. Every member of the family has some part in educating the little girl but she is not to be pitied nor coddled. The mother occasionally indulges in a private spasm of worry for the child's future. She feels, however, that the more the girl is independent in helping herself the less horrible her future will be.

The entire story is permeated with the pleasant background of daily life in a family that is comfortable but not so affluent that it can afford the most expensive and up to date carriages of the day. Gentle emphasis is put upon the fact that one does not have to keep up with the racy Joneses to be happy and enjoy life. The mother has many interests of her own. She loves her family and appreciates their emotional support but she believes in having her own friends to whom she often devotes much time. Her friends are not social in the sense that they spend their days at card playing, gossiping maliciously, getting into scrapes through ennui. They are all mildly busy people.

The concept behind the story is surprisingly modern. Two twentieth century stories for children (although involving more action, and written according to the style of the 1950's and 1960's) are quite similar in philosophy. This is namely that a handicapped child needs: 1) loving support from his family and associates; 2) must be taught not to pity himself; 3) must be shown how to enjoy life; and 4) must learn how to do as much as he physically can for himself.

These stories are: Windows for Rosemary by Marguerite Vance. Story of a blind child;1 and Mine for Keeps by Jean Little. Story of a

child with cerebral palsy.¹

Neither of the above titles or brief descriptions indicate the emotional impact felt by children and adults as they read the stories. They, patently, aim to "teach" the values that were expressed in Mrs. Pinchard's preface and story. No doubt, the emotional appeal of The Blind Child was as strong for its readers as the similar appeal of these twentieth century books is for their readers.

1792-96 Aiken, John and Barbauld, Mrs. Anna Laetitia Aiken.

Evenings at Home; or, The Juvenile Budget Opened.


A best selling "classic" for over ninety years,² translated into almost every European language. Halsey's investigations reveal that this collection of miscellaneous writings for children was not only popular in America for more than fifty years³ but inspired such people as Oliver Wendell Holmes.⁴ Barry, while critical of some of the material, believes that much of it is Mrs. Barbauld's best work.⁵ Lucas selects

¹Mine for Keeps by Jean Little with illustrations by Lewis Parker (Boston: Little, Brown, 1962).

²Thwaite, op. cit., p. 102 quotes an 1881 Routledge Catalog listing Evenings at Home in such a fashion.

³Halsey, op. cit., p. 128.

⁴Ibid., pp. 163-164.

⁵Barry, op. cit., p. 150. Barry believes that Mrs. Barbauld was talented and could write very well, indeed. However, she feels it is unfortunate that Mrs. Barbauld was too much the tutor, "could feel" but not necessarily "show the child" the wonders that she knew existed.
from it for two anthologies. He believes that the book "might well be modernized for children" and that writers as well as children should never feel that they have "outgrown" it.

Many of the individual stories, dialogue or essays are "firsts" for children: a first detective story, first nature stories, first science fiction, first non-fiction 'wonders of science.'

Dr. Aiken and Mrs. Barbauld appeared to be close friends with and great admirers of Joseph Johnson their benevolent publisher who printed so many well known writers of their day. Their relationship was so close that upon Johnson's death in 1810, Mrs. Barbauld wrote the eulogy of him which appeared in "The Star."

The entire miscellany was published in parts from 1792 to 1796. Located American editions of Evenings at Home listed by Welch show that

1Lucas, Old Fashioned Tales, op. cit.; and Forgotten Tales of Long Ago, op. cit.

2Old Fashioned Tales, op. cit., p. ix.

3Forgotten Tales, op. cit., p. ix.

4Supra, annotations of writers published by Johnson: e.g., Thomas Day, Mary Wollstonecraft, Infra, annotation, Maria Edgeworth.

5Grace A. Oliver, A Study of Maria Edgeworth (Boston: A. Williams and Company, 1882), pp. 244-245 as indicated in a letter from Maria Edgeworth to Mrs. Barbauld. In this letter Maria indicates that Johnson left his business to his nephew, Mr. Miles. On p. 328 Oliver extends the information. The business was left equally to two nephews; 'Messrs. Miles and Hunter: Mr. Miles soon withdrew from the firm.' This explains St. John's statement in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 480 that Johnson 'was succeeded by R. Hunter.' This is useful to know in tracing editions. Grace Oliver also wrote a memoir of Mrs. Barbauld. It has not been available for use by the writer of this study, hence, the reliance upon information as cited above.

6Welch, op. cit.
six American publishers put out their own imprints from 1797 to 1813 with reasonably complete replication of the first edition.1 The earliest of these was printed by T. Dobson, at the Stone House, No. 41 S., Second Street, Philadelphia.2 In 1799, R. Davison, also of Philadelphia, put out an abridgement.3

Welch also lists five American editions of selections from Evenings at Home printed from 1810 to 1822.4 One of the stories, "The Farmyard Journal" is listed by Rosenbach as "stereotyped, printed, and sold by H. & E. Phinney, 1834" in Cooperstown.5 Rosenbach lists two other stories related to Evenings at Home as written by John Aiken with no mention of Mrs. Barbauld.6

While Rosenbach does not include the entire collection under discussion by its original name, he does list what appears to be an abridged edition. This is called, "Evening Tales . . . extracted from the works of Mrs. Barbauld and Mr. Aiken." It was printed and sold by Peter Brynberg in Wilmington, Delaware, c. 1800.7

Laetitia Aiken Barbauld and her brother John, the doctor, were

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1Ibid., pp. 195-197.
2Ibid., p. 195 n. 24.1.
3Ibid., p. 196 n. 24.3.
4Ibid., p. 197. These are small books. Two of the five editions present only one story. The others present two stories. For a description of these stories see this annotation below.
5Rosenbach, op. cit., p. 278 n. 789.
6Ibid., p. 94 n. 229; p. 109 n. 269. Infra, for a description of these stories.
7Ibid., pp. 102, 103 n. 251.
very close. In spite of Laetitia's twenty-five year prominence as London's most outstanding blue-stocking, she seemed to rely a great deal on her brother's judgement. They lived apart for many years. During these years the Barbauld's maintained a successful boarding school at Palgrave, Sussex. There John's children, Charles (who was "adopted" by the Barbauld's) and Lucy, received a great deal of their education. When the health of Laetitia's husband, refugee Huguenot Reverend Barbauld, declined, the Barbaulds gave up the school. In 1802 they settled at Stoke-Newington to be nearer to Dr. Aiken.

The Aikens "were quiet [dissenting] folk in the middle ranks of society." Dr. John was not too robust in health. Although he practiced medicine for a few years after he became a doctor he eventually gave up most of his practice. He devoted himself to writing. A great deal of his earlier works were medical in nature.

Among his other writings were: Essays on song writing, biographical memoirs of medical men in Great Britain, "Letters" from a father to a son, a general biographical dictionary (called Aikens Biographical Dictionary) of ten volumes. He was literary editor of one monthly

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1 Barry, op. cit., p. 148.
2 Oliver, op. cit., p. 206. In a letter to Mrs. Barbauld, Maria Edgeworth hopes that Dr. Aiken will reconsider and allow his sister to contribute to the "Lady's Paper" contemplated by the Edgeworths.
3 Infra, annotation, Lucy Aiken.
4 Meigs, op. cit., p. 75.
5 Darton, op. cit., p. 154. Dr. John studied at London and Edinburgh. His first practice was at Yarmouth. The natives were hostile to dissenters. A move to London and Hackney found more agreeable neighbors.
magazine, and he started the short-lived Athenaeum (magazine). He edited "Selected Works of British Poets." (He numbered poets, such as Southey, among his friends.)

The brother and sister had begun to write portions of Evenings At Home before the Barbaulds moved near the Aikens. Once the move was made, the collaboration continued with renewed application. In describing the work Darton states:

It contains such an enormous mass of material that some of it could not but be as poor as some is exceedingly good. The best of it is still worth reading.

The arrangement perhaps was due to a combination of remembered pleasure from Arabian Nights and intent to present material to children for many nights' reading. On the surface it describes what became a common Victorian practice: regular family reading aloud to each other. As a story telling device, it resembles hundreds of such methods of arranging for group participation in ritual story telling; for example, the setting in which the Kilner mouse wrote his story; the girls at Mrs. Teachum's school; the pilgrims in any age (including those of Canterbury) who gather at a hostel and beguile the time with each one's story.

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1His friends, of course, included people from other professions as well. Among these were the Darwins, Priestly, the Wedgewoods, DeQuincy.

2Darton, op. cit., p. 158.

3Also a common boarding school practice.

4See annotation, Perambulations of a Mouse, supra.

5See annotation, The Governess, supra.
Designed to provide entertainment for thirty evenings each story, article, play or dialogue is supposedly written by a variety of people for the entertainment or instruction of others. The manuscripts are put in a container (called a "budget") and one is withdrawn each evening. As printed in the volumes the pieces are headed "Night first," "Night second," etc. All kinds of odd but basic pieces of information are scattered throughout the pages. Two of these are: 1) King Canute ordering back the sea, and 2) Alfred burning the cakes.

The two stories reprinted in the Lucas collections are quite different\(^1\) from the two mentioned above. One could be called a detective story for children, the other a nature story.

The detective story is entitled "The Trial,"\(^2\) It was written by John Aiken, "imitated from an old book called \textit{Juvenile Trials}.\(^3\) In the words of Dr. Aiken, "... a Court of Justice is supposed to be instituted in a school, composed of the scholars themselves, for the purpose of trying offenses committed at school."\(^4\)

A widow, Dorothy Careful, who sells gingerbread (and sundries) to the school children makes a complaint to the court. Someone broke her window with a top which also knocked over a basket of cakes. In her anger and despair she collared the nearest boy, Henry Luckless, as the

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\(^1\) Lucas, \textit{Old Fashioned Tales; Forgotten Tales}, \textit{op. cit.}. See this annotation, \textit{supra}.

\(^2\) In \textit{Old Fashioned Tales, op. cit.}, pp. 86-97.

\(^3\) \textit{Ibid.}, p. ix. Rosenbach, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 94 n. 229 states that "\textit{Juvenile Trials} was entered by T. Carnan at Stationers' Hall on December 18, 1771. The work is probably of much earlier date."

\(^4\) Rosenbach, \textit{loc. cit.}, p. 94 n. 229.
culprit. The judge questions all the children in the school determined to clear the school's "honor." By piecing together "the facts of the case" from the answers the judge deduces the real culprit. This is Master Peter Riot who, of course, denies his guilt. Ultimately, Riot is confronted with such unmistakable evidence of his guilt that he confesses and makes restitution.

This fanciful bit of student self-government has real suspense for young readers. The "crimes" are those of any school child in any age. The punishments are not excessive but are the kind that children deem "right." The language is stilted when judged by twentieth century American standards of writing for children. For an adult reader, this stiltedness could add flavor.

The second story selected by Lucas is "The Farmyard Journal." It is not dramatic in the sense of a sustained plot or storyline. It does have plenty of incidents, some of which have immediate dramatic import.

Richard Markwell is spending his vacation at a farm in Hertfordshire. He keeps a journal of the many events that tumble after one another each day on this supposedly placid farm. He writes a note to a school chum, Tom, and includes the pages on which he has vividly written one day's happenings: a fox attacks the hen house with bloody results; a calf is born; a hen hatches ducks who frighten her by swimming; the milkmaid is kicked by a cow that is punished; a bee hunt has noisy and painful consequences; a sheepwashing causes a boy a drenching; and so it goes.

\[1\] In Forgotten Tales, op. cit., pp. 90-97.
The descriptions show great powers of observation. Some of the incidents portray social problems in the days of the Georges'. The following is an example of one of these problems:

Roger, the ploughman, had discovered a partridge's nest with sixteen eggs. The farmer went out and broke them all, saying that he did not choose to rear birds upon his corn that he was not allowed to scratch [kill], but must leave to some qualified sportsman, who would besides break down his fences in the pursuit.

The precursor of the science fiction story, as written by Mrs. Barbauld, is "The Transmigrations of Indur." The theme of the transmigration of a soul is used with weird twists in twentieth century stories. Mrs. Barbauld tells the adventures of her "hero-soul" through the eyes of the forms he takes: a man, an antelope, a dormouse, a whale.

The authors followed Locke's precept of teaching by example. They postulated a moral theme and each story or essay was developed, through a series of examples, to bring out the force of the theme, for example, "The Price of a Victory" extolls the ability to overcome bad fortune. It is, in reality, an exciting adventure story as well as an able commentary on the life of a roving eighteenth century boy. He has moments of terror that come from being sold as a slave to his escape that then results in his being commandeered into the navy by a pressgang.

Other themes revile war ("The Price of a Victory"), teach the love of animals ("Capriol"), and show the importance of using one's eyes in observing nature in everyday life ("Eyes and No Eyes").

Ibid., p. 95. The huntsman was a common problem and expense to the farmer.
Charles Kingsley credits this last "story" ("Eyes and No Eyes") as being the inspiration for his fairy tale, "Madame How and Lady Why."

However, in the 1869 preface to his tale, Kingsley, who himself is labeled as didactic, states:

Now among those very stupid old fashioned boys' books was one which taught me [to use my eyes]... Its name was Evenings at Home; and it was a regular old fashioned, prim, sententious story.

Kingsley attributed the sin of such didactic writing to Mrs. Barbauld. It seems now that the greater share of the stories were actually written by Dr. Aiken. To make certain that the rightful authorship was completely understood by posterity, two of Dr. Aiken's children (Lucy and Arthur) arranged and wrote a preface for an 1846 edition of...

The Budget Opened. The preface says:

The plan... originated solely with Dr. Aiken; the introduction and epilogue are both his, and about eleven parts in twelve of the whole. The pieces written by Mrs. Barbauld, including one found among her papers, and now first, printed amount to fifteen out of one hundred and one.

In spite of this attributed authorship to Dr. Aiken, Mrs. Barbauld, the handsome blue-stocking, is the one who has been so often reviled.

True, Maria Edgeworth (and all the other multitude of Edgeworths) praised the woman, but Maria, too, was included as a part of that odious crew of

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1As quoted in Darton, op. cit., p. 261. Also see chapter on The Victorian Regime, annotation, Charles Kingsley, infra.

2Lucas in Forgotten Tales, op. cit., p. ix, lists Mrs. Barbauld's share as fifteen pieces.

3As quoted by St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 230. Arthur was also educated at the Barbauld's Palgrave school becoming a chemist and geologist.
moral women writers.\textsuperscript{1} Charles Lamb calls the stories 'Mrs. Barbauld's stuff.'\textsuperscript{2} A modern and much respected critic, Hazard, dismisses her (Mrs. Barbauld, not Dr. Aiken) with one short paragraph:

Shall we evoke Mrs. Barbauld? She starts out to depict for us the gentle pleasures of \textit{Evenings at Home}. She opens up a portfolio and takes out the first instructive moral tale. That is enough: beware of what is to come; let us flee. There is a whole battalion of these fear-some women…\textsuperscript{3}

To refute this in some measure, there are only the gentle nostalgia of E. V. Lucas, and the following words of Barry:

As to Mrs. Barbauld, had she deserved half the abuse of her critics, she never would have found favor in so many nurseries… She was a pioneer in the art of writing for children.\textsuperscript{4}

Smith gives bibliographical details for a variety of editions of \textit{Evenings at Home} as well as collections which contain stories from the miscellany.\textsuperscript{5} Sarah Josepha Hale, literary editor of the American \textit{Godey's Lady's Book} and purported author of 'Mary Had a Little Lamb,' edited and prefaced a pro-Aiken volume.\textsuperscript{6} Horace Scudder, prolific and well known Boston literary figure of the last three decades of the nineteenth century, and early twentieth century, included stories in his anthology which he, too, attributed to Dr. Aiken.\textsuperscript{7} Cecil Hartley edited an edition

\textsuperscript{1}See Muir, \textit{op. cit.}, Chapter III, "A Monstrous Regiment," pp. 82-99.

\textsuperscript{2}St. John in The Osborne Collection, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 230. See also the quotation from Lamb's letters, this work above, Introduction.

\textsuperscript{3}Hazard, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 37-38.

\textsuperscript{4}Barry, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 148.

\textsuperscript{5}Smith, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 84-86.

\textsuperscript{6}Ibid., p. 85.

\textsuperscript{7}Ibid., p. 84.
for Routledge which gave some credit to both authors. It is Hartley's edition which has been the most widely reprinted and that can still be found on some library shelves.

Hartley's volume also has the best known illustrations. There were about 100 of them after the engravings of William Harvey. Harvey had been apprenticed to Thomas Bewick and continued the Bewick tradition of illustration. Many of the illustrations were in color.

1794 Pinchard, Mrs. [A Lady]. The Two Cousins, A Moral Story for the Use of Young Persons. London: Elizabeth Newbery.

Of no intrinsic worth in itself this story could be used as a pattern from which to cut out any one of numerous late eighteenth century moral tales that were mere elaborations on an obvious theme.

Elizabeth Newbery, like other publishers of her day, cultivated her own chosen group of moral writers. Mrs. Pinchard, Mrs. Mitchell, Mrs. Helme, Mrs. Pilkington. Her editing had made Berquin more sententious than he was. The writers whom she chose did not need editing. They built their little homilies so close to the pattern that titles, characters, and even dialogue could be transferred from one story to another without making much difference.

1 Ibid., p. 85.
2 St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 447.
3 For biographical detail, supra, The Blind Child.
Darton states that between 1790 and 1820:

There were at least a score of such writers for children whose recognition by the public was sufficient on economic grounds to get them into print regularly.¹

He gives several points which fit such writers:

1. They could tell a story better than they could construct a plot.
2. Their emphasis on moral theme made for feeble plot.
3. They told short stories.
4. They most often wrote anonymously or pseudonomously.
5. Their publications usually lacked a printed date of publication.²

In spite of the innanity of the tales the influence of such writers was tremendous. Darton reminds that in proportion to British population there was a large number of such authors who were widely read.

... a book once established had more than seasonal life, whatever its merits. Editions... were not small; fifteen to two thousand were usually the first printing and the majority... mentioned here [Pinchard, Mitchell, Helme, Pilkington, Elliott, Wakefield, and others]³ went into three or four reprints, or were amalgamated with others and perpetuated in a new form.⁴

¹Darton, op. cit., p. 169. Darton's publishing ancestors had their own group of similar writers; e.g., Mary Belson, Elliott, Prisilla Bell Wakefield.

²Ibid., p. 169. Darton seemed to feel that since (in his opinion) the writings were so vapid and so similar, lack of publication date did not really matter.

³St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., lists many titles by these authors in the section "Stories Before 1850." Darton discusses them on pp. 168-170; Thwaite on pp. 74, 75. Some writers in the same category rise above mediocrity with touches of originality and flashes of humor. They are discussed separately; e.g., infra, Augustus Kendall.

⁴Darton, op. cit., p. 169.
The theme of *Two Cousins* is that to be happy one must live moderately and be just, otherwise he will fall into unhappy circumstances. A prim girl points this out to her badly spoiled cousin who repents and is redeemed. But during the periods of pointing out, repentance and redemption the stock heroine is held up as a model of upper-middle class virtue in such manner that the spoiled cousin must have secretly hated her forever.

Both children, of course, were upper-middle class. Poor children were only used as background or as objects to whom the well-to-do could dispense charity so that the givers could feel smugly benevolent. This particular story is unrelieved by humor or by any wink of the mental eye that might indicate that all mortals have failings of one kind or another.¹

1795-96² Edgeworth, Maria. *The Parents' Assistant; or, Stories for Children*. In Two Parts. London: Joseph Johnson.

MID - CH, MID - R, MIDW - R, OCl - T, WlUM - LS, Ca OTP.


The first stories written especially for children by an author of genius. In spite of bibliographic confusion as to which stories were published first, the stories meant for the pre-teenage child have lived

¹Even the despised Mrs. Barbauld climbed trees, got her shoes muddy, ran away from suitors whom she disliked, and had apple fights with rotten fruit.

²The question mark is Muir's, op. cit., p. 97. St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 249 states: "No complete copies of the first edition of 1795 are known to have survived."
for over one hundred and fifty years. The first appearance of vividly delineated characters and definite story lines in children's stories.

Barry asserts that Maria Edgeworth as a writer is, perhaps, the most influential writer for children of her age:

... she brings the first century of [real] children's books to a natural close. She gathers up the loose ends of the old stories and weaves them into a bright and symmetrical design. The pattern is not wholly original; it was set by Marmontel, ... Berquin, ... Mme. de Genlis, ... the English Rousseaulists; but Miss Edgeworth brought it to perfection, expressing traditional theme in terms of reason and benevolence.\(^1\)

Joseph Johnson, the benevolent publisher of Thomas Day's works,\(^2\) was friend and publisher of the Edgeworth family as well. Johnson chose the title *The Parents' Assistant* over the preference of Mr. Edgeworth, *Parents' Friend*. Maria termed Johnson's choice a "degradation."\(^3\)

Oliver who states that Maria had been writing the stories "years before" their publication lists the stories originally included as follows:\(^4\)

1. "The Purple Jar" (later added to the Rosamond Stories)
2. "Little Dog Trusty"
3. "The Orange Man"
4. "Tarlton"
5. "Lazy Lawrence" (sometimes called "Idleness and Industry Exemplified")

\(^1\)Barry, op. cit., p. 191.
\(^2\)Supra, annotation, Thomas Day.
\(^4\)Ibid., p. 102.
6. "The False Key"
7. "The Bracelet" (also a Rosamond Story)
8. "Mademoiselle Panache" (later included in Moral Tales)
9. "The Birthday Present"
10. "Old Poz"
11. "The Mimic"

Several editions followed in rapid succession with new stories added and some stories subtracted. A 1797 edition was made "suitable for gifts." It was printed on fine paper and illustrated by Miss Beaufort who later became Maria's third stepmother. By the fourth Johnson edition of six volumes the first three stories (listed above) had been transferred to a work for younger children, Early Lessons.2

The first American edition of the Parents' Assistant was published in Georgetown by Joseph Milligan in 1809. Dinsmore and Cooper were the printers. It was in three volumes and appears to have followed the later Johnson editions which indicates the inclusion of more stories than the original eleven.3

Welch also notes two other early American editions of the "complete" set. Well and Wait put out a three volume Boston edition in 1814. Colleagues in New York (Eastburn and Kirk) and in Philadelphia (Carey,

1ibid., p. 103.
2The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 249. This work was originally begun by Maria's father and her first stepmother, Honora Sneyd. Its first stages as Lucy and Harry were an incentive to Thomas Day in his writing. See annotations above.
Thomas, and Parker) simultaneously put out the same edition. These volumes had plates done by the American Bewick, Dr. Alexander Anderson. In 1820 the New Yorker, E. Duyckink (of No. 68 Water Street) put out a two volume edition with illustrations also signed by Anderson.¹

The great popularity of the Edgeworth stories appears to lie in the many small books published which contained only one (or at most two) of the stories. Welch lists over twenty-one of these.² As an example of the way this was done The Boston Company of Wells and Lily appeared to have published an early edition of the entire work, "and then bound and issued each story or play separately, in 1815, 1816, and 1819."³

Rosenbach lists no entire edition of the works but does note two separate stories. The first of these "Idleness and Industry" ("Lazy Lawrence") "was contained in the first volume of The Parents' Assistant."⁴ This was printed in Philadelphia by Archibald Bartram "for J. Johnson, 1804."⁵ The second story, "The Barring Out" printed in Philadelphia by W. M'Culloch for Johnson and Warner, 1809 ...[was] originally written for inclusion in The Parents' Assistant."⁶

¹Ibid., p. 527, n. 310.2, n. 310.3.
²Welch, Bibliography D-G, pp. 516-523.
³Ibid., p. 517. The illustrations in these were also signed "A" [Alexander Anderson].
⁴Rosenbach, op. cit., p. 118, n. 293. Rosenbach cites 1796 as the date of the first edition.
⁵Ibid., p. 118, n. 293.
Halsey notes that "Miss Edgeworth does not seem to have been well known in America until about eighteen hundred and five."¹ Halsey states that "Harry and Lucy" and an almost unknown little volume of three stories brought this first American fame.² What Halsey does not appear to recognize is that two of these stories were in the first edition as cited by Oliver.³

Maria Edgeworth, novelist, short story writer, educator, and essayist was born to an erratically intelligent Irish-English gentleman (Richard Lovell Edgeworth) and his first wife of a young and ill-advised marriage. Bored with his marriage, well-to-do Edgeworth sought cheer and intellectual companionship with Thomas Day and "The Litchfield Group."⁴ He traveled abroad with Day and the first Edgeworth child (young Richard) while Maria stayed home with her mother and maternal grandparents. Young Richard was raised according to Edgeworth's enthusiastic interpretation of Rousseau's theories of child raising. He was a little dismayed that the boy was so stubborn, but practice with him perhaps helped Edgeworth subdue Maria's tendencies towards similar stubbornness.

¹Halsey, op. cit., p. 156.
²Ibid., p. 156.
³These are "Little Dog Trusty" and "The Orangeman."
⁴This consisted of such people as James Watt, Wedgeworth, and Eramus Darwin. The poetess, Anna Seward, and Honora Sneyd (Edgeworth's second wife) were also a part of the group.
With each of her father's marriages Maria continued as her father's bailiff, his amanuensis and the prime teacher of her many younger brothers and sisters. As bailiff Maria learned to manage the accounts of and oversee the many employees needed for the Edgeworth extensive Irish estate. Many of these years were the years of Irish rebellion. Although Maria used Irish background in her minor classic novel, Castle Rackrent, in her children's stories she never betrayed any of the excitement and sometimes terror that befell the family during these troublesome days.

As amanuensis Maria copied, corrected, and often enlarged upon some of her father's earlier writings. For example, they did Practical Education together: essays, articles, advice on raising and educating children in a moral enlightened fashion. They used the idealism of Rousseau and the utilitarianism of Jeremy Bentham in about equal proportions.

It has been said that Mr. Edgeworth, being of an inventive turn of mind, outlined the plots that Maria used for her stories. Maria, however, was too fanciful to suit her father and he pared her writing to what he considered the right moral tone. In spite of this Maria still peeped through.

There were four in all. A year after the death of Maria's mother Mr. Edgeworth married Honora Sneyd. Following her death (of consumption) he married Honora's sister, Elizabeth. During seventeen years of marriage Elizabeth gave birth to several children (there were already five), her health declined, and she died in 1797. Mr. Edgeworth was past fifty. Nine children were still at home to be raised. Two other "Sneyd" sisters lived with the family. The next year, Mr. Edgeworth married his fourth wife, the illustrator of Maria's first book. (Oliver, op. cit., pp. 104-107). On p. 312 Oliver states, "... twenty-two children (in all) ... several died in infancy." Eighteen lived.
When she was very young and the family had made an early visit to Ireland from their English home Maria enjoyed getting into trouble. The gardener had set out new panes of glass for the greenhouse ready for installation. Maria walked on all of them delightedly grinding the glass to bits under her jumping feet. She was badly cut and severely punished. But all she ever remembered was the wonderful sound of the tinkling glass as it broke.¹

In 'The Purple Jar' the injudicious little heroine, Rosamond, is unrepentant Maria. The lovely purple apothecary's jar which Rosamond bought with her shoe money turns out to be fraudulent. With the liquid poured out the color is gone. Rosamond's mother expects her little girl to choose more wisely next time. Rosamond answers, '...I am sure, --no, not quite sure, but I hope I shall be wiser another time.'²

Such an incident is representative of the insight that Maria Edgeworth had into a child's feelings. She remembered not only her own rebellions and longings but she lived closely with the laughter, tears, quarrels, and joys of her brothers and sisters. Before their arrival, during her brief years at boarding school, she told stories to her schoolmates gauging their worth according to the wakefulness they caused in her supposedly sleepy friends.³ No one has ever traced to see if some of the stories were begun at boarding school. It is known that

¹ibid., p. 57.

²Quoted in Darton, op. cit., p. 142. This story and the child's realization that she still will err is much quoted (and liked) by all the authorities.

³Oliver, op. cit., p. 61.
they were written on a slate, at home, long before publication was ever contemplated.

One of the reasons that Maria's stories were not published sooner than they were was the influence of Thomas Day. He wrote scathing words about women who wrote for publication. Teenage Maria owed a great deal to the Days. During the months that she suffered from a supposedly incurable eye infection she lived with the Days. Thomas treated her eyes. Mrs. Day fed her. As she convalesced she had the run of the garden, the house, and the library. Thomas treated her with gentle equality. She respected him, mourned that he always talked like a book, but stood in awe of his opinions that were so often reinforced by her father. She never dared to allow any of her work to be published until after Day's death.  

Halsey believes that the tales in *The Parents' Assistant:*

struck many true notes and gave valuable hints to perplexed parents. . . . The characters were invariably true to their creator's original drawing. A good girl was good from morning to night; a naughty child began and ended the day in disobedience.

This is not entirely true. Even in 'Waste Not, Want Not' sometimes called, 'Two Strings to Your Bow' Hal, the "disobedient boy" is

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2 *Ibid.* , pp. 100-101. Maria was then 28 years old.
4 Not in the first edition but so long considered a "model" tale and so consistently equated with all tales from *The Parents' Assistant* that Edgeworth fanciers would be indignant to have it overlooked. The three stories from *The Parents' Assistant* which are under discussion in the following paragraphs are: "The Purple Jar," "Waste Not, Want Not," and "The Basket Woman." The version of "The Purple Jar" cited is in Lucas' *Old Fashioned Tales, op. cit.* , pp. 60-69. "The Basket Woman" is in the same volume, pp. 98-121. "Waste Not, Want Not" is in Lucas' *Forgotten Tales of Long Ago, op. cit.* , pp. 204-241.
constantly alluded to in such terms as, "Hal reproached himself for his folly, and would have reproached himself longer if . . ."\(^1\) or, "Hal . . . was really a good natured boy. . . ."\(^2\) Hal's character is also described as due to his upbringing.\(^3\)

Hal and Benjamin . . . were about ten years old. They had been educated very differently. Hal was the son of the elder branch of the family. His father was a gentleman who spent rather more than he could afford; and Hal, from the example of the servants in his father's family, with whom he had passed the first years of childhood, learned to waste . . . every thing he used. He had been told that "gentlemen should be above being careful and saving;" . . . he . . . imbibed a notion that extravagance was the sign of a generous disposition. . . . \(^4\)

The uncle of the two boys, having no sons, wanted to adopt a boy. He invited Hal and Ben for a visit and on the strength of this visit intended to decide to choose one of the boys. The story is long but the action hinges upon a crucial archery contest. Both boys practice well enough to be equally skilled. But due to his impetuous, extravagant habits, Hal loses.

The uncle, with the same spirit of teaching the use of money as Rosamond's mother in "The Purple Jar," allows the boys each a certain sum of money for clothes. Ben, of course, with part of his money buys a heavy coat for the cold weather that will soon be coming. He gives the rest to a poor boy. Dazzled Hal spends his on a white uniform with

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\(^1\) Lucas, *Forgotten Tales, op. cit.*, p. 211.


bright green trimming: frogs, epaulettes, cockade in his hat, bows on his arrows. He has made fashionable friends who urge him to this course. They add the incentive that only boys in uniform can march through the city to the downs on which the contest will be held. For Hal, the great day is full of misadventures. The weather turns cold and windy after hours of rain that made streets and the downs full of red mud. Hal is excited and impatient. He runs off from the house leaving his arrows behind him. Only the befriended poor boy helps him; brings him his arrows, picks him up out of the mud (for, of course, Hal falls), dries him off. Hal's uniform is now brick red and white with no green showing. And he is cold. In spite of this, he almost wins the match. (Ben does win of course.) He learns, however, that in the heat of competition the "fine" friends are false, rude, and unfair.

There is definite piling of dramatic incident upon incident. The clue to the end was skillfully planted at the beginning of the story. Ben had saved a piece of whipcord which he kept in his pocket. When his bow string broke, he pulled out the cord and using it was able to make the final, scoring shot. In losing, Hal is generous. He vows that his cousin deserves to win.

The theme is quite similar to those used in all the little "story lessons" of the preceding "moral minor writers." Maria Edgeworth, however, gives dimension to her characters. She makes them consistent. However, Hal is never repulsive. He is simply a little ten year old boy who is overcome by a ten year old's strong impulses and desires. Ben is not quite so priggish as Mr. Day's heroes. The story, though involved, moves. If a reading child identified with Ben he would, of course, want
Ben to win and be happy with the outcome. If he identified with Hal, he might feel that logically Ben should win, but his sympathies and thoughts would still be with Hal. Children today would admit this. Georgian children probably could not. Yet even they, for the first time in stories, could see that the "bad" child was only human, was not all bad, and with time might conceivably grow to be a little "better."

All of the stories use a great deal of conversation. Such dialogue is surprisingly free of rustiness. A modern teacher who reads aloud well, could read most of these stories to third and fourth graders. There is enough moral tone in so many twentieth century stories for children that such an audience would be neither surprised nor appalled. Extremely good readers of ten or eleven, who read "everything" could still read the stories with mild enjoyment.

For the adult student of social history the customs, mores, and social strata of the Georgian Days are clearly shown:

1. There are many poor. Their homes are pictured with appalling clarity. The physical ills which come with such poverty are also shown. The children help earn a meagre living. For example, in the story of Ben and Hal, they were "sticking pins in paper for the pin-maker, and ... sorting rags for a paper-maker." In "The Basket Woman" the old grandmother and her adopted grandchildren earn their living by blocking the back wheels of coaches as they go up a treacherous hill.

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1Lucas, Old Fashioned Tales, op. cit., p. 65.
This keeps the coaches from tipping or rolling dangerously back as the coachman urges his horses onward in the difficult upward pull. The travelers toss coins to the children.

2. The interests of the 'well-to-do': Rosamond's parents take their children to see a famous glass works. The uncle (of Ben and Hal) takes the boys to see a robin who sings along with a cathedral organ, and to see the beautiful stained glass windows. He hints at the then current theory of optics that explains the beautiful shadows which are as worthy of being seen as the windows themselves. (All this in a few brief sentences which do not interrupt the flow of the narrative.) A traveling family in 'The Basket Woman' are shown the famous 'Wickerwares' of a town they visit and learn to understand the skill and artistry involved in becoming apprenticed to such a craft as basket making.

3. The clothing: Men of Hal's day dressed with great finery. His father, no doubt, wore clothes that excited Hal's emulation. Hal's uncle was a retired business man who came up the hard way and believed in plain but servicable clothing. Such an attitude was commonly scorned. In 'The Basket Woman' the father buys straw slippers to wear while he powders
his wig so that his ordinary shoes will not be spoiled. "Rosamond's" mother lets her little daughter explore the wares, sights, and smells of a cobbler's shop while she is being measured for clogs (pattens) to keep her feet high and dry above wet and muddy streets.

4. The attitude of adults toward children: Fawning servants, honest or pilfering servants (the latter are immediately discharged); warm and loving adults; adults with false values; but always there is at least one adult who is so sure of his own values that he never doubts them and never bothers to explain them to children. The children must be astute enough to learn on their own. Suffering will help them. Rosamond's father says that no "slip-shod" child can go with him to the glass works. Off he goes with the other children with never a backward glance. Rosamond stays home with the servants. Hal's uncle never explains. He lets a ten year old do as he pleases and take the sad consequences. The children are more concerned and try to help each other.

The all-wise, guiding, hovering parent or other adult is similar to Rousseau as Emile's tutor,1 or Madame D'Epinay's mother of Emilie.2

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1^Supra, section on Rousseau.

2^Supra, section on Madame D'Epinay.
St. John in The Osborne Catalogue\textsuperscript{1} and Elva Smith\textsuperscript{2} are the authorities who present later and illustrated editions of \textit{The Parents' Assistant}. Such presentation is valuable. Along with a listing of well known illustrators it exemplifies the difficult bibliography involved in tracing which stories appeared when, in what editions, and to which overall title they should be assigned.\textsuperscript{3}

A 1903 Wells Gardner and Darton selection of \textit{Tales} is cited by Mahoney,\textsuperscript{4} St. John,\textsuperscript{5} and Smith.\textsuperscript{6} Twelve stories from \textit{The Parents' Assistant} are introduced by Austin Dobson and illustrated by Hugh Thomson.

Irish Thomson was an interesting person to be chosen as the illustrator. May Massee, in Mahoney, calls him an artist "with a place in the line of tradition" and an illustrator who "bridged the gap in England ... from the nineteenth to the twentieth century."\textsuperscript{7} This is an astute observation with deeper implications than are at first apparent. The

\textsuperscript{1}The Osborne Collection, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 247-249.

\textsuperscript{2}Smith, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 88-90. Mahoney in "Illustrators of Children's Books," \textit{op. cit.}, does not mention Edgeworth. This is surprising in view of the Anderson illustrations.

\textsuperscript{3}See below, this chapter, annotations, Maria Edgeworth, \textit{Moral Tales}. One of the stories in the first edition of the work here under discussion was transferred to \textit{Moral Tales}.

\textsuperscript{4}Mahoney, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 442.

\textsuperscript{5}The Osborne Collection, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 249.

\textsuperscript{6}Smith, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 90.

\textsuperscript{7}May Massee, "Developments of the Twentieth Century" in Mahoney, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 222. A twentieth century artist inspired by him was Ernest H. Shepard who illustrated \textit{The Pooh Books of Milne}, The Osborne Collection, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 459.
key lies in Massee's following statement:

It is characteristic of a good artist that he builds on tradition; and if you find the artists a man admires, you are very apt to find his tradition—the spring that helped him.1

Massee points out that Randolph Caldecott and Edwin Abbey were Thomson's inspirations. Both of these artists showed what could be done with a simple unshaded line. Both took Georgian material for the subjects of many of their illustrations.2 Thomson developed their shaded line technique and often used Georgian subjects. This is notable not only in his illustration of tales from The Parents' Assistant but also in Tom Brown's School Days.3

Other illustrators who pictured the scenes and characters of The Parents' Assistant are English Chris Hammond (who specialized in works by Edgeworth and Thackeray) and American William Croome who also illustrated Holiday House.4 F. O. Bedford, of course, illustrated the Lucas books used for this annotation.

Each of these artists draws his children so lovingly, and is so careful about the correct detail of dress and setting that he gives the impression that he was among the hundreds of children who loved Maria Edgeworth's stories. The parents, of course, heartily approved their

1Ibid., p. 222.

2One example of this for each artist: Caldecott did 'John Gilpin's Ride' (by Cowper); Abbey did 'The Deserted Village' (by Goldsmith). To bring authenticity each studied Georgian backgrounds in every detail.

3See this work, next chapter, annotations: Tom Brown's School Days.

4See this work, next chapter, annotations: Catherine Sinclair, Holiday House.
children's choice of reading matter. Sir Walter Scott had nothing but admiration for the stories. And in America, Mrs. Josiah Quincy was one of the people who "made every effort to procure Miss Edgeworth's stories for her family because in her opinion 'they obtained a decided preference to the works of Hannah More [and] Mrs. Trimmer.'"2

Hazard lumps Maria Edgeworth with the 'monstrous moralists'; but Muir comes out in her defense. After discussing what he considers the horrible women writers he states:

It is pleasant to record that the first revulsion from monstrosities . . . was also shown by women writers. Maria Edgeworth was among the first and the most important of those who, while retaining the unmistakable flavour of moral powder, were at least possessed of a sufficient narrative gift to improve the quality of the jam and to provide it in more generous proportion.3


The first dog story in animal fiction for children.4 For many years it was the only rival to Mrs. Trimmer's *Fabulous Histories*.5

In 1788, Elizabeth Newbery, widow of John Newbery's nephew, Francis, was still in charge of the business at No. 20 the corner of St. Paul's

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1Oliver, *op. cit.*, pp. 430, 443. See also: Halsey, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

2Halsey, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

3Muir, *op. cit.*

4Ramsey Notes, *op. cit.*, unpaged.

5The Osborne Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 272; Barry, *op. cit.*, p. 140.
Churchyard. She published Kendall's numerous moral bird stories which do not seem to have the same spark of life that 
Keeper has.

Very little is known about Kendall himself. Halsey gives him the title of "Doctor." Darton calls him a solemn and dull writer in all of his works except 
Keeper. Thwaite lists him as a notable writer about birds and adds that Mrs. Trimmer thought him sufficiently important to write a review of 

Kendall's reputation (and books) did reach the United States. The Canary Bird was published in Philadelphia in 1801. Keeper was also published in Philadelphia but not until 1808. It was published for the American firm of Johnson and Warner. Rosenbach states that Keeper "has been reprinted many times both in England and America; the dedication is dated April, 1798."

Kendall definitely used the current theme of "be kind to animals."

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1The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 487.
2Supra, annotations, for more detailed work concerning the Elizabeth Newbery establishment and her coterie of writers.
3Halsey, op. cit., p. 172.
4Darton, op. cit., p. 170.
5Thwaite, op. cit., p. 188.
6Rosenbach, op. cit., p. 271, n. 270.
7Ibid., p. 144, n. 370. Kendall also wrote The Crested Wren; The Swallow, Fiction Interspersed with Poetry; and The Stories of Senex; or, Little Histories of Little People.
8Ibid., p. 144, n. 370.
Keeper is not only "interspersed with poetry," as were Kendall's other works for children, but also contained little discourses such as "the life and history of the mastiff." In spite of this he writes a smoothly flowing narrative with enough adventures to whet a child's appetite for further reading. The story begins with trouble.

Keeper followed his master . . . with care: yet it happened that being at a town in Gloucestershire, on the market day, he was so attentive to half-a-dozen fowls that were in a basket . . . that his master was out of sight before our dog could persuade himself to leave the favorite objects of his allurement.¹

Both master and dog tried to find one another with no success. The innkeeper planned on keeping the dog until his master returned but Keeper wanted to go home. Off he started. First he went to the house of his master's best friend. There he saved the life of grandchildren who had fallen through the ice in the pond. But, later, visitors teased him so that he snapped at one and the groom tried to hang him. Keeper left. This time enroute he was shot and badly wounded. An apothecary found him, operated on him and saved his life. Caroline, the apothecary's beautiful daughter, nursed him to life. Keeper began to love her almost as much as he loved his master, but not quite. So again he traveled, meeting with more exciting adventures. The master finally became acquainted with the apothecary and Caroline. Together they find Keeper.

Keeper now is in a quandary. Both of the young people want him. He realizes that he loves them both.

Some compliments passed between Caroline and the master, respecting who should now possess Keeper? These polite dissensions were not... of long duration. Whether it was to accommodate Keeper... or from what other motive, it is not our province to inquire, but so it happened, Caroline and his master were married, and Keeper abided with both.

He has lived since happily and at ease.1

There had been other animal stories in which the heroes (or heroines) spoke and acted like people.2 Keeper, however, was a real dog. He never spoke as humans do. He only whined, whimpered, or barked. When Keeper found that his master did not appear he "became spiritless and pined daily."3 When his master did arrive, Keeper "ran towards him, half frantic with delight. The mad... behavior can scarcely be described."4

The first edition had a "frontispiece... engraved on copper by Dadley after John Thurston,"5 Thurston originally had been a draughtsman and copperplate engraver for James Heath the engraver to George III and IV and William IV.6

The American edition of 1856 read for this annotation has nine engravings by an unidentified illustrator. The background details, as well as the dress, depict Georgian days. They give the social historian supportive evidence for the common practices of the day such as: the laughter with which cruelty to animals was greeted; the accoutrements of an inn-courtyard or the front garden of a well-to-do home. Caroline is

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1Kendall, op. cit., p. 119.
2ibid., p. 118.
3ibid., p. 118.
4ibid., p. 118.
5The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 272.
6ibid., pp. 459 and 447.
fashionably dressed. Keeper, however, could fit into twentieth century pictures. He carries a stick or a basket in his mouth in the same manner as any dog would carry them. He fawns or cringes the same. He snuggles or jumps for joy. His coat has never changed its style.

The pictures are small, however, and have no color. Beautiful Joe, which is still a favorite story with some children, is an example of the kind of stories that have been modeled on Keeper. For the average child, Keeper is a better story in that the story has an ending that is satisfying for both dog and the young lovers, the fairy tale ending. Beautiful Joe is more suitable for the sub-adolescent who enjoys being bathed in tears.

Sheila Burnford's twentieth century Incredible Journey tells of three animals that cross a continent to find their master. Such themes are timeless and universal.


Novelettes Plays Moral Tale.

A sequel to The Parents' Assistant, the first stories with a plot meant for the teen-ager in the English sense (ages 12-15). These tales

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1Marshall Saunders, Beautiful Joe, A Dog's Own Story (New York: Grosset, n.d.).


3Barry, op. cit., p. 177, "... the pioneer of plot in children's books."

4Oliver, op. cit., p. 103.
together make up a miniature Sense and Sensibility for the twelve to fifteen-year-old group ten years before Jane Austen published her novel.¹

While Joseph Johnson,² Maria's publisher until his death, encouraged her writing he often tried her patience. He procrastinated in many of the printing and publishing details: accounts, proof-reading, correspondence. He was jailed for a publication which was considered treasonable...[and] he became too much connected with Godwin and Holcroft...[this] was afterwards a disadvantage to 'Maria'.³

Johnson did have excellent tastes. His own disposition was quiet and peaceable. But he believed in all of his authors, the firebrands like Godwin as well as the practical like the Edgeworths.⁴

Moral Tales had reached America by 1826.⁵ The work was published in three volumes for William Gilley and J. C. Totten in New York City. The woodcut illustrations were done by Dr. Alexander Anderson.⁶

Many events that would have upset people other than Maria Edgeworth occurred during the three or four years she took to write Moral Tales. At the beginning of these years, the family was living at Edgeworthstown

¹Barry, op. cit., p. 187 (e.g., Sense and Sensability).
²See this chapter above: Edgeworth, The Parents' Assistant.
³Oliver, op. cit., p. 140. See this chapter below: annotations, Charles and Mary Lamb.
⁴Ibid., p. 140. Johnson published the works of Cowper when no other publisher would.
⁵The only record available to the writer of this work of the American publication of Moral Tales is in Rosenbach, op. cit., pp. 249, 250, n. [688].
⁶See this chapter above: annotation, Edgeworth. This includes an excerpt from Maria's diary.
in Ireland. This was a period of Irish internal dissension and the French invasion. Mr. Edgeworth was a captain of the yeoman cavalry. The people in his county, made up of both Catholics and Protestants, were extremely loyal to him and his family. Even those few who joined the French kept the invaders from destroying or even pillaging the Edgeworth house. The others helped the entire family to escape to a temporary hiding place until the worst of the fighting was over. When the Edgeworths returned they found that not even the notes for their several works in progress had been disturbed.¹

Although most of these undisturbed writings have sometimes been attributed entirely to Maria (with the exception of Maria's own stories) most of them had been partially written by Mr. Edgeworth and each of his successive wives. During the same period of years Maria was working on Moral Tales, Practical Education, Popular Tales, and Castle Rackrent.²

Practical Education established the Edgeworths' reputation as educators. The Barbaulds, in friendly fashion, criticized the Edgeworths for some of their beliefs. The outstanding criticism was against the idea of keeping upper-class children as much as possible away from the educational influences of governesses, housekeepers, "and other servants." The Barbaulds claimed that the average family did not have: (1) as many children as the Edgeworth family--a school in itself, and (2) as many able educators belonging to the family who also lived on the family

¹Oliver, op. cit., pp. 111-128.

²As far as can now be told, the tales were Maria's (edited by her father), Castle Rackrent was hers, but Practical Education (as was Early Lessons or Harry and Lucy) a composite of work by all of them.
premises.  

In fictional form Moral Tales (and the later Popular Tales) presents an elaboration of the Edgeworth theory of education. Therefore, to understand the fiction it is necessary to know the premises put forth in the non-fiction, Practical Education.

Practical Education is based on the belief that education is an experimental science that must be grounded not only upon observation of children in all their activities but also upon observation and comparison of the use (and the results of this use) of a variety of "systems" of teaching children. The chapter headings are accurately descriptive of the contents of each chapter. Some of these are as follows:

1. "Tasks";
2. "Grammar and Classical Literature";
3. "Geography";
4. "Chronology";
5. "Arithmetic";
6. "Geometry";
7. "Mechanics";
8. "Obedience";
9. "Toys".

1 Besides the wives and Maria there were other Sneyd sisters than Honora and Elizabeth (both Edgeworth wives) who lived with the family and helped with the teaching. For a discussion of the Barbauld arguments with Richard Edgeworth see Oliver, op. cit., p. 131.

2 These were written by Mr. Edgeworth.

3 By Mrs. Elizabeth Edgeworth, wife for seventeen years, "who had remarkable success in managing her family." See Oliver, op. cit., p. 132.

4 Ibid., p. 134.
10. "On Attention";
11. "Servants";
12. "Acquaintance";
13. "On Temper";
14. "On Truth";
15. "On Rewards and Punishment";
16. "On Sympathy and Sensibility";
17. "On Vanity, Pride, and Ambition";
18. "On Public and Private Education";
19. "On Female Accomplishments";
20. "Memory and Invention";
21. "Taste and Imagination";
22. "Wit and Judgment";
23. "Prudence and Economy";
24. "Summary" of the entire works.

In the 1880's (decades after the book was first published) the Edgeworths were equated with such educators as Rousseau, Jacotot, Pestalozzi, Froebel, Diesterweg, and Horace Mann.¹

Maria sums up the Edgeworth "theory" with these words:

The general principle, that we should associate pleasure with whatever we wish our pupils should pursue, and pain with whatever we wish that they should avoid, forms . . . the basis of our plan of education.²

This summary does not give any indication of the boiling activity that went on in the Edgeworth household and schoolrooms. There were

¹ibid., p. 134.

²ibid., p. 134, as quoted by Oliver.
experiments of every sort. Mr. Edgeworth, himself, had always been an inventor. He became acquainted with Erasmus Darwin because of a carriage of his construction that would not tip over as it was turned around.¹ He proposed a means for telegraphy to be used in England before the idea was ever widespread. He had his children experiment with his method of telegraphy. These children, under their father's tutelage and among other such activities, also made soap, constructed balloons that would carry objects aloft (and hopefully people), devised formulae for rose perfumes, and made a variety of inks.²

Along with all of this healthy teeming life there were also sick children, new babies, deaths, a removal to England with old acquaintances to be renewed, and marriages. The Edgeworth children who married found interesting partners. For example, Anna (Maria's youngest own sister) married Dr. Thomas Beddoes, a distinguished physician and chemist who was involved with the Pneumatic Institution. Here all kinds of experiments on gases were carried on. The Edgeworth children, in visiting their sister and brother-in-law, had the "pleasure" of inhaling nitrous-oxide gas for the purposes of "enjoyment" and discovering the results of such inhalation themselves.³

During all this time, Maria managed to write "at" Moral Tales. She carried notes around in her pockets and wrote up these notes whenever

¹Oliver, op. cit., p. 32. This carriage was built according to a theory propounded by Darwin but never before put into actuality.

²Ibid., p. 100.

³Oliver, op. cit., pp. 138-139. Perhaps this is why Byron felt "there ought to have been a Society for the Oppression of Mr. Edgeworth." See Barry, op. cit., p. 183.
she could find a free evening. She still submitted final drafts to her father for "correction." She was often vexed at the parts he eliminated and the critical marginal notes he wrote. She sometimes felt that he ruthlessly eliminated those sections which she liked the best.¹

While Maria's characterization in Moral Tales is excellent, Barry believes that she hampers her story telling by fitting her story world "to her father's theories."² This "fit" makes her people walk gingerly. They live as though they were every moment accompanied by an all-knowing guardian who has nothing to do but keep them on a narrow path. Perhaps Maria secretly would have liked them to escape but her father controlled the marionette strings. He plainly states this in his preface to Moral Tales.

In them are embodied the purest principles of moral rectitude, conveyed in the pleasing guise of interesting fiction, and clothed in the attractive garb of virtue and truth. . . .

These tales were written to illustrate the opinions delivered in Practical Education.²

Mr. Edgeworth then proceeds to give a thumbnail description of each of the seven stories contained in the volume. These are:

1. "Forester";
2. "Angelina; or, L'Ami Inconnue";
3. "The Knapsack";
4. "The Prussian Vase";

¹Ibid., p. 186.

²Maria Edgeworth, Moral Tales (London: Routledge, n.d.), p. iv. As Routledge did not open his own establishment until 1843 and published the most prolifically after the 1850's, this edition no doubt was published in the last half of the nineteenth century.
5. "The Good Aunt";
7. "Mademoiselle Panache."

Each of the tales is more a novelette than a long short story. In considering only the criterion of length "Forester" for example takes up sixty-eight pages of fine print and small margins. Published in twentieth century physical format the same story would run to at least one hundred and thirty or forty pages. It is divided into sections, each with its own heading. Each section could be considered a chapter. In fact, each section is a complete tale of its own dependent upon the other chapters only in that the protagonist and, occasionally, one or two of the other characters appear in them.

Mr. Edgeworth's appraisal of "Forester" is as follows:

[Here]. . . is presented the picture of an eccentric character,—a young man who scorns the common forms and dependencies of civilized society; and who, full of visionary schemes of benevolence and happiness, might by improper management or unlucky circumstances, have become a fanatic and a criminal.*

To the reader who was not concerned with comparing the tale to theories or systems of education "Forester" presents an unusual appearance.

The hero is a wealthy teen-ager who has been taught to believe strongly in virtue and truth, but little in the social amenities. He distrusts polite society, fine clothes, and dancing. His prejudices make life miserable for him, and everyone else, when he goes to live with his

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1An early version of this last tale was originally included in the first edition of The Parents' Assistant. See this chapter above, annotations.

2Edgeworth, Moral Tales (Routledge edition), op. cit., p. v.
Scotch guardian, a Dr. Campbell of Edinburgh. Raised on a literary diet of *Robinson Crusoe* and similar stories, Forester prefers solitude to the company of others. He is rude, offensive, and quarrelsome even with those whom he likes best: Dr. Campbell and his teenage children, Henry and Flora.

There is, of course, a teenage villain, a spoiled young nobleman, whose mother hopes Dr. Campbell will recommend for a commission. Forester's real troubles, however, are only hastened by the villain but have their origin within his own defects of character. The most apparent of these defects are that he does not recognize the virtues of good grooming, politeness, real consideration for others, and the fact that a knave may be found in any rank of society. Laborers are not all good and honest. The wealthy are not all cheats and liars.

In discovering these things Forester goes through a series of apprenticeships to: a gardener, a brewer, and a printer. He is involved in a mystery and falsely accused of a crime. Young scientist, Henry Campbell proves Forester's innocence through data, known only to a scientist, from which he is able to deduce logical conclusions. Confronted by the evidence the guilty men confess. One is a working man. His co-conspirator is the spoiled young nobleman.

Forester "comes to realize" that he must be neat, civil, sensitive to the needs of others, and that it is not immoral to dance. The final scene displays him, well dressed, in the arms of Flora whom he is complimenting as they whirl across the ballroom floor together.

The story is still readable. It would be more readable if it were printed in twentieth century format. There are very few anachronisms of
speech. The narrative moves swiftly from complication to complication. Trouble is piled upon trouble. The story ends with suitable nearness to the climax. The ballroom scene is admirably brief.

In retrospect, with only a few changes, the story is the young life of Thomas Day. Henry Campbell is Richard Edgeworth. Flora is Richard's sister, Margaret. The setting is Scotland instead of the Irish homeland of the Edgeworths. Thomas did learn to dance, to dress decently, to behave in civilized company. It may or may not have been Maria's intent to write about the friend of her own teenage days.

For the social historian much is revealed. Each apprenticeship involves a description of the place of business, the living quarters, the food, the talk, and the dress of the people who were of such a class. The brewery episode displays the prevalent custom of cheating the tax assessor and the ways in which this was accomplished. The print shop episode brings in the ideals of Benjamin Franklin, the impatience of authors to see their works in print, the harranguing zealots who wrote pamphlets to inflame the masses, and the need of well-read literary men to scan the incoming manuscripts.

The scientific arguments in the courtroom show the extent of chemical knowledge at the end of the eighteenth century and the zeal with which the interested pursued this study. Some of the evidence even hinges upon the type of currency (the bank notes) used in purchasing any commodity.

The other stories are similar in length, each with a predominant moral theme, each as lively in action yet showing other aspects of Georgian life.
Angelina, not really a female Forester as Mr. Edgeworth says, pokes fun at the "sensibility" that was so much a fashionable aspect of the growing Romanticism of the time.

"The Knapsack" is a play. The scenes are set in Sweden. The story of a soldier's return to family from war was inspired by the following verse from Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry:

The boy put on his robes, his robes of green,  
His purple vest--'twas my own sewing;  
Ah, wretched me, I little, little kenned  
He was in those to meet his ruin.1

The entire plot hinges upon the finding of a soldier's knapsack that contains a vest given to the soldier by his wife when he went away to battle.

The Prussian Vase extolls the British form of democracy in comparison to the German government under King Frederick. It is a mystery story. The lawyer who saves the wrongly accused German is visiting German potteries. There is much comparison of Dresden china and Wedgwood. An English trial by a jury of peers is set up at the court. Winning the trial also means that a beautiful young woman pottery designer can go back home to Saxony with her betrothed. The villain is a Jew.3

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1The Edgeworths had a little theatre built over the study of their home in Edgeworthstown and there the children dramatized stories from all of Maria's writings.

2Edgeworth, Moral Tales, op. cit., p. 164.

3Because of this story Maria received a letter from a southern American Jewess, Miss Mordecai, who asked why someone couldn't write a story in which there is a good Jew who is a hero. The two women became correspondents. Maria wrote such a story. Oliver, op. cit., p. 305.
The Good Aunt, who as a young woman gave up "everything" so that she could learn enough to educate her orphan nephew, Charles, properly, firmly believes in the Edgeworth idea of teaching reading. The very first page of the story tells this:

By associating early pleasure with reading, little Charles soon became fond of it. He was never forced to read books which he did not understand; his aunt used, when he was very young, to read aloud to him anything entertaining that she met with; and whenever she perceived by his eye that his attention was not fixed, she stopped. When he was able to read fluently to himself, she selected for him . . . books which she thought would excite his curiosity to know more; and she was not in a hurry to cram him with knowledge, but . . . anxious to prevent his growing appetite for literature from being early satiated. She always encouraged him to talk to her freely about what he read, and to tell her when he did not like any of the books which she gave to him.1

Due to his aunt's wise training Charles was not overwhelmed when an unwise business venture made by an unscrupulous financier (to whom the aunt had entrusted her money matters) caused them to lose their home and most of their possessions. Charles goes to school "on a scholarship." The usual troubles of a boys' school occur: fagging, trickery, beatings, friendships, and rivalries. The rival is young Holloway. Charles as a non-boarding scholar receives more ragging than the boarders. (He lives in his aunt's now modest, small home.) His best friend is a little Creole boy, Oliver, who is also taunted unmercifully. Charles takes him home to live with the aunt and himself. Exciting adventures ensue.

Young Holloway is involved, clandestinely, in a race between a coach-and-four and a post-chaise. They side swipe each other throwing passengers and baggage into stony ditches. A Mulatto from Jamaica is injured and

1Edgeworth, op. cit., pp. 204, 205.
taken to the home of the gardener who lives next door to Charles' aunt.
And here begins a mystery. Who is Cuba, the Mulatto? Whom is she
seeking? What fortune had she been carrying? What happened to that
fortune?

Mr. Edgeworth described *The Good Aunt* as a story that showed the
value of early education at home as opposed to early education by tutors.
It does that. But with the excitement aroused by the involved plot, no
child read the story for Mr. Edgeworth's moral.

*The Good French Governess* and *Mademoiselle Panache* were intended
to be read in sequence, one story showing what a good governess should be
and the other story showing the bad governess. Each of these stories is:
also melodramatic in plot, full of excitement. There are the usual con­
trasts of character. But again, the child reader would find the excite­
ment. Only the adult would perceive the moral.

The Routledge edition read for this annotation contains eight
illustrations, engravings in black and white. The lower right hand corner
of each plate bears the single word "Dalziel."

Seven sons and one daughter of Alexander Dalziel, an engraver,
became artists. "They established an art school and produced a large part
of the woodcut illustrations issued in England from 1840 to 1880." It
is probable that this, and the other Edgeworth books listed at the front
of the book, were illustrated by one or more of the Dalziels.

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1St. John in *The Osborne Collection, op. cit.*, p. 442.
2The other Routledge Edgeworth books so advertised are: *Early
Lessons; The Parents' Assistant*; and *Popular Tales* (a sequel to *Moral
Tales.*

The first anthology of poetry for children in the modern sense. The few of Lucy Aikin's poems which are included are the forerunners of the moral verse or poetry written by the Taylor sisters\(^2\) and are a step on the way towards Robert Louis Stevenson.

Sir Richard Phillips was an author and bookseller of Leicester. "He moved to London in 1795 and established a business at 71 St. Paul's Churchyard,"\(^3\)

Lucy Aikin, daughter of John and niece of Letitia Barbauld, both followed in family footsteps and broke the pattern. She taught a little, wrote a great deal. Most of her writing that has survived was historical material delineating the life and times of many of England's kings and queens. With a brother she compiled works of both her father and her aunt, and wrote their memoirs. She very obviously made it a point to give authorship credit to her father that many people had previously given to her aunt.\(^4\) Owing much of her education to her Aunt Letitia, Lucy, nevertheless strongly disagreed with the Barbauld belief that

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\(^1\)St. John in The Osborne Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 156, gives Tabart as the first publisher in 1803.

\(^2\)Darton, *loc. cit.*, p. 156.

\(^3\)St. John in The Osborne Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 491.

\(^4\)See this chapter above, annotations: *Evenings at Home.*
rhyme and poetry were not for children. This is clearly shown in the selection quoted by Darton from Lucy's preface to her anthology.

Since dragons and fairies, giants and witches, have vanished from our nurseries before the wand of reason, it has been a prevailing maxim that the young mind should be fed on mere prose and simple matter of fact. But the magic of rhyme is felt in the very cradle —the mother and the nurse employ it as a spell of soothing power.2

Mrs. Barbauld believed that poetry should not "be lowered to the capacities of children" and that hence poetry should be kept from children until they were old enough to "relish" it. In contradiction to this Lucy selected, what was then considered, strong meat for her anthology.

Lucy did include some of Mrs. Barbauld's poems. However, she also had short extracts from Pope's version of Homer, something of Cowper's and other eighteenth century poets, as well as Robert Southey's "The Old Man's Comforts and How He Gained Them."

The Southey poem is the one parodied by Lewis Carroll in Alice in Wonderland. It is probably the first time that it made its appearance in a miscellaneous collection of poems. Since these poems were "meant to be memorized" they no doubt were. Carroll burlesqued the poems that so many children had to commit to memory. This was a part of his fun. Readers who knew and recognized the poems enjoyed the slaps at them.

1Prefaces to Anthologies of children's poetry still say this in the twentieth century.

2As quoted in Darton, op. cit., p. 156.
This Southey verse is the one that begins:

You are old, father William, the young man cried,
The few locks which are left you are grey;
You are hale, father William, a hearty old man;
Now tell me the reason, I pray.¹

Carroll's version goes:

You are old, father William, the young man said,
And your hair has become very white;
And yet you incessantly stand on your head—
Do you think at your age it is right?²

In her own poems, which she included, Lucy wrote nothing profound
or even beautiful. Her themes, however, hinted at the poetry that was
soon to come, a free robin, an organ grinder and his monkey, little
travelers from strange lands. She even versified the rather sad story
of Prince Lee Boo that had been printed for children (in prose) by
Elizabeth Newbery in 1789.³

The only illustrated volume mentioned by any of the authorities
was an 1845 edition (new and "considerably improved") published by
Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.⁴ This had a frontispiece engraved
by W. T. Fry after Henry Corbauld. Corbauld, son of a famous portrait
painter who also did miniatures on ivory, among other books illustrated
Scott's Tales of a Grandfather and Wyss's Swiss Family Robinson.⁵

William Thomas Fry was an engraver who specialized in stipple.⁶

¹Gardner, The Annotated Alice, op. cit., p. 69.
²Ibid., p. 70.
³This native prince had been brought to England after a shipwreck.
He was bewildered by the strange culture and died of smallpox.
⁴Judith St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 50.
⁵For more data concerning both of these titles, see next chapter
annotations, infra.
⁶St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., pp. 440, 444.
Although most twentieth century educators do not advocate forced memorization of poetry the day of the Anthology of Poetry for children is now. Each anthology has a preface in the manner of Lucy Aikin. Many of the compilers also include a verse or two of their own. A relatively new edition of such an anthology is *The Golden Book of Verse* compiled by Louis Untermeyer (Golden Press, 1965). Such twentieth century anthologies, however, make poem and picture each a part of one design much in the manner of William Blake.¹


Poetry.

This is "considered to be one of the most influential books in the history of children's literature."² In fact, Barry spends the greater share of her Chapter IX, "The Old Fashioned Garden of Verses," tracing this influence on poetry written especially for children.³

The first Darton in the publishing business, William, was a Quaker who set up his establishment "at 55 Grace Church Street with John Harvey about 1785."⁴ William Darton, the son, entered the firm in 1801. Then the imprint became Darton, Harvey, and Darton.

¹See annotations, *Songs of Innocence*, supra.
²St. John in *The Osborne Collection*, op. cit., p. 80.
³Barry, op. cit., p. 194, passim.
⁴St. John in *The Osborne Collection*, op. cit., p. 472.
There were six probable contributors to the volume: the two Taylor sisters, their brother Isaac, possibly their father, Bernard Barton, and Adelaide O'Keeffe. The Taylor sisters did not know Adelaide but it seems that she may have written thirty-four of the poems. The Taylors later made their feelings plain about this matter of other authorship. St. John quotes from Ann's biography:

Having written to order we had no control over the getting out of the volumes and should have been better pleased if contributions from other hands had been omitted.1

The book reached America by the year after its original publication. Welch lists over two pages of editions.2 This does not begin to trace the numerous poems from the work that were printed singly, in groups, or included in anthologies under a variety of titles which give little clue to their origin. The great majority of such printings do not give credit to the authors.

The first American edition was printed and sold by Kimber, Conrad, and Company at Number 93 Market Street, and Number 170 South Second Street, Philadelphia, in 1806.3 They put out successive editions some with and others without "elegant" woodcuts until 1809.

Other well known American publishers who put out comparable editions are Samuel Wood at the Juvenile Book Store, Number 357 Pearl Street, New York and Munroe Francis and Parket at 4 Cornhill, Boston.4

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1St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 80. Muir, op. cit., p. 90, tells that the work came out in two volumes. The sisters received ten pounds for the first volume and fifteen for the second.

2Welch, op. cit.

3Ibid., Bibliography D-G, pp. 577-580.

4Ibid., p. 577.
Rosenbach includes two editions of *Original Poems* in his catalog. The first is an 1814 Samuel Wood publication under the title of *Poems for Children*. It is evidently abridged with possibly only two of the poems from Adelaide O'Keeffe. The other is an 1816 Solomon W. Conrad publication (not Conrad and Kimber) in sheepskin with "twenty elegant cuts." In two volumes it is no doubt the complete works.

There was a dearth of simple poetry for children to read and to memorize for the all too frequent school or Sunday school performance in front of adults. The book and most of its contents, immediately became popular.

The Taylor family, for the most part, lived in a pleasant house at Ongar. The father, among other things, was an engraver and taught his trade to all the family. The girls were as good at etching plates as their brothers and proud of their accomplishment. This was a close-knit and loving family. They did many things together and when any occasion arose that they should be parted one from another they had a pleasant custom for keeping themselves close together in spirit. At each season of the year they had a particular star which each member of the family was taught to recognize. When this star was high in the

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2. *Ibid.*, p. 201, n. 543. As an example of the way in which the poems were taken out of their original context and put with other material Rosenbach (p. 195 n. 525) cites an 1815 small volume entitled *Little Poems for small Children*. Ten of the poems are by "Jane and Ann Taylor and others." One verse of the last poem is significant even in the twentieth century:

"O do not turn my corners down!\nTho' little dogs have ears,\nAs I'm a book of high renown,\nAffront me not, my dears."
heavens everyone, no matter where he was, went either to a window or out-of-doors to look at the star and think about the absent members. They continued this practice all of their lives even after several of the children were married and the family home at Ongar had been broken up.1

The Taylors were also a writing family. Tarr believes that Ann and Jane were "undoubtedly the best writers in the Taylor family."2 They began writing when they were small. They had a special room they could scurry to between their multitude of household and other chores. There they wrote in comparative privacy and eased the fatigue of long workdays by putting their rhymed (and sometimes prose) thoughts on paper.

Darton claims that the Taylor sisters were "both the successors of Watt and the creators of the Moral Tale in verse."3 The last claim is not as bad as it sounds. They did tell moral stories in verse, as children's poets still do in 1965. Muir emphatically states, however, that while the Taylor poems were "about" children rather than for children, they were rarely either smug or priggish.4 And children, having no other poems of their own, chose them not realizing that poetry could be from a child's eye-view rather than written from an adult's view of

1All of the background material about the Taylors (unless specifically stated otherwise) has been taken from The Taylors of Ongar by S. A. Armitage (Cambridge, Heffer, 1932). No passages are quoted, hence no page numbers cited.

2Tarr, op. cit., p. 30.

3Darton, op. cit., p. 182.

4Muir, op. cit., p. 91.
“Original Poems "awoke the nurseries of England."”\(^1\) Darton feels that the preface to the book sounds condescending, but he hastens to imply that both the content of the book and the ages of "the several young people" show that the authors were not condescending.\(^2\) Ann was 22, Jane was 21, young Isaac was 17, Bernard Barton was 20, and Adelaide O'Keefe\(^3\) was 28.

The section of the much quoted preface as cited by Darton is as follows:

If a hearty affection for that interesting little race, the race of children, is any recommendation, the writers of the following pages are well recommended; and if to have studied in some degree their capacities, habits, and wants, with a wish to adapt these simple verses to their real comprehensions, and probable improvements—if this has any further claim to the indulgence of the public, it is the last and only one they attempt to make.\(^4\)

None of the authorities except Darton make any other mention of what Bernard Barton did with his writing or life. Darton, himself of a Quaker family, does state that Barton was a Quaker and a good friend of the Howitts.\(^5\)

Adelaide O'Keefe did have other books published by the Dartons.\(^6\)

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\(^1\)Darton, op. cit., p. 187.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 187.

\(^3\)Some of the authorities spell this O'Keeffe.

\(^4\)Darton, op. cit., p. 187.

\(^5\)Ibid., p. 245. Mary Howitt did the first translation into English of Hans Christian Andersen. See next chapter, annotations.

\(^6\)Ibid., p. 192. Darton includes a list on this page.
She spent most of her life, however, caring devotedly for her genial Irish dramatist father whose fortunes had gone into an irrevokable decline. As did so many other Georgian daughters of literary ability, Adelaide was her father's amanuensis. [She wrote for him the whole of his lively but untrustworthy Recollections (1826); her hand was nearly incapacitated by the strain. She managed his finances, and did her best to make money by writing herself... she was... in some general demand. [Her works]... were successful to a certain extent but the Taylors remained in higher esteem as a writer for children, while for her—as a pathetic inscription by her in one of her own copies... records—"The Pen burned and no Phoenix." She is a rather melancholy and incongruous figure.]

The Taylors, however, seemed to live continuously happy lives. There were the usual tragedies of life that happen to every human family but they managed to transcend them all with their unblatant, non-conformist piety. They enjoyed the fact that their verses appealed to children.

Thwaite maintains that the secret of their appeal "lay in their understanding of the child mind and [the fact that] they wrote of boys and girls in a humorous and simple way." Thwaite, op. cit., p. 132

Tarr quotes Ann's comment on the way Jane wrote her poems:

I have heard Jane say, when sitting down to our evening's business, "I try to conjure up some child into my presence, address her suitably, as well as I am able, and when I begin to flay, I say to her, There Love, now you may go." Thwaite, op. cit., p. 76.

1 Ibid., p. 192. Thwaite, op. cit., p. 132 reaffirms her lesser popularity and quotes from her "Birds, Beasts, and Fishes."

The Dog will come when he is called,
The Cat will walk away,
The monkey's cheek is very bald,
The Goat is full of play.

2 Thwaite, op. cit., p. 76.

3 As quoted in Tarr, op. cit., p. 31.
Tarr feels that there were several definite themes recurring throughout *Original Poems*. She lists these as:

1. Warnings against gluttony and laziness;
2. Need to contemplate nature and the seasons with moral implications;
3. Urgings to be kind to animals;
4. Reminders of the dreadfulness of slavery and the need to see it permanently abolished;
5. Recipes for being happy;
6. The inevitability of death;
7. Need to be grateful to God for all His goodness.¹

Tarr quotes many of the nature poems, a poem on retribution for unkindness to fish, a recipe for happiness. Among the nature poems which she quotes is one that must have been the progenitor of a later poem memorized by twentieth century boys and girls. A part of the poem quoted by Tarr is:

> What millions of beautiful things there must be In this mighty world! —who could reckon them all? The tossing, the foaming, the wide flowing sea, And thousands of rivers that into it fall.²

The later poem that apparently derived its inspiration from it begins:

> Great, wide, wonderful world
> With your wonderful rivers upon you unfurled

¹Ibid., pp. 31 and 32.
²Ibid., p. 37. Tarr feels that this is one of the most beautiful of the poems.
³William Brighty Rands (sometimes wrongly attributed to Matthew Browne), *The Wonderful World*. Also see next chapter, annotations, Matthew Brighty Rands.
Barry finds seeds of Stevenson's poems in those of the Taylors.

A hundred years before him they sang of stars and sun, of day and night and play in gardens. The contrast is the greater because not one or two, but all of their poems turned upon 'the whole duty of children.'

Barry compares Stevenson's "The Friendly Cow All Red and White" with Jane Taylor's,

Thank you pretty cow that made
Pleasant milk to soak my bread.2

She also finds Stevenson's wind in a poem called "The Child's Monitor."

The wind blows down the largest tree
And yet the wind I cannot see—

The best known of the poems from Original Poems are three by Ann (who married and became Mrs. Gilbert) and three by Jane.4

Ann's are: "My Mother," "The Pin," and "Meddlesome Mattle."

Jane's are: "The Gleaner," "Mischief," and "The Cow and the Ass."5

"My Mother" has been recited until people could not bear to hear it anymore. It has been reviled, paraphrased, and even accused of being blasphemous. The last verse ran like this:

For God, who lives above the skies,
Would look with vengeance in His eyes,
If I should ever dare despise
My Mother

1 Barry, op. cit., p. 204.
2 Ibid., p. 204.
3 Ibid., p. 204.
4 Jane's "Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star" came in another book: Rhymes for the Nursery. See below, annotations.
5 Muir, op. cit., p. 98.
Tennyson was asked to rewrite the verse. Ann Taylor Gilbert, then aged eighty-four, heard about this and rewrote the verse herself.

For could our Father in the skies
Look down with pleased or loving eyes,
If ever I could dare despise
My Mother.¹

"The Cow and the Ass" is a humorous piece. It is the type of verse that children can act out while they laugh at their silliness.

'Take a seat,' cried the cow, gently waving her hand.'By no means, dear Madam,' said he, 'while you stand.' Then stooping to drink with a complaisant bow,'Ma'am, your health,' said the ass.—'Thank you, sir,' said the cow.²

In one sense it is amusing that the Taylors invented the "awful warning" school of poetry which led to noxious verse as well as to Lear and Hilaire Belloc. On the other hand, it is a logical development. The Taylors did not really believe in adults who caused or arranged retributive justice as the other moral writers had. They just let things happen. A good example of this is "Meddlesome Mattie." She saw a pretty snuff box and just could not keep her mischievous hands off of it. It opened. Of course, she had to sneeze and in sneezing she "accidentally" hit and broke her grandmother's glasses. And so the story goes.

'Meddlesome Mattie' was often reproduced by itself in little paper covered booklets.³

¹The incident is told by Darton, op. cit., p. 190.
²Cited by Barry, op. cit., p. 208.
³A very nice edition was put out by Viking Press in 1926. It was illustrated by Wyndham Payne and had an introduction by Edith Sitwell.
Among the children who loved the Taylor poems was one who grew up to illustrate them. This was Kate Greenaway. When she was thirty-three she remembered her pleasure with the poems. She chose forty-two of the poems from Original Poems and illustrated them in an edition which she dedicated to the four children of a friend. The volume is called Little Ann and Other Poems.¹ It is one of the most famous of the selections that have been reprinted.

Poems are still appearing in modern anthologies. One of the contemporary anthologies is the cheerful little Puffin Book of Verse compiled by Eleanor Graham in 1962. The Taylors and Adelaide O'Keefe are represented by two poems from Original Poems.

The O'Keefe poem is the entire "Natural History" the first verse of which (concerning the dog, cat, monkey, and goat) was quoted in a footnote, this annotation above.

The Taylors¹ is "an awful warning" moral story on the theme of gluttony. It involves "Greedy Dick" who ate too many pies. Even twentieth century children sometimes echo his cry, "I—wish—I—had—not—tasted—it."

1805 Martin, Sarah Catherine. The Comic Adventures of Old Mother Hubbard and Her Dog. London: John Harris.²


¹Jacqueline Overton, "Illustrators of the Nineteenth Century in England" in Mahoney, op. cit., p. 80. This was published by Routledge in 1883.

Indicative of the light touch that was becoming the vogue in reading matter for children. This is representative also of the increasing emphasis on a combination of picture and text for the small child as well as the acceptance of verse as an important part of a child's literary life. Mother Hubbard is one of the best known, most frequently reprinted and mimicked of any of these comic story-telling verses.

Thwaite calls John Harris "one of the most enterprising publishers to make innovations in publications for children in . . . [the] first decade of the nineteenth century. . . ." Harris had been manager to Elizabeth Newbery, the widow of Francis (John Newbery's nephew). About 1801 he became head of the firm and like his predecessor, old John, took firm advantage of the rising public desire for nonsense in literature, a revamping of the old tales or rhymes, and better illustration of books. The business was carried on at the Corner of St. Paul's Churchyard (Number 20) at the top of Ludgate Hill.

The book was published on June 1, 1805, written and illustrated by Sarah Catherine Martin. There is no doubt that Mother Hubbard and her dog had been well known characters in the oral tradition for as long as anyone could remember. But no one had put them in respectable rhyme nor in easily accessible print.

1Thwaite, op. cit., p. 84.

2See this chapter above: Publishers; annotations of other books published by Elizabeth Newbery.

The Baring-Goulds quote Harris as saying "'upwards of ten thousand copies' were distributed in a few months," in 1806 Harris reprinted the little book with a sequel. Pirated editions flourished everywhere. It became a stock item on every publisher's list. The Baring-Goulds hazard a guess that "there has probably been a new edition of Mother Hubbard published somewhere every year since 1805."

Halsey states that Bostonian Nathaniel Coverly Junior (who published from 1811-1822) put out a popular sixpenny book of the verse. The edition mentioned in the Rosenbach Catalogue was published in Philadelphia by "Morgan and Yeager, n.d. [c. 1825]." Credit is given to the author by the inclusion of her initials, S. M. C. The little book has "fifteen elegant copperplate engravings." Rosenbach has reproduced one on the "insert" page between pages 236 and 237 of the catalogue.

Lady Martin is purported to have written the verses while she was staying at the country house of "her future brother-in-law, John Pollexfen Bastard, M. P. of Kitley Devon." It is stated that the character of

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1. Ibid., p. 110.
2. Ibid., p. 110.
3. Halsey, op. cit., p. 166. Welch obviously has more evidence to offer. In his Bibliography A-C, p. 307 he cites an entry number 751, which is, no doubt, included in his section 'M' of the bibliography. This section is not available at this time.
Mother Hubbard, as drawn by Lady Martin in her verses and pictures, was "based on that of the housekeeper in the Bastard family."\(^1\)

Although the manuscript was dedicated to John Pollexfen Bastard the anecdote relating the cause of its being written, while amusing, is not necessarily complimentary to the author. The host was trying to write a letter. His guest insisted on chattering to him "in her usual fashion." Annoyed, he told her to run away and write one of her "stupid little rhymes."\(^2\) And she did.\(^3\)

Not every subsequent edition has included all fourteen verses. Every one begins:

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Old Mother Hubbard
Went to the cupboard
To fetch her poor dog a bone;
But when she came \(\text{got}\) there
The cupboard was bare
And so the poor dog had none.\(^4\)
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\(^1\)St. John in *The Osborne Collection, op. cit.*, p. 102.


\(^3\)There is a dispute about the authorship. St. John discusses this in *The Osborne Collection, op. cit.*, p. 102; Muir, *op. cit.*, n.p. 100. The authorship is not important. The important thing is that Harris brought about a "belated realization . . . that the most persistent favorites with children have always been the old nursery rhymes and tales, in which there was no bothersome preoccupation with anything but the sheer delight of the jingles and the stories." Muir, p. 102. See also Baring-Goulds, *op. cit.*, n.1, p. 111.

Most people knowledgeable about the rhyme know that the dog died, revived, smoked a pipe, dressed up in clothes and that

The dame made a curtsey,
The dog made a bow;
The dame said, 'your servant,'
The dog said, 'bow-wow.'

Children do not always know that the dame also went to the alehouse, the fruiterer's, the cobler's, the seamstress, etc. Sometimes this is because the editors of particular editions feel that such places of business and the terms denoting these places are unfamiliar to twentieth century children. (There are other reasons for such omission, of course.) However, once the rhythm of a jingle is begun and accepted by delight with children strange words and occupations rarely disturb them. The verse is nonsense and so everything else in it could equally well be accepted as nonsense.

Even staid Mrs. Trimmer liked it. She reviewed Mother Hubbard, of course. And while she reminded everyone that it was poetry of "an ancient date" she was quick to add 'we can recollect at this distance of time, that in our infant days the story of this renowned woman, though full of inconsistencies we confess, afforded us much entertainment.'

1The Baring-Goulds in n.4, p. 112 give one of the many parodies on the rhyme:

Old Mother Hubbard
Went to the cupboard
To fetch her poor daughter a dress,
But when she got there,
The cupboard was bare,
And so was her daughter, I guess.

2As quoted by St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 102.
Oxford University Press published a facsimile edition of the rhyme in 1938. One thousand copies were printed, each "enclosed in a case, the covers of which bear a portrait and biographical sketch of . . . Sarah Catherine Martin."¹

The majority of the subsequent editions of Old Mother Hubbard are not illustrated by Sarah Catherine Martin. Among the famous illustrators who have portrayed their own versions of the dame are George Cruikshank and Walter Crane.² The edition containing the woodcuts engraved "after" Cruikshank was published by J. G. Rusher at Banbury.³ It included an unusual verse, no doubt included because of the place of publication.

We'll ride a cock-horse
To Banbury Cross
To see Mother Hubbard
Ride a white horse.⁴

The Walter Crane edition is cited by Darton as being one of unusual grace, an example of the "original" books illustrated by Crane "in the seventies (1870's), where he had not very heavy fetters of words to bind him."⁵

¹Ibid., p. 102.

²Cruikshank is a famous Victorian artist. See this work, next chapter: Artists-Illustrators. Walter Crane is even more famous but he does not come within the time period of this work (after 1865).

³St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 101. On p. 492 St. John describes the Rushers (father and son) as booksellers and stationers, "chiefly engaged in the chapbook trade," Banbury chapbooks, although outside the scope of this work, were an important influence in the history of children's literature.

⁴Ibid., p. 101.

⁵Darton, op. cit., p. 285.
Similarities can be found between Old Mother Hubbard and Old Dame Trot.¹ Once again, the important consideration is that the floodgates were open for nonsense. This allowed the printing of such verses as The Butterfly's Ball² and its sequels, "The Peacock at Home" and "The Lion's Masquerade."³


Important as a piece of Eliana, this is thought to be the first children's book written by Charles Lamb. It represents Godwin (under the pseudonym of Hodgkins) as a rival to Harris in publishing imaginative literature for children. It is also one of the first books thought to be illustrated by William Mulready, a protege of the Godwins.

Muir gives a concise description of the publishing information:

Godwin persuaded Charles Lamb to try his hand at producing a book for children, and on November 18, 1805 appeared a small paper-bound volume with the Hodgkins imprint, with no author's name, entitled The King and Queen of Hearts. It had sixteen leaves printed on one side only, each with a picture occupying most of the page and a rhyming text printed below.⁴

¹The Rushers also published this. See Muir, op. cit., p. 101.

²Published by Harris in 1807, written by Mr. Roscoe for his little son. The gaiety and the rhythm of this can be seen in the twentieth century works of "Dr. Suess."¹

³Darton, op. cit., p. 206.

⁴Muir, op. cit., p. 102. A spurious edition was put out in 1809. This is described by St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 100.
Godwin and his second wife, Mary Jane, started their publishing house and children's bookshop in Hanway Street under the name of Baldwin. Godwin, at that time was in public disgrace and used several pseudonyms. The children's shop was called The Juvenile Library and many of the books published by the Godwins carried this name as a part of their publisher's identification.

There has been some controversy concerning the real origin of The King and Queen of Hearts theme that Lamb put into verse. His version at the time of its publication made no great impact upon any reading public, either that of the children or of the adults. It was not meant to be anything more than a trifle. But the very fact that a Mulready was asked to illustrate, and Elia was asked to write such a book for children showed "that children's books were no longer a very minor by-product of general literature..."2


Primarily important because it contains "Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star" which is commonly accepted as an anonymous nursery rhyme. Darton

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1Rosalie Glynn Grylls, William Godwin and His World (London: Odhams Press, 1953), p. 174. In the first chapter of her book, Grylls discusses the 1794 treason trials in which Godwin was implicated along with his friend, Holcroft, the dramatist, and others. There was no question of these people betraying their government in actuality. They were in disgrace for societies to which they belonged or for books they had written that were arousing the public. See this chapter above, Publishers, for more about Godwin who published all seven of Lamb's children's books. See this chapter, annotations, for other of Lamb's books.

2Darton, op. cit., p. 197.
believes that *Rhymes for the Nursery* is a part of the revolution in poetry for children made by its predecessor *Original Poems*. His reason is:

They rendered the 'little race' [of children] natural, and the monitor's attitude to it also as natural as contemporary manners permitted.

To show how well it sold, Darton and Harvey\(^2\) of 55 Gracechurch Street brought out an eighth edition in 1814 and an eleventh in 1818. Before that, in 1810, they put out *Select Rhymes for the Nursery* which had "thirty poems of the eighty-one poems in *Rhymes for the Nursery*".\(^3\)

Welch lists an 1815 edition by Camp, Merrell and Camp, Genesee Street, Utica, New York in 1815.\(^4\) It is interesting that the War of 1812-14\(^5\) did not appear to stop the flow of English books to the young United States.

It is possible that several factors contributed to the popularity of the Taylor sisters.

1. They were aiming at a select audience, one whose terrain was bounded by nursery walls. Although all of the Taylors

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\(^1\)Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 188. In spite of the fact that Darton's ancestors published the book suggesting he may have a natural bias in favor of it, it is important to remember that the people of Georgian days held a different attitude than we do today about books suitable for children. Books of verse meant "for the nursery" constituted a minor revolution. They were moral, sometimes even grim, but they often had a light touch. It was the numbers of them that made children feel important as children.

\(^2\)The Osborne Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 81.


could write, draw, and engrave and followed these occupations to make a living, they were not looking for wealth or fame. They were family people, stay-at-homes. 1

2. "They did not press the moral issue for philosophical reasons, like Miss Edgeworth, or for theological, like Mrs. Sherwood," 2

3. They were serene and cheerful. They knew life had tragic moments. They felt children should know this lest they be caught unawares by fate. They wanted children to be happy. They felt the happiest child had a clear conscience. Hence, happiness was augmented, and sometimes entirely fashioned, by being "good." 3

4. They had a sense of humor.

Tarr justifiably comments about the gruesomeness of one poem included in Rhymes for the Nursery. 3 As twentieth century people we feel reluctant to shove such thoughts at small children. From our point of view it is difficult to realize the enormity of child mortality, even in the early nineteenth century. Adults who loved children wanted those children to feel secure. In the opinions of those adults it would seem that the only security they had to offer was in the promise of everlasting life after mortal death. Such life could only be attained by the relinquishing of mortal life. Death, on earth, was the one thing they all saw in every home.

1 In this respect they resembled most reading families. It was a recognized bond.

2 Darton, op. cit., p. 190.

3 Tarr, op. cit., p. 40.
The verse which is repugnant to Tarr is as follows:

Down, down in the pit-hole poor baby is gone,
The cold earth did rattle its coffin upon,  
And there they have left it forever to keep, 
And a little green hillock shows where it doth sleep. 

Poor baby! I saw it beginning to play,  
And smile at mama, in her lap as it lay.  

And let me remember, that I too shall die

Tarr gives a critical analysis of the craftsmanship as well as the central thought of the poem:

It contains forced accent, inverted order, repeated subjects, and a thoroughly disgusting treatment of a theme that might have been made more beautiful in its pathos.

There are several things for the modern reader to keep in mind along with the consciousness of death that was so frequently present in the Georgian mind. One is that the Taylors were showing a compassion towards children, even infants, that was not prevalent in their day. In fact, such compassion was only beginning to be evidenced by occasional brave people.

Such people as Godwin, in spite of love for his daughters, wrote (what seems to us) a callous letter to Mary and Percy Shelley on the death of their first adored child:

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1ibid., pp. 40-41. Tarr gives five verses. The above quotation is made up of lines selected from the five verses.

2ibid., p. 40.

3ibid., p. 41.

4ibid., p. 40.
You have all the goods of fortune, all the means of being useful to others, and shining in your proper sphere. But you have lost a child: and all the rest of the world... is nothing, because a child of two years old is dead.

The second thing to remember is that the Taylors not only did not pretend to be "poets," but that they did not write for the world. They wrote only for those who lived within the narrow confines of the nursery. Terr, herself, states that "from first to last, Jane and Ann Taylor were authors for children only." They were interested in content (moral), not form.

In recognition of the Taylor's more lasting contribution to the happy and meaningful verse that charm small children is "The Star." This is so frequently quoted in anthologies of all kinds that most people do not remember (if they ever knew) that it was written by Jane and first printed in Rhymes for the Nursery.

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1 Grylls, William Godwin and His World, op. cit., p. 226. On the same page Grylls quotes similar statements (about other children) written by Berkley and other well known people. Berkley states, "... death (of a child) ought not to occasion a serious grief... . Let your mind est... . "I have myself experienced disappointments more weighty than the death of ten (children)... ."" In a child oriented culture such prevailing attitudes seem unconceivable.

2 Darlon, op. cit., p. 190.

3 Tarr, op. cit., p. 30.

4 Ibid., p. 39. Tarr, of all the authorities, gives the most intensive discussion of the Taylors and all their works (including prose). She lavishly quotes many poems to emphasize the premises she holds. Her explication is worthy of being thoughtfully read. See Tarr, pp. 28-45.

5 Infra, annotations, Alice in Wonderland for Lewis Carroll's equally well known parody.
Twinkle, Twinkle little star,
How I wonder what you are,
Up above the world so high,
Like a diamond in the sky.

Darton champions the Taylors. He states, 'you must like the young persons who could write in this style.' He quotes the following poem from Rhymes in the Nursery.

Come; my darling, come away,
Take a pretty walk today;
Run along, and never fear,
I'll take care of baby dear:
Up and down with little feet,
That's the way to walk, my sweet.

Now it is so very near,
Soon she'll get to mother dear.
There she comes along at last;
Here's my finger, hold it fast:
Now one pretty little kiss.
After such a walk as this.

To the child who has watched a baby grow, to the parents who have helped it grow, to all those people who are interested in the development of the small child without adult embarrassment at that child's need for such tender, loving care such a verse shows these things:

1. That the Taylors lived intimately with small children.
2. That children from loving families identify with such simple but important activities as teaching a baby to walk.
3. That the normal loved baby walks better with such expressions of love.

1 Only the first and most commonly known verse is cited here.
2 Darton, op. cit., p. 189.
3 Ibid., p. 189.
4 Darton, op. cit., p. 189.
4. That it is a long way from the "Republic of Childhood" to the sometimes grim realities of an adult life lived without frequent contact with small children and their needs.

As it is with all writers, some of the Taylor poems became more popular than others. It is, perhaps, for such a reason that the editors quickly put out an edition of Select Rhymes for the Nursery (1808). St. John describes the edition thus:

[It]. . . contains thirty-four of the eighty-one poems in Rhymes for the Nursery, . . . including the famous "Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star."^2

Rosenbach states that the first American edition of Select Rhymes was published in Boston by Munroe and Francis (n.d.),^3 Welch identifies an 1810 edition published in Philadelphia by Johnson and Warner but makes no mention of the Munroe and Francis edition.^4 Welch also lists 1813, 1815, and 1818 New Haven copies.^5 While both the 1813 and the 1815 editions are advertised as illustrated, the 1815 edition appears to be illustrated by the so-called American Bewick, Alexander Anderson.^6

There must have been many small editions bearing the same name (Select Rhymes). Each successive selection probably included fewer rhymes. One such edition is described by Rosenbach. This version was

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1St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 81. See also Welch, D-G, op. cit., p. 580, n. 412.
2St. John in The Osborne Collection, loc. cit.
3Rosenbach, op. cit., p. 275, n. 777.
4Welch, op. cit., p. 580, n. 413.1.
5Ibid., pp. 580-581, n. 413.2, 413.3, and 413.4.
6This edition was signed "A" (Alexander Anderson).
published by the famous Mahlon Day of New York in 1832. Day employed the self advertising tricks started by John Newbery and used so extensively by American publishers. For this book of verse he advertised in verse (doggerel):

I had three cents to spend—
I ran to Day's with glee,
To get a picture book;
And here I've got it—see!  

In 1905, the English publishing house, Gardner, put out the Taylor Centenary Edition which included Rhymes for the Nursery. F. D. Bedford did the quaint illustrations. The noted critic E. V. Lucas wrote the introduction. Today selections from Original Poems and Select Rhymes are so intermingled in anthologies of children's poetry that few people realize which verse comes from what volume.


Evidence that verse with a martial beat was now accepted for children. Unfortunately, such verse had to point a moral. This is a landmark in a reverse way. In later generations these verses provoked

\[^1\] Rosenbach, op. cit., p. 275, n. 777.

\[^2\] ibid.


\[^4\] "Adapted to the Ideas of Children from Four to Eight Years Old," Darton, op. cit., p. 193.
John Harris was the illustrious successor to Elizabeth Newbery. Under his guidance the shop at Number 20 the Corner of St. Paul's Churchyard continued publishing the Newbery specialty, children's books. Harris also was an innovator setting styles in new forms of material for children both in text and illustration.2

Darton calls Elizabeth Turner "redoubtable but mysterious ... about whom nothing, outside her books, seems to be known except that she lived at Whitechurch in Shropshire and died in 1846."3

Mrs. Turner exemplifies the stern moral spirit that still invaded the life of the nurseries. Nothing was too terrible to tell children if only it kept them on the straight and narrow path as that path was laid out by adults. She was a very popular successor to the Taylor sisters, though not so gentle.4

Two examples of her verse will suffice. The first is "Truth is Best."

Yesterday Rebecca Mason,
In the parlour by herself,
Broke a handsome china basin,
Placed upon the mantel-shelf.

Quite alarmed, she thought of going
Very quietly away,
Not a single person knowing
Of her being there that day.

1Ibid., p. 193.
2St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., pp. 477, 487. See also, annotations, supra.
3Darton, op. cit., p. 193.
4Thwaite, op. cit., p. 77.
But Rebecca recollected
She was taught deceit to shun;
And the moment she reflected
Told her mother what was done;
Who commended her behaviour,
Loved her better and forgave her.¹

The other is the last verse from "Jack Parker" who was a cruel boy
and teased animals.

But all boys unless they mend,
May come to an unhappy end;
Like Jack who got a fractur'd skull,
Whilst bellowing at a furious bull.²

Although he does not make the statement, it is probable that the
edition listed in Rosenbach is the first American edition. This was
printed in Philadelphia by "J. Adams for Jacob Johnson, 1808. . . . The
sixteen copperplate engravings are from the original English edition."³
No clue has been given as to the identity of the designer.

The later editions of 1840 and 1885, cited by St. John, contain
illustrations that were drawn and engraved on wood by Samuel Williams.⁴
Williams, who lived from 1788-1853, excelled in landscape work and was
one of the ablest engravers of his day.⁵

Smith refers to the Leadenhall Press reprint of 1899.⁶ This re­
produces the gay cover of the original as well as the quaint illustrations.

¹As quoted in Darton, op. cit., p. 194.
²Ibid., p. 194. As Darton says, "ludicrous."
³Rosenbach, op. cit., p. 148, n. 382. The Welch Bibliography for
"T" is not available to the writer of this work at this time.
⁴St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 82.
⁵Ibid., p. 461.
⁶Smith, op. cit., p. 100.
Barry lists imitations of this collection of verse. One is "The Snowdrop; or, Poetry for Henry and Emily’s Library. By a Lady Harris, 1823 (third edition)." Thwaite recommends the Hilaire Belloc parodies. The first of these was: Cautionary Tales for the Admonition of Children Between the Ages of Eight and Fourteen Years of Age.


The first adaptation for children of the Greek literary classic Ulysses. It is important as a pace-setter for the nineteenth and twentieth century writers who improved upon Lamb’s presentation. Darton calls it "a refreshing oasis in a moral desert."

Like all the Lamb books it was published at Godwin’s Juvenile Library, Skinner Street. Smith states that, "The suggestion for this book seems to have come from William Godwin and was probably due to the success of Tales from Shakespeare." Ulysses was not as great an instant

1Barry, op. cit., p. 249.
2Thwaite, op. cit., p. 78.
3For detailed publisher and author information, supra. Historical Background-English publishers; see also annotations of books by Lamb.
4The writer of this work found that many libraries put Lamb’s Ulysses in their circulating children’s collections with no copies in either a historical or a rare book collection.
5Darton, op. cit., p. 199.
6Barry, op. cit., p. 155.
7Smith, op. cit., p. 112.
success. A second edition did not come out until 1819.\(^1\)

Rosenbach\(^2\) does not include a reference to Lamb's *Ulysses* in his collection and Welch's\(^3\) bibliography for "L" is not at this time available. Hence, there is no data for this work concerning the first American edition.

Lamb was proud of his *Ulysses*. He shows his pride in a letter to Barton. He begins with a question:

Did you ever read my *Adventures of Ulysses* founded on Chapman's old translation of it? ... it is fit for children or men. Chapman is divine, and my abridgement has not quite emptied him of his divinity.\(^4\)

Lamb knew that children would enjoy the adventures. But the parents of his day were more concerned with morals and "sensibility." Godwin recognized this viewpoint for it was the parents (and other adults) who bought his books for the children. He wanted to have Lamb "soften his account of the Cyclops devouring his victims, and the putting out of the monster's eye. . . ."\(^5\) Lamb's reply was:

If you want a book which is not occasionally to shock you should not have thought of a tale which was so full of anthropophagi and wonders. I cannot alter these things without enervating the book. . . . \(^6\)

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\(^3\) Welch's *Bibliography A-H* has been constantly referred to in this work.

\(^4\) Charles Lamb as quoted in *Complete Works and Letters*, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

\(^5\) Barry, *op. cit.*, p. 155. Lamb called his descriptions "lively images of shocking things."

\(^6\) As quoted in Barry, *op. cit.*, p. 156.
Lamb did agree, however, to cut out his description of "the giant's vomit." In discussing it with Godwin his reply was "perfectly nauseous and I am glad you pointed it out." ¹

Although Barry feels that Lamb would have done better to retranslate Homer than to abridge Chapman,² Darton has a different opinion:

Though Chapman, to unsophisticated minds, may appear a little tortuous or crabbed in his roughness, Lamb achieved the strange feat of getting some of the Odyssey's glorious ease into what might almost be simple Elizabethan prose.

... .................................. .................................. ..................................
The whole runs with a gracious Homeric speed and smoothness.³

Inspired by Fenelon's Telemachus,⁴ Lamb, in turn was the inspiration for Charles Kingsley's The Heroes.⁵ Lamb's book was less pompous, less didactic than Fenelon's. Lamb did moralize since moralizing was "the way" of his age. In spite of this he managed to limit such preaching to a few stray sentences or to an aside in a sentence.

Tarr gives a good example of this:

They obeyed, though in a work unsuitable to their soft fingers, yet to obedience no sacrifice is hard.⁶

The 1819 edition of Lamb's Ulysses⁷ was "a new edition" printed for Godwin. The title page included an engraved vignette designed by

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¹As cited in Grylls, op. cit., p. 174.
²Barry, op. cit., p. 155.
³Darton, loc. cit., p. 199.
⁴Supra, annotations of Telemachus. Ulysses was conceived as a sequel to Fenelon's highly esteemed work. Barry, op. cit., p. 242 uses "introduction" instead of "sequel."
⁵See next chapter, annotations of The Heroes.
⁶As quoted by Tarr, op. cit., p. 52.
⁷Listed by St. John, The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 11.
Richard Corbould who was "famous for his portraits, porcelain, enamels, and miniatures on ivory."\(^1\) The engraver was Charles Heath, a "line engraver and publisher of illustrated annuals."\(^2\)

Although Smith lists a 1926 Stokes edition with illustrations by Doris Pailthorpe and Thomas Heath Robinson, the majority of twentieth century editions have few, if any, illustrations. The tale's the thing for older children.

Other writers who followed Charles Lamb in putting the Greek epics into dignified prose are Alfred John Church and Padraic Colum. Church rewrote both the Iliad and the Odyssey. Colum did Children's Homer; The Adventures of Odysseus and The Tale of Troy.

1807 Lamb, Charles and Lamb, Mary. *Tales from Shakespeare; Designed for the Use of Young People.* Two Volumes, London:

M. J. Godwin. ICU - B, ICM - M, MID - CH, MID - R, MIDW - R, MIGR - Q, NRU - D, OX M, Ca OTP. 136. Short Story (Tales).\(^3\)

A first in several respects: the first joint work of Charles and Mary Lamb; the first time any writer adapted Shakespeare in a form that was meant especially for children.\(^4\) Several of the authorities for this

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 440.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 447.

\(^3\)These are plays in story form. They are considered a children's classic. In children's libraries they are shelved with the 800's, "Literature."

\(^4\)Darton, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-199. Thomas Bowdler's *Family Shakespeare* was not published until 1818. This was the "cleaned up" version of Shakespeare thought "fit" for women. From this comes the term "bowdlerize" which means to make pure through a sort of emasculation of terms that sometimes gave vigor to a work but that were considered unfit for tender minds. See Thrall, Hibbard, and Holman, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
work consider the tales as the first piece of fine literature published for children.

Darton calls the entire book "a defense of poesy by a kind of nursery introduction to it in prose."¹ He also states that "The Tales were unique for the Lambs; gave to children and simple folk something like a reality of the Elizabethan spirit which at that time they could not otherwise obtain."²

Thwaite calls the result "neither paraphrase nor abridgement, but stories with an artistic quality of their own . . . (The Lambs) 'cunningly' . . . [took] up Shakespeare's own phrases when these could be woven into the story . . . [with] little writing down or moralizing . . . [and] with an artistic quality of their own."³

Barry flatly asserts, "They are not lessons, but literature and that is why children are still reading them."⁴

Muir, along with authorities, presents the fact that it is difficult to trace the true data concerning publication details.⁵ The two volumes cited in the bibliographic heading were published by M. J.

¹Darton, op. cit., p. 199.
²Ibid., p. 198.
³Thwaite, op. cit., p. 89.
⁴Barry, op. cit., p. 153. Other authorities disagree with these statements. Tarr, op. cit., p. 51 believes that the story content is too far removed from young minds to prove interesting to them.

In discussing the illustration of children's classics, Philip Hofer (Mahoney, op. cit., p. 178) believes that children 'seemed to have rejected Charles Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare . . . because of a too diffuse style.' This gives the implication that twentieth century children are not able to appreciate such a style.

⁵Muir, op. cit., p. 130.
Godwin at the Juvenile Library in Skinner Street. Some of the shame had been erased from the Godwin name by 1807, hence Mary Jane Godwin (the second wife of William Godwin) was able to designate herself as the publisher. In fact, the family even moved next door to the shop.²

William Mulready, the illustrator whom Godwin encouraged for many years, is credited with having done the designs for the twenty copper-plates. William Blake is thought to have done the actual engraving. Charles Lamb was not happy about these illustrations. He attributed their choice to Mary Jane Godwin. He felt that the illustration for "The Merchant of Venice" was in the worst possible taste and that the others, to say the least, were banal. The public also must not have cared for them. They were not included in the second edition.³

It is probable that Mrs. Godwin, whom Mary and Charles Lamb called that "bad baby," suggested the theme of this book to Charles Lamb.⁴ Muir points out a letter of 1806 written by Mary in which she tells a friend that each story would be published separately in little booklets, "like children's little shilling booklets."⁵ There is evidence that some of these booklets were actually published for "at least one set of

¹ Supra, annotations, The King and Queen of Hearts by Charles Lamb.
³ Ibid.; Muir, op. cit., p. 130; St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 274. There is controversy concerning the identification of the actual illustrator. Little of this has been documented by any of the authorities used for this work.
⁴ Grylls, op. cit., p. 175; Muir, op. cit., p. 103.
⁵ Muir, op. cit., p. 130.
the eight still survives in the British Museum.\footnote{Ibid.}

Thwaite explains that in May of the same year (1806):

\ldots twenty of Shakespeare's plays were being made into tales for children. Mary \ldots had already completed six of the comedies and Charles was at work on the six tragedies which the book was to include.\footnote{Thwaite, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 88.}

When all of the tales were written it was found that Mary had done fourteen of them and Charles six.\footnote{Ramsey notes, \textit{op. cit.}, unpaged; Rosenbach, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 179, n.476; Muir, \textit{loc. cit.}, p. 103.} In spite of this, there was little difference in the style of any of the twenty tales. Barry attributes this to the fact that 'Mary and Charles lived and wrote in such accord.'\footnote{Barry, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 153.}

Rosenbach lists only one American edition of the \textit{Tales}. He describes this as the first American edition. It was printed in Philadelphia by J. Maxwell for 'Bradford and Inskeep: and Inskeep and Bradford, New York, 1813.'\footnote{Rosenbach, \textit{loc. cit.}, p. 179, n.476. Rosenbach is confusing about the identification of these publishers and booksellers. They obviously had shops in both New York and Philadelphia. It would appear that the Philadelphia part of the firm was John Inskeep, Jr. (See Rosenbach, p. 338). However, under his New York category (p. 329) Rosenbach mentions an Abraham H. Inskeep.} There is no mention of the Mulready illustrations which were an integral part of the first English edition. Instead the note reads 'portrait of Shakespeare by Edwin after Zoust as frontispiece to Volume 1.'\footnote{Ibid., p. 179, n.476. Halsey does not mention the \textit{Tales}. Welch's Bibliography beyond 'W' is not available at this time to the writer of this work. Hence, the only information used about American editions is that which can be found in Rosenbach.}
Darton suggests that it is not respectful to mention the tragedy of Mary's illness. "Enlightened" twentieth century people who need constant admonishment that it is no disgrace to be mentally ill might well consider Charles' gentle treatment of Mary. Without his care Mary could have spent her life in a madhouse. With his care, and the undiminished regard of their friends, she lived a useful and seemingly happy life. The stories which she wrote seem old fashioned to some twentieth century children while others still read them with enjoyment. In the years between 1807 and 1965 uncounted thousands of children found great enjoyment. Sometimes this enjoyment led these children to realms of interest which would not have been discovered without that first contact with Mary's stories.

Although Charles had reviled the kinds of books published for children, most of the books that he wrote were potboilers. Charles and Mary received sixty guineas for the Tales. But Charles, at least, groaned over much of the work.

Nevertheless, the Lambs did exhibit a kind of earnestness and pride in their writing. There are two evidences of this.

St. John quotes from Mary's writing in the Critical Review for

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2It is possible that some day investigators may be able to quantify what moments cause the awakening to further intellectual activity in children. At the moment speculation needs to suffice.

3Darton, op. cit., p. 131.

4Ibid., p. 198.
May, 1807:

We have compared these little volumes with numerous systems which have been devised for riveting attention at an early age, and we do not scruple to say that unless perhaps we except Robinson Crusoe, they claim the very first place, and stand unique, without rival or competitor.

Rosenbach prints a portion of the preface to the first edition.

I have wished to make these Tales easy reading for very young children. . . . For young ladies, too, it has been my intention chiefly to write, because boys are generally permitted the use of their fathers' libraries at a much earlier age than girls are . . . therefore, instead of recommending these Tales to the perusal of young gentlemen who can read them so much better in the originals, I must rather beg their kind assistance in explaining to their sisters such parts as are hardest for them to understand, then perhaps they will read to them (carefully selecting what is proper for a young sister's ear) some passage which has pleased them in one of these stories, in the very words of the scene from which it is taken . . .

Two instances point out prevailing attitudes of the time. 1) William Godwin, in spite of marriage to a woman who was a champion of women's rights, would not allow Mary's name to be printed on the title page; and 2) Charles' own words, as quoted above, demonstrate what was considered fit for a young woman to read and what a man's attitude towards a sister was expected to be.


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1 St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 274. From the wording it would appear that Mary was referring to the publication of each tale in a separate shilling booklet.

2 Ibid., p. 274.

3 Rosenbach, op. cit., p. 179, n. 476.

4 Supra, annotations; Mary Wollstonecraft.

5 Darton, op. cit., p. 198.
Night's Dream," and the rest of the twenty selections.  

During the years of their greatest popularity the Tales were illustrated by many famous artists. Mahoney lists fifteen of them. Some of these are:

1. English Robert Anning Bell in a Freemantle edition, 1899;
5. English William Harvey in a Baldwin and Craddock edition, 1838;
7. The American Petershams (Maude and Miska) in a Macmillan edition, 1923;

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2 Mahoney, op. cit., p. 485.
3 Ibid., p. 388.
4 Ibid., p. 392. The most recent as listed in Mahoney.
5 Ibid., p. 406.
6 Ibid., p. 407.
7 Ibid., p. 427.
8 Ibid., p. 429.
9 Ibid., p. 433.
Darton states that Blake actually did the designs for an edition which came out not long after 1807. None of the other authorities used for this work makes a similar comment.


Competition from the publishing house of Godwin for the market created by the new style of verse for children established by the Taylor sisters. Further evidence of growth in the development of poetry for children. Eliana.

Although the Godwins did not reprint the two volumes after their 1809 publication at Skinner Street they did see that some of them came out in a school anthology of poetry. Mylius chose twenty-two of the poems for *My First Book of Poetry* published by Mrs. Godwin in 1811. Mylius was responsible for such other well received reference books as *Mylius's School Dictionary* and reading books. According to Thwaite, the total original work was completely lost until its re-issue in 1872.

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1Darton, op. cit., p. 198.
2Supra, for publisher and author information.
3Thwaite, op. cit., p. 132. Supra, annotations; Ann and Jane Taylor.
4Muir, op. cit., p. 133.
6Thwaite, op. cit., p. 133.
The first American edition was published in Boston, 1812. The printer was E. G. House. The publishers were West and Richardson and Edward Cotton. Rosenbach notes that in a letter to his friend Richard Barton "Charles Lamb refers to it [this work] as 'the joint production of Mary and me.' With a few exceptions it has not been determined which pieces are by Charles Lamb and which are by his sister." By 1832 it was difficult to find a copy of "even" an American edition.

There were eighty-four poems in the two small volumes. The verses are dismal and didactic. Some of the themes are: death of a beloved parent, keeping knowledge of that death from a younger sibling, envy, jealousy, drowned children, prejudice against negroes, cleanliness, the wonders of the body.

Tarr, who is fond of the Lambs, sadly quotes lines from "To a Young Lady: On Being Too Fond of Music."

A benefit to books we owe,  
Music can ne'er dispense;  
The one does only sound bestow,  
The other gives it sense.

Darton also believes that the Lambs' poems are too prim, didactic and without music, but he does find merit in "cleanliness," one of the

1Rosenbach, op. cit., p. 174, n.462.
2One of the contributors to Original Poems. Supra, annotations, Ann and Jane Taylor.
3Rosenbach, op. cit., p. 175, n.462.
4Ibid., p. 175.
5Tarr, op. cit., p. 48. Tarr is "truly sorry that such lines . . . should have come from the Lambs."
6Ibid., p. 48.
verses attributed to Charles.  

Here are the opening lines:

Come; my little Robert, near—
Fie! What filthy hands are here!
Who, that e'er could understand
The rare structure of a hand
With its branching fingers fine,
Work itself of hands divine.  

Barry recognizes that "Poetry for Children was written to fit parental ideas" but she sees glimmers of beauty and of humor. Although she believes that "Parental Recollections" is of children but not for them she also believes that it is "beautiful and ... suggests understanding as well as love."  

Parental Recollections  

A child's a plaything for an hour;
Its pretty tricks we try
For that or for a longer space;
Then tire and lay it by.

But I knew one that to itself
All seasons could controul,
That would have mocked the sense of pain
Out of a grieved soul.

Thou straggler into loving arms
Young climber up of knees,
When I forget thy thousand ways
Then life and all shall cease. 

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1Darton, op. cit., p. 200.
2Ibid., p. 201.
4Ibid., p. 209.
5Barry, op. cit., p. 210, suggests that this discusses the child Wordsworth knew, "The Child of Imagination."
6Ibid.
Barry sees the humor in the ode that congratulates Phillip on "Going into Breeches."

Joy to Phillip, he this day
Has his long coats cast away
And (the childish season gone)
Puts the manly breeches on.

Then follows a rhymed list of all the proud dressed up people
(such as "Red-coat in his first cockade") who never strut about as proud as Phillip.

Phillip's limbs have got their freedom—
He can run, he can ride,
And do twenty things beside
Which his petticoats forbade
Is he not a happy lad?

Barry compares the Lambs with Robert Louis Stevenson. All three writers had the same delight in memories with one difference. The Lambs "looked back with tenderness to a childhood they had been forced to leave behind. Stevenson was a boy to the end." When the Lambs allow a boy to transform all the drawing room furniture by his imagination his practical mother brings him back to reality:

You've put the cat among my work
    and torn
A fine lac'd cap that I
    but once have worn.

Only once do the Lambs allow the monitress to relent. Robert dawdles after breakfast as he is allowed:

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1Supra, Georgian Era; Historical Background: Fashions and clothes, Small boys and girls were dressed alike until the boy was old enough for his first breeches.

2Ibid., p. 211. This is a commentary on children's dress in the nineteenth century.

3A Child's Garden of Verses was not published until 1885.

4Barry, op. cit., p. 217.

5Ibid., p. 217.
To sit and watch the vent'rous fly
Where the sugar's piled high,
Clambering o'er the lumps so white,
Rocky cliffs of sweet delight.¹

These few imaginative verses were not enough to hold their own
against the poetry of pure enjoyment that was brought out at the same
time:

Come take up your hats and away
let us haste
To the Butterfly's Ball and
the Grasshopper's feast.²

Lamb had enough humor, imagination, and whimsy. He could have
written similar, or better things, in children's verse. He unleashed
these attributes only in letters and fragments of his essays or other
material addressed to adults.

A quick survey of such writing finds three examples of exaggera­
tion, fantasy, humor that children would love:

1. "Absurd images are sometimes irresistible . . . --an
elephant in a coach-office gravely coming to have his
trunk booked; a mermaid over a fish-kettle gravely
cooking her own tail."³

¹Ibid., p. 217.
²Ibid., p. 218. The poem is The Butterfly's Ball and the Grasshopper's Feast by Mr. Roscoe. Illustrated with elegant engravings. London: Printed for J. Harris, . . . 1807. Mulready (Godwin's friend) was supposed to have drawn the illustrations for this toybook in his childhood. Barry lists some of the numerous sequels to The Butterfly's Ball in Appendix A, IX, pp. 248, 249.
³"Table-Talk and Fragments of Criticism" in Ainger, op. cit., p. 381.
2. He offered a "continuation" of Cowper's famous poem

"The Diverting History of Johnny Gilpin."

Lamb made that history even more diverting:

Then Mrs. Gilpin sweetly said
Unto her children three
I'll clamber o'er this stile so high
And you'll climb after me.
But having climbed unto the top,
She could no further go;
But sate to every passer-by
A spectacle and show

3. In a longer poem for adults Lamb uses imagery that children
would like:

The Devil was sick and queasy of late,
And his sleep and his appetite failed him;
His ears they hung down, and his
tail it was chopp'd
Between his poor hoofs like a dog
that's been rapp'd--
None knew what the devil
ail'd him.

None of these were for children. The other trifles that are
labeled with the name Lamb are thought to be potboilers entirely written
by Charles. They are not important in and of themselves but fanciers
of Eliana should know them. They are:

1805  The King and Queen of Hearts ... "A paraphrase on 'The
King and Queen of Hearts,'" the old nursery rhyme.

1Illustrated for children by Cruikshank but made most famous by
Caldecott's illustrations in his famous Toy-books for Routledge and Co.

2"Mrs. Gilpin Riding to Edmonton" in Ainger, op. cit., p. 320.

3"Satan in Search of a Wife" in Ainger, op. cit., p. 381.

4Muir, op. cit., p. 130. This is so rare that in New York in 1929
a copy was sold for $4,500.00.
1811 Prince Dorus . . . "a new version of an old story and Godwin's edition bears a likeness to early cuts from the story too close to be anything but derivative.\textsuperscript{1}"

Ca. 1811 Beauty and the Beast "Undated but probably 1811."\textsuperscript{2}

A rewriting of the French tale.

1811 Felissa "Possibly by Lamb . . . published by Harris instead of Godwin."\textsuperscript{3}

In spite of the fact that in writing for children the Lambs only revamped old material, dredged up old memories, and successfully managed to almost hide their own imaginative strains they touched some hearts.

E. V. Lucas, a noted biographer of Charles Lamb, included the writings of both Charles and Mary when he wrote the following paragraph.

It is in the nursery that love of adventure and circumstantial minute narrative begins, and the part of us where it is lodged is one of the parts that never grows up. We may thank heaven for some arrested developments.\textsuperscript{4}

That is to say, even Charles and Mary Lamb, who called themselves "old bachelors," who lived a fairly penniless life filled with tragedy, were among those writers who did provide some children with:

1. Circumstantial minute narrative;

2. A glimpse into adventure in a mild way.

Lucas was one of those children. He never forgot.

\textsuperscript{1}ibid., p. 133.

\textsuperscript{2}ibid., p. 133.

\textsuperscript{3}ibid., p. 133.

\textsuperscript{4}Lucas, Old Fashioned Tales, op. cit., p. vi.
1809\(^1\) Lamb, Charles and Lamb, Mary. *Mrs. Leicester's School; History of Several Young Ladies, Related by Themselves.* London: M. J. Godwin.\(^2\) Collection of Stories (Sub-categories include: A story of the supernatural, a sea story, stories of home adventure, stories of the effect of changing family relationships in children's lives.)

A pioneer effort in the development of the school story. Thwaite calls it, "The best story set within the framework of the school in this period."\(^3\) "Of special interest because the (still beloved) authors drew largely on their own childhood experiences."\(^4\)

The book was "written at the suggestion of Godwin for his series of Children's Books."\(^5\) It was first printed anonymously.\(^6\) Some later editions contain only Charles' name on the title page\(^7\) although Charles

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\(^1\)Published at the end of 1808, title page dated 1809. As cited by Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 113 and Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 133. Also cited by other authorities.

\(^2\)The Godwin firm published all of the Lambs' children's stories. For more detailed publisher information see the several annotations of the Lambs' stories, above and below, in this work.

\(^3\)Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

\(^4\)Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 199. Also revealed in the notes by Alfred Ainger to a volume he edited, *Mrs. Leicester's School and Other Writings in Prose and Verse* by Charles Lamb (St. Martin's Street, London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1908), first printed in 1885.

\(^5\)Ibid., p. 393.

\(^6\)Darton, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-200.

\(^7\)See Ainger, *op. cit.*, title page; see also the lists in Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 113.
wrote only three of the ten stories.¹

Muir, in his notes about the Lambs' books, states that the book was immediately reprinted in the first year of its publication.² It went into eight editions in fourteen years (by 1823). The ninth edition came out in 1825.³ These figures attest to its early English popularity.

The book was written during 1808. Even with its supposed publication at the end of that year it is interesting that it should receive so immediate and eulogistic mention in a reviewing agency of the day.⁴ This could possibly be due to the advertising efforts of William Godwin or (more likely) those of his practical and energetic second wife, Mary Jane.

In 1808 Charles Lamb had not yet become well known to the public. His acquaintanceship with the famous literary people of his day was already extensive.⁵ However, the greater bulk of his own work had scarcely begun. In 1818 his publisher put out a Collected Works of Charles Lamb. Leigh Hunt gave this an enthusiastic boost in his Indicator of January 31, 1821.⁶ These were the beginnings of Charles Lamb's widespread fame.

¹Barry, op. cit., p. 156. The other authorities used (Darton, Muir, Meigs, Tarr, Thwaite—as well as Ainger) all agree on this point.

²Muir, op. cit., p. 133.

³Ibid., p. 133. Although the American authorities Elva Smith and Bertha Mahoney mention the book as being read by American children, neither of them list American editions. See Smith, op. cit., p. 113. Also Mahoney, op. cit., pp. 393 and 485. Data from Mahoney is used in this annotation during the discussion of illustrated editions.

⁴St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 274 cites this publication as 'the Critical Review for December, 1808.'

⁵"Lamb and His Circle" in Grylls, op. cit.

Mary and Charles were the children of John Lamb who came to serve in various ill-paid positions in the (lawyer's) Temple. Old Lamb, who came up to London from Lincolnshire, loved to reminisce about his early days "at home." Mary (born 1764) was eleven years older than Charles (born 1775). In spite of the age difference, they were very close. Illness, tragedy, and near poverty enhanced their closeness. Except for her periodic days of being institutionalized, Mary kept house for Charles. He seemed to realize that the daily grind of caring for their sick and fault-finding mother had driven Mary to her spasmodic madness.

Before he was in his thirties Charles called Mary and himself an old bachelor and an old maid. He used this as an excuse for their mutual point of view that sometimes creaked as it bent in a written-down way towards children. If he ever recognized that much of their writing for children was an expression of nostalgia towards a remembrance of some happy times in their childhood he did not say.

There had been happy moments. Charles and Mary enjoyed hearing John Lamb talk about his own boyhood. They never forgot some of his country expressions nor the comparison he made between the Temple Church and the minster in the village at the edge of his Lancashire fens.

School days, no doubt brought problems but it also brought material to be used in writing. Both Charles and Mary went to the same early

1The narrative about the lives of Charles and Mary Lamb is a summary of information gathered from the following sources: Ainger, op. cit.; The Complete Works and Letters of Charles Lamb, op. cit.; and Edward Verrall Lucas, The Life of Charles Lamb (New York: Putnam, 1905). The summary is given at this point because the backgrounds for the ten stories are derived, almost entirely, from happenings in the early years of Charles and Mary Lamb.
school. There they were taught by brilliant men caught by hard circumstance in teaching situations that paid little but demanded much. Boys were taught during the day, girls at night by the same tired masters. Not many of the girls really tried to learn "their letters." Their chattering, giggling, and moods nearly overwhelmed the masters. Among these girls Mary found several models for characters in Mrs. Leicester's School.

Charles later became a real scholar as a charity student at Christ's Hospital. There he formed the deep friendship with Coleridge that lasted for fifty years. There he first read Chapman's Homer and other classic works that, in a sense, became material to be transliterated into his essays, reviews, letters and poetry both good and bad.

Both of them, as children, went on visits to their grandmother in Hertfordshire. That vigorous old woman was trusted housekeeper at the family seat of the wealthy (perhaps noble) Plumer family. The owners spent long stretches of time away from their country estate. At such times, Charles and Mary had the run of the place, inside and out.

There were lawns and gardens. There was a fabulous orchard of choice fruit trees. The most choice were espaliered against the garden walls. Wild flowers grew with grass in the rows between the unespaliered trees. In due time sweet hay was made of the grass and flowers.

In the house there was a library where the children browsed and read. Nervous, over imaginative, less school-learned Mary guessed at the meaning of books that were far above her reading level. There was a vast marble hall with busts of the Caesars and prints by Hogarth. There were many shuttered rooms, filled with ornate furniture, ready for
exploring children. It was all so different from their semi-impoverished home; so unlike the noisy, crowded section of London in which the Lambs lived.

Charles and Mary rarely invented anything. They merely wrote about the things they already knew or revamped what someone else had already written. They did both in Mrs. Leicester's School.

They took Sarah Fielding's The Governess\textsuperscript{1} for the framework of their story. They used the time old device of an amanuensis who wrote down the stories that each school girl told. This was a slightly different school, however, as the amanuensis explained. It was new. Therefore, it had no old girls to take the new girls under wings and make them feel accepted. The amanuensis, an instructor, was as new as the girls themselves and, therefore, she too felt homesick though as an adult she tried not to show it.

The Lambs do a better job of writing than Sarah Fielding did. Even though the amanuensis admits that she wrote the stories in her adult style rather than in the words the girls used, the language is less obfuscated; the style is more direct. There is real knowledge of the way children behave.

Darton is right, however, when he states that the tales are "too flickering with brief intuitions and withdrawals taking the place of experience in actions."\textsuperscript{2} Few of the stories have any plot.

\textsuperscript{1}Supra, annotations of The Governess.
\textsuperscript{2}Darton, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 200.
Changeling, and "The Witch Aunt" are based on plots of a kind but no suspense is built. Nothing really happens.

"The Changeling" fails because of the structure of the entire book. It needs to be told in the third person singular, with conversation, rapid action, and a style that would make the time-worn plot ring true. Two babies are changed in the cradle. One family is rich, the other poverty stricken. Children identify with this. Almost every child goes through a stage in which he believes he was not born to the family with whom he lives. His fantasy is to find the family that appreciates him.

"The Witch Aunt" could develop into something like Lucy Maria Boston's An Enemy at Green Knowe. Reading about witch's brews, elixirs, and recipes could enable Maria (in "The Witch Aunt) to recognize a witch when she sees one. No one will believe her. Recognizing this the witch prepares trouble for anyone who thwarts her. Or, she could be a good witch who warns of danger to the family that only Maria and she can avert. Many children enjoy such excitement. Charles Lamb, himself, revelled in the unexpurgated Arabian Nights. Instead, Maria goes to the country with kind people, rests, gets over her imaginings (which did not last a paragraph), and comes home to feel ashamed of herself. The story was "sensible" (not really moral). But most children do not like "sensible stories."

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1 Ainger, op. cit., pp. 22-41.

2 Ibid., pp. 64-70.


Maria's way of reading was the way Mary read when she was young. Her nervousness was Mary's. The books she examined trying to find something that she would enjoy reading were the books Mary examined in the Plumer library.

The same library formed the background in "The Mahametan." A fanciful child could convince herself that the only way to eternal life was over the narrow bridge of silk thread which only true believers could cross. Such a child could worry that those she loved needed to be "saved." However, the "rational" explanation in the story baldly states that intelligent people know that only Christians can earn eternal life. Thus, the little heroine, Margaret Green, does not have to worry about herself or her friends.

The Plumer estate is the background for "The Farmhouse." This story is Robert Louis Stevenson's Child's Garden of Verses in prose. It begins with Louisa Manners' seventh birthday at Grandmama's farm where she is to stay for a year.

In "A Visit to the Cousins" Emily Barton also stays a year, with no explanation telling her or the reader why. Again a child could identify with the feeling of being in the "wrong" family. Handsome father comes and sweeps Emily away by chaise to a beautiful London home and a charming, loving mother. There is a moral. Emily acts towards a friend as the cousins acted towards her. Mother teaches her that this is wrong.

1Ainger, op. cit., pp. 46-53.
2Ibid., pp. 15-21.
3Ibid., pp. 54-63.
The psychology is right. Emily would tend to act this way. The timing is wrong. It is tacked on after the parental kidnapping.

"First Going to Church" is a poetic story of Susan who lives on the muddy fens with a family who cannot afford transportation needed to go seven miles to church. She hears the Sunday bells and thinks they are angels, a kind of heavenly bird. A series of legacies first gives the family means of transportation, then takes them to live in London. The major part of the story is based on old John Lamb's recollections of his childhood on those fens.

Three of the stories begin with the death of one or both parents: 

1 "The Sailor Uncle," "The Father's Wedding Day," "The Sea Voyage." The first two are insightful, pathetic stories for adults, each about a little motherless girl. The third is a sketch of what could be an idyllic yet exciting story of an orphan and a valiant, dying seaman on a long ocean voyage. It could be written one way for adults, another for children.

These brief descriptions do not do justice to the stories. They are rich with interesting background. The characters are well drawn, multi-dimensional, true enough to give the reader the necessary "suspension of disbelief." Emotional tone is vivid but not maudlin.

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1 ibid., 75-81.

2 Twentieth century authors for children do this too. Children enjoy reading adventures which they can pursue unchided by guiding adults, no matter how much they love those adults.

3 They are true to the life of the times: the difficult to traverse, muddy country roads; the sereneness of beautiful gardens; candlelight for bed and hearth fires for warmth.
Children are angry, sullen, lonesome, afraid, delighted, imaginative, and loving. The important adults are loving (and quietly sensible) too. They protect the child as much as they can. Someone always kisses bumps and bruises. The naughty child never is unloved. Neither is he frightened with threats of an awful God, hell-fire, and damnation. In 1808, the adult concept of how children should be treated was undergoing a change.

Some of the writing is appealing, some of it is beautiful. To one who delights in books the following is appealing:

If you have never spent whole mornings alone in a large library, you cannot conceive the pleasure of taking down books in the constant hope of finding an entertaining book among them.

or

What a cheerful sight it was . . . to see so many happy faces assembled, . . . walking up and down between the rows of booths that were full of showy things; ribbons, laces, toys, cakes, and sweetmeats.

another

... he would show me all the sea sights; --the dolphins and porpoises that came before a storm, and all the colours which the sea changed to; how sometimes it was a deep blue and then a deep green, and sometimes it would seem all on fire. Sometimes he would describe to me the odd shapes and varieties of the fishes that were in the sea, and tell me tales of the sea-monsters that lay hid at the bottom and were seldom seen by men; and what a glorious sight it would be,

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1 In "The Sea Voyage" Arabella is not told of the Captain's death until after his sea burial. Even then it is told gently.

2 In "The Young Mahometan," Ainger, op. cit., p. 49.

3 Ibid., p. 53. Small Margaret's first visit to a fair. Later she had a garden swing and friends with whom she played "Blind Man's Buff." These were cures for the fear of an Islamic hereafter.
if our eyes could be sharpened to behold all the inhabitants of the sea at once swimming in the deeps, as plain as we see the gold and silver fish in a bowl of glass.

Children's books are mentioned in several stories: Robinson Crusoe, Little Red Riding Hood, books with gilt covers and gay pictures. Once, parents even have to decide between two children's bookstores: the one at Number 20 St. Paul's Churchyard or the Juvenile Library on Skinner Street. They decide on the Juvenile Library.

In this little book, more than in any of the other of their seven books for children, Charles and Mary Lamb show the "common humanity" of child and man in any century.

Although the greatest surge of the book's popularity appeared to be within the first few years of its initial publication the best illustrated editions came in later years.

St. John lists a Griffith, and Farrar edition, ca. 1865 (The Favorite Library, Number 2). This was "illustrated with a frontispiece and title page vignette engraved on wood by William Green after John Absolon. William Green was noted "for etchings and prints of the English Lake District." Absolon was "noted for his stage settings for

1Ainger, op. cit., p. 84, in "The Sea Voyage."
2Ibid., p. 11 in "The Sailor Uncle."
3Ibid., p. 11.
4Ibid., p. 10.
5Ibid., p. 60 in "Visit to the Cousins."
6St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 274.
7Ibid., p. 274.
8Ibid., p. 445.
the Drury Lane and Covent Garden Theater.\footnote{\textit{ibid.}, p. 434.}

Mahoney lists two other editions with illustrations, also by English artists.\footnote{Mahoney, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 485.} The first of these is a Dent edition of 1899 illustrated by Winifred Green. Mahoney lists Winifred Green with only three illustrated books: \textit{Mrs. Leicester's School}; \textit{Poetry for Children} (1898), \textit{Stories for Children}, 1902. All were written by Charles and Mary Lamb. All were published by Dent.\footnote{\textit{ibid.}, p. 393. Smith, \textit{op. cit.}, lists these three also on p. 113.}

The other illustrated edition of \textit{Mrs. Leicester's School} cited by Mahoney is a Wells Gardner publication of 1904 with pictures by Charles Edmund Brock.\footnote{Mahoney, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 393. Smith, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 113 also mentions Brock's illustrations but attributes the publication to Dent instead of Wells Gardner.} According to St. John, Brock was a "portrait painter and book illustrator," greatly influenced by Randolph Caldecott.\footnote{St. John in \textit{The Osborne Collection}, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 437.}

Brock also illustrated \textit{Our Village} by Mrs. Mitford, put out by Dent in 1904.\footnote{Mahoney, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 393.} This was a great favorite during Victorian days, explaining in rambling but slightly sardonic style, village life in the days that Charles and Mary Lamb were children. Her descriptions amplify the sketches done by Charles and Mary in \textit{Mrs. Leicester's School}. It is fitting that Brock should be the illustrator for each of these books.
Beloved by children four to eight years old during the first half of the nineteenth century.²

Parents approved of the morals. Children liked the sing-song jingle that sometimes did not belabor the moral:

Come pretty Cat,
Come here to me,
I want to pat you on my knee.

Go naughty Tray,
By barking thus,
You'll drive away
My pretty Puss!

Darton claims that Mrs. Turner's verses are the forerunners of work done by W. S. Gilbert of the Gilbert and Sullivan duo.³ Moralist, jingle writer, or forerunner, Mrs. Turner was not averse to advertising her own books. The "blossoms" in the Cowslip were numbered. The twenty-eighth is as follows:

"Papa," said Eugene, "is a daisy a book?
I thought it was only a flower."

Several lines later "Papa" replies:

"You are right," said Papa with a smile, but you'll find
The Daisy a book, my boy, too,
Containing short tales for the juvenile mind,
And adapted for children like [sic] you."²

¹For author and publisher information, supra, annotation: Mrs. Turner, The Daisy.
²Thwaite, op. cit., p. 197.
³Ibid., p. 77.
⁴Darton, op. cit., p. 194.
This was a "puff" for her own wares. But her real cautionary tales leap surely from crime to doom. It was because of such dexterity in the prim yet awful-fate-school-of-moral writing that Hilaire Belloc again parodied her work.

Two of his verse stories, while humorous to twentieth century children, might have been taken as dreadful truth in the early nineteenth century:

"Matilda"\(^1\)

who told lies, and was burned to death

Matilda told such Dreadful Lies,
It made one Gasp and Stretch one's Eyes;
Her Aunt, who from her Earliest Youth,
Had kept a Strict Regard for Truth,
Attempted to Believe Matilda:
The effort very nearly killed her,
And would have done so, had not She
Discovered this infirmity.

Matilda did such things as calling the fire brigade and letting them "souse the Pictures up and down the House," when there was no fire.

One night the aunt went out to a play and left Matilda home. A fire did break out:

You should have heard Matilda shout!

... but all in vain!
For every time She shouted, Fire!
They only answered 'Little Liar!'
And therefore when her Aunt returned,
Matilda, and the House, were Burned.

With reverse emphasis but in similar vein, Belloc continues his parodies in such moral tales as:

Charles Augustus Fortescu

"Who always did what was right and so accumulated an immense fortune."

The nicest child I ever knew
Was Charles Augustus Fortescu
He never lost his cap, or tore
His stockings or his pinafore;
In eating bread he made no crumbs;
He was extremely fond of Sums,

And long before his Fortieth year
Had wedded Fifi, Only child
Of Bunyan, First Lord Alberfylde;
He thus became immensely rich

To show what Everybody might
Become by
SIMPLY DOING RIGHT.

No more telling comment has ever been made about the popular cautionary tale than such equally popular burlesques as these of Hilaire Belloc.

1812 Hofland, Mrs. Barbara (Wreakes) Hoole. The Son of a Genius: A Tale for the Use of Youth. London: John Harris.2

Moral Story.

"The earliest example of the youth novel."3 The most representative of the prolific number of books written by Mrs. Hofland.4

1"Charles Augustus Fortescu" by Hilaire Belloc in Graham, op. cit., pp. 138-139. He was really a horrid little prig.

2For publisher information, supra, Historical Background, publishers; annotations, Comic Adventures of Old Mother Hubbard and The History of Sixteen Wonderful Old Woman.

3Ramsey Notes, op. cit., unpaged.

4Hofland was Barbara Wreakes Hoole's name by her second marriage. St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 262.
widely printed of her small novels, winning international fame.\(^1\) The average marketable wares of what is now a past day, indicative of its time, but possessing little of the author's own attractive personality.\(^2\)

While Mrs. Hofland is another outstanding representative of the many gentle but indomitable Englishwomen who wrote to earn a living for their families she also has a unique importance in herself. She is a pioneer in writing that portrays changing relations between England and the United States. This is evidenced in some of her later writing (ca. 1835).\(^3\)

She was the first English writer for children and youth to do the following things:

1. Adopt the style of an American writer (Peter Parley);\(^4\)
2. Collaborate with American writers in putting out a publication meant for both English and American children;\(^5\)
3. Use the United States as the setting of a story.\(^6\)

Harris published another edition in 1816. The next year (1817) he brought out an edition as a joint venture with Simpkin and Marshall.\(^7\)

\(^{1}\)Thwalte, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 75.
\(^{2}\)Darton, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 216.
\(^{3}\)Halsey, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 197-201.
\(^{4}\)\textit{Ibid.}, p. 198. \textit{Supra}, annotation, Samuel Goodrich (Peter Parley). Here Mrs. Hofland's "imitation" is discussed in greater detail.
\(^{5}\)\textit{Ibid.}, p. 197.
\(^{6}\)\textit{Ibid.}, p. 198.

\(^{7}\)St. John in \textit{The Osborne Collection}, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 495. Simpkin and Marshall are the firm that first published Tennyson's poems.
Such cooperative ventures were often undertaken with books that were as popular as Mrs. Hofland's and that promised to be "steady sellers" for a number of years.

The first American edition was published in 1814 by "Eastman, Kirk and Company. At the Literary Rooms, Corner of Wall and Nassau Streets (New York)."

The second American edition was "published by David Bliss, 59 Maiden Lane (New York). A. Paul Printer, 1818."

Mrs. Hofland (born Barbara Wreakes at Sheffield, in 1770) wrote under both of her married names. The first husband, Mr. Hoole, a wealthy Sheffield business man, died after two years of marriage. He left her with a son, Philip, and a failing business. Mrs. Hoole opened a school to support herself and her family. She often used her pupils as the nuclei from which she developed the characters in her stories.

Under the name of Mrs. Hoole she wrote a cheerful imitation of the Butterfly's Ball. This was quite different in character from the almost studied seriousness of her youth novels.

Thomas Christopher Hofland was "a landscape painter of considerable repute and ability, but [he was] not a great practical economist:

2Ibid., p. 364; Rosenbach, op. cit., p. 208, n.565.
3Darton, op. cit., p. 215 states that all of her stories were for older boys and girls.
4Supra, annotation, Turner. More Cautionary Tales for a discussion of the Butterfly's Ball.
5Darton, op. cit., p. 215.
he provided material for his wife's Son of a Genius. . . . "1 Because of the artist's misfortunes with money ventures, Mrs. Hofland had to write for a living until her death in 1744. 2 She catered for the market with great success. Her output was enormous. However, the market was in the grips of a "creeping paralysis of seriousness, which set in long before Victoria came to the throne." Hence, Mrs. Hofland slanted her writing for the public which demanded (and paid for) that seriousness.

In private life, Mrs. Hofland was full of high spirits and was "broad minded." Her letters to her close friend, Mary Russell Mitford, show the lively personality full of fun and humor that was not revealed in the "bread and butter" novels. 3 Her sympathetic liking for adventure blazes out in the good Robinsonnade which she wrote: The Young Crusoe; or, The Ship-Wrecked Boy (A. K. Newman, n.d.). 4

At the time Mrs. Hofland wrote Son of a Genius she was very much distressed by family troubles. Perhaps it was the clear ring of

1Ibid.

2Ibid., also see St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 262; Rosenbach, op. cit., p. 208, n.565.

3St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 260; Darton, op. cit., p. 215. Mrs. Mitford was also a prolific writer. Her novels were for adults but were eagerly read by young people. Her beautifully written Our Village can still be read for pleasure today. It is also an excellent social documentation of Georgian life. The characters are both urban and rural with interesting contrasts of personality and social backgrounds. Devotees of Jane Austen and Angelia Thirkell who do not know Mary Mitford should add this book to their list for reading and re-reading.

auto-biographical details that made the book so popular in every nation. ¹
These details revealed Mrs. Hofland's emotional feeling about the theme.
A genius husband lived on his wife's earnings. Possessed of great
talent, he refused to discipline himself with the excuse that discipline
would smother his genius. At the same time his pride would not let him
acknowledge the fact that his wife earned the living. She had to do
her work while he was asleep or away from home.

When her own son showed similar traits of genius, Mrs. Hofland
was so fearful of his becoming wasteful of his talents that she wrote
and dedicated the book to him. The boy was thirteen in 1812 when his
mother wrote the first dedication.² In 1826, when he was adult and had
become a minister, his mother revised and rededicated the book to him.³

In the preface to this revised edition of 1826 Mrs. Hofland states
her original purpose in writing the book.⁴

[It] . . . was prompted by a mother's anxiety to secure you,
and other children of your description, from an inordinate
and unchecked admiration of Genius. From infancy you had
given indications of that disposition of mind, which, though
it might justify my hopes, necessarily excited my fear also,
and called upon me to use every means in my power, for re­
straining its ardour and regulating its sensibility. . . .⁵

In order to fulfill her purpose Mrs. Hofland wrote the harrowing
story of a family who suffered much because the genius father was

¹Rosenbach, op. cit., p. 208, n.565.
²St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 262.
³Barbara Wreakes Hoole Hofland, The Son of a Genius: A Tale for
⁴Ibid., pp. v-vii.
⁵Ibid., p. v.
unstable and improvident.

The story begins with the courtship of Mr. Lewis and Agnes. Mr. Lewis has a modest legacy and a good education. Agnes, a parson's daughter, has a good education but neither dowry nor hope of legacy. Her parents are charmed with Mr. Lewis who is gentle, affectionate, sincere, and genuinely talented. But the honeymoon is barely over before Agnes discovers her husband's extravagant tastes, exaggerated opinion of the homage due his genius, and little inclination towards the self discipline that would develop his many aptitudes.

The couple go through alternate periods of wealth and poverty. Mr. Lewis insults patrons whom he had once charmed. He vacillates from painting, to poetry writing, to machine inventing. During one impoverished period a small child dies. Two little boys are left: Ludovico and Raphael, and a new little baby girl is born. Just before the father is thrown into debtor's prison, Raphael dies. There is no money to bury him so the family live for several days with the dead little boy in one corner of the parlour. During this time the fleeing father is captured and put into prison.

Agnes secures enough money to bury Raphael. She leaves the baby with the landlady while Ludovico and she go to the funeral. On their return, they find they are evicted and must go to live in the debtor's prison. A tailor, responsible for the father's imprisonment, helps Ludovico develop his own sketching ability.

By means of this ability and his innate decency, Ludovico ultimately aids in restoring the family to permanently comfortable living. But by this time there have been other reverses of fortune. Mr. Lewis,
who is portrayed as a good man hampered only by his lack of self discipline, dies of consumption. There are a few harrowing scenes in which it appears that the forces of evil in the guise of 'Mr. Sinister' will seize Mr. Lewis's dead body. It appears that in Georgian days creditors did this very thing, until debts were settled. Good comes along in the form of David Gurney, a benevolent, well-to-do Quaker, and his friend, Mr. Young, an engraver.

Ludovico (called Lu) becomes apprenticed to the engraver. The mother and little sister are packed off to a wealthy country family that needs them. And then wonders do begin to happen. The paintings, poem, and inventions the dead father left behind him prove to be valuable.

The author realizes that this is the end of Ludovico's boyhood story. Nevertheless, she cannot resist adding a chapter that tells of his successful manhood. The success is due, of course, to his combining industry and genius.

The story is full of description. The character delineation is good. Some of the scenes are moving, almost frightening. For example, the anguish as Ludovico sits all night by his dead brother's body is very real. Lu wonders if his mother will find his father in prison. (She has gone to search for him.) Many questions fill his mind. Will the baby cry in prison? Will his mother find money someplace so that they can bury Raphael? At such a moment the reader almost forgets Mrs. Hofland's biggest fault, lack of dialog.

When characters do talk, they declaim. They make speeches. Some of the speeches run a half-page or more. Then there are many more
pages in which no one talks. Mrs. Hofland only describes.

Every scene, however, is thought provoking as social document: the home and life of the country vicar; the education of girls; debtor's prison; the publishing business (there is an especially good description of this); the National Academy of Art and its management; patronage; the fat manufacturers who demand industry in a painter; a Mennonite boys' academy; the home, family, manners, and speech of the Quaker; attitude toward and treatment of the dead; husband-wife relationships; these and many more.

In spite of the flatly written melodrama with no touch of humor it is a temptation to compare Mrs. Hofland's work with that of Dickens. It is apparent in these respects:

1. Characterization: A few of these people are: "Mr. Sinister" the conniving art dealer, a combination of Uriah Heap and Fagan; the old woman who sells bags for the housemaids "to put feathers in"; the landlady who "minds" the baby during Raphael's funeral but who evicts them even as she holds the baby and sings endearments to it; a similar landlady who scolds Agnes about such an improvident husband and pungently tells her that Mr. Lewis will never change for the better.

2. The scenes: Four of these are: the street corner on which Raphael sells his own sketches; the debtor's prison with its half-freedom for the prisoner as well as lodging and food of sorts for the family; the assorted dingy living quarters in which Agnes and her children make gloves, unbeknownst to Mr. Lewis so that they will have the money for food; the coaching
establishments with their bustle and excitement.

There are portions which Dickens could never have written. He lacked the experience of knowing some parts of England when he was a child. Mrs. Hofland knew comfortable small villages (just as Mrs. Mitford did). These were places in which all the girls were well educated by their fathers. None was better than the other. There was no lack of intelligent conversation. And the surrounding countryside was such as made England's landscape painters famous: lush meadows, pleasant rivers, majestic mountains with their snowy caps, green forests, glimpses of the sea in all its changing moods.

This should have been a great book. Unfortunately, it is only a sketch of what it could have been.

The first English edition was illustrated with a copperplate frontispiece. The artist is not indicated.1

The "illustration" in the first American edition is signed "A."

[Anderson],2 the American Bewick.

The copperplate frontispiece for the 1826 edition is in color. It shows the father in his prison bed, palette by his side, easel nearby, with a large folio of his writings on the floor. The sad wife, baby in her arms, sits at the foot of the bed. Ludovico, dressed like an adult, leans over his father. It is signed, "H. Melville."3

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1St. John in *The Osborne Collection, op. cit.*, p. 262.


3Hofland, *Son of a Genius*, revised edition, *op. cit.*, p. ii. St. John in *The Osborne Collection, op. cit.*, lists a similar volume as having this frontispiece dated "January 1, 1827." No date is discernible in the engraving for volume cited by this writer.
Fiction books for young adults rarely have illustrations. The story is the thing. Evidently this was also true in the first third of the nineteenth century.

Animal Story. Moral Tale.

"Of more than ordinary merit." Important in the development of the autobiographical animal story. However, Mrs. Argus was even more important as she was a good humored commentator upon "juvenile humours, tempers, manners, and foibles." To her, children were natural neither prigs nor puppets to be manipulated. She was in advance of the time in which writers and educators would openly acknowledge that children were not miniature adults.

Quaker William Darton Junior probably printed this work at his Holborn Hill place of business. He had moved there from his father's address at Gracechurch Street.

Barry gives the best description of the very anonymous Mrs. Argus and her place in the English social setting. She was a grandmother

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1 Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 189.
2 Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
3 Ibid., p. 171.
4 An ancestor of the Darton cited in this work as an authority.
6 Barry, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-134.
who employed the still accepted ideals of literature: "Nature" and "Truth."

Mrs. Argus applied Addison's method of character drawing to the nursery, ... [using] it with a new understanding of childhood.¹

She was an old woman (in her opinion), neither witch nor fairy, who wrote many things for children including mischief and romps in her anecdotes or stories. Her only satire was against "little prodigies" and child-philosophers. After the *Juvenile Spectator* was published by Darton in 1810 she received much fan mail. Children did not seem to be afraid of her and wrote her their innermost thoughts, sometimes in quite a saucy manner. Mrs. Argus replied and gave sound as well as pointed advice.²

Having children and grandchildren of her own whom she amused with tales she knew how children delighted in exciting openings and in fairy tales. She loved to make their eyes sparkle with her own stories. But true to her day she rejected any story that did not have "the hallmark of a moral."³

*The Adventures of a Donkey*, a story meant for children, has a hallmark: Be kind to animals. This was one of the crusades of the Georgian and Romantic Periods. The wanton cruelty displayed to animals is far beyond the twentieth century imagination. Children today who perpetrate some of the atrocities towards animals that were considered

¹Barry, *op. cit.*, p. 133.
²*ibid.*, p. 134.
³*ibid.*, p. 135.
commonplace by many eighteenth and early nineteenth century people would be sent to a psychiatrist for treatment.

Jemmy, the donkey, tells his own tale. Forerunner of Black Beauty Jemmy has all kinds of adventures from those that end in kindness and a good home for him to those that bring him nothing but cruelty and misery. The character of each human who is involved with Jemmy is vividly portrayed. Mrs. Argus preserved her anonymity but she could not hide her keen observation of human nature.

The little book was so popular that it was followed by a sequel. The Further Adventures of Jemmy Donkey also published by the Dartons, in 1821.

The only illustration was an engraved (but anonymously designed) pictorial leaf.


One of the best known of the Robinsonnades, Thwaite describes

1Thwaite, op. cit., p. 189 describes the adult satires on which such stories for children were based.

2Anna Sewell, Black Beauty (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1945). There are more recent editions but this one is beautifully illustrated by Fritz Eichenburg.

3Familiarly known as Swiss Family Robinson.

4Supra, for publisher information, Historical.
its importance as being in the fact that it is "one of those rare excellent books which endear themselves to children but which adults find tedious."\(^1\) It influenced Captain Marryat to write his Robinsonnades.\(^2\)

The first English edition, as published by the Godwins, contained only Part 1.\(^3\) The complete story of the book as it is known today is very complicated. Swiss Chaplain Johann Wyss originally wrote the story for his four sons. It was not until twenty years later (in 1812) that his son Johann Rudolf prepared the manuscript for publication. The entire book was not ready at the time Godwin did his translation. Therefore, Godwin promised his "public" that he would translate and publish the rest of the story as soon as he could "procure" the German copy.\(^4\)

This he did in 1814 calling the newer volume The Family Robinson Crusoe. In 1818 Godwin published both volumes of the story under its present title, Swiss Family Robinson. The translation was still based on the German version.\(^5\)

By that time, however, other versions were in circulation. In 1814 Madame de Montholieu had translated the work into French.\(^6\) These

\(^1\)Thwaite, op. cit., p. 161.
\(^2\)Ibid., p. 163; supra, annotation, Marryat.
\(^3\)Ibid., p. 161.
\(^4\)St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 318.
\(^5\)Thwaite, op. cit., p. 161. Darton gives information about the German version. It was called Der Schweizerische Robinson and was "published at Zurich in two parts in 1812 and 1813." It is conjectured that Shelley who eloped with Godwin's daughter Mary, gave the German version to his father-in-law.
\(^6\)Ibid., p. 161.
early versions were much shorter than those to which twentieth century
readers were accustomed. Evidently believing that the story was worthy
of being continued Madame de Montholieu "got leave from Wyss's son to
alter the end of the story,"1 Her alterations eventually ran to five
volumes. Darton believes that the "authoritative version [of her work]
is probably that published from 1824-1826."2 Madame de Montholieu
added beast characters and incidents that became undeletable parts of
the story.3

Most English readers owe their idea of the story to the text as
edited by W. H. G. Kingston in 1849. He "telescoped the original and
altered it considerably."4

Very little is known about the original author, "the pastor and
almoner of the Swiss troops in Berne."5 Some form of the story, however,
is known to every reader or movie goer.6

Having lost fortune and political acceptance through the 1798

1Darton, op. cit., p. 117.
2Ibid., p. 117.
3"Undeletable" in the sense that to omit them would detract from
the fantastic adventures as children have enjoyed them. For example,
the donkey, the boa constrictor that swallowed the donkey in such a
fashion that the donkey's shape could be plainly seen, the ostriches
that served as hansom cabs, the bears, and tame antelopes. There is an
incident in St. Eupery's The Little Prince which might well have been
inspired by the boa constrictor and the donkey. Note: Muir states that
Madame de Montholieu was Jane Austen's translator into French. Muir,
op. cit., p. 42.

4Darton, op. cit., p. 117; supra, annotation, William Giles
Kingston.

5Ibid., p. 116.

6For this reader the content section of this annotation is brief,
Revolution the Swiss Pastor Robinson set out with his family on a missionary expedition to Otaheite. In the tropics they are shipwrecked. The ingenuity of each member of the famous family (especially the father) helps all of them become more comfortably established on their tropical island than Robinson Crusoe himself. The animals, fauna, and flora which they find do not co-exist in the same latitudes, but as this is an imaginary adventure story the defect is serious only to adults and child readers who cannot imagine 'what is not.' Fritz, Franz, Ernest, and Jack listen (and sometimes) profit by their father's ready knowledge on every subject. Mrs. Robinson, too, listens but at times seems to exhibit a common sense of her own unintimidated by the fact that she is one lone woman among five vociferous males.

It is impossible to consider the story without recalling a child's conception of it. A child is not even aware of the constant moralizing that the missionary father sandwiches in with his frequent worldly instruction. Children are delighted with the tree house, grateful that the family is spared great disaster from the unusual storm that descends on the family. To the child it is fitting that anyone be grateful to God for being spared during such a storm. Such gratitude is both relief and therapy. A child recognizes this. But the gratitude lasts only as long as drawing a breath for the exciting adventures go on. Of course it is logical, as well as fun, to encourage monkeys to gather cocoanuts by imitating the efforts of a human. Tapping an India-rubber tree is not instructive (as its author intended it to be) but another form of something interesting to do. It is exciting to ride (and race) an ostrich. And every respectable adventurer ought to find a mine of some
kind, even if it is only a salt mine.

Again, to quote Darton, "Truth and probability do not matter when you read the book (as a child). Only events do."\(^1\)

This opinion is not held by Captain Frederick Marryat. He found these faults with *Swiss Family:* faulty seamanship, and geography that was "irreconcilable with the known globe."\(^2\)

Meigs\(^3\) agrees with Captain Marryat. Her opinion is that although it is

the most famous of these followers of Crusoe; it is typical of its age, full of moralizing and lecturing by Robinson Senior, with complete unreality as to natural facts. Not even a child reader will believe that every fruit and every animal of temperate and tropical climes could have come together on a single island. There is even an *American Family Robinson,* so poorly written that there is no need to mention more than its existence.\(^4\)

It is quite possible that more British children than American have delighted in the book. Darton, in a footnote, mentions that "The stock Victorian edition was that illustrated by John Gilbert and others."\(^5\)

Godwin's first edition had only a frontispiece "engraved by Springsguth after Henry Corbauld."\(^6\) Henry Corbauld (died 1844) was an

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\(^1\)Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 118.

\(^3\)Meigs, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

\(^4\)Ibid.; and this is just about all that Meigs has to say about the book. It is interesting to note that neither Halsey nor Rosenbach mention the book. The Welch Bibliography for "W" is not available at this time.

\(^5\)Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

\(^6\)St. John in *The Osborne Collection, op. cit.*, p. 318.
employee of the British Museum. He was the son of Richard Corbauld, a portrait painter, who also illustrated children's books.¹

John Gilbert (died 1897) illustrated a Hurd and Houghton edition of 1865.² Sir John Gilbert was a painter "and draughtsman on wood. He made some 30,000 drawings for the Illustrated London News and designed covers for the monthly parts of Punch."³

Mahoney lists six other notable artists who did illustrations for different editions of Swiss Family Robinson.⁴ Three of these are American: Louis John Rhead (Harper, 1909),⁵ Elenore Plaisted Abbott (Macrae, 1914), and Donald Teague (Minton, 1927).⁶

Donald Teague is the only one of the three mentioned in a biographical sketch. It is interesting to note that he lived a life of adventure being involved in World War I, the 1925 North African Rif War, and the 1937-38 Chinese-Japanese War. In spite of his adventurous life his pictures are small in size and done in water color or gouache.⁷

The other illustrators (and their editions) listed by Mahoney are:

- English: James Charles Folkard (Dutton, 1910)⁸

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¹St. John in *The Osborne Collection*, op. cit., p. 318.
²Ibid., p. 440.
³Ibid., p. 445. The part that *Punch* and its illustrators played in children's literature is discussed in the following chapter, The Victorian Regime.
⁴Mahoney, op. cit., p. 508.
⁵Ibid., p. 433.
⁶Ibid., pp. 441 and 363-365.
⁷Ibid., pp. 363-365.
⁸Ibid., p. 508.
English: Thomas Heath Robinson (Doran, 1913)

New Zealander: Harry Rountree (Macmillan, 1907)

in spite of adverse adult comments Thwaite adds:

Its [Swiss Family Robinson] position as a classic in junior literature today has been recognized within recent years by the publication of a new abridgement and re-translation by Audrey Clark in "Dent's Illustrated Children's Classics" (1957).


Important as the basic theme for Juliana Ewing's Victorian classic, Benjy in Beastland. The first full length book for children about a visit to the moon: the beginning of our space age stories.

Alexander King Newman, head of the Minerva Press after 1809, published Biography of a Spaniel in Leadenhall Street. Whoever the author was, Newman kept the identity a close secret.

Although the little book uses "be kind to animals" as its theme, its imaginative quality must have constituted the appeal for children.

The story still reads well today.

Jolli, the spaniel, after death finds himself transported to a

1bid., p. 407.

2ibid., p. 433.

3Thwaite, op. cit., p. 161. See Thwaite's footnote on this same page.

4St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 233. Juliana Horatia (Gatty) Ewing was a prolific late Victorian writer for children. As she was inspired by earlier writers so she inspired other writers for children; for example, Rudyard Kipling.

5ibid., pp. 482, 488; supra, annotation, Mrs. Hofland.
particular section of the moon. Indeed, the author says:

In the midst of one of the large seas our astronomers have lately discovered in the moon, lies a large island . . . the appointed Elysium of dogs.

In this haven Jolli is treated kindly. He sees some old friends and meets some new ones. Each tells the story of how he was treated on earth by one or more masters and mistresses. The major part of the story is Jolli's account of his own life from the time he "learned to jump over a stick for King Frederic" through his various adventures.

At one time he was a part of a Marionette troupe manned by Gypsies. Then he was called "Cartouche." He enjoyed a part of this life, liking applause and being in the limelight. At another time he lived in a cloister with Father Bedo. At still another time he lived with Thedulf, a half-starved poet in the Palatinate. There a wolfhound was his rival for affection and for food.

Interesting as the story is it is only a sketch of what it could be. Undoubtedly, this is the reason Mrs. Ewing amplified it.

The frontispiece to the 1826 edition "is engraved by James Hopwood after his brother William." James, the engraver belonged to the school of stipple-engravers. No other editions are mentioned.

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4 *ibid.*, p. 447. The Ramsey notes, *op. cit.*, unpaged, lists this as the "earliest animal autobiography in children's literature." She puts the first publication date as 1803 but this writer can find no verification for such a date.

Representative of a host of published "rhymed incidents strung together round one or more central figures." First appearance of the new verse form now known as the limerick. As important for its sixteen colored engravings as it is for its verse. These, too, are indicative of the early nineteenth century trend in which illustration was rising in popular favor and demand.

One of a series of such little booklets published by that enterprising inheritor of Newbery's business, John Marshall. This, and similar books of nonsense verse, were published by him in an overall grouping called "Cabinet of Amusement and Instruction." No one appears to know who the author was.

The plan of each booklet is simple. Taking the Wonderful Old Women as an example: "one verse, one incident, one picture" were on

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1. The bibliographic data in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 65, states "Printed for Harris and Son, 1820." Darton, op. cit., p. 208, states that the plates are dated 1820 but that the publication date is 1821. Note: There is no record of this title in either Welch or Rosenbach. The Americans must have been lugubrious.


3. St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 65 includes the publisher's statement about the illustrations: "Much credit is due to our artist, I ween; For such pictures as these can seldom be seen."


5. Ibid., p. 125, 126.

the same page. For this book this meant sixteen pages and sixteen pictures. A sample of the verse is:

There was an old woman named Towl,
Who went out to sea with her Owl,
But the Owl was Sea-sick,
And screamed for Physic;
Which sadly annoy'd Mistress Towl;\(^1\)

No illustrator is named. William Mulready did several similar illustrations for John Marshall. It is easy to conjecture that Mulready could have been the illustrator.

The pictures themselves are crude, but humorous. The women all have long noses and pointed chins that almost meet (toothless grannies). The clothes are fusty. The body postures are stiff but ludicrous. In some books the pictures are in black and white. Books with colored illustrations cost more.


The best story by the best writer of the moral or didactic tale that was strongly religious. Darton places it as a book that was 'perhaps as widely read, as completely ridiculed, and as honestly condemned

\(^1\) Edition as cited in the heading, unpaged.

\(^2\) Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 209. Smith cites (Hatchard ?) as the publisher.
by child lovers, as any English book ever written for children."¹

Thwaite calls it "one of the first family stories, where children are depicted as real people, not puppets created for a purpose."²

John Hatchard³ was bookseller to Queen Charlotte. His establishments at, respectively, numbers 173, 190, and 187 Piccadilly became popular meeting places for Tories and literary people. At the time the first part of The Fairchild Family was published (1818) his business was at number 187 Piccadilly.⁴

Martha Mary Butt Sherwood was "a genuinely typical figure... in an unusual orbit."⁵ She was a product of:

...that intellectual middle class which had produced the Blue-Stockings and was itself a typical product of the Georgian era.⁶

She was also typical of the Georgian woman writer in these respects:

1. She was a rectory daughter of high intelligence who received an education that allowed her to use that intelligence.

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¹Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
⁴Information about John Hatchard is found in *The Osborne Collection*, *op. cit.*, pp. 477-478.
⁵Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 179.
⁶Ibid., p. 178.
2. She married in her late twenties.

3. As time went on it was necessary for her to earn the major part of the living for a growing family.

4. She earned this living by teaching and writing.

5. During the time that the strain of such wage earning was the greatest she became more intensely religious according to the creed that helped her the most in a world that she found inconsistent, troubling and difficult.

6. At heart she was basically a kind woman, pushed and moulded by the forces of her time, into urging the next generation to become happier and more able to meet their problems in the way that seemed the most satisfactory to her.¹

7. She was active in the movements of her day, notably the Sunday School Movement for the poor, and other forms of education for youth. She furthered these through her books, reviews of books, and editing of other peoples' works.

The original rectory in which the three Butt children (Marten, Martha, and Lucy) lived their early lives was in the beautiful Telme Valley. Until she was six Martha was allowed to play in very rough and tumble fashion with her older and only brother, Marten. That she was a strong child is obvious for without such resilience she could never have survived such play. Only one of the gruelling often repeated games involved a bureau drawer. Marten emptied it of its contents, put his little sister in it, and pushed it down the stairs. Another of the

¹Darton states that in her "later work she used them (her stern ultra Calvinistic doctrines) with much less vehemence and frequency."
games was to put her on top of high stacked tables and chairs. Then he
knocked down the pile leaving Martha entangled in the wreckage.

No one seemed to have noticed such wild and exciting games. Mrs.
Butt was a quiet, retiring sort of woman who tended to household
affairs. Reverend Butt either went out on parish business or retired
to his study to work in undisturbed quiet. Lucy was much younger than
the other children. She was a delicate child who required much care
and protection to assure that she would live.

When Martha was six her wild romps stopped. Marten went away to
school. Martha's home education began. Her parents believed that
Martha needed guidance in developing the habit of standing with good
posture. Every day they put her in iron and wood stocks that allowed
her to walk but not to sit. She learned to read and study standing up.
She ate standing up.

When evening came the brace was removed and Martha was allowed
to go outdoors. There she ran and ran, as fast as she could, as long
as she could. She would finally throw herself on the grass and enjoy
everything that was outdoors: the feel of the grass, the scent of trees
and flowers, the feel of the breeze, the peaceful sight of the Malverne
hills that rimmed the valley.

Before Martha could spell or write she made up stories. With
slate and slate pencil in hand she would follow her mother and get her
to write down the stories. As Lucy grew, Martha told stories to her.
Later, the two girls wrote stories or religious tracts for the Sunday

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1She did tell stories of her childhood to her children. She
seems to have been an excellent story teller.
Schools in which they worked.

Martha did not feel that her parents were unkind. They simply did their duty as they saw it. They loved her and told her so. Her father taught her Latin and gave her the freedom of his library. She read Spenser, Virgil, Greek and Roman myths. She peopled the surrounding woods with fairy folk. She always had imaginary playmates. She loved dolls and with her sister she carried on years of imaginative play acting. The moment the girls were walking alone together they became characters in an on-going drama of their own.

An early one of these dramas involved two sister, Queens of neighboring and friendly kingdoms. In this story they had children, friends, and lively happenings. Each event was advanced in the spontaneous dialogue that went on between the girls.

The Butt family moved twice: once to a larger and more remunerative parish, then back home again to the Telme Valley. According to the custom of the day, the Anglican rector could retain two or more "livings" at the same time. He would move to the "living" of greatest pay and "hire" a curate to take care of the other parish. This Reverend Butt did. Mrs. Butt was not happy in the first move which was to a large city. The girls, however, were delighted. There they found a bustle and activity which they had not known before with pretty clothes, dances, and compliments. Martha thoroughly enjoyed herself. She also enjoyed being sent as a privileged older girl and "parlour border" to an "elite" school run by a French refugee couple.

It was not until after the family's return to their beloved country home that Martha married her perapatetic regimental cousin, Captain Sherwood.
For two years the Sherwoods lived at a rough army camp in England. There a daughter was born. Orders soon sent the husband and wife to India by way of Cape Hope. Because of the known arduousness of the journey the adored baby had to be left at home in England. The trip was more difficult than had been foreseen. And life in India was even worse. A son, Henry, was born and died. Mrs. Sherwood was almost overcome with grief. (Many of her children died early deaths.) Her Anglican religion could not give her comfort in the midst of all her griefs. She was given hope by an Evangelical missionary, Henry Martyn. Holding rigidly to her new creed, teaching, and writing were the strengths that kept her alive, not only the twelve years in India, but after the family's return to England.¹

Mrs. Sherwood wrote several stories with India as a background. The best of these Little Henry and His Bearer (1814) was the first missionary tale for children.² This was especially popular in the United States.³ This story helped Mrs. Sherwood assuage her sorrow over the death of her own Henry. In fantasy, she had him grow to be a boy who converted his Ayah to the Christian religion. The story was popular not only because of the Evangelical and missionary spirit of the times

¹All material about Mrs. Sherwood's life is a summary of information from authorities A and B.

²Thwaite, op. cit., p. 61. In considering the fairy tales read and written by the girl Martha Butt, and the imaginative dramas she carried on with her sister, it is almost unbelievable that Martha become Mrs. Sherwood could speak and act against fairy tales. For example, she rewrote Sarah Fielding's The Governess. She omitted the two fairy tales written by Sarah Fielding. She added a moral tale of her own. See Darton, op. cit., p. 97.

but also because of Mrs. Sherwood's "true power to create the Indian scene and to tell a story in vivid phrases." Rudyard Kipling was influenced in his writing by this story.

Mrs. Sherwood began *The Fairchild Family* in India. There with nostalgia, she wrote fictitiously about her early childhood home in the Telme Valley. She began:

Mr. and Mrs. Fairchild lived very far from any town; their house stood in the midst of a garden, which in the summertime was full of fruit and sweet flowers.

The first part of the book was published in 1818; the second part in 1842; the third in 1847; "the last part being completed by her daughter." The edition read for this annotation contains only parts one and two. The annotation is most concerned with part one.

Mr. and Mrs. Fairchild have three children: Lucy (age nine), Emily (a little younger), and Henry who was "between six and seven." (The children were taught at home by their parents.) There is also one maid servant (Betty) and one manservant (John). There is an income on which the family live comfortably, but not lavishly. In spite of the fact that the children are taught that they cannot afford some things and that they must dress plainly, the father and mother spend a great

1Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

2Meigs in Meigs, *op. cit.*, p. 86.


4Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

5*Supra*, see above, footnote 3.
Mrs. Sherwood describes this educational involvement of Mr. and Mrs. Fairchild in the following manner:

... Mr. Fairchild had a school for poor boys in the next village, and Mrs. Fairchild one for girls. I do not mean that they taught the children entirely themselves, but they paid a master and mistress to teach them; and they used to take a walk two or three times a week to see the children, and to give rewards to those who had behaved well. When Lucy and Emily and Henry were obedient, their parents were so kind as to let them go with them to see the schools; and then they always contrived to have some little thing ready to carry with them as presents to the good children.²

Obedience and goodness in little children meant recognizing Mrs. Sherwood's belief in the "depravity of the human heart" that was only saved from complete annihilation through constant application to a Protestant God, via prayer and remorse, for forgiveness of sins. Darton state:

... no one who does not feel some doctrinal faith faintly akin to what she believed ... could read most of these [her] works sympathetically.³

The 1931 edition of the Fairchild stories⁴ eliminates the "hell and brimstone" aspect of the daily preaching interlaced with assurance

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¹Mrs. Hannah More and the Edgeworths were friends of Mrs. Sherwood's grandfather, Dr. Butt of Lichfield. Mrs. Sherwood was impressed, as a child by the dedication of these people to "Sunday School" work. Supra, Georgian Era-Historical Background; Robert Raikes and the Sunday School Movement. Supra, annotation, Hannah More. Supra, Maria Edgeworth. In 1801 Mrs. Sherwood and her sister took charge of a Sunday School. Thwaite believes that Mrs. Sherwood's works ought to be classed with those of the late seventeenth century because her writing is "so much concerned with Christian teaching and the aims of the Sunday School Movement," Thwaite, op. cit., p. 60.


³Darton, op. cit., p. 175.

⁴Sherwood, this annotation, supra.
of their love that the parents gave their children.

In the "Story of the Apples" Henry is tempted beyond endurance. Two unusual apples are growing on one bough. Mr. Fairchild warns the children not to touch them. The girls "look away" from the fruit. But not Henry. He watches the apples every day. He describes the way they look. He imagines the way they must taste. He gloats over the idea of the forbidden fruit. Finally he snatches one and eats it with gusto behind the barn. He enjoys every mouthful until he is caught. Then he begins to fear and tremble. He is shut up in the attic all day long with no food, left to meditate and pray over his sin. After he is released his mother hugs him but tells him his sin began when he started to dream about how delicious the forbidden fruit would (and did) taste.

The story ends with Mr. Fairchild also kissing his little boy and Lucy and Emily smiling at him.

"Henry," said Mr. Fairchild, "you have had a sad day of it; but I did not punish you my child, because I do not love you, but because I do." Then Mr. Fairchild cut a large piece of bread-and-butter for Henry, which he was very glad of, for he was very hungry.

The other naughtinesses are the kinds that still trouble children and their parents today. Lucy envies Emily because Lady Noble gave her an expensive doll and gave Lucy none. Emily wants to share the doll but it belongs to her. Hence, Lucy will have nothing to do with it. She pretends to read. She won't let Emily take the doll to bed with them.

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1 Mrs. Fairchild is always saying words to the effect that "I am your Mama, and I love you dearly, no matter what you do. But it grieves me to have you be naughty." In their own words, many parents say this to their children today.

2 Sherwood, op. cit., p. 33.
(the girls share a bed). She cries. She denies that she is unhappy.

Mrs. Fairchild coaxes Lucy into explaining her problem. Mrs. Fairchild then "solves" it by explaining:

Envy is in every man's heart by nature. Some people can hide it more than others, and others have been enabled, by God's grace to overcome it to a great degree; but, as I said before, it is the natural heart of all mankind. Little children feel envious about dolls and playthings, and men and women feel envious about greater things.1

Mrs. Fairchild tells Lucy about her own unhappy times of envy. Then the mother and child go into a room by themselves to pray that Jesus would take the wicked passion out of Lucy's heart. . . . from that day Lucy never felt envious of Emily's doll, but helped Emily take care of it and make its clothes, and was happy to have it laid on her bed betwixt herself and sister.2

The children "meant" to be good, but the minute their parents were out of sight they "backslid." In the "Story of An Unhappy Day" the parents and Betty, the maid-servant, are gone from before breakfast until after the evening meal. John, the man-servant, in between chores, takes care of the children and fixes them their meals. The children start the day by playing in bed. Emily and Lucy "make babies out of the pillows" and

Lucy pulled off the sheets and tied them around her, in imitation of Lady Noble's long-trained gown; and thus they spent their time until Henry came to the door to tell them that breakfast was ready.3

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1bid., p. 23.
2ibid., p. 24.
3ibid., p. 36.
At breakfast John indulges them with forbidden food, especially with too much butter on too many pieces of uneaten toast. The children eat in front of the fireplace. They get crumbs and grease all over hearth, floor, and furniture coverings. They eat so much they can't make themselves study their lessons. At this opportune moment they see a little pig rooting in the garden and the flower beds.

Of course the children give chase to the pig: out of the garden, down the land, right to a narrow bridge over the spring. The pig disdains the bridge and splashes into the water. The children splash in too, clothes and all, "even though they were up to their knees in mud."\[1\]

Now on the other side of the bridge lived a farmer and his wife who "were not as such as lived in the fear of God." The children had been forbidden to speak to such people. But though "Godless" the farmer's wife was a kind hearted soul. She brought the dripping, muddy children into her kitchen and dried their clothes by the fire. She gave them cake to eat and hard cider to drink. The cider made the children tipsy and they reeled, giggling, home where John locked them up in the playroom until dinner was ready.

As the effects of the cider wear off the children begin to feel guilty. They vow to be good all the rest of the day so they can tell their parents "the truth!": they were naughty in the morning, but good all the rest of the day.

After dinner John "fastens" the children in the barn so he can "look to" the pigs and milk the cow. He thinks tumbling in the hay will not hurt the children. But he forgot about the swing. Mr. Fairchild

\[1\]Ibid., p. 39.
had tied it up to the rafters with the warning that the children swing only when an adult is present. The children manage to untie the swing. At first they swing carefully, then they become excited and grow wilder and wilder in their excitement. They go too high. The swing turns and Emily falls to the floor. She is unconscious and bleeding. The other children scream until poor John unlocks the barn and lets them out.

Emily recovers and is cleaned up. But exasperated John ties Lucy and Henry to the kitchen table until their parents come home. Then all three children are sent to bed in disgrace. They cry themselves to sleep. Penitent, in the morning, they crawl into bed with their parents to be loved, forgiven, and everybody cries.

Almost every story is full of genuine childish devilment. No doubt child readers gulped down the adventures and ignored the sermonizing. In spite of this, editors of later editions did feel it necessary to cut out some parts of the story as unsuitable for children. The classic case of such editing involves the elimination of the "gibbet" story.

Lucy, Emily, and Henry have been having a real fight: kicking, biting, scratching. Their parents separate them, lecture them, feed them (a delicious dinner), and then teach them a dreadful object lesson.

The entire family goes on a walk to Blackwood, a dark and gloomy forest. On the way Mr. Fairchild explains that they will see something there which they will remember as long as they live. Something "very shocking."
"There is one there," said Mr. Fairchild, 'who hated his brother.' "Will he hurt us, papa?" said Henry. "No," said Mr. Fairchild, "he cannot hurt you now."

The children are afraid but Mr. Fairchild assures them that he would not take his children where anything would hurt them in spite of the fact that what is in the wood is very dreadful. The wood is thick and dark and the way is long. Henry has to be carried. At last they come to an old garden surrounding an ancient brick house, almost in ruin.

One of the chimneys had fallen down, breaking through the roof of the house in one or two places; and the glass windows were broken near the place where the garden wall had fallen. Just between that and the wood stood a gibbet, on which the body of a man hung in chains: it had not yet fallen to pieces. . . . The body had on a blue coat, a silk handkerchief round the neck, with shoes and stockings, and every other part of the dress still entire, but the face of the corpse was so shocking, that the children could not look at it.  

Darton comments about such a story:  

No one can . . . say nowadays that that is fit reading for children, however naughty they were. Nor was it the sort of literature usually provided for them in 1818. . . . But the English is little short of majestic in its economy and plainness. The picture is appallingly vivid.  

One of the stories, not cited by any of the authorities, might well have been either an inspiration for the first chapter in Louisa May Alcott's

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1Darton, op. cit., p. 176.

2 Ibid., pp. 176-177.

3 For the opinions of other authorities used for this work see: Barry, op. cit., p. 172; James, op. cit., p. 13. (Note: James follows his discussion of Mrs. Sherwood by stating that "The Butterfly's Ball" was a reaction to such stories. It is well to remember that the Fairchild Family, Part I, was published in 1818; "The Butterfly's Ball" was published in 1807, eleven years before the Fairchild stories.) See also; Thwaite, op. cit., p. 62 for her opinion of the "gibbett" story.

4 Darton, op. cit., p. 177.
Little Women; or, it may simply have been a reflection of parental belief held by many people in the early and mid-nineteenth century. The Fairchild story is "The Birthday Walk."

It is Lucy's birthday. Instead of receiving presents everyone takes it for granted that she will give to others. The family packs food for the day and first visits a laboring family, then the schools, and finally the old retired nurse, who had taken care of all the children when they were babies. They spend the rest of the day picnicking in the garden of nurse's "neat cottage." They gave out food and presents to everyone they met. They provide the day's food, and more, for themselves and nurse.

The countryside is described in minute detail. The impression is one of rolling hills, green grass, and a profusion of bright flowers on bushes, trees, and in gardens. The family spread a tablecloth on the ground and sit on the grass as they eat. Walking home between her mother and father the birthday child, Lucy, cries: "What a happy day we have had. . . . Everything has gone well. . . ."\(^2\)

Every story could be analyzed with profit in terms of appeal to children, customs of the Georgian days, parental conception of children and their needs as expressed by Mrs. Sherwood and in contrast or agreement with such twentieth century views. However, for the purposes of this work only two more will be discussed.

The first of these contains stories within a story. There are

\(^1\)In Little Women the four sisters give their "special" Christmas breakfast to a poor family and find joy in the giving.

\(^2\)Sherwood, op. cit., p. 8.
several Fairchild stories which employ this device but only one is made up of two stories read from two chapbooks. Appropriately enough it is called "Two Books."

Due to the lack of village stores as we think of them today, many necessities and most luxuries had to be purchased elsewhere. Most people bought a great many of their wants at the periodic fairs. People would come from miles around to see and buy. The Fairchilds did not go themselves but they sent their manservant, John. John was commissioned to bring back books for the children as well as needed supplies.

One time when John went to the Midsummer's Fair he brought back one "threepenny" book and one "twopenny" book, both of them are "little gilt books." The price denotes them as chapbooks. They are probably very similar to those that Mrs. Sherwood and her sister wrote for their early publisher, Houlston.

Emily's book "The History of the Orphan Boy" has a great many pictures; "the first is a picture of a funeral." Emily guesses correctly: the picture is about the funeral of "the poor little boy's papa and mama."

Lucy's book, with very few pictures, is called History of Little Henri; or, The Good Son. Tarr objects to this story as it exemplifies the strong bias felt by English Protestants against the French Catholic priests of the day. The story involves a switch of children between

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1Ibid., p. 88.
2Ibid., pp. 107-130.
3Tarr, op. cit., p. 60.
two cousins. The first mother is a wealthy, dissolute noblewoman. The
other mother is the wife of a poor but pious Huguenot preacher. Henri,
an ailing baby, is given to the Protestant couple to raise. The little
boy absorbs their views. Because of this, when he is returned to his
parents, he sustains them through a series of harrowing trials. These
include confiscation of the real father's extensive property because he
intrigued against the King of France; and life imprisonment in a castle
tower. Henri makes the best of it. He converts his mother and father.
His father and he die of smallpox. His mother is allowed to live on a
small pension in a small cottage, a reformed woman. The Huguenot family
has been exterminated but the implication is that they died for their
faith. Hence, in Mrs. Sherwood's opinion, the story has a happy ending.

Unfortunately, the second (and last) Fairchild story to be dis-
cussed is also tragic. It involves nine-year-old Augusta, the pretty
but willful daughter of Lord and Lady Noble. It is entitled "Sad Story
of a Disobedient Child."^1

In an earlier section of the book a description is given of the
Fairchild family's semi-annual "command" visits to the Noble mansion.2
Everyone of quality is there. They come early in the morning and stay
until late at night. The Fairchilds leave early because they do not
play cards. The Nobles are barely civil to the Fairchilds but entertain
them because of "duty." Augusta apes her elders by being rude to her

1 Sherwood, op. cit., pp. 84-87.

2 Ibid., pp. 45-58. The seed for "Sad Story" is planted here.
Augusta plays with fire.
guests. She parades her superior wealth. She steals from her nurse. She lies to all the adults. Nevertheless, Lucy and Emily envy Augusta her fine toys and beautiful clothes.

In "Sad Story" the Fairchilds are shocked and grieved when they hear the news that Augusta was burned to death. The Fairchilds close their shutters, pray, and are almost in shock for the rest of the day. Indeed, it takes them (and all of the villagers) many days to get over their horror at what has happened.

Although such a story would not appear in twentieth century children's books,\(^1\) it does involve a happening that was a real fear to people of earlier centuries. There was always an open fire in the house. Most homes were lit by candles. Feminine clothing was draped, festooned, and easily inflammable. There was rarely enough water nearby to put out a fire. Such a tragedy could happen in any family and did happen to many. When any neighbor child died in such a way, every family truly grieved. The prime fear was, "How can I prevent this from happening to my child?"

Mrs. Sherwood used this fear in her story. It was a cautionary tale for children and adults.\(^2\) The theme must have been told over and over again in hundreds of ways. Such fear was an ever present spectre in every household.

Part II of the Fairchild Family resumes with these words: "We will begin this history again with what had happened since the first

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\(^1\)Except in satires such as those by Helaire Belloc. *Infra*, annotation, Mrs. Turner.

\(^2\)Augusta's problem was due to parents who entrusted their child's welfare to an adult who was afraid of the child's willfulness so let her have her way in everything.
part was concluded.††

The reader is brought up to date, with a thumbnail sketch, about the lives of the characters who appeared in Part I. New arrivals in the countryside are introduced. The stories are longer and more involved. New failings are discovered in the children. (Emily and Lucy make fun of a kind old lady.) A greater emphasis is placed upon the love and need of old people for little children to brighten their lives. There are more didactic asides but more skillful handling of the religious aspect. Characterization is excellent. The same devices are used: story within a story and books read aloud, with straightforward narratives of action involving quarrels, excitement and natural conversation. And finally there are continuous descriptions of good food and the part such food plays as enjoyment in children's lives.

Two examples of the use of food and the children's reactions are as follows:

... Betty gave each a currant turnover or puff, and a slice of bread and some milk. "May we take our supper out of doors?" asked Emily. "If you please," replied Betty; and she put ... (the food) into a little basket ... and put the basket in Emily's hands.

"You have made beautiful ears and eyes to the turnovers, Betty," said Henry; "I always call them pigs when they are made that way."

"And they taste much better, don't they, Master Henry?" asked Betty.

"To be sure they do," answered Henry, and away he walked after his sister.²

¹Sherwood, op. cit., p. 150.
²Ibid., p. 212 in "A Holiday."
Little Miss Jane scratched by her brother came squalling in; . . . and there was no peace until she was set in a high chair by her mother and supplied with a piece of sugared bread and butter.\(^1\)

Many of the stories in Parts I and II, with slight editing again, could be read with pleasure by children in the 1960's.\(^2\) For students of children's literature and of social history, the stories are invaluable.

The only illustrated edition of the Fairchild Family listed by any of the authorities is the Darton, Wells, Gardner version edited by Mary Palgrave and illustrated by Florence M. Rudland.\(^3\) This lack of illustration is a paradox. One of the inspirations which Mrs. Sherwood and her sister had for writing their early stories was supplied to them by the publishers: illustrations not used in published books. The sisters wove their stories around the illustrations. They loved pictures.

Nothing is told in any source (used for this work) about the illustrator. Her pictures in the 1931 edition speak for themselves, however. They are all of a stylized design form in black and white. Full page and chapter headpiece illustrations are each within a framework. Some of the border designs are made up of flowers. The drawings are prim but sweet.

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 225 in "Breakfast at Mr. Burke's." This short story (four and one-half pages) is about one-third taken up with mouth watering descriptions of good food and human reactions to that food.

\(^2\)For a quick comparison of The Fairchild stories as presented in the 1931 edition with the original see Muir, op. cit., p. 88. Muir classes Mrs. Sherwood as "monstrous." He states, "Guardians and parents must surely bear the ignominy of the continual reprinting of this dreadful compilation throughout the nineteenth century.

\(^3\)Mahoney (lists only), op. cit., pp. 435-501; The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 301; Smith, op. cit., p. 101. Note: This Palgrave revision is the version read for this annotation.
The children are reminiscent of Kate Greenaway's children in clothing, face, and demeanor. Full page illustrations have a descriptive caption and are made an integral part of the design.


A rival publication of the Harris series this book of the new verse form, the limerick, contains at least one verse used by Lear in his famous limericks of 1846. Notable also for illustrations attributed to Robert Cruikshank.

John Marshall, the publisher, had been in his 140 Fleet Street shop for about seven years at the time these limericks were published.

The book trade was good with a special increase in the market for all kinds of novelties for children. Publishers were vying with each other.

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1This is the publication date given by Thwaite, op. cit., p. 126; Darton, op. cit., p. 208. The Ramsey notes, op. cit., unpaged, give 1820. Using this date as a basis Ramsey then states "the limerick... now appears in print for the first time."

2Ramsey in her notes, op. cit., unpaged, uses the word "Young" in the title.

3See annotation immediately above.

4The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 50. St. John cites the specific verse as number seven. This is quoted on next page. Note: James, op. cit., p. 65 states that these verses were certainly read by eight-year-old Edward Lear who made the limerick famous 26 years later. See next annotation.

5Infra, Victorian Regime, Illustrators for information about Robert Cruikshank.

6St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 485.
for best selling authors and illustrators who had appeal.

Marshall followed the format in general use: verse or incident on one page accompanied by suitable illustration. For this booklet there were fifteen pages. The limericks were attributed to Richard Scrafton Sharpe, a grocer, who, among other things wrote *Familiar Fables in Verse* for Harvey and Darton. One of the limericks is as follows:

An old gentleman living at Harwick,
At ninety was thinking of marriage.
In came his grandson,
Who was just twenty-one,
And went off with the bride in his carriage.

There was an old soldier of Bicester
Was walking one day with his sister;
A bull with one poke,
Toss'd her into an oak,
Before the old gentleman miss'd her.

James in his *Children's Books of Yesterday* gives a reproduction of two pages from the original edition. This shows the garish colors used, and the exaggerated characters, almost caricatures. James calls them "vigorously drawn . . . woodcuts."
1823 *Dame Wiggins of Lee and Her Seven Wonderful Cats: A Humorous Tale Written Principally by a Lady of Ninety.*


The last of the little books in which text and picture are co-equal until the "Sixties." Muir believes that *Dame Wiggins* is the best of the early nineteenth century humorous tales in verse with rare flashes of "outstanding talent." An outstanding favorite of its day, some copy of the tale has been continuously available up to and including 1965.

The publishers, Dean and Munday, specialized in children's toy books. From their shop in Threadneedle Street they dispensed a wide variety of reading materials for children that were cheerful and arch but neither joyous or witty. Darton states:

> The firm of Dean is now the oldest in London which has always been continuously engaged in the provision of books especially for children. . . . there were . . . family ties between the Deans and the Baileys and Munday. . . . they were in premises in Threadneedle Street, Ludgate Hill and Fleet Street in succession; and the business continues today in Covent Garden. The firm always specialized in coloured illustrations, and was connected with the earliest use of lithography for that purpose.

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3See the discussion of illustrations for this book, *supra*.
4St. John in *The Osborne Collection, op. cit.*, p. 472.
6Ibid., pp. 212-213.
From 1800 to 1830 Dean and Munday put out many picture-rhyme books that were similar in form to *Dame Wiggins*. Among these was the *Gaping, Wide-Mouthed, Waddling Frog* which has also had more than a hundred years of popularity with a variety of illustrations done by well known artists of each era.¹

The verses for *Dame Wiggins*, as printed in this first edition, are ascribed to that versatile grocer, William Scrafton Sharpe, and to a Mrs. Pearson.² (Perhaps she is the old lady of ninety. Nobody seems to know.) The tale begins with these lines:

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Dame Wiggins of Lee
Was a worthy old soul
As e'er threaded a needle,
Dile, or washed in a bowl,
She held mice and rats
In such antipathy
That seven fine cats
Kept Dame Wiggins of Lee.³
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The cats, of course, catch the mice and rats, keep the Dame in sociable companionship by amusing her with their antics.

The original woodcuts are attributed to an "R. Stennett,"¹³ Dean and Munday very thrifitly used the same cuts for a book called

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¹Ibid., p. 213. See next chapter, Publishers, Illustration for a discussion of the further development in the use of colorful illustrations (and the picture book) for children.

²St. John in *The Osborne Collection, op. cit.* , p. 60. For another reference to Sharpe see the annotation immediately preceding. James in *Children's Books of Yesterday, op. cit.* , p. 77, states that Mrs. Pearson was the old lady of ninety.

³This verse is taken from the unpaged edition described bibliographically in the heading for this annotation exactly as it was printed in its original form.

⁴None of the authorities used for this work have even suggested a first name. Neither have they offered any detail (or hint) about this artist's life or other works.
Dame Trot and Her Comical Cats. Dame Trot and Dame Wiggins are alike only in title and in the fact that each old woman owns cats. The story of Dame Trot is almost a replica of the story in Old Mother Hubbard.¹

Anne Thaxter Eaton in "Illustrated Books for Children Before 1800" states her belief that although Dame Wiggins was published in 1823 the style of the woodcuts bears "the earmarks of the 1700's."² The illustrations are stiff and angular but they are also bold and vigorous. When a comparison is made they are not different in style from the other picture-rhyme books put out not only by Dean and Munday but also by the rival firms of Harris, and of John Marshall. This similarity in style as noted by Eaton, perhaps underscores the point that it is difficult to separate one century (or one period) from another. Each flows into the other.

An example of a deliberate link between the centuries is the edition of Dame Wiggins dreamed up by John Ruskin. He loved the book when he was a child. As an adult he wrote about four new verses as a continuation of the story. Ruskin, as the leading art critic of the Victorian age³ encouraged (and needled) a great many artists of his day. One of these artists was the famous children's illustrator, Kate Greenaway.⁴ Ruskin inveigled her into doing pictures for each of the

¹St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 94. Early American children did have copies of Dame Trot. Rosenbach, op. cit., p. 203, n.550. For Dame Trot also see Mahoney, op. cit., pp. 20 and 56.
²Ibid., p. 20.
³Supra, Victorian Regime, annotation, John Ruskin.
⁴It is unfortunate that Greenaway cannot be thoroughly discussed. Her first publications do not fall within the scope (1658-1865) of this work.
verses which he wrote about Dame Wiggins. This was published in 1885 by George Allen. The bibliographic detail, considering that this is a picture book for small children, is jaw breaking:

Dame Wiggins of Lee and Her
Seven Wonderful Cats: A
Humorous Tale, Written
Principally by a Lady of
Ninety. Edited, with additional
Verses, By John Ruskin L, L, D.,
and with new illustrations
by Kate Greenaway. With twenty-two
Woodcuts.

A modern edition of the Ruskin-Greenaway version has been published in 1965. The size, shape, type, and paper are in accordance with the criteria set down (and followed) by good publishers for the excellent children's picture books of the 1950's and 1960's.

1823-1826 Grimm, Jakob Ludwig Karl and Grimm, Wilhelm Karl,
German Popular Stories translated from the Kinder
und Haus Märchen by Edgar Taylor. London: ICU - B,
MID - CH, OCl - T, W1UM - LS, W1Ma - F, Ca OTP. 59.
Fairy Tales (Folkllore).
The first translation into English of a selection of stories from the folk tales collected by the Grimm brothers. An influence on the

1 Eaton in Mahoney, op. cit., p. 21. Also see: Darton, op. cit., p. 213; Muir, op. cit., p. 105; St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 60; Thwaite, op. cit., p. 126.


3 Thwaite, op. cit., p. 90; Darton, op. cit., pp. 220-221.
later fairytales written by individual men. Tarr states that these tales set the "fashion for the fairytales and tales of fancy that were to follow." Thwaite augments this with the statement that these tales herald a new era of ever-widening exploration of the lore and legend of the past for boys and girls and so of new springs of inspiration for authors to create for them original tales of wonder.

The complete edition came out in two volumes. The first volume was published by a C. Baldwin (or Baldwyn) of Newgate Street (or Newbridge Street). The second volume was printed in 1826 by "James Robins and Company, London, and Joseph Robinson Junr., and Company, Dublin." St. John lists a James Robins as a "bookseller and publisher, Paternoster Row ... also an author and editor." St. John does list John Green, a publisher at 121 Newgate Street. She also notes a John Green who published an 1839 edition of Grimm's Popular Stories with material from

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1 Supra, Victorian Regime, annotations, Ruskin; Paget; Thackeray.
2 Tarr, op. cit., p. 61.
3 Thwaite, op. cit., p. 92.
4 Muir, op. cit., p. 51 gives Baldwin of Newgate Street; St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 464 lists a "C. Baldwin" on Newbridge Street; Smith, op. cit., p. 209 gives "Baldwyn." The reproduction of the title page in Darton, op. cit., plate V between pp. 120-121 reads Newgate Street.
5 Muir, op. cit., p. 51.
6 St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 493. Note: Welch, op. cit., stops his bibliography at 1820; Rosenbach at 1836. However, Grimm is not listed in either Rosenbach, op. cit., or Halsey, op. cit.
7 St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 476.
other sources but with a mention of Edgar Taylor. It is just possible that John Green succeeded to the business of the mysterious C. Baldwin.

The first volume was reprinted (immediately) in 1823. The next reprints were in 1824 and 1825. The second volume was not reprinted until 1827.

Thwaite tells more about the translator, Edgar Taylor (no relation to Ann and Jane), than any of the other authorities used for this work does:

He... used one or two other German sources in framing his version of the tales. He included only stories less familiar to the English reader, which would also satisfy the scrupulous fastidiousness of modern taste, especially in works likely to attract the attention of youth.

Taylor was like Lamb in that he had a complaint to voice against the adults who would not give children the good old stories of imagination but who expected little children to become philosophers, mathematicians and chemists. He believed that fairytales were beneficial to the child, indeed, necessary for his emotional and moral growth.

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1 Ibid., p. 31.
2 Muir, loc. cit., p. 51.
3 Supra, annotation, Ann and Jane Taylor.
4 This statement sounds as though the English devotee of the folk tale already knew some of the German tales. It could be that Taylor excluded only variants of very familiar chapbook stories or tales handed down in the manner of the oral tradition.
5 Thwaite, op. cit., p. 91. Note: Many of the Grimm tales are, indeed, grim. There are always twentieth century parents and teachers who complain that such blood-letting and determined revenge (in their opinions) ought not to be given to the very young child for his reading.
6 This is in accord with the statements of the psychologists cited at the beginning of this work: Bruner, Getzel, Jackson, and Schactel.
The Grimm brothers never intended their tales for children. They were philologists who over a period of years collected the popular tales as yet not written down, of the people of Cassel and Hesse. They wrote the Märchen exactly as they were rehearsed to them, without any preparation or adornment, by the ordinary peasants who had handed them down orally from generation to generation and had never seen them in print, even if they could read. ¹

The Märchen were published in Germany in three volumes as Kinder- und-Haus-Märchen, Berlin Realschulbuchhandlung, Volume I (1812), Volume II (1814), Volume III (1818). ²

Of the two volumes printed in English, the first contained thirty-one stories; the second, twenty-four. They are all familiar titles. Some of them are: "Rumpelstiltskin," "The Golden Bird," "Chanticleer and Partlet," "Dornröschen" (a variant of the "Sleeping Beauty," "Aschenputtel" (a "Cinderella" story), "The Bremen Town Musicians," "The Elves and the Shoemakers," "Big Claus and Little Claus," and others.

The 1823 English edition was illustrated by George Cruikshank. Jacqueline Overton in "Illustrators of the Nineteenth Century in England" describes Cruikshank as "the first English artist who dared combine lively imagination and high good humor with fine drawing when he undertook to illustrate books for children." She calls Grimm's Popular Stories "the first picture book for children in our modern sense." ³

¹Darton, op. cit., p. 220.
²Muir, op. cit., p. 51.
³Mahoney, op. cit., pp. 37-86.
⁴Ibid., p. 37. The writer assumes that tales from the Grimm brothers are so well known that it is not necessary to give content annotations.
⁵Ibid.
Delightful as the Cruikshank illustrations are it comes as a shock to one who considers herself a children's literature specialist to hear of a large collection of Grimm's tales considered a picture book. The content is so magnificent that the pictures in this instance, have always been considered as purely supportive.

There are editions of single tales from Grimm, however, that have been published in modern picture book format. Two of these contain Grimm tales that are selected, adapted and illustrated by American Wanda Gag.* They are:

Tales from Grimm (Coward, 1936).

Three Gay Tales from Grimm (Coward, 1943).

Each of these has come out in more recent editions.

Other famous artists, of course, have illustrated various selections of the Grimm brothers tales. Two of these are Walter Crane and Arthur Rackham. Crane's edition of 1882 is called Household Stories. The fresh translation is his sister's, Lucy Crane. Interestingly enough, the tales selected for this volume are the ones most approved by the worried parents and teachers as being suitable for children. This was first published by Macmillan in 1882, but there have been many subsequent editions. It is still in print.

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1 These are listed in Mahoney, op. cit., p. 411. They are also on all of the approved selection lists for children's libraries (both school and children's rooms in public libraries).


4 All parents and teachers are not worried parents and teachers when it comes to selections from Grimm.

5 Mahoney, op. cit., p. 400.
That unexcelled artist with the eerie quality, Arthur Rackham, did four different editions of selections from Grimm: (1) *Fairy Tales*, Freemantle, 1900; (2) *Fairy Tales* (with added illustrations), Constable, 1909; (3) *Hansel and Gretel*, Constable, 1917; and (4) *Snowdrop and Other Tales*, Constable, 1920.


ןייר - ב, נייר - ה, נייר - ק, נייר - מ, נייר (*Didactic*).

The author "was a little more human than some of her contemporaries,"⁴ Darton calls her works "kind and amusing," in an age when most prose for children was cruelly logical and certainly not amusing.⁵ Lucas defines these tales as "Ann-and-Jane-Taylorism translated into prose." He also believes that *Tales for Ellen* are the best of her work and can be read for enjoyment in any age.⁶

None of the authorities cite the publisher who first produced these tales. At the time that Lucas included some of them in his *Forgotten Tales of Long Ago*⁷ and *Old Fashioned Tales*⁸ his collections

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¹Ibid., p. 431.
²Date cited by Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
³No entire copy of the book has been seen by any of the authorities. No entire copy, at the time of this survey was held by any of the institutions surveyed.
⁴Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
⁵Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
⁶Lucas in *Forgotten Tales of Long Ago*, *op. cit.*, p. xii.
⁸Lucas in *Old Fashioned Tales*, *op. cit.*, "The Little Blue Bag," pp. 130-158.
were printed in the late eighteen hundreds by Wells-Darton-Gardner and Company, Limited, of London. Even at that time publication dates were not included on the verso nor anywhere else in the book. This is a sample of the unimportance attached, even then, to publication dates. Illustrators were beginning to be recognized. Authors or compilers were generally recognized. The book trade had come a long way but still had far to go.

Just after the printing of these tales Mrs. Mant had books published in England by Harvey and Darton,\(^1\) and by "Geo. B. Whittaker!\(^2\) in America by Munroe and Francis.\(^3\) It is quite possible that either of the English publishers put out Tales for Ellen. However, Darton, who inherited the Harvey and Darton establishment, does not mention who published any of Mrs. Mant's works. He puts his emphasis on a discussion of the writer and a short list of titles of books written by Mrs. Mant.\(^4\)

Darton states what the other authorities affirm about Alicia Catherine Mant:

Nothing seems to be known about . . . (her) except what is in her books. But in them she shows a very pleasant personality. She was didactic but (as already stated) kind and amusing.\(^5\)

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\(^{1}\)St. John in The Osborne Collection, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 279.

\(^{2}\)Ibid. The first of these was originally published in 1821. The second was first 1821 and is an "Ellen" story.

\(^{3}\)Rosenbach, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 252, n.697, n.698. The first of these is an "Ellen" story. These "Ellen" stories are about Ellen and not tales that are told to Ellen. \textit{Tales for Ellen} is made up of tales told to her.

\(^{4}\)Darton, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 171.

\(^{5}\)Ibid., p. 171.
Both of the stories selected by Lucas for republication exemplify Mrs. Mant's style, content, and attitude towards children. They also exemplify the changing adult attitude in general towards children and the "proper" way to handle those little people.

Lucas states that "The Little Blue Bag" covers "much the same ground" Maria Edgeworth did in 'The Purple Jar.'

The style is more formal than is true in children's books of the twentieth century. In spite of this, there is much conversation with an authentic ring, and a great deal of children's action identical with that of children today. The story begins:

"I think," said Agnes Clavering, a child of about eight years of age--"I think I should like to give that pretty blue bag I admired so much the other day at the Bazaar to my cousin Laura. She likes blue, and I know she wishes for a new bag."

"You will do very well, Agnes, in thus spending a part of your allowance of pocket-money," replied Mrs. Clavering. "Laura is one of the kindest little girls I know, and being one of a large family, cannot have as many indulgences as yourself; and I am always glad to see you bear this in mind."

"I shall give it to her on New Year's Day," said Agnes.

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1Lucas, Old Fashioned Tales and Forgotten Tales, op. cit.
2Lucas, Old Fashioned Tales, op. cit., pp. 130-138.
3Ibid., p. viii.
4Supra, annotation, Maria Edgeworth, The Parents' Assistant. In this story the bright willful little girl and the omniscient, well meaning but almost cruel mother make their first appearance.
5A sewing bag.
6A department store.
7Lucas, Old Fashioned Tales, op. cit., p. 130.
Being an only child of well-to-do parents (with a great variety of servants) Agnes was much indulged. Mr. Clavering, who was away on business a great deal, bought his pretty little daughter anything she wished. This worried Mrs. Clavering. Gaining her husband's assent she gave Agnes an allowance to be spent on anything (except clothes) that she wished. Agnes always wanted to have whatever anyone else had and once obtaining any of these objects she tired of them within a day or two. She liked to give, but not at the expense of depriving herself of any momentary whim.

Laura Parker, the cousin, did not live in poor circumstances but appeared to understand that children in large families could not have as many extras as only children. She also had to help take care of the younger children. All of the cousins, including Agnes, played together a great deal. There were many birthday parties. Laura's birthday fell on New Year's Day.

At the time the well meaning Agnes thought of the gift for her cousin (including all of its "furniture"—thimble, needles, scissors, pincushion, etc.) the birthday was still six weeks away. Agnes is tempted by a variety of items which she buys. She finds the day approaching but no money in her purse. She hopes her father will return in time to help her out but he does not. On the day of the birthday party she is conscience-stricken and remorseful for she does love her cousin.

Mrs. Clavering is not like the mothers in Maria Edgeworth's tales. She deprives herself of something and buys the bag complete with all its "furniture."
Agnes's little heart swelled with emotion. She threw her arms around the neck of her mother and sobbed aloud as she promised never again to be a selfish little girl. Mrs. Clavering understands eight-year-old children, however. She hugs her little girl, but says:

... at this moment I know you mean to perform all that you promise. You will find it difficult, ... but you must strive hard to do so... Now go and get your bonnet and pelisse... Agnes is grateful to her mother and has a better time at the party than she expects. However, she was "ashamed and pleased, humbled and gratified" when Laura gives her a present, a beautiful box of shells that Agnes had admired for a long time.

Such a mundane recapitulation of the moral part of the story does not show the lively touches used by Mrs. Mant to make the children real. Agnes rationalizes the manner in which she fritters away her money on shoddy toys that are really junk: a paper monkey on two wires, a gift box, a mechanical bird. She plays with her cousins and bosses them around. She insists that, in playing house, a six-year-old cousin "be naughty." When the child is equally insistant that she is tired of being naughty Agnes pushes the little girl down. The little girl receives a nasty cut, bruise, and bump on her forehead. The mothers come rushing upstairs to see what all the screaming is about in the playroom. Mrs. Clavering knows that her own daughter is at fault and wonders what she can do about Agnes's continued willfulness.

The fight is a good one. The reader is left with the impression

1 Lucas, Old Fashioned Tales, "The Little Blue Bag" op. cit., p. 157.
2 ibid., p. 157.
that there have been others. In the same token the reader understands the concerns of both mothers.

The second story chosen by Lucas: "Ellen and George; or, The Game at Cricket,"\(^1\) describes a busy day in the life of a brother and sister. Seven-year-old Ellen Danvers envys her nine-year-old brother George, who is home on vacation from boarding school. Ellen thinks George has "nothing to do but to play and amuse himself all day long"\(^2\) while she has lessons to learn with her mother as teacher, and needlework to complete. Ellen learns quickly when she puts her mind to it but she hates to study when something amusing is going on. She especially wishes she was a boy. In her opinion, as a boy, she could play all day "and should not be obliged to work."\(^3\)

The theme of the story is summed up in the very last sentence.

She (Ellen) saw in the example of her brother, George, that idleness generally leads to mischief, and consequently to unhappiness; and she felt how necessary it was to have performed her duty well before she could enjoy her play.\(^4\)

The relating of the "mischief," however, leads to a good story. Children must have read it for that mischief and not the moral.

Small George attempts to play cricket with bigger boys. At school he played with his peers and was the best cricketer. At home he is constantly on the losing side. The big boys are good humored, allow him

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\(^1\) Lucas, *Forgotten Tales*, op. cit., pp. 181-203.
a handicap in score and generally try to help him out. (A part of this is due to the fact that they are playing on the Danver's grounds which are better than any others in town.) George has been up early making wickets and as the hot noon approached he is tired and cross. In his anger he sends a ball flying into the eye of the best-natured of all the boys. George is sorry but this does not erase the swelling, pain, and other discomfort of the injured boy. Everyone goes home for lunch. George goes into his house feeling angry with everyone and everything.

But the morning's happenings (described vividly like any boys' ball games with shouts, jeers, and cheers) are not enough. Mr. and Mrs. Danvers leave for a quick visit to a villager who had a "fit." George is supposed to stay in the house and amuse Ellen. He believes he should first go pay his apologies to the mother of the injured boy. On the way he sees a stubborn donkey. He cannot resist the urge to try to ride the donkey. He is aided by the butcher's boy who comes along, errand-bound, on his pony. Unfortunately, the boys cannot get the donkey to budge away from the turnpike, even when they hear the horn of the approaching stagecoach. The coachman, against the wishes of his passengers, whips on his horses forcing the donkey and the pony into a wild race. George is thrown from the donkey's back just as his parents walk around a curve in the road.

Although George is punished (he cannot play cricket for a week) and Ellen is glad she is not a boy, the story is lively. Boys must have enjoyed reading it. In fact, Lucas chose it for his collection because he had enjoyed it.¹

¹Ibid., p. xii.
Lucas makes two statements about the story that appear to be relevant to all of Mrs. Mant's stories:

1. There is a "certain sweetness and naturalness to it."[1]

2. The children are the first storybook children in the days of the moral story to show "independent--almost revolutionary--thought."[2] These children had their own opinions, expressed them, and did not fear their parents.

Lucas sums his remarks by saying: "Today every child has his own opinion; a hundred years ago none had."[3]

It is a pity that no more was known about Mrs. Mant. Although she used Lockean terms,[4] not only "furniture" for a sewing bag, but "furniture" for the mind, she combined with this a Roussean belief in the innate goodness of the child, plus something more. The child had to be taught to be good without fear or the example of priggish parents who never did wrong. Her parents are perplexed and wonder if they are doing the right things for their children. In this respect they are not far away from the feelings of twentieth century parents.

Mrs. Mant, unwittingly, displays the customs, ores, dress, and duties of a well-to-do upper middle class family. They feel an obligation to the poor. They want their children to do likewise. They insist on education. They look down on the butcher's boy as being no fit companion for their son but they open their grounds for play to any child


[4]They also play with the toys advocated by Locke: ibid., p. 196, "the quiet games."
who doesn't have to work (as a child) for his living. They unostentatiously quote the Bible. They have morning and evening prayers. They are good to their servants. And those servants know their places, like their places, and in their own ways are a part of the family.

The only illustrations available for these stories are those done for the Lucas books by English Francis Donkin Bedford. Bedford (born 1864) was trained as an architect, never losing his delight in structure, but he became interested in well-illustrated picture books. He attracted the attention of Lucas with publication of his first picture book. His illustrations are true to the ages they depict with a robustness that is usual only in continental artists.


ICU - B, MID - CH, MIGR - Q, 00x M. 139. Travelogue Storybook. Fictionized lessons: history, biography, geography.

"Undoubtedly the American pioneer in what has been styled the 'travelogue' manner, used later by other well known writers for children."

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1 Mahoney, op. cit., p. 275; St. John in *The Osborne Collection*, op. cit., p. 435.


3 Jacob Blanch, *Peter Parley to Penrod* (New York: Bowker, 1938), p. 1. Blank is used in this work as the authentic source of bibliographical information for thirteen American children's books. His work as discussed will be so noted. Smith, op. cit., p. 209 gives T. H. Carter as the publisher.

The first in a series of books whose author was so pirated that "no [other] 'juvenile' author . . . has ever had so large a circulation of so many books in so short a period." One of the first American invaders of the English nursery. An antidote to hilarity and imagination in children's books. The beginning of American children's books as a world force.

Goodrich set up his own publishing business in Boston in 1826. His advent in publishing came at the time of the invention of cloth binding. Because of the use of this invention (and other idiosyncrasies of format that were developed four or five years later) Darton asserts that "the format of these volumes . . . is easily recognized and may be called characteristic." The important thing to remember in heeding Darton's assertion is that "Peter Parley" became a pirated name. Not including the original American Samuel Goodrich, there were six other quite well known Peter Parleys.

Before identifying them it is well to recognize that all of them had the following attributes in common:

1Darton, op. cit., p. 233.
2Ibid., p. 235.
3Supra, Victorian Regime, annotation, Felix Summerly for a discussion of Parley as an "antidote" of fact versus fancy.
4Thwaite, op. cit., p. 97.
5Darton, op. cit., p. 234.
6Ibid., p. 229.
7This list is paraphrased from Thwaite, op. cit., p. 99.
1. Kindly simplicity;
2. Enthusiasm for knowledge;
3. An excluding of the marvelous and magic;
4. A depiction of the every day world with directness and natural feeling;
5. The defect of "fatherly condensation";

According to Darton\(^1\) the six are:

William Martin (the best of the English, livelier than Goodrich);
George Modridge (a semi-Evangelistic writer sometimes writing under the pseudonym's of "Old Humphrey," or "Ephraim Holding");
Thomas Tegg (the first of the imitators; denounced by Wordsworth, Carlyle, and Goodrich as being the worst; actually a good publisher and editor);
Charles Tilt (his only memorable work now is Peter Parley's Visit to London, During the Coronation of Queen Victoria);\(^2\)
Edward Lacey (a "remainder" man, buying unsold ends of editions and making them into saleable commodities);
Samuel Clark (great-uncle to Darton himself who was a partner in the ancestral firm but who gave up publishing to take Holy Orders).

\(^1\)Darton, op. cit., pp. 229-233.

\(^2\)Listed in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 188. St. John also lists three Martin Parleys, one Clark, one Annual, and one pseudonymous, op. cit., p. 544.
The first of these six, William Martin, has a story included in Lucas's *Forgotten Tales of Long Ago*. Although Martin builds his story around a usual Parley "theme" the danger which accrues from reading the wrong sort of literature, the story is hilarious. A well-to-do butcher aims to please his delicately brought up wife, Miss Squeamish. She had spent her life reading novels that were made up of:

- extraordinary situations, wonderful incidents,
- perplexing difficulties, overwhelming disasters, strange providences, and miraculous escapes, together with an assemblage of old castles, ruined tombs, yawning cloisters, grim vaults, mouldering coffins, unearthly sounds, awful visitations...
- hobgoblins with saucer eyes...
- and catastrophes so tremendous as to set the hair on end and convulse the whole frame with delight...

As Mrs. Marmaduke Mumbles, the once Miss Squeamish, wants a tournament as in "ye olden days," her husband uses all his time and wealth to produce such a spectacle. And what a tournament they have. No super colossal extravaganza of twentieth century movie houses could rival the production. But, of course, both Mr. and Mrs. Mumbles had "driven themselves mad by novel and romance reading and... [had] to be sent to a madhouse... [where they] were cured. Hence, "circumstances... were... 'all for the best.'"³

No wonder young Lucas remembered the tale. To a child it would be great fun, to an adult it would be fine satire.

However, much as Samuel Goodrich, the original Parley, would agree with the theme such a staid New England, Congregational Minister's son

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¹In Lucas, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-296, "The Butcher's Tournament."
²Ibid., pp. 295-296.
³Ibid., p. 296.
as he would never be guilty of writing anything that could possibly be so amusing. 

Young Samuel, until the age of ten, was fed on a reading diet of The New England Primer, Goody Two-Shoes, and Mother Goose. He thought the last named was purely a lot of fiddle-diddle-daddle and not fit for children. After he was ten, someone gave him "Red Riding Hood," without the moral. He believed it as truth and was so shocked at its depravity that from then on he was against all fairy tales. He was certain that the reading of such tales was the cause of crime, juvenile delinquency, and the other major evils of the world. Following in the footsteps of Hannah More, whom he greatly admired, he decided to write his series of slightly fictionalized instructive books for boys and girls. The Tales of Peter Parley About America set down the pattern for his many following stories. He worked fourteen hours a day and produced five or six volumes a year above his ordinary business routine.

He did not aim for a permanent place in children's literature. He believed that children, with their great curiosity, wanted to know about the world in which they lived. He aimed to give them information about this world.

He believed that one should write for children as though one were talking to them, and talk to them, he did, fluently, garrulously, sometimes as a teacher, sometimes as a moral mentor.

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1Martin, who wrote the satire was originally a draper, who as any moral reader of the above story could tell came to a "loose and destitute end." Darton, op. cit., p. 229.

2Darton, op. cit., p. 222.

3Meigs in Meigs, op. cit., p. 144.
Goodrich took his cue and inspiration from Hannah More. His favorite book was her *Shepherd of Salisbury Plain*. He tried to emulate the success she had with her religious tracts. Their conceptions of what children wanted were the same: truth and knowledge.

Before he began his *Peter Parley* series, Goodrich went abroad. He loved England. He enjoyed meeting such people as Sir Walter Scott and Hannah More. At this time he was just coming out of a sad period in his life. He had eye trouble. He had fallen from a horse and was permanently lamed for life. His wife and little daughter had died. "He genuinely loved children," and wanted to understand them. He was a lovable person, himself. But because he was so much a part of the puritanical, deeply rooted conventions of his time he missed being a great author and became instead, "Instructor-in-Chief to the young."^1

In spite of his lack of style:

> It was estimated that within thirty years several million copies of Parley's genuine "Histories" and "Tales" were sold before their popularity waned.3

Halsey states that the volume under consideration in this annotation (*Tales About America*) "seems in many ways the best of any of the numerous books by the same author."4 She calls it engaging and full of spontaneity. Her one sentence description of the book tells all that anyone needs to know about it, however:

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1*Supra*, annotation, Hannah More.
The boy hero, taken as a child through several states, met with adventures among Indians upon the frontiers, and saw places of historical significance.¹

In imitation of Miss More, Goodrich uses a good deal of description that bogs down today. At last America was "on the map," for children all over the world.

Goodrich and his "Parley" imitators, however, did other things for the development of children's literature. One of these was in an extensive use of maps, charts, and illustrations. Often the Parley volumes were illustrated from the stock woodcuts publishers had on hand. . . . [but] in the best can be found good work by Sir John Gilbert, William Harvey, Sam Williams, . . . and even some drawings signed by George and Robert Cruikshank.²

Another of the "plus" assets involved the "Annuals." During the early nineteenth century there began the rise of the "Annuals," "Keepsakes," or "Christmas Books." Many famous artists and designers contributed their work in the hope of making such books memorable,³ worthy of being gifts, worthy also of the extra price they cost. These often were miscellanies in the sense of anthologies. They were not annual bound volumes of the year's output of a particular magazine or journal. They were collections written or gathered together to be published at one time. Many Peter Parley Annuals were published.

Due to the influence of these, Mrs. Hofland⁴ edited an international annual (the first of its kind) called The American Juvenile Keepsake.

¹Ibid., p. 214.
²"Early American Illustration" in Mahoney, op. cit., p. 90. As an example of the use of maps and engravings see Rosenbach, op. cit., p. 273, n. 772.
³Jacqueline Overton in Mahoney, op. cit., p. 28.
⁴Supra, annotation, Barbara Wreakes (Hoole) Hofland.
For it she chose both American and British writers. Among the latter was her close friend, Mary Russell Mitford. Mrs. Hofland also wrote one story for this "hands across the sea" volume. In it she imitated Samuel Goodrich's method of having his young hero travel extensively with detailed description of that travel. In a time when England was vainly trying to discourage laboring people from emigrating to the United States, Mrs. Hofland draws her characters as members of a family who travel to and settle in Lexington, Kentucky. This was a wise choice in terms of the writer. No one, not even American children, knew much about Lexington in those days. Hence, Mrs. Hofland did not have to worry about accuracy.

Mrs. Hofland tried to be fair but she did not have the glowing admiration for America that Goodrich had for England. She reflected the opinions of her colleagues that American men were barberous and American women silly. However, for the first time an English writer imitated (not pirated) the style of an American writer. This is "suggestive of the gradual change in relations between the two countries, . . . "

Other well known American series books that imitated (or were follow-ups of) the Peter Parley Series are the following: Rollo's Travels; Hezekiah Butterworth's The Zigzag Journeys; Horace Scudder's

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1Darton, op. cit., p. 215.
2Halsey, op. cit., p. 198.
3Ibid., p. 198.
4See next chapter below, Victorian Regime, annotation, Jacob Abbott.
The Bodley Books; Mrs. Champney's *The Witch Winnie* books and the *Vassar Girl* series; and Frederick Albion Ober's *The Knockabout Club* adventures.\(^1\)

1827 Hemans, Mrs. Felicia Dorothea (Browne). *Hymns on the Works of Nature for the Use of Children*.\(^2\) Boston: Hilliard.\(^3\)


Typical of many similar books of hymns for children put out in the late Georgian Era on both sides of the Atlantic. This is also a representative work of "One of the most popular versemakers in the 1820's and 1830's whose work was famous for many years, especially among young reciters... ."\(^4\)

Rosenbach lists the publisher as a 'William Hilliard, bookseller: Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins, 1827-1831."\(^5\) (From 1812 to 1823 he was associated with Jacob A. Cummings.)\(^6\) Although Mrs. Hemans died in 1835 all of her books went through many editions even in the later Victorian Regime.

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\(^1\)All of these were published after 1865, putting them beyond the scope of this work. They are an integral part of children's literature however, and are described in Virginia Haviland's excellent section in Andrews, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-63.

\(^2\)Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 133. Later called *Hymns for Children; or, Hymns for Childhood*.

\(^3\)Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

\(^4\)Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

\(^5\)Rosenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

\(^6\)Ibid., p. 321.
Darton states:

… her spirit … was not so much that of the Moral Tale in verse as of the writers who in a few years time expressed a new view of child-life, the attitude which separated boys, girls, and infants from one another.

Born in Liverpool but spending the years of her life (from 6 to 18) in the beautiful Welsh countryside, Mrs. Hemans was fond of nature in all its aspects: sunsets, rainbows, trees, valleys, mountains, rivers, lakes, and sea. She published her first book of verse before she was fifteen. *Hymns for Children* was one of her later publications.

Married at eighteen to a dashing Captain Browne, Mrs. Hemans bore five sons. The Captain retired to Italy for his health, after six years of marriage. This left Mrs. Hemans with five little boys to raise. She earned the money through the prolific use of her pen. Many critics called her mournful but she was greatly loved. "Even in the 'fifties' her fame was as bright as it had been when an American publisher offered her a free home and an annual salary of $1,500 to accept the nominal editorship of his magazine, a sinecure for which she only had to loan her name."  

Her warm reception in America was so great that her poems "Casa Bianca" (The Boy Stood on the Burning Deck) and "The Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers" (on a stern and rockbound coast) were set pieces of elocation. They played a great part in the lives of many American children, both for good and bad. Such poems as these received first publication in America. She made more appearances in American gift books and

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1Darton, op. cit. p. 217.
anthologies than any other English poet of her time.\(^1\)

In spite of the ridicule which has been heaped upon her memory because of the tortured elocution pieces she was mourned by many great people. Florence Nightingale, George Elliott (Mary Ann Evans), and Sir Walter Scott were among these. Wordsworth even wrote elegiac verses to her.\(^2\)

Mrs. Hemans's sweep of popularity continued from the early 1800's throughout the entire Victorian Regime. Popular poetry of "the decades before the Civil War agreed with the favorite fiction of the day in attitude, if not always in theme. The dialectic of the popular mind was by turns sentimental and homely, moral and humanitarian, religious and patriotic. . . ."\(^3\)

The poems (or hymns) in the work now under consideration were written by Mrs. Hemans several years before their publication, exclusively for her own family circle, and without the remotest idea of their ever being offered to the public.\(^4\)

In other words, the poems were definitely written for children. They were aimed to associate the child's first religious thoughts with a sense of the beauty and sublimity of the great works of God.\(^5\)

\(^{1}\)\textit{Ibid.}, p. 133.


\(^{3}\)Hart, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 125. \textit{Infra}, The Victorian Regime - Historical Background.


\(^{5}\)\textit{Ibid.}, p. 4.
respect these simple poems resemble Mrs. Barbauld's earlier *Hymns in Prose*. 1

There is an introductory poem that repeats (in seven verses) what the preface states in prose.

Ten of the poems are simple praises to (or descriptions of) nature: rainbow, sun, rivers, stars, ocean, storm, "The Birds," "The Sky Lark," "The Nightingale," and "The Northern Spring." One is the story of Christ walking on the waters, two are about parents, two are about death, one is a paraphrase of a psalm and the last verse is "To One of the Author's Children."

Several of the poems are preceded by a biblical quotation. The verse for *The Rainbow* is:

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I do not set my bow in the Cloud, and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth.
Genesis ix. 13. 2
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Most of the verses are fashioned in both rhythm and stanza pattern so that they could be sung to the tunes of such Protestant hymns as "Jesus Shall Reign Where 'ere the Sun . . ." 3 In spite of such similarity of verse form with mundane rhyme and innocuous phrases Mrs. Hemans does write some lines that appeal to a child's imagination.

1 Supra, annotation, Mrs. Letitia Aiken Barbauld.

2 Hemans (1840), op. cit., p. 9.

3 This is known to the writer of this work. No citation.
The moon in brightness walks on high,
And set in azure, every star
Shines, like a gem...

Since Mrs. Hemans verses lent themselves to the most popular home
singing of the day, hymn singing, they were sung. Every home possessed
"several song books of her 'mournful' ditties."²

1828 Scott, Sir Walter. Tales of a Grandfather, Being Stories
Taken from Scottish History. Edinburgh: Robert Cadell.
Three Volumes.³ MID - CH, 00x M, Ca OTP, 138. Historical
Tales, Scottish Legends.

The only book written by this famous author for children, a step-
ning stone in the development of the historical novel for children,
Harriett Martineau,⁴ Charlotte Yonge,⁵ and Robert Louis Stevenson⁶ were
among the later writers who were inspired by these tales to use similar
events in writing historical romance for children and young people.

Robert Cadell, an intimate friend of Sir Walter Scott, published
the first through the fifth editions in the same year. He had become

¹Hemans, op. cit., in "The Stars," p. 20. Reminiscent of Taylor's
"like a diamond in the sky" but with a flavor of its own. Supra, annotation, Ann Taylor.

²Cruse, op. cit., pp. 18, 229. Note: For a list of "Collections
of Hymns" for children, see Smith, op. cit., p. 48.

³The publication date of this "first series" as well as the bibli-
ographic information are taken from The Osborne Collection, op. cit.,
p. 172. Ramsey, op. cit., p. 180 concurs with this date. Thwaite and
Smith, op. cit., p. 209 both give 1827.

⁴Infra, annotation, Harriett Martineau.

⁵Infra, annotation, Charlotte Yonge, Little Duke.

⁶Beyond the scope of this work.
a partner in the Edinburgh firm of Archibald Constable in 1811. Six years later he married Constable's daughter. It would appear that Constable must have continued some independent part of the business as his own for St. John calls him "more cautious than Constable whose business failed in 1827."1

Although Sir Walter Scott is noted, among other things, as being the creator of the historical romance he was not read by children during his own day.2 Even now the most popular of his books read by children (considered children's classics) are "less notable for their characters than for their action and their more highly coloured if less authentic background, of feudal or Tudor times."3

Thwaite lists the books4 she has described above as:

Ivanhoe (1820)
Kenilworth (1821)
Quentin Durward (1823)
The Talesman (1825)

Tales of a Grandfather is quite different than any of Sir Walter's novels. Scott meant it "for his six-year-old grandson, John Hugh Lockhart."4 In the preface Scott discusses his views on literary style for children. In the Tales with one exception, he ignores his own

1The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 468.
2Thwaite, op. cit., p. 175. This does not mean that the advanced reader did not read him. It does mean reading children in general. Darton does not include him as a writer for children even now.
3ibid., p. 175.
4ibid., p. 175.
criteria. This exception can be seen in his statement concerning the presentation of historical material. By this he means historical material about Scotland.

In addressing his grandson Scott states:

you will learn better the character of that primitive race of men from personal anecdotes, than from details of obscure and petty contests, fought at places with unpronunciable names.

Scott then supplies the anecdotes, in fine print, crammed in with all sorts of historical data on one side, and legend on the other. The scope of the work is tremendous. The first volumes cover events from the earliest times of Scotland through the days in which England and Scotland became subject to the same king until the days of "the Union." The last volume is concerned with French history.

The language is far beyond that which could be read by an advanced sixth grader, yet this was meant for a six-year-old child. Sentences are complex, long, involved. Unusual words are splattered about. This cushions somewhat the grim aspect of the gory fights. Clan fought against clan using all kinds of wiles and strategems. An insult against one sub-group of a clan was an insult against other sub-groups. Any member was expected to avenge the insults. Even the women were as vengeful.

Some examples of Scott's use of "memorable anecdote" are as follows:

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1Scott, op. cit., preface, p. xi. Note: Bibliographic data for the edition cited is given in heading to this annotation.

2Only the volumes on Scotch and English history were read by the writer of this work.
One of the most ancient clans is that of the MacIntosh\(^1\) a word which means "child of the Thane." This clan boasts its descent from a MacDuff, the celebrated Thane of Fife. One of the women, of high born rank, was molested by the Laird of another clan. In revenge she had her cook chop off the insulting Laird's head with the meat hatchet.\(^2\)

Another clan, then called the "awful" Gordons, orphaned two hundred Farquaharson children.\(^3\) They drove the children into the valley like cattle and made them eat out of troughs. The children were then called "The Race of the Trough." They were humanely adopted and raised by the Grants.\(^4\)

Before the Union of the countries Edinburgh considered itself a northern Athens. With the advent of English James, courtiers and "great" men thronged the streets shoving out the lesser or more angry people. The few made great fortunes but the nation at large was not enriched. Hence, the people became more angry. They went to any lengths to save "their honor." There were fights and affrays in the streets, in Parliament, in church as well.\(^5\)

To save themselves and others the Presbyterian clergymen adopted a curious device. They wore stout-steel headpieces (in strange contrast to clerical dress). Such headpieces were protection as the clergy ran between fighting men to stop the brawls.\(^6\) These educated men and the

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1. This writer's father's maternal ancestors belonged to this clan.
legislative enactment that there must be a school in every parish "in the course of a generation tended to civilize and humanize the character of the Scottish nation."

The English, however, after the advent of Charles wanted Scotch church services to be identical with those of the Church of England. The Scotch would not hear of this. The English insisted. They tried a rash and fatal experiment on 23 July, 1637 in Edinburgh's High Church, St. Giles. As the Dean of the cathedral was about to enter, Jenny Geddes (who kept a green grocer's stall in the High Street) threw her stool at the Dean, knocking him down. This was the signal for a riotous general resistance to the reception of the English service book in Scottish churches. It led to the reaffirmation of the Scotch church covenant. The covenant was sworn to by "hundreds, thousands, and hundreds of thousands of every age and description . . . with uplifted hands and weeping eyes." They were determined to protect their right to worship as they pleased.

During ensuing battles and the rise and fall of Lord Montrose, the Scottish crown, sceptre, and sword of state were spirited to a craggy castle for safe keeping from the English. The hiding place became known. Everyone was afraid to try to save these "symbols" again. Mrs. Granger, a minister's wife, boldly visited the castle to bring out some bundles of

1 Ibid., p. 95.
2 Ibid., p. 96.
3 Ibid., p. 97.
lint that she needed for her "poor." The English officials even helped her. But in those bundles, Mrs. Granger had hidden the crown, the mace, and the sceptre. Once again they were saved.

Among the anecdotes that Scott told to make history more vivid and memorable to Scottish children are the well known stories of:

1. Robert the Bruce and the Spider;¹

2. Evan Cameron of Lochiel (MacConuill Dhu, the son of Black Donald, who finally joined all members of his fierce clan in peace. He lived to be an honored ninety and was gently fed and rocked in a cradle like a babe by his grateful people when he became too infirm to care for himself.²

Children delighted in somehow ploughing through the words to reach the stories. They also liked the descriptions of witches. As all children know there are bad witches and good witches. The latter work magic only for the benefit of others. In spite of that they could still burn at the stake. As all children also know, witches depend on incantations. Scott wrote down some of these.³ Two are:

1. The devil scratch out both thine eyes,
And spit into the holes likewise.⁴

2. A silver penny and a loaf of bread
A silver penny and a loaf of bread
My loaf in my lap and my
penny in my purse,
Thou art never the better and I
never the worse.⁵

¹Ibid., pp. 192-193.

²Ibid. Black Evan died in 1719. The leaders of his clan were noted for their dark skins, their long black hair of head and body that made them resemble black bears.

Scott also tells such tales as the well known one about Cromwell's danger at the end of his life. He wore secret armor and he never slept in the same bedroom twice in a row. His health broke under the strain and he died when he was only sixty.  

Each volume is full of similar anecdotes (sometimes two or three to a page). It is no wonder that selections were still published for children, under the original title, as recently as 1925 and 1934.

The first edition had half-page title vignettes as the only illustrations for each volume. These were steel engravings. The vignette for the first volume was drawn and engraved by Sir William Allen. Those for the other volumes were engraved on steel by W. H. Lizars "after drawings by himself and Henry Corbauld."  

Sir William Allen was, appropriately enough, an Edinburgh artist. He was noted "for his paintings of Scottish and Russian scenery and history."  

William Home Lizars was "a painter who succeeded to his father's business." Corbauld was a painter in the "employ" of the British Museum.

The 1925 and 1934 volumes mentioned above also contain pictures. They are more profusely illustrated than the earlier volumes. The editions are:

1 ibid., p. 219.
2 Listed in Mahoney, op. cit., pp. 410, 440, 499.
3 The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 172.
4 ibid., p. 434.
5 ibid., p. 451.
6 ibid., p. 440.
1. Tales of a Grandfather; T. W. Laurie, 1925. Illustrated by English John Fulleylove and others.¹

2. Tales of a Grandfather; Macmillan, 1934. Illustrated by Scotch Allan Stewart.² Stewart was born and educated in Edinburgh. He specialized in Scottish illustrations for history books, books of ballads, books of Scottish castles. He has a painting hung permanently in Holyrood Castle.³


Representative of the unrecognized antiquity of many of the favorite nursery tales. "Considered to be the earliest written version extant of this . . . story."⁴

Eleanor Mure, an Englishwoman, did this version of "The Three Bears" in verse and illustration. Her fine script blends with her delicate water colors and rather precise draftsmanship. The illustrations show remarkable indoor detail, as well as the landscaped out-of-door and pink brick (almost white in some scenes) of the home of Eleanor Mure's father, Cecil Lodge, in Hertfordshire.⁵

The manuscript (there is no replica) is a part of The Osborne Collection. It was designed as a "present to Horace Broke, September 26, 1831."

¹Mahoney, op. cit., p. 410.
²Ibid., p. 440.
³Ibid., pp. 362-363.
⁴The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 37.
⁵Ibid., p. 118.
on his fifth birthday. Horace became a "barrister-at-law" when he was grown and died at eighty-two. His aunt used a combination of his given and surnames in the last verse of the story.

Darton states that Robert Southey invented and wrote the original story. It was published in Volume IV of his Doctor, and is so startlingly like a genuine folk story, both in plot and style, that many have conjectured it to be a real peasant heirloom, fathered by Southey without any birth certificate." According to St. John, even the great folklorist, Joseph Jacobs, attributed the authorship to Robert Southey.

However, even beyond the family records verifying the dates, the watermark appearing on two leaves in the manuscript sets the date as "before Southey." The watermark is that "of the Kentish papermaker J. Whatman, with the dates 1828 and 1831."

The story itself differs somewhat from that beloved of small children today. Instead of "Silver Hair" or "Goldilocks" the intruder into the bears' home is an old lady. The last verse tells what the enraged bears did with this old lady:

On the fire they throw her, but burn her they couldn't, In the water they put her but drown there she wouldn't; They seize her before all the wondering people And chuck her aloft on St. Paul's churchyard steeple, And if she's still there when you earnestly look, You will see her plainly—my dear little Horbrook.

\[1\textit{ibid.}, p. 37.\] \[2\textit{ibid.}, p. 38.\]
\[3\textit{infra}, this annotation.\] \[4\textit{Darton, op. cit.}, p. 269.\]
\[5\textit{The Osborne Collection, op. cit.}, p. 37.\]
\[6\textit{ibid.}, p. 37.\] \[7\textit{ibid.}, p. 38.\]

Long thought to be the first volume in the *Rollo Series*.\(^3\) The beginning use of a storybook hero whose adventures, mild or otherwise, are continued throughout numerous volumes. The series changes character with the ninth volume, *Rollo's Travels*. The happy Rollo of home goes off to see the world. The series, then, also starts the trend of fictionalized travel books (the travelogue storybook) for boys and girls.

The later Rollo books, such as *Rollo's Travels*, were published by William Crosby and Company at 118 Washington Street, Boston.\(^4\) It is probable that all of this first series had the same publisher.

Trying to find an actual copy of *Rollo: Learning to Talk* became a sleuthing expedition. Abbott's bibliographer of the mid-twentieth century, Rollo G. Silver, documents his findings:

In 1833 Abbott published a book called, "The Little Philosopher." In 1835 he published "The Little Scholar Learning to Talk," subtitled, "A Picture Book for Rollo"; no copy is listed in the Union Catalog in Washington. In

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\(^1\)This is the date given by Jacob Blank in *Peter Parley to Penrod* (New York: Bowker, 1938), p. 3. There is a divergence of opinion about this date. Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 236 states that Abbott's *Rollo books began in 1837*; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 210 gives 1834 as the date.


\(^3\)Blank, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

\(^4\)Ibid., p. 2.
1835 he also published "Rollo Learning to Read"; a copy with one leaf missing and probably rebound is in the Amy Lowell Collection at Widener. This became so popular that in 1839 he reprinted "The Little Scholar" as "Rollo Learning to Talk". . . only known copy is in the Amy Lowell Collection.

In "The Little Scholar," Rollo is only mentioned in the last paragraph. Thus, as far as the series of Rollo books is concerned, this could be called a forerunner rather than a member of the series. Thus, "Rollo Learning to Read" is the first volume of the Rollo series and "Rollo Learning to Talk" appears after "Rollo at School."1

For the bibliographer, the above quotation is the most important item. For the student concerned with the entire Rollo series as a phenomenon in the history of a literature for children, the most important questions are: (1) What kind of man devised the series? (2) What is the make-up of the series? and (3) What books continued this kind of series trend?

The author, Jacob Abbott, was the oldest of seven children in a conservative but fairly well-to-do Maine family. Jacob and three of his brothers were given a classical education. They all made names for themselves in the ministry, in literature, and in education.

Jacob was a gentle person with a great love for the outdoors. He was deeply religious but he had wide interests: education and the sciences of chemistry, geology, and mathematics. He studied for the ministry during the same period of time that he was teaching at Portland Academy.2 All of this was before he was twenty-one.

At twenty-one, Jacob became professor of mathematics and natural

1 Silver, as quoted in Blank, op. cit., p. 3.
2 Longfellow was one of his pupils at the Academy.
history at Amherst College. Two years later he became a licensed preacher. Not long after this he married Harriett Vaughn. They had four sons who also became leading figures: in the ministry, in law, and in literature.

Not long after his marriage, Jacob organized the Mount Vernon School for girls in Boston. This was a pioneer institution in which Jacob had his first opportunity to put his own theories of education into practice. He believed that girls should have equal educational opportunities with boys, in the same subject matter. He threw out traditional disciplinary methods and appealed to the honor and conscience of his students to behave in "seemly" fashion. Although he was kind, fair, and did not use corporal punishment in any fashion he was not permissive. He expected people to learn from their mistakes and then to live up to what they had learned. He believed that children and young people needed guidance, and he supplied it.

Abbott's books for children are based on the life he lived. The Rollo series exemplifies this. His teaching career is clearly apparent in the first books of the Rollo series. Rollo learns to talk, read, think, and he goes to school. The books are didacticism with a gentle almost unobtrusive humor. The final books of the series came after Abbott had traveled to Europe. There he gathered information for ten of the Rollo volumes. Abbott loved information and gathering information. He believed that if his "love" were presented to children in an interesting fashion, they, too, would love information and gathering information. The Rollo books are predicated upon this belief.

He succeeded in America but Darton believes he had little success
in England. In description of this lack of success, Darton states:

Probably his pen was too leisurely even for the young readers to whom, at that time of day, he was describing unfamiliar scenes. The "wilderness" of America ought, for them, to have been more populous and exciting, and the very naturalness of his pictures left the sense of romance unsatisfied.¹

Darton then goes on to explain that "A children's book once established has a long life; but if it is not successful at the outset, it can seldom gain solid acceptance."²

England was not ready for him when Abbott first published. When England was ready there were too many rivals, notably: the proliferation of the later Peter Parleys, and the numerous and widely popular editions of The Swiss Family Robinson.³

The entire series outlines "a scheme for the amusement and the instruction of a small boy."⁴ As that small boy, Rollo, grows older, he goes abroad. Then "more advanced subjects (for instruction) are added to each book in the series.

There are twenty-eight little "red" volumes in all. Ten of them are devoted to the travels of Rollo Holiday and his Uncle George in Europe.⁵ The earlier books, of course, are those of Rollo's first years:

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¹Darton, op. cit., pp. 236-237.
²Ibid., p. 237.
³Ibid.
⁴Thwaite, op. cit., p. 248.
⁵Virginia Haviland in The Hewins Lectures, op. cit., p. 58, lists twelve travel books. The first two are: Rollo's Travels, Rollo on the Atlantic. The other ten are in Europe proper, in European cities or countries, and On the Rhine.
Learning to Talk, Learning to Read, Rollo at School, etc. There are eight of these.

Virginia Haviland, in her Hewins Lecture, "The Travelogue Story Book," gives an excellent description of the travel books and the impact they had upon their child readers. A portion of this description is as follows:

... As he [Rollo] rolled along by diligence he explained meticulously aspects of foreign travel most likely to be interesting to the young child. He made honest admission that he didn't care much about such things as paintings or statues—but he liked to go anywhere he could see new places and be entertained by new scenes." He was quick to join other young travelers on excursions for fun or sightseeing, but he was careful not to be drawn by them into careless ventures. He was a valuable guide to young, less well-informed friends, and he passed on to them his precocious fund of knowledge.

Miss Haviland makes frequent reference to the famous librarian, Caroline Hewins, who had enjoyed the Rollo books when she was a child. Among the Rollo items that Caroline Hewins treasured were: satisfying amounts of detail; descriptions of food that Rollo enjoyed; practical wisdom for everyday living; and helpful hints for the traveler. In 1913 Miss Hewins was still recommending the series for the recreational reading of boys and girls.²

Although to many twentieth century readers Rollo might seem a "wooden" character and a "prig," to American boys and girls of the major part of the nineteenth century he was a delight. He created the interest

²Ibid., p. 29.
and curiosity in young readers that twentieth century educators advocate. Best of all "... they were thrilling in interest compared with all previous juveniles."

Both of the Abbott Series of books were followed by other series. Some of these were excellent. Some of the others, while poor in quality were read omnivorously by hundreds of thousands of children. Among the excellent series were those of Horace E. Scudder, one time editor of the _Atlantic Monthly_, and those of Hezekiah Butterworth.

Scudder wrote "stories of the Bodley family, a series of highly popular Christmas quartos." His first stories (a series in themselves) had the family studying New England history "afoot" and "on wheels." The second series relate to foreign travel. The latter series not only delves into history but also traces the Dutch ancestry of the characters and makes "a connection between American and Dutch history."

Hezekiah Butterworth described his series, the "Zigzag Journeys" as "an extension of 'the Bodley Book Principle.'" These were American juvenile best sellers in the 1880's. Their author became a 'literary millionaire.' For twenty years he was assistant editor at the office

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1Ibid., p. 29.

2Noah Brooks as quoted by Virginia Haviland in Andrews, _op. cit._, p. 31.


4Haviland in _Andrews, op. cit._, p. 31.

5Ibid., p. 32. Miss Haviland on p. 34, states that "The Bodleys are livelier than most fictional travelers of this period." Note: Miss Haviland lists Scudder's book (with publication dates) on p. 61.

6Ibid., p. 34.
of that famous and beloved magazine, The Youth's Companion. He traveled
to verify his writings, even crossing the Andes on a burro so he could
have the "feel" of it. This series is different in that it does not carry
the same set of characters throughout all of the volumes. In actuality
the books were more compilations of folklore and history than they were
accounts of travel.

Although the series title came from a hypothetical club of young
men who researched in the Boston Public Library for materials about
lands they wished to visit, the original title idea came from elsewhere.
A French teacher, Rodolph Toepffer, had written a book called Voyages
en Zigzag. Butterworth took the title and applied it to his seventeen
volumes.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 35-37.}

In Haviland's valuable opinion the "Zigzag Journey's" formed an
influential chapter in American children's literature. They made firm
the establishment of this style of books for children that had been
begun by Jacob Abbott and his Rollo Series. They were approved of, not
only by children and young people, but by parents, teachers, and librarians.\footnote{Ibid., p. 38.}

Two of the many series avidly read by children and youth but
frowned upon by adults were: The Oliver Optic\footnote{Infra, Victorian Regime, William Taylor Adams (pseud., Oliver
Optic), annotation.} series and the Horatio
Alger\footnote{Beyond the scope of this work. Alger's first book, Ragged Dick, did not appear until 1867.} books. None of the books in these two groups had any of the
little touches that Jacob Abbott gave to his stories. None of them, when they did have illustrations, were illustrated by fine artists.

The Rollo books were,

Mahoney lists three of the Rollo travel books as being well illustrated.\(^1\) These were:

- *Rollo in Geneva*, Siegel-Cooper, 1858.
- *Rollo on the Rhine*, Siegel-Cooper, 1858.
- *Rollo on the Atlantic*, illustrated by American John McLenan.\(^3\)

\(^1\)Mahoney, *op. cit.*, p. 451.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 404. Mahoney lists seven books illustrated by Doepler. All of them were written by Abbott. However, she gives no information concerning the illustrator's place in the field of art nor any clue to the manner or place in which he lived.

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 422. Although McLenan is listed as having illustrated one other Abbott book and two books by Dickens, no other information is given about him. Note: The volumes read and examined by this investigator had no illustrations.
CHAPTER III

THE VICTORIAN REGIME

Historical Background—England: 1837 - 1865

Defining the Age

Many conflicting definitions are given to the term Victorian. These include the concepts of dowdiness, over sentimentality, surface piety, and monstrous architecture. The following statements paraphrase or quote some of the definitions given by Thrall and Hibbard.¹

1. The happenings during the reign of Victoria;
2. The literature written during the reign with its own peculiar characteristics and attitudes (the same concept applies to the style of furniture, clothes, etc.);
3. "A certain complacency or hypocrisy or squeamishness more or less justly assumed to be traceable to or similar to prevailing Victorian attitudes."²

Thrall and Hibbard amend the third statement when they go on to say:

Victorian literature is many-sided and complex, and reflects both romantically and realistically the great changes that were going on in life and thought.³

¹Thrall et al., op. cit., pp. 504-505.
²Ibid., p. 504
³Ibid., p. 505.
Derogatory definitions fail... to take into consideration the fact that even in the heart of the Victorian period a very large part of that literature either did not exhibit such traits or set itself flatly in protest against them.¹

In fact, Thrall and Hibbard consider the early Victorian period as a paradox. It is not only the full bloom of the Romantic Period² but:

Like all ages... it is an age in which the seeds of the new movement [Realism] were being sown but which were predominantly of the old.³

As the romantic impulse lessened there was the growth of a new social awareness. This painful recognition showed the doubts and uncertainties that stemmed from the industrial revolution as well as from the rapid advances in science and other forms of thought. The swing in attitudes and beliefs, as new ways of living superceded the old, showed itself in such actions as hay-rick burnings; the destroying of new machines; demonstrative marches; the concern of one side of the public over the dingy lives of the discouraged poor; the apathy of too many of the increasing middle class towards social problems.

Victoria, the Queen

The young girl who became a monarch when she was eighteen lived a life of achievement. In the words of David Thomson:

Her achievement, indeed, was to transform the meaning of monarchy partly by her own good fortune but partly, too, by the force of her character and personality. And just as the Hanoverian [Georgian] monarchs had brought monarchy

¹Ibid., p. 505.  
²Ibid., p. 505.  
³Ibid., p. 160.
into decline because of their personal characters, so Victoria exalted it and in so doing transformed it by her own personality.¹

During the first thirty-one years of Victoria's long reign, it was assumed (with varying degrees of positiveness) that the British Monarchy could not coexist with "the march of democracy and the achievement of universal sufferage."² In 1837, the country was, in part, ready to accept Victoria as their monarch. The people were tired after the French wars. They were repulsed by the lax morals of the regency and the reign of George IV. Victoria was young, eager, dedicated, and of scrupulous morality. The aristocracy, the religious people, and others of the middle class were especially pleased with Victoria's early marriage and motherhood. She became a symbol of all that was thought to be fine in womanhood. The sedateness of all that is equated with what is Victorian, however, was as much a reflection of the attitudes of the people as it was of Victoria herself.

Victoria and Punch

In 1841, just before Victoria and her consort Albert were expecting their second child, Punch, the famous British weekly became established.³ It is rather obvious that a publication specializing in satirical comments on the state of the nation would reflect the events, opinions, attitudes, fashions, and Inequities of the Victorian reign.

It is not so obvious that a number of the men connected with Punch were influential in advancing the quality of children's books. Mark Lemon, the first editor, became a popular writer for children. Two of the notable caricaturists for Punch who are more famous as illustrators of children's books are Richard ("Dicky") Doyle and John Tenniel.

Punch did more than reflect opinion, it helped to mould that opinion. Mark Lemon was responsible for the selection of the political cartoon for the week ending September 5, 1841. Entitled "The Letter of Introduction," it gives a lucid picture of twenty-two year old Victoria and Sir Robert Peel, the leader of the Tories. Victoria appears all that is "morally and sentimentally pleasing; together with her First Minister, not a man of fashion, but the prototype of the correctly dressed gentleman of the day." From this moment until Empress Eugenie and Napoleon III visited England, in April, 1855, Victoria set the women's fashions. After pictorial comparison with Eugenie, Victoria was represented as regal, elegant, expensively dressed but dowdy. Victoria abetted by Punch, "provided the right climate for 'respectability' to take root. . . ."

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1 Reproduced in Adburgham, ibid., p. 2.
2 Ibid., p. 15.
3 Ibid., p. 53.
4 Ibid., p. 53.
5 Ibid., p. 16.
The Earliest Victorians - Men

After a hundred years of riotous transformation in clothing and other accoutrements, fashions began to enter a period of slow change. Only the young had spectacular rages of fads and fancies in their attire.¹ Religious and newly rich manufacturers from the North and the Midlands imposed a preference for the sombre and the stereotyped in clothing. Men took up smoking² and dropped the use of snuff. Thus, the snuff-stained coloured bandanas went out of style. The man's plain white linen handkerchief came back into fashion. Beards were a must. Wigs belonged only as marks of certain professions.³

The Earliest Victorians - Women

The fashionable woman gave up flounces. She continued to use stiffening in her gowns: horse-hair pads, sawdust bustles, air-filled bustles, and tightly laced corsets or corselettes. There were repeated health warnings about the detrimental effects of such clothing. In spite of this tight lacing was getting tighter and tighter. The subadolescent and the teen-ager were included in this torture. Adburgham tells that at boarding schools "the girls were sealed in their stays and only released for an hour on Saturday nights."⁴

¹Ibid., p. 16.
²A reduction in the duty on tobacco aided this.
³Adburgham, op. cit., pp. 15, 16.
⁴Ibid., p. 27.
There were no pocket-books or purses as twentieth century women know them. Instead women and girls wore chatelaines, long chains of silver or steel fastened by one end to the waist. Anything could be and was attached to the chatelaine: memo-book, scent-bottle, pincushion, thimble, scissors, tape-measure, keys, pen knife, and small change purses. The vogue for the chatelaine alternated with the years. There was no need for a chatelaine when crinolines were in fashion with large placket pockets to contain feminine odds and ends. But when tightly moulded dresses, allowing for no capacious pocket, came back in style, the chatelaine, again was a necessity.¹

Some traces of one fashion linger in the twentieth century. Adburgham gives an interesting commentary about the birth of the polka-dot in 1845.² Polkamania (dancing the Polka) became a fashionable London disease. "Having started in fashionable circles it extended to the whole body of society, including its lowest members.³" Fantastic finery became the rage: fur trimmings, red, green, and yellow boots. There were "Polka Pelisses, Polka Tunics, and Polka Wafers. Polka-dot prints were born—and live on to this day."⁴

Men - 1850-1859

The well dressed young man of this time was considered a swell. There were many varieties of swells: Languid Swells, Heavy Swells, Small

¹Ibid., p. 28.
²Ibid., p. 18.
³Ibid., p. 18.
⁴Ibid., p. 18.
Swell (Cock Sparrows) and Clerical Swells. There were the lower class
imitators of swells who were muffs. It was fashionable to talk with a
lisp and a drawl.

The chief accessory of the Swell was the excessively slim cane
that eventually was exchanged for the excessively slim silk umbrella.
There were long curly pipes, a momentary fad of short monkey jackets.
Overcoats got longer as the decade advanced. Trousers were tighter,
collars so high and round that they resembled clerical collars, and a
cravat was worn instead of a tie. Side whiskers accompanied beards and
moustaches. Pale-coloured chimney pots topped Byronic hair-cuts.¹

Women - 1850-1859

Empress Eugenie styles, bigger crinolines, and "bloomerism" vied
with each other in women's fashions. The Eugenie styles were French.
"Bloomerism" was American and considered strong minded until it became
fashionable, much later, for girls and women to ride bicycles.

Eugenie inspired elegant materials, sweeping skirts, and the back
swept hairdo with the chignon in back. Such a hair style eliminated
ringlets, curl papers, poke bonnets, and brought in the "bare-faced look"
with a variety of hats. The first change in hats was bonnet shaped
fastened well back on the head, almost off. Then came the round hat
with an enormous flat brim that was adopted by little girls as well as
by the adults.

The bouffant crinoline was preceded by a bouffant appearance
made possible by many petticoats. The weight of all these petticoats
was enormous. The crinoline was invented to lighten the burden. It was

¹Ibid., pp. 31-70.
of light metal or whale bone construction in which curved ribs held metal hoops one above another. While the wearer's legs could move freely, unhampered by petticoats, there were other problems. Many events caused embarrassing tilts to the crinoline. Ladies, unaccustomed to underpants, needed some covering. Pantalettes were invented.

The larger the crinolines were made the more hazardous they became. Embarrassment was one of the least of these hazards. The skirts caught fire. Many fashionable young women burned to death. The steel attracted lightening. Other women were killed or maimed during electric storms. Skirts were caught in cab doors. The wearer would be dragged down the street. Women were blown off docks and piers into the ocean, lakes, and rivers. In spite of all warnings, the fad continued. No woman thought such a tragedy could happen to her.¹

**Fashion and the Class System**

Advanced fashions percolated down from the upper classes and the wealthy or comfortable middle class to the serving and working people. This was true for both men and women.

The mustache and beard craze gives one masculine example of this fashion descent. When the Infantry adopted mustaches the "superior" Cavalry shaved. Then, when working class men such as bakers, postmen, and railway porters grew beards and mustaches, all the higher classes immediately shaved.²

¹ ibid., pp. 31-70.

² ibid., pp. 46, 47.
A feminine example pertains to the wearing of the crinoline:

As with all fashions, the last ditch of the outmoded crinoline was the servants' hall. When housemaids first adopted the crinoline they were considered extremely presumptuous; now those who wished to copy their mistresses and take it off were once more accused of presumptuousness.  

Two Different Worlds: The Comfortable and the Poor

There were many people who were not concerned with fashions for themselves and their children. These were the poor: the weary oppressed, the poor relation, the indigent female of some education, the children of the poor.

Inmates of the workhouse dressed in dreary clothing prescribed by the Poor Law. They ate gruel, and sometimes bread and cheese, also prescribed by the same law. There was the Needlewoman who received starvation wages for herself and children. Punch published Hood's Song of the Shirt in her defense.  

The Thames was polluted and London graveyards were overcrowded. Drains were a menace to the health of even the wealthy or high in status. As late as 1861 the Prince Consort Albert died of a dangerous illness contracted from the drains at Sandringham. The fate of lower class families and children was even more in jeopardy.

1 Ibid., p. 89.
2 Ibid., p. 29.
3 Ibid., p. 29.
4 Ibid., p. 29.
5 Thomson, op. cit., pp. 171-172.
Humanitarianism

While writers, editors, many people of all classes saw the wrongs in England five men represent a widely scattered group of men called, The Philanthropists. They are: (1) Antony Ashley Cooper, eldest son of the sixth Earl of Shaftsbury (with an aristocratic response); (2) Robert Owen of lower middle class parentage; (3) John Stuart Mill, son of James Mill (a democratic radicalist, a professional reformer); (4) Francis Place, the Radical Tailor of Charing Cross; and (5) William Lovett, a cabinet maker.

Antony Ashley Cooper

Antony Ashley Cooper, Lord Shaftesbury, gave single-minded zeal to social philanthropy. He "subsequently collaborated with Edwin Chadwick and other Radical reformers over the improvement of public health" for all the oppressed from agricultural laborers to the boy chimney-sweeps.¹ As the father of nineteenth century factory legislation his first parliamentary victory also concerned the exploited child. This was the Factory Act of 1833.² It applied to nearly all textile mills.

After 1833 no child under eleven for the first year, under twelve for the second, and under thirteen for the third, was to be employed for more than forty-eight hours a week, or more than nine in one day.³

¹Ibid., p. 48.
²Ibid., p. 47.
³Ibid., p. 47.
Robert Owen felt that the divided condition of Englishmen (the comfortable versus the deprived) "would improve only when they replaced competition by cooperation as the mainspring of their social life and their economic activities."¹ Because of this belief he is called the father of socialism.

Born and brought up a shopkeeper, Owen was a self-made man. His career appealed to a "nation of shopkeepers." He was only nineteen when he managed a Manchester Cotton Mill. He was only twenty-six when his partners and he bought the mills in New Lanark. There he began the world famous experiment "designed to show that it actually paid an employer to treat his workers well."² He used every aspect of modern welfare-work in his experiment: public health, temperance, education, social security.

Francis Lowell, inventor of the first American power loom, learned to run a humanitarian factory at Owen's model town in Scotland. From this "apprenticeship" he derived the principle upon which he founded his own model factory system at Lowell, Massachusetts. His neatly dressed girl workers, with their literary weeklies, are often referred to in writing both for children and adults.³

In 1845 Owen summoned a "world convention to Emancipate the Human

¹Ibid., p. 44.
²Ibid., p. 45.
Race from Ignorance, Poverty, Division, Sin, and Misery. From this came a rash of model communities. There were forty "phalanxes" in the American Northern states. Owen's "New Harmony" in Indiana was the most successful of these. The famous transcendentalist "Brook Farm" was another less successful experiment. Hawthorne described it in his Blithedale Romance. Bronson Alcott, father of Louisa May Alcott, suffered at it. Whereby his family (Little Women) suffered, too. The community at Ripon, Wisconsin became "too prosperous." Morison states: "Its land became so valuable that the brethren decided to sell out and become individual farmers."

Owen's influence in Britain, however, is more pronounced than it is in the United States. His super-abundant writings appeal more to those English who are less likely to be won over by his record of practical success. . . . [The tradition he founded] . . . runs down to the Fabian Society, the cooperative movement . . . into the present British Labour Party itself. The basis of nearly all his thoughts [is] the belief in a sort of material determinism: our characters are made for us by environment and heredity alike, and therefore [in his opinion] we are not at all responsible for what we are.  

Owen was one of the burgeoning group of intelligent working men who turned to books for solace and inspiration. Amy Cruse describes his passion for reading that began long before he was eleven and had to

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1Morison, op. cit., p. 524.
2Thomson, op. cit., p. 46.
leave his father's house for full-time work in a draper's shop.

Before he left his father's house he had read Robinson Crusoe, The Pilgrim's Progress, Hervey's Meditations Upon Tombs, Young's Night Thoughts, Cook's Voyages, Richardson's and other standard novels. All through his life he read, devouring books with the eager, untiring energy he brought to all his work.¹

The philosophy he advocated as an adult can be found in many twentieth century books for children. Two examples are Doris Gates¹ Blue Willow,² and Ester Wier's The Loner.³ Both of these tell of the effects of society on the lives of share-cropping children.

John Stuart Mill

This younger Mill exemplifies the intellectual and theoretical adjustments in belief that men of high intelligence and integrity attempted to make in disturbing social change. His father drilled him in the most orthodox principles of the Benthamite Philosophy of Utilitarianism. John Mill found such philosophy crude and inadequate for a life of social change. From the time he was fifteen he was determined to "be a reformer of the world." Thomson calls him:

... that peculiar product of the nineteenth century, a professional reformer, prepared to make reform an almost full-time occupation, a career, even a crusade.

The good society, for Mill, is one of the richest diversity derived from the free interplay of human character and personality. ... ⁴

¹Ibid., p. 159. It is interesting to note that George Eliot thought his (Owen's) system was good but that it might prosper in spite of him, not because of him. See Cruse, op. cit., p. 160.

²Doris Gates, Blue Willow (New York: Viking, 1940).


⁴Thomson, op. cit., pp. 48-49.
In Mill's opinion Britain needed a long series of far-reaching reforms. This would involve giving up the cherished doctrine of laissez-faire. "He championed the cause of popular education, of trade-union organization, of the cooperative movement, of the emancipation of women."¹

Punch agreed with all of these movements except the one about women. In this respect, Punch exemplified the prevailing thought held by men of all classes.

Adburgham sums up this universal English opinion when he states:

- it also reflected the attitude of the vast majority of women themselves, it was assumed that only women who had no hope of attracting a husband went in for attracting attention to the grievances of their sex, or tried to find consolation in the pursuit of learning instead of the pursuit of a husband.²

Punch gave advice for dispersing "ferocious crowds of females."³

It reads:

Collect together a good supply of coakroaches with a fair sprinkling of rats and a muster of mice.⁴

In 1849, Punch lampooned the first "Lady Doctor--Elizabeth Blackwell, who took her M. D. at the small University of Geneva, in the state of New York."⁵ However, Punch did admit "that Harriett Martineau [a writer of children's books as well as a feminist] was as well qualified to choose a representative as any man but pointed out . . ."⁶

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¹ibid., p. 50.
²Adburgham, op. cit., p. 20.
³ibid., p. 20.
⁴ibid., p. 20.
⁵ibid., p. 21. Queen Victoria disapproved of Doctor Blackwell.
⁶ibid., p. 98.
women's uneradicable faults: they couldn't think logically; they were like sheep when it came to fashion crazes. They had more hair than brains; and similar endearing comments.

Harriet Martineau was among the "new women" who were delighted with John Stuart Mill. The women "new" and "old type" however, were not in agreement about Mill's championship of them. Charlotte Yonge, an Anglican high church woman and a prolific writer of good books for children and youth, could not abide Mill. Charlotte Bronte agreed that he had logic but felt he had no heart.¹

However, Mill was read by all literate women of every class and every belief for or against women's right. He became especially noted among the women when in 1865, as a member of Parliament, he introduced a bill for giving the vote to women.² In 1869, he published a one hundred page pamphlet, "The Subjection of Women."

[In this] "the case for those women who wished to enter the professions and occupations hitherto reserved for men was put with vigour.³

John Mill's vigorous logic and the lack "of heart" complained about by Charlotte Bronte were objectives in his father's training of him as a youth. James Mill, an agnostic, hated the upper classes with a cold implacability.⁴ He reached out to seize likely disciples wherever.

²Ibid., p. 356.
³Ibid., pp. 356-358.
⁴Bentham himself said that James Mill acted "less from love of the many as hatred of the few," as quoted in Cruse, ibid., p. 140.
he could. There were many. His son, John, was one of the most brilliant. Another devout follower was Grote. Paradoxically Grote was the son of a rich banker. Although he was sincere in his desire to see all "fellow-creatures free and equal, [he] Grote could not talk to a common man of vulgar habits without disgust..."

Grote, John Kemble, John Mill, and other Benthamites formed a small society to read and discuss current books of interest. They met early in the morning twice a week at the Grote house in Threadneedle Street. Sometimes Mrs. Grote joined in their discussions. She read all of their books and others. She was more widely read and of warmer sympathies than her husband.

Young John Mill too was of warmer sympathies than Charlotte Bronte knew. He also had become a more eclectic reader than many of the other Benthamites. When he was twenty-two his father's agnostic beliefs finally overwhelmed John in deep despair. He sought relief in reading poetry. He found Byron as full of despair as he was. Wordsworth was more to his liking. He became a devotee of Wordsworth believing that man was not a mere machine to be superceded by new inventions.

John Mill was eclectic in his friendships as well as his reading. He became acquainted with the Tennyson brothers, Charles and Alfred, after they had read his writings (and Wordsworth's) in the Cambridge Conversazione Society. He was a great friend of Sir Henry Cole

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1 Ibid., p. 142.
2 Ibid., pp. 141-142.
3 Ibid., p. 54, passim.
(pseudonym Felix Summerly) who advocated, rewrote, and published the "old" fairy tales for the "nourishment" of children.¹

Francis Place

Francis Place, the "radical tailor," was sixty-six years old when Victoria came to the throne in 1837. Yet, the next year, at sixty-seven, he was instrumental (with the cabinet-maker William Lovett) in drawing up the People's Charter. This was the political programme of their society of Artisans. Five of its six points are accepted fact in England and do not seem radical in the 1960's. These are: Universal suffrage (for males, not females); equal electoral districts; removal of the property qualifications for members of Parliament; payment of those members; secret ballot. The sixth, according to Thomson, annual general elections would have made the English "political system one of direct rather than parliamentary democracy."²

Place was born in a sponging-house kept by his father. He learned to read at the school he attended for ten years, from the age of four to fourteen. At the end of his schooling he was apprenticed to a leather-breeches maker. Although there had never been money for books in his home, he loved to read. He stood reading at bookstalls until he was sent away. Later he borrowed books on a slight rental basis from a shopkeeper in Maiden Lane, Covent Garden.

Place married in his teens. His wife worked, too, but their income was meagre. He took his place as a leader among the tailors in

¹Darton, op. cit., pp. 241-242, passim.

²Thomson, op. cit., p. 84.
their strikes and disputes. Serious books were still "his passion and his delight." He never read imaginative literature and called such books as *Pilgrim's Progress* "absurd."1

Thomas Paine's writings influenced Place the most. Middle class men were angry and frightened by Paine's "gospel." But the *Rights of Man* was accepted by the religious working man as well as by the non-religious, such as Place. *The Age of Reason* shocked the religious but it completely converted Place to agnosticism. Wanting to spread his newfound gospel he produced "a new edition of Paine's work, and two thousand copies were sold within the first fortnight."2

In a moment of deep depression Place was inspired by William Godwin and his writings. It was then he established the first shop of his own. There he kept books hidden from his customers who did not like working men to read.

Eventually Place set up a shop in Charing Cross. There he built an extensive library. Interested working men, hungry for books and people with whom to talk about these books made the shop their meeting place. It was like a common-coffee-room and became known as the "Civic Palace." It grew to be the headquarters for English Radicalism. Men such as John Stuart Mill came there to gossip and get acquainted.

Place enjoyed counseling his fellow-radicals so much that he handed over the now prosperous business to his son. He stayed in the shop, perched on a high stool. From this vantage point he gave out advice, lectured, and supervised the library.

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2 Ibid., pp. 153-156.
The library was a good one of its kind. It contained books, Parliamentary papers, pamphlets, newspaper clippings. All of these were neatly bound and arranged in a classification scheme of Place's own devising. The influence of the man and his library were so great that they helped set the atmosphere for Christian Socialism.

Among the people who espoused Christian Socialism were Doctor Arnold of Rugby, his son Matthew, Thomas Hughes and Charles Kingsley. Both of the last two men wrote for children as well as for adults. Thomas Hughes wrote *Tom Brown's School Days* which was about Doctor Arnold, Kingsley, among other children's books, wrote *Water Babies* and *The Heroes*.1

William Lovett

"William Lovett . . . founded the London Working Men's Association of respectable and self-educated artisans."2 As co-writer and publisher of the "People's Charter," he and the others who joined the movement started more than they planned or wanted. "Chartism" by itself was the first big movement of working class self-help.3

Lovett and Place were especially eager to make it legal for workingmen to organize. During the French Wars any type of such organization was against the law. All kinds of reform had been in process: new police, new poor law, new municipal council, and finally the removal of religious disabilities.4 Change was in the air.

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1This summary of Place's life and influence is condensed from material found in Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 83, 109, 110, passim; Cruse, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-160, 183, 238, 272.


3Ibid., p. 71.

4Ibid., p. 73.
Lovett and Place wanted only one thing: to have the working man recognized. They were joined, however, by the leaders of more demagogic movements: Thomas Attwood (a radical banker of the Birmingham Political Union) and Feargus O'Connor (a hot-headed Irish landowner). O’Connor’s “Leeds paper the *Northern Star* began the official Chartist organ. On this tripod basis . . . the chartists organized big meetings.”

There were often torchlight processions at night. Chartism became something of a national religion expected to bring relaxation. There was even a special Sunday School for adults set up by Thomas Cooper, a one time Weslyan minister. He taught religion (read the Bible), Chartism, Literature, Geology, and History. He used a special Chartist Hymn Book.

One of the favorite hymns began:

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All men are equal in His sight;
The bond, the free, the black, the white;
He made them all—then freedom gave,
God made the man—man made the slave.
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Other Chartist songs were sung as well. Evenings Chartists would walk five abreast down the streets singing their verses to the tune of *Rule Britannia*. One such song begins:

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Spread—spread the charter—
Spread the charter through the land;
Let Britons brave and bold join heart and hand.
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**Other Reforms**

Although there were many other important reforms only two of them

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1Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 84, 85.
2Amy Cruse, *The Victorians and Their Reading*, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
3Ibid., p. 132 as quoted by Cruse.
4Ibid., p. 132.
The first of these was reform in the care of the insane. Movement towards legislation in this area, like the progress against slave trading, was furthered by people in the United States as well as those in Great Britain. Many books of fiction were written about this. One, still read by young people today, is Wilkie Collin's *Woman in White*.

The other of these was reform in the criminal law. The year 1837 was climactic in the reduction of capital punishment. Doctor Keith Hollingsworth, of Wayne State University, predicated a book adapted from his doctoral dissertation upon the effect conditions at Newgate Prison (and change in attitudes and laws concerning the criminal) had in English fiction of the period. Hollingsworth believes that the single element common to what he calls the Newgate Novels is "the use of a criminal as an important character."1 In these the novelist "assessed ... the relation of the criminal [to society] ... the offender was not to be stricken by death from membership in the human race. ..."2

Hollingsworth sets the background for developing his case when he states:

> In a manner curious and now foreign to us, Newgate Prison and the gallows, the ultimate enforcers of the law, hovered in the imagination of Englishmen in the eighteenth century.3

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He then discusses, in detail, some of those novels dealing with this aspect of the social history of England. Dickens is prominent among the authors.

Charles Dickens was not only widely read by the entire Victorian family but he did an occasional story especially meant for children. "Captain Murderer." 1

Although everyone read Dickens, *Pickwick Papers* was the most popular of his works. It was ubiquitously read by entire families as it came out in a series of monthly publications that were eagerly awaited by entranced readers. It was accepted enthusiastically in the drawing room and below stairs in the servants' quarters. Although dealing with the coaching era, it too, dealt with sojourns in prison. 2

*Pickwick* and other books by Dickens had one kind of effect on children and their reading. However, the so called criminal aspect of life had another perhaps more lasting effect, on children through a sub-literature for them. This was in the Newgate dramas, rather than in the Newgate Novels. One of these is *Punch and Judy.* 3

Punch is a quick and evil tempered man (puppet) who beats his wife and baby with nauseating regularity. Appealing to the id in man and child, his antics even now are regarded as hilarious. In Victorian days such regard became intensified when George Cruikshank, the inimitable

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1 This and other similar tales had germination in the tales told to him when he was a child by a nursemaid.

2 Cruse, *The Victorians*, op. cit., pp. 18, 19, 70, passim.

caricaturist, did the pictures for Payne Collier's *The Tragical Comedy; or, Comical Tragedy of Punch and Judy*. This entered every home on a par with *Pickwick*.¹

**Religion**

Although mechanist ideas, the industrial revolution, misery among the poor and the downtrodden pushed many workers over the edge of atheism, the British (on the whole) were still a people committed to some form or other of the Christian religion.

The mid-Victorians were preeminently a Bible-reading, church-going, sabbatarian generation. They took their religion and their church-going as seriously as their production of wealth; though often not more seriously.²

No interpretation of mid-Victorianism would be sound which did not place religious faith and observance in the very centre of the picture.³

Broad Evangelicalism was the most generally accepted and practiced form of Christianity in every sect and denomination. This had emphasis upon moral conduct as the test of the good Christian. It had a biblical basis. Reading aloud from the family Bible was almost a tradition in the greater number of British homes. Nonconformist conscience still infused English life and manners. It was a golden age of church going.

¹Bertha E. Mahoney and Elinor Whitney (comps.), *Contemporary Illustrators of Children's Books* (Boston: The Bookshop for Boys and Girls, Women's Educational and Industrial Union, 1930), p. 102.


³Ibid., p. 107.
The Non-Conformists

... it is important to remember that half of the church goers
... were nonconformists.

The religious census of 1851 revealed that of 7,261,915
people who attended a place of worship on 30 March, 1851,
only 3,773,474 attended Anglican churches.¹

The Tractarians

In spite of this the greatest religious movement of Victorian
times came out of the Anglican church.² This was the "Oxford Movement."
It started with the first of a series of tracts called Tracts for the
Times that were sent out from the University of Oxford in September,
1833. Many of the distributors were young clergymen. This first tract
was not long, only four pages. It looked much the same as those that
were always coming from the Religious Tract Society. But this one was
addressed to the clergy. Its objective was to uphold the doctrine of
the Apostolic Succession. The writer deplored men of cloth becoming as
dissenting ministers, "the creatures of the people."³

John Henry Newman, who later joined the Roman Catholic church,
wrote the tract. Newman was a Fellow of Oriel, and vicar of the Univer-
sity Church of St. Mary's. No one suspected him as the author. Common
assent attributed the writing to widely known John Keble, also a Fellow
of Oriel, and Professor of Poetry at the University.

More tracts followed. Some of these were written by Keble. All

¹Ibid., p. 109.
²This is in spite of the missionary-in-foreign-fields movement.
³Livingston was in Africa during this movement.
⁴Cruse, The Victorians, op. cit., p. 22.
of them dealt with one theme: restoration of the ancient privileges and practices of the church. Now high church rites did not come in with the tracts. Many of the Anglican clergy had always held these views. However, a large group of clergy were either country gentlemen or men of the world who were diligent performing their duties, but without "any kind of fervour."

The clergy and other church members now began to take sides. Scholar and theologian Edward Pusey had joined the tractarians in 1834. He signed his name to the tracts he wrote. Hence, through this association the term "Puseyism" became coined. Those who sided with the Oxford Tractarian belief were called Puseyites.

Doctor Arnold and Charles Kingsley were determined opponents of the Oxford Movement. They wrote and preached against the tracts. The church people belonging to their "party" were known as "broad." Both of Doctor Arnold's sons were at Oxford during the years of greatest agitation. Thomas paid no attention until ten years later. Then he sent for the tracts, read them, joined the Roman Catholic Church. Matthew listened as an undergraduate but never became one of the followers.

The battle did rage most high at Oxford. Newman preached there. People came from far and near to hear him and were moved by his eloquence. Although the heads of the colleges showed hostility to Newman in every possible way, the undergraduates felt a passionate devotion to him. His sermons were as much a part of the Oxford Movement as the tracts. Even people who did not agree with him were impressed by the religious poetry

\[1\textit{Ibid.}, \text{pp.} \ 23, \ 24.\]
which he wrote. All kinds of people in the twentieth century sing one of his poems as a hymn, "Lead kindly light."

Colonies of Tractarians were growing up in some districts. John Keble started one of these. He had become Vicar of Hursley. His services there had a strong attraction. The Yonge family came from Otterbourne to hear him. Charlotte Yonge, the prolific writer for children and youth, accepted Keble as the chief spiritual influence of her life. Many of her young people's stories, still read in the 1960's, show this influence. Charlotte ardently proselytized for the High Church all of her young life.

Month by month, for seven and one-half years, the tracts were sent out from Oxford. The ninetieth of the series came out on February 27, 1841. Newman, who wrote this tract, did not expect its startling effect. In it he had attempted to show that historically speaking some of the thirty-nine articles of the church might be given a different interpretation than that usually given by the Victorians.

All of the antagonism originally caused by the Oxford Movement blazed out with fresh intensity. Condemnation was most fierce at the university. "On March 12th the heads of the houses decided that the Tracts should be censured... On March 16th the official condemnation of the Tract, with the author's name appended, was posted up in the schools and the college butteries."  

The storm went on for many months. Newman's disciples did not leave him. However, he felt that with such public denouncement his

1Cruse, The Victorians, op. cit., p. 38. All discussion of the Tractarians is a brief summary of Cruse's chapter "The Tractarians," pp. 21-41.
place in the movement was lost. He promised the Bishop of Oxford that he would issue no more tracts. He left the university and went to live in a little town three miles away. He became troubled with doubts. He found no solace in the Anglo-Catholic doctrine he had defended so vehemently. He resigned his living in 1843. In 1845 "he was received into the Church of Rome."

Many people followed Newman to Rome. The Anglo-Catholics were deeply depressed fearing a large secession. Keble and Pusey rallied the party but they (and their followers) never ceased to mourn for their loss of the selfless Newman. His influence did not die, however. The High Church party grew. It became influential enough "to have a real effect on the national life."

Secular Affairs

The Great Exhibition

Queen Victoria opened the exhibition at the "Crystal Palace" on May 1, 1851. Twenty-five thousand people were among the spectators in the building. It was a national day but not a fashionable one. However, this opening "was also the opening of the golden age of Victorianism. . . . Even Thackeray . . . wrote odes to the Crystal Palace."

Punch had something to do with changing the exhibition in the minds of the nation from something dull to a fairy tale palace. The

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1 Ibid., p. 41.
2 Adburgham, op. cit., p. 33.
great glass building was designed by Joseph Paxton who had a financial interest in Punch. Douglas Jerrold, of the Punch staff, named the building the Crystal Palace.¹

Prince Albert had chosen the site opposite the Knightsbridge barracks in Hyde Park. There was opposition from the residents in the selected locale. There were all kinds of complaints. There were too many people, too many foreigners of a low class, too many lost children, too many lost articles (one lady even lost her bustle!), and too little good food. In spite of all this, the exhibition became a great success: "financially, commercially, and in terms of national prestige. And the popularity of Prince Albert, previously at a very low ebb, took a gratifying bound forward."² Peace and prosperity seemed a certainty to the Englishman and his family.

Agriculture

In 1851, there were 90,000 farms of between five and forty-nine acres. Half of all Welsh and English farms ranged in size from fifty to three hundred acres. Britain's cultivated land grew three-quarters of the needed corn. There were improved methods of "stock-breeding, draining, and manuring, machine ploughing, reaping, and threshing. "The gold discoveries of the fifties, combined with the peace of the sixties, brought high prices and plentiful labour to the farmers."³

¹Adburgham, op. cit., p. 33. This was the beginning of a time that Harriett Martineau (infra, annotation) called "the 30 years peace."

²Ibid., p. 35. Note: Many children's books of the period include a scene or a description about a visit to the Exhibition.

³Thomson, op. cit., p. 100.
Transportation and Trade Railroads

Although the building of railways was continued third-class railway carriages were in a disgraceful state. They had no seats and "were open at top and sides."

The winds blew through them so fiercely "that no woman possessing the slightest amount of decency would venture a second time into such traveling whirlwinds." In spite of this Englishmen were as aroused by the idea of progress with fast trains as they had been with fast coaches.

Tennyson embodied this idea after his ride in the first train from Liverpool to Manchester. He believed the wheels ran in grooves when he wrote the line: "Let the great world spin for ever down the ringing grooves of time."  

Ships and Trade

There were great new shipbuilding industries for ships built first of steel and then of iron. These partly absorbed British pig-iron. In 1848 Britain put out half the world's pig-iron. She was on the way to trebling her output by the end of 1865. British ships dominated the seas. Foreign trade had boomed.

Results of Trade

Such material progress induced a feeling of comfort in the upper and middle classes. A robust swaggering attitude of self-satisfaction was abroad. The ethics of businessmen and industrialists now dominated.

1Adburgham, op. cit., p. 29.

2As quoted by Thomson, op. cit., p. 102.
English manners. It became apparent in such adult books as Samuel Smiles' *Self-Help* and volumes with titles similar in piety to *Thrift, Character, Duty*. *Self-Help* came out in 1859, sold 20,000 copies that year, 130,000 in the next thirty years.1

The people who bought such books were also the people who bought books for their children. Considering the "taste" of the mid-Victorian middle class, Darton states that it "carried with it the . . . blemish of . . . wealth—the commercial standard. Books for the young were multiplied to a pattern and the pattern [when not of stodginess] tended to be the brightest, the most specious, rather than the most enduring or finely wrought."2

There were reactions to such attitudes of complacency and commercial standards for personal living. They were expressed by Dickens, Carlisle, Matthew Arnold with his bitter attacks on barbarians and philistines. Ruskin, as Slade Professor of fine art, criticized architecture. The pre-Raphaelite brotherhood criticized everything that pertained to aestheticism and the arts. Some of the men involved in this movement were William Morris, Holman Hunt, Edward Burne-Jones, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Their definition of the arts ranged from painting to poetry, from clothing to coiffures, from wallpaper to the looks of home library shelves, from furniture to all the other appurtenances of a household of taste.3

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1Ibid., p. 101. Mill's essay on Liberty and Darwin's *Origin of Species* came out the same year as *Self-Help*.
3Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
In some respects, Morris was the arbiter of all that was "right." In his studios he designed wall paper, wove the fabrics for window hangings and upholstery. He had been inspired by Ruskin and then driven to manufacturing by the fact that his wife and he could not find beautiful furniture or fabrics for their home. Thus, from his studios, Morris progressed into establishing a factory to manufacture lovely furniture and textiles.

[Cruse tells us]... he put all his energy and enthusiasm into his efforts to produce lovely colours and beautiful shapes. His wallpaper and chintzes, his chairs and tables, his glass, his patterned silks and linens were all designed by artists and carried out by workmen whom he encouraged in every way he could to take pride in their labour. Burne-Jones [the painter and Kipling's uncle] joined [him]... while William de Morgan... was producing tiles and vases and bowls of rare and ravishing beauty.1

Before the end of the sixties the influence of Ruskin and Morris had made a notable change in the taste of middle class Britains. Their homes were becoming less conventional, unsterotyped, and correspondingly more beautiful.

The Continued Rise of Literacy

Three Ways of Assessing Literacy

Although there are many ways to gauge the literacy of a people only three aspects will be considered here. They are discussed in the order of their chronological appearance. Surprisingly enough they arrived in this order: (1) Libraries; (2) Periodicals; and (3) Educational Improvements [Education].

Libraries

During the Victorian Age there were a strange variety of libraries:¹ (1) The Sunday School Library; (2) The Mechanic's or Workingman's Library; (3) The Lending Library (for a fee); and finally the Public Library. Only the last two establishments need discussion here.

The Lending Library.—The Lending Library is best exemplified by the one opened by Charles Edward Mudie in London, 1842. Its small annual subscription equalled only two parts of the retail cost of a three-decker novel. This guaranteed the library's success. As a result, within a short time "Mudie came near to being the sole arbiter of literary taste in fiction."² His dominion lasted until the 1890's "when the one volume novel had ousted the three-decker."³ Even then the popularity of his books was still so strong that Punch felt it necessary to lampoon them. Adburgham begins the discussion by stating:

The nineties were the heyday of the popular novelist who flooded Mudie's Libraries with a gush of sentimental and 'risky' books.⁴

Whatever definition of "heyday" is used, in round numbers, by 1852, Mr. Mudie had more than twenty-five thousand subscribers.⁵ Being a

¹Of these varieties: (1) the Sunday School Library, begun in the Georgian age, continued to flourish and to exert a strong moral influence; and (2) The Mechanics' Library as discussed in the section, The Humanitarians, supra, helped emancipate the workingman and in many instances led to several classes of socialism or near socialism.

²S. H. Steinberg, op. cit., p. 328.
³Ibid., p. 329.
⁵Cruse, The Victorians, op. cit., p. 315.
dissenter and a good business man who aimed to please the country vicar's wife as well as the middle and upper class Londoner, Mr. Mudie was torn by the demand for novels. Novels were his staple. Dissenters did not approve of novels. He cleared his conscience by selecting "good" novels. Many of his selections have been repeatedly defined as trash, and they, no doubt, were trash. Nevertheless, he selected not only the works of many good fiction writers but also the works of people who did not write fiction. Among these last were Ralph Waldo Emerson and Thomas Babington Macaulay.

Macaulay's volumes of history scored a success even greater than that of any of the popular novels. Families, school boys, and ladies of fashion all read Macaulay as fast as his volumes were issued. This was pleasure reading, not task reading. The only people who criticized him were scholars and the woman writer, Mrs. Oliphant who said: "Everybody admires him, of course, but nobody believes him, as far as my experience goes."\(^1\)

Many of the better fictional authors circulated by Mudie wrote for children. Among these were: Charlotte Yonge (discussed later); Ouida (Louise de la Ramée with her: *Dog of Flanders, Under Two Flags, Two Little Wooden Shoes*); Dinah Muloch Craik (*John Halifax, Gentleman*); Wilkie Collins with his *Woman in White* and *The Moonstone* (described as "the best detective story ever written"\(^2\)); and some of the works of both Charles and Henry Kingsley.

\(^1\)As quoted in Cruse, *ibid.*, p. 315.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 323. Note: Mudie is discussed by Cruse in her Chapter XV, "Books from Mudie's," pp. 310-336.
There were also, of course, the horror novels of Le Fanu, and the tear-jerking sentimental tales, such as Mrs. Samuel Ward's *East Lynne*. Children and serving maids read as many of all of these as they could lay hands upon. But they were not the only readers. Among those who boasted unashamedly of their subscriptions to Mudie and their reading of his books were: Fanny Kemble (of the famous stage-family), Tennyson's two brothers, the Wedgewood brothers, Mary Ann Evans (George Eliott), Sara Coleridge, the Brontes, the Edgeworths, the potter, William de Morgan, and Burne-Jones (although they amused themselves by ridiculing some of the selections in hilarious verse); the poet, Edward Fitzgerald of Rubáiyát fame; Ruskin; and Cardinal Manning.

When Mudie's volumes were too soiled, tattered and torn for his "fastidious" public, they were sold to men catering to the lower classes. Thus, Mudie's selections served all manner of people.

**Railway Yellow Backs**

One other interesting and important development came from the Mudie establishment. There was an enterprising partner, a Mr. W. H. Smith. In 1846 "he conceived a plan for setting up bookstalls at the principal railway stations, to supply the need for 'something to read' on a long journey." This was extremely successful. By 1862 there were bookstalls on almost every well-traveled line. Then Mr. Smith started a railway circulating library. He needed cheap editions. A deposit could be paid at the beginning of a journey. The book could be returned

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to any railway bookstall at the end of the journey. Eventually his stock was published in yellow paper covers. This gave the name of yellow backs to the series.\footnote{ibid., p. 336}

Cruse cites all of these happenings as abiding witnesses "to the Englishman's need and love of his books."\footnote{ibid., p. 336.}

The Public Library

Steinberg affirms that even though "the usefulness of public libraries was recognized earlier in Germany than anywhere else . . . it is in the English-speaking countries that public libraries have established themselves as an integral part of public instruction and recreation."\footnote{H. Steinberg, op. cit., p. 329.}

The English "public library movement was initiated in 1850."\footnote{Thwaite, op. cit., p. 96.}

In the beginning, service was limited and unequal. Nevertheless, it surged ahead, especially in larger towns. Although the first separate children's library (in Nottingham of Robin Hood fame) did not open until 1882, children were served in the all-purpose library.\footnote{ibid., p. 96.} They also found their reading in the varieties of libraries already discussed as well as in the bookstalls whose owners permitted browsing. The school library, as it is now defined, did not come into being until the twentieth century.

All libraries were a "potent force in the expansion of juvenile publishing."\footnote{ibid., p. 96.}
Periodical literature for children and youth (the cheap, the sensational, the high in quality) rose during Victorian days. Thwaite gives a succinct summary of their existence:

In the second half of the century magazines for youth reached a high standard from which they have declined steadily. On the other hand the cheap and sensational productions, the penny and halfpenny 'dreadfuls' made vast strides since Brett began it all with his Boys of England in 1866, and paved the way for the mass circulation of lurid and easy-to-read comics devoured by the present generation.¹

Darton explains the emergence of the youth (or children's) periodical as "a market development concurrent with the progress of adult newspapers and periodicals . . . institutions of a brief epoch."²

The term 'magazine' had been used all through the eighteenth century. Such publications, however, were not periodicals. The earliest genuine children's periodicals, still surviving in England, began in the years 1824-26. These are The Child's Companion; or, Sunday School's Reward (1824) and The Children's Friend (1825).³ These were, of course, Sunday School magazines.

However, juvenile magazines of firm commercial value did not appear until the 1850's. Felix Summerly (Sir Henry Cole) put out The Charm, from 1852-1854. This contained solid and imaginative material illustrated by good, professional illustrators. These were followed by a host of others. The most interesting of these, Boy's Own Magazine (1855-74), was

¹Ibid., p. 97.
²Darton, op. cit., p. 273.
³Ibid., p. 274.
actually a forerunner of the famous Boy's Own Paper. The latter boasted among its authors the well-known writers for children: W. H. G. Kingston (adventure for boys); W. B. Rands (verse, whimsy, and imaginative works for all ages).¹

The middle sixties saw "the first wave . . . of a flood of magazines."² The other well-known and much loved periodicals did not begin until after Alice, 1866. These include: Aunt Judy's Magazine, Boys of England, Chatterbox, Good Words for the Young. The best writers of Victorian days had work appearing in these periodicals.³

Other "serial fiction for boys--the penny 'bloods' (or penny dreadfuls)-- . . . most frequently dealt imaginatively in the exploits of famous highwaymen from Dick Turpin to Spring-heel Jack,"⁴ These developed into the dime novels of a later day.

Education

State aid for education had come out of the Bell and Lancaster disputes.⁵ There were plenty of schools but no general system. In 1833 the first grant of public money (£20,000) was made for the building of schools. A commission of 1858 recommended the setting up of Local Education Boards.⁶

¹Ibid., p. 275.
²Ibid., p. 276.
³Ibid., pp. 277-278.
⁴Muir, op. cit., p. 112.
⁵Supra, Georgian Age, this work.
⁶Thomson, op. cit., p. 135. The first real impetus for a national system of free and compulsory education did not come until 1867.
Good education was still for the upper class male. Girls of families with enough money were educated at home by governesses until their "coming out." This long anticipated event could occur anytime from the girl's fifteenth to twenty-third year. Until that time she was relegated to the family schoolroom. This was usually the dingiest and most unattractive room in the house. Other household areas were forbidden to both pupil and governess except as special privileges. The scope of reading material was greatly curtailed. Most girls memorized Magnus' series of question (and answer) books giving all varieties of oddly assorted, extraneous tidbits of information. The girls were also expected to be proficient in the knowledgeable use of globes and atlases (even the young Queen Victoria).

Governesses were selected according to their erudition and their "meekness." Preferably they came from upper class families who had fallen upon "hard times." The general opinion was that such misfortunes were acts of God expressly perpetrated so that upper class young ladies could be educated by their "own kind."

Girls of high social status in families that could not afford governesses were either educated at home by various members of the family or sent to boarding schools. There appeared to be no day schools for girls. Girls educated at home often had a wider education and more freedom, quite often their families tried to follow the Edgeworth's beliefs as set forth in their Practical Education.

Girls educated in the boarding schools found that emphasis was first put upon the social amenities, then sewing, usually French, and sometimes the reading of a scanty selection of watered-down classics:
The Pilgrim's Progress; Edgeworth, Barbauld and Trimmer stories; sometimes Robinson Crusoe.¹

Boys

The education for upper and middle class boys is best described in Eric and in Tom Brown's School Days.² At seven or eight, little boys were packed off to Public Schools (not Public at all in twentieth century terminology) which were very expensive. There they were taught to be manly, "play cricket," and study "the classics." Earlier fundamentals were received at home, or in some cases, in slightly refined versions of the "Dame" school. In such early schools lower class boys sometimes rubbed shoulders with their "superiors."

There were special academies for the sons of Dissenters. In any event, they rarely, if ever, went to the same schools as the Anglican boys.

Catholics and Presbyterians had a hard time. As early as 1800 George III had been asked to put "Papists and Presbyterians on a state of equality with the Church of England."³ He refused. Sydney Smith, the canon of St. Paul's (an Anglican Cathedral) took up the cause of Catholic Emancipation.⁴

¹All of the above statements are a summary of the material on the subject presented in Cruse, The Englishman and His Books, op. cit., and Cruse, The Victorians, op. cit.
²Annotations, this chapter, infra: Farrar and Hughes, respectively.
⁴Ibid., pp. 58-60.
Universities

However, in the United Kingdom universities continued to be an Anglican monopoly until 1854. In that year and in 1856:

Dissenters of all creeds were at last admitted to Oxford and Cambridge, but were still debarred from the degree of Master of Arts, from all degrees in Divinity, and from all headships, professorships, and fellowships, and so from all share in the teaching, administration and government of the universities.1

Thomson states, "There was still a State-Church: there was no longer a Church-State."2

Men Influential in Education

Bess Porter Adams discusses two Englishmen of the mid-Victorian era who are responsible for influence on education and children's books, that extends into this last half of the twentieth century.3 These two are: Herbert Spencer4 and Thomas Huxley.5 They were so much influenced by a third man of their era, Charles Darwin, that he, too, must be mentioned.

Spencer

Adams identifies Spencer as being influential in the study of Science, Family Living, Citizenship, the Humanities, and Physical

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1Ibid., p. 62. It was not until 1871 that the universities Test Act became a law. Even then it reserved a few posts for Anglicans. It was not until 1877 that present equality was achieved.

2Ibid., p. 62.


4Ibid., pp. 58-60.

5Ibid., pp. 60-61.
Education for both boys and girls. Actually Herbert Spencer was an outstanding English Philosopher. He believed that studies should be weighed according to their usefulness and importance.

This serious consideration of what is important is especially interesting in view of Spencer's own early reading. While he read eclectically, he also was a user of lending libraries. As an adult he was an enthusiastic subscriber to Mudie's Library and an avid reader of novels, the good and the "bad." As a young boy he patronized libraries that were even less selective than Mudie's. He was especially fond of the lurid Gothic novels.

Spencer gave up his original profession of engineering to follow a more philosophical but equally scientific career. He was very young when Charles Darwin's early work, *Vestiges*, was published. He pronounced it as the forerunner of scientific writing that would be better organized and eventually accepted. At the moment of its publication *Vestiges* caused more worry among the clerics than Darwin's later *Origin of Species*.

Spencer's recognition of the value implicit in Darwin and his work was one of many contributing factors to his dedication in the search for truth. As an outcome of his search, Spencer classified the life activities which he believed should be considered by educators in building curriculum for the young.

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1Ibid., p. 59. Here Adams also lists twentieth century children's books resulting from this influence, for example, Dorothy Baruch's *You're Growing Up*.

2Ibid., p. 58.

3Cruse, *The Victorians*, op. cit., pp. 311-332.

4Ibid., pp. 88, 90, 106.
Adams tabulates Spencer's classification in five groups:

1. Those activities which minister directly to self-preservation.
2. Those activities which, by securing the necessaries of life, minister indirectly to self-preservation.
3. Those activities which are concerned with the rearing and discipline of offspring.
4. Those activities which are involved in the maintenance of proper social and political relations.
5. Those miscellaneous activities which make up the leisure part of life, devoted to the gratification of the tastes and feelings.¹

Thomas Huxley

Thomas Huxley was a colleague of Spencer and of Darwin. When Darwin's *Vestiges* was published Huxley (a young man of nineteen) "was... irritated by the prodigious ignorance and thoroughly unscientific habit of mind manifested by the writer..."² In the fifteen years between *Vestiges* (1844) and *The Origin of Species* (1859) Huxley had become famous through his style in lecturing and writing as well as his investigations in the field of natural history. This mature Huxley was impressed by the greatness of Darwin's work. However, he realized that Darwin's style was labored and that his "reasoning required close and earnest attention on the part of the reader." Therefore, he took upon

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¹Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
²Cruse, *The Victorians*, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
himself the task of popularizing the book, speaking and lecturing and writing about it whenever there was an opportunity. It was largely through him that *The Origin of Species* became known to the general public.¹

In the sixties young and eager minds of all ranks felt the intellectual excitement generated by not only the theories of Darwin but also by the parallel investigations of geologists such as Sir Charles Lyell. Although many religious people were dismayed, some of the clergy (Charles Kingsley, Richard Church, etc.) believed enough in both science and religion so that they were able to reconcile both."¹¹ A new era in the history of science and religion had begun."²

When Huxley addressed the Royal Society in 1860 he gave both a warning and a battle cry. He reminded his listeners that

> *The Origin of Species* is not the first and... will not be the last of the great questions born of science which will demand settlement from [them].³

He urged them to join in the revolutions of thought and practice that were to come [in science]. He warned that what is to come "depends on how... the public... deal[s] with science."⁴ He exhorts this public to "cherish" science, "venerate" it, and to follow scientific methods in "their application to all branches of human thought."⁵

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¹Ibid., p. 93.

²Ibid., p. 93. Cruse discusses many scientific publications of the nineties and the resulting conflicts with a variety of religious people in Chapter V, "Science and Religion," pp. 84-107.

³Ibid., p. 97.

⁴Ibid., p. 97.

⁵Ibid., p. 98.
He pronounced that if the public followed his advice the future would be greater than the past.

Adams states with truth that Huxley helped to determine the place of science in the school curriculum and the role of books about science for children's recreational reading. She does not mention the influence of other scientists such as the geologist Lyell on either curriculum or children's books, nor does she mention Darwin.

**Book Production for Children**

**Physical Format**

Technological discoveries slowly began to change the methods of producing books for children. Such change was needed. With more children reading, more adults buying books for children the demand was greater. Schools, libraries, and Sunday schools created even more demand. Muir explains that:

... books for children had to be cheap. Handwork was slow and costly, and mass-production methods and large editions were essential if low prices were to be achieved.  

A quick summary of the new paper-making processes is as follows:

1798 Machine made paper process patented in France by Robert;  
1803 Process perfected in England by Fourdrinier;  
1807 Introduction of resin for paper sizing (in place of gelatin)

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1Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 60. One example of the many 20th century children's books in Lyell's field is *Mary Anning's Treasures* by Helen Bush (New York: McGraw Hill, 1965). *The Voyage of the Beagle* is on school library shelves, as are also, syntheses of the works of Huxley and Darwin for boys and girls.  
2Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 150.  
3For details see Muir, *ibid.*, p. 150.
by Illig in Germany;

1840 Wood pulp for paper instead of the previously used expensive rag pulp;

1856 Chemical wood pulp.

Other innovations which came in the first half of the century are: (1) the steam printing press; (2) a perfected stereotyping process; (3) the use of cloth for binding; and (4) a process of "casing" the cloth so that covers could be made separately from the books and pasted on. Mechanical type-setting was in use at this time but not perfected until the last half of the century.

The first cloth covers were drab. The makers tried to imitate the old board covers. Soon the publishers began to use gold and coloured blockings which made the covers gay, attractive, and eminently salable. They still used board bindings for cheaper books but embellished them with wood engravings or lithography.

Illustration Processes

However, increased mechanization and mass production were equally essential in producing really inexpensive illustrated books for children. George Baxter had begun to produce his famous prints by means of printing colors from wood blocks. At first Baxter's work was too expensive to use for children's books. In the fifties, he "began to issue licenses to work his process, and notably in the hands of the Kronheims, it was cheapened and debased to an extent which permitted its use at first for

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1 Ibid., p. 150.
2 Ibid., p. 153.
frontispiece only, in children's books."\(^1\)

In the 1840's, Owen Jones did high quality work using the adaptation of lithography to color-printing. Fine work in this medium was expensive. Cheaper production methods, allowing the use in children's books, did not come until the 1860's. Muir calls the earliest of these "the nastiest of books for children of any period . . . garishly coloured . . . with [an] unpleasantly oily appearance."\(^2\)

During this time Sir Henry Cole [Felix Summerly, pseudonym] used the help of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood to advance beautification of children's books. For the illustrations in his series of books he employed the best available artists.

Edmund Evans, engraver and color printer, after finishing his apprenticeship with Ebenezer Landells,\(^3\) set up his own business in Fleet Street. He successfully experimented in the 1850's with the Baxter process. Through his success he induced publishers to commission him (an almost unheard of thing). The firm of Routledge succumbed and employed him to great mutual advantage. Evans was an artist in his craft. He went to considerable pains to match typography with the illustrations he printed. As he was his own printer he could (and did) "prepare and execute in his own shop the complete layout of the books entrusted to him."\(^4\)

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\(^1\)Ibid., p. 179.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 179. Note: This is called chromo-lithography.

\(^3\)Bewick's favorite pupil and founder of *Punch*.

\(^4\)Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 185. Note: Material on illustration processes is a summary from Muir's presentation, pp. 179-185.
Evans is most important for the great fidelity with which he reproduced the illustrations of the three most revered illustrators for children's books in the nineteenth century: Randolph Caldecott, Walter Crane, and Kate Greenaway. Although their work did not come until after 1865 they are the outstanding products of the work in illustration and in craftsmanship that immediately preceded them. They would not be as long remembered if it had not been for the artistry of their printer, Edmund Evans.

Caldecott is known as the father of the modern picture book. The American award given annually to the illustrator of the best children's book of that year is named in his honor.

**Literary Forms:**

**Detective or Mystery Fiction**

Although most of the literary forms as used in children's books had evolved by or during the early Victorian Regime one of the popular twentieth century categories is not annotated to any extent in this study. This is the detective or mystery story. Methods of detection have been used in every era

1 Dorothy Sayers states:

... the full blossoming of the detective stories is found among the Anglo-Saxon races. It is notorious that an English crowd tends to side with the policeman in a row. ... In France also thought the street policeman is less honoured than in England, the detective force is admirably organized and greatly looked up to. France has a good output of detective stories; though considerably smaller than that of the English speaking races. In the Southern states of Europe the law is less loved and the detective story less frequent.2

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1 Dorothy L. Sayers, one of the most famous writers and exponents of this genre, gives examples which support this statement in *The Omnibus of Crime*, ed. Dorothy L. Sayers (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1929), pp. 8-9.

2 Ibid., p. 11.
Sayers goes on to explain that the Englishman liked to pay attention to the external details of men and things. This is not true of the French or the German. They prefer psychological truth. Since the genuine detective story depends upon "footprints, blood-stains, dates, times, and places" as well as character drawing that is reduced to "bold flat outline," it would naturally appeal most to people imbued with Anglo-Saxon tastes.¹

Sayers believes that the characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon, as touched on above, account for the reason that the detective story, as it is known today, did not emerge until the early nineteenth century.

It had to wait for its full development for the establishment of an effective police organization in the Anglo-Saxon countries.²

Sayers advances other arguments for placing the full emergence of the detective story in the mid-eighteenth century. These are: the shrinking of the world's unexplored limits; technological advances that made homes and villages less insular, telegraphy, railroad travel, photography; scientific advancement; popular education; and improved policing.³ She states:

In place of the adventurer and the knight errant, popular imagination hailed the doctor, the scientist, and the policeman as saviours and protectors... the detective steps into his right place as the protector of the weak—the latest of the popular heroes, the true successor of Roland and Lancelot.⁴

¹Ibid., p. 11.
²Ibid., p. 11.
³Ibid., p. 12.
⁴Ibid., p. 12.
Poe began the formula so widely used for this story. Although the "average" child now reads Poe only for classroom assignments, he still demands Sherlock Holmes or the weakened imitations of Holmes written for the less able reader.

Sherlock Holmes modeled himself to a large extent upon Poe's Dupin... He is a more human and endearing figure than Dupin, and has earned as his reward the supreme honour which literature has to bestow—the secular equivalent of anonisation. He has passed into the language.¹

Between Poe and Doyle came a host of writers for adults who developed different phases of the detective or mystery story. Some of the more important of these are French Alexandre Dumas and American James Fenimore Cooper. Dumas used pure scientific deduction, the outcome of his actual interest in crime. Cooper described the Indian's skill in tracking his quarry. Other writers who aided in the development are Mrs. Henry Wood (nee Ellen Price), Sheridan Le Fanu, and Wilkie Collins; all English writers. Mrs. Wood is somewhat scorned for the over sentimentality of her East Lynne. But she has real literary qualities and is unexcelled in producing atmospheres of "almost unbearable horror."² Le Fanu's Checkmate began novelists¹ use of plastic surgery in altering a criminal's appearance.³ And in the opinion of Sayers, Wilkie Collins is the most important of all these writers. Sayers believes that his

¹Ibid., p. 13. For the following three pages Sayers explains the rules developed by Poe from 1842 on. She applies these rules to Doyle's use of them in the Sherlock Holmes series. Unfortunately, the important Holmes is beyond the time limits of the study.

²Ibid., p. 19.

³Ibid., p. 21.
The Moonstone is "the very finest detective story ever written."\(^1\)

Such twentieth century writers for children as Michael-Aime Baudouy, M. L. Boston, Eleanor Cameron, René Guillot, Allan Campbell McLean, Margaret Scherf, and Donald Sobol\(^2\) are among those who utilize the techniques of the mystery or detective story for children as developed by the writer for adults during Victorian days. Although often short-lived, this type of story for young readers has become so popular that an award has been set up for the best written of its type. This is the Watts Medal Mystery Award.

**Some Important Illustrators for Children, 1837 - 1865**

Illustrating for children's books had become an acceptable profession in itself or a sideline of the famous artist. Three men stand out as representative of those artists whose illustrations for children's books are: (1) important in the development of such illustration, and (2) still delightful in the twentieth century. The first of these, George Cruikshank, is a link between the Georgian and the Victorian eras. The other two, Richard 'Dicky' Doyle and John Tenniel, are exemplary of artists who did work for Punch.\(^3\)

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\(^{1}\) *Ibid.*, p. 22. Sayers fully discusses this Victorian development in all its present categories of this literary genre on pp. 7-24.

\(^{2}\) More than fifty children's books by these people and others are on this writer's shelves.

\(^{3}\) Painters and other "fine" artists who illustrated children's books are discussed in the following section of annotations.
George Cruikshank

George Cruikshank was a talented tragic man. Caricaturist, etcher, oil painter, and water colourist, Cruikshank learned the craft of etching during his childhood. "When he was a boy of twelve, he helped his overworked artist father make designs for nursery tales, valentines, and Twelfth Night characters."1 Proud of always being a cockney to the core, Cruikshank received only an apprenticeship for his education as an artist. In spite of this, he was "the first English artist who dared combine lively imagination and high good humor with fine drawing when he undertook to illustrate books for children."2

Cruikshank was a prolific illustrator. Among the many works he illustrated were: Dicken's Sketches by Boz ("London Characters," "Mornings in Bow Street," "Sunday in London"); Comic Almanacs (1835-1853); Etching and Etchers; The Comic Alphabet; Oliver Twist; works by Shakespeare, Scott and Irving (Washington); the weird German novel, Peter Schlemihl; and Harrison Ainsworth's The Tower of London.3

Cruikshank became so personally identified within himself by The Tower of London that he exhibited one of the unfortunate characteristics of his later life: he believed that he was as much responsible for the writing of the book as Ainsworth himself. He found himself

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2 Jacqueline Overton, "Illustrators of the Nineteenth Century in England" in Mahoney, op. cit., p. 37.

3 Ibid., pp. 38-42.
similarly ego-involved with several other books that he illustrated. Needless to say, this caused many distressing complications.

However, for those people involved with children's books Cruikshank's drawings of fairies, gnomes, elves, and other imaginary little creatures are of the utmost importance. It is almost unbelievable that any artist using the media that Cruikshank did could get so much expression and animation in such tiny figures. Later reproductions of his work do not do justice to his artistry. These reproductions are blurred and do not show the delicacy of figure nor the vividness of facial animation that are present in the earlier printings. The original designs capture the essence of fairyland in a manner that has not only been imitated by other generations of artists but that helped secure an established place of the fairy tale in the development of a literature for children.¹

Richard Doyle

Richard Doyle, better known as "Dicky," was neither as voluminous in his output nor as clever in his technique as George Cruikshank. Nevertheless, he showed the sweetness and charm of his own personality in his drawings. Jacqueline Overton states:

"... the children have every right to claim him as one of their own artists if for nothing else than the pictures he made for Ruskin's King of the Golden River."²

"Dicky" began and perpetuated his diminuitive name by the manner

¹Background material about Cruikshank is a synthesis of discussions from all of the authorities in the Bibliography.

²Ibid., p. 43.
in which he signed even his earliest sketches. He used "a monogram signature with a 'dicky' either perched upon the top or pecking on the ground nearby,"¹ according to his fancy. When he was only nineteen, he was appointed to Punch. He signed his name for this publication as "Dick Kitkat." His first sketches were comic borders and fanciful letters. As a cartoonist he later worked side by side with John Leech, the fierce enemy of George Cruikshank.

Dick's father was responsible for both the appointment to Punch and Dick's early training as an artist. In Punch the father was known as "HB." He had established his own reputation with a series of "political sketches." He considered himself a satirical artist and strongly objected to the term "caricaturist." He raised his family of five boys and two girls to become artists not through academic training but by learning to draw through the application of accurate observation and memory. He encouraged the children to keep abreast of the many events of their day by attendance, a written record in a log or journal, and by sketches of what they saw. Once a week there was a family exhibition of this graphic recording of what each member had seen during the previous week.

Dick enjoyed the sightseeing and the sketching but he deplored writing up the events. Therefore, during the year that he was fifteen he kept a pictorial diary.² In this he always appears as a tall thin boy with hair that kept slipping over his eyes.

¹Ibid., p. 44.
At first Dick was very happy at Punch. In fact, it was his design that was selected for the cover of Punch, that is still used to discuss. However, as a staunch Catholic he could not stand the harpooning of his religious faith that was done by this weekly. In 1850 he left Punch to the great regret of everyone on the paper to begin, almost entirely, illustrating fairy tales for children. The weird and the fanciful appealed to him as they did to Cruikshank but his characters were more gentle and whimsical.

He did pictures for many children's books that were published before 1865. Among these were The Fairy Ring (a collection of stories translated from the German) and Mark Lemon's The Enchanted Doll.1

Jacqueline Overton believes that:

... the high spot of this phase of Doyle's work ... [was] a series of exquisite fairy fantasies [In Fairyland, 1870], conceived with charm and vigor and delightful humor, as well as a rare sense of design.2

The fantasies originally were published with a well known poem of William Allingham's. Much later, Andrew Lang wrote a story around the pictures as the well known The Princess Nobody,3

John Tenniel

Sir John Tenniel, the son of a well known dancing master, is another self-trained artist. Although he painted one of the frescoes in the House of Parliament, he is better known as a book illustrator

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1Infra, see annotations for both of these titles.
3Ibid., pp. 48, 49.
and a cartoonist for Punch. Among his book illustrations are those for Alice in Wonderland, Through the Looking Glass, Aesop's Fables, and Ingoldsby Legends.

Tenniel joined the Punch staff at Christmas, 1850, the same time that Dicky Doyle left. For the next fifty years he contributed elegant cartoons that brought dignity to this branch of illustration. It was during the second decade of his tenure at Punch that he worked with Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (Lewis Carroll) at creating the image of Alice that has superceded any other image until the twentieth century advent of Walt Disney.

Arthur Hughes

Although Hughes continued illustrating until he was an old man of eighty, in 1913, he first came to public notice in 1861 when he must have been fifty-two. It was then he made lovely designs for two Christmas Carols: "Hark the Herald Angels Sing," and "Born on Christmas Eve." He had studied at Somerset House and at the Academy schools, being a "fellow student of Rossetti and Holman Hunt, . . . he belonged to the Pre-Raphaelite School, though not of the brotherhood. . . ." He is representative of the formally trained artist who turned his talents to use in illustrating children's books.

His pictures are idealistic, "half of this world, half of the world of make believe." Although he is one of the artists who illustrated Tom Brown's School Days, he is best known for his illustrations of

1Overton, "The Fairies Come Into Their Own," op. cit., p. 108.

2See annotations, infra.
writers who come just after 1865. He is representative (perhaps he is the best) of the children's artists who worked almost entirely in black and white.

**American Political and Historical Background**

**Presidents**

While Britain had one monarch during the years 1837-1865, the United States had ten presidents. Three of them died in office with one of the three, Lincoln, being assassinated. The ten were: Martin Van Buren (the eighth president), William Henry Harrison (died the year he took office), John Tyler, James K. Polk, Zachary Taylor (died the year after he took office), Millard Fillmore, Franklin Pierce, James Buchanan, Abraham Lincoln (reelected in 1864, assassinated the next year), and Andrew Johnson.

**Wars**

The English lived in comparative peace. They were seriously involved with one war, the Crimean. The Americans had two: the Mexican, and the Civil War. During the latter, 1861-1865, the nation was divided and almost split asunder. When Lincoln was made president, the Confederacy chose their own president, Jefferson Davis. Very little of this was reflected in English books for children. Only some of this was reflected in American books for children.

**Historical Events Denoting Change**

Some of the following events are touched upon as background in those American books for children:
1. The financial crash of 1837.
2. The annexation of Texas.
4. The first world Women's Rights Convention held in Seneca, New York (with Frances Wright, Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton).
5. California as a free state.
6. The abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia but more stringent enforcement of the Runaway Slave Act.
7. The underground railroad.
8. Land grants to railways.
9. First train connections between Chicago and New York.
10. Commodore Perry and his opening of commerce with Japan.
11. The Dred Scott Decision.
13. The Fourteenth Amendment (embodying the principles of the Civil Rights Act) sent to the states for ratification in 1865.1

Reforms

Reforms were also in the air. Some of these are exemplified in the events listed above. Some were made manifest in a series of crescendoing activities. Many were used as themes in the novels of the day. Themes of reform used in novels were temperance and the abolition of slavery. Reforms hotly debated but not considered suitable for the

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1Morison, The Oxford History of the American People, op. cit., pp. 454, 484.
novel that was read by women and families in general were: women's rights; state constitutional revision; and better wages, working conditions, and living conditions for the laborer. This last issue was split in several directions. The American born laborer was the object of much sympathy. The immigrant, until he had become Americanized by a generation or more, received scant sympathy.

The immigrant had something to say about the nature of reforms. The Irish (as centered in Boston) were unused to the political freedom which was theirs in the United States. They were both provocative and provoked in the nature of the riots that they regularly instigated every ten years or so. They especially wanted reforms in education that would not subject their children to Protestant proselytizing. The Germans (as centered in Milwaukee) were against temperance movements. They would go along with the average American on most issues but they would not give up their beer. In too many instances the man most influential with the immigrant was the professional politician who assured votes for his party by "helping" the newcomers.¹

Other Problems

Two other problems were: (1) what to do about the Indian, and (2) the British Colonists along the extensive borders that separated British North America (not unified as Canada until 1867) from the United States.

Indians.--From a twentieth century viewpoint the handling of the Indians is unfortunate if not disgraceful. Although many people of

¹Ibid., pp. 480-482.
goodwill attempted to plan equitable arrangements, Indian reservations were not maintained with any degree of success. This was especially true in the Eastern states. Liquidation of Indian reservations in the old Northwest was largely accomplished between 1829 and 1843.\textsuperscript{1} Between 1853 and 1856, the United States negotiated no fewer than fifty-two treaties, mostly with Indian nations in the Mississippi Valley or west of it.\textsuperscript{2} Missionaries and other people strongly committed by their feelings for justice managed to protect hundreds of Indians. More Indians than is often realized, settled down on farms and became Americanized, giving up the ideas of Indian nationality. Among those who fought to preserve their native way of life are the Misscosukee Seminoles of Florida. They have never made peace with the United States. Even in the twentieth century they are living, as a nation, in 200,000 acres of Floridean swampland north of the Tamiami Trail.\textsuperscript{3}

Looking backward, it is now evident that, in view of the irresistible push of the westward movement, Indian removal was the lesser evil. It had to be, but the process was carried out with unnecessary hardships to the victims.\textsuperscript{4}

\textbf{Canada}

After the fury of the War of 1812, the development (until 1840) of British North America paralleled that of the United States in many

\textsuperscript{1}Ibid., p. 446.
\textsuperscript{2}Ibid., p. 452.
\textsuperscript{3}Ibid., p. 451.
\textsuperscript{4}Ibid., p. 451. Morison states on p. 445 that this was a continuation of "an old-world process of one race or people pushing a weaker one out of an area that it wanted." He does not condone this.
respects. In fact, many of the British North American settlers had originally lived in the United States. The Ontario Peninsula, extending down between such as New York, Pennsylvania, and Michigan attracted a good share of the westward moving pioneers from the United States. The fact that "Canada" had granted freedom to slaves in 1833 attracted people of abolition tendencies.

In 1838, Ontario had a population of 455,700. Michigan's population was 202,600. However, two years later (1840) the total population of British North America was only about 1,450,000, "roughly the same as that of the white population of the Thirteen Colonies around 1765. Apart from the Indians, who were not counted in this enumeration, the Canadians were practically all white. . . ."

"Warily friendly" relations existed between the United States and Canada. There was still a strong Loyalist element in the population. These people, descendants of escapies from the American Colonies who had lost their property and furnishings to the Americans, tended to be anti-American. Some Americans, in turn, were prone to remember the bitterness engendered by the War of 1812. In spite of the Rush-Bagot Naval Agreement for Disarmament on the Great Lakes, forts were maintained at strategic points in case of trouble.

Since 1791, Canada had enjoyed a measure of representative government with an element of British authority in its governors to keep popular movements in check. There was a social rift based on original nationality. The dominant French population of Quebec wanted to keep

\[1\text{ibid., p. 461. The few hundred negroes had received equal status with the whites seven years before.}\]
the l'ancien régime. The Scots and Irish inhabitants, however, did not feel the same way. A cholera epidemic was blamed on the British. A Montreal "massacre" paralleled the 1770 Boston massacre. Patriots made it a point to wear homespun. Young men organized as sons of liberty. A liberty pole was even erected in 1837 at Saint-Charles, Quebec.

Canada boiled over in a series of tragi-comic explosions. Rebellion occurred in Ontario as well as in Quebec with differing results. The leader of the Quebec freedom seekers antagonized the French Catholic priests by a series of "anticlerical outbursts." The leaders fled to Vermont. Although President Van Buren issued a neutrality proclamation, many Americans helped the refugees in their unsuccessful raids on Quebec.1

The uprising in Ontario was more nearly successful. Here the social rift was religious rather than racial. The population was largely made up of recent immigrants from the British Isles and the United States: Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians with a few dominant old-Tory Anglicans. There were pockets of North Ireland Presbyterians, Orangemen.

The Ontario reform leaders were fundamentally conservative men who only wanted a fair deal. They were largely inspired by American example. They wanted to give the people more control over their provincial and local governments and to unlock land reserves. Two of these men were Egerton Ryerson and William Lyon Mackenzie.

Ryerson was the son of a New Jersey Loyalist who founded a Methodist newspaper in 1829. Mackenzie, a fiery Scot, was mayor of Toronto

1ibid., pp. 462, 463.
and published a newspaper in that city. After stormy election, rejection and re-election, Mackenzie was finally allowed to keep his seat as "the opposition leader." However, like his counterpart reformer in Quebec, he, too, became anti-clerical. This "lost him the support of the Methodists and the Orangemen."1

Mackenzie fled to Buffalo. American sympathies were for the rebels, giving access to money, supplies, and recruits for an invasion of Canada. There were more than fifteen raids and incidents, one of which involved the sinking of a small American paddle steamer, Caroline, in the Niagara River. It took all of President Van Buren's diplomacy to avert overt war.2

Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island obtained responsible government without rebellion. However, the final outcome of the rebellions of Quebec and Ontario was happy for both countries. "Radical Jack," the young and energetic Earl of Durham, Commissioner for British North American, made many fine recommendations: (1) federation of all Canada, (2) building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, (3) adoption of the American public land system, and (4) provision for Canadian responsible government in the English sense.3

American Scenery

American scenery was varied in its contrasts of mountains, valleys,

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1bid., p. 464.

2bid., p. 465.

3bid., pp. 466, 467. Note: If more has been written here about Canadian affairs than about Indian, one reason (of many) is that the average reader has heard much about Indian affair and little about Canadian.
sandy beaches, rocky coasts, islands, lakes, rivers, gorges, and cataracts. Such phenomena as Niagara Falls and the natural bridge of Virginia became world famous. More important than this, regional mannerisms of the American people became intensified by and equated with their natural scenery and their style of architecture.

In the North a traveller was never out of sight of the woods until he came to the Midwestern prairies. Also in the North, factory villages were built near river rapids or falls. There could be two to ten mills. The owners' homes were pretentious mansions of wood, brick or stone. Wealthy farmers and country lawyers had wooden homes with classic colonades and pediments.

The painted white farmhouse was beginning to appear in the Middle West. Log cabins and clearings full of stumps predominated in the newer settlements. All these were "typically" American.

Two Civilizations

Although America was still looked to with admiration and hope by the liberal elements of Europe, the Northern and Southern states were beginning to pull apart. Morison calls the years up to 1860 the crucial ones "which in so many ways set the pattern of the America to come."

Both North and South were progressing but divergently:

Northern society was being transformed by the industrial revolution, cheap transportation, and educational, humanitarian, and migratory movements. These, to some extent, touched the border slave states; but the lower South lay almost wholly outside such influences, and adjusted itself to a slave and cotton economy. By 1850 two distinct civilizations had been evolved, as different in material basis

1 ibid., p. 468.  
2 ibid., p. 468.
and outlook on life as England and Spain are today. Only the common language and religion, the common political institutions, and the devoted efforts of elder statesmen prevented them from flying apart in 1850.

In spite of this, republicanism and democracy did work, and the resources of the country, exploited by the people under laws of their own making, breaking, had brought a degree of comfort and security to the common man that his forebears in Europe had never known.

**Demography**

James D. Hart states that "At the opening of the century the center of population was just outside Baltimore. By 1850 it was in the middle of Ohio." In that year Cleveland was a great lake port and Milwaukee was already known as a "German" city. Southern Michigan was a favorite settlement for westward migrating Yankees.

In spite of this, between 1830 and 1860, "New York State contained about one-seventh of the population of the United States."

New York city itself showed phenomenal growth. By 1850 it had a population of 515,547, not counting the 96,838 people living in Brooklyn. The first big department store, A. T. Stewart's, had opened five years before between Read and Chambers Streets on Broadway. There were plenty of "eating-houses" but only one restaurant, Delmonico's. Built up Manhattan (in 1850) reached to 42nd Street. Country was just north of 44th Street. There were a few private squares but no public parks. By

1841 there were three colleges (or universities): Columbia, New York University, and Fordham.  

Sanitation

American cities grew but sanitation was poor; this, in spite of the European equation of America and plumbing. Even in the large cities backyard wells and privies were side by side. Water was also obtained from rain water cisterns and from wooden tanks of water hauled through city streets.

Philadelphia was considered the cleanest American city with a waterworks by 1801. New York did not have an aqueduct until 1842. Boston began the service of municipal water in 1848. Because of poor drainage, Chicago had practically no plumbing until 1861.

Even that emblem of American civilization, the water closet, came in slowly. The following statistics give some idea of this slowness:

Boston, with a population of 165,000 in 1857, had only 6,500 w.c.s of which eight in the basement of the Fremont House served 200 to 300 guests. New York city had 10,384 w.c.s but only 1361 set bathtubs in 1855, when the population was 630,000.

In 1860, even in cities, central heating was rare. Although about a million 'parlour stoves' were manufactured that year, many houses were still heated by open fireplaces. All cookstoves used coal and wood.

By 1860, illuminating gas was fairly common in cities. Some city houses

1Ibid., p. 486.

2Little progress was made in sanitary engineering before the Civil War.

3Ibid., p. 474.
and all country houses used whale oil lamps or spermaceti candles for light. Kerosene for lighting purposes did not develop until 1859.1

According to twentieth century standards of light, heat, and bathing facilities, the United States in 1850 was a pretty crude country. Many Europeans in 1850 felt then that America was crude, too, but not because of the lack of plumbing.

**The Middle Class**

Although financial and cultural extremes were tremendous, they melt at each end into that large mobile body called the middle class. Members of this class tended to imitate upper class people but their memories of lower class childhoods softened their sophistication. It was the ruling class. It extolled the lower class to emulate its mores and it excoriated the upper classes for transgressing these mores. It believed in education and reading. People became middle class in one generation (rather than in the traditional three) by reading. Much of this reading was in etiquette books.

... thirty-six [appeared] in the 1840's, and thirty-eight more in the 1850's--an average of over three new ones annually in the pre-Civil War decades. ... This type of writing was sufficiently respected to enlist the services of even such well known authors as Lydia Huntley Sigourney, Miss Sedgwick, and Timothy Arthur Shay; and it had a large enough following to warrant Irwin Beadle's publication of a Dime Book of Practical Etiquette.2

The etiquette book taught, among other things, the proper way to

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behave in the parlor, that shrine of the middle class home. In the middle of the parlor every good housewife had a table, either marble topped or polished mahogany. And on that table she placed a gift book, a passport to culture. These books were usually given to the woman of the house on any appropriate occasion, a holiday or a funeral. It was luxurious in appearance. And, although many writers served an apprenticeship by writing for these books, the printed contents were not important. The physical make up was: "bindings of watered silk, ... embossed leather, or varnished papier-mache with inlaid mother-of-pearl; ... elegant color plates and steel engravings."¹

The "new" woman was one of the great inventions of the middle class. This must not be confused with the emancipated woman or the blue stocking. She was a delicate woman by refinement, a genteel woman by her morality but she possessed a strong mind. Its strength came from the fact that she knew the home was her sphere and she its ruler, sometimes by self-abnegation. She was more than a housewife but neither a "Lucy Stone" nor the sickly heroine of eighteenth century novels. Men earned the living in a world about which she knew nothing. She brought "culture" into the home, even when she did her own work. Her qualities were "domestic fidelity, social cheerfulness, unostentatious hospitality, and moral and religious benevolence."²

Religion

At this time America was predominantly a Protestant country still somewhat under puritanical sway. Men worked hard six days and on the

¹Ibid., p. 89.  
²Ibid., p. 87.
seventh kept a puritanical Sabbath. Many religious sects came to America as a haven. Some of these set up cooperative communities. There was orthodox Protestantism and the liberals such as Ralph Waldo Emerson who veered over into Unitarianism. Many German and Irish immigrants were Roman Catholic, posing a problem in education that was set up by Protestants.

A great religious revival came about in the winter of 1863-64, brought on by the many casualties and the brutalities of the Civil War. The New York group of the American Bible Society which usually distributed 700,000 Bibles and Testaments per year during this revival and its causative despair, distributed a million and a half copies.

The records of the American Tract Society show a greater increase. In 1861 the Society distributed 6,700,000 pages of pious literature, but in 1865 it scattered abroad 109,000,000 pages in its various tracts. Increased interest in testaments and tracts was attended by larger sales of belles-lettres with religious themes.

The same religious spirit was evident in books for boys and girls of all classes.

**Education**

In 1837 a new era for public (free) education was started when Horace Mann became a member of the Massachusetts Board of Education. It was under his aegis that the first teachers college began in 1839. He had sought efficient methods of teaching in Germany. He adopted Victor Cousin's report on Prussian education to American needs. Mann had two battles to fight: one with teachers, the other with parents. Teachers were afraid that mental discipline would be lost if studies were made

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attractive. Parents feared compulsory school attendance as an infringement on their rights to use their children's time as they saw fit. They could understand compulsory church attendance but not this. However, in 1852, Massachusetts passed a trunche law that "had teeth."!

Although most of the Northern states had some sort of primary education, only New England had free public education.

In Pennsylvania, neither the well-to-do nor the Germans wanted free schools. The well-to-do objected to paying for schools to which they would not care to send their children. The Germans were afraid of losing both their language and their culture. Nevertheless, by 1837 about forty-two per cent of the children were in free schools. Much of the gain for public education in Pennsylvania is due to Thaddeus Stevens.

Harriett Beecher Stowe's husband, Calvin E. Stowe, brought back from a trip abroad his Report on Elementary Instruction in Europe. This was responsible for the division of Ohio public education into elementary, grammar, and high school grades. By 1850 this system had been adopted every place in which there were enough pupils.

Each state followed suit, some with halts and backsliding, some against great opposition. Other educators of this period (1837-1865) who promoted the cause of better public schools are Henry Barnard, David Page, and Mark Hopkins.

Henry Barnard was one of the men who helped promote the ideas of Rousseau, Pestalozzi, and Comenius. He organized the first teachers institute (in Connecticut) 1839; the first state Teachers' Association (in Rhode Island). He organized the United States Bureau of Education

1 Morison, op. cit., pp. 530-531.
and was the United States Commissioner of Education. He became university president and for twenty-six years he edited the American Journal of Education.

In 1847, David Page wrote the Theory and Practice of Teaching. This manual was used for the next fifty years. Mark Hopkins, onetime president of Williams College, was so influential as a teacher that the saying arose about an education being Mark Hopkins on one end of a log and a student on the other end.¹

By 1850 some basic principles (as we see them now) of American education had been established: (1) the availability of free primary and secondary schools for all children; (2) professional training for teachers; and (3) compulsory attendance at a school (not necessarily a public school) for all children up to a certain age.

Public schools of 1850 were better than private schools of thirty years before. But most of the best education was for boys and men. Women and negroes did not always have the same educational opportunities. This latter in spite of the fact that (1) in northern New England negroes were admitted without any question to public schools, and (2) in 1855 Massachusetts "was the first state to enforce integration of all colors, races, and religions in her public schools."²

**Literacy**

The penny press began with mechanical improvements in printing. During the forties such papers as The New York Tribune, Baltimore Sun,

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¹The above paragraphs are a summary of material from Bess Porter Adams, About Books and Children, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-89.

and Philadelphia Ledger began as penny papers. These were "journals of information, with abundant domestic and foreign news and serialized English novels ... shop clerks, mechanics, and even common laborers subscribed to them."

Middle class families read the Home Journal, The Fireside Monthly, and Arthur's Home Gazette. However, other magazines flourished. Even during the Civil War such northern magazines as The Atlantic Monthly, The North American Review (edited by James Russell Lowell), Scientific American, Harper's Monthly and Weekly maintained their standards, and the weekly Nation was begun.

American children's magazines of this era were important: (1) in raising the standards of quality in both writing and illustrating for children; (2) in reaching increasing numbers of boys and girls; and (3) in creating a demand for more reading material.

At first children's magazines followed the format as used by Samuel Goodrich in his successful Parley's Magazine. Successive magazines, however, began to develop distinctive qualities of their own. A long-lived magazine popular during Victorian days began in 1827 and did not merge with another magazine until 1929. It began as Youth's Companion, founded in Boston by Asa Rand and Nathaniel Willis, publishers of a Congregational religious weekly. In 1857 they sold out to Baptist

1Ibid., p. 533.

2Hart, op. cit., p. 89.

3Morison, op. cit., p. 671.

4This was abandoned because of the editor's illness.
publishers, John Olmstead and Daniel Ford. By now the weekly was called The Youth's Companion and had a circulation of 7,000. Ford was responsible for inventing the fictitious name of Perry Mason and Company for the publishing concern.\(^1\)

From its second issue the Companion included a section called "Miscellany." Ranlett gives a perceptive definition of a "miscellany" and a description of its mutations as seen in twentieth century magazines:

The editors of The Youth's Companion discovered a long time before the days of DeWitt Wallace and the Reader's Digest that your magazine goes best when it contains plenty of short bits as well as plenty of full-length pieces. It is amusing to see how the idea was, for a time, forgotten but is now back in force. The modern adaptation is cartoons dropped into the back pages of magazines, where stories run over into the advertisements. They merely take the place of short pieces of reading matter. By cartoons I mean the little picture with single lines of text by Virgil Patch, Gardner Rea, and others. . . .\(^2\)

As any serious publication must, The Youth's Companion worked out its own rules for capitalization, hyphenization, italics, sentence structure, and taboos. It named dictionaries, gazateers, and books of rhetoric whose principles it would follow. It listed its taboos for story content: no card playing by story characters; no liquor; no swearing; no smoking by good characters though villains could smoke pipes; no violent crime, though there had to be enough skullduggery to make a

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\(^1\) L. Felix Ranlett, "The Youth's Companion" in The Hewins Lectures, op. cit., p. 90. Erle Stanley Gardner was an enthusiastic reader of the Companion when he was a boy. He knew that the publishing concern was called Perry Mason, a name with an honest ring to it. Information about the Companion as used in this section, is primarily a summary or a paraphrase of Ranlett's lecture. Only direct quotations are footnoted.

\(^2\) Ibid., p. 98. As examples of twentieth century magazines utilizing this "adaptation" or "mutation," Ranlett cites The Saturday Evening Post and the now defunct Colliers.
story go; nothing but the sketchiest love making in the infrequent story that needed such amorous diversion to sustain its action; but "no sex." In all these respects the *Companion* is representative of other magazines of 1837-1865. These as well as the *Companion* set up such criteria to meet the needs of their clientele, not just the children but all of the members of the family.

Ranlett believes that such an objective both sustained and later killed the two American magazines of the nineteenth century that were the most influential in the development of an American literature for children: *The Youth's Companion*; and *St. Nicholas*. He augments his belief by the following statement:

This insistence on interesting the whole family and not merely the children, underlines a situation that is the bugbear of all workers with children.... *St. Nicholas*... died of it. If you publish for children alone, you are doing very well if you keep any given individual as long as five years. Three years is more likely. By publishing for the family, though with emphasis on youth, the *Companion* held on to many subscribers for a full generation.2

Although *St. Nicholas*, the most famous of all American magazines beloved by children, did not materialize until eight years after 1865 (1873) it had its germination in the early Sixties. Notables of the Fifties and Sixties wrote for the earlier magazines that were finally subsumed under the title *St. Nicholas*. The magazines were: *Little Corporal*, *Wide Awake*, *Schooldays*, and *Our Young Folks*.3 The last of


these was put out by Ticknor and Fields (publishers of the *Atlantic Monthly*) in January, 1965.¹ The first editors were established writers such as John Trowbridge and Lucy Larcom. Many now famous books first appeared in *Our Young Folks* just as others first appeared in *St. Nicholas*.

Some of the notable American literary figures of the early Victorian period who wrote for the child-family magazines are Harriett Beecher Stowe, John Greenleaf Whittier, Edward Everett Hale, Lucretia Hale, and Thomas B. Adridge.² Although some of their writings for children were first published in these magazines during the Fifties and Sixties the same writings did not come out in book form until much later. An example of such a writing is Lucretia Hale's still loved *Peterkin Papers*.³

There were many other children's magazines. From 1843 to 1853 Eliza Lee Follen, a children's writer and poet of Boston, published an attractive magazine, *The Children's Friend* (not to be confused with the book of the same name by the French writer, Berquin, so popular in Georgian days). Other magazines carried stories by both American and English writers. One of these was *Boy's and Girl's Penny Journal* edited by Charles Fithian. Still other magazines, though temporarily important, were extremely short-lived. An Oliver Optic magazine (W. T. Adams), *Student and Schoolmaster*, contained the first Horatio Alger story.⁴

¹Mahoney, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
³Mahoney, *op. cit.*, p. 93. Mrs. Hale herself had previously been editor of an American children's magazine that Halsey, *op. cit.*, p. 193, believes is a "landmark" by itself in story writing for children. This is the *Juvenile Miscellany*.
A well illustrated magazine, The Youth's Casket was published in Buffalo during the 1850's.  

Libraries

Libraries, too, encouraged reading, increased demand, inculcated taste in boys and girls for quality in writing and illustration. Although libraries of a sort had existed in America from the time of Benjamin Franklin's first lending library, their progress was less phenomenal than the progress made in publishing magazines. By 1837 there were subscription libraries of all kinds including those for mechanics, white collar workers, and factory girls. There were, of course, the Sunday school libraries; and there were the beginnings of secular libraries for children.

One of these secular libraries, a Philadelphia Apprentices' Library, put out an 1838 catalogue showing its holdings. It had more than two thousand books that were circulated to a clientele of seven hundred children. The titles in the 1838 catalogue are "indicative of the prevalence of the Sunday school book." Halsey comments that the bookish child of that day could escape neither the "reformed" family nor the consumptive child. She believes that the Sunday School Movement was a blessing in disguise for it drove that bookish child to reading his mother's books. Unfortunately, his mother's books, if novels, were apt to contain a consumptive heroine; consumption in a heroine was equated

1 Ibid., p. 333.
2 Halsey, op. cit., p. 206.
3 Ibid., p. 206.
with sex appeal or a tincture of eroticism.

Alice B. Cushman disputes the validity of the idea that the Sunday School Movement or the Sunday school libraries were predominantly harmful. She recognizes that some people "recoil from such a study of these libraries on a basis of theological convictions, while others look upon it only as a period of doleful little books... it [is] a phase of our American development treated slight by historians, disparaged by educators and widely discredited." She believes, however, that the entire movement had a very salutary function for America.

Moral and religious life were at a low ebb at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Much of this was due to the American and French revolutions. Few American historians of this period discuss the effect of even revolutionary wars on the human spirit, its belief and aspirations; or the equally devastating effect on families divided by political belief or death, by removal to other parts of the country, through demolished homes. The widening frontier of the nineteenth century brought its own dangers, tremendous hardships. The glory of winning for those who survived has been overwritten, downplaying the agonies of those who never made it as they were stopped by death or sheer fatigue.

"The Union Committee on publications... became the foremost among all agencies issuing generally accepted publications." These were the

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1Hart, op. cit., p. 87.
3Ibid., p. 205.
4Ibid., p. 206.
5Ibid., p. 212.
books that found their way into the Sunday school libraries. Pastors around the country made such repeated remarks as the following:

... next to a Sabbath school institution as a blessing to our land, a library is the happiest thought. ... A Sabbath school without a library must present a very dreary aspect.¹

Depositories of books were established in such key cities as Cincinnati, Boston, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, New York. The size of library collections in many parishes is surprising. They range from 600 to over 1,000. Circulation reports show 2,755 to be a nominal circulation figure. Although few of the books remain, statistics from the Union's Census Report of 1860 shows the force to be in great magnitude: "... more than 6,000 Sunday school libraries containing well over 2,000,000 volumes."²

In the next ten years "more than 6,000,000 books were distributed in well over 33,000 libraries."³

Qualifications demanded of librarians varied with beliefs of those people responsible for the selection of personnel. Policies were set up for programs of reading guidance and for book selection. Reading aloud to children was encouraged. Audio-visual aids were recommended (such as the Magic Lantern).⁴

Cushman cites such people as Montrose Moses and Harold Rugg who uphold the positive values that came from the Sunday School Movement and the libraries that were so integral a part of that movement.⁵ These values are: (1) the germination of the social ideal (social consciousness);

¹ ibid., p. 218.  ² ibid., p. 219.  ³ ibid., p. 219.  
⁴ ibid., p. 228.  ⁵ ibid., p. 230.
(2) immediate benefit to those who needed it when they needed it; (3) production of reading matter for a community that lacked such material; (4) a resultant extension of knowledge and establishment of reading as a way of life; (5) the development of moral people who were "valuable reinforcements in their communities"; and (6) the spread of desire for education.

Cushman finishes her lecture with the following:

Simultaneously, movements of laymen, women, and young people were organized among Catholics and Jews. America came to recognize a common religious faith; common not in the sense that everybody shares it; but in the sense that it is common to the three great groups—Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish—to which the majority of American citizens belong. It is religious faith in America that has inspired our history as a people and is embodied in our most characteristic institutions.

Public support for small libraries to be used by all began to crop up in widely separated sections of the country about 1848. These were often town or township libraries. In 1853 Poole, the originator of Index of Periodical Literature, and "Jewett called a conference of eighty librarians in New York City." Inspired by this the next year (1854), Josiah Quincy initiated an act authorizing the City of Boston to allocate five thousand dollars a year for the support of a city library. Other states followed the lead. As every Detroiter knows, Detroit's Public Library was established eleven years after Boston's, 1865, the

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1 Ibid., p. 231.
2 Adams, op. cit., p. 347.
3 Greenwood and Gentry, Chronology of Books and Printing, op. cit., p. 112.
4 Adams, op. cit., p. 348.
same year Alice in Wonderland was published. In 1897 Mary Wright Plummer began separate rooms for children in Detroit and Kalamazoo (Michigan) libraries as well as in eleven other city libraries around the country.¹

School libraries, except in isolated instances, are primarily a twentieth century innovation.

American Publishers

From 1840 to 1850 [American publishers] really hit their stride and issued almost a thousand different novels and tales. With the growth of the middle class reading public the book business had become big business... by 1850 the value of book publications was set at $12,500,000.²

Publishing houses and book stores were scattered all over the country.³

A list of all of the cities in which one or more publishing houses flourished would fill a volume in itself. Some of the cities, however, in which publishers concerned themselves with putting out children's books of quality and of quantity were New York City, Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, and Cincinnati. Because so many publishing houses were

¹Effie Power, Library Service for Children, op. cit., p. 5. Some other notable pioneers in library work are: (a) Melville Dewey, originator of the idea of building a classification scheme for the arrangements subjects dealt with in books; (b) Caroline Hewins, most noted librarian to begin work with children in the 1870's (Hewins Lectures in her honor); and (c) Anne Carroll Moore, first to teach library training for children's work at Chautauqua, N. Y.; first librarian in a library designed for children by an architect (at Pratt Institute, 1896-1906); first Superintendent of Work with children at New York Public Library (1906-1941).

²Hart, op. cit., p. 90.

³Ibid., Plate III, between pages 84 and 85 shows bookstores at either end of the continent: John P. Jewett's in Boston, 1854 (a large sophisticated center); King's in Shasta, California, 1852 (a small place in a frontier town on an unpaved, muddy main street.
located in and around these five areas, only a few of the firms can be identified here.

New York City Publishers

In New York there were Macmillan and Company (of English origin); Harper and Brothers; George P. Putnam; and, Irwin P. Beadle and Company. The first three continue to do quality twentieth century publishing. Their intelligent use of technology, knowledgable personnel, and analysis of the buying public's demands have advanced the quality of children's books. For example, in the nineteenth century Macmillan introduced the first quality series of children's illustrated classics; at the beginning of the twentieth century they made the first appointment of a properly qualified editor of children's books. Harper's magazines and books introduced English Randolph Caldecott, establishing him in Florida to do some of his fine work. Harpers also was responsible for the beginning influence of late nineteenth and early twentieth century American Howard Pyle and his Brandywine "school" of illustration.

Paradoxically, G. P. Putnam's roster of authors in the 1860's included Hawthorne and Susan Wetherell. Hawthorne's works were slow sellers. Susan Wetherell's lachrymose books for girls and women were best sellers. In fact, it was Putnam's mother who insisted on the firm's issue of

1Muir, op. cit., p. 191. This began in England.

2Massee, in Mahoney, op. cit., p. 218. This was Louisa Seaman (1919). May Massee was next (1922) at Viking.

3Mahoney, op. cit., p. 94. Also see pp. 105-122 in Mahoney.

4Hart, op. cit., p. 93.
Miss Wetherell's first book The Wide, Wide World.\(^1\)

The story of the House of Beadle is a lurid but important chapter of its own in the development of a literature for children and young people. England has its yellow back books for train reading and its "penny dreadfuls." America has the "dime novel" as presented by Beadle and his partner, Adams. Although these novels became most popular in the last half of the nineteenth century, "By the middle of the 1860's the House of Beadle and Adams had published over four million cheap dime novels with sales ranging from 35,000 to 80,000 copies per title."\(^2\)

The style was stilted and monosyllabic. Parents regarded the books with the same distaste that twentieth century parents exhibit towards comic books. Readers, then as now, ignored both the style of writing and the parental disapproval. The story-lines were exciting. They evoked one or more themes which involved the emergence of an American nation: frontier days; logging experiences; "historical sagas."\(^3\) The editors advised their authors that they were advocates of high standards in writing. In their directions to these authors they cautioned:

> The publisher requires both the author's best work and unquestioned originality. Grace and precision of narrative and correctness of composition is required, and above all, authors must be familiar with characters and places which they introduce and not attempt to write in fields of which they have no intimate knowledge.\(^4\)

Scannell annotates the Beadle titles considered Michigan novels.\(^\)\(^5\)

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 95. Infra, annotation, this period.


\(^3\)Ibid., p. 29.

\(^4\)Ibid., pp. 29-32.
These include the works of twelve authors whose titles are representative of the swagger and melodrama found in the other Beadle stories. Scannell evaluates Oliver Coomes as the best writer of the twelve.¹

Coomes' Michigan titles are: (1) The Giant Rifleman; or, Wild Life in the Lumber Region; (2) Happy Harry the Wild Boy of the Woods; or, The Pirates of the Northern Lakes; (3) Long Beard, the Giant Spy; or, Happy Harry the Wild Boy of the Woods; (4) One Armed Alf, the Giant Hunter of the Great Lakes; or, The Maid of Michigan.²

The only Beadle Michigan novels printed in 1860 are two by a woman writer, Metta V. Victor. Mrs. Victor's life, in some respects, parallels the lives of Beadle heroines. She was first married to a Michigan physician, Doctor Morse. The couple appeared to live happily together in Ypsilanti, Michigan. Suddenly the doctor disappeared. His wife next showed up in New York City as a novelist, married to a Beadle editor, Orville J. Victor. Mrs. 'Morse' Victor's two Michigan titles reflect the aura of romance which is now watered down in the twentieth century junior novel for girls. They are: (1) Alice Wilde, the Raftman's Daughter, A Forest Romance; and (2) The Backwoods Bride, A Romance of Squatter Life.³

Among the well known heroes for adolescents of the dime novels are Deadwood Dick, Nick Carter (the detective), and Frank Merriwell. The United States Post Office Department accidentally killed the dime novel by an increase in postal rates which could not be absorbed by either the publisher or the reader. "The genre did not really die; it was

¹ibid., p. 30. ²ibid., p. 30. ³ibid., p. 32.
simply transmitted into the pulp magazine, in which form it again became
the property of adults as well as adolescents.\(^1\)

**Boston Publishers**

Boston and suburbs, of course, were the sites of many publishing
houses some of which are still notable in the twentieth century. The
first of these to be briefly identified is Houghton-Mifflin of Cambridge,
Massachusetts, successors to Hurd and Houghton. Their famous Riverside
Press was in existence at mid-eighteenth century. The second firm is
Lee and Shepard, successors to Phillips, Sampson, and Company. The firm
is now Lothrop, Lee, and Shepard.

The third, Ticknor and Fields, is especially noted for being the
originators of *The Atlantic Monthly*. Both William Davis Ticknor and
James Thomas Fields, respectively, were each editors of *The Atlantic*.
Their publishing office was the haven and meeting place for such illus-
trious American authors as Emerson, Longfellow, Hawthorne, Holmes,
Lowell, and Whittier.

The fourth Boston firm, Roberts Brothers, are noted for publishing
three first editions of Louisa May Alcott that are still in print: *Little
Women* (1868); *Old Fashioned Girl* (1870); *Little Men* (1871). Although
Alcott does not come within the time limits of this study, her immediate
predecessors, whom she read and admired, built the family story which
she perfected. The Roberts also published the "Katy Did" series of Susan
Coolidge (Sarah Woolsey). These, too, began before the end of the

\(^1\) Hart, *op. cit.*, p. 156. The Beadle title included for annotation
in this study could not be located for reading.
Seventies and were influential in carrying on the development of the school story.

**Cincinnati Publishers**

Although Cincinnati had other publishing houses it should be discussed here as one of the centers at which material was produced for The American Reform Tract and Book Society. The Tract Society originated in Boston and must be differentiated from the Sunday School Union of Philadelphia. The publications of the Tract Society "were emphatically moral in tone and Evangelical by intent ... [lacking] ... the more inviting selection of material which was available from the American Sunday School Union." From 1865 through the 1880's this publication society put out such works as "the seventy-five books of Isabella Alden's *Pansy series*. ... [These books] reveal more of the culture [of the times] than could otherwise be described." Isabella Alden was the aunt of Grace Livingston Hill who forms "a link between the work of her aunt ... and that of Kathleen Norris and Temple Bailey." Hill, Bailey, and Norris stories are being reissued in paperback in the 1960's.

**Publishing in General**

Publishing, then, ranged from the high in quality through the

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1 Cushman, *op. cit.*, p. 210. Cushman states that the "Union" was a broader organization (as its name implies) which encouraged Catholics, Jews, and Protestants to work together.


drearly religious or didactic; the sensational as pictured in the Evangelical religious story of hell-fire-and-damnation or in the secular dime novel as exploited by Beadle and Company; the dripping sentimentalism that even young men read in the nineteen hundreds but that only the teenage girl (and some housewives) read in the 1960's.

**American Illustrators**

American illustration for children began to come alive about 1840. It kept growing in vigor but did not approach its "Golden Age" until the end of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, there were excellent artists exhibiting their wares for children from 1840-1865. Unfortunately, the practice of unsigned illustration was still widespread. Many extremely popular books used such anonymous illustration. One reason for the slow development before 1840 is that, until then, between forty and fifty per cent of all children's books published in the United States were of English origin.¹

Mahoney both cautions and exhorts when she states:

Except for an occasional chapter, such as Frank Weitenkampf's on "The Illustrators" in his American Graphic Arts, there are no books on the subject of early American illustration. It literally has to be dug out of magazines, early books, art columns of newspapers, and exhibition catalogues. Here is a long and wonderfully pleasant and rewarding study for more than one person.²

Six important illustrators from 1840-1865 (some of them continued after 1865) are Felix Octavius Darley, Winslow Homer, John McLenan,

¹Mahoney, op. cit., p. 90.

²Ibid., p. 102. Mahoney cites references giving names to trace in such a study.
Augustus Hoppin, Hammott Billings, and Thomas Nast. They range from a famous American painter to an equally famous American cartoonist.

F. O. C. Darley

While not a cartoonist, Darley, as the best known American illustrator in the 1840's, "came into note with his efforts to interpret American humor of his period."\(^1\) Mahoney believes that his first illustrations were probably wood engravings for *Peter Ploddy and Other Oddities* by Joseph C. Neal. This work is evidence of the dependence of the artist upon the craftsmanship of the engraver, William Croome, who did the engraving for Darley's drawings, was important for about fifty years.\(^2\)

Influenced by English George Cruikshank, Darley is now collected by the twentieth century American artist, James Daugherty. He was a prolific producer. Mahoney notes that in the twenty-one years between 1844 and 1865, in addition to his work for adults, Darley did illustrations for twelve authors whose books are still read by children. Some of these authors are Washington Irving, Maria Edgeworth, James Fenimore Cooper, Clement Moore, and Nathaniel Hawthorne.\(^3\) Darley's work did not end in 1865. He was still illustrating in the late 1880's.

Winslow Homer

One of the greatest of American illustrators, Winslow Homer had his

\(^1\)ibid., p. 90. \(^2\)ibid., p. 90. \(^3\)ibid., p. 402. Twelve authors, however, Darley illustrated three works by Cooper, and six by Irving, not to mention the other authors for whom he illustrated multiple titles.
first appearance in *The Percy Family* which came out in 1859. His finest work was in the children's magazines. This is somewhat surprising as twentieth century people know Homer as a serious American marine and genre painter whose works are for adults.

Born in Boston in 1836, Homer was first apprenticed to a lithographer and then studied art in New York and later in Paris. Examples of his paintings can be found in the Washington, D. C. National Gallery and in New York City's Metropolitan Museum. Many critics consider his seascapes done after 1881 his best work.¹

**Augustus Hoppin**

Although Hoppin was a social satirist,² he illustrated family stories in a very unsatirical manner. It would never have behoved him to ridicule the works of popular and much loved Mrs. A. D. T. Whitney³ and Louisa May Alcott. Hoppin also illustrated works by Dina Muloch Craik and Oliver Wendell Holmes.⁴

**John McLenan**

McLenan did some work for Harpers, notably Abbott books.⁵ He also illustrated American editions of Dickens' *Tale of Two Cities* (and other stories) as well as the Wilkie Collins thriller, *The Woman in White.*⁶

¹All material not specifically footnoted is a summary of information from the authorities listed in the bibliographies for this study.

²Mahoney, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

³*Infra*, annotations, this period.

⁴Mahoney, *op. cit.*, p. 416.


Hammatt Billings

Billings was an architect who did the first drawings for Hawthorne's Wonder Book. He also illustrated American editions of works by Dickens and by Goldsmith.

Thomas Nast

Nast, like John Tenniel, was a caricaturist or cartoonist. He is most famous for his satirical drawings about Boss Tweed and the Tweed Ring that appeared in Harper's. He did many illustrations for children's books. He did the pictures for the first edition of Hans Brinker (1866); for A Visit from St. Nicholas; several of the Little Prudy Books; and for some jolly drawings in a Christmas book put out by Harper.

He also illustrated an edition of Robinson Crusoe, some boys' boarding school stories, and some of the later travel stories for children. An American born in Germany, Nast is not credited with illustrating any of the German stories printed in English for children.

English Reactions to American Books for Children

The change in the character of children's books written by Americans had begun to be seriously noted in England.

Amusingly enough, a part of the notice took the very human form of English resentment that Americans should dare to stock American book shelves with American books. Such "daring do" meant money out of pocket

1 Ibid., p. 90. 
2 Ibid., p. 391.
3 Annotation, this section infra. 
4 Annotation, this section, infra.
5 Anne Eaton, "Widening Horizons" in Meigs, op. cit., pp. 256-257. 
6 Mahoney, op. cit., p. 425. 
7 Halsey, op. cit., p. 221.
for the English bookseller. This was a painful cord for the still young nation to cut from the mother country.  

There were other criticisms that were revealing of both American and English nature. English reviewers stated that American books were:

1. Too religious;
2. Too detailed in explanation of matters that needed no explanation;
3. Too full of "slip-slop" writing and Americanism. (This would include 'uncouth phraseology, crack-jack words, and Puritan derived words.');
4. Too popular (popularity being equated with poor in quality).

On the other hand, there were also more favorable comments from the English critics. One discussed the lady writers and their works of amusement. He considered them admirable "when not laden with more religion than the tale can hold in solution." He delighted in their "descriptions and tracts of nature."

It is interesting to note that Englishmen speak unashamedly of American favorites that American critics downgrade and call disgraceful. Although the Elsie books by Martha Marquaharson Finley did not begin until two years after Alice (in 1867), Darton lumps them with the Alcott books and Wetherell's Wide Wide World (1851) as being vastly popular. In fact, he believes that they "prove the great virtue of naturalness and lack of affectation." Of these books and the later sentimental

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1 Ibid., p. 222.  
2 Ibid., p. 223.  
3 Ibid., p. 224.  
4 Ibid., p. 224.  
5 Darton, op. cit., pp. 237, 238.
works only *Little Lord Fauntleroy* is really derided: "the odious little prig in the lace collar [who] is not dead yet."¹

Thwaite, too, feels that *Wide Wide World*, while "in the tradition of the pious and tearful tales of the mid-Victorian age . . . [is] one of the best and most characteristic."² She does not, however, feel that *Little Women* is of the same genre. It was high in quality above any of the other stories for girls.³

It appears that both Darton and Thwaite approve of Hawthorne's *Wonder Book*. Darton classes it as one of four American books that are the most universal and, hence, hold a more permanent place in the hearts of English children.⁴ Thwaite describes the tales (in both Hawthorne's retold myths) as having "some new and attractive features."⁵ This is in contradistinction to her reference to the English criticism which accused Hawthorne of "gothicizing" and "vulgarizing."⁶

Halsey summarizes the meaning of acceptance and criticism of American books by the English: (1) America is no longer imitating England; (2) Americans are developing new types of stories due to the "empress" of differing social forces; (3) American stories are an expression of a new nation making its own way; (4) American writers are

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² Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 146.
⁴ *Darton, op. cit.*, p. 235. The other three books are: *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *Huckleberry Finn*, and *Uncle Remus*.
⁵ Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
sincerely interested in the welfare of the child;¹ and (5) this is the point "in the history of the American storybook when it is popular at least in both English-speaking countries [England and America], if not altogether satisfactory to both."²

Summary

In his own summaries of the years 1837 to 1865, Darton divides the years into two periods: (1) the days in which Victoria was a young queen, her first twenty-five years as a monarch;³ and (2) the Sixties and after, "Victoria was no longer the young queen and had not become the Great Queen--those who wrote the books for children were in a more assured social position than before. They were more nearly of the 'ruling' classes."⁴

Although common usage denotes the entire nineteenth century as "Victorian," Americans do not divide the years 1837 to 1865 according to stages in the reign of Victoria, the Queen. For division into discrete blocks of time, they tend to use the following events as periods involving larger or smaller numbers of years:

1. The tenure of each of the twelve presidents;
2. Technological change in the north as opposed to an agrarian growth in the south;
3. The flowering of an adult literature that is primarily American;
4. The growth of American institutions comparable to but not identical with those in England--the religious organizations,

the schools, the libraries;

5. Such waves of immigration as those bringing in the Irish, the
German, and other northern Europeans whose American settle-
ments spawned strongly regional characteristics and problems;

6. Westward expansion with implications concerning Mexico, Canada,
and the Indian nations within the United States;

And most devastating of all, the cruel Civil War, which, many
historians say, revealed a fissure splitting a society into two disparate
cultures but which families knew turned brother against brother and
impoverished hearts in an effort to set spirits free.

In spite of these differences in socio-historic pressures, Barton's
statements concerning the elements which were stabilized in the develop-
ment of children's literature^ are applicable to this development in
both countries.

1837-1860

Some of the following elements in the content of books were added,
some were dropped:

1. A great deal of [once] useful knowledge, has
largely ceased to be useful. It never had a high
imaginative value, because of its dehumanized form.

2. A considerable exchange of ideas, and of pictures
of juvenile life, with America; the best of which
was invigorating, the worst the reverse.

3. The "boy's and girl's" book: original, unbabyish--
without explicit "morals" ... the beginnings of
the higher juvenile fiction.

4. Fairy tales as a permanent and honourable possession:
native and naturalized folklore ... recognized ...
original work added.

^Ibid., pp. 256, 257.
5. The Reliques of our own literature. These and the fairy tales and the adventure stories made up Romance for children. [No longer stolen from adult literature.]  
6. Nonsense: the joy of being silly, inconsequent and innocently hilarious.  
7. . . the chapbook [becomes] . . obsolete.  
8. . . the Moral Tale . . turned to joy . . [in] the Awful Warning.  

All of this happened before 1860. Such a large contribution formed "a hoard upon which the Sixties drew freely to make new treasures,"  
The beginnings of new "imaginative" literature for children were faltering. Much was patterned upon the German folk tale; some had "a heavy vein of morality and conventional condescension, as well as plenty of imagination; . . [some] did without open morality altogether."  
The children's magazines exemplify the potpourri of writings and illustration meant for children, still seived through the mesh of suitability for the entire family. Commercially they were "a market development concurrent with the progress of adult newspapers and periodicals. . . ."  
Their peculiar significance lay . . . in their popularity . . . in their contents. . . . They still had to . . . [guard children] from silliness, but not from laughter; from recklessness and vice, but not from brave adventure. And they [the children] were allowed to possess and use imagination . . . [but] the standard of poetry [in the magazines] was pedectrian, if not low . . . pretty, unaffected jingles.  

1 ibid., pp. 256-257.  
2 ibid., p. 257.  
3 ibid., p. 271.  
4 ibid., p. 273.  
5 ibid., p. 273.
Americans were delayed some years in the widespread production of writings which were lifted high by imaginative fancy and wild nonsense. The carnage of the Civil War followed by the heart-breaking sounds of Lincoln's funeral cortege as it rolled across half the country on caisson and train made even the children fear laughter.

Landmarks of the Victorian Regime


The first translation that was considered fit for children and young people.1 Darton calls it "The English version now most often used or adapted for juvenile purposes."2 Ramsey's judgment is "Probably the best version to read or tell to children, because it is the most truly Oriental. . . ."3 Thwaite's belief is that these tales had far greater influence on the writers of the romantic revival and on children's literature than has been realized.4

Although Charles Knight had earlier established his own publishing business in Pall Mall, "from 1827 to 1846, he acted as the Superintendent of Publications for the Society for the Dissemination of Useful

1Thwaite, op. cit., p. 37.
2Darton, op. cit., p. 90. Thwaite, loc. cit., disputes this. She believes the later adaptation of Lange's based on Galland's racy unexpurgated translation is the more important.
3Ramsey, Folklore for Children . . ., op. cit., p. 10.
4Thwaite, op. cit., p. 36.
Knight was so pleased with Lane's scholarly but unpornographic approach that from time to time he printed some of the copious notes in his publication, Knight's Weekly.

Rival translations were frequent but in spite of other popular versions, fourteen editions of Lane were published by the Eighties.

Lane was an English Arabic scholar typical of such scholars of his day. Professionally he began work as an engraver. For health reasons he had to seek a warmer climate. His scholarly output from then on was solely concerned with Egyptian and peripheral Oriental cultures. His translation of The Thousand and One Nights Tales, most often known by Lane's sub-title, The Arabian Nights, is from the Cairo text of the tales.

The first translation known to Englishmen was done by M. Galland. Although he published his massive twelve-volume work in French (1704) as Mille et Une Nuit from Constantinople texts, it was soon translated into English and made a great impression. But these fabulous histories were rarely given to children.

The chapbook printers emasculated individual tales in the usual short and cheaply printed version accorded to any fairy tale. The most popular titles in these versions were Aladdin and Sinbad.

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1 The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 482.


3 Thwaite, op. cit., p. 36. Note: Adult reading of Galland's first translation into English emphasizes that even the most permissive 20th century parent would not give these to his children.

4 Darton, op. cit., p. 90.
In the eighteenth century the tales were taken over by the moralists. The "Reverend J. Cooper," pseudonym for Richard Johnson who was Elizabeth Newbery's hack writer, wrote an "approved" version called The Oriental Moralist. Johnson profusely scattered moral reflections throughout all of the stories. In spite of this, many of the stories are still eminently readable, retaining much of the charm of the original.1

Although there is no certain documentation, it is probable that the collection of stories from which Lane did his translation was "assembled in its present form about 1450 probably by an Egyptian story-teller."2 The framework is Persian but there is little doubt that the tales come from Arabian, Egyptian, Indian, and Hebraic sources.

In spite of the fact that there are more tales as well as variants of tales than is commonly realized, it is possible to subsume many of them under one or more of the following categories: (1) The brass bottle stories; (2) the stories of social satire; (3) the Sinbad stories; (4) animal stories (these especially seem to be of Indian origin, similar to the Jataka tales); (5) the foolish tales (sometimes called the "Sillies"); and (6) of course, stories of highly individual style and intricate plot which defy categorization. The unifying theme is the Scheherazade story extolling the ingenuity of the young queen who saved her own life and the lives of others through her witty telling of stories that sustained a king's interest for a thousand and one nights.

1Thwaite, loc. cit., p. 96.

2Ramsey, Folklore for Children and Young People, op. cit., p. 61.
The three best known of the tales in the twentieth century are Sinbad (with "The Old Man of the Sea" the best known part), Aladdin, and Ali Baba. Only Sinbad is told by Lane. Although the other two stories came from Galland, they did not so much become popular from his books (which were only read surrepticiously by children) as from the chapbooks, the Christmas pantomimes so popular at the end of the nineteenth century, and Lang's edition of the Arabian Nights (1898).

It is no new theory that folk tales have remarkable powers of travel from country to country, culture to culture. In his notes of 1839 Lane points out the travelling qualities of Sinbad. Amabel Ellis Williams continues Lane's discussion in her own copious notes to a beautifully illustrated edition of the Arabian Nights meant for nine, ten, eleven, and twelve-year-olds.

Sinbad uses the Sheherazade device of a story within a story. One day a porter who loudly proclaimed how sorry he felt for himself was taken into a house so fine and "delightful that it was almost a palace." He was bathed in rose water, fed, and then told stories by the wealthy master of the house, Sinbad. The master, of course, related his own adventures, his "rise from rags to riches." He landed on an island that was not an island but a sea monster; he circumvented serpents the sight of whose hideous visages killed visitors to the Valley of Diamonds; but most horrifying of all, he fell into the grip of the

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Old Man of the Sea. This last episode goes to the horrid roots of much human experience.

Sinbad, growing wealthy, bought an unusually fine merchant ship. His crew and he landed on an island inhabited by a family of huge and fierce birds, the Rocs. The parent birds were away but their enormous dome-like white egg lay on the sands. Sinbad was horrified to find that his sailors had broken the shell and cooked the large almost ready to hatch young Roc. He attempted to help them escape in the ship, in vain. The parent birds stoned and sank the ship. Only Sinbad was cast up onto the island which was the dwelling place of the much feared evil and ugly Old Man of the Sea.

Sinbad felt sorry for the old man and put him upon his back to carry across a stream. The seemingly frail old man suddenly showed vicious strength. With hairy legs clamped around Sinbad's neck the old man was cruel master until Sinbad tricked him with wine made in a pumpkin shell. There was great rejoicing among the islanders for the old man had been the scourge of human existence.

Each Arabian Nights tale moves with the same swift pace with lavish image, surprise endings, inevitably dependent upon the problem solving ability of the protagonists. Only the stories of social satire and the "sillies" (deliberately contrived humor) do not allow the inevitable happy ending.

From the first volume of Lane's translation the tales have been beautifully (often lavishly) illustrated. As a knowledgable engraver himself, Lane chose the outstanding engraver, William Harvey, to do his illustrations. Harvey was "a wood engraver and designer apprenticed to
Thomas Bewick. He illustrated many books for children including Noah Webster's *The Illustrated Webster Spelling Book* (1856).

Other well illustrated and well known adaptations of the Lane translation are:


3. **The Arabian Nights: Stories Retold** by Amabel Williams-Ellis; illustrated by English Nora Bayes. London: Blackie, 1957. Ellis uses Lane but she also selects from Galland and others, describing her choices and her reasons for these choices in her excellent notes "for teachers and other adults" at the back of the book.

There are many noteworthy illustrated editions of *Arabian Nights* based on translations other than Lane's. Among these are illustrations by the Oriental inspired Willy Pogany (Hungarian born American artist), Louis John Rhead (English born American artist), and Edward Julius

1. The Osborne Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 447.  
4. This is the bibliographic data for first publication. The edition quoted in this annotation is the American.
One of the best known of the illustrated non-Lane Arabian Nights is the one done by the late Victorian Dalziel brothers and other artists. Some of the other artists are A. B. Houghton, Sir John Tenniel, Sir John Millais and, of course, Thomas and Edward Dalziel. This was published in parts beginning in 1863, "with upwards of two hundred illustrations ... engraved by the brothers Dalziel."²

In evaluating the effect of such tales on children many arguments can be sustained, both pro and con, that are the same arguments presented in every era about fairy tales for use with children. Although Amabel Ellis-Williams marshalls other equally telling values in terms of beneficial influence, the following excerpts give a fitting representation of all similar defences.

"... Like the partly Westernized "primitive," the nine-year old among us still has a foot in each camp [civilization --a magical world].

So, of course, have these Eastern stories, for they often reflect a deep knowledge of character and human affairs. "... these tales, like all good imaginative literature, provide vicarious experience, and such experience is one of the things which all intelligent children seek."³

Ellis also believes that the child who is fortunate enough to know these tales

"... will, half consciously, have a better grasp of what will still be "current affairs." Should they chance to hear a class of little Moslem boys chanting a chapter of the Koran in unison, they may understand such an activity better because they remember Prince Kamarelziman in his

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¹These illustrators and others are listed in Mahoney, op. cit., p. 453.

²The Osborne Collection, op. cit., pp. 18, 19.

³Ellis-Williams, op. cit., p. 332.
prison or Zobaida's pious young husband. Perhaps also
("But Allah alone knows all") having vicariously experi-
enced the power of a variety of absolute and highly
unreliable Eastern monarchs, they may later be more
tolerant of the lesser inconveniences of democracy.¹

Edinburgh: William Whyte and Company, MID - CH, MID - R,
Ca OTP. 75. Humor. Family. Fantasy (Fairy Tale) written
by one person.

St. John in The Osborne Collection describes the "landmark"
importance in this manner: "For the first time in a children's book,
misbehaviour is set in an amusing light."² Darton places it "as the
best original children's book written up to that time [1839], and one
of the jolliest and most hilarious of any period. There is a moral tone
about it ... nine times out of ten ... [but] flouted with utmost
goodwill."³ Ramsey calls it "one of the best children's books ever
written."⁴

Green praises it, especially because of the hilarious fairy tale
told by Uncle David, "perhaps the best chapter in the whole book . . .
a delicious piece of fantasy, and . . . perhaps the first example of real
laughter and sheer delight in absurdity in children's literature."⁵

¹Ibid., p. 333. Ellis-Williams also quotes Sir Richard Burton who
did an unexpurgated retranslation of sixteen volumes in the eighteen-
eighties.

²The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 304.

³Darton, op. cit., p. 225.

⁴Ramsey notes, op. cit.

⁵Green, Teller of Tales, op. cit., p. 15.
Green sums up his conception of Catherine Sinclair's place in the development of a literature for children when he states:

[She] . . . had started the revolt against the old kind of children's books, and written the first real story of happy child life, and the first real bit of nonsense literature. . . .

William Whyte, the publisher, was a Scots compatriot of the Sinclairs. Both Whytes and Sinclairs were natives of Edinburgh where the publisher had his business establishment. Whyte published works of Catherine's father, Sir John, as well as the first editions of Catherine's works.

Fourth daughter of a Scots politician (Secretary of Agriculture), Catherine is an example of the many "gentlewomen" of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries who never married but devoted themselves to being unpaid secretaries for their fathers. Each, in turn, upon the death of that father, became an author in her own right. She wrote on political, social, and religious topics with a scattering of heavy fiction. Her work for children, including some hieroglyphic letters, came about through efforts to please her young nephew, "the Honourable G. F. Boyle, son of the Earl of Glasgow."

The Sinclairs were extremely tall people. They were so tall that

\[\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 16. Green links "The Uncle David Story," Ruskin's "King of the Golden River," and Paget's "The Hope of the Katskopf's" as a triumvirate of first and still important one-man written fairy tales for children. Ruskin and Paget, annotations, this period, infra.}\]

\[\text{Ramsey's opinion of the Sinclair men (father and one ecclesiastical son) is as follows, "The Rev. John Sinclair seems to have been as asinine as his father." Ramsey notes, op. cit., unpaged.}\]

\[\text{The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 304.}\]
"a new path which was made outside . . . [their] home in Edinburgh was nicknamed 'The Giants Causeway.'" 1

Green lists other activities pursued by the "good" Catherine that are typical of the woman of her class and era.

Besides writing books she did a great deal of social work in Edinburgh, establishing cooking depôts, having seats set up in the crowded thoroughfares, and drinking fountains built in various parts of the city. 2

_Holiday House_ came into being as a series of stories told to assorted nieces and nephews who constantly begged their aunt to tell them exciting stories. Many of the happenings of the storybook family, the Grahams, are fictionalized versions of what really happened to the Sinclair children as they grew up. The apparent (to biographers) conceit and lack of humor of the father, Sir John, did not appear to disturb the joyousness of his own family when they were children. The only note of sadness comes with the death of a beloved brother. The last chapter is a memorial to Lieutenant James Sinclair who died at twenty from an illness contracted in His Majesty's Service against the Burmese (June, 1826). Neither the Sinclair children nor their alter egos, the Grahams, ever got over their feeling of rebellion and grief against the death of their beloved brother. It was their first taste of life's pain.

Several excerpts from her preface 3 give Catherine Sinclair's feeling about children and literature for children.

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1Green, _Teller of Tales, op. cit._, p. 16.
2Ibid., p. 16.
3Catherine Sinclair, _Holiday House_ (Edinburgh: Whyte, 1844), pp. i-x.
She deplores the fact that:

The minds of young people are now manufactured like webs of linen, all alike, and nothing left to nature.¹

... in this age of wonderful mechanical inventions the very mind of youth seems in danger of becoming a machine. ²

Sinclair also criticizes suppressive school rooms and derogatory comments about imaginative literature for children.

About school rooms:

[In them] ... there has been a society for the suppression of amusement, the mental energies have suffered as well as the health.³

About criticism:

... prejudice has naturally arisen against giving works of imaginative fiction to children ... [they might] ... incite crime.⁴

In agreement with her and in approbation of her writing for children, Sir Walter Scott wrote:

... in the rising generation there ... [will] be no poets, wits, or orators, because all play of the imagination is now carefully discouraged and books written for young persons are generally a mere dry record of facts. ... ⁵

The pattern for the format of *Holiday House* is a little unusual.

Each chapter ends with a phrase (capitalized) that repeats the title of that chapter. For example:

Harry stumbled along . . .

wishing . . . he . . . had

never gone up THE LONG LADDER. 1

The style is simple, easy to read even in the twentieth century, and swings along with a pace that matches the adventurous spirit of the young protagonists. Occasional short descriptive phrases do not detract from either the movement of the story or the reader's interest. One example of such a phrase is, "The whole sky looked like a large, grey, cotton umbrella." 2

The Graham children are noisy, frolicsome, and mischievous. They fight, pout, feel abused, do all the things they are told not to do, are never severely punished, and love each other dearly. Whimsical eccentric Uncle David encourages and abets their schemes. The family is religious, there is frequent Bible reading but it scarcely intrudes on the action and is certainly in keeping with the time. Indeed, without the early recognition by the reader that the Graham family relied on God for their strength in time of trouble, the final chapter would not ring true. As it is, the hard won trust on the love of God to see them through this crushing bereavement, the death of the thoroughly good but equally humor-filled son and brother, must have given unconscious morale building for the hundreds of young readers who suffered like pain.

With the exception of the scrapes that happened because of the cumbersome clothing little girls wore, any of the pranks could occur with boys and girls today. Uncle David's constant story telling must have incited one real little girl, Catherine Sinclair, in her expression of antagonism towards school curriculums that stifled. For example,

1Ibid., p. 68.  
2Ibid., p. 142.
Uncle David said:

...you will be taken ill of the multiplication table some day and confined to bed with a violent fit of geography.1

Uncle David's fairy tale is still printed separately with other collections of similar tales. It is entitled, "Uncle David's Nonsensical Story of Giants and Fairies." It is the story of a fat little No-book boy and his encounter with old Giant Snap-em-up. When he stood up Snap-em-up looked like the tall steeple of a church. He was so tall that he was obliged to climb a ladder to comb his hair. He made his tea in a lake and boiled his kettle on Mount Vesuvius. His favorite dish, when he couldn't have a whole roasted elephant, was tiger smothered in onions. His indulgence was fat little boys fried in bread crumbs, with plenty of pepper and salt. During a hungry moment he finds No-book, the boy who has been fattened into a balloon by the fairy Do-nothing, and hangs him on a meat hook until his cook is ready for him. The fairy Teach-all and her brave coterie of little boys save the day. No-book reforms and becomes Sir Timothy Blue-Stocking.

The stock names for characters and the trite story line do not give any idea of the quality and impact of the tale. It is a spoof from beginning to end with the wildly exaggerated contrasts so dear to children's hearts. Children roll with laughter at the absurdities while adults perceive the social satire of old literary forms, school systems, a gluttonous element in the middle class, and the ridiculous superiority assumed by the Blue-Stocking and the rabid temperance person at one and

1Ibid., p. 161.
the same time. It is a social commentary.

Subsequent editions as well as the sequel, The Mysterious Marriage: or, Sir Edward Graham, are illustrated with colored lithographs.\(^1\)

American William Croome did illustrations for a Robert Carter edition in 1853.\(^2\)


A renewed battle cry for tales that would appeal to the following "important elements of a little child's mind, its fancy, imagination, sympathies, affections . . ."\(^4\) Distinguished "by sound typography and illustration."\(^5\) "The first really systematic attempt to give English children the wealth of their own literary inheritance, with no conditions as to its use, no disguise, no spoilt simplicity,"\(^6\)

Joseph Cundall, the publisher at the Juvenile Library at 12 Old Bond Street, "was one of the first to specialize in the publishing of superior children's books, employing the best artists of the day as illustrators."\(^7\)

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\(^1\)The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 305.
\(^2\)Mahoney, op. cit., p. 401.
\(^3\)A series of twelve books bound singly and together. The ones under discussion here are the fairy tales.
\(^4\)Darton, op. cit., p. 241.
\(^5\)Ibid., p. 243.
\(^6\)Ibid., p. 243.
\(^7\)The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 471.
The books or little booklets were originally twelve in number, coming out sporadically from 1841 to 1849. Sometimes the stories were bound together, often in twos. They were also done in five larger volumes. The titles of this series are:

1. Jack the Giant-Killer
2. Jack and the Beanstalk
3. The Sleeping Beauty
4. Red Riding Hood
5. Cinderella
6. Beauty and the Beast
7. Chevy Chase
8. The Sisters and Goldy Locks
9. Grumble and Cheery
10. (Peacock's) Sir Hornbook
11. Dick Whittington
12. Bible Events

The larger and more expensive series was bound in cloth gilt. All of the editions had illustrations by such "literal" artists as John Calcott Horsley, Charles West Cope, Thomas Webster, and William Mulready. There were also some reproductions of old masters.2

Sir Henry Cole (Felix Summerly) was as well known for his feud with Samuel Gooderich (the original and American Peter Parley) as he

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1 The fairy tales are bound in two groups: (1) traditional, and (2) popular. The traditional include titles 2, 4, and 6; the popular titles, 1, 5, and 6.

2 Darton, op. cit., p. 242. See also the illustrator Index in Mahoney, op. cit.
was for the other activities that filled his long (1800-1882) and busy life. He was active in promoting the great exhibition of 1851. He founded the Royal College of Music, Albert Hall, and South Kensington Museum. He sent out the first Christmas card. He had a numerous and distinguished roster of friends. Among these were the Prince Consort Albert, Thackeray, John Stuart Mill, Thomas Love Peacock, George Grote, and Charles Buller. He was obviously eclectic in taste and held to no rigid doctrine.¹

Both his wife and he were concerned about the sad concepts education and the then current children's books gave to boys and girls. They had a large family whose education they preferred to begin themselves and they had no fear of any ill effect on their children from oft repeated contact with fairy tale, old ballads, and nursery rhymes. Their concern was first for their own children but soon enlarged to concern for children in general.

Lady Cole wrote prefaces for the books edited by her husband. In these she pleaded for the wise use of tales and rhymes put out in good editions. She believed that children who were ready to read were not harmed by learning to read at an early age. She deplored the "fad" for books made up of words of one syllable. She felt that such books insulted a child's intelligence and destroyed his desire to learn. She firmly believed that more values were derived, unwittingly, from fairy tales than ever came from stories that deliberately pointed a moral. She praised her husband's choice of artists many of whom were influenced

¹Darton, op. cit., p. 242.
by or belonged to the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood.

Although Thwaite describes the series as not "... really outstanding [in] quality ... format or contents,"1 Darton affirms that they "contrasted favourably with the meaner conventional print and stock steel and wood engravings of most of the English Parley books."2 Both Thwaite and Darton agree that they were pleasant, squarish, little volumes printed with reasonably large type on good paper.

In both content and format, then, they point the way to better books. They also point out the continuing quarrel between people who want books of fact for children and people who want books of fancy. Angry that the American Parley would publicly tell English children that they must not read what they considered their own national tales, Cole lashed out at Parley in the prospectus announcing the Home Treasury. He not only stated that the past twenty-five years of children's books were typified by the narrowness of Parley but that it was time to bring imagination back to life through retelling the old tales and inventing new. This is precisely what happened during the 1840's.

Parley retaliated by reaffirming his genuine desire to interest children at the same time that he enlarged their "circle of knowledge." He believed posterity would judge his success.

Darton states that posterity has judged.

His books have perished. His publisher rushed out fifteen or twenty volumes of a Holiday Library in gay bindings ... to counteract the Home Treasury; but not one of them has any life now, whereas the stories chosen by "Felix Summerly" are perpetually issued in various forms.3

1Thwaite, op. cit., p. 100. 2Darton, loc. cit. 3Ibid., p. 241.

The first American historical stories meant for children. Part of a trilogy; the other two titles: Famous Old People, Being the Second Epoch of Grandfather's Chair; The Liberty Tree, With the Last Words of Grandfather's Chair. 2

The entire trilogy was published by Hawthorne's sister-in-law, Elizabeth Peabody, at her transcendental bookshop and homeopathic drug store. Each volume in the series came out in 1841. The following year Tappan and Dennet republished them. They received very little critical attention although the title under consideration here (the first of the series) was mentioned in a kindly way by "Duyckinck in the second issue of his journal Arcturus..." 3

Hawthorne's preface, written in 1840, reveals the rising force of nationalism, the writing style of the day, and some of the concern that thinking adults were beginning to feel for children. These adults recognized that children were almost a different species from adults as far as interest and needs were concerned but they did not quite know

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2Meigs, op. cit., p. 267. 3Ibid., p. 268.
what to do about using their half-formed knowledge.

Hawthorne begins:

In writing this ponderous tome,¹ the author's desire has been to describe the eminent characters and remarkable events of our early annals, in such a form and style, that the YOUNG might make acquaintance with them of their own accord. For this purpose while ostensibly relating the adventures of the chair, he has endeavored, to keep a distinct and unbroken thread of history. . . .²

The author's great doubt is, whether he has succeeded in writing a book which will be readable by the class for whom he intends it. . . .³

The book was certainly readable in its day. Many of the stories have been reprinted in anthologies and in the children's readers of the early twentieth century. It is doubtful, however, if most present day children would read it because of its size, print, religious philosophy, and involved story within a story.

Each story concerns one person to whom the chair belonged or who momentarily sat in "the chair" for succor as did Mary Dyer, a persecuted Quakeress. Some of the other people were Roger Williams, Anne Hutchinson (both of whom were also Quakers); John Hull, the mint master of the pine tree shillings; Hull's daughter, Betsey, and her betrothed, Samuel Sewall; John Eliot, who wrote the Indian Bible; ninety-year-old Governor Bradford and a succession of other Colonial governors; as well as Sir William Phips and the sunken Spanish treasure.

The chair, itself, purportedly was made from an ancient oak that

¹The little book is about the size of Beatrix Potter's Peter Rabbit.

²Hawthorne, op. cit., p. v. The edition quoted is the first edition cited in the bibliographic heading.

³Ibid., p. vi.
had grown in the English game preserve of the Earl of Lincoln. He gave the chair to his daughter, the Lady Arbella, who took it with her when she came to America with her bridegroom. Each of the nuptial pair died within two months of their arrival in the Colonies. The chair then began its travels from the home or place of office of one person to another. It finally was given to Samuel Adams. At his death the grandfather who told the stories purchased it.

Grandfather has owned and lovingly sat in the chair for as long as his grandchildren can remember. It is to these grandchildren that he tells the stories. There are four of them: Clara, Lawrence, Charley, and little Alice who sets on grandfather's knee and pretends to tell him stories from her picture book. Hawthorne (grandfather) sharply draws the characters of each of his grandchildren. These characteristics may or may not be true analyses of the children but they are representative of the many people who are proud to call themselves Americans. There is the noisy boy who likes to fight and wants to hear of battle, bloodshed, and vengeance. There is the thoughtful boy who wonders why things and people are the way they are and hopes that somehow the earth will become peaceful. There is the pleasant housewife girl who leaves such matters of peace and war to the men who know how to handle such problems. And, there is the tender hearted little girl who feels that the world should be full of love, that no one should hurt anyone, and that "even" the Pilgrim fathers had no business doing many of the things that they did in the name of God.

Some of the stories are in bare outline. Some are full blown stories in their own right. Three are memorable as they are told.
Children of the twentieth century who have not become acquainted with them in some telling or other are the poorer for this loss. One of these is the story of the pine tree shillings; the second is of John Eliot and the Indian Bible; the third is of Sir William Phips and his discovery of sunken Spanish treasure. Each story is interspersed with questions from the children, answers from their grandfather. In between stories grandfather talks to the reader. All such dialogue is friendly, conversational, moral with religious overtones of a sacrificial nature. For example, grandfather and the children believe that martyred Quaker deaths are beautiful because they are offered up to the living God. They grow in beauty in exact proportion to increase in suffering the martyr feels and the decrease in help or sympathy the vengeful executioners exhibit.

The humor of the pine tree shilling story is in direct contrast to such morbidness.

Portly John Hull has persuaded the Colonial government to allow him as mint master to call in all the silver in the Colony. This is a motley assortment: buttons, spoons, tankards, jewelry, anything and everything of silver is acceptable for the melting pot. From this he coins shillings, sixpence, and tuppence, each of which has a pine tree engraved on it. For every ten that he mints, Master Hull may put one in his pocket. He and his family grow rich and enormously fat. His marriageable daughter Betsey looks like "a full blown peony." Samuel Sewall likes her for every pound of herself. Therefore, after the wedding ceremony Master Hull puts Betsey on one side of a scales and equalizes the other
with her weight in silver.

Deftly told, the story brings vivid pictures of both early Massachusetts and the later nineteenth century Nathaniel Hawthorne. This employee of the Boston Customs House could both laugh and weep at the foibles of mankind. He projects his feelings in each of the stories. He believes that children must not be sheltered by a roseate of history as it never was but that they must understand that life is made up of varying portions of laughter as well as of tears and injustice. He knows that boys like stories of treasure but he feels that disturbing dead men's bones is not worth gaining treasure, is worse than sacreligion. He also knows that some men understand that people of all races are one humanity in the eyes of God. He fears that unless children are better taught there will be too few of these men. He puts his fears in grandfather's mouth.

"I have sometimes doubted," said grandfather, . . . whether there was more than a single man among our forefathers, who realized that an Indian possesses a mind, a heart, and an immortal soul. That single man was John Eliot. All the rest of the early settlers seemed to think that the Indians were an inferior race of beings, whom the Creator had merely allowed to keep possession of this beautiful country, till the white man should be in want of it."

He finds a response in one of his grandchildren, albeit a tearful one, as Lawrence speaks about John Eliot's translation of the entire Bible into one of the Indian languages.

"Oh, grandfather," . . . exclaimed Lawrence. "I have seen it in the library of the Athenaeum; and the tears came into my eyes to think that there were no Indians left to read it."
But Charley would rather hear about battles, tomahawks, and scalping knives as he cries, "Let Lawrence be the apostle [Eliot]... and I will be the Captain [who fought against the Indians]."

Within this writer's memory, and within the memory of her children, many of these stories were reprinted, with illustrations in school readers. Before this, the only listing of illustrations for the entire volume is cited in Elva Smith. Houghton published such illustrated editions in 1896 and in 1900. The 1896 edition includes both the Second Epoch of the stories and the Liberty Tree. The 1900 edition has a fourth book included with it; Biographical Stories. No mention is made of the illustrator's name nor is a description given of those illustrations.

1841 Martineau, Harriet. The Settlers at Home. London: Charles Knight and Company. 00x M, Ca OTP. 126.

The first and most popular of the Playfellow Series, four historical stories written by Harriet Martineau, and published quarterly. A step forward in the development of this genre.

Charles Knight, the publisher, had first been apprenticed to his father, a Windsor bookseller. He eventually established his own business in Pall Mall. At the time the Playfellow Series was published, Knight

1 Smith, The History of Children's Literature, op. cit.
2 Ibid., p. 142.
3 Ibid., p. 143.
5 The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 282.
was Superintendent of Publication for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.¹

Daughter of a Norwich manufacturer of Huguenot descent,² Harriet Martineau was a Unitarian of agnostic leanings, a militant women's rights worker, a clear and logical thinker, a professional writer. Due to poor investments, Harriet found that she had to earn a living for herself, her mother, and her sisters. Very deaf from the age of eighteen, she nevertheless was a brilliant and much respected conversationalist and an observant student of and traveller in other lands. She wrote her four historical stories for children while she was recovering from a serious illness.

The romance, adventure, and religion in Miss Martineau's children's stories belie the sharpness of her writings for adults that were criticized for showing agnostic reasoning. Each story points out a lesson but the writing is so direct, the action is so rapid, the moralizing is so integral a part of the setting of each story that the lesson is ignored by those who scorn lessons and accepted as right by those who feel such lessons are an integral part of life. For example, in the Peasant and the Prince, the story is a "standing lesson to all who may imagine that to be a prince is to be happier than other people."³

The Settlers at Home concerns a peaceable Dutch family during the

¹Ibid., p. 482.

²St. John in The Osborne Collection, Ibid., states that Harriet's Huguenot father had been a pupil at Mrs. Barbauld's school. It must be remembered that Mr. Barbauld had himself been a Huguenot refugee.

³Ibid., p. 282.
seventeenth century English Civil War. The father is a miller; the mother also works. The entire family lives in a stone mill in the reclaimed fens but on the edge of open water. Marauding gypsies steal from the family's tempting garden patch and cause expensive mischief. During the height of the war the dikes are opened: the father is swept out to sea; the mother is cut off from home and family at her work post on dry land; the three children are marooned in the stone mill tower and its small surrounding circle of built-up earth with some of the domestic animals and the most harassing of the gypsy boys. Little by little the swirling waters eat away at the stone mill. Outside walls and then inside walls begin to crumble. The precious hoard of food becomes damp and then mildews. The children make a daring cross over to a nearby island where, for some time, they corner and then isolate the wild gypsy boy until he finally succumbs to their gentleness and cooperates in survival tactics for all. The children sing hymns and pray to keep up their courage. Their religion is salutary for them even when the littlest child, sweet Geordie, sickens and dies. The children survive the horrors, both psychological and physical, and are reunited (in a logical way) with the parents.¹

The story is gripping and exciting. The religiosity is not poured on, it is necessary for the children's very life. They have to believe in some ultimate good or they could not have tamed the wild boy, slept at night, or had strength to move from one section to another of the gradually crumbling mill. Without it they could not have maintained

¹An interesting use of strong religious faith for someone castigated as an agnostic.
life for any length of time in the doomed toddler who wanted and missed his loving mother.

The story also is revelatory concerning the many families who were neither cavalier nor roundhead yet were caught in the grinding machinery of war. History texts say little about such people; equally little about the many Hollanders, the many French Huguenots, the many refugees from other European countries who, at that time, looked upon England as a country in which they could find succor and raise their families in longer periods of peace than the European mainland afforded.

Adams classes the author with such other writers of the period as Mrs. Cameron, Miss Fraser Tyler, Sarah Flower Adams (who wrote the hymn "Nearer My God Thee"), Mrs. Holland, Charlotte Elizabeth, Mary Hughes, and Lady Fenn. Such classification is correct in terms of the years in which the writers lived and wrote. It is not correct in terms of plot and interest. Miss Martineau surpasses them all and could be read with enjoyment by girls and boys of the twentieth century.

The authorities cited for this study agree that the Peasant and the Prince moralizes the most of the four stories in this series. Although a plain tale is told, Miss Martineau indulges in too much reflective comment. For the earnest student of history, the author does give as exact an account as can be found of what happened to special groups of people during the French Revolution. Miss Martineau believed that children should be apprised, according to their understanding, of the many varieties of results that occurred during and after struggles

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1Thwaite, op. cit., p. 177; Smith, op. cit., p. 153.
for democracy.¹

Muir states that of the four Playfellow stories, Feats on the Fiord is the best known.² It is a forerunner of the adventure story as children know it today, and it does reflect "the actual life of the people in other lands, a rare product until the twentieth century."³ It is one of the many children's books that were forerunners of today's books in what Thwaite calls "the formative Forties."⁴ Macmillan published an edition of this book as late as 1924, beautifully illustrated by Boris Artzybasheff.⁵

Sometime in the early 1900's English Routledge and Company put out editions of both The Crofton Boys (an early school story) and The Settlers at Home.⁶ Since the school story was illustrated (forty illustrations by M. Fitzgerald),⁷ it is probable that the publisher treated the companion book (The Settlers) in the same fashion. It would be interesting to know if Fitzgerald then did illustrations for The Settlers.


Robinsonnade. Adventure.

¹Harriett Martineau was an ardent advocate of democracy but she abhorred suffering.


⁴Ibid., p. 165. ⁵Smith, op. cit., p. 153; Mahoney, op. cit.

A revamping of the theme of *Swiss Family Robinson* by the first writer of genuine adventure stories for youth. The first important author to exploit the realization that boys like "different kinds of books from girls." When it was first new, this book was "the best liked and the most often re-read of children's books."

This long-lived firm (still in existence) which published many of Captain Marryat's books for boys began in 1724. Thomas Longman, one of two brothers in the firm, was head of the business located at Pater Noster Row during the time *Masterman Ready* was published.

Captain Marryat was a genuine seaman who decried the sea stories written by people who knew little about the scenes and happenings they described. Before writing *Masterman* Captain Marryat had published sixteen novels for adults, many of which had been read by children. The fact that boys in Victorian days joined the navy at the ages of twelve and fourteen made the stories more tempting to read, nearer to the interests, and the possible futures of these boys.

The Marryat children had asked their father to write a continuation of *The Swiss Family Robinson* for them. On reading the story the Captain decided that it was too full of geographical and botanical errors. It was his strong belief that children's books especially should be accurate in what might appear to be trifles, for early impressions are strong.

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1 Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 163.  
3 Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 151.  
4 The Osborne Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 484.  
on the juvenile mind and hard to erase. Therefore, it was his stated belief that:

Fiction, when written for young people, should at all events, be based upon truth; and [he affirms] I could not continue a narrative under the objections which I have stated.¹

Marryat then lays out his plan for the book that will be similar to but more true than The Swiss Family Robinson.

My idea is to show the practical man in Ready, and the theoretical in the father of the family and as the work advances, to enter more deeply into questions which may induce children to think, or by raising their curiosity, stimulate them to seek for information.²

Marryat sets the tone of his story on the first page with a couplet from a song which the Captain of the doomed ship, The Pacific, sings as he stands before the wheel.

One wide water all around us,
All above us one black sky.³

The Seagrave family, a negro nursemaid, Masterman Ready, and two dogs—Romulus and Remus—are the only living creatures cast up on a desert island during an ensuing storm and shipwreck. Masterman Ready and twelve-year-old William had already become fast friends. Ready is the kind of patient, gentle, rugged, knowledgeable man any twelve-year-old boy of enquiring mind would like to know. Ready is never too busy to answer any question or to show how some interesting task needs to be accomplished. With Ready all tasks are interesting.

¹Marryat, op. cit., p. x.
²Ibid., p. x.
³Ibid., p. 1.
Ready, Mr. Seagrave, and William take good care of Mrs. Seagrave, Juno, mischievous Tommy (age six), Caroline (age eight), and the baby during the entire ordeal. They contrive shelters, salvage useable commodities floating on the water from the wrecked ship, build a turtle pond, find drinking water, build quite a little farm and dairy community of their own. They rest on Sundays and worship God though worship is not confined to the seventh day of the week.

Ready is a religious man as well as a practical one. He constantly tells the family that he would never have endured the hard life of a seaman if it had not been for his unwavering faith in God. Mr. Seagrave agrees with him and admonishes his family to never let hold of this faith. Mr. Seagrave also takes time to explain such natural phenomenon as the coral island on which they live. The children listen to these little spoken essays on nature with keen interest. Only Tommy breaks into any discourse, rarely follows advice or directions, and because of this is responsible for Ready's death while the family are besieged by hostile natives from another island.

In spite of the preachments both religious and practical the story still reads well. Ready would not be the character he is if it were not for his deep and abiding faith. Without such religious commitment he might well have abandoned this encumbering to its own fate and taken care of himself.

The action is good. Exciting events happen in a style that makes them seem exciting. The religiosity is certainly true of the period in which the story was written as in the interest in nature. The male characterization is good. The females are dull. Perhaps many Victorian
women were dull. Perhaps sailors expected good women to be dull. Perhaps books written for boys do not need good female characterization or, perhaps, such woodenness is only a reflection of several attitudes towards women: (1) they need to be protected, and (2) as long as they are in the background of one's life that is all that matters. Whatever the faults, the virtues must supersede, for the book is still read.

From the wood engravings of the first edition the book has been illustrated. Three of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century illustrated editions are:

1. Illustrated by Archibald Webb for Dutton, 1897
2. Illustrated by Fred Pegram for Macmillan, 1897
3. Illustrated by John Rae for Harper, 1928


The basis of almost every nursery rhyme anthology. The first work to draw attention to the antiquity of the rhymes. The first attempt at

1The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 280.
2Smith, op. cit., p. 151.
3Mahoney, op. cit., p. 429.
4Ibid., p. 432.
5The author, Halliwell, hyphenated his name with his wife's maiden name in 1872. St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 96.
6As a part of the Percy Society's publications, this was Volume IV of Early English poetry. It also came out as an independent volume.
comprehensive collection.¹

The Percy Society is in honor of Bishop Thomas Percy whose 1765 publication of the Reliques of Ancient English Poetry is a landmark in itself. It is the point in modern western civilization at which Englishmen (as well as the continentals) became seriously interested in collecting the literature of their national past. It is part of the Romantic period in literature and Nationalism. The society publishes distinguished research that sheds more light upon the literary treasures of the past.

Children's "rhymes are the happy heritage of oral tradition."² It is, therefore, fitting that the Percy Society should publish Halliwell's work. It was revived and enlarged five times: 1843, 1844, 1846, 1853, and ca. 1860.³ In 1849 the rhymes and such familiar nursery tales as "The Three Little Pigs" were published together under the title Popular Rhymes and Nursery Tales. The well known folklorist, Joseph Jacobs, used the combination volume as one of the many source books which he consulted for verification of his own research.⁴

Halliwell was so precocious an antiquary that "he was made a fellow of the Royal Society at the age of eighteen years."⁵ He was only

¹Baring-Gould, op. cit., p. 142. Its inaccuracies have been as frequently cited (as though correct) as its accuracies. St. John in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 96.


³Baring-Gould, op. cit., p. 141.

⁴Thwaite, op. cit., p. 122.

⁵Baring-Gould, op. cit., p. 141.
twenty-two when he produced *The Nursery Rhymes of England*. By the time of his death, in 1889, he was "one of the world's most respected Spenserian and Shakespearian scholars."

All of Halliwell's research, however, was not done from primary sources. In collecting lore of this kind an attempt is usually made to collect material from oral sources to assure its being in the oral tradition. His inaccuracies in tracing sources has been attributed to his reliance upon the printed word as though it were correct. In fact, the Opies state that he "greedily copied down as facts any theories related to "[such mistaken people as] Ker" and . . . was not above speculation himself."

One of the cornerstones of Halliwell's work was *Songs for the Nursery* originally issued by Tabart in 1805. It was reissued by Darton in 1818 and was an important source for the American *Mother Goose's Quarto* (ca. 1825).

Halliwell's book was not intended for children. In its original edition, it contained notes annotating or tracing what Halliwell believed were the origins of the rhymes. Later editions omitted the notes and the book was appropriated by children.

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3 The Opies in *Targ, op. cit.*, p. 300, Ker tried to show that English phrases and nursery rhymes were "transmogrified" from an early form of Dutch.


5 Ramsey notes, unpaged.
The material is divided into eighteen sections: Historical, Literal, Tales, Proverbs, Scholastic, Songs, Riddles, Charms, Gaffers, and Gammers, Games, Paradoxes, Lullabies, Jingles, Love and Matrimony, Natural History, Accumulative Stories, Local, and Relics.

Among the rhymes collected by Halliwell are many that are familiar to twentieth century children. Some of these are: "Old King Cole"; "Robin Hood in the Mickle Wood"; "Good King Arthur"; "The Crooked Man"; "The Queen of Hearts"; "Polly Put the Kettle On"; "Three Blind Mice"; "I Saw a Ship a-Sailing"; "Hickety, Pickety, My Black Hen"; "Barber, Barber, Shave a Pig"; and "What are Little Boys Made Of?"

In the preface of his 1853 edition, Halliwell calls the nursery rhyme "the novel and light reading of the infant scholar... no modern competitors are found to supply altogether the place of [them]." The Opies reinforce this statement with one comment and one explanation. They comment:

How much a part of the American home life are the rhymes may be gauged from the fact that William Wrigley thought it worthwhile distributing over a two-year period, 14,000,000 "Mother Goose" books rewritten to tie chewing gum into nursery jingles.

They explain that there is much controversy between Englishmen and Americans as to what are English rhymes and which are American. Surprisingly, most English nursery rhymes are better known in America in versions nearer to the original than they are in their home country.

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1 Halliwell says in his preface, p. ix, that this plan of arrangement "follows Chambers' Popular Rhymes of Scotland."


3 The Opies in Targ, op. cit., p. 317.
However, even most Americans do not realize that "There was a little girl and she had a little curl" was probably Longfellow's. On the other hand, most Englishmen do not realize that "Mary had a little lamb" is also American, written by Sarah Josepha Hale.\(^1\)

Halliwell was right in essence. The nursery rhyme has not been supplanted but it can be added to, though nobody knows how it happens or why.

1844 Marryat, Frederick. \underline{The Settlers in Canada}. Two Volumes. Written for Young People. London: Longmans, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 00x M, Ca OTP, 126. Historical Adventure.

One of the first historical stories written by an Englishman about the new world. One of the few written about Canada. Excellent in delineation of eccentric types of human nature and in accurate details of pioneer life.\(^2\)

The same publishing firm put out \underline{The Settlers in Canada} as published Masterman Ready. Two of the later publishers who put out editions are: Bell (who took over Bohn in York Street, Covent Garden),\(^3\) and Dent (who put out "Everyman's Library";\(^4\) Dutton is associated with them in New York).

First published in two volumes, "it is one of the few books in

\(^{1}\text{Ibid., p. 317.}\)

\(^{2}\text{Smith, op. cit., p. 151.}\)

\(^{3}\text{The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 465.}\)

\(^{4}\text{Ibid., p. 473. The Everyman's edition of 1956 is the one used for this annotation.}\)
the whole wide range of his work where the manuscript still exists—all but seven leaves.\footnote{1Frederick Marryat, \textit{The Settlers in Canada; Everyman's Library}, 370 (London: Dent, 1956), p. v. This introduction is written by Oliver Warner.}

Warner goes on to say:

\footnotetext{1}{Frederick Marryat, \textit{The Settlers in Canada; Everyman's Library}, 370 (London: Dent, 1956), p. v. This introduction is written by Oliver Warner.}

\footnotetext{2}{\textit{Ibid.}, p. v.}

\footnotetext{3}{\textit{Ibid.}, p. vi.}

\footnotetext{2}{\textit{Ibid.}, p. v.}

At the time the book was written, Marryat and his growing family were living at Langham in a remote corner of Norfolk. Although he had served in the navy with distinction and had become a commander, men of his rank were "a dime a dozen." With the peaceful years of Victoria nothing was left but retirement on half-pay. Marryat had come from an ingenious family (his father was chairman of Lloyd's) and so he decided to earn his living by utilizing his ingenuity in writing about the things he knew best in the manner that was becoming popular for the growing public of readers.\footnote{3}\footnotetext{3}{\textit{Ibid.}, p. vi.}
stories the sea cut them off. In Canada the density and secretiveness of the forest cut them off. He sprinkled every happening with Christian prayers and biblical quotations. When success had been achieved, he again reversed fortunes and returned the family to the land of their birth.

The head and father of the family so treated in this story was a medical man, a Doctor Campbell. Just as his practice began to flourish he received word that a little known distant relative had left him an extensive and prosperous estate. Doctor Campbell gives up his practice and the family moves to the estate. There the husband and wife improve the property, become beloved by the tenants, and send the children (their own and adopted nieces) to good and expensive schools. The next reversal of fortune brings the lost but rightful heir back to claim his property. He allows the incumbents three months to settle up their affairs and leave.

The Campbells had turned so much of their income into improving the property that they are almost destitute according to their definition of the word. Being upper middle-class people this means a reduction of help to one servant, no more fine schools, only one horse, etc. With the cash that is left, Doctor Campbell, acting upon a suggestion from a sailor son, decides that the family will go to Canada to recoup their fortunes. There the action begins. Although the Campbells have more money to buy provisions than many of the other emigrants, they discover that living in a newly settled country can be difficult.

Although the characters are not stereotypes, the Campbells find "good Indians" and hostile Indians; an honorable upright army captain;
a wise trapper and wilderness guide (Malachi Bone) who is one of the most appealing characters in the book. Other characters are Malachi's lovely and sweet Indian adopted daughter, the Strawberry Plant;\(^1\) British soldiers who are rapscallions just because they are miles away from home; eager suitors for the adopted Campbell daughters; and, of course, a brave dog, Oscar, who helps protect the family.

Among the adventures are some that happen to girls. Emma shoots a wolf at bay. She is frightened but it is the wolf's life or hers. Mary is carried off by "the" hostile Indian, Angry Snake. Two things ensue from her rescue: (1) the discovery and reclamation of one of the Campbell sons who had been earlier stolen by the Indians and made a member of their tribe; and (2) her marriage to Captain Sinclair who led the rescue party.

Some parts of the story sound like a Cooper novel. The type of activity is often similar. The Settlers, however, does not seem to have achieved great popularity in the United States. Indeed, English authorities such as Darton give it only passing acclaim. It is still in print, however, which means that somebody is still reading it.\(^2\) It is one of the few books for young people, historical or contemporary, in which a description is given of the Province of Ontario and a section that is well known to American tourists in Canada. The adventure of captured Mary with Angry Snake includes the following description of a part of their travels.

\(^1\)Marryat assures decorum for his young readers when he explains that the Strawberry Plant is only called Malachi's squaw, but that their relationship is a father-daughter one. See Marryat, op. cit., p. 150. This relationship becomes even more respectable on pp. 186-187.

\(^2\)See this work, infra, Table 4.
The river on which they embarked, at that time little known to the Europeans, is now called the river Thames, and the town built upon it is named London. It falls into the upper part of Lake Erie, and is a fine rapid stream.

... the country was in full beauty; the trees waved their boughs down to the river side; ... Sometimes they started the deer which had come down to drink in the stream, and on one occasion, as they rounded a point, they fell in with a herd which were in the water swimming across. ...  

It is no wonder that Canadian boys and girls claimed this book as one of the few that was their own.

Mahoney does not list illustrated editions of this book but both St. John (in The Osborne Collection) and Smith do.

St. John cites a George Bell edition of 1875 with illustrations by Sir John Gilbert. Gilbert was the draughtsman on wood who made "30,000 drawings for the Illustrated London News and designed covers for monthly parts of Punch. In 1872 he was knighted."

Smith lists a new edition of Bell that came out in 1891, apparently with the same illustrations as appeared in the 1875 edition.

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1 Marryat, op. cit., p. 300.
2 Ibid., p. 301.
3 The writer's great grandfathers on both sides of her paternal family had this book in their libraries in Ontario where her father and his brothers literally read the copies to pieces.
4 The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 280.
5 Ibid., p. 445.
6 Smith, op. cit., p. 151.

American fantasy at last. The first imaginative bit of combined nonsense and folklore that has become a part of the lore of the child in every English speaking nation. The verse that changed Christmas.

Dr. Moore's ballad was first published anonymously in the *Troy Sentinel* (New York) for December 23, 1823. He wrote the story for his own family the year before its newspaper appearance. It did not come out in book form, however, until 1844. Even then it appeared in a collection of Moore's own poems that were printed for private distribution. Strangely enough, this tale beloved of all children, so widely equated with famous and endearing illustration, had no illustration for the first decades.

Clement Moore was a professor of theology and biblical history as his father was before him. He owned large tracts of New York State orchard land. One of his neighbors was a Dutch farmer who often talked about the jolly Dutch Saint Nicholas. The verse tale embodies some of Dutch New York Christmas customs such as the exchanging of simple gifts on Christmas Day. It is the rosy "St. Nick" himself who has excited and made happy so many children since the first time he appeared in print.

1Halsey, op. cit., p. 147.
2Mahoney, op. cit., p. 90.
3Meigs, op. cit., p. 163.
The lines are familiar:

'Twas the night before Christmas,
When all through the house
Not a creature was stirring,
Not even a mouse.

The story, too, is familiar, the sleigh full of toys, Santa down the chimney, Mama and I peeking from behind the half-opened shutter and the famous almost clarion call, 'Merry Christmas to all and to all a good night.'

Halsey gives an excellent evaluation both of the ballad and its place in the development of American literature for children. First, it came at "the end of that quarter of the nineteenth century to which we are accustomed to refer as the beginning of the national period of American literature." Second, there is "appeal to one of the child's dearest possessions --his imagination."

It is this direct appeal to the imagination that surprises us and delights us in Mr. Moore's ballad. To re-read it is to be amazed that anything so full of merriment, so modern, so free from pompousness or condescension, from pedantry or didacticism, could have been written . . . [at that time] . . . its style is simple, . . . its story runs fifty years ahead of its time in its freedom from the restraining hand of the moralist and . . . the religious teacher.

Artists appear to agree for many famous people have illustrated the ballad. Among these are Reginald Birch, Ilse Marthe Bischoff, Elizabeth A. MacKinstry, Arthur Rackham, Valenti Angelo, Thomas Nast,

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1 Some versions including the original say, "Happy Christmas to all." Meigs, ibid., p. 163.
3 ibid., p. 149.
4 ibid., p. 149.
Everett Shinn, Jessie Wilcox Smith, and Felix Octavius Darley.\(^1\)

The earliest of the illustrations cited was done by Darley for the publisher Gregory in 1862.\(^2\) Darley is the early American illustrator influenced by Cruikshank and collected today by James Daugherty.\(^3\)

Perhaps the most famous illustrations are those by Arthur Rackham. They were published by Harrap in 1931.\(^4\) Children who grew up before 1920 remember best the illustrations by Jessie Wilcox Smith published by Houghton in 1912.\(^5\)

Children of the 1950's are as apt to remember the ballad for a musical score and a singing chorus as they are for its pictures. It was then that Waring's Pennsylvanians began their Christmas tradition of singing "The Night Before Christmas" to the listening world.


Representative of the profusion of illustrated series books put out by name publishers. An English forerunner of the comic book.

George Routledge, the publisher, opened his own shop in Ryder's Court with a fifteen-year-old assistant, William Henry Warne, whose sister Routledge married the next year.\(^6\) Both as Routledge Company and


\(^{3}\)Ibid., p. 91.  \(^{4}\)Ibid., p. 431.

\(^{5}\)Ibid., p. 439.

\(^{6}\)The Osborne Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 493.
later as Routledge, Warne, and Routledge, the firm put out numerous series books, most of which were illustrated.

Originally the Bayley tales were published separately by William Somerville Orr and Company. For example, there was Blue Beard (Comic Nursery Tales, Volume I published by itself in 1842. Little Red Riding Hood followed in 1843 as Comic Nursery Tales, Volume II. Under the Routledge name all of the titles for the first time were published collectively in one volume.

The verses are slight, being doggerel texts of old nursery favorites made to fit cartoon-like illustrations done by A. Crowquill, the pseudonym used by both Alfred Henry Forrester and his brother Charles Robert Forrester. They were illustrators and caricaturists, some of whose works attest to their fondness for doing comic drawings. Mahoney lists these as: Funny Leaves for the Younger Branches; Merry Pictures by the Comic Hands of, . . .; Tutor's Assistant or Comic Figures of Arithmetic. All of these were published between 1843 and 1857.

While Mahoney does not discuss Comic Nursery Tales in the essay on Animated Drawing, she does lay emphasis on the facts that "comic" books developed from earlier animated drawings; that such drawings have an ancient and honorable history; that about the mid-1800's books with comic

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1Ibid., p. 21.
2Listed by Mahoney, op. cit., pp. 456 and 408.
3The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 494.
4Mahoney, op. cit., p. 408.
5Ibid., pp. 195-214.
drawings were meant to be funny and **were** funny, while today's funny books are un-funny.\(^1\)

The best artists of the Victorian age who did animated drawing were Gustave Dore and Wilhelm Busch. Busch is the greater of the two in this medium. His most famous is *Max and Moritz* which was published in German in 1865.\(^2\) Busch did the drawings and then added the verses.

Another German book which is an excellent example of animated drawing is Dr. Heinrich Hoffman's *Struwwelpeter*; or, *Slovenly Peter* as it is better known in English.

The Bayley-Crowquill volume, while not comparable in quality to the German "classics" of this type, is representative of the trend as carried out in Victorian England while nonsense was gaining in popularity and a funny book **was** funny.


Representative of the secular verse for children, as well as the format presenting such verse, in the early Victorian days.

The first William Darton, a Quaker,

established a printing and publishing business at 55 Gracechurch Street with Joseph Harvey about 1785. In 1801 his son, William Darton, entered the firm... [This] William [Jr.]... set up a new business on Holborn Hill about 1801... publishing with Thomas...

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 196.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 205. The only English edition listed by Mahoney has no date of publication but is included with other books by Busch published in English from 1868 to 1883.

\(^3\)The Osborne Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 471.
Darton . . . [William Jr.] . . . his son, John Maw Darton . . . [and] son-in-law, Samuel Clark . . . [were partners].

In spite of the Howitt's statement to the fact that being a Quaker did not necessitate their sending their work to a Quaker publisher, a great many of Mary's works were published by that firm. Together and separately, Mary and William Howitt 'wrote about one hundred and eighty books and were well known figures in literary England. By 1845 Mary was said to be the most popular foreign poet in the United States.'

About half of Mary's work is made up of verse or poetry. William also wrote verse, although he may best be remembered for his semi-nostalgic almost documentary writings of a placid country boyhood which are most appealing to adults.

Meigs states that the best remembered Howitt poems are:

1. The ballad, "The Fairies of Caldon Low," by both Mary and William;
3. "The Spider and the Fly" ("Will you walk into my Parlour?"
   said the Spider to the Fly"), by Mary;
4. "Mabel on a Midsummer's Day" by Mary in Fireside Verses.

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1Ibid., pp. 471-472. Clark was only in the partnership from 1836 to 1847. However, this was during the time that many of the Howitt verses were published.

2Ibid., p. 263. Nineteen Howitt works are listed in The Osborne Collection, on pages 67, 68, 203, 263, and 264. These show the variety of materials written by them as a team and as individual authors.

3See Tarr, op. cit., pp. 62-64, for a discussion of William Howitt.

4Meigs, op. cit., p. 288. The many existent anthologies of children's poetry which carry these and other Howitt poems can be found in such standard reference tools as John E. Brewton's Index to Children's Poetry, 1942 and the 1954 Supplement.
Fireside Verses, considered in its format, is a small book "illustrated with seven hand-coloured lithographs and a hand-coloured vignette on the added lithographed title page." The illustrations are not signed. Since the book is a selection of six poems from Hymns and Fireside Verses it is possible (indeed, likely) that the illustrations are selected from those in the book from which the poems were selected. According to this supposition the artist is Anna Mary Howitt, daughter of Mary and William Howitt, who became Mrs. Alaric Alfred Watts. The illustrations are representative of a vogue of illustration that is now quaint but then rather mediocre.

The verses were dedicated to Caroline Bowes who married Robert Southey in 1839. Queen Victoria thought so highly of the material that she gave a copy of the book from which the selections came to her minister, George Henry Byng.

It is interesting to note that Mahoney believes the illustrations for one book by Mary Howitt are significant enough to list. These were done by the French artist Hector Giacomelli for Sketches of Natural History; or, Songs of Animal Life. This edition was published by Nelson in 1873. This is the book which includes "The Spider and the Fly." Had Sketches been available for reading on the initial survey of this study, it would have been the title selected for use in the model.

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1. The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 67.
2. Ibid., p. 67. Alaric Watts was a noted journalist and poet of his day.
3. Ibid., p. 67.
The poems, like many others of their day, became so hackneyed through their use as recitation pieces that ensuing generations considered them as nondescript, too moral, and of no poetic value. In actuality a number of them contain lines of real beauty with rhythm and sometimes a story line appealing to twentieth century children. Often these poems are included in anthologies without acknowledgment of their authorship.

1845 Paget, Francis Edward (pseudonym, 'William Churne of Staffordshire'). *The Hope of the Katzekopfs; or, The Sorrows of Selfishness*. London: Joseph Masters. Ca OTP.

76. Fantasy. One-Man Written Fairy Tale.

The first real fairy tale to be written in English, Prototype for later fairy tales such as Thackeray's *The Rose and the Ring.*

Paget was the editor of a "series," based on Church of England principles called *The Juvenile Englishman's Library*. These volumes were published by Masters at 33 Aldersgate and (later) at 78 New Bond Street. Muir states that the story was also issued separately at Rugely in 1844 with the author's name given only as 'William Chume (not Churne) of

1 In having children select poems from any source for choral speaking, the investigator has found that they tend to bring in Mary Howitt's poems which all the children then enjoy. They have often asked why these poems are not presented to them in school.

2 Thwaite, op. cit., p. 109; Green, *Teller of Tales*, op. cit., p. 17.

3 Annotations, Infra.

4 Thwaite, loc. cit.; Green, loc. cit.

5 *The Osborne Collection*, op. cit., p. 485.
The total library ran to twenty-one volumes and was meant to amuse as well as instruct. Darton thinks it probable that the series was meant to compete with such other series as Felix Summerly's *Home Treasury* and Darton's *Holiday Library.* The religious element was not obtrusive. In fact, Paget even included German folk and fairy tales in his volumes. Among these were selections from Grimm, Hauff, and De la Motte Fouqué.

Paget, the eldest son of Sir Edward Paget, received a part of his education at Christ Church, Oxford. It is interesting to note that other men of this age who helped advance the cause of fantasy or the one-author written fairy tales were also educated at Christ Church. Among these are John Ruskin and Lewis Carroll. Paget became Rector of Elford near Lichfield where he lived for the rest of his life.

The pseudonym, 'William Churne of Staffordshire' was taken from the name of a fictional hero of an old sixteenth century poem by Richard Corbet beginning 'Farewell Rewards and Fairies,' and who was supposed to know all the fairies' secrets. Green believes that Rudyard Kipling's

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1 Muir, op. cit., p. 107.

2 Darton, op. cit., p. 246. For Summerly, supra, annotations. The Darton here mentioned is an ancestor of the authority (Darton) cited. The firm began about 1801. (See *The Osborne Collection*, op. cit., p. 472, for this and more detailed information about the firm.)

3 Darton, loc. cit.

4 Green, op. cit., pp. 18, 19. For more information about Ruskin and Lewis Carroll, see annotations, infra.

5 Ibid., p. 18. Darton, op. cit., p. 270 describes the pen name as coming from "the old Staffordshire fairy expert who had assisted Bishop Corbet."
later Rewards and Fairies was inspired both by Paget's story and his pen name.1

Darton states that Paget possessed a reticence about being known as the author of a fairy tale, and that he expressed the influences of both Teutonic tales and English tradition.2 These things seem almost self evident, for Paget preferred anonymity, chose a pen name rich in English tradition but wrote with a style redolent of the German authors or collectors whose tales he had reprinted, notably Grimm and Hauff. He, no doubt, meant his story as an allegory or a fable but for the most part, it reads as a lighthearted and amusing tale.

It is wise at this point for the adult or sophisticated reader to take seriously a statement made by Muir about children's favorite stories. His dictum is especially pertinent to all of the selections annotated in this work for they once were just that, the much read favorites of children. Muir's statement is:

[If] . . . our main consideration here is to conduct a post hoc investigation into the favorite reading of children . . . it is our business to adhere rigidly to the deductions to be made from hindsight, and the one thing that must not be done is to indulge in speculation as to what children ought to like, or regret that their taste is not better than it is—for example, that it often differs from our own.3

Hope of the Katzkopfs tells of a king and queen who, in the manner of fairy tale kings and queens, long for a child. When a son is at last

1Green, op. cit., p. 17.
2Darton, loc. cit.
3Muir, op. cit., pp. 106, 107. Children read for what they want out of a story often ignoring what appears to be didacticism or cynicism to an adult. They are sometimes emotionally supported by a note of "the moral" protecting them in a real world that is frightening and often far from moral.
born to them, they plan an elaborate feast but do not want to invite the cross fairy, the Lady Abracadabra. In the manner of such tales the fairy, of course, comes to the christening in a chariot drawn by cockatrice. She causes trouble for the young prince by giving him the name of Eigenwillig or "self-willed." He has a nurse called Yellowlily and three clever women to teach him: The Lady Brigida, the Lady Rigida, and the Lady Frigida. They teach him belles lettres and a variety of "ologies" but there is no one to govern "self."

In remedying the tyranny of the odious self-will, the Lady Abracadabra steps in with a curious kind of magic. She stretches the young prince out like a rubber band and then rolls him into a bouncing ball. In this condition he goes anywhere that the fairy wishes him to go. Needless to say, he sees his folly, repents, changes, and is beloved by all his country.

Paget uses many descriptive phrases of the kind that still appeal to children. In describing the kitchen, it has "crystal doors of nutmeg, and pillars of green ginger." Magic touches are used such as the ability to learn "the secret of fernseed, and walk invisible."! Humor abounds in the nonsense phrases such as the one describing the relationship of the royal prince. He was a "second cousin nine times removed" from the family of "Katzenellenbogen—Katzeverrankotsdarsprakenluftschlosser."!2

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1 This annotation is composed from notes written during the writer's visit of June, 1964 to the Osborne Collection. The edition read at that time was the fifth edition published by J. Masters and Co. in 1874. This is listed in The Osborne Collection on page 376.

2 This is as satisfyingly mouthfilling and as inwardly laugh producing as the twentieth century phrase from the movie, Mary Poppins, supercalifragilistic expialidocious.
American authorities discuss Ruskin and Thackeray in the development of the written fantasy or fairy tale but make no mention of Paget, the possible English originator of the genre.


This classic example of the curious and amusing art of hilarious nonsense. Darton describes it as "too high above the more frivolous work of the time to produce anything but imitations: not descendants nor rivals." Ramsey declares that "the modern period in the literature for young people of English-speaking peoples begins with this work." Through Lear, nonsense has gained honorable estate.

Thomas McLean was a publisher and engraver at 26 Haymarket. He put out the original book in two parts "bound separately in pictorial bounds." McLean put out a second edition in 1856.

The hilarious pictures done by Lear himself were real illustrations, an integral part of the nonsense. Lear, a serious water color painter, was known as a cultured and restrained poet. He earned his living as an illustrator of books, mainly ornithological. Hence, his first little book of limericks "appeared with nothing to denote its

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1Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 249.
2The Ramsey Notes, *op. cit.*, unpaged.
3Mahoney, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
4The Osborne Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 484.
5*ibid.*, p. 69. 6*ibid.*, p. 69. 7Darton, *loc. cit.*
authorship but these words on the cover:

There was an old Derry-down-Derry
Who liked to see little folks merry,
So he wrote them a book
And with laughter they shook
At the fun of that Derry-down-Derry. ¹

It was composed to amuse the grandchildren, nephews, and nieces of the thirteenth Earl of Derby (several generations of these earls were his patrons). He dedicated it to their great-grandchildren, grand-nephews and grandnieces.² He called himself the laureate of nonsense and wrote a poem to that effect which describes him very well:

How pleasant to know Mr. Lear!
Who has written such volumes of stuff!
Some think him ill-tempered and queer,
But a few think him pleasant enough,

His mind is concrete and fastidious,
His nose is remarkably big;
His visage is more or less hideous
His beard it resembles a wig. ³

The portrait goes on to describe his love of wine (from which he never gets tipsy); his many friends; his old cat named Foss; his stout round body; his travels (which were many and constant); his eating habits; reading habits; and fits of weeping.

Youngest child of a family of twenty-one children, of whom thirteen were girls, he was brought up by the eldest, Ann. He was nearly fifty when she died. She had mothered him until then. He wistfully thought of marrying but never did. His main excuse was that he was fearful of

¹Thwaite, op. cit., p. 126.
³Ibid., p. vii.
the appearance of a new baby every year. In spite of the fact that he enjoyed children, in short doses, and they enjoyed him, he could not stand their noise or much of any other noise.

Although Lear's formal education ended when he was fifteen, he could read or talk a half a dozen languages, including ancient and modern Greek. At fifteen he was earning his living as a commercial artist. He even became art-master to Queen Victoria. He wrote and composed songs, kept long diaries, maintained a steady correspondence with innumerable people, was a skillful landscape painter, and a technically exact illustrator of birds. In spite of this, he was usually financially insolvent. Money problems plagued him all of more than seventy years of his life. One reason for this was his extreme generosity to all of his family. Chronic ill health was an accompanying irritation. Yet he loved life and was sad at the prospect of a finite mortality.

He was social, but not gregarious. Indeed, gregariousness would have turned out the enormous quantities of work that he did. He sometimes thought that his addiction to work was a "universal panacea for the ills of life." Jackson gives an example of his productivity:

In one year alone [on a sketching tour in 1865] his "outdoor work" comprised, "200 sketches in Crete, 145 in "the corniche," and 125 at Nice, Antibes, and Cannes." He goes to India and in six months dispatches to England "no less than 560 drawings, large and small besides 9 small sketch books and 4 journals." He was then sixty-two and described himself with some justice as "a very energetic and frisky old cove."
He had exaggerated love of grumbling to which he gave his own touch of nonsense. Although he exploded over trifles, he prided himself on his composure. He did realize, however, that he was not a team worker. He was an individualist whose work had to be done alone and in his own way. He fought for this and hated it when he became an artistic lion. This was especially true when he discovered that such lionizing brought him no money but ate into his work time.

Although the work by which he earned a living is still extant and respected by the people in that field, he is best known today, for his nonsense. This nonsense is:

... no mere tissue of quips and jokes. It is a thing in itself in a world of its own, with its own physiography and natural history; a world in which the nature of things has been changed, whilst retaining its own logical and consistent idiom. He expresses a nonsensical condition which is peculiar to himself and necessary to his serenity, and it may be that this fantastic world gratifies for him a desire which we all share to some extent, probably more than we are willing to admit, and which he seems to share, by anticipation, with the surrealists of our own time.¹

During his lifetime Lear published four volumes of nonsense. In 1895 Sir Edward Strachey edited a volume combining the four original volumes together with the addition of few hitherto unpublished pieces. It was in the Strachey edition that the self-portrait appeared for the first time.² The four editions are:

1. *The Book of Nonsense*, 1846;
2. *Nonsense Songs, Stories, Botany, and Alphabets*, 1871;
4. *Laughable Lyrics*, 1877.³

¹*ibid.*, p. xxiii. ²*ibid.*, p. xxvii. ³*ibid.*, p. xxviii.
All are illustrated by Lear, himself. His illustrations for The Book of Nonsense, while apt, are more childlike than the others which exhibit the finesse of the excellent draftsman that he was. They are replete with action and detail.

The Book of Nonsense is made up of limericks (and their illustrations). Holbrook includes one hundred and fourteen in his edition.\(^1\) Lear admitted that he received his inspiration from The History of Sixteen Old Women published by Harris a quarter of a century earlier.\(^2\)

No one knows why this verse form is called a limerick.

Thrall and Hibbard call it a popular type of light verse with the following definite pattern:

\[ \ldots \text{five anapestic lines of which the first, second, and fifth, consisting of three feet, RIME; and the third and fourth lines, consisting of two feet, RIME.}^{3} \]

There is a variation to this pattern. The verse may be of only four lines with the third line bearing an internal RIME. The third line might be considered as two lines.

The Handbook also states ignorance of the origin of the verse. It does state that it probably began as "a kind of epigrammatic song passed around orally . . . [increasing the subject range] to encompass every possible theme, with nothing being sacred to their humor."\(^4\)

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\(^1\)Ibid., pp. 3-58.

\(^2\)Darton, op. cit., p. 208. See annotation, supra.

\(^3\)Thrall and Hibbard, A Handbook to Literature, op. cit., p. 178.

\(^4\)Ibid., p. 258. It is interesting that The Handbook attributes first appearance in print of such verse to "Loane's History of Sixteen Wonderful Old Women, 1821." See annotation, supra.
Lear's limericks were written as though they were four-lined verse:

There was an Old Person of Hurst,
Who drank when he was not athirst;
When they said, "You'll grow fatter," he answered, 'What matter?''
That globular Person of Hurst.1

There was a Young Person of Crete,
Whose toilette was far from complete;
She dressed in a sack, spickle-spackled with black,
That ombliferous person of Crete.2

This last verse also exemplifies Lear's tendency to make up words or change syllables of already existing words to fit his own feeling of what was right. This is a tendency that children love. During the stage of their development in which they talk in a "language of their own" or one used in common with their siblings or a few of the "select" among their peers, they have a tendency to do the same thing. They also delight in Lear's puns, Wellerisms,3 and Spoonerisms, although the last term was not coined until the late nineteenth century when Dr. W. A. Spooner of New College, Oxford became famous for such blunders4 as "dalkin' the wog" instead of "walking the dog."

Such well known and much loved poems as "The Owl and the Pussy Cat" came with Nonsense Songs, the second volume of Lear's work. The "Jumbies," the stories, and the alphabet were also included with this, but this was not until 1871.

1Lear, op. cit., edited by Jackson, p. 13.
2ibid., p. 13.
3ibid., p. xxv. "Viddy" for widow; "chimbly" for chimney, and the then fashionable humor of long involved sentences with a surprise ending.
4Thrall and Hibbard, op. cit., p. 468.
Mahoney lists six volumes of Lear, with Lear's own illustrations, published by six different publishers from 1846 to 1911. Mahoney also identifies two of Lear's works illustrated by Leslie Brooke, the later and equally famous English artist and author for children. These are The Jumblies put out in book form by Warne in 1900, and Pelican Chorus also in book form by Warne in 1900. Smith lists other Warne editions of Nonsense Songs and of the Botany and Alphabets in 1927. These few references give no indication of the many editions which have been printed, nor of the individual works of Lear included in anthologies.


The 1846 edition is the first time a book of high literary content for children was advertised, sold, and of more importance for its illustrator than for anything else. It marks the beginning of "Dick" Doyle's reputation as an illustrator of fairy tales.

1Mahoney, op. cit., p. 420.
2Ibid., p. 486.
3Ibid., p. 395.
4Smith, op. cit., p. 178.
5Mahoney, op. cit., p. 422.
6Ibid., p. 48. He became best known for this type of illustrating from 1850 on. Mahoney lists his illustrations for William Allingham's In Fairyland as being the penultimate of his work but this was not until 1870.
The original "Murray" of the publishing house was a John MacMurray who, on retiring from the Marines in 1768, "purchased the bookselling business of William Sandy on Fleet Street and changed his name to Murray." His son, John, continued the business at Albermarle. John III was the successor at the time The Fairy Ring was published.\(^2\)

The translator of this edition is John Edward Taylor, an English journalist and founder of the Manchester Guardian, who was born in the Unitarian parsonage at Ilminster. He is not to be confused with his older cousin, Edward Taylor, who some twenty years earlier had done the first translation of some of the Grimm tales into English. The first Taylor's Grimm is illustrated by John Cruikshank the other superlative illustrator of fairyfolk for children.\(^3\)

There is a confusion attendant to both title, translator, and illustrator that is indicative of several Victorian trends in publishing for children:

1. The fairy tale had become respectable. Every publisher was rivalling other publishers in putting out such collections.
2. Learned men turned their talents, often as a one-time shot, to translating materials from other languages into English. The folk tale, symbol of nationalism, was an extremely popular medium to be used in this fashion. During mid-Victorian years the German influence was especially strong in both literature and education for children.

\(^1\)The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 487.
\(^2\)Ibid., p. 487.
\(^3\)See this work, supra, annotation, 1823, German Popular Tales.
3. Illustrators of children's books were just coming into their own. They were on the threshold of their Golden Age. Each publisher had his own favorites, just as he did among writers.

In tracing the confusion two other editions of the same title must be mentioned. They are both American editions. One was published in 1848; the other in 1910.

The earlier of the two editions includes the stories printed in the English 1846 edition. The translator, however, in his preface gives homage to an illustrator different from and not equal in grace to 'Dicky' Doyld. This is a Mr. Napoleon Saroney whom Taylor describes as one 'whose pencil has materially heightened any charm which these tales may be found to possess.'

Saroney is one of those mid-century American illustrators for children who fall into the group mentioned by Mahoney as being unrecorded. It is well to repeat her words here:

... there are no books on the subject of early American illustration. It has literally to be dug out of magazines, early books, art columns of newspapers, and exhibition catalogues.

The third of the editions is edited by Kate Douglas Wiggin and her sister, Nora Archibald. It is a Doubleday publication of 1910 and is illustrated by Elizabeth Mackinstry. Without examining this edition it is not possible to know how many of the titles in the original John Grimm, The Fairy Ring, third edition (Philadelphia: A. Hart [late Carey and Hart], 1851), p. 3. Saroney's 12 illustrations are lithographs in pale colors.

Mahoney, op. cit., p. 102.

Wendy, op. cit., p. 320.

Mahoney, op. cit., p. 422.
Edward Taylor translation have been included in the twentieth century publication.

There are thirty-six stories in the early *Fairy Ring*. Notes about some of the tales are appended to the back of the book. The notes quote statements from the Grimm brothers and trace variants. The titles of the stories are:

1. "Bruin and the Dwarf"
2. "The Cat and the Mouse"
3. "Thumbling's Travels"
4. "The Owl"
5. "The Nix in the Mill-Pond"
6. "The Dwarf in the Bottle"
7. "The Six Swans"
8. "The Hedgehog and the Hare"
9. "The Goosegirl at the Well"
10. "Clever Alice"
11. "The Knapsack, the Hat, and the Horn"
12. "The Straw, the Coal, and the Bean"
13. "The Miller's Lad and the Kitten"
14. "The Spindle, the Shuttle, and the Needle"
15. "The Three Elves in the Wood"
16. "The Two Brothers"

It is interesting to note that Taylor thanks the scholar Kelghtley for his help on fairy mythology but Mahoney does not list Kelghtley's work as being published until 1850, two years after the American preface was written. See Grimm, 1848 Carey third edition, p. 3. See also Mahoney, *op. cit.*, p. 41. (Thomas Kelghtley as illustrated by Cruikshank.)
Of these the most familiar themes pertain to those of the Thumbling or Tom-Thumb variety; the water sprite, mermaid, or nix encounter; the spirit captured in a bottle; the inanimate object such as a napkin or a dish that provides bountiful amounts of food or other necessities for its owner; the Rumpelstilskin kind of story in which a name must be told or a forfeit is paid (here, "The Dragon and the Grandmother"); the
Aschenputtel or Cinderella story ("Little One-Eye, Two-Eyes, and Three-Eyes"); and, the Rapunzel type of story ("Violet") in which the hero climbs up the tower by means of his sweetheart's long and beautiful hair. The animal stories are akin to beast fables.

The title is derived from a symbolism of concept and illustration. The toadstool circle that springs up overnight in a grassy spot has long been symbolic of the circle in which the fairies danced the previous night away. It is not hard to associate such a thought with the idea of fairy tales so beloved by children that those people who know them (child and adult alike) form a circle of the initiated, holding hands with one another. Doyle used the idea in his cover and titlepiece of delicacy and grace. His wildly dancing fairy folk are pictured in such a ring or circle, holding hands as they dance. Saroney blithely adopts Doyle's idea.

Among the modern artists who are as well known for their lovely illustrations of fairy tales (especially those of the Grimms) and their adaptations as are the original authors are Wanda Gag and Arthur Rackham. Wanda Gag did Tales from Grimm, first published by Coward in 1936; and, Three Gay Tales from Grimm, also published by Coward in 1943. The Gag books are often found in libraries by the illustrator's name. It is her contribution to these editions that is held as foremost in importance just as Doyle's was in 1846.

Three of Arthur Rackham's several illustrated Grimm editions also exemplify this trend. They are Fairy Tales, published by Freemantle in 1900; Fairy Tales (with added illustrations) published by Constable in 1920; and, Snowdrop and Other Tales first published by Constable, 1917.

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1Mahoney, op. cit., p. 476.  2Ibid., p. 411.  3Ibid., p. 431.
Translator Mary Howitt. London: Chapman and Hall.\(^1\)


The best and the first of the three translations made from the Danish of Hans Christian Andersen in 1846.\(^2\)

Edward Chapman and Edward Hall were also Dickens' publishers. In 1846, the year before Hall's death, they were still at 186 Strand.\(^3\)

Mary Howitt learned Danish so that she could translate Andersen's tales. Mary and her husband William became good friends of Andersen whom they considered a genius, egocentric, and much too sensitive. They admired his work and he, in turn, was pleased with Mary's translation which portrayed the poetic style of the original. In spite of this, the book did not make expenses. It is thought probable that each of the three translations took away from the sales of the others.\(^4\)

The two other selections from Andersen were: (1) *A Danish Story Book*, translated by Charles Boner, published by Joseph Cundall, and (2) *Danish Fairy Tales and Legends*, translated by Caroline Peachey, published by Pickering.\(^5\)

Mary Howitt's translation included ten stories: (1) "Ole Lukoie";

\(^1\)The Osborne Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

\(^2\)Darton, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-247.

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 469.


\(^5\)Thwaite, *loc. cit.*
(2) "The Daisy"; (3) "The Naughty Boy"; (4) "Tommelise"; (now known as "Thumbelina"); (5) "The Rose-Elf"; (6) "The Garden of Paradise"; (7) "A Night in the Kitchen"; (8) "Little Ida's Flowers"; (9) "The Constant Soldier"; and (10) "The Storks."

Boner and Peachey included some of the ten above as well as "The Ugly Duckling," "The Little Mermaid," and a few others. Their translations, however, suffered from the over sentimentalism which was a blight of the times. It was Mary Howitt's spirited version that helped the Andersen tales achieve great popularity. Darton calls her book "the first and greatest new ally of the Summerly army. The victory of fantasy was in sight."  

Although the Howitts (William and his wife, Mary Botham) belonged to the Society of Friends, they explained to the curious that they were not so "orthodox" that they felt obliged to employ the Quaker firm of Darton and Harvey. The husband and wife sometimes co-authored works but more often wrote separately. They were practical in most of the things that they wrote, relying on their intimate firsthand knowledge of and experience with country life.

William's father was a Rousseauist who, nevertheless, delighted in arguing that Rousseau's "sophisms" were "long fallen before common sense."  

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1 The Osborne Collection, loc.cit.  
2 Thwaite, loc. cit.  
3 Darton, op. cit., p. 246. See Summerly annotations, this period, supra.  
4 The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 472.  
5 Darton, op. cit., p. 244.
William also was brought up on local legends of Robin Hood and strange stories of a wide variety. He was pleased to know that he was descended from Sir William Hewet of London Bridge, a famous merchant, and that there was a romantic story about the Hewet's daughter, Anne, and her father's apprentice who saved her from drowning.1

Mary's family adhered more strictly to Quaker beliefs but they discussed these beliefs and read scripture only when the spirit moved them. Mary's mother used her time as she sat spinning to recite poems to her family "both grave and gay." Mary had a nursemaid who was steeped in the local lore of ghosts, hobgoblins, and fairies. She passed her knowledge on to her small charges.2

During their long and happy married life William and Mary enjoyed wide social range. In fact, this range was wider than that enjoyed by any of the other children's writers except Maria Edgeworth. Among their friends they included professional literary folk like themselves, philosophers, scientists, people prominent in other religious fields, Americans like Louisa May Alcott, anti-slavery people, defenders of the married woman's property act, leaders in church disestablishment, and the Pre-Raphaelites. They had a host of American cousins whom they delighted in visiting. They both did many foreign translations with great delight.3

Readers in general know more about the life of Hans Christian Andersen, the boy from Odense. They realize that he was the 'ugly duckling' himself. He was a scrawny dreaming child, the son of a gentle woodworker-cum-cobbler and a screaming shrew of a mother who loved him

1ibid., p. 245.  
2ibid., p. 244.  
3ibid., pp. 245-246.
and read Moliere to him. He was taunted by his schoolmates and took refuge in a dream world of his own. He did not originally write for children. In fact, he was in despair that his dramas and his more serious writings were not accepted as he believed they should be. But he was beloved by children and he came to enjoy this belovedness. The king granted him a pension enabling him to be independent.¹

Darton describes Andersen's genius in writing when he states:

Andersen, in fact, was at once an involuntary collector of tradition, a poet, and an original genius; and 1846 recognized the fact.²

Among the ten stories in the first translation, "Thumbelina" (Tommelise); "Little Ida's Flowers"; "The Constant Soldier" ("The Steadfast Tin Soldier"); and "The Storks" are the best known. Thumbelina is the tiny charming girl who survives such adventures as floating away on a lily pad, living underground with a mole, resuscitating a robin who appeared dead, and flying away on the robin's back to meet and wed her prince charming. "Little Ida's Flowers" is an enlarged and somewhat changed memory of the flowers that grew around the Andersen cottage and the thoughts Andersen had about those flowers. The tin soldier fell in love with a paper ballerina. Even a gust of wind blowing him into difficulties nor the flames that consumed his lady-love did not change their affections. The heart that could not be destroyed becomes a symbol of their fidelity. The storks during nest-building and migration make wise and sometimes beautiful comments about people and the state of the world.

¹Helgs, op. cit. ²Darton, op. cit., p. 247.
Later translations presented the story world with about forty stories which have been widely read and loved ever since. Among these are "The Ugly Duckling" (who discovered he was a swan, symbolic of Andersen and other people of unrecognized genius); "The Tinder Box" (with its soldier, old woman, triumvirate of treasure guarding dogs with their round and ever bigger eyes), "The Princess and the Pea" (only royalty can be made uncomfortable by a pea far down under layers of downy bedding); "The Snow Queen" (with Gerda rescuing little Kay from cold wickedness; the allegory for all mankind and the real theme underlying the majority of Andersen's tales); "The Emperor's New Clothes" (a social satire from a Spanish source with cynicism about status seekers and mob psychology that still rings true). This short list will bring a dozen other favorites to the minds of those people who have read and enjoyed Andersen's 'Wonder Stories'.

The first edition of the title considered in this annotation is illustrated with four hand colored plates.

Although Mahoney lists forty-nine illustrated editions of either single stories from or collections of the writings of Andersen, she only mentions one called *Wonder Stories for Children*. This is illustrated by Danish Thomas Vilhelm Pedersen and American M. L. Stone in a Hurd and

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1 Muir states that for scholars who wish to know the "dates and contents of the original editions of Hans Christian Andersen's books of fairy tales and stories, the standard work is B. F. Nielsen's *H. C. Andersen Bibliografi* (Copenhagen: Hagerup, 1942). Dates and titles of the early English translations are in E. Bredsdorff's *Danish Literature in English Translations* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1950). Muir, *op. cit.* p. 43.

2 The Osborne Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

3 Mahoney, *op. cit.*, p. 453.
Houghton edition (American) of 1871. 1

Some of the other well known illustrators of later collections or single stories are Arthur Rackham, Elizabeth Mackinstry, Feodor Ryankowsky, and, interestingly enough, Lucy Fitch Perkins of the twin series fame.2

Many psychologists of the twentieth century affirm that the folk tale contains values for children distilled through the generations.3 It must be remembered that Andersen's works are a combination of folk tales, reshaped folk tales, and original creations. M. P. Picard, a British author and specialist in work with children, fears that some of the Andersen tales are stronger meat for children than the genuine folk tale. To understand her point of view the interested scholar must read her book upon this subject.4

1847 Marryat, Frederick. The Children of the New Forest . . .

Two Volumes. London: H. Hurst.5 ICU - B, ICH - M, Ca OTP.

23. Historical, Adventure, Romance.

Timeless, with an enduring and “deserved popularity.”6 Considered

1 ibid., p. 428.

2 ibid., p. 453.

3 See this work, Introduction, supra, for statements by such psychologists as Bruner; Getzels and Jackson; and Schactel.


5 The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 280.

6 ibid., p. 280.
one of Marryat's two best books, the other being Masterman Ready, one of the few stories of Royalist sympathies in which the Roundhead cause is depicted without prejudice. Marryat was the first juvenile author to exploit the side of the juvenile market that preferred juvenile stories with roots in the past.

The publisher, H. Hurst, had his establishment at 27 King William Street, Charing Cross. There he sold a series of publications called the "Juvenile Library" in which the reader might find "a complete course of instruction on every useful subject." He also published a Marryat book called The Little Savage which was tagged with the identification (The "Juvenile Library"). This may or may not mean that it was a part of the series which had become "The Preceptor."

Upon his retirement from the navy, Marryat had become a writer of

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2 Thwaite, op. cit., p. 178. On page 177 Thwaite also calls this a "splendid" story. Contrast these comments of approbation with Tarr's opinion, op. cit., p. 71 wherein she feels that Marryat is too serious, not taking advantage of opportunities for humorous relief.

3 Muir, op. cit., p. 108.

4 The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 480.

5 Ibid., p. 125.

6 Ibid., p. 280. Marryat died before completing this. His son wrote the second volume.

7 Ibid., p. 125. The significance of the inclusion of the term the "Juvenile Library" needs to be investigated by some scholar interested in Marryat or in the English publishers of the 1840's. Darton, op. cit., p. 254, discusses a Marryat "Juvenile Library" which includes Masterman Ready, Settlers in Canada, and Children of the New Forest.
adult best-sellers. It was not only because of his children's demands that he started writing juveniles. He was aware that many children were reading his adult fare which he felt was not as moral in tone as juveniles should be. As a consequence he adopted a preaching style which he plastered into all of his books for children and young people. Darton believes that such didacticism is a fault of the entire Victorian period and that Marryat was only indulging in a trend of his time.¹

Whatever his faults, Marryat was read, and read avidly, for several generations. He also influenced and was admired by later writers. Among these are such notable writers as Joseph Conrad, who thought he inspired by the "glamour" of his own temperament,² George Alfred Henty,³ who did not begin to write his prolific series of books for boys until after 1868; and Robert Louis Stevenson.⁴

The historical background in *Children of the New Forest* is slight, being supplied by the introductory paragraph, a few allusions to happenings of that period, and an occasional old world phrase. British children do not need anymore than this for an adequate setting of time and place. They live among artifacts of older days. They can see the New Forest, though not as it was in its more pristine days. American children have little knowledge of the English "Civil" War. For comprehension they need the following paragraph with which the story begins:

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¹Ibid., p. 119.
²Thwaite, op. cit., p. 163.
³Ibid., p. 181. Thwaite believes that Henty inspired many boys with a taste for history which they would not otherwise have acquired.
⁴Darton, op. cit., p. 301.
The circumstances which I am about to relate to my juvenile readers took place in the year 1647. By referring to the history of England of that date they will find that King Charles the first, against whom the Commons of England had rebelled, after a Civil War of nearly five years, had been defeated, and was confined as a prisoner at Hampton Court. The Cavaliers, or the party who fought for King Charles, had all been dispersed, and the Parliamentary army under the command of Cromwell were beginning to control the commons.

After two pages of tracing the history of this civil war, and of defining the New Forest by boundary and anecdotal evidence of its purpose, Marryat introduces Jacob Armitage, the sixty-year-old forester and servant of the Cavalier Beverly family. It is he who warns the four Beverly orphans and their guardian aunt, Miss Judith Villiers, of the plot to burn the family mansion and kill the children. In contriving a counterplot to save the children's lives, poor spinster Miss Villiers is abducted by the Roundheads who are led by Jacob to believe that she is King Charles in the disguise of an old woman. Jacob takes the children (Alice, Edith, Edward, and Humphrey) to his cottage in the forest where they dress and live as forester's children.

During the first days of their life in the cottage, they are almost discovered by Cromwellian search parties. Jacob pretends that the children whom he passes off as his children are recuperating from the smallpox. The soldiers, although they search the house, do not molest or even think of looking at such rustic children. And so it goes, for sometime the children still feign illness. They learn, however, to perform simple chores, and the girls become very good plain

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cooks. The entire situation is made up of elements that children so often use in their play-acting. They are hunted; they successfully hide; they are aided by a faithful servant. The boys are manly, hunting and bringing in provisions. The girls assume the domestic role, cooking, keeping house, tending a garden, caring for domestic fowl and animals. There is a devoted dog and some squealing hard to handle pigs. All around is the mysterious forest, exciting with its drama of the wit and cunning of the Cavaliers against the wit and cunning of the Roundheads. It is a castaway story completely on dry land. The wreck which deposited them in their isolation is the breakup of a home and almost the breakup of a nation.

After Jacob's death, the children continue living in his cottage becoming more proficient in their disguises and more adept at outwitting danger. There are narrow escapes, breathless moments, short times of placid happiness. As he becomes older, Edward plays the successful role of a precursor of an intelligence agent within enemy ranks. During this time he meets Patience who later becomes his wife. He goes off to do battle for King Charles, claims his paternal estate (Arnwood) and lives to take an active part in the Restoration Court.

Alice and Edith also become brides, given away in marriage by His Majesty himself. Edward has become so enamoured of farming that he makes it his prosperous life work, marrying a girl who once seemed to have been spying upon the children.

The many characters are well drawn, living in patterns consistent with their own characteristics. A doughty housekeeper becomes more doughty with age. A gypsy boy who wants to be honest becomes honest
without losing the flavor of colorful gypsy traits that seem romantic to children.

There is a great deal of conversation that rings true and advances the action. There is an abundance of action. A surprising scene depicts the rout of King Charles' men and the ensuing lack of morale among his men. Edward and his young friends were completely disgusted that the King's men should exhibit so little valor or even steadfastness. Touches such as these, common to the feelings of young people in any century, form a part of the appeal the story still has for readers who are blind to didacticism, taking only the story with the values which appeal to them.

Mahoney lists three illustrated complete editions of Children of the New Forest. These are:


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1Mahoney, op. cit., p. 489.  
2 Ibid., p. 427; Smith, op. cit., p. 151 also cites this.  
3 Ibid., p. 438.  
4 Ibid., p. 444.
1848 Hoffmann-Downer, Heinrich. The English Strumwelpeter or Pretty Pictures and Funny Pictures for Little Children.
(Based on the sixth German edition,) Leipzig, Germany.¹

"One of the earliest and most successful author-artist-picture-books for the very young."² An unwitting rival for Lear.³ One of the first successful results of chromolithography.⁴ "Excellent use of true animated drawing ... [as it] ... became respectable ... in the first half of the nineteenth century."⁵

Dr. Heinrich Hoffman's Strumwelpeter was first published anonymously "in 1845 in Frankfort-am-Main as Lustige Geschichten und Drollige Bilder."⁶ In the third German edition the title became Der Strumwelpeter. In English translations it became known as Shock-headed Peter; or, The English Strumwelpeter.⁷

The first American edition appeared in 1849 under the title of Slovenly Peter; or, Pleasant Stories and Funny Pictures.⁸

¹Thwaite, op. cit., p. 199.
²Ibid., p. 199.
³Darton, op. cit., p. 250.
⁴Thwaite, op. cit., p. 199.
⁶Thwaite, loc. cit.
⁷Darton, loc. cit.
⁸Ramsey Notes, op. cit., unpaged. Mahoney and Ramsey are the only two American authorities used as references for this study who mention this book which is still in print and ubiquitously present in all children's libraries today.
Dr. Hoffmann, a Frankfort physician, wrote and illustrated the book for his own children and for his small patients. The doctor tells how he came to write the story. Darton believes, rightly or wrongly, that the book was not intended to be as hilariously comic as children take it. It is made up of "awful warning" verses in the manner of the later English Hilaire Belloc. The characters all do dreadful things (for children) and come (or almost come) to no good end. Peter will not brush his hair or cut his nails. He ends up shockheaded, wild, and with nails a winding foot or more long. Another child screams out his defiant protest against eating nasty soup--five days later he dies. A snooty child, unseeing head in air, walks off a dock into the water; he nearly drowns, his brief case floats away, accompanied by fish that seem to swim in rhythm.

Mahoney lists the first English publisher Griffith, Farran, Browne, 1848. St. John traces the company as beginning with William Darling Griffith. In 1843 he entered into partnership with E. V. Grant. Robert Farran did not join them until 1856 (eight years after the book's first publication date); and the imprint of the firm did not include "Brown" until after 1885. St. John does list a Griffith, Farran, Brown edition of about 1900 which contains the illustrations of the 1848 edition (whatever the publisher's imprint was).

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1Darton, loc. cit. Adults are frightened by this book. Most children are not.
2See annotation, supra, The Daisy.
3Mahoney, op. cit., p. 415.
4The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 476.
5Ibid., p. 66.
The earliest Osborne edition listed by St. John is one put out by the London publisher William Tegg\(^1\) in 1868. This appears to be the edition cited by Thwaite in which the illustrations had been "redrawn and engraved on wood."\(^2\) St. John calls them "hand-coloured lithographs which follow the themes of the originals."\(^3\) Peter had shorter fingernails, less flowing hair, and was mounted on a higher platform. Shockheaded Peter and his friends made a following brief appearance in another less widely circulated book done by Dr. Hoffmann. This is King Nutcracker: or, The Dream of Poor Reinhold (König Nüssknacker und der arme Reinhold, 1851), freely adapted by J. R. Planche in 1853.\(^4\)


Representative of the author, of the illustrator, of the growing popularity of fantasy. Harbinger of Pinocchio, suggestive of the beginning trend of doll stories.

William Bradbury, the senior member of the publishing house, began as a printer in Fleet Street in 1824. In 1830 he began his publishing

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 66.

\(^2\)Thwaite, op. cit., p. 199.

\(^3\)The Osborne Collection, loc. cit.,

\(^4\)Thwaite, op. cit., p. 200. Mahoney, op. cit., p. 211, lists The Nutcracker as appealing and important in the development of animated drawing with a good influence on the incomparable Wilhelm Busch. See annotation, Bayley, supra.

\(^5\)The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 366.
business in partnership with Frederick Mullett Evans. "They bought Punch from Ebenezer Landells in 1842 and published Dickens' Christmas Carol in 1843."¹

Mark Lemon was a London born author of plays, farces, novels, and children's books. In 1841 he helped establish Punch.² Illustrator Richard Doyle was a star Punch artist until he broke away, partly because of slights to his Roman Catholic beliefs, to be a completely free lance illustrator.³ It is interesting to note that Lemon dedicated his book 'affectionately' to Mary and Kate Dickens, daughters of his friend Charles⁴ who was often published in Punch.

The story is clever, fanciful, weird, based on a superstition of evil, not at all in the later tradition of the doll story.

Jacob Pont, a clever but lazy dollmaker, is jealous of industrious gold and silversmith Anthony (Tony) Stubbs. They live and work at Maude's Dingle, near London, in the middle of a small wood skirting the boundary wall of the Priory Garden at Kilbourne. On a still day Bow Bells could be heard at the Dingle.

Lying in the sward, Jacob saw a march of pygmy people coming from the hole at the foot of a hollow beech tree. Their musicians played upon drums, trumpets, and symbols. Foremost among the pygmies was a beautiful little Ethiopian lady with gold armlets, bracelets, and anklets,

¹Ibid., p. 467.
²Adburgham, op. cit., p. 11. See this chapter, Historical Background, Punch, supra.
³See section on illustrators, Doyle, this chapter, supra.
⁴The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 366.
attired in a rich style of Eastern dress.

Jacob made a wooden doll from enchanted material stolen from the fairies. He hacked and punished the little thing with the hope that the angry doll put into Tony's house would wreak its retribution upon the silversmith. Instead, the doll returned with fire to set Jacob's house ablaze. Tony saved Jacob from the conflagration but the spiteful doll could still cause evil. Only the prayers of Tony's sweetheart (wanted by Jacob) dissolved the doll and destroyed its evil.

Doyle's illustrations are a miracle of tiny intricate design. He captures the grace of the fairy procession, the evil of Jacob's jealousy reflected on his face, and Tony's good nature. The doll looks wooden and malevolent, far more wicked than wooden Pinocchio who was only mischievous.

A doll story contemporary to this one, which again is not like its modern namesake, is Memoirs of a London Doll published in 1846 by Joseph Cundall,⁴ the publisher of Felix Summerly and a supporter of fairy tales. The author was "Mrs. Fairstars," the pseudonym of Richard Henry Horne, who wrote several delightful stories for children.

The doll story developed later with Mary Mapes Dodge's Racketty Packetty House (a fictional account of the dolls that once belonged to Queen Victoria). Among the well known doll stories of the twentieth century are: Rachel Fields' Hetty: Her First Hundred Years (Macmillan, 1929); Carolyn Bailey's Miss Hickory (made from an apple twig and a hickory nut) published by Viking in 1946; and the many exquisite doll stories written by Rumer Godden. Among these are: The Doll's House (Viking, ¹Ibid., p. 263.
1956), this time a story about dolls of the Plantagenet period on display at Queen Victoria's great exhibition); and Miss Happiness and Miss Flower (Viking, 1961) about a lonely little girl and two Japanese dolls.

The only illustrated edition of The Enchanted Doll that Mahoney lists is the original edition with Doyle's pictures. Mahoney also lists three other children's books by Lemon: Fairy Tales (illustrated by C. H. Bennett and Doyle), Legends of Number Nip (illustrated by Keene), and Tinykins Transformations (illustrated by C. Green).


(Collection).

The first collection of folk tales of its special type, namely from a variety of countries. Most of these stories made their first English appearance in this volume.

The publishers were cousins with Edward beginning the firm in 1830 and Frederic entering in 1841. In 1849 the establishment was still at 186 Strand. The next year it was moved to 193 Picadilly.

An American edition, published by Harpers, came out in 1850, the

1Mahoney, op. cit., pp. 405, 486.

2Ibid., p. 486. The first two books are also listed in The Osborne Collection, pp. 366, 367. Fairy Tales includes "The Enchanted Doll."

3Mahoney, op. cit., p. 405.

4Ramsey notes, op. cit., unpaged; Thwaite, op. cit., p. 110; Meigs, op. cit., p. 206.

5The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 469.
year immediately after the book's first publication. This used
Montalba's preface and allegorical first story and Doyle's thirty-some
illustrations.¹ Dean and Son, Limited of 160 Fleet Street, London, put
out a fourth edition in 1893.² This edition includes an introduction³
by F. G. Green (with no mention of Montalba). Green also did a eulog-
istic biographical sketch of Richard Doyle.⁴

At the time Darton wrote his Children's Books in England, he
described the firm of Dean in these words:

The firm of Dean is now the oldest in London which has
always been continuously engaged in the provision of
books especially for children ... they were in premises
in Threadneedle Street, Ludgate Hill and Fleet Street in
succession; and the business continues today in Covent
Garden.⁵

Darton then goes on to mention Mr. F. G. Green, his old friend,
and a member of the firm of Dean.⁶ It is therefore logical for Mr.
Green to be the editor of Dean and Company's edition of the Fairy Tales
of All Nations.

In his own preface, Montalba expresses the hope that the day in
which fairy tales were considered pernicious is gone forever. He

¹Anthony Montalba, Fairy Tales from All Nations (New York: Har
per and Brothers, 1850). The title page reads "With Twenty-four
Illustrations by Richard Doyle," however, this does not count the ela-
borate initials (designs) which begin each story. The book was dedi-
cated to "The Right Hon. The Earl Fitzwilliam."

²F. G. Green, The Doyle Fairy Book (ed.) (London: Dean and Co.,
1893).

³Ibid., pp. 15-26.

⁴Ibid., pp. 27-45. Both Introduction and biography are important
reading for students of a literature for children.

⁵Darton, op. cit., pp. 212, 213.

⁶Ibid., p. 213.
believes that his generation has
cast off that pedantic folly . . . we now acknowledge that
innocent amusement is good for its own sake, and we do not
affect to prove our advance in civilization by our incapacity
to relish those sportive creations of unrestricted fancy that
have been the delight of every generation in every land from
times beyond the reach of history.1

He also states that the tales have been "carefully chosen from
more than a hundred volumes of the fairy lore of all nations; and none
of them, so far as the editor is aware, have been previously translated
into English."2

It is necessary to list the twenty-eight stories with the sources
of each for a beginning understanding of what diversity the collection
represents.3 They are:

SNOW-WHITE AND ROSY RED (Danish) Torgen Moe and P. Asbiornsen.

THE STORY OF ARGILIUS AND THE FLAME KING (Slovonic) Count Maylath.

PERSEVERE AND PROSPER (Arabic) Dr. G. Weil.

THE TWO MISERS (Hebrew).

PRINCE CHAFFINCH (French).

THE WOLF AND THE NIGHTINGALE (Swedish) E. M. Anndt.

THE ENCHANTED CROW (Polish) K. W. Woycicky.

THE DRAGON-GIANT AND HIS STONE SEED (Russian) O. L. B. Wolff.

THE STORY OF SIVA AND MADHAVA (Sanskrit) Somadeva Bhatta.

1Montalba (Harper, 1850), op. cit., pp. 9-10.
2Ibid., p. 10.
3An exact transliteration of their appearance in the 1850 table of contents.
THE GOBLIN BIRD (Betschuanian) Casalis.
THE SHEPERD AND THE SERPENT (German).
THE EXPEDITIOUS FROG (Wendian) Leopold Hausst and J. E. Schmaler.

P. Asbiörnson.¹

THE LITTLE MAN IN GRAY (Upper Lusatian) Montz Hausst.
RED, WHITE, AND BLACK (Norman) L'Heritier.²

THE TWELVE LOST PRINCESSES AND THE WIZARD KING.

THE STUDY OF MAGIC UNDER DIFFICULTIES (Italian) Strapparola.³

FORTUNE'S FAVORITE (Hungarian) G. von Gall.

THE LUCKY DAYS (Italian) Strapparola.

THE FEAST OF THE DWARFS (Icelandish).

THE THREE DOGS - L. Beckstein.⁴

THE COURAGEOUS FLUTE-PLAYER (Franconian).

THE GLASS HATCHET (Hungarian) G. von Gall.

THE GOLDEN DUCK (Bohemian) Wolfgard A. Gerle.

¹This is ten years before Sir George Dasent published his translation of Norwegian tales which includes this story. See annotations, this section, supra.

²Muir, op. cit., pp. 36, 39, 46, respectively, tells us that Mlle. de Villandon L'Heritier formed a circle of French literatu (during the time of Le Roi Soleil), both men and women, whose main objective was to recount fairy tales (new, retold, embellished) to one another. The most famous of Mlle. L'Heritier's was "The Adroit Princess."

³Giovanni Francisco Strapparola was one of the two Italian sources of folk tales drawn upon by English and European authors. His major work for this purpose was Placevallii Nolfi (1550) from which Perrault also borrowed. See annotation, Georgian Period, Perrault, supra. Thwaite, op. cit., discusses Strapparola on pp. 34, 110, 237, and 256.

⁴Librarian Ludwig Beckstein was another collector of German oral tales. (Primarily Thuringian.) One English translation came out in 1854 as The Old Story-Teller. See Thwaite, op. cit., p. 242.
GOLDY (German) Justinus Werner.

THE SERPENT PRINCE (Italian) Basile.¹

THE PROPHETIC DREAM.

Discussing some of the contents in the order of their appearance it is necessary to comment upon the first tale, Montalba's "The Birth of the Fairy Tale"; his allegorical conception. Two royal children are unhappy in a situation that rivals the Garden of Eden for loveliness. Their beautiful and "pure" mother, the queen, is distressed at their unhappiness. Suddenly an unusual bird by the name of Phantasy bestows a multi-colored egg to the queen. The shell opens and out steps "a being most marvelous to behold. It had wings, and yet it was no bird, nor yet butterfly nor bee, though it was a combination of all these. . . . It was . . . the Fairy Tale, dispensing pleasure, and happiness, and inspiration to Infancy and youth."²

Although F. G. Green gives an excellent comparative description of all the tales in the Dean fourth edition,³ it should be noted here that the stories range from the pious and moral to those which, if not immoral, at least imply that virtue does not always pay; sometimes the semblance of virtue will not only pay but turn the actor into a virtuous being. The usual folk tale themes are present from the favors

¹Giambottista Basile wrote the second Italian source of tales from which other writers received inspiration. This is Il Pentamerone (1634-36), a flamboyant, Neapolitan piece of fiction much read by adults but not suitable for children. Thwaite, op. cit., discusses Basile on pp. 34, 237-238, and footnote 238.

²Montalba, op. cit., p. 18.

shown to the youngest child to the bird, flower, or speaking "inanimate" object that represents the soul of a murdered person crying out for justice which, in the terms of the stories, is sometimes revenge. Some of the tales tell a story within others that contain repetitive rhymes or quite long and involved verses which add symbolic meaning to the story.

One story belonging to the last mentioned group is "The Prince of the Glow-Worms." This contains a story within a story and is a curious blend of fantasy, christian belief, and pagan superstition. Julius, a foundling earth-child, can no longer get along with his foster parents. He despises their coarse food and they, in turn, are tired of his "ungratefulness." They turn the little boy put into the forest where he wanders until he comes to a curious bower. Here he is protected from the stormy elements by interwoven leaves, lighted by thousands of glow-worms whose queen tells him their story, partially in verse.

Originally the worms were elves who lived in far off India. Most of the elves had been Christianized. The Christian elves bore a star on each brow. Those who refused the Christian faith became Epicureans who were turned into butterflies. Some of the butterflies were gluttonous and ruined the flowers whose nectar they sipped. Hence, the King of the Elves caused the young butterflies to be educated by being contained "within a narrow case of skin, wherein they were so tightly bound they could not turn their bodies around--and there close prisoners they remained till they a certain age attained."2

1Montalba (Harper, 1850), op. cit., pp. 50-75.
2Ibid., p. 59.
In retaliation the King of the Butterflies put a curse on the Christians. They would lose their innocence and be turned into worms when one of them would do murder. The curse could only be broken when the king's son, supposedly drowned, should return to life and redeem them. Even as worms, however, they should retain the light which proclaimed them as Christians.

Julius, of course, is the king's son. The story of his early ride on a leaf tossed about by the sea is rather lovely. He is fed by the stars and soothed by the music of the heavens, for to those who have ears all the firmament sings. After he is cast on land, he becomes a gross human by nibbling at a strawberry. Now that he is returned to his subjects and his mother as a big boy, he must become small again. To do this he undergoes a magic three fold test by a bat, an owl, and a skeleton who guard the altar of a church. Passing the test he seizes a cross which belongs to the elves. He puts the cross on a hillock and stretches out on nearby moss for a three-day fast and intermittent sleep. During this time he is fed by magic starlight. On the third day he awakes to see a golden sun with white rays whose light does not dazzle him. It is attached to the earth by a green rainbow. To his delight he discovers "that what he had taken for the yellow sun... was only a large daisy on its stalk."

Now it is time for the return to India. A light breeze shakes down "a hundred leaved rose." All the curved petals become airbonne carriages which carry the elf tribe and Julius, their king, back to home and India. Enroute they sing a twenty-one line hymn of joy beginning:

\[\textit{Ibid.}, \text{p. 73.}\]
To India, to India the land of our birth!
Where zephyrs blow lightly
and the flowers grow brightly....

Most of the tales have no reference to Christianity. Some of them are short, only two, three, or four pages long. One of these is the Hebrew story of the two misers who learned that in comparing foods at the market place, butter is better than bread, oil is better than butter, water is better than oil, therefore, it is sufficient to dine on water.2

The illustrations give the flavor of the stories. Darton claims that they are "some of the best ever done for a children's book."3 They are done in black and white with a great delicacy of line and much flowing rhythm. Trees curve and bow. Flowers seem to dance. Handsome princes are manly with well turned legs. Dwarfs are ugly: elves are gay. Dragons are fierce, opposing beautiful maidens in flowing gowns. Doyle is meticulous in detail. Every dragon's scale is in place as is every ring on his tail.

Doyle uses two of the ways in which the appearance of a book can be made more interesting. One of these has been discussed above, illustration. The other, ornamentation, can be found in his use of decorative initials. He has designed one of these a piece for the initial of each first word that begins every story. The designs range from abstract to a complete picture involving fruit, birds, or people; and from a purely ornate or escrolled large letter to a small initial that looks like a

1Ibid., p. 75.
2Ibid., pp. 76, 77.
3Darton, op. cit., p. 248.
face. A study of these by themselves is well worth the trouble.

It is no doubt because of the richness of the artist's designs that Green calls the 1893 publication he edited, The Doyle Fairy Book instead of Fairy Tales of all Nations. Nevertheless, the trend started by Montalba of putting selections of tales from many nations into one volume is still favored in the twentieth century. It has contributed to the recognition that much of literature for children lies in the literature of the "folk" all over the world. The best of these are told with simplicity and restraint. This was not always accomplished by Montalba or other Victorian writers of the fairy tale. Nevertheless, they made stories available that never before had been openly presented to children. They laid the groundwork for later selection and criticism. They aided in making the genre not only respectable but much sought.

Although there are many excellent twentieth century collections of tales from around the world, Andrew Lang's Fairy Books, an established series by 1909, are representative of wide selection of materials and the esteem which children feel for such selection.

1851 Gatty, Margaret (Scott). The Fairy Godmothers and Other Tales. By Mrs. Alfred Gatty. London: George Bell. 3

1 Fairy Tales of All Nations, op. cit., p. 15.
2 Roger Lancelyn Green, Andrew Lang, op. cit., p. 45. See also, The Osborne Collection, op. cit., pp. 34-36. While Joseph Jacobs retold tales from many countries his volumes are entitled and divided according to the country of source.
3 The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 347.
The first children's book written by one of the most outstanding women of her day.  

George Bell, the publisher, established his own business in Fleet Street in 1838. In 1855 F. R. Daldy joined him in partnership. Together they published the magazine, Aunt Judy, that made Mrs. Gatty and her daughter, Juliana Horatia Gatty Ewing, famous. Bell and Daldy also took over the Bohn premises in York Street, Covent Garden.

Mrs. Gatty, whose clerical father had been Nelson's chaplain "aboard the Victory at Trafalgar, was married to a clergyman, Alfred Gatty, vicar of Ecclesfield." In spite of the small ministerial income her husband received and a family of ten children, Mrs. Gatty managed to write prolifically, do scientific research, edit a magazine, and engrave etchings that are good enough to be in the print room at the British Museum.

Mrs. Gatty is "a writer of children's stories notable for their gentle and cleverly presented truths." Her work was "essentially educational and domestic in its aims and its effort." The fairy godmothers of her tale were not only the "vehicle[s] of definite morals;

2 The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 465.
3 Thwaite, op. cit., p. 229.
4 The Osborne Collection, loc. cit.
5 ibid., p. 347.
6 Meigs, op. cit., p. 179
7 Thwaite, op. cit., p. 148.
8 Darton, op. cit., p. 290.
they invented the morals beforehand and stressed them with a great deal of verbiage.\(^1\)

Mrs. Gatty dedicated the book to her children stating that "they were written in hours of sickness, but are intended to be read by the healthy and joyous young" and to illustrate some favorite and long cherished convictions.\(^2\)


In the first story four fairy godmothers attending a quadruple christening bestow, respectively, on their charges: beauty, riches, pleasure, and the love of employment. Actually, the last fairy, Ambrosia, had given no fairy gift at all to her godchild, Hermione. She had, instead, encouraged the cultivation of a human habit since "everything we do becomes by HABIT, not only easy, but actually agreeable."\(^3\) Because of this Hermione grows up a lovely, happy woman while the other godchildren become petulant, spoiled, and unhappy.

The second story, "Joachim, . . ." was written to cure Horatia of her delight in mimicking everyone. Joachim, at the seashore, opened and uncorked a bottle and was frightened by the appearance of a genie who promised to grant him any wish. The boy had misunderstood his mother who, in telling him to imitate good, had mentioned such a specific instance as imitating the actions of the king who had befriended her.

\(^1\)ibid., p. 291.

\(^2\)Gatty, op. cit., dedicatory page.

\(^3\)ibid., p. 59. Mrs. Gatty footnotes her statement thus:

\(^*\)Abercromie, Moral Feelings.
The genie, too, was confused when Joachim asked him for the gift of imitating everything that was good and noble.

He explained to Joachim:

I can make your head clever, but I cannot make your heart good. I can give you the power to imitate, but... what you imitate... must depend upon yourself...!

Receiving the gift Joachim became quite an artist and he went to a famous school. But there, it was so easy for him to imitate that he mimicked the bad habits of his peers. At first his imitations were so comical that everyone laughed with him; then they laughed at those he imitated. He spent so much time mimicking people that he became behind in his studies. At that time a large boy who lisped came to the school. Joachim imitated the lisp, was knocked down, fought back, and was beaten. No one befriended him. Becoming ill, Joachim repented. Convalescing he entertained visiting cousins with even more cruel imitations. Once again, the story becomes a lesson on HABIT. His mother showed him his cruelty which he struggled to overcome.

In 'Darkness and Light' a little boy, Roderick, is afraid of the dark. Through a misunderstanding between his mother and her cousin, the Fairy Eudora who lived on an island not far from the family's sea-castle, Roderick is blinded by wrong wishes. (The power of thought.) During his year of non-sight his family take him from doctor to doctor and explore schools for the blind. Roderick, however, learns to overcome his fear of the dark and trust in God.

The last story, 'The Love of God' is also a strange blend of family life, science, fantasy, and belief in God. The story begins:

Ibid., p. 65.
Grace had been said, and Mama was busy carving for
the large party of youngsters who sat around the comfortable
dinner table, when a little voice from among them called
out, 'Mamma, do you think a giant could see a caraway seed?'"\(^1\)

Mrs. Gatty, in the role of omnipresent author, informs her reader
that since people cannot see "the creatures that float about in a drop
do water" without a microscope they must not expect a giant to see a
caraway seed." "It is entirely a matter of relative proportion"\(^2\) and
then Mrs. Gatty explains, after four pages, that the world is made up
of men and women who are great giants who can never see caraway seeds
because they elevate themselves and do not trust enough in God. Finally,
she relates a "tale" which exemplifies her point. The story within the
story, joined only by Mrs. Gatty's little sermon, tells of a disallu-
sioned young man's love for a waif he adopts. Through this love he
gains knowledge of the love of God for a sinner like himself.

Bare outlines sell Mrs. Gatty short. She has a nice style of
writing, warm family feeling, true child characterization and above all,
her worries as a mother shine through. She is a many talented woman
and it is obvious that she uses these talents for the sake of her chil-
dren. Sadly enough, each story contains the germs of several widely
diversified stories each of which could be exciting but none of which
is fully developed.

The 1851 edition has one illustration, the frontispiece. It is
captioned "Hermione Sketching" and is by the pencil of Mrs. Gatty's
friend, Miss Lucette E. Barker, "one of six talented daughters of a
Yorkshire clergyman . . . [who in Mrs. Gatty's words] . . . paints

\(^1\)ibid., p. 124.  \(^2\)ibid., p. 125.
flowers exquisitely, sings, plays and dances, and does nothing ill.\(^1\)


Abbott is known as the first American to attempt to write for children as though they were human beings in their own right. The stories are reflections of New England child life in the mid eighteen hundreds. Abbott's highest level of all writing for American children up to this time.\(^3\)

Harper Brothers at 82 Cliff Street published all ten of the Franconia books in separate volumes as well as in double-deckers or two stories bound together in one volume.\(^4\) At various times such titles as Caroline and Agnes were together; at another time it might be Agnes and Mary Bell or Beechnut and Rudolphus.

Jacob Abbott was a prolific writer, having between one hundred and eighty\(^5\) or two hundred titles\(^6\) to his credit. Many of his works

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\(^1\)The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 435.

\(^2\)Smith, op. cit., p. 210. This writer also has the ten separate volumes of almost square little red books before her as she writes, each with the Harper imprint.


were of a religious nature, educational theory, or the results of his research into history. Abbott was a scholar, theologian, historian, educationist, and writer. He, at one time, conducted his Mount Vernon school, even planned the room at the new Masonic Temple (Boston) in which Bronson Alcott later taught.

Abbott combined the theories of Locke, Rousseau, and the Edgeworths, into an American blend of his own tempered with the idea that children could learn to monitor their own impulses without an omniscient, omnipresent, guardian adult. He led a pleasant childhood, not unmixed with the exigencies of his day, in the small town of Hallowell on the Kennebec River. He never forgot these pleasant days. It was inevitable that when he retired from school administration to full-time writing, he incorporated many of these childhood experiences into his stories for children.

_Franconia Stories_ were written during intervals between more important work. They must have been a form of relaxation for they flow effortlessly as in the conversation of one who enjoys recalling happy days.

Many English authorities who read Abbott, somewhat cursorily, did not acquire a taste for his leisurely pace. One late eighteenth century writer and critic of children's literature, however, thinks of Jacob Abbott with pleasure. This is Edward Verrall Lucas who states:

1Meigs, _op. cit._, p. 146.
2Darton, _op. cit._, pp. 236-237.
There seems to be no middle way with Jacob Abbott: you must either think him the flattest writer for children, or the most interesting. So many of my earliest recollections are bound up with Phonny and Beechnut that I shall always think of Jacob Abbott with enthusiasm. But the heretics in this matter I can understand, although pitying them too.

Franconia, the New Hampshire village in which the children of all ten volumes live, must be very similar to the riverside town in which Abbott spent his boyhood. The houses are large and comfortably furnished. The fathers, who rarely intruded into the stories or the lives of the story children, are lawyers or some other sort of well educated men who have libraries and studies. There are poor people in the village: illness, death, and a blind child add pathos and realism. In spite of this, there is an even happy tenor to life. Abbott has been accused of writing in the tradition of Maria Edgeworth but his characters are never as retributive in terms of punishment as Miss Edgeworth's are. In fact, Abbott seems to believe that it is in the nature of children to not only get into trouble but to grow out of it into good solid adult citizenship. Before giving examples of this mischievousness and punishment, it is necessary to list the books and name the children.

The ten titles in the series are: Beechnut (conceded to be the best of the group); Malleville; Caroline; Agnes; Ellen Linn; Mary Erskine; Wallace; Mary Bell; Stuyvesant; and Rudolphus.

The overall theme of the series is life in the village and neighboring countryside of Franconia. The most memorable children are Beechnut, Malleville, Phonny, Wallace, Caroline, Agnes, Mary Bell, and Rudolphus. At this point to list the other children and the adults who

1 Lucas, op. cit., p. xiii.
are involved in the various sequences would be confusing and to no good purpose. There are also dogs, cats, horses, chickens, and birds who play necessary and appealing parts in specific stories.

Margaret Armstrong pulls many of the important stories together in her one volume abridgement.¹ She begins the chronicle with delicate seven-year-old Malleville (in later editions called Madeline) who has come from New York to stay at the home of her aunt and uncle, Mr. and Mrs. Henry. Phonny (Alphonzo) is the Henry's ten-year-old son. Beechnut (Antoine Bianchinette) is an orphan twelve-year-old boy who lives with the Henrys as a combination hired hand and member of the family. He is mentor, friend, and guide to all the village children but especially to Phonny. Agnes is a blind child first appearing in a true story told by that inveterate and delightful storyteller, Beechnut.

There is much natural conversation and action, a great deal of laughter, and excitement. Agnes is accidentally set adrift in a boat drifting down stream. Phonny, Malleville, and twelve-year-old Mary Bell are marooned on an island with flood-waters rising perilously high. Only Carlo, Mary Bell's dog, can and does bring help. Carlo, himself, is involved in a story that is sad, suspenseful and finally satisfying for children who have beloved dogs of their own.

Beechnut used "psychology" in handling impulsive Phonny, no doubt showing the way that Abbott himself worked with children. He is kind, gentle, but insistent that if punishment is necessary it should be meted out at once and gotten out of the way. Sometimes this is amusing both

¹Armstrong, Abbott, ed., op. cit.
to the reader and the children in the story as in the case of Phonny riding backwards on Marshall, the horse. The doctor had agreed that convalescing Beechnut (hurt when a bridge fell in) could go for a carriage ride. Phonny agreed to follow Beechnut's directions about readying the carriage and the horse. There was only one task which Phonny was not to do, put the crupper on the horse. Of course, Phonny tried the forbidden and the horse got loose. He was enticed back by salt and the crupper put in place. As penance, Phonny rode backwards on the horse's back facing the tail and the crupper so that he would remember.

Sometimes punishment came of its own accord. The children were sugaring in the sugar bush. They enjoyed collecting the sap, boiling it down, eating up all maple sugar without saving any for the family. Tired, Phonny decided not to collect the second batch of sap from the bottles at the tapped trees before he went home. He would do it in the morning. But a two-day storm came up. When Phonny went back to the bush everything was gone: bottles, kettle, spoons, cups. Nobody knew whether the storm and wind were the culprits or some unfriendly boys. But no one scolded disconsolate Phonny.

Beechnut's spontaneous verse making is delightful to the children. He built them a rocking horse from a log into which he inserted eight uneven legs. Seated on "Polypod's" back the children jiggled back and forth to their hearts' content singing this song:

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High and Low,
Fast and slow,
Over the hills away we go!
Round and square,
Up in the air,
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The birds are singing, "Begone dull care!"
  Hie, old Polypod! Ho, old Mollypod!
  Fumbling, rumbling, stumbling
  Polypod!*

Once, Beechnut drew a picture that delighted the children. An old woman, Mrs. Phidgett, was hanging out a basket full of children, not wash, on the line. The text read:

Whenever she washed her children, she hung them out to dry,
Because she thought, if she left them wet, they'd all catch cold and die.

On a crowded bus during a trip to New York, Beechnut made up a verse to amuse Phonny:

On every wet and rainy day
They crowd the buses on Broadway
  Against all rule;
And sometimes when it's very showery,
Even the rail-cars in the Bowery
  Get more than full!

This is very elegant verse but it is amusing to children, which is just what Abbott intended and what children in any century enjoy.

What is more, both the bus verse and the description of a trip Beechnut took to Boston give the social historian rather vivid pictures of city life in the mid-eighteenth century.

For example, Beechnut went to the Boston post-office:

  He went through a great door and found himself in a long passageway crowded with people. The floor was of stone and it was very wet, being drenched with the drippings of many umbrellas. Beechnut went up a long iron stairway, and into a large room with a great many letter-boxes at one side, and on the other two windows with clerks standing behind them, giving letters out to a number of people who were waiting in line . . ."*

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1 Ibid., p. 249.  2 Ibid., p. 92.
3 Ibid., p. 175.  4 Ibid., p. 176.
The letter Beechnut received contained very exciting and worrisome news. Beechnut hurried to catch a train that was too slow to meet the stage that would take him home. He had to hire a wagon but the rain had made the road into a morass of mud and a pond into a lake that covered the road so that the wagon could not cross. Beechnut had to strip and swim, carrying a valise, an umbrella, and presents for the children. And so the journey went: grist for the social historian's mill but exciting obstacles to make children hold their breaths, half-groan, half-laugh at the ludicrous trouble of it all, especially as the children know that Beechnut will not find what he expects to find when he gets home.

The stories have unity, clarity, and liveliness although they suffer from the convention of his time, didacticism. It would be difficult to cite any series of books that completely follows the Franconian pattern. Nevertheless, the emphasis of everyday drama in children's lives has been carried on into all good books which tell the American child about other American children who enjoy living in spite of occasional sorrow and disobedience.

Although each little book had a "vignette" as partial illustration, the artist has not been recorded. Armstrong's book is illustrated with eleven black and white full page pictures and a pastel colored frontispiece depicting Beechnut playing his flageolet for the children at a garden party.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, The illustrations are by Helen Maitland Armstrong. No illustrated edition is cited by Mahoney.}


One of the first three one-man written fairy tales in English. 2

The only fairy tale or children's book written by the famous John Ruskin. 3

George Smith and Alexander Elder entered the publishing trade together in 1816. George Jr., founder of the *Dictionary of National Biography,* joined the firm in 1938, becoming the head. 4

Ruskin lived in the day when the "aesthetic" movement was sweeping England. As a new and young teacher at Oxford he was responsible for the beginning of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, a group of ardent young men who banded themselves together to revolt against material or spiritual ugliness. Among the seven members were: Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Ford Madox Brown, Coventry Patmore, William Morris, Edward Burne-Jones (Kipling's uncle and at whose house the neglected and half-blind little boy found warmth and love). 5 When Ruskin became Slade Professor of Fine Arts at Oxford, his great prestige and influence became even more powerful. It was natural that as he became more talked about, criticism

1 *The Osborne Collection, op. cit.,* p. 386.

2 The others are: *Hope of the Katzhops;* annotations, *supra,* and *The Rose and the Ring;* annotations, *infra.*

3 Green, *Teller of Tales, op. cit.,* p. 20.

4 *The Osborne Collection, op. cit.,* p. 496.

5 Cruse, *The Victorians and Their Reading, op. cit.,* pp. 365-366. All material about Ruskin is from Cruse or from a synthesis of the notes taken from all the sources listed in the bibliographies.
against him should also raise its head growing so strong that now in the late half of the twentieth century Ruskin is thought to be an anachronism. It is not generally remembered that his influence inspired both Frank Lloyd Wright and Howard Mumford Jones.

Ruskin’s talents spread in many directions. He was a magnetic speaker, a writer of fine prose, an expert on architecture and other design, an artist and craftsman himself. His drawings are masters of craftsmanship; his last portrait of himself is uncanny and almost terrifying in the glimpse he shows into his own eyes portraying the anguish of soul and the disillusion he felt about a cross world that tumbled itself towards materialism, chaos, perhaps destruction, but certainly towards ugliness and disfigured landscapes.

When he wrote King of the Golden River, however, Ruskin was a young man. He wrote it in two sittings as he was recuperating from an illness and at the dare of twelve-year-old Euphemia (Effie) Chalmers Gray.1 This was in 1841, only five years after Victoria became queen. The story was not written for publication. It was given to a friend who kept it until it finally was published, anonymously, in 1851. It was not until the second edition that Ruskin’s name was publicly ascribed as the author.

Ruskin admired the tales of the Grimm brothers. In 1868 he edited a new edition of Grimm and wrote an introduction in which he stated his belief in the values of fairy tales for children and his equally firm belief that children did not (do not) want nor need what he called “the

1Euphemia later became his wife in a marriage that did not last. Still later she became the wife of the painter, Millais. See The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 496; Darton, op. cit., p. 270.
moral fairy tale." Defining the "moral fairy tale" is a matter of semantics. Many folk tales (under which heading the oral group fabricated tale is subsumed) has both the moral fairy tale and that which is almost amoral. It is ironic that Ruskin's lone fairy tale should be moral. It is inevitable that it should portray the influence of the Grimm brothers and a general feeling of Teutonic atmosphere. This feeling did not in any way detract from the originality of the story. In Green's analysis this "amusing and delightful little book" is as original as any fairy story can be that follows the old traditions.

Following this tradition, there are two "evil" older brothers in the Black family, and one younger good brother, little Gluck. Hans and Schwartz, the greedy brothers, constantly leave Gluck at home to do the household chores admonishing him to never let anyone in the house. But one wild and stormy night kind hearted Gluck cannot withstand the pleadings of a traveller caught in this dreadful mountain storm. When the stranger enters even Gluck is fearful of what he has done for his visitor is such a peculiar little man. He has a large bulbous nose, an ugly but intelligent face, and the most unusual hat that has peaks in several directions at once. The visitor who is none other than the wild South West Wind Esquire himself, stands on the hearth, drips off more rain water than could possibly be on a human person, nearly puts out the fire, and eats of the good smelling roast that is on the spit.

1For examples of the moral fairy tale, see Mrs. Gatty, The Fairy Godmothers, annotation, supra; for a discussion of the amoral folk tale see Montalba's Fairy Tales of All Nations, supra.

2Green, Teller of Tales, op. cit., p. 19.
When the brothers return, they are furious and eventually curious about predictions. In pursuing what they take to be his directions for securing treasure they ignore the cries for help they hear along their way. In retaliation each is turned into a black stone.

Gluck, of course, helps everyone. He fulfills the prophecy. The valley becomes lush with prosperity for all. Good is rewarded.

Tarr gives an excellent analysis of the difference between this tale and those that are disparagingly called moral. She states:

It was not offensive. There was no place where the reader was admonished to practice charity; he was only led to observe [Italics are mine] that when Hans and Schwartz refused to answer the plea for water, nature itself frowned upon them.¹

The selection from the story which Tarr chose to exemplify her point is the best choice that could be made. Nature does, indeed, frown:

The black cloud rose to the zenith, and out of it came bursts of spiry lightening, and waves of darkness seemed to heave and float between their flashes, over the whole heavens. And the sky where the sun was setting was all level and like a lake of blood, and a strong wind came out of that sky, tearing its crimson clouds into fragments, and scattering them far into the darkness.²

Although Ruskin could have illustrated the story himself, he wisely chose "Dicky" Doyle. Mahoney feels that Doyle's reputation could live alone just on the illustrations that he did for this story.³ He caught Ruskin's love of murmuring streams and wild mountains, the

¹Tarr, op. cit., p. 1.
²Ibid., p. 77.
³Mahoney, op. cit., p. 48.
malevolence of the brothers, the goodness of Gluck, and the gleaming intelligence as well as demonic power of the South West Wind Esquire. She rightly says that "those of us who first knew The King of the Golden River with Doyle's pictures . . . miss [his interpretation] in more recent illustrations of the book."¹

The more recent illustrations are excellent, however. Mahoney lists some of them as those illustrated by: (1) Horvath for the Studio, 1930;² (2) Rackham for Harrap, 1932;³ and, (3) Stratton for Blackie, n.d.⁴ There were also two facsimile editions in 1907 and 1909.⁵

Among the many writers whom this story has delighted and inspired is American Laura E. Richards, daughter of Julia Ward Howe and Samuel Gridley Howe. Mrs. Richards⁶ is one of America's greatest writers of both nonsense and beauty for children.


An early advance in "a new class of juvenile literature . . . 'the boy's book' . . . [defined as] the boy's tale, not the boy's storybook, 

nor the boyish book, but the whole synoptic literary composition the basis of which is fictitious romance." Kingston's earliest book and one of his best. 2

Grant and Griffith advertised themselves as successors to Newbery and Harris. E. C. Grant went into partnership with William Darling Griffith in 1843. In 1852 and 1853 they published other Kingston titles. At Grant's retirement in 1856, Robert Farran became a partner. The twelve-thousandth printing was done under the imprint of Griffith and Farran.

Kingston was the son of an English businessman in Portugal. He spent his youth in Oporto, Portugal, later publishing articles about that country in London. For these he received a Portuguese Knighthood and pension. He made many sea voyages and was forty years old when he wrote his first boy's adventure story. Within thirty years he had written over a hundred books.

With his great knowledge of seamanship and his seemingly "inexhaustible invention of incident, he has been called 'the boys' Harriet.

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1Darton, op. cit., p. 252.
2Thwalte, op. cit., p. 167.
3The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 476.
4Ibid., p. 360.
5Ibid., p. 476.
6William Kingston, Peter the Whaler . . . Twelve thousand . . . (London: Griffith and Farran, n.d.). According to this edition, the firm was located at the west corner of St. Paul's Churchyard.
7The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 360.
8Ibid., p. 359.
[He] edited a boys' paper called the Union Jack, of which Henty was a later editor.\footnote{Ibid., p. 360.}

During the early days of Kingston's life, poachers were dealt with harshly by the law, smugglers were common, Englishmen lived as established church vicars in Ireland, and people were excited over attempts to find a Northwest passage. Each of these characteristics of the day are woven into the background and purpose of the story. The narrative states that smuggling and poaching are wrong. It warns the reader not to commit these crimes. Then it gives exciting descriptive anecdotes of how they are done. It tells that attempts to find a Northwest passage are often abortive and sometimes lead to death. Then it tells how the men gather together to sail exploring or hunting whale, what the ships are like, the exciting moments that occur, the interesting natives of far lands that are met and with whom the adventurers live as brothers.

The story is told in the first person by Irish Peter, willful second son of a gentle and moderately well to do established church clergyman. After one scrape too many, poaching with the local smuggler's son, Peter is sent away to sea "for his own good." This was a usual alternative for wild boys of good family status. Other boys could be sentenced to death or exiled for life. The choice of his first ship was unfortunate but Peter is destined to sail on many.

During his ensuing adventures Peter meets Captain Dean with a beautiful daughter, Mary. Romance develops but is scarcely touched upon
until the last paragraph of 384 pages of fine, closely printed matter.¹

Before his safe return home, Peter is ensnared by pirates, chastened by the American Navy, and sent abroad a whaling vessel to the frozen north of the Esquimaux. There is great detail about whaling before disaster occurs. The vessel is caught in the ice and slowly ground to the breaking point. The crew escape to shore, frightened by the natives who prove friendly but seem ominous because of their strangeness. They communicate by signs, and even in the course of a year learn little of each other's languages.

In spite of this lack of spoken communication, the Esquimaux teach the crew to build and furnish igloos, and to attain some skill in their crafts. The story becomes almost a do-it-yourself book when Peter describes in great detail the exact methods taught him by the natives. Any boy of enterprise, with enough snow, could attempt to go out and build his own igloo, construct hunting weapons, carve odd figures.

In attempting to escape, the crew builds a cumbersome ship which does not hold together. It is only after they are in complete despair that a French ship, which had been seen in a tantalizing mirage, comes close enough to be hailed. The whalers are welcomed aboard by the ailing French crew because of the provisions saved from the whaling vessel. Peter and his friends nurse the ill Frenchmen and man the decks. Unfortunately not one of them is a navigator and the ship hits a rock. Only Peter, his best friend, Andrew, and one or two others are

¹Such print was considered getting one's money's worth; a well advertised value, for Peter ... was one of the expensive one dollar and twenty-five cent volumes in The Boys' Own Favorite Series, "strong and elegantly" bound. See advertising pages in the back of this edition New York: E. P. Dutton and Co.
cast up on the Irish shore. Ragged, penniless but manly through having learned the error of his early ways, Peter is finally reunited with all of his family (father, mother and sisters), Captain Dean and his beloved Mary.

There is less Christian preaching in this book than in those which preceded it. One of the seamen does persuade the ice-bound whalers to cease labor on the seventh day and thank God for His goodness. Peter does believe that the Esquimaux are impressed by the European God. He does pray in moments of stress. But no entire page is devoted to a religious homily, the prayers are not included in the reading matter, and long passages of the Bible are not quoted. The moral is emphasized, however, for Peter states that he has learned to trust God, to know himself, and to take counsel from his superiors. The story ends with these words:

"Then," said my father, "I am, indeed content; and I trust others may take a needful lesson from the adventures of PETER THE WHALER."

The book has an engraved frontispiece of two ships, one is a ship on fire. There are also elaborations in the form of intricate block designs for the first letter of each beginning word for every chapter. Design and picture are in black and white. The title page assigns the "Illustrations" to E. Duncan. This is Edward Duncan, "Landscape painter, etcher, and lithographer." However, whatever the explanation, the name signed to the frontispiece (a part of the design itself) is "Percy

1 Kingston, op. cit., p. 384.
2 The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 443.
Cruikshank. This Cruikshank is a wood engraver and artist of the last half of the nineteenth century who is the nephew of the famous caricaturist and artist, George Cruikshank.¹

A sequel was promised to continue Peter's adventures. The authorities used for this study do not trace such a publication. It is possible, judging from the title only, that such a sequel could be The South Sea Whaler published for Kingston by Thomas Nelson and sons in 1875.²


One of the first "Girls'-Own" story, tailored for them, just as Peter the Whaler⁴ was meant for boys. Also one of the first of the American stories to become widely popular in England.⁵

At the time of publication, Putnam was located at 155 Broadway. There is some controversy over the exact date of publication. There is no substantiation for the statement that the first copies of the book were printed with 1850 on the title page.⁶ Blanck agrees that the book

¹Ibid., p. 441. See also p. 418.
²Ibid., p. 361. The title and other bibliographic detail are listed here.
³Bianck, op. cit., p. 4.
⁴Annotation, supra.
⁵Darton, op. cit., p. 239; Thwaite, op. cit., p. 146.
⁶Bianck, loc. cit.
"was published sometime before Christmas, 1850, and reviews appeared in *The Literary World*, Volume VII, page 524, December, 1850 and in *The New York Commercial Advertiser*, December 18, 1850.\(^1\)

Both pirated and frequent editions attribute to the immediate success of this "lachrymose" work. There were thirteen American editions within two years of first publication and "several English editions were both pirated and authorized.\(^2\)

Susan (later Mrs. Prentiss),\(^3\) the daughter of a well-to-do farmer, was born in New York State. The family lived alternately in New York City and in "backwoods" rural New York State. The author used her country life as background for both *Wide Wide World* and an ensuing book, *Queecky*. Darton tells us that country scenes in the first book were laid in country around Canaan, New York; those "of *Queecky*, Lebanon Springs, in the same state."\(^4\)

Susan's younger sister, Anna, (pseudonym Amy Lothrop),\(^5\) co-authored a series named after Ellen Montgomery, the heroine of *Wide Wide World*.\(^6\)

Darton states that of all the Warner books *Melbourne House* is perhaps

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\(^{1}\)Ibid., pp. 4-5.

\(^{2}\)Ibid., p. 5. A testimony to English interest can be found in *The Osborne Collection*, op. cit. Five Warner titles are listed on pages 395-396. Recalling: (1) that the original Osborne Collection was made up of titles read by Mr. and Mrs. Osborne in their childhood, and (2) that no Abbott (for example) titles appear here gives weight to the impact that Warner books had during their day.

\(^{3}\)Darton, op. cit., p. 238.

\(^{4}\)Ibid., p. 238.

\(^{5}\)Ibid., p. 238.

\(^{6}\)The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 396.
the best for children,\(^1\) being less tearful, less strongly emotional. Thwaite, however, feels that *Wide Wide World* is "one of the best and most characteristic [of American stories read by girls in Britain]. It is in the tradition of the pious and tearful tales of the mid-Victorian age but . . . less hampered by the conventions and stratification of that society.\(^2\)

In brief outline of the story, Ellen Montgomery, a city of New York child, has spent most of her short life alone with her terminally ill mother while the gay husband and father, Captain Montgomery, is frequently absent on business and pleasure. A doctor orders the Montgomerys to go to France for Mrs. Montgomery's health. Ellen is sent with ungracious acquaintances to stay an unspecified length of time with her father's sister and senile mother in upper New York State. The aunt is clean, dour, hard-working, love-starved, and unconsciously resentful at being the only one in the family to care for their mother. She takes her resentment out on Ellen who irritates her more by alternate bursts of tears, piousness, and running away. Ellen finds friends: the Van Brunts (the son, hired man at the Montgomery farm, lives with his mother but ultimately marries Ellen's aunt); the Humphreys (a minister's family; the father, his dying daughter, Alice, his son, John). Scotch relatives find and adopt Ellen making her their precocious pet. They are delighted at her charm, intelligence, and beauty but vexed that she will not accept some of their worldly pleasures such as novel reading

\(^1\)Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

\(^2\)Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
and grand balls. At the very end of the many detailed pages, John Humphrey finds his beloved Ellen in Edinburgh. Against the wishes of her foster-parents, John makes it clear that Ellen will soon become Mrs. Humphrey.

The story is, indeed, much too tearful and full of religious conversation. American authorities seem ashamed of the book. It does, however, contain much that charmed young readers, scenes of beauty as well as psychological astuteness, and equal amounts of information of value to the social historian.

Even children today, especially girls, grow through stages in which it seems to be necessary for them to identify in stories with the child who is an orphan, who is misunderstood, who justifiably runs away from home, who wins out through every obstacle. Today's library shelves contain many books that portray the same kinds of maltreated or misunderstood children. A girl child whose mother died when that girl was old enough to remember her well, and while the mother was young, will find special identification with Ellen and some amounts of relief from her own sorrow. Ellen's boat trip with her unwilling companions making fun of her clothes is similar to experiences most children have at some time in life. Ellen's shabby treatment by the supercilious department store clerk on her first trip alone downtown is also a universal experience.

The hired man, Van Brunt, in conversation with only necessary and short descriptive sentences points out New York State's beautiful scenery. Ellen, on her pony rides, in turn describes this loveliness. The author uses apt metaphors to describe her characters. An example of
this is Ellen's "April face" so frequent an occurrence in some small children who can cry but almost instantly radiate smiles with tears still wet on their cheeks.

Anecdotes of interest to the social historian are: the choosing of materials for a dress, nankeen and merino of fine quality; the necessary sewing box and its "furnishings"; the equally necessary writing box and its "furnishings" of sealing wax that is new and "not dangerous," quill pens, seals, etc.; the travel by boat, stage, and oxcart; the hotels and inns with their varieties of food; the contrast between Ellen's New York home, her aunt's farm house with fireplaces in every room and the luxurious London and Edinburgh homes of her later guardians; the hymns that are sung; the quotations of poets as diversified as Longfellow and Shakespeare that head every chapter; the nursery rhymes and tales that are quoted and alluded to. The book is a gold mine for this type of sometimes almost lost information about our country just a little over a hundred years ago.

While Mahoney states that there were no pictures in either Wide Wide World, 1851, or its sequel, Queecky, 1852, Blanck describes its "ornamentation." Mahoney lists two later editions illustrated by well known artists. These are:

1. A Lippincott edition of 1892, illustrated by American Frederick Dielman;  
2. Blanck, op. cit., p. 4.  
4. Ibid., p. 404.
2. A Pearson edition (n.d.), illustrated by English Fred Pegram.1

The edition read for this annotation is from the early twentieth century "Home Library" series. It contains a full-page frontispiece in black, whites, and grays of Ellen's friends, Alice and John Humphrey. Ellen is in the background. The illustrator is Dratson Davis.2

1852-1854 [Hawkshaw, Ann (Jackson), Lady].3 Aunt Effie's Gift to the Nursery... London: James Nisbet and Company.4

Representative of: (1) the change in verse for children; a mixture of watered down godliness and descriptions of pleasant child life; and (2) the numerous publications for children with the title Aunt "Somebody's"... Tales... Poems... A step in the direction of Robert Louis Stevenson and A Child's Garden of Verses.

The publisher, James Nisbet, was "a founder of the Sunday School Union in 1803... He published religious books chiefly, often

1Ibid., p. 429.


3There is some contradiction of dates and title. Darton, op. cit., p. 280 states: 'Mrs. Hawkshaw's Aunt Effie's Rhymes for Little Children (1852...); Melgs, op. cit., p. 287 also cites 'Aunt Effie's Rhymes for Little Children (1852)" but says no more.

4As transcribed from The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 65.

5Ibid., p. 507. Here, St. John lists twenty-five titles beginning with the word "Aunt." They range from "Aunt Affable" through "Aunt Oddamadodd" to "Aunt Sarah." They are indicative of hundreds of similar publications in both Britain and the United States.
distributing them gratuitously.\textsuperscript{1} From 1825 on, Nisbet was located at 21 Berners Street.\textsuperscript{2}

St. John brackets the author's name as there is no positive identification of the author. Mrs. Hawkshaw was a clergyman's daughter and wife of Sir John Hawkshaw,\textsuperscript{3} a writer. It is possible that Mrs. Hawkshaw was not "Aunt Effie." A contender for the honor was Mrs. Jane Euphemia Browne Saxby.\textsuperscript{4}

It is interesting to speculate about the possibility of Euphemia Browne (Saxby) as author. Gordon Hablot Knight Browne has been cited as illustrator for "Aunt Effie's Rhymes . . . (1852).\textsuperscript{5} This Browne is more often known by his pseudonym, "Phiz." He is the "Phiz" who illustrated for "Boz," Charles Dickens.\textsuperscript{6}

Whoever the author or the illustrator may someday be discovered to be, the poems range from the charming to the didactic, musty as a grave. In the 1854 edition there are sixty-four verses or poems. The first one is so reminiscent of Robert Louis Stevenson in rhythm, rhyme (rime), and content that they could be early Stevenson. Consider the following:

\begin{verbatim}
\bibitem{1} Ibid., p. 488.
\bibitem{2} Ibid., p. 488.
\bibitem{3} Ibid., p. 65.
\bibitem{4} Ibid., p. 65.
\bibitem{5} Darton, loc. cit.
\bibitem{6} The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 438.
\end{verbatim}
At night my mother comes upstairs;  
She comes to hear us say our prayers;  
And while I'm sitting on her knee,  
She always kisses little me.

Before she took away the light,  
She tucked the blankets smooth and tight,  
And round about my sleepy head  
She drew the curtains of the bed.  

Still thinking of Stevenson, consider the second verse of Aunt Effie's "Going to Bed in the Dark."

'Tis very foolish, but I own  
I do not like to be alone;  
And when they take the light away,  
I wish that somebody would stay.

The rest of the poem is godly and harks back to Puritan writers although it is not as grim.

Other titles are represented in the following list: "How to Take A Message" (children still have trouble doing this); "Obedience"; "Death" (of babies, the infant mortality was still high; children saw this and needed assurance); "Subduing Our Faults"; "The Lord Will Provide"; "Thy Will Be Done"; and "Painted Butterflies."

In discussing the last two titles, it is interesting to note: (1) the recognition of what children were like; and (2) the change in religious applications concerning death.

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1 Hawkins, op. cit., p. 4. The book read for this annotation is the one in The Osborne Collection. Hence, the bibliographic heading of this annotation is the edition which is referred to.

2 Ibid., p. 30. This fear of the dark is a universal theme in writing about and for children. Sometimes it is not so much a fear as a delaying device.
1. "Thy will . . ." begins:

"I have a stubborn restless will,
That must destroy my peace of mind . . ."

How the human soul strives after peace of mind. Every age has its turmoil that ravels away such serenity. Adults hope that poems learned in childhood will be one small instigator of even momentary surcease from inner fears and worries.

2. "The . . . Butterfly" puts emphasis on two things: (1) the Victorian interest in nature and a child's delight in butterflies; and (2) a concept of immortality. In Puritan days the human was the worm or the worm fed on him in the grave. The change in attitude towards children as sensitive creatures and people in their own right also included a change in religious belief. Religion did not need to be dour. The butterfly metamorphosized from worm to a beautiful heavenly creature.

Another verse, revealing of attitudes towards children, is "For A Child Who is Ill."

He can't help crying. He is told this. Mother will soothe him; no one will scold; we have all been in the same situation; soon he will be well again and happy. The book ends with prayers and graces.

Although this is far from a great book, it had enough impact to be remembered by some people as pleasant. It shows a change in adult attitudes towards children. It is a step on the way towards better poetry for children. It is representative of hundreds of similar but forgotten books that may or may not have been illustrated both poorly and well.

1. ibid., p. 64.  
2. ibid., p. 77.  
3. A study in itself.

One of the first American written Robinsonnades to achieve international reading. Joel Chandler Harris calls it "a classic" possessing "all the elements of enduring popularity."

The publishing house was established at 144 Chestnut Street in Philadelphia. The company also published the "sequel: Marooner's Island; or, Dr. Gordon in Search of His Children ... in 1869."

"Three editions were issued in the first year, and it was soon reprinted in England by Nisbet and Company, of London, followed by five other houses in England and Scotland at later dates."

Dr. Goulding, a physician in the state of Georgia, was of Puritan ancestry. His forebears came to Dorchester, South Carolina and Dorchester, Georgia from Dorchester, England, before the Revolutionary War. He was not only a medical doctor but a man of great reading background, a writer and an inventor. "He invented the first sewing machine that was ever put in practical use in the south, ... using [it] ... a year before the Howe patents were issued."

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1Blanck, op. cit., p. 9.

2Listed in The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 349; Ramsey notes, op. cit., unpaged.

3Joel Chandler Harris in the preface to F, R, Goulding's The Young Marooners on the Florida Coast (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1931), p. v. This is the edition read for this annotation.

4Blanck, loc. cit. 5Harris in Goulding, loc. cit.

6Ibid., p. vi.
Harris lists seven other titles written by Dr. Goulding; five of them were republished abroad. Of the two titles which did not go into foreign editions one was Confederate Soldier's Hymn Book, a compilation (1863).

Dr. Goulding has written a short history of his book. In it he states:

The story . . . is not all a story; the fiction consists of mostly putting together. With very few exceptions, the incidents are real occurrences; and whoever will visit the regions described, will see that the pictures correspond to nature . . .

Should my young readers ever go marooning [sic], I trust their party may meet with fewer misfortunes and as happy a termination.

The father physician in the story, Dr. Gordon, defines the word 'marooning' when he asks them if they would like to go marooning while their Tampa, Florida house is being finished.

The word 'maroon' [sic] is of West Indian origin--coming I think from the island of Jamaica. It meant at first a free negro. But as those who ran away from their masters became virtually free for a time, it afterwards came to mean a runaway negro. To maroon, therefore, means to go away from home and live like a runaway negro.

The story concerns this marooning adventure, more dangerous than any imagining could have conjured up for them, of Robert, Harold, Mary, and seven-year-old Frank. Harold is Doctor Gordon's nephew son of his sister, widowed Anna McIntosh. Doctor Gordon, believing the trip would do Harold good, has taken the boy with him and three of his children to build a new home on Tampa Bay for the family and invalid Mrs. Gordon. The Gordons are delighted with Tampa, "a military post of the United

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1 ibid., pp. vi-vii.  
2 ibid., p. ix.  
3 ibid., p. 53.
States . . . with . . . soft Italian climate . . . and wild [shoreline] . . . beauty. ""

Once the building had been started, Doctor Gordon prepared the children for a few day's campout on Riley's Island at the mouth of Tampa Bay. During the preparation the children make lists of needed materials, assemble equipment, and are instructed in the use of everything from boats to firearms. A small sailboat is correctly packed with everything, the doctor assigns children and necessary animals (such as goats and dogs) in their proper setting places for safety and together with William, the negro servant, the doctor prepares to hoist sail. He is summoned away on an emergency errand; devil-fish get tangled in the anchor line, jousting the boat so that William falls overboard; and the fish carry the boat with its live cargo out into the Gulf of Mexico. The boys break a plate and saw away at the anchor line until they are free. The boat lands upon an uninhabited island and the children are off to rousing adventures. Never were children so well equipped or prepared.

These are Victorian children, albeit American, from a religious family. They kneel down and thank God for their safe arrival. Then they get busy setting up camp. They have moments of homesickness and worry, moments of terror and real danger from the strange animals of the semi-tropics and the hurricane; they have illness; they work hard to survive; and in between times they pray and sing hymns.

In the edition read for this story the children, Doctor and Mrs. Gordon, and Mrs. McIntosh are reunited in an almost macabre way. The children, exploring the island, found a river and marsh. Odd things

\[ibid., p. 2.\]
stick in the muck. Among them they find two bodies, a dead white sailor and his dead negro companion, both friends and workers for the Gordons. In attempting to bury the men the children see a "cabin-boat" mired in the morass. With fearful hearts they make their way to the boat and tap on the door that is swollen shut to see if anyone inside is alive. To their joy the parents and aunt are there.

The story must have been exciting to children; it is exciting even now. Victorian children either accepted or ignored the religiosity. To survive on such an island they must have needed faith as well as equipment and campers' skills. The story may be objectionable to twentieth century readers for two reasons other than the extreme religiosity: (1) the negro dialect; and (2) the word pictures of the negroes given in the story. These are according to the custom of the day and people of the Gordons' social class. There is no unkindness; the Gordons love their negroes. But there is a careless acceptance of customs not recalled with equanimity in the twentieth century.

The characterization of the children is natural. Their conversation, though often didactic with the boys giving lessons to Mary and Frank, are surprisingly convincing. Robert was early called "a walking dictionary" so his discussions are true to a boy of his kind. (They still exist today.) Descriptions of scenery although good, are mercifully short; each adventure is built with real suspense and ends immediately after the climax. The theme, as has so often been stated, is of universal appeal. And Gulf of Mexico islands, still unknown to many children, must have been wilderness enough in the 1850's.

The first edition had maps of the territory for end papers. Each
adventure was tracked on these maps. Children could find to their own satisfaction the exact spot in which the children first camped, where they found the raccoon, where they frightened the deer, the dreadful swamp that caught and swallowed so many items. In spite of its many editions, of all the authorities only Blanck, St. John (in *The Osborne Collection*), and Ramsey (in her brief notes) mention it.

The 1931 Dodd Mead edition has three full-page illustrations, a frontispiece and some black and white engravings of tools and a dog. The illustrator is Edward C. Caswell. His lithographs are in black and white. His children are dressed in the clothing of children in the early 1930's.1

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1. Goulding, *op. cit.*, frontispiece, pp. 92, 210, 266.


3. Ibid., p. 7.


6. Librarians know that controversial books need to be studied so that both sides of the argument may be understood.
in the twentieth century, yet, for good or ill, "references to its characters and themes are [so] woven into our literature" [that to understand that literature child and adult must know the genesis].

As biting a literary critic as Edmund Wilson states that, "It is a much more impressive work than one has ever been allowed to suspect."\(^2\)

Impressive, or ignominious in its instigation of unhappy stereotypes, it was read by boys and girls everywhere. In Darton's words, "there can have been few mid-Victorian children who did not drop a spontaneous and justifiable tear over its pages."\(^3\)

The novel was first published as a serial in Doctor Gamaliel Bailey's anti-slavery weekly, *The National Era*.\(^4\) It ran for over forty weeks for which Mrs. Stowe received three hundred dollars. The advertised title was *Uncle Tom's Cabin: or, The Man That Was a Thing*. When actual publication began on June 5, 1851, the subtitle appeared in its final form as *Life Among the Lowly*.\(^5\)

After much delay, a contract with the publishing firm, John P. Jewett and Company, was signed on March 13, 1852. The book was published on March 20, with 5,000 copies in the first printing. It is interesting to note that the serial ran on for two weeks after the book was published. No one, including Mrs. Stowe, expected the book to be such a success.\(^6\)

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6. *All Mrs. Stowe wanted was to be able to buy herself a silk dress.*
Three thousand copies were sold the first day. Bookstores asked for more and so another five thousand copies were hastily printed. Even they were not enough to satisfy the demands. Nothing like this in American publishing had ever happened before. "Extra sets of stereotyped plates were made, other printers and binders were called in; more paper was sought; and the new novel began to roll from many presses."

Public demand continued. Within five months of publication 100,000 copies had been sold. The publisher then brought out a paper bound edition (price 37½ cents) so that by the end of the year, 300,000 copies were sold. Compare this with the population in the United States at that time: a total population of 23,000,000 people with 9,500,000 of them living "in the slave states where it was hard to obtain a copy of Uncle Tom."2

A British publishing scout mailed one of the first copies to his pirating firm. It was not long before "fifty publishers were issuing the book in England and her Colonies. Only one of them ever paid its author royalties."3 A million and a half copies were sold in Britain and the Colonies within the first year of publication.4

International popularity was as great. Translations were made into French, German, Italian, Dutch, Flemish, Danish, Polish, Russian, Hungarian, and in minor languages around the world. In America special

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1. ibid., p. 23. The publisher originally offered Mrs. Stowe a chance to pay half the cost and share the profits equally. She refused and took a safe 10% royalty.

2. Sterne, op. cit., p. 25.

3. ibid., p. 25.

German and Welsh editions were printed for immigrants "Except for the Bible no book had ever sold so universally."

The time was ripe for such a book. Everyone, child or adult, was concerned about slavery. The oppressed everywhere were eager to hear freedom. Uncle Tom was the symbol of everyone who had ever felt or been oppressed no matter what his nationality or race.

Because of this, strange by-products came from such universal familiarity with the characters in the book. There were songs, games, puzzles, toy-books, none of which were authorized by Mrs. Stowe or which paid her one penny for the adaptation of her materials. The same thing happened in dramatic productions. Although there were a few really good plays, the rest were absurd adaptations that shocked, saddened, and infuriated Mrs. Stowe. All over the world there were crude stage productions that no one would tolerate today. Uncle Tom, mutilated by business men of no scruples, became "half a minstrel show, half a circus."

During the later Reconstruction period the Tom shows became even worse exhibiting every type of narrow prejudice and abysmal ignorance. European versions differed only in as was necessary to fit national tastes. They, too, were vulgar and degrading. 2

Added to Mrs. Stowe's dismay about the pirate butchering of her story was the reaction from many people in the South. Reveling letters and packages containing portions of a corpse were sent to her home. Novels were written to refute Uncle Tom. Finally, Mrs. Stowe herself was challenged concerning her veracity. Disturbed over this, she

1 ibid., p. 26. 2 ibid., pp. 27, 28.
compiled and wrote A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin; Presenting the Original Facts and Documents Upon Which the Story is Founded, Together With Corrobative Statements Verifying the Truth of the Work.¹

Although 90,000 copies of The Key were sold, the book is not important according to the author's intent. It could not document what had come "out of the author's head and heart,"² it is important, however, "for the light it casts on Mrs. Stowe's thinking about her major characters."³ And, it is interesting.

Born Harriet Beecher, daughter in a minister's family, the author had good opportunity to observe the escaping slaves who came across the river into Cincinnati where the Beechers lived for a time. The father taught at Lane Seminary (Cincinnati) which became known as an abolitionist school. Harriet even married an abolitionist, a young widower by the name of Calvin Stowe, a quiet professor of religion who made a name for himself in scholarly circles. Harriet's adored brother was Henry Ward Beecher, the magnetic but egotistic preacher whose amatory scandal was one of the crushing blows in Harriet's life.

There were many blows. For years the Stowes lived in near poverty while struggling to keep up as intellectual and spiritual influences in the Cincinnati community. They had several children, many of whom died in the ravaging cholera epidemics that swept the city and surrounding countryside. The controversy over slavery added extra tension to lives that were already filled with the constant tensions of disease, which no one knew how to combat or prevent, and death.

¹ibid., p. 30. ²ibid., p. 30. ³ibid., p. 31.
In 1850, however, a change came for the better. At forty-eight Professor Stowe was appointed to the faculty at Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Massachusetts. The family was delighted with the move, in better health. But the pleasure was short-lived for the Runaway Slave Act brought terror and acts of violence into even remote Northern villages. Until then Harriet had vocally deplored slavery but, with real empathy for the distressed, she vowed that even though she was only a woman, she would try to show whoever would read her work the horrible things that slavery was doing to humanity.

Coming home from communion at church an idea for a scene flashed into her mind. She wrote it down and then read it aloud to her entire family. Everyone, from her husband to their ten-and eleven-year-old children, burst in tears and pledged their cooperation in seeing that she had time to write. Thus, Uncle Tom's Cabin was begun. No one was more surprised at its world wide success than Mrs. Stowe herself. She was a tiny woman who considered herself first and foremost a wife and mother but she was filled with the driving force of righteous indignation and the energy of the Beecher family.¹

In 1878, long after first publication, Uncle Tom became enshrined as a classic in an elaborate illustrated edition. This carried an extensive bibliography compiled by George Bullen of the British Museum which listed the editions of the book . . . issued in various languages. It also cited the numerous reviews that had appeared . . . all over the world. [It]. . . was based on the collection the Museum had made.²

The story begins with the Kentucky Shelbys who, through financial

¹ibid., pp. 16-19. ²ibid., pp. 34-35.
distress, are obliged to sell their slaves whom they love and have raised, in some instances, as family. Mrs. Shelby's companion, Eliza, has the threat of her little boy being sold away from her, and her mechanical genius of a husband is badly treated by his owners. Eliza runs away in her now famous scene of crossing the ice to the free state of Kentucky. The first man (Mr. Symes) to help her is an ignorant white person\textsuperscript{1} who takes her to "the" senator's house.

Uncle Tom is sold to Augustine St. Clare for his little daughter, Evangeline, thenceforth known as "Little Eva." The St. Clares came from Canada but live in New Orleans, spending the hottest months at their summer retreat on the shores of Lake Ponchatrain, Louisiana. Topsy, that engaging child, was obtained later and given to Miss Ophelia, St. Clare's cousin from New England, who had her own ideas about raising children, any children no matter from what race they came. Mrs. Stowe is very explicit about this:

Miss Ophelia's ideas about religion, like all her other ideas, were very set and definite; and of the kind that prevailed in New England a century ago, and which are still preserved in some very retired and unsophisticated parts, where there are no railroads. As nearly as could be expressed, they could be comprised in very few words: to teach them to mind when they were spoken to; to teach them the catechism, sewing and reading; and to whip them if they told lies. And though . . . in the flood of light that is now poured on education,\textsuperscript{2} these are left far away in the rear, yet it is an undisputed fact that our grandmothers raised some tolerably fair men and women

\textsuperscript{1}Mrs. Stowe has a predilection for dialect. She doesn't suggest it, she writes it in agonizing detail for people of every race, Mr. Symes is a point in mind.

\textsuperscript{2}The italic's are mine.
under this regime [sic] as many of us can remember and testify. All events, Miss Ophelia knew of nothing else to do. . . .

The story is familiar. Topsy and Eva become friends as do Eva and Uncle Tom. Eva advocates education and tries to teach her companions to read. Terrible things happen as well as some fun. Half way through the book Eva dies. The death has great and different effect on everyone from the slaves through Eva's selfish and vapid mother who takes out her sorrow on everyone; stern Ophelia; to her father who means well but through indolence causes even more tragedy for his slaves for whom he really meant freedom and happiness.

The final chapter ends in the setting with which the story begins, the Shelby plantation in Kentucky. Young adult George Shelby, the heir, returns to free his slaves. Shaken by the death of Uncle Tom and others he vows: to never own another slave; to pay wages to those who will stay and work with him; to educate them; to see that they retain in careful preservation the certificates of freedom which he gives to them. The chapter is a peroration and exhortation which declares the theme of the book. George Shelby's closing words to his freed people are Mrs. Stowe's:

... when you rejoice in your freedom, think that you owe it to that good old soul [Uncle Tom], and pay it back in kindness. . . . Think of your freedom, every time you see Uncle Tom's Cabin and let it be a memorial...

Ibid., p. 319. Child readers would "hate" Miss Ophelia (with no excuses made for her) almost as much as they would hate the slave traders and the cruel masters.
to put you all in mind to follow in his steps, and be as honest and faithful and Christian as he was.

The novel was first published with illustrations. Although Sterne includes some of the illustrations immediately after the introduction in his edition, he does not name the artist. The pictures are signed, by either the engraver or the artist but it is difficult to decipher the name. Two eighteenth century illustrators of note, however, are mentioned. Both Stern and Mahoney mention George Cruikshank. Mahoney cites the other, Edward Windsor Kemble.

Stern includes selections from the Cruikshank illustrations which are more lively than those of the anonymous original illustrator. His skill in depicting facial expressions also emphasizes sorrow and anguish as well as the forgetfulness of momentary gaiety. Cruikshank's illustrations were for the Cassell edition which came out in England in 1852, the year of the first American publication.

Edward Windsor Kemble is the noted American artist for adults whom Mark Twain chose as the illustrator for Huckleberry Finn in 1885.

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1Ibid., pp. 549, 550. No attempt to criticize the literary style of this work is done here. The amount of already compiled criticism is so extensive that similar analysis in so capsuled a form as necessary here would be fruitless. See Bullen; also, Edmund Wilson, this annotation, supra.

2Sterne, op. cit., between pp. 40 and 41.

3Ibid., p. 6.

4Mahoney, op. cit., p. 503.


6Mahoney, op. cit., p. 401.

7Ibid., p. 98.
Kemble also did illustrations, beloved of children, for *Uncle Remus.*

It was not until 1892 that he illustrated *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (two volumes) for Houghton.


Philip Hofer, writing for Mahoney about illustrations of children's classics, believes that, excepting French romantic illustrations, there are no illustrations of quality except those of Cruikshank.


With Engravings by Baker and Designs by Billings. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields. First American telling of the myths for children in an imaginative and spiritual way. An influence on British children (as well as on

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1 ibid., pp. 112, 113.  2 ibid., p. 418.
3 ibid., p. 420.  4 ibid., p. 442.
5 ibid., p. 422.  6 ibid., p. 191.
7 The French illustrators are not given, nor are the editions mentioned. See Bullen.
8 Blanck, *op. cit.* p. 6.
American) in a genre that is timeless and raceless.1 A creative attempt to break away from extreme moralizing in stories and from the traditional and pedantic question and answer method of teaching children about the Greek classics instead of allowing them to enjoy the myths.2 Precursor of Kingsley, Colum, and other later tellers of myths for children.3 Representative of early American illustration for children.4

The publishers underwent a series of changes in partners and name that is similar to the metamorphoses undergone by many other publishing companies. For example: by 1870 it had become Ticknor and Fields;5 by 1870, Fields, Osgood, and Company;6 by 1871, James R. Osgood and Company (all of Boston);7 but in 1882 there was again a Ticknor and Company in Boston.8

The first English edition came out in 1851, the year before the 1852 date on the American first edition.9 It is interesting to note that the book was "received at the Library of Congress for copyright December 22, 1851."10

Nathaniel Hawthorne, who was rated next to Emerson among the New England writers whose works were read in England,11 avowedly wrote his

1Darton, ibid., p. 236. 2Thwaite, op. cit., p. 111.
3Darton, op. cit., p. 235. 4Mahoney, op. cit., pp. 90, 91.
5Blanck, op. cit., p. 18. 6ibid., p. 35.
7ibid., p. 38. 8ibid., p. 65.
9The Osborne Collection, op. cit. 10Blanck, op. cit., p. 6.
11Cruse, The Victorians and Their Reading, op. cit., pp. 90, 91.
Greek tales in the Gothic style popular in his age. He did not feel that his reshaping of the stories was a sacrilege. Indeed, he believed that what he called the "legends" were "marvellously independent of all temporary modes and circumstances." He enjoyed the writing, feeling it was one of the most agreeable tasks he had ever undertaken and especially fitted to hot weather.

Hawthorne's attitude towards children is expressed in his arrangement of the book and in the following words from his preface, written at Lenox in 1851:

... the author has not always thought it necessary to write downward, in order to meet the comprehension of children. He has generally suffered the theme to soar, whenever such was its tendency, and when he himself was buoyant enough to follow without an effort. Children possess an unestimated sensibility to whatever is deep or high, in imagination or feeling, so long as it is simple.... It is only the artificial or complex that bewilder them.

Hawthorne tells six stories: "The Gorgon's Head"; "The Golden Touch" (King Midas); "The Paradise of Children" (Pandora); "The Three Golden Apples"; "The Miraculous Pitcher"; and "The Chimaera." He intersperses them as stories within a story. The children at Tanglewood gather on the porch, the hillside, or in the meadows by the brook to hear a college student, Eustace Bright, tell the stories. It does not take much imagination to believe that the children are Hawthorne.

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1 Meigs, op. cit., p. 196.

2 Nathaniel Hawthorne, Wonderbook and Tanglewood Tales; with pictures by Maxfield Parrish (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1938), p. v. This is the edition read for this annotation.

3 Ibid., p. vi.
children of the immediate and kinfolk families. The author delights in calling them by such pet and fanciful names as "Periwinkle, Dandelion, Huckleberry Squash Blossom, Milkweed, and the rest." Some adults may wince at the thought of children answering to such names. Children, in rapport, with a storyteller or teacher would enjoy the names. They would equate them with Oriental or American Indian names such as "Peach Blossom or White Fawn."²

The running commentary about the children at Tanglewood is written in the fashion of Jacob Abbott but revealing of insight into children's thoughts and everyday actions. In like fashion it tells much about mid-eighteenth century New England in its autumn days of smoky haze and brightly colored leaves; in its winter days of deep-piled blue-white snow running the distant mountains while a fire leaps high in a Tanglewood fireplace; May days of unusual warmth when violets, columbine, arbutus, and wild strawberry blossoms hide under last year's dead leaves. Always in the distance are the mountains, reminding the children of Rip Van Winkle and other American legendary characters.

The myths stand by themselves. Thwaite believes that in spite of their Gothicism and Kingsley's accusation of vulgarity, they have some new and attractive features.³ Darton states that "they are in any good English library today on their merits as a great writer's excellent rendering of immortal stories."⁴ Ramsey refuses to include them in her

¹Ibid., pp. 4, 5.
²They are often creative play children often adopt such names for themselves.
³Thwaite, loc. cit.
⁴Darton, op. cit., p. 236.
bibliography of folklore, calling them "diluted." But Meigs reminds us that it is the adult readers who "prefer Kingsley as more Greek in spirit ... [and that these tales] are ... little masterpieces of prose [which] ... introduce children to the satisfactions of good style as well as mythology."\(^2\)

The only part of Hawthorne's retelling which might disturb some twentieth century children are his interpolations. An example of this is:

And now, my little auditors, shall I tell you something that will make you open your eyes very wide? It is one of the oddest circumstances in the whole story.\(^3\)

The themes are those that the psychologists, such as Jerome Bruner, tell us children need to know in order to intuit universal truths. "The Gorgan's Head" is one that Bruner especially mentions for in seeing evil reflected in the shield the beholder can attack but still be safe. To perceive evil, face to face, turns the beholder to the stone of immobility.\(^4\)

The star characters are those whom William Riley Parker feels even graduate students of English literature do not know today. They are Medusa (the Gorgon) and Perseus (Theseus); Hercules; Baucis and Philemon with their heavenly visitor, Mercury; King Midas, his molten breakfast

\(^1\)Ramsey, Folklore for Children and Young People, \(op. \ cit.\), p. 45.

\(^2\)Meigs, \(loc. \ cit.\).

\(^3\)Hawthorne, \(op. \ cit.\), p. 123. This is a device employed by many storytellers that sustains attention. Good readers who are young children will not even notice it.

\(^4\)See this work, Introduction, \(supra.\)
and his golden little daughter; Pandora with the scourges and the hope of the world; and that fabulous winged horse, Pegasus, who was once white but now flies blushing over uncountable gas stations in twentieth century United States perhaps looking for Bellerophon.

The stories have stirred the imaginations of many well known artists. The first of these, in the Ticknor, Reed, and Fields edition, is Hammatt Billings, the American architect who illustrated so many children's books in mid-Victorian days. Others are:

1. Dent's 1903 edition, illustrated by English Herbert Granville Fell;
2. Hodder's 1922 edition, illustrated by English Horace Rackham;


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1 Mahoney, *op. cit.*, pp. 90, 91, 391.
5 Blanck, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
6 Annotation, *supra*. 
with the same publisher and the same illustrator. It is in this book
that Hawthorne "cleans up the myths." He tells about this in his
preface written at "The Wayside, Concord, Massachusetts, March 13, 1853." Eustace Bright, the college student, hypothetical author, has come to
visit "the editor" who worries about the myths being suitable for chil-
dren.

These old legends so brimming over with everything
that is most abhorrent to our christianized moral sense,
--some of them so hideous, others so meloncholy and mis-
erable . . . was such material the stuff that children's
playthings should be made of?2

Eustace explains that:

The objectionable characteristics seem to be a parasitical
growth, having no essential connection with the original
fable. . . .

Thus, the stories ( . . . in harmony with their in-
herent germ) transform themselves, and reassume the shapes
which they might be supposed to possess in the pure child-
hood of the world.3

Hawthorne mentions his awareness of the better censure that some
reviewers gave the myths but since children have written to ask for
more myths, he believes that adult critics are not important enough to
worry about. He mentions the children of Tanglewood, their growth,
their changes, the places in which they heard the tales from Eustace
(in the woods, on the shore of the lake, in the playroom, etcetera) and
then he bids them all farewell.

1Hawthorne, Wonderbook and Tanglewood Tales (New York: Dodd,
Mead, and Company, 1938), op. cit., p. 175.

2Ibid., p. 172.

3Hawthorne, op. cit., p. 173.
Nothing interrupts the flow of the stories. Again, there are six. They are: "The Minotaur"; "The Pygmies" (Hercules and Antaeus); "The Dragon's Teeth" (Cadmus, who in his search for Europa and the white Bull, finds Harmonia and founds a city); "Circe's Palace" (one adventure of Ulysses in which his men are turned into swine); "The Pomegranate Seeds" (Ceres, Proserpina, and Pluto); and "The Golden Fleece" (Jason learning from Chiron the Centaur and gaining the Fleece).

Since this is the last that the then forty-nine-year-old Hawthorne wrote for children, the last paragraph of his last story has a prophetic ring:

With one bound he leaped aboard. At sight of the glorious radiance of the Golden Fleece, the nine-and-forty heroes gave a mighty shout, and Orpheus, striking his harp sang a song of triumph to the cadence of which the galley flew over the water, homeward bound, as if careening along with wings.1

This is fine music for children, of language and of the heart.

Mahoney lists two illustrated editions of Tanglewood Tales.2 The first is Hodder's 1918 edition, illustrated by French born Englishman, Edmund Dulac.3 The second is the Houghton edition of 1887, illustrated by American George Wharton Edwards.4

Mahoney lists seven illustrated editions of Wonder Book and Tanglewood Tales published in one volume.5 They are: (1) a 1926 edition, illustrated by American Elenore Plaisted Abbott;6 (2) a 1910 Dent

1ibid., p. 358. 2Mahoney, op. cit., p. 478.
3ibid., p. 405. 4ibid., p. 405.
5ibid., p. 478. 6ibid., p. 385.
edition, illustrated by English Herbert Granville Fell;\(^1\) (3) a Duffield edition of 1910, illustrated by American Maxfield Parrish;\(^2\) and (4) a Houghton edition of 1923, illustrated by Swedish born American Gustaf Tenggren [sic].

Each of these famous illustrators is noted for his (or her) own distinctive style and interpretation of subject matter. For example, Parrish, with highly stylized and unreal designs is remembered for the smoothness of his pictures, his almost Greek simplicity, his unusual blue tones, his vivid reds, his dramatic and contrasting use of black.\(^3\) Tenggren has gargoyle shaped creatures with prominent facial characteristics, and beautiful women, sharply drawn against vivid colors.

American Frederick Stuart Church, illustrator for the *Uncle Remus* stories, also did an edition for Houghton, in 1884.\(^4\) English Walter Crane did an unusual edition for Osgood McIlvaine (1892) while he was in Florida.\(^5\) The pictures are almost entirely in orange, blue, and brown yet they are so cleverly done that they give the effect of many colors. Crane's works give the appearance of being sculptured in a Grecian manner. Therefore, they add a note of dignity and authenticity to such books as those about the Greek myths.

Since the day of Hawthorne there have been several retellings of


\(^3\) See the edition used for this annotation.

\(^4\) Mahoney, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

the Greek stories such as those by Sally Benson, Alfred Church, Padraic Colum, Edith Hamilton, Charles Kingsley, Andrew Lang, and Barbara Leonie Picard. Twentieth century adult critics prefer the tales retold by modern authors.


Representative of the books meant for boys that started to flood the market in the second half of the eighteenth century. A typical work of this prolific writer who had great influence on later writers of both fact and fancy, with special inspiration for Robert Louis Stevenson.

The authorities used for this work, in general, have little to say about the American publishers of books for children during this period, Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, although changing in personnel and company name, maintained a steady and relatively high quality of output

1See annotations of Lamb, *supra*; of Kingsley, *infra*. These cite modern retellings.


3Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 301.
throughout most of the eighteenth century.¹

Captain Mayne Reid was the son of an Irish Presbyterian clergyman. Educated to the cloth, he preferred a life of adventure and exploration. He served in the Mexican War and volunteered to serve in helping the Hungarians, under Görgey, rise against the Austrians. He arrived in Paris just as Görgey surrendered.

He spent much of his life in the United States and Canada. As a young man (about 1850) he went directly to New Orleans. From there he travelled northward among the Indians, living with their tribes as though he were one of them. Later he went to Philadelphia, then a center of the literate, and began his writing career, specializing in narratives of travel and adventure.

His romantic stories were begun during one of his return trips to Britain.² There he contributed to Beeton's Annual . . . a rather sensational magazine for boys.³ In the United States he wrote for Our Young Folks (an American magazine) in which he gave much detailed description about South American jungles and rivers. Alice Jordan tells us that "Laura Richards [delightful American poet for children, late eighteenth century] has testified that all she knew of natural history she learned from Mayne Reid whose dashing heroes were her delight."⁴

¹See this work, annotations, Hawthorne, supra.
²The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 385.
³Darton, op. cit., p. 276.
Captain Reid appears to have always mingled rather adequately documented natural history about the territories in which he actually travelled and lived with sensational fiction. He does this in The Young Voyageurs which is a continuation of or a sequel to the adventures of three motherless boy hunters. The brothers Basil, Lucien, and Francois, after the death of their father, the Colonel (a naturalist-historian) and his domestic (Hugo, an ex-chasseur), of yellow fever, decide to go in search of their uncle, a Scotsman who lives in the wilds of Canada. Their cousin, Norman, meets them to accompany the brothers on their canoe trip up the Mississippi River and its tributaries to Canadian rivers and lakes leading to the Mackenzie Valley in which the uncle lives.

There are unbelievable adventures and pages of description of wild fowl and fur bearing animals native to the northernmost part of North America. In terms of twentieth-century readers, the wanton slaughter of the beautiful (and now extinct) trumpeter swan by these boys is appalling. Lucien, who does not like to hunt, is the naturalist and the walking encyclopedia who tells in (sometimes interesting) detail the origin, habits, and physical make-up of all aspects of the fauna [sic] the boys meet during the trip. Lucien is almost killed by a pack of wolves. The other boys save him at the last moment. In no time at all, he is revived and ready to eat a hearty meal.

The boys lose their boat and all their equipment when caught in an unexpected rapids. They save themselves in an ingenious fashion.

They build a new boat, a birch bark canoe. Captain Reid gives detailed directions so that anyone of his "boy readers" could use the book as a manual for building a birch bark canoe that would not leak and that would float.  

After slaughtering numbers of wild animals and fowl (to eat, of course), getting lost taking a shortcut, going hundreds of miles out of their way, the boys finally reach friendly Esquimaux. These people loan each of the boys a sledge drawn by dogs. Thus in swift and comfortable style, the boys reach their destination.

As is the case in many books which appeal to children, all encumbering adults are either "killed off" before the story begins or are only mentioned but never appear in the action. These teenage boys are successful entirely through their own efforts. The style is pedantic for twentieth-century children but the material is fascinating.

Mahoney lists English William Harvey as the illustrator for the British Bogue edition of 1853. Harvey illustrated the Boston edition reprinted by Knox, with twelve engravings. Harvey was an English wood engraver and designer who received his apprenticeship under Thomas Bewick.

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2 Captain Reid justifies this in several paragraphs of rationalization, *ibid.*, p. 43.  
4 Reid, *op. cit.*, (the frontispiece and eleven others).  
5 *The Osborne Collection, op. cit.*, p. 447.
1853-1854

Cruikshank, George. The Fairy Library. Four Volumes.
London: David Bogue, MIDW-R, OCI-T, 00x M,

The happiest of illustrations accompanying distorted texts.
Although most important as representative of some the artist Cruikshank's best work, they also represent the unfortunate trend in which writers twist the old fairy tales to meet adult purposes which are not the purposes of children.

David Bogue, who wrote children's books anonymously, published these four little books as a series from 1853 to 1854. They were later (1865) bound together as one volume and sometimes known as George Cruikshank's Fairy Library. The first of the little volumes to be published was "Hop-o'-my-Thumb and the Seven League Boots." The

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1Mahoney, op. cit., p. 401.
2The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 28.
3Mahoney, op. cit., p. 41.
4The Osborne Collection, loc. cit.
5Ibid., p. 466. On page 498, St. John discusses Tilt who was in partnership with and successor to Bogue at 86 Fleet Street. Tilt specialized in lithography.
6Mahoney, loc. cit.
7The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 28. Meigs, op. cit., p. 246, gives the date of the first collective edition as 1864. However, a check in the British Museum Catalog gives only St. John's citation of 1865. Meigs gives corroborative information about the reformer's zeal which had crept into Cruikshank's life.
8Mahoney, loc. cit.
others were "Puss-in-Boots"; "Cinderella"; and "Jack-in-the-Beanstalk."

Since there were several Cruikshanks who did illustration, there is sometimes confusion as to who illustrated what. The Cruikshanks involved are George Cruikshank (the first and most noted) who did Grimm's Goblins; his nephew, Percy; and his great-nephew who was also named George. There was a fourth, Robert, the original George's brother who became a caricaturist and painter. It was the first George who is responsible for the *Fairy Library.*

By the time these little books were published, Cruikshank had developed his artistic abilities to dizzy heights. However, he had begun to be embroiled in a series of quarrels. Some of these resulted from his own fancied slights. Others were real attacks on his work. The first attack on *The Fairy Library* came from Charles Dickens rebuking Cruikshank for turning beloved fairy tales into temperance tracts. Cruikshank had become an ardent teetotaller. As an example of the manner in which he changed the tales, consider his ending for "Cinderella." He took all of the spirituous drink in the kingdom and, on the wedding day, ignited a huge bonfire. In this way he kept drunkenness out of the

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1 *Ibid.*, p. 401. This information is also given in Meigs and *The Osborne Collection*, loc. cit.

2 See annotations, *supra*: Grimm; Cruikshank.

3 *The Osborne Collection*, op. cit., p. 418, "The Kittens Who Lost Their Mittens."


happy land of "forever afterwards." Darton remarks that even the fearful letter writer who complained to Mrs. Trimmer about the deleterious effects of fairy tales on children "never thought of that."^1

Cruikshank's little books (some of them were only thirteen pages) came at a time that controversy was high between rationalism and imagination. Dicken's letter accused Cruikshank of being on the side of unfeeling rationalists. Cruikshank wrote a reply to Dickens which he signed "Master Hop-o-My-Thumb." Bogue, the publisher, printed it and sold it for a penny a copy. He later incorporated it into the back of "Puss-in-Boots."^4

As a crowning blow, Ruskin criticized Cruikshank's thirty-nine engraved illustrations. At this time Ruskin had published three of his popular works on aesthetics. He was not yet Oxford's Slade Professor of Fine Arts but his word as an authority was established with the public.

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^1Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 98. See annotations, Georgian Age, Mrs. Trimmer, *supra*.

^2Ibid., p. 99.

^3The Osborne Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

^4Mahoney, *op. cit.*, p. 41.


^6This occurred in 1869.

Popular domestic story representative of the pathos and religion so predominant in mid-Victorian stories. 2

The book was published simultaneously in Boston and Cleveland. The Cleveland firm was Jewett, Proctor, and Worthington. 3 Serious writers such as Hawthorne were puzzled, frustrated, and furious that a book like The Lamplighter could (and did) "sell by the 100,000" when their own books did not.

Maria Susannah Cummins, the author, was a close friend of Mrs. A. D. T. Whitney. 5 She genuinely believed the religious philosophy that pervaded her pages and hit the market for such books at the peak of their popularity. Although not as successful financially, she is a better writer than her contemporary, the phenomenal and bizarre "Fanny Fern" whom Hawthorne admired. 6

The theme of The Lamplighter can well be compared to that of the Wide Wide World. 7 Both heroines were orphaned and had to live with

1Blanck, op. cit., p. 11.
2Thwaite, op. cit., pp. 249, 250.
3Blanck, loc. cit.
5The Hewins Lectures, op. cit., p. 107.
6Hart, op. cit., p. 94. Three of "Fanny Fern's" books sold over 180,000 copies apiece.
7See annotation of Wide Wide World (1850), supra.
people who made them unhappy. Both were religious and moral to the extreme, nevertheless, converting everyone around them. Both ultimately attained a happy, substantial, middle-class home through stoutly adhering to their principles of virtue. Both wept copious tears that influenced their readers to weep in similar fashion.

Here the comparison stops. Gertie, the heroine of Maria Cummins' tale, was a hard working child who lived in a poor section of Boston. She is turned out into a blinding snowstorm with inadequate clothing. Trueman Flint (the lamplighter who is appropriately and symbolically named) is the first to befriend her. A gentle blind woman eventually takes Gertie into her home. Gertie as a young woman in finding love also finds the runaway brother of her benefactress.

A London edition first published in 1869 has a "coloured" frontispiece which is not signed by the illustrator. No other illustrated edition is mentioned by any of the authorities used for this work.

88. Historical.

The first of Miss Yonge's thirty historical tales to be published.

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1The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 333. This edition was published in London by William Nicholson and Sons and is subtitled: *An Orphan Girl's Struggles and Triumphs.*

2The University of Chicago places Miss Yonge's works in "Humanities." Therefore, none are in the Rare Book Collection.

3Thwaite, op. cit., p. 18.

4Ibid., p. 178.
A classic still read with enjoyment by boys and girls today.¹

John William Parker, established at 445 West Strand, was "Printer to Cambridge University and publisher to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge [S. P. C. K.]. His son, John, ... worked with him from 1843 until his death. ... Parker sold his interests to the [long lived] Longman firm in 1862."²

Parker also published Charlotte Yonge's The Lances of Lynwood (1855), a story of the reign of Edward III.³ There is some difference of opinion as to which of her two early historical books are the best.⁴ However, all of her historical series of books were deeply interesting for Victorian children.⁵

Charlotte Mary Yonge was the oldest child and only daughter of the Yonges of Otterbourne, near Winchester. She was brought up very strictly in a family that believed in church-going and the establishment of Sunday schools for the poor. Charlotte taught in one when she was only seven. Although the family was always of the Anglican faith, they became Puseyites when John Keble left Oxford and took up a pastorate at

²The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 490.
³Ibid., p. 397.
⁴For example, Thwaite, op. cit., p. 178, states that The Little Duke is the best. Other authorities such as Smith, op. cit., p. 244, do not even list it.
⁵Thwaite, loc. cit., p. 178. Many authorities believe that American Grace Greenwood of the same period should be equated with Charlotte Yonge. Without having read the Greenwood books it would seem that they are so little fiction that they could not come within the scope of this study. See Gardner and Ramsey, op. cit., p. 182; Smith, op. cit., pp. 174, 175.
Hursley, near Otterbourne. Next to her strong-minded father, Kable was the most influential man in Charlotte's long life. This is amazing, as Charlotte lived through more than three quarters of a century of radical change. She was greatly impressed by Scott's novels and her interest in history is due to this.

The Little Duke was meant for children. It was first published in The Monthly Packet (1851), a magazine intended for Anglican young ladies. Charlotte edited the magazine for forty years and many of her stories were serialized in it before their publication as books. The magazine was published by a brother and sister, Richard and Anne Mozeley, who specialized in the publication of church writings.

Although Richard of Normandy was religious, being taught this by his father and his father's supporters, his religion is a part of the historical character of the real Duke. Charlotte Yonge does not allow her own religious convictions to impinge upon or be reflected in the story. The action takes place during the eighth and ninth year of Richard's life. His father has been murdered by a false friend. Sycophants gather around the new Duke. Staunch and loyal followers attempt in vain to keep him from the clutches of King Louis. Richard is torn from his home, his old nurse, his priest, his companion (Alberic) and the other nobles and taken to the king's castle.

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1 See this work, Victorian period, Religion: The Oxford Movement, supra.

2 Mare and Percival, op. cit., p. 132, passim.

3 Thwaite, op. cit., p. 178.

4 Mare and Percival, op. cit., p. 128.
The king has two sons who are tyrannized over by their warlike mother. The younger son has a distaste for intrigue and cruelty but the older boy revels in it. Richard suffers an unhappy year. He is taunted, beaten, burned, and becomes ill. When he first begins to recover but while still weak, one of his own nobles (Osmond) manages to contrive an escape by carrying Richard out in a bale of straw. They gallop away on horseback for several weary days and nights. Richard is so weak that only his indomitable will keeps him in the saddle. Once safe at home with his nurse and his friends, he recovers.

In the meantime Richard's nobles battle the king and bring the two princes back to Richard where they stay for over a year. The younger gentle boy dies. The cruel boy becomes subdued and falsely promises lifelong friendship.

Each page of the story builds to its own climax. The style is simple but vigorous, immanently readable for twentieth-century boys, girls, and adults. A modern edition (not rewritten, only reprinted) gives a synoptic discussion of the tenth century in Normandy, the home of Richard who does not know that his great grandson will be famous as William the Conqueror.

Although most of the sources used for this work cite The Little Duke as important, few describe it. Some only mention the importance of the author. For example, Muir gives only one reference to Charlotte Yonge. In this he lists The Heir of Radclyffe as her most important

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1 Charlotte Yonge, The Little Duke, Illustrator Michael Godfrey (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1964), pp. v-vi. This is one of the English series, Dent's Children's Illustrated Classics.
book; Abbey Church (1844) as her first; and the total number of her
works (by 1888) as one hundred and fifty. 1

Mahoney lists two illustrated editions. 2 The first, illustrated
by English H. R. Millar, was published by Bell with no publication date
given. 3 The second, illustrated by American Lucy Beatrice Stevens, was
published in 1923 by Duffield. 4

1855 Adams, William Taylor. Oliver Optic, pseudonym. The Boat
Club: or, The Bunkers of Rippleton. A Tale for Boys.
Boston: Brown, Bazin, and Company. 5 ICU - B, MID - CH.

Representative in both author and book of the trend in America
that was an attempt to combat the lurid thrillers of the Beadle Company
or the dime novels. The move was on for 'wholesome' material that
would also amuse. 6 Amusement in reading for children had finally become
acceptable.

Oliver Optic was the penname for a respectable Sunday school
superintendent, Boston school teacher and principal, 7 William Taylor
Adams. He was responsible for more than 116 cloth bound volumes (not

1Muir, op. cit., p. 125.
2Mahoney, op. cit., p. 580.
3Ibid., p. 423.
4Ibid., p. 441.
5Blanck, op. cit., p. 12.
7Ibid., p. 187.
to mention shorter stories) published by reputable firms. For many years his books were circulated by libraries. As late as 1875 the Cambridge Public Library listed seven Optic series. Most libraries named him as the most popular of the fiction authors whose works were read by men as well as by boys and girls. Reviewers even called his works pure and enobling when, in truth, they were poorly written. Before his death, however, "his books were ruled out of most public libraries."

Optic meant his stories for boys and, perhaps, thought they were far better than the other novels then flooding the market. It is an interesting commentary on human nature, however, that he should elaborate upon the dangers of wrong reading for youth when as a boy, unknown to his parents, he had read such old thrillers as Three Spaniards; Alonzo and Melissa; The Mysteries of Udolpho; Rinaldo Rinaldini; and, Freemantle the Privateersman. Jacob Blanck, the noted bibliographer, remarks that the fact that "he had . . . managed to escape the result so commonly predicted as a result of reading novels appears to have been lost to him."²

After dedicating the book to his nephew, William Parker Jewell, the author spends most of his preface elaborating upon his purpose:

¹Alice M. Jordan, "From Rollo to Tom Sawyer" in The Hewins Lectures, ed. Sirii Andrews, op. cit., p. 12. On page 13 Jordan gives an anecdotal account of the manner in which a Hartford, Connecticut librarian, Mr. Frank Gay, persuaded the noted Billy Phelps to switch from Optic to Shakespeare and other classic writers. Jordan also discusses Optic's Outward Bound Series.

The author ... pleads guilty of being more than half a boy himself; and in writing a book to meet the needs and wants and the tastes of "young America," he has had no difficulty in stepping back over the weary waste of years that separates youth from maturity and entering fully into the scenes he describes. He has endeavored to combine healthy moral lessons with a sufficient amount of exciting interest to render the story attractive to the young and he hopes he has not mingled these elements of a good juvenile book in disproportionate quantities.

The characters in the story are almost stereotypes: the wealthy boy; the good but weak boy who means to be good; the poor but worthy boy; the helpless impoverished widow of good family; the kindly though ignorant old seaman who admires manliness; the thorough-going villainous boys who will cause harm to the good, no-matter-what.

In the town of Bunkerton ten miles from Boston, two groups of boys vie with each other; the good (educated, upper-middle-class, the will-be-successful); the juvenile delinquents of their day, almost "inherently" bad. The battle ground is a lake on which both groups of boys pilot entirely different kinds of craft. A club is formed with a constitution and rules which assure that a manly boy will grow into a manly man. The originators of the club are Charles (wealthy); Frank (weak); Tony (the poor but worthy widow's son). They are abetted by admiring "Uncle" Ben, an old sailor. Tim Bunker (a rotter, if there ever was one) leads the opposing gang.

During the climactic scenes of the feud, Tony is accused of stealing a wealthy farmer's bulging wallet. A trial ensues in which public opinion and the odds are against Tony. At a crucial moment a

handsome stranger, Tony's long wandering brother who has made a fortune, comes home to save the family and honor and to move them into a more respectable neighborhood. It is no surprise that Tim Bunker is the real culprit.

The story is poorly written, entirely in short and choppy sentences. The dialogue is stilted, especially the girls' conversations, for there are "puppet" girls. Most of the characters are flat and one dimensional. The book is more an outline of what a book could be rather than a full bodied piece of writing. The plot is hackneyed and pure "corn."

In spite of this, the work is a piece of Americana depicting mannerisms and scenes that are no longer in existence. The description of the glorious Fourth of July with its wildly ringing bells and its booming canon is nostalgic. The once rural countryside "ten miles from Boston" is now solid and unlovely city. Although the "costumes" adopted by the boys in the boat club are strictly out of something in Gilbert and Sullivan, the description of them is vivid and would be appealing to boys of 10, 11, 12, and 13. The island for picnics and the boat racing are, of course, attractions. Every boy ought to have an "Uncle" Ben, even if he materialized only in the boy's imagination. It is no wonder that Billy Phelps had to be wooed to Shakespeare. If boys today are again reading Tom Swift,¹ it is possible that in spite of the "trashy" writing they might also "take to" Oliver Optic.

No illustrations are listed.

¹The Tom Swift series has been revitalized and although the books are not in libraries, they can be bought (and are) at any bookstore.


The best of the literary (or one-man-written) fairy tales.² The only fairy tale written by this famous British novelist.³

George Smith Sr. and Alexander Elder joined partnership in 1816. By 1838 George Jr. (later the founder of the *Dictionary of National Biography*) had become a partner in the establishment at Cornhill.⁴ The company published many of Thackeray's books, both those that he wrote and those that he illustrated.⁵

*The Rose and the Ring* was evolved from a pack of playing cards that he had drawn for his two daughters. Inventing fairy tales or nonsense for their own children had become a popular activity among Victorian writers.⁶ Thackeray went a little further than just writing by seeing that his story was produced as a Christmas pantomine for a group of English children who were spending the year in Rome.⁷

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¹*The Osborne Collection*, *op. cit.*, p. 393.

²Green, *Teller of Tales*, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

³*ibid.*, p. 20.

⁴*The Osborne Collection*, *op. cit.*, p. 496.

⁵Mahoney, *op. cit.*, p. 442.


Although he remembered his Grimm, his French fairy tales, and a burlesque verse play of Henry Fielding's called *Tom Thumb the Great* (1831), Thackeray did not write an imitation; his work is his own.¹

This is a comical story of royal and less than royal love and adventure taking place in the kingdoms of Paflagonia and Crim Tartary ten or twenty thousand years ago. Love tokens are involved. Whoever possesses them (the rose or the ring) appears beautiful to the one he or she desires. Prince Giglio and the long lost Princess Rosalba and others possess and lose the tokens with astonishing and hilarious results. The fairy Blackstick, in the old tradition of such tales, is incensed at people who ignore her. Because of a slight, she turns the royal porter, Gruffanuff, into a brass door knocker. Being really kind-hearted and wanting the Prince and Princess to marry, she undoes the charm in time to prevent Gruffanuff's wife from marrying the Prince whom she had tricked into signing a marriage contract.

Thackeray pokes fun at romantic love, royalty, social climbers, and college educations in such a way that no one can take offense even while understanding the intent. The action is swift; the style is excellent; the unexpected springs from every page. Even the ending turns out to be a complete surprise.

His illustrations are as ridiculous as his writing. The characters, even the Prince and Princess, are outlandish rather than beautiful. Their pomp is a swollen thing. The contrast of the delicate colors adds to the spoofing.

¹Green, *loc. cit.*
Mahoney lists seven other books illustrated by Thackeray. Two of these are Owen Wister's *The Virginian* and his own *Ballads and The Ring and the Rose*.

Mahoney cites only one other illustrated edition. This is by Gordon Frederick Browne for the publishing house of Chatto in 1909. Smith lists an American publication by Dutton (1909) which includes Thackeray's illustrations and a "Prelude" telling how the story was written.

In 1890 a stage version of *The Rose and the Ring* was done. Henry Savile Clarke did the written adaptation. W. Slaughter wrote the music which helped turn the fairy tale into a comedy opera.

In 1889, 1893, and 1907 Andrew Lang wrote fairy tales of his own invention that he based on the gay and artificial style of *The Rose and the Ring*. These are: *Prince Prigio*, *Prince Ricardo*, and *Tales of a Fairy Court*, all of which are set at the court of Pantouflia which is reminiscent of Paflagonia.

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1 Mahoney, *op. cit.*, p. 442. *The Virginian* was published by Bradbury and Evans, 1858-59; *Ballads* by Smith and Elder, 1879. DuMaurier, Furness and others helped illustrate *Ballads*.


3 Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

4 *Thwaite, op. cit.*, p. 140


6 Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 211.
Precursor of American stories by Mrs. A. D. T. Whitney, Louisa May Alcott, and others. A classic in its own right. One of the best tales of domestic life for girls and the first of this genre written by Miss Yonge.

The two Parkers, John Sr. and John Jr., published many of Miss Yonge's works. 1 The Daisy Chain, also like many of Miss Yonge's works, first came out in the Mozely's Anglican Monthly Packet edited by Charlotte herself. 2 The sentiments of both sets of publishers, the book Parkers and magazine Mozelys, complemented those of Miss Yonge and her story. They were Anglican High Church geared to spreading the gospel as they saw it; the production of reading material that was fit for family reading, adult and child alike; the upholding of warm family life with woman's defined place in it as opposed to "high" living and woman as a "blue stocking" or suffragette; the traditional rights of the squirearchy; and the promotion of Anglican Sunday schools for the poor. 3

The church and the Oxford Movement especially are reflected in Miss Yonge's works. In the early phases of the movement, Charlotte stressed two features, church-building and school-teaching. In Abbey-church she used the theme of building. In The Daisy Chain she amplified the theme, using the church at Cocksmoor not only as a fulfillment of

1See annotation, supra; Yonge, The Little Duke.

2Thwaite, op. cit., p. 145.

3See Hare and Percival, op. cit., pp. 41-120, for a detailed discussion of each of these points. See also this work, this chapter, Historical Background, England, supra.
the heroine's life long dream but also as a memorial for a pair of young lovers, Margaret May and Alan Ernescliffe, who were separated by death. The church, built with the money of Alan who drowned at sea, had a roof "shaped like the timbers of a ship... [and] Margaret's betrothal ring [was] set around the stem of the chalice. To Victorian readers this would seem the acme of romance.

Although there are many deaths in this long drawn out story, there is also adventure, both of the domestic and the foreign kind for Miss Yonge wrote with a perception of drama in everyday happenings and a keen relish for travel abroad. There is warmth and cheer with occasional (but rare) flashes of humor.

In a sense the book is autobiographical. Although Charlotte Yonge had only one brother, she spent many happy times with a large brood of cousins at Puslinch. She has used both Otterbourne (her home) and Puslinck combined as the setting for her story. She has also combined the two families of cousins into one large family, the Mays. Within the first chapters the family is saddened by the death of their mother in a carriage accident which was really the father's fault. He delighted in high spirited horses and the excitement of driving them at high speed. He was skilled in handling them but he did not see the boulder in the road until after the carriage was overturned by it and the occupants thrown in the ditch onto other rocks. The mother died instantly, the father was injured but able to walk. The other occupant of the carriage, their oldest daughter, Margaret, had spinal and internal injuries and

1Ibid., p. 103.
was never completely well again.

In spite of the tragedy and the doctor father's lifelong self reproach, the family eventually got back to a reasonably happy state of living. Margaret managed the household from her bed (even became engaged) and trained Ethel, the real heroine of the story, to take over as mistress of the household. The little girls have tears, growing problems, lessons, and eventually beaux. There is the sweet sister, the vain sister, the social climbing sister. The boys get into scrapes, go to various schools and eventually settle on professions. One becomes a minister (dedicating the church at Cocksmoor); another goes away at twelve to train for a naval career. By eighteen he has been in a fire at sea, been shipwrecked, seen battle, been home and away again.

Ethel is, no doubt, Charlotte Yonge herself. She is angular, awkward, eager, intelligent, prone to get into scrapes, equally prone to plunge herself into despair over her faults. She cannot understand why a girl is not allowed to be as studious as a boy. It infuriates her all the more since she reads sooner, understands obstruse matters more quickly, learns more easily than her beloved brother who has the privilege of going to Oxford. She learns a great deal just by reading over his shoulder. She has romance but bypasses it: first, because the erstwhile lover is her cousin and there have been too many marriages between cousins in her family; second, because somebody has to stay home to take care of father and the little children. Margaret dies so all is

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1 In many ways she resembles Jo in Louisa May Alcott's later and American Little Women. The Alcotts read and wept over all of Miss Yonge's stories.
left to an inwardly smouldering Ethel who learns to control herself and lavish her love on the church, the Sunday school, her garden, the children while they are small, and her books. At the end of the second volume, however, she is still wistful at finding herself with neither a profession or a household of her own, knowing that when she is very old (and father is gone) she will be just another aunt to be passed around from the care of one family to another until she dies. The paragraph expressing this pathetic thought is brief, for Ethel quickly banishes it from consciousness as "just one of those things."

This is a very human and engrossing family chronicle. Although it is redolent of Victorian mores, attitudes, happenings, and tragedies, it also reflects human emotions that exist in all people. Ethel, with some small changes, could live today. It is weirdly fascinating to realize that the love of speed often causes accidents whether one travels by horse and carriage or by automobile. It should be food for thought to acknowledge that a high spirited boy, prone to scrapes at home, could be trained for a profession at twelve, and grown into responsible manhood (because of that training) by eighteen. A student of the Oxford movement, or of the minutiae of Victorian social life, might do well to read this book with mind and heart. Bare bones and computer scanned information never make a living entity that is attractive.

No illustrated editions are listed by any authorities used for this work.
1856


The one great book by its blind writer. Remarkable for its brilliantly described scenes. Darton states "the chair was [sic] wonderful, and that was a great thing." Thwaite writes, "deserving of mention in the development of the modern fairy tale" and still popular.

The publishers, William Darling Griffith and Robert Farran, became partners in 1856. Darton feels that it is fitting that so lovely a story for children has as its first publisher a firm that is a descendant of the original firm of Newbery.

Although the story was and is beloved of children it was not reprinted until 1880. Then it came out in several editions. "It was reprinted with an enthusiastic introduction by Mrs. Hodgson Burnett in 1904--it has never been out of print from that day to this." The blind author, Frances Browne, was an Irish woman who wrote

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1The introductory material (unpaged) in the edition of *Granny's Wonderful Chair* (London: Dent, 1963) states that the publication date is 1856 although "the first edition bears the date 1857.

2Mahoney, *op. cit.*, p. 423.


5Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

6The Osborne Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 476.

7Darton, *loc. cit.*

prolifically. After the publication of *Granny's Chair*, she turned her hand to writing history books which sold but did not live.

This popular story can be called a moral fairy tale, because of the names of its characters (for example: King Winwealth and Prince Wisewit) and because it shows that greed does not pay while being good does. Such classification, however, does injustice to the story for the moral "is unobtrusive and the style is charming."

The author uses the device of stories within stories. Snowflower, a lovely little girl, lives with her grandmother, Dame Frostyface. They were very poor and had only one good piece of furniture, a huge oaken armchair with wheels, a black velvet cushion, and curious carvings on its back. The grandmother sat on the chair from morning till night as she spun the fine yarn which she sold for the little money they needed. Every night she put away her rickety spinning wheel and told Snowflower a story.

The little girl wondered how her grandmother could know so many stories. Then one day she found out. Dame Frostyface had to go away on a long journey to see her sister. She could not take Snowflower with her but she told her what to do whenever she felt lonely:

Lay your head gently on the cushion of the armchair and say: "chair of my grandmother, tell me a story." 

Snowflower followed her grandmother's advice and, "a clear voice from under the velvet cushion began to tell a new and most wonderful tale."

1Meigs, *op. cit.* , p. 208.
3Ibid., p. 3.
Snowflower ceased to be lonely but one day she found that she was almost out of food. She seated herself in the chair and asked it to take her in the direction in which her grandmother had gone. The chair whisked away and did not stop until it came to a group of woodcutters who directed her to the feast that the king was giving for his daughter the Princess Greedalind.

At the palace, Snowflower was directed to the kitchen where she learned that in the days of Prince Wisewit the country had been happy. The spiteful fairy, Fortunetetta, had enchanted him away leaving discontent behind. Only the king was reasonable and longed for his brother the prince. Being bored after dinner, the king asked for a story. Snowflower volunteered the services of the chair. And so, for seven nights the seven stories of the book are told. They are: "The Christmas Cuckoo"; "The Lors of the White and Grey Castles"; "The Greedy Shepherd"; "The Story of Fairyfoot"; "The Story of Childe Charity"; "Sour and Civil"; and, "The Story of Merrymaid." Each of these showed the ugliness of greed and the beauties of charity.

Princess Greedalind and Queen Wantall determined to have the story chair for themselves but the chair would not talk. The angry queen ordered a servant to chop it up. When the axe touched the chair's velvet cushion, out flew a beautiful bird. In chasing the bird the queen and the princess fell into an abandoned goldmine. This made everyone happy. They were content to dig for gold while the king was glad to have them out of the way. The bird was released from its enchantment and proved to be Prince Wisewit who, of course, married Snowflower. Dame Frostyface lived happily with them at the palace and spun on a golden wheel.
Targ feels that this book legitimately can claim a high rank in literature for children. Among the reasons that she gives are these:

The author used very skillfully the device of repetition in a manner reminiscent of ballad style and in a way to make the reader feel at home in the story. Each time Snowflower brought her chair... she "made her courtesy" and laid down her head on the cushion saying, "Chair of my grandmother, tell me a story!"; and each time, at the completion of the story, "one clothed in green and russet-coloured velvet," or in whatever other needed color or material, would rise up and say, "That's my story." And after each story [the king... would call... his pages... [to] present Snowflower [with]... beautiful article[s] of rich clothing and a portion of some delicious repast.¹

The first edition was illustrated by Joseph Kenny Meadows.² Mahoney lists only one other illustrated edition published by the American Macmillan in 1924 with pictures by Emma Lillian Brock.³ The 1963 Dent edition is illustrated by D. J. Watkins-Pitchford.⁴


Anticipation of "the present day approach to adaptation of myth

¹Targ, op. cit., p. 117.
²Mahoney, loc. cit.
³Ibid., p. 393.
⁴Browne, the 1963 Dent edition, op. cit., frontispiece and pp. 6, 8, 105 (in colour); 5, 7, 17, 20, 23, 24, 35, 46, 49, 57, 66, 69, 73, 77, 84, 93, 95, 101, 109, 111, 115, 119, 130, 135, in black and white.
⁵Many librarians keep all of Kingsley's works in the regular circulating collections rather than in rare book collections.
⁶The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 11.
and legend.\textsuperscript{1} Still approved for use in twentieth century libraries.\textsuperscript{2} Darton considers it so excellent that it needs no further comment.\textsuperscript{3} A whet to children's appetites for the reading of more myths.\textsuperscript{4}

The Scottish Macmillan brothers, Daniel and Alexander, bought the publishing business of Mr.[sic] Newby of Cambridge in 1853. They did not open their London office until 1859; and it was not until 1863 that Alexander was appointed publisher to Oxford University.\textsuperscript{5}

Charles Kingsley, whose brothers George and Henry as well as his daughter Mary also wrote, became Rector at Eversley in Hampshire (1844) where he spent the rest of his life. He was not a provincial man. He had many friends, such as Thomas Hughes,\textsuperscript{6} who were Christian Socialists and active in promoting the cause of the working man. As an Anglican he did not entirely approve of the Puseyites.\textsuperscript{7} He was interested in rationalism and the new science as advanced by Spencer and Huxley;\textsuperscript{8} and, he tried to reconcile these hypotheses with his own conceptions of religion, never losing his faith. He was a classical scholar who

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{1} Ramsey, \textit{Folklore for Children and Young People}, op. cit., pp. 44-45. Ramsey gives 1855 as the first publication date. Kingsley's preface to his three elder children was dated 1855 but the book was published in 1856.
\textsuperscript{2} From the writer's own experience in her profession of librarianship.
\textsuperscript{3} Darton, op. cit., p. 259.
\textsuperscript{4} Meigs, op. cit., p. 196. Meigs prefers Hawthorne.
\textsuperscript{5} The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 485.
\textsuperscript{6} See this section, annotation, Tom Brown, \textit{infra}.
\textsuperscript{7} See Historical Background, this chapter, The Oxford Movement, supra.
\textsuperscript{8} See Historical Background, this chapter, Spencer and Huxley, supra.
believed that children should be introduced to such literature early in life. It was because of this belief that he wrote The Heroes for Rose, Maurice, Mary, and children everywhere about the "dear old Greeks."

Although he was inspired by Lamb's The Adventures of Ulysses, Kingsley included three stories in his book "Perseus," "Theseus," and "Jason" with his Argonauts. He wrote his tales simply and well with action, mystery, flowing style, enthusiasm, and charm. Unfortunately, he interpolated just as Hawthorne did, with the difference that where Hawthorne's asides were for attention, Kingsley's were preaching Christianity. In discussing the finding of treasure Kingsley reminds his children about the precepts of Jesus:

   It was not for the sake of gold that the Lord came down and died, and the apostles went out to preach the good news in all lands.3

Such a selection as the above is only one of many in which Kingsley mingles Christianity with the adventures of people who lived many years before Christ was born. Tarr quotes his closing lines of moralizing in which he sums not only the story of Theseus and the outcome of his ill-fated pride but the entire volume. The last line (as quoted by Tarr) reads:

   God help us all, and give us wisdom and courage to do noble deeds! But God keep pride from us when we have done them, lest we fall, and come to shame.4

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1See this section, annotation, Lamb, Ulysses, supra.
2See this section, annotation, Hawthorne, supra.
4Tarr, op. cit., p. 103.
Kingsley was a versatile man, he did twelve illustrations for his first edition.\(^1\) He also illustrated his book on natural history, *Gloucus*.\(^2\)

Mahoney lists three other illustrated editions of *The Heroes*.\(^3\) They are: (1) Macmillan's 1928 edition illustrated by English Henry Matthew Brock;\(^4\) (2) Medici's 1928 edition illustrated by Scotch William Russell Flint;\(^5\) and, (3) the Gowan's and Gray edition of 1907 illustrated by English Charles Pears.\(^6\) For Kingsley's own illustrations Mahoney cites the original,\(^7\) while Smith lists another Macmillan edition of 1885.\(^8\)


Loved by many generations of children and still loved by many older people. A bridge between the nursery rhyme and today's poetry for children.\(^10\) Representative of a host of people of her day who

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\(^1\) The Osborne Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
\(^3\) Mahoney, *op. cit.*, p. 484.
\(^4\) *Ibid.*, p. 393. This is the edition annotated by Ramsey in *Folklore* *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 45.
\(^8\) Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 177.
\(^9\) Meigs, *op. cit.*, p. 287.
wrote similar verse (jingles) for children.¹

Eliza Lee Cabot Follen was the wife of Harvard's first Professor of German, and later Chairman of the Department, George Follen. She was an outstanding Bostonian, anti-slavery, and editor of the Christian Teacher's Manual, and at a later date, The Child's Friend.

Mrs. Follen lived in a day of growing respect for children. She felt that collections of adult poetry for children were not enough. Recognizing the affinity of the child for the jingle and the poetry of the nursery rhyme, she attempted to pattern her own work after the nursery rhyme. She is representative of a host of now unsung women who wrote as she did. Among them are Mrs. Lydia H. Segourney; Mrs. Anna M. Wells; Mrs. Frances S. Osgood; Mrs. Farrar; and Mrs. Seba Smith.² Few of them wrote in the manner of lachrymose but beloved Mrs. Felicia Hemans. Their taste was more for nonsense and little reference to religion. While Mrs. Follen is equated with English "Aunt Effie Hawkins,"³ her works are more the precursors of poems by Laura Richards and Rachel Field.⁴

Some of her long remembered titles are: "Little Annie's Garden"; "Oh Look at the Moon"; "Where is My Little Basket Gone"; and "The Little Kittens." The last one is still popular with children. It reads:

¹Halsey, Forgotten Books of the American Nursery, op. cit., p. 213. None of the other authorities cite Mrs. Follen although Meigs and Halsey remember her works with admiration and affection.

²Ibid., p. 213.

³Meigs, loc. cit.

⁴Both of these women published after 1865 thus falling beyond the scope of this work.
Where are you going, my little kittens?
We are going to town to get us some mittens.
What! Mittens for kittens!
Do kittens wear mittens?
Who ever saw kittens with mittens?

There are two more following the same pattern. In the second the
cat gets a hat, 'What! A hat for a cat!' . . . Whoever saw a cat with
a hat?' The third substitutes pig for 'cat' and 'wig' for 'hat.' The
verse has the simplicity which the small child enjoys; the repetition;
familiar objects in ridiculous situations; nursery rhyme metre; and the
question and answer form that is also enjoyed by children.

Although none of the authorities used for this work cite illustra-
ted editions, they undoubtedly existed. Not only do the verses cry
out for pictures but the writer of these annotations recalls owning
such editions in her childhood, both in small one-poem volumes and in
the larger entire collection. The verses also went into poetry anthol-
ogies including some in the 1960's. Standard poetry indexes can lead the
interested student to the anthologies which still contain one or more
of Mrs. Follen's pleasant little rhymes.

1857 Keary, Annie and Keary, Eliza. The Heroes of Asgard, and
the Giants of Jotunheim; or, The Week and Its Story.\(^3\)
London: David Bogue.\(^4\) MID - R, Ca OTP. 70. Mythology -
Norse.

\(^1\)Eliza Follen, Little Songs (Boston(?): \(n,p,\)), \(n,d,\).

\(^2\)This is before Dr. Seuss.

\(^3\)Thwaite, \(op,cit,\), p. 112.

\(^4\)The Osborne Collection, \(op,cit,\), p. 11.
The first time the myths of the Norse people were presented in suitable story form for children,¹

David Bogue the publisher was the anonymous author of several children's books. He was an assistant in the business of Charles Telt until Telt's retirement in 1842 when he continued the business alone. . . . After his death the business was taken over by W. Kent and Company.²

The second edition was put out in London by Macmillan, 1871. The preface reads:

In preparing the second edition . . . the authors have thought it advisable to omit the conversations at the beginning and end of the chapters, which had been objected to as breaking the course of the narrative.³

The Keary sisters wrote several stories for children which still read well today and are deserving of re-publication. Following the scholarly vogue of their day, they read in other languages and were interested in making the folklore of differing cultures available in English, especially for children. They translated and then adapted their translations from the Scandinavian. That part of the material which they found already available in English came from: (1) Paul Henri Mallet's Northern Antiquities (translated by T. Percy, 1770, two volumes), and (2) Benjamin Thorpe's Northern Mythology, 1851-1852 (three volumes).⁴

¹Thwaite, loc. cit.
²The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 466. As Bogue died in 1856, Kent, presumably still under the Bogue imprint, put out this book.
³Annie Keary and Eliza Keary, The Heroes of Asgard: Tales from Scandinavian Mythology (London: Macmillan, 1871), p. iii. This is the edition read for this annotation.
⁴Thwaite, loc. cit.; none of this was meant for or suitable for children.
For the first edition the Kearys used the familiar device of a Victorian family as the framework within which the story was told. All the family was home for the holidays so there were plenty of days for the storytelling which was done by a favorite uncle. Just as Hawthorne did, there were conversations between the children and the storyteller at the beginning and end of each of the nine chapters.

The stories tell about the children of Laki; "How Thor went to Jotunheim" (Asgard to Algard, etc.); "The Wanderings of Freya"; "Iduna's Apples"; "Baldr"; "The Binding of Fenrir"; "The Punishment of Laki"; and "Ragnarök."

Norse mythology is a cycle which, therefore, lends itself less easily to adaptation than does the Greek. It is a drama reflecting the spiritual struggle of man in a story of the world from its beginning to its end. The gods are the personified forces of all nature. As in all mythology, early writings were earthy and thought not suitable for nineteenth (or twentieth) century children. Approved adaptations need to be vigorous, discreet, and yet preserve the original spirit and vigor of the tales. The conversations of the Keary first edition do take away the vigor. The stories as presented in the second edition are fresh and readable according to today's standards.

In the following years other adaptations were made for children. Some of those liked by boys and girls are Abbie Farwell Brown's In the Days of Giants, and Padraic Colum's The Children of Odin.

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1 See annotations, infra, Asbjörnsen and Moe; translated by Dasent.
2 Gardner and Ramsey, op. cit., p. 90.
3 Ramsey, Folklore for Children and Young People, op. cit., p. 37.
The first editions contain a steel engraving as a frontispiece "depicting the Scandinavian Cosmology, with its great tree, a serpent coiled in its roots and the abode of darkness below."\(^1\) Mahoney lists only one illustrated edition\(^2\) published by Macmillan in 1930. The authorship is attributed to "Anna Maria Keary" and the illustrator is English Charles Edmund Brock.\(^3\)


143. School Story. Boys' Story.

"The first boys' story to give a genuine picture of life at an English public school."\(^5\) Darton calls it "the most eminent... the first book about boys for boys in which the characters were really a collection of young human beings, all alive and different..."\(^6\)

The Scotch publishing brothers, Alexander and John Macmillan, opened a London office in 1859. They did not move their business from Cambridge to London until 1863, the year in which Alexander was appointed publisher to Oxford University. They also established a New York branch.

\(^1\)Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

\(^2\)Mahoney, *op. cit.*, p. 484.

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 393.

\(^4\)The Osborne Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

\(^5\)Ibid., p. 357.

\(^6\)Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 293. The italics are mine. The boys' story had been but until now the characters were flat, with little dimension or personality.
which did not become an independent company until 1890. Even then the London partners retained their connection with the American firm as directors.\(^1\) They had immediate success with this publication; putting out five editions before the end of the year of original publication.\(^2\)

The book still continues to be reprinted. However, since the expiration of the copyright, many cheap editions have been issued by a variety of publishers.\(^3\)

Thomas Hughes was "a young and not very successful barrister..." [an active member of]"that group of muscular Christians and Christian Socialists, which included Charles Kingsley who founded the Working Men's College.\(^4\) He was one of the "old boys" at Rugby\(^5\) who fell under the spell of the headmaster Dr. Arnold and reflected his views of educational reform and Christian attitudes towards the world. At one time he was a principal of a school himself.\(^6\)

The reform and extension of the public schools in the middle of the nineteenth century was the mainspring of the public school tale

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\(^1\) The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 485.

\(^2\) Thwaite, op. cit., p. 155.

\(^3\) Muir, op. cit., p. 115.

\(^4\) Ibid., p. 112. Hughes later became a King's Counselor and a County Judge. Meigs, op. cit., p. 192, reminds the reader that the term Christian Socialist was never used in this book for children. It rather denoted a movement for Christian action to remedy the plight of the workingman and it embodied a belief that anyone could "do good" in any situation in which he found himself. See other Kingsley annotations, this section, supra and infra.

\(^5\) Darton, op. cit., p. 293.

\(^6\) Dr. Arnold was the father of the noted writer and critic, Matthew Arnold. See this chapter, Historical Background: The Oxford Movement, supra.
for boys.1 The earnestness, sincerity, and intense feeling of Dr. Arnold was extended in the lives of many of his graduates. Through them his reforms spread to all of the public schools in England.2 Among the concepts taught was the idea of manliness which involved "clean living," prayer to help solve problems, and physical exercise; the last bringing about the somewhat derogatory term of "muscular Christians." Hughes so thoroughly believed in the idea of being able to fight for what you believed that as a principal he, himself, taught the "puny" boys how to box and stand up for themselves.3

Hughes' purpose in writing this book was avowedly moral. He said quite plainly that he wrote "to get the chance for preaching and not for any other object."4 In spite of this, his enthusiasm for the school, for the activities occurring at school, his lively descriptions of the sports and the scrapes as well as of the boys' own feelings (individually and collectively) state an implied purpose of enjoyment in recollection mingled with a wish to honor and perpetuate the memory of Dr. Arnold. The book is dedicated to Mrs. Arnold.5

The story begins with the Browns, sturdy squires, whose pattern of life (now past) is vividly described.6 Herein, Tom first goes to the

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1Thwaite, op. cit., p. 155.
2Darton, loc. cit.
3Meigs, op. cit., p. 193.
4As quoted by St. John in The Osborne Collection, p. 358.
5Thomas Hughes, Tom Brown's School Days (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1954), pp. 1-60. This is the edition read for this annotation and is one of the well-known series of Dent's Illustrated Classics.
village school and mingles with all the children. His father will not have him be a "snob." Tom sees his mother in her constant duties of managing a large household, training village girls "to help," realizing that after her training they may leave for more exciting "places" in a big city. Tom also has a warm and never to be forgotten relationship with "Old Benjy" who had rheumatism too early in life.

The village life is described: its courtings; its schoolhouse; its characters; its festivities and competitions; the rough good nature of its inhabitants and their respect for the Squire's family. Although Meigs states that the book is a landmark as a document in describing educational and social reform,¹ it is also remarkable as a social document of the minute details of a way of life that is gone. Hughes remembers this with nostalgia.

Although Hughes does not mention having read an earlier book about "Tom Jones," the similarity in the early lives of the two boys is very striking. The first Tom is portrayed in a very small book by "M. P."

Kilner, First Going to School; or, The Story of Tom Brown and His Sisters.² It discusses Tom only as a small boy in the village and first away at school. It is a miniature version of the first part of Hughes' book outlining: school, the stagecoach trip, and some beginning adventures at school. Kilner's books, however, give a few letters written by Tom and a cousin, Peter, hinting at school adventures. Tom's father also writes a letter weighing the points about Tom's request for a pony.³

¹Meigs, op. cit., p. 193.
²Intrigued by a footnote mention of this in Muir, op. cit., p. 143, this writer pursued this with Judith St. John at The Osborne Collection in Toronto. She found the book for me to read.
³Ibid., p. 64.
Earlier attitudes towards the unfeelingness of animals is emphasized in anecdotes with a discourse on the nature of dogs as opposed to the nature of men. Games are described: cricket, trap-ball, prisoner's base, fives, basting the bear. Tom has a mild controversy with his mother over what he shall call her: 'Mama' or 'Mother.' And, Tom voices his opinion about girls' clothes, "I wish girls would wear trousers; I am sure if you did you would find them much more convenient, and like them a great deal better [than skirts]."

Hughes gives a more full account of village life, travel, and school. His chapter on the stagecoach gives the feeling of bustle and excitement that was generated by this "fastest transportation" yet known to man. The boys make great sport of timing a coach with a first-rate team, "the boys pulled up short and waved their hats at the guard... the mile had been done in four seconds under the five minutes." In describing Tom's feelings about coaching, Hughes may have been describing his own. He asks about the break of dawn and the sunrise, "Where can

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1 ibid., pp. 36, 37.
2 ibid., p. 52.
3 ibid., p. 62.
4 ibid., p. 118. Hughes does not involve his Tom Brown with sisters. This charming section of the Kilner book is not discussed. An excellent sociological comparison of the days of which Kilner wrote and the days in which Hughes lived. There are data as suggested above about schools: games; family life; the status of girls; discipline at home; the generally held attitudes toward animals; the changing status of the schoolmaster; and expectations of parents for their children.

5 Hughes (Dent, 1954), op. cit., pp. 61-77.
6 ibid., p. 77. See this work, chapter on The Georgian Period, Historical Background: Transportation.
they ever be seen in perfection but from a coach roof?"  

He also describes the embarrassment of a father struggling to advise his son who is going away from home for the first time. Hughes gives the Squire's soliloquy as he sits before the fire in the coach-house,

I won't tell him to read his Bible, and love and serve God; if he don't do that for his mother's sake and teaching, he won't for mine. Shall I go into the sort of temptations he'll meet with? No, I can't do that. Never do for an old fellow to get into such things with a boy. He won't understand me. Might do him more harm than good. . . . Shall I . . . say he's sent to school to make himself a good scholar? Well, . . . he isn't sent to school . . . for that mainly. I don't care a straw for Greek. . . . nor does his mother. What's he sent to school for? . . . partly because he wanted so to go. If he'll only turn out a brave, helpful, truth-telling Englishman, and a gentleman, and a Christian, that's all I want.

When they part, Tom and his father shake hands; they are done with kissing, though Tom thought it hard to have to be a man all at once. He let the chambermaid hug him and call him "love" because nobody saw it: she reminded him of home, and he was scared and lonely.

Tom finds school different from his expectations. The big boys are so patronizing but there were compensations such as being known as a public school boy and having the "vested right of spoiling two seven-and-sixers in half a year," a real treat for a boy who had never had so much pocket-money before. This proves to be a real temptation for Tom and the other boys with "off-bounds" places which offer tantalizing wares.

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1 Ibid., p. 67.
2 Ibid., p. 65.
3 Ibid., p. 80.
But first, there are new friends to make (East and Frank who play important parts throughout the entire book) and the fascinating game of Rugby to contemplate and later in which to participate.¹ There is also the matter of quarters, food, lack of privacy, and again the great lonliness that comes of trying to be what you were brought up to be when so many people around you sneeringly flaunt their own opposing beliefs.

Tom learns that in quick sequence there are public prayers by the Headmaster (whom he first fears) then rowdy games after lights out. New boys must undergo blanket tossing, with never a squeak out of them or the ordeal will be harder on them. The praeposter of the room sometimes interferes with too much roughness but Tom learns that "justice" depends upon who is praeposter.

During his first game of "Hare and Hounds" played far and wide over the fields outside the school gate, Tom and East get lost and return muddy, cold, and tired after curfew. They are sent to the doctor's cozy study where they have their first encounter with Doctor and Mrs. Arnold. They receive an impression of kindness, humanity girded with the idea that self-discipline is more important in life than any other value. This impression is continually reinforced for Tom through every contact he has with Dr. and Mrs. Arnold. Mrs. Arnold's influence is great, but the doctor's is more impressive. "The great event in every Rugby boy's life [is the day on which they hear] the first sermon from the doctor."²

¹Ibid., pp. 78-101, Chapter V, "Rugby and Football," describes the game (and incidentally study rooms and sleeping quarters), and Tom's first experience as in a school ball game.

²Ibid., p. 128. To understand the influence of "sermons" on the boys, one must realize that such preaching was a highlight of late Georgian and early Victorian days, supra, Historical Background - Religion for each period.
Tom finds an enemy, the bully, Flashman, who burns Tom's bottom by holding him against the study hall fire in the huge fireplace. Tom doesn't "peach" to the doctor. He is put to bed with cold bandages while the boys throw out his burned trousers. Flashman's cruelty disgusts many of the other boys. When Tom, after being in bed for several days, returns to the schoolroom, Flashman blames his loss of popularity on Tom.

A fight ensues with both East and Tom, small boys, tackling huge Flashman. While the rest of the group referee for fair play, the little boys throw the bully. East and Tom become general favorites, but disgruntled Flashman contrives constantly to get them into real trouble. Their worst and most long lasting trouble comes when they cannot stand Flashman's drunkenness. In fighting against his abuse, they begin a long feud with the masters of the fifth and the sixth forms, rebelling against fagging which could begin in gentle fashion but end up in viciousness. The older boys who had been fags and looked forward to fagging new boys resent the move to stop the practice.

Tom and East become so used to feuding that they become more daring and get into other scrapes. They are sent more often to the doctor for punishment and are promised a public thrashing. Just as the doctor feels that he may have to expel the boys, a turning point comes. A new boy comes. He is not well and is put under Tom's charge.

The new arrangement upsets Tom. He had finally gotten himself a double study and had all kinds of plans for fun with East. The task meant that he would have to take the youngster "as his chum instead of East." What would happen to all his plans?
... having a bottled-beer cellar under his window, and making night-lines and slings, and plotting expeditions. East and he had made up their minds to get this study, and then every night from locking up till ten they would be together, to talk about fishing, drink bottled-beer, read Marryat's novels, and sort birds eggs.1

But Tom shoulders his responsibility and takes the new boy, Arthur, in tow. This does change his life. While he becomes closer to Dr. Arnold and the Arnold family through this, he sadly loses touch with East. The first deep friendship disintegrates with pain to both East and Tom. Because of Arthur, Tom has his first and last single fight. Arthur is a scholar. In answering perfectly the question that a boy named Williams flubbed, Arthur is despised by the other boys. These boys applaud when Williams jumps Arthur after school. Tom comes to his rescue with bets placed on the fighters and boys keeping time and standing by with wet sponges.2

Hughes prefaces the fight scene with his own comments about fighting:

It is no good for Quakers, or any other body of men, to uplift their voices against fighting. Human nature is too strong for them. . . . Every soul of them is doing his own piece of fighting, somehow and somewhere. The world might be a better world without fighting for anything I know, but it wouldn't be our world. . . . I'm as sorry as any man to see folk fighting the wrong people and the wrong things but I'd a deal sooner see them doing that, than that they should have no fight in them.3

1Ibid., p. 195.

2Ibid., pp. 259-269. Hughes spends ten pages in describing this fight with loving detail. Boys must have enjoyed these pages just as they probably enjoyed the escapades.

3Ibid., p. 251.
By recounting Tom's fight to help the weak, Hughes implies that by being able to fight for right, by doing this (and winning), most people don't have to fight again. He ends the chapter with more advice stating that since boys will quarrel what better way is there to settle the quarrel than by a fair fist fight!

Learn to box . . . as you learn to play cricket and football. . . . Should you never have to use it in earnest, there's no exercise in the world so good for the temper, and for the muscles of the back and legs. As to fighting, keep out of it, if you can. . . . When the time comes . . . that you have to say "Yes" or "No" to a challenge to fight, say "No," if you can. . . . But don't say "No" because you fear a licking, and say or think it's because you fear God for that's neither Christian nor honest. . . . Fight it out; and don't give in while you can stand and see.¹

Arthur's influence becomes more steadying on Tom. He gives up cribbing; returns to his prayers without feeling guilty believing that a real man can commune with God; tries to make East become more serious; and, during his last year, becomes the most dependable and helpful older boy as "Nestor of the School." It is not until he is ready to leave Rugby for Oxford that he discovers what Dr. Arnold had done for them. In his heart, he (Tom) had always believed that he had become steady purely because of himself. In fact, he thought that the doctor was a fanatic about change and would not be able to run the school or the boys without him.¹

A conversation with the upper form master after the (Tom's) last cricket match,² is revealing. He discovers that Dr. Arnold planned to

¹Ibid., p. 269.

²Hughes, op. cit., pp. 309-327, describes the match and sums up Tom's opinion of what he thinks he has achieved at Rugby.
separate East and Tom as being bad influences on one another. He hoped that, by being needed by someone such as Arthur, Tom would grow up a little and become more thoughtful. He watched the experiment with anxiety at first and later with satisfaction. He stepped in unobtrusively only when it seemed necessary.

It was a new light to [Tom] . . . to find, that besides teaching the sixth, and governing and guiding the whole school, editing classics, and writing histories, the great head-master had found time in those busy years to watch over the career, even of him, Tom Brown . . . and, no doubt of fifty other boys at the same time, and all this without taking the least credit to himself, or seeming to know, or let anyone else know, that he ever thought particularly of any boy at all.¹

The book is a monument to Dr. Arnold of Rugby. It is a social document with Christian preaching sprinkled at odd moments throughout pages of intense interest for boys who like and understand the sports that were played at Rugby. To many boys, coming at a time in their lives when they craved activity and yet were idealistic, this book seemed the greatest book in their lives. That it is still in print testifies to the fact that some people still read it for itself.

Targ feels that in spite of Hughes¹ excellent character delineation and exciting action that the book would not interest the American boy reader of today.² She sums up her analysis in these words:

The book is too English to be intelligible to the average American boy. Nevertheless, it paved the way for a new type of story, and hundreds of school stories have followed in its wake.³

¹Ibid., pp. 329, 330.
³Ibid., p. 115.
Because of the book's expose of fagging and other school practices, and because of its advocacy of school reform "it caused reactions and counterblasts."¹ A part of the blasts were against an even more popular school story, Eric; or, Little by Little (1858).²

The first edition of Tom Brown was not illustrated. Arthur Hughes, later famous for his gentle illustrations of Christina Rosetti's poems and his fanciful pictures for George MacDonald's fairy tales, "together with others . . . contributed to the first illustrated edition of . . . [the book]."³ This was put out by Macmillan in 1869.⁴ This version was constantly reprinted, often with the addition of a preface by Lord Kilbracken, an introduction, and notes.⁵ Smith also cites an illustrated edition put out by Houghton, in about 1895, with pages describing English Public Schools and a list of books that could be read "in illustration of Tom Brown's school days."⁶

Other famous illustrations were done by English Edmund Joseph Sullivan for Macmillan in 1896;⁷ by American Louis John Rhead for Harper in 1911;⁸ and by English Hugh Thomson for LeRoy Phillips in 1920.⁹

¹Darton, op. cit., p. 293.
²See annotation of this title, infra.
³Mahoney, op. cit., p. 52.
⁴Ibid., p. 413. Sidney Prin Hall who was one of "the others," also illustrated Hughes' sequel, Tom Brown at Oxford.
⁵Smith, op. cit., p. 175.
⁶Ibid., p. 175.
⁷Mahoney, op. cit., p. 441.
⁸Ibid., p. 443.
⁹Ibid., p. 442.
The Dent Illustrated Classics edition read for this annotation was done by S. Van Abbe with eight colour-plates and nineteen line drawings.\(^1\)

The artist's note states, "The greater number of line drawings in this edition are based directly on sketches made at Rugby School."\(^2\)


The most popular book\(^4\) by the best of the first four writers who specialized in adventure for boys\(^5\) with little or no reliance on Christian dogma as the purpose of their stories.\(^6\)

Thomas Nelson, a farmer's son, born near Sterling in Scotland, was first in business as a second-hand bookseller in Edinburgh. Son William, who travelled extensively for the business, came into the firm in 1835. Son Thomas, who came in later, was put in charge of the London branch. "In 1854 he established the New York office."\(^7\)

\(^1\) Hughes (Dent, 1954), *op. cit.*, title page.

\(^2\) *ibid.*, p. viii.

\(^3\) The Osborne Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 322.


\(^5\) Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 253 (Marryat, Kingston, Reid all discussed), *supra*.


\(^7\) The Osborne Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 487.
Robert Ballantyne was also born in Scotland. When he was sixteen he went to Canada as a clerk for the Hudson Bay Company. He used his experiences there as background material for many of his eighty books. The first of these (1865) was *Snowflakes and Sunbeams;* or, *The Young Fur Traders.* It is understandable that the book became best known and most appealing to boys under its sub-title.  

After six years of world wide travel, Ballantyne returned to Scotland. At that time he joined the Scotch publishing house of Constable. Thomas Constable was appointed the queen's Edinburgh printer in 1839. His son, Archibald, joined the firm in 1865 and as his father's successor became Printer to the Queen. Their London branch was first located in Newgate Street but within three years it was moved to "2 Whitehall Gardens, once the home of Sir Robert Peel and Disraeli."  

Ballantyne was a versatile man. He wrote books for younger boys and girls under the penname of "Comus"; he wrote magazine stories and he illustrated many of his own books. The "Comus" books were trivialities. The magazine was *The Boy's Own Paper* published by the Religious Tract Society. The hero of the magazine was the hero of all of Ballantyne's books, the manly boy who conducts himself fearlessly but modestly in moments of great danger. He looks upon a real and present

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3 *The Osborne Collection, op. cit.*, p. 470.
4 Thwaite, *loc. cit.
5 Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 306. It lasted for over fifty years with a well-rounded policy.
He prays and trusts in God but advancing religion is not the purpose of the book that is written about him, "the explorer [is] no longer a mere missionary of religion."\(^2\)

While not the best of Ballantyne's books, *The Coral Island* is the most famous. Thwaite believes that a large share of the attraction belongs to the universal appeal of the "castaway theme."\(^3\) Ballantyne maroons his boy heroes on an island abundant with the good things of nature, a paradise.

Although there are three boys who are marooned, the story is told by one of them, Ralph Rover, who comes from a long line of seafaring folk. When he is fifteen he finally prevails upon his father and mother to allow him to ship aboard the Arrow, under the charge of an old family friend for the South Pacific Islands. On board, Ralph meets laughing, food loving Peterkin and thoughtful Jack Martin whose useful knowledge later helps the boys stay alive. The ship breaks up on a coral reef. Only the boys are cast up on the shore of their idyllic Coral Island.

In quest of food, the boys find a strange assortment which Ballantyne describes in loving detail: cocoanuts are boiled, roasted, eaten raw but most cherished for their milk, "a natural lemonade." They also find breadfruit, oysters, a variety of fish, yams, taro, plums, and wild pigs. They concoct great feasts.

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 253.  \(^2\)Ibid., p. 253.  \(^3\)Ibid., p. 254. Darton also states on p. 252 that Ballantyne is representative of a class of writers: Kingston, Mayne Reid. They have been discussed, supra.
The adventure is heightened by their discovery of a cave or grotto which they call the Diamond Palace. The very fact that it can only be entered by diving into the sea to an opening in the coral adds suspense, comedy, relief, and a device by which the boys are able to save their lives.

They also have placid adventures such as making tools and utensils from material found on the island and building a boat. Even repulsing a shark is a placid adventure compared to those moments of terror which lay ahead of them. Cannibals come to the island: "friendly" cannibals and hostile ones. Pirates abduct Ralph (Jack and Peterkin escape to the cave) and at first treat him roughly. Ralph's daring in pitching a keg of gunpowder into the ocean for his friends on the island gains him the captain's admiration.

The captain becomes an enigma to Ralph in his civil treatment of a native missionary who comes aside the pirate ship in his mission boat, The Olive Branch. Ralph is soon disabused of the hope that the captain means to be kind. One of the pirates tells the boy, "He [the captain] knows, and everybody knows that the only place among the southern islands where a ship can put in and get what she wants in comfort is where the gospel has been sent to."  

Ralph becomes friends with another of the pirates, "Bloody-Bill," who, in great detail, relates horrible native-tales to Ralph, explaining taboos and human sacrifices on the alters of strange gods. When Bill and Ralph go ashore on the island of the pirate's destination to

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cut sandalwood, Ralph runs into the experiences which Bill had just described to him. The once friendly cannibal chief inhabits this island. Angry at the cheating of the pirates, the chief and his men slaughter them all.

Only Bill and Ralph escape to the pirate ship. Once on board, Ralph discovers that Bill is dying from a musket wound. Ralph comforts him with words of scripture. Bill dies reconverted. A grieving Ralph buries him at sea 'with a cannon ball tied to his feet.' Then, Ralph manages to sail back to Coral Island with only one guide, a volume of *Captain Cook's Voyages.* In his distress he forgets to haul down the pirate's flag. This little error almost causes Jack and Peterkin to hide in fright.

Reunited, the three boys decide to sail to other islands before they head for England. But now their most distressing adventures are before them. In trying to rescue a beautiful Christian native girl from the heathen cannibal chief, the boys go through cat and mouse experiences: escape, capture, escape, recapture, imprisonment in a cave, preparation as the victims for pagan sacrificial rites. There is final escape in a way that would be considered too contrived for twentieth-century readers. The cannibal chief is converted to Christianity.

The entire section of the story which relates these final encounters with the natives is consistent with Victorian missionary movements.

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1These methods are described in vivid detail: bones crunch, eyeballs pop out of their sockets, and men scream in agony. *Ibid.*, pp. 196-252. This was the day of the stories called 'The Bloods.' Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

Exploration, colonialism, and spreading the gospel coexisted at the time Ballantyne was writing. They were powerful trends that had strong influences on the lives of the British. Ballantyne hints at colonialism but he paints the other two in vivid and contrasting scenes.

Ballantyne's influence is seen in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* and in the writings of Sir James Barrie. In 1913, Barrie wrote an introduction for an edition of *Coral Island* in which he said: "To be born is to be wrecked on an island."

A sequel to *Coral Island* is *The Gorilla Hunters* (1861) in which the three boys again have adventures. Peterkin has overcome his horror at the atrocities he saw when the boys were first together and once again he becomes the "laughable" character who continues to amuse his "boy" readers.

Ballantyne preferred to illustrate his own books. Muir describes this well:

He was not a trained draughtsman, but he ... provided elaborate drawings of his own to illustrate the books... These were drawn on card in pen and wash, and as he knew the engraver would have to take great liberties with his work in order to produce a finished illustration, he covered the back of each card with precise instructions on technical points and on the exact effect he desired to produce.

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3 Green, *Teller of Tales*, *op. cit.*, p. 137. Green also discussed Henty and Fenn who published in the decades after the 1860's and had a vogue as writers for boys.

4 Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 194, in plates 85 and 86 respectively, gives examples of Ballantyne's sketches and his directions to the engraver.

The frontispiece and the title page of the edition read for this story are vivid in greens, reds, blues, yellows, mauves, and a variety of shades, beiges and tans. The figures and the schooner are outlined in black. The title page itself is idyllic in design.¹

1858 Farrar, Frederick William. Eric; or, Little by Little.

Even more popular than Tom Brown's School Days.³ A direct influence on Kipling who deliberately made fun of Eric in Stalky and Company.⁴

The Edinburgh publishers were Adam Black and his nephew, Charles Black. In 1827 Adam "acquired the copyright of the Encyclopedia Britannica and in 1851 the copyrights of Sir Walter Scott's works from Robert Cadell."⁵

The author, Frederick W. Farrar, was a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. He "taught at Marlborough and then at Harrow before becoming Dean of Canterbury in 1895. He knew much about boys and school life ..."⁶ but he felt that writing for boys should present them with the results of evil and should stress rigid tenets of morality and Christianity. In his own words as written in a preface for the twenty-

¹Ballantyne, op. cit., frontispiece and title page, unpaged.
²The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 342.
³Darton, op. cit., p. 293; Thwaite, op. cit., p. 156.
⁴Green, Teller of Tales, op. cit., p. 215.
⁵The Osborne Collection, op. cit., pp. 465-466.
⁶Thwaite, loc. cit.
fifth edition, Dean Farrar gives his purpose in writing *Eric*:

> The story . . . was written with but one single object—the vivid inculcation of inward purity and moral purpose, by the history of a boy who, in spite of the inherent nobleness, of his disposition, falls into all folly and wickedness, until he has learnt to seek help from above. . . .

The author believed that the style or structure of the narrative did not need to be altered. He felt that the fact that "new editions are still called for thirty-one years after its publication shows, I trust, that the story has been found to be of real use."

In spite of his major purpose, Dean Farrar writes an exciting story. Without the several death scenes and the pre-occupation with sin and guilt that impede the action, the story could be re-edited to have some appeal. Even without re-editing it is a revealing social document.

Twelve-year-old Eric Williams has been parted from his parents since he was four. Mr. Williams' "civil position" in India necessitated their separation. Eric has lived with a widowed aunt who is young, beautiful, kind, financially independent, and religious. As the story begins Mr. and Mrs. Williams are returning from Europe with their youngest son, Vernon, born since Eric left India. There is a warm but temporary family reunion, for Mr. and Mrs. Williams must spend another five years in India.

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1 The edition of Farrar's story read for this annotation is *Eric, or Little by Little: A Tale of Roslyn School* by Frederick W. Farrar, illustrated by Gordon Browne (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1889).


The most important matter at hand is Eric's schooling. He had spent one year at a grammar school. While his parents are at home, he goes to Roslyn School as a day boarder. He suffers the troubles of a new boy at school but becomes so interested in being popular that intelligent as he is, he neglects his family and his studies. Having faith in his inherent goodness, his parents place him at the school as a boarder when they leave for India.

Eric is remorseful as he parts with his parents and vows to do better. Temptation, however, is too much for him. There are exciting descriptions of team games. But from innocent pranks he graduates to excessive smoking, lewd talk, and expensive and harmful episodes which range from baiting a good-natured master to coming to school drunk. The drinking, too, begins in a small way, sneaking in bottles of beer, indulging in wine at forbidden off-bounds dinners, real "guzzling" of hard liquor, and going tipsy to chapel.

Some of the pranks seem rather normal: dangerous climbing for rare birds' eggs; thoughtlessly staying out too late while boating; not wanting his little brother always to tag along. While not harmless, the pelting of the master, Rose, with bread crusts is essentially believable and constitutes a well-written scene.

There are moments of suspense. Eric and two of his friends are caught by the tide while on an expedition to the nearby seashore. Eric's bravery in helping the boy who slipped off a rock into the sea while the third companion half swims, half runs, off for help is skillfully done. The out-of-bounds dinner at the inn with the blackmailing bully of an inn-keeper is also well done. When the inn-keeper keeps touching Eric
for money, the reader feels instinctive aversion for the man and sympathy for Eric. In fact, the reader feels so much sympathy that he feels the author is false to have no adult help the troubled boy in time. It also seems false to have Eric not only accused of a robbery but die because of the ignominy and disgrace. The real culprit is found and Eric is told of this. But from the author's point of view, Eric's dying discovery that his mother's death was his fault is sweetened by his recognition that he is going to heaven where all is forgiven. Living, Eric could not find forgiveness.

As a social document, the book presents an astounding view of the village Latin grammar school in which the master, who is half mad with frustration, lets the older boys "teach" the little boys. There is no supervision of such teaching and chaos results.

At Roslyn the author identifies several problems that are still common in schools today: cheating; bullying; the influence of the peer groups on one another; the sometimes awesome influence for all of one youngster on others. Farrar shows insight when he muses about the following question concerning another universal problem:

Why is it that new boys are almost invariably ill-treated? I have often fancied that there must be in boyhood a pseudo-instinctive cruelty. . . . Certain it is that to most boys the first term is a trying one.1

However, he shows lack of insight in the following situation. He complains about the difficulty in getting students to enjoy Shakespeare and yet he punishes when the boys in their off hours do the dagger scene from Macbeth in this manner:

1Ibid., p. 26.
A sheet had been pinned from the top of the room, on one side of which stood a boy with a broken dinner-knife, the handle end of which he was pushing through a hole in the middle of the sheet at the shadow of Duncan. . . .

Enheartened by the success of Eric, the author anonymously published another school story, St. Winfred's; or, The World of School in 1862.

Muir lists subsequent school stories finding favor with boys. Some of these derided Farrar, others followed his pattern of writing. These are: (1) the Fifth Form at St. Dominic's (1887) and (2) the Cock House of Felsgarth (1891), both by Talbot Barnes Reed; (3) Vice-Versa or, A Parable for Our Fathers by F. Anstey; and (4) Stalky and Company by Rudyard Kipling.

Darton adds other important titles in the development of the boys' school story:

1. H. A. Vachell's The Hill (1905)
2. Arnold Lunn's The Harrovarian's (1913)
3. Alec Waugh's The Loom of Youth.

The only illustrator for Eric listed by Mahoney is Gordon Frederick Browne, sometimes pseudonymously known as "A. Nobody." His illustrations

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1Ibid., p. 99. On pp. 100-102 the headmaster tells the boys that this is unforgivable; does not realize that they quoted correctly; sees neither value nor humor in the episode. He flogs the boys.

2The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 342.

3Muir, op. cit., p. 115.

4Darton also mentions these, op. cit., pp. 309, 310, elaborating upon their themes.

5Ibid., p. 310.
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While it did not come until Black's 1899 edition, he did thirty-four black and white illustrations redolent of active boys in eton jackets, eton collars, tight trousers. The masters are stern in gown and mortar board, even at night.

1859


"The most important translation and one which has been the basis for all subsequent collections of Scandinavian folk tales..."

It is improbable that Routledge and Company was the first publisher of this authoritative source material as in 1859 Routledge and Company was known as Routledge, Warne, and Routledge. It is possible that Chapman and Hall was the company that published the book as it published *Tales from the Fjord, A Second Series of Popular Tales from the Norse* also translated by Sir George Dasent. In 1859 the firm was located in Piccadilly. William Hall was dead but the two Chapmans

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1Mahoney, op. cit., pp. 395, 396.
3The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 20.
4Ramsey, *Folklore for Children and Young People,* op. cit., p. 10.
5Ibid., p. 93.
6Meigs, op. cit., p. 206.
7Ibid., p. 493.
8Ibid., p. 20.
Edward and Frederick) retained the original firm name.\(^1\)

Asbjørnsen and Moe published their tales which, according to Thwaite, were 'something of a debased mythology,'\(^2\) in Norway in 1843-44. Asbjørnsen was a Norwegian zoologist and collector of tales who wandered all over the countryside on foot. With his friend Moe he laid the foundation for this collection. Dasent's translation is still considered the strongest and the most beautiful.

The stories include many now well known favorites such as "East of the Sun and West of the Moon" (already included by Montalba),\(^3\) "The Princess on the Glass Hill," and stories not then widely known but which since then have been found to have variants in many lands. Such tales include romantic stories, beast tales, and the usual rough humor.

Sir George Dasent was a civil service examiner in English and modern languages. He did translations from the Icelandic as well as from the Norwegian. He did not intend his translation of Popular Tales for children. He thought of it as a serious contribution to folklore, stating his theories in his preface, a long essay on mythology. Ramsey feels that the "essay on mythology is outmoded, but the parts of it which deal with the translator's associations with Asbjørnsen and Moe, and of his approach to his task are still timely.\(^4\)

Many selections from the Tales have been beautifully illustrated

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 469.

\(^2\)Thwaite, op. cit., p. 112.

\(^3\)See annotation, Folktales from All Nations, supra.

\(^4\)Ramsey, Folklore for Children, op. cit., p. 93.
and printed, either singly or with three to a dozen or more of the tales in one volume. One of the best of the last named type of selection was edited and illustrated by Ingri and Parin d'Aulaire for New York's Viking Press in 1938. The format is distinguished and the full-page illustrations are handsome. In their introduction the artist-editors describe "well the feeling of Norse people for their heritage of folklore." The Three Billy Goats Gruff," one of the best known of the tales, is representative of the single tale beautifully illustrated.2

1861 Andrews, Jane. The Seven Little Sisters Who Live On the Round Ball that Floats in the Air. ... Boston: Ticknor and Fields.3 ICU - B, 1CM - M, OCl - T, 00x M. 127.

Social Consciousness, Children from Around the World, Travel.

One of the first books for children to introduce the concept of "one world."4 The first book written by Jane Andrews5 and the one to remain in print the longest of any of her six works for children.6 The

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1Ibid., p. 89; see also Mahoney, op. cit., p. 403.


3Blanck, op. cit., p. 18.


5Ibid., p. 54.

6Ibid., p. 58. Green calls this a landmark in that it continues and is better than the Rollo books. See this work supra.
author is known as a pioneer in distinguished writing for children about foreign life and nature.¹

The publishers, Ticknor and Fields were successors to Ticknor, Reed, and Fields who brought out Hawthorne's Tanglewood Tales and Wonder Books.² Although Ticknor and Fields printed the copyright notice on the verso of the book as "December 15, 1860," they dated the title page "1861."³

The title was later taken over "by Lee and Shepard and . . . it passed into the hands of Ginn and Company in 1893."⁴ Its copyright "was renewed in 1887 by Emily Andrews with Lee and Shepard publishing again in 1916 by Margaret Andrews Allen."⁵ Although it was a slight little volume of less than 150 pages, it paid royalties for ninety years.

Within the first year of printing the book was published unsigned in England. This has caused understandable errors in tracing bibliography, for even the Library of Congress only lists this apparently pirated and unsigned English edition. There were also editions in German, Chinese, and Japanese.⁶

Jane Andrews first wrote the stories contained in Seven Little Sisters to the children in her school at Newburyport, Massachusetts.

¹Gardner and Ramsey, Children's Literature, op. cit., p. 186.
²See annotation for Hawthorne, supra.
³Blanck, loc. cit.
⁴Green, A Forgotten Chapter, . . . op. cit., p. 58.
⁵Ibid., p. 58.
⁶All of this publishing information is from Norma Kidd Green.
She intended it to be an interesting piece of fiction to supplement geography lessons. She did not expect it to attain its almost phenom­
enal success. Many of the ideas in this book and in the other books by Jane are almost pure Horace Mann.¹

Jane, along with several other young women later influential in American education, attended the Massachusetts Normal established by Horace Mann. There Jane absorbed the ideas that teachers needed special training; that education should produce clear thinking citizens; that real learning was not rote learning; that all children, the handicapped as well, deserved good education; that "projects" could involve students in real learning and interaction with one another; and that children needed to know more about people in other lands.²

Jane also was in the first group that went to Antioch. Mann encouraged several "Normalites" to apply but it seems as though only Jane survived the stiff examinations. She did, however, suffer from the rigors of that first year. She taught in the preparatory school; she carried a full load of classes; she lived under rough and unhygienic circumstances. Becoming ill, she returned East where she was an invalid for many years. It is suspected, but not known that she had some type of bone disease and eventually died of tuberculosis of the spine.³

It was upon her seeming recovery that Jane opened the school in her home which conducted for twenty-five years. She admitted both boys

¹Ibid., p. 30.
²Ibid., pp. 1, 2.
³Ibid., p. 38.
and girls as soon as they knew the alphabet and could count to over one hundred. The enrollment varied between twenty and twenty-five pupils whom she taught until they were ready for high school. She made her teaching so interesting and the house and its grounds so inviting that children disliked being absent.  

The curriculum included reading (taught phonetically), writing, arithmetic, literature, dramatics, current events, and especially geography. Through a combination of all the areas taught and with a special emphasis on the importance "geography" Jane inculcated the idea of one world: people everywhere are neighbors and inter-dependent upon one another. Jane felt that the greatest lesson she taught was "an awareness of needs at hand and a sense of moral responsibility [which would produce] alert citizens who with wide sympathy and a sense of honor could take their places in an intricate and interrelated world."  

Jane carried out this theme in Seven Little Sisters and in a much later book, Ten Boys Who Lived on the Road from Long Ago to Now. These books and those which came in between were read aloud to the author's classroom. Louisa Stone Hopkins (wife of John Hopkins), a close friend of Jane's wrote a Memorial describing Jane's first reading of Seven Little Sisters to the intimate group of friends of which Louisa was a member.  

1Ibid., pp. 44-52.
2Ibid., p. 53.
3This was published by Lee and Shepard in 1885, the year Jane's school closed. Norma Green, ibid., p. 62, believes that Ten Boys "is excellent reading today and is worthy of reprinting."
4Ginn and Company printed this Memorial as a preface to Seven Little Sisters for more than fifty years.
part.¹ Jane felt that the children were too admiring but that her adult friends and colleagues (many of them ran schools of their own) would give valid criticism. The only suggestion anyone made (outside of praise) was that the title was too long. And Jane answered that without all of the title she could not sustain "the idea of unity, of one world, the main idea of the book."²

The round ball that floats in the air is, of course, the world. The countries in this world are all different with some being plains of sand; forests; lands of snow and ice; mountainous regions; or flat places dotted with ponds, lakes, and perhaps, rivers. While the children living in such diverse lands also are different from one another in many ways, in other ways they are much alike. They all live in families with mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters, other relatives; and, they all were once babies. Jane describes their homes, clothes, and customs.

There is a story about each of the girls: (1) The brown baby; (2) Agoonack, the Esquimui; (3) Gemila, the child of the desert; (4) Jeanette of the Swiss Alps; (5) the Little Dark Girl of the Andes; (6) Pen-se, who lives on a Chinese river houseboat; and (7) Louise, who lives on the banks of the River Rhine. Each story is a chapter. The last chapter likens the separate families to one big family living under one loving father who is God.

Jane used the book constantly in her school as a supplementary

¹Norma Green, op. cit., p. 56.

²Ibid., p. 57.
geography text. It was used this way for many years by other teachers with other children. Although many children were engrossed by it, none were as engrossed as the pupils in the Andrews school. They felt so much a part of it that they wanted and suggested a sequel. Using the children's ideas and actual incidents that happened in her own growing family of nieces and nephews, Jane wrote Each and All; or, How the Seven Little Sisters Who Live on the Round Ball that Floats in the Air Prove Their Sisterhood. This was published by Lee and Shepard in 1877. Later, Ginn published it, shortening the title to Each and All but using the line "The Seven Little Sisters Prove Their Sisterhood" as a run-in at the top of the title page.

The English authorities used for this study do not mention Andrews. The American authorities (not yet cited in this annotation) who do are Meigs; Mahoney; Gardner and Ramsey; and Smith.

Although Blanck describes the first edition of Seven Little Sisters as having eight illustrations, no one identifies either the illustrator or the nature of the illustrations. The book read for this annotation had no illustrations. Mahoney mentions only Ten Boys which was illustrated for Ginn (n.d.) by Copeland.

1 ibid., p. 58.
2 ibid., p. 59.
3 Meigs, op. cit., p. 190.
4 Mahoney, op. cit., pp. 453, 399.
5 Gardner and Ramsey, op. cit., p. 187. (Ten Boys, only).
6 Smith, op. cit., pp. 197, 211, 213.
7 Blanck, op. cit., p. 18.
8 Andrews, Seven Little Sisters . . . (New York: Ginn and Co., n.d.)
Two other significant titles written by Jane Andrews are *Geographical Plays*, and *The Stories Mother Nature Told Her Children*. These last are faintly reminiscent of Mrs. Gatty's *Parables from Nature* and are the forerunners of many American stories about nature personified.


One of the first stories in which a heroine is allowed to have tantrums and get into scrapes. One of the first fully developed of the "tomboy" stories for girls. "One of the writer's best stories for younger children,"5

It is probable that the Parkers were responsible for publishing this book just as they were responsible for giving the world so many of Charlotte Mary Yonge's other books.6

The author was the creator of the domestic story in England and a

1Norma Green, op. cit., pp. 60-61.
2 Ibid., pp. 64-65.
3 See annotation, infra, Gatty.
5 Thwaite, op. cit., p. 146. Meigs and Thwaite are the only two of authorities "A" who discuss Countess Kate.
6 The "Y" volume of The British Museum Catalogue is unavailable to the writer at this time; therefore, it is not at this moment possible to verify the publisher. See annotations: Little Duke, Daisy Chain, supra.
born storyteller. Her books sprang up to meet the need seen in the gap between the milder sort of adult fiction and the material written for very small children. It was written "sanely and copiously."

Countess Kate was, no doubt, written with the ideas that such tomboy girls did live and that children could identify with their escapades. Charlotte Yonge was just a child as Kate: "excitable, imaginative, naughty, upright."

The book is an excellent reflection of events and manners contemporary to its publishing: the excitement of the Crystal Palace at the Great Exhibition; the contrast between riding first class on a train and third class; life in the village family of a relatively impecunious Church of England vicar; the training and duties thought necessary for a child who was a countess; and the affect of the Indian Mutiny on the lives of people in England. Although religious belief is referred to in the study, such reference is neither excessive nor obnoxious.

Orphan Kate, who lived with her mother's sister and her husband, Reverend Wardour, discovers that through the death of a cousin the title to the peerage and estate of the Caegwent family have descended to her. It is no longer proper for her to live with the gentile but unaffluent vicarage family. She is taken to London to live with stern Aunt Barbara

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1Thwaite, op. cit., p. 144.

2Darton, op. cit., p. 296. Also see annotations Little Duke; Daisy Chain, supra.

3Thwaite, op. cit., p. 146.

4The "Publisher's Note" in Charlotte Yonge's Countess Kate (New York: Random House, 1960), p. 5. This volume, which is part of The Looking Glass Library, is the book read for this annotation.
and loving but ill Aunt Jane. Kate's naughtiness makes the one aunt more stern and the other more ill.

What seems like high spirited play to Lord and Lady De la Poers when they come visiting with some of their ten children is outrageous to the aunts. Indians and hunters should never be played by little girls; especially with tortoise shell letter openers. Children should not act out Shakespeare on the stairway, or anyplace else for that matter, even if statues were not knocked off pedestals and broken, and children did not come tumbling head over heels down the stairs. A return visit to the Dela Poers is no more successful. Even quiet entertainment such as spatter painting with leaves makes Kate the object of censure.

It is with trepedation that the aunts, another day, let Kate go with the De la Poer family to the exhibition at the Crystal Palace. She laughs so excitedly; she is saucy, thinking she is comical; she exclaims so loudly over orange trees, famous paintings, the exhibit from the Alhambra and other wonders that strangers stop to look at her in dismay. Her host is embarrassed. But that is not enough. Frightened by a near stroke of lightening and a loud clap of thunder, Kate falls into the exotic fishpond and comes up dripping rare pond lilies and water. Twentieth-century clothes plunged into a pool would drip too, but Kate wears pantalettes, voluminous petticoats, a ruffled dress, and a hat with feathers.

In the manner of all orphan stories beloved by children, Kate,

1 Ibid., pp. 114-144. This chapter contains rewarding descriptions of the Crystal Palace and the fabulous exhibits within it.
after a disastrous experience at running away, learns to curb her rash impulses, finding love and happiness with an aunt and uncle returned from India and the mutinies there.

None of the authorities consulted for this work mention illustrated editions. *The Looking Glass Library* edition\(^1\) is illustrated by Gwen Ravenat. There are numerous lively pen and ink sketches scattered throughout the book. The attention to clothing, facial expressions, bodily stance, and Victorian backgrounds of both inside the houses and outside is graphic in detail.\(^2\)


The first book of a prolific and popular writer, most of whose works appeared only in magazine form until well after 1865.\(^5\)

George Bell (and F. R. Daldy) had not yet taken over the premises of the Bohn business and libraries in Covent Garden at the time this book was published. In 1885 when a new edition came out, Daldy had

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\(^1\) Yonge, *op. cit.* (Random House, 1960), the edition read for this annotation.

\(^2\) A good example of this is the Vicar presenting unhappy Kate to her newfound aunts in their London home. Yonge, *op. cit.*, a double-page spread, pp. 28-29.

\(^3\) Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

\(^4\) Not in *The Osborne Collection* but acquired for the collection after the catalogue was printed.

retrieved, with the firm taking the name of George Bell and Sons.\(^1\) The company put out a new edition in 1886.\(^2\)

"All that . . . Mrs. Ewing wrote is unfailingly good. She wrote books of family life, an excellent book for boys, fairy stories, poems, and with her mother [Mrs. Gatty] . . . edited Aunt Judy's Magazine." \(^3\)

Darton's description of Mrs. Ewing and her work is both interesting and revelatory. He says:

\[\text{[Mrs. Ewing is]}\text{ more lovingly remembered than closely read to-day by those who like myself [sic] were brought up among her books. She appears now as having very clearly the limitations of her surroundings. She lived as a girl . . . in Church of England circles, though she was never affected by strong dogmatic views, nor obtruded them. Religion . . . was a prominent feature in many of her tales, and she had some of the contemporary preoccupation with death bed . . .}\]

\text{Melchoir's Dream . . . was edited by Mrs. Gatty who announced her pride in the preface.}

. . . a . . . privilege is . . . granted to me on the present occasion of introducing a daughter into the literary world. . . . viewed as the first productions of a young author [these stories] are surely full of promise. . . .\(^5\)

The book, itself, contains five tales: (1) "Melchoir's Dream"; (2) "Frederick's Ballad"; (3) "A Bit of Green"; and (4) "Monsieur the Viscount's Friend."

\(^1\)The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 465.

\(^2\)Huir, loc. cit., p. 128.


\(^4\)Darton, op. cit., p. 291.

\(^5\)Juliana Horatia Ewing, Melchoir's Dream and Other Stories (London: Bell, 1862), pp. iii and iv. This is the edition read for this annotation.
The title story begins with someone in the first person singular being tired of family of ten children and a "whiney-piney sister." A friend of father (who has gone off to his study to work on his sermon) offers to tell a story. The children agree that this is fine as long as it isn't too true. One child adds, "I don't like stories like tracts."' Melchoir's Dream' is the story telling of the sad and miraculous coach of Father Time that was started by an hourglass.

'The Blackbird's Nest' emphasizes the value of helping others as they want to be helped, not in the fashion the doer thinks they ought to be helped. The young heroine dreamed of doing good after reading Goody Two Shoes but all her dreams ended "to be admired by everybody."'2

'Frederick's Ballad' is an unusual tale with pathos which could be horror, and a sad air of mystery. It gives the background of St. Nicholas' Day (December 6th) with rods or sweetmeats in shoes. It tells of Friedrich who wanted to be a poet and of the 'Märchen-Frau,' the story woman who is to be walled up. The definition of her Ballad book (not finely bound, nor beautifully printed) is a definition of any "great" book:

... a friend, and not an acquaintance,—not to be too readily criticized, but to be loved and trusted... not mine... ours..."3

In "A Bit of Green" the author in the first person grumbles about not being able to get away on a vacation. In quite different vein, the

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1Ibid., p. 11. This was the age of the tract.

2Ibid., p. 46-58.

3Ibid., p. 63.
last story concerns a widowed Viscountess, her son, a party, a stone, a toad, a sword, and a tutor. It is in three chapters, overly long, and symbolic.

The first edition is illustrated by M. S. Gatty, Mrs. Ewing's mother, Margaret Scott Gatty. The 1885 edition used the same illustrations but the new edition of the next year had pictures by "Browne." This is probably Gordon Frederick Browne, son of Hablot Browne. His first works appeared in Aunt Judy's Magazine, the periodical Mrs. Gatty started and in which most of Mrs. Ewing's work first appeared.

Gilian Avery selects two Ewing stories for her edition of Victorian stories, both of which appeared in the new edition of Melchoir's Dream... "published in 1885, the year of [Mrs. Ewing's] death." The first of these, "The Yew-Lane Ghosts," appeared in The Monthly Packet (Charlotte Yonge's Magazine) of July, 1861. It tells of "ghostly" fears aroused in a sensitive young boy by a sadist and a coward, and how these fears are cured by some wise adults. The other, "A Bad Habit," is a long, gentle story reminiscent of Charlotte Yonge's Countess Kate without the wilder episodes and with a perceptive adult in charge.

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1 Ewing, op. cit., listed on the title page. See annotations, supra, and infra, Mrs. Gatty.
2 Muir, loc. cit., p. 128.
3 The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 438.
5 In the Window Seat... Avery, op. cit., p. x1.
6 ibid., pp. 133-155.
7 ibid., pp. 58-75. See annotation, Countess Kate.
Although Melchoir's Dream shows promise, Jan of the Windmill (1873) is often considered the best of Mrs. Ewing's books.\(^1\) The author had a large following of readers, each of whom had his own preferences. Kipling was inspired by Jacknapes and Other Tales (1884), and by the last story in Daddy Darwin's Dovecote (1885), "The Story of a Short Life."\(^2\) The stories which sparked Kipling concerned military life. Mrs. Ewing had lived in many such military outposts with her husband, the major, and knew the people and environment about which she wrote.\(^3\)

Another short story, "The Brownies" proved inspiration for Lord and Lady Baden-Powell. They used the title and the theme for a Junior branch of the Girl Guide Organization.\(^4\) American Juliette Lowe also used the Powell's adaptation for the Girl Scout's Junior group, the Brownies. The small guides are told the story of children who long for helpful elves or brownies to do the housework. They are taken to a pool in the woods where, saying an incantation rhyme, they discover who is the helpful brownie. The rhyme goes:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Twist me and Turn me,} \\
&\text{And show me the Elf,} \\
&\text{I looked in the pool} \\
&\text{And saw ______ myself.}
\end{align*}
\]

The story is an evergreen favorite with the Brownie Scouts and their peers.\(^5\)

\(^{1}\) Tarr, op. cit., p. 140.

\(^{2}\) Thwaite, op. cit., p. 149. Thwaite calls "The Story of a Short Life" one of Mrs. Ewing's "more sorrowful tales."

\(^{3}\) Darton, op. cit., p. 291.

\(^{4}\) The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 338.

\(^{5}\) This is from the personal experience of the writer of this study who trained Girl Scout and Brownie Scout leaders for Metropolitan Detroit from 1952-1962.
Although this story was printed in Charlotte Yonge's magazine, The Monthly Packet in 1865, it did not come out in book form until 1870. At that time it was aptly illustrated by George Cruikshank.  

Many of Mrs. Ewing's stories were illustrated by Randolph Caldecott. Muir gives an excellent two-page list of books by Mrs. Ewing (with their illustrators) and books to which Mrs. Ewing contributed. He cautions that the list may be incomplete and that correct dating of first appearance is impossible due to the fact that "many of her books were not dated on their first appearance."  

Although many twentieth-century readers feel that Mrs. Ewing's books are dated, Thwaite gives an appreciative comment concerning both the books and their possible readers:  

"... [today] their appeal is not immediate or universal. For a few discriminating young readers, however, their spell has something of the fragrance of old lavender."


Poetry, Ballad, Fairy Tale.  

The only work of this "real" poet for children to be published

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1The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 338. Although the title "The Brownies" is included in the institutional survey for this study the fact that it was not printed in book form by 1865 excluded it from separate annotation.  

2Muir, op. cit., pp. 128, 129.  

3Muir, loc. cit., p. 128.  

4Thwaite, op. cit., p. 149. There are always a group of people in every history of children's literature class taught by this writer who become Ewing devotees.  

5Mahoney, op. cit., p. 435.
before 1865. 1 Meigs calls this work a great poem published amidst verse that was merely pleasant for children. 2 Thwaite agrees that "finest without a doubt is her [Rossetti's] one fairy poem." 3

The Macmillans were the publishers for all of the Rossetti siblings: Christina, Dante Gabriel, and William Michael. They published this book a year before Alexander Macmillan was appointed publisher to Oxford. Although the Scottish Macmillans (in 1862) had two establishments, one in Edinburgh, one in London, they had not yet opened their New York branch. 4

The father of the Rossetti trio, Gabriel, was professor of Italian poetry at the new-found University of London. He had been curator of ancient bronzes in the Museum of Bronzes at Naples, Italy. Christina's two brothers were an integral part of the Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood. 5 Dante painted and wrote poetry (he illustrated the first edition of Goblin Market). 6 William, among other things, edited The Germ, the magazine of the brotherhood.

Christina was a devout Anglican who refused two proposals of marriage because of differences in religious beliefs. She lived a very

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1 *Sing Song (Nursery Songs for Children)* did not come out until 1872. See Thwaite, op. cit., p. 135.

2 Meigs, op. cit., p. 290.

3 Thwaite, loc. cit., p. 135.

4 *The Osborne Collection*, op. cit., p. 485.

5 See *Victorian Regime, Historical Background, Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, supra.

6 Mahoney, loc. cit., p. 435.
quiet life of writing, devoted to her brothers and their friends.

_Goblin Market_ is the story of temptation by evil and the conquest of that evil by the love of one sister for another. They have both heard the goblins cry—

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Come buy, come buy:
Lemons and oranges . . .
Swart headed mulberries,
Wild, free-born cranberries . . .
Bright fire-like barberries, . . .
Sweet to tongue and sound to eye,
Come buy, come buy.
```

Laura cannot resist the importuning, she tastes of the wares and from then on is filled with a craving for more. At home she wastes away to nothing because she does not have the fairy fruit. Lizzie braves the goblins and by resistance and love she lifts the shell from her sister, by getting the fiery antidote, even though—

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... the goblins cuffed and caught her,
Coaxed and fought her,
Bullied and besought her
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Years later as adults, the sisters tell the story to their children.

Other famous illustrators who did pictures for the poem besides Dante Gabriel are Lawrence Housman and Arthur Rackham. Houseman illustrated a Macmillan edition of 1893. Rackham did a 1933 edition for


2Ibid., p. 32.

3Mahoney, _op. cit._, p. 498.

4Ibid., p. 416.
This edition was published with Rackham's illustrations for Lippincott in the same year.


The most famous of all Kingsley's books, in its day, the most popular. It includes three poems still in anthologies that many people do not even realize are a part of the book: "The Song of the River"; "When All the World Was Young, Lad"; and "The Lost Doll." Thwaite believes the book still shows its own elements of greatness. Darton states that even more than *Alice in Wonderland* it is "much more clearly of the Victorian period . . . well-loved . . . it is a story which is very likely more talked about by grown-up people today than re-read by them."

Daniel Macmillan had begun his English publishing business at Cambridge when he bought the business of Mr. Newby at Cambridge. At the time *Water Babies* was published, Kingsley was professor of Modern History at Cambridge and acquainted with the Macmillans there.

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2 The edition read for this annotation.

3 *The Osborne Collection, op. cit.*, p. 359.

4 *Meigs, op. cit.*, p. 196.

5 *Darton, op. cit.*, p. 259.

6 *The Osborne Collection, op. cit.*, p. 485.
Kingsley had already exhibited his feeling for the oppressed in earlier adult and powerful novels and pamphlets. *Yeast* was against the corn laws. Alton Locke portrayed sympathy for the victims of the sweat shop. Kingsley (with Hughes of *Tom Brown's School Days*) was a "muscular" Christian who sympathized with the chartists although he felt they were proceeding in the wrong direction if they hoped to attain their goals. He evidenced his sympathy for chimney sweeps in *Water Babies*. He also showed his great love of nature and his desire to share this love with others.

Age forty-four when he wrote the book for his youngest son, Grenville Arthur, Kingsley stated that he wanted "to make children and grown-up folk understand that there is quite a miraculous and divine element underlying all physical nature."

Tarr sees another side of Kingsley, the disturbing fact that in a book meant for children he showed his prejudices about: (1) the education of the day; (2) the books written for children; and (3) the Roman Catholic religion. She feels that "if only he had left the stream clear of controversy and personal rancour, how delightful would have been the journey to the sea." She does remember that when she read the

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1 See annotations, this period *supra*.
2 See this chapter, Historical Background, *supra*.
3 *Thwaite, op. cit.*, pp. 217-218. Here Thwaite lists Kingsley's other works on Natural History and states that they were important landmarks in making writing about nature interesting to children.
4 *The Osborne Collection, op. cit.*, p. 359.
book as a child she "delighted in the story, for Tom and his adventures were her ... only concern."\(^1\) On re-reading she was "disappointed, distressed, and disgusted."\(^2\)

It is possible that adults bring too much to a book that a child unencumbered by life reads only for the story. When or if this is true, the adult cannot evaluate that book for a child. What the adult sees, the child does not see. And what the child finds, the adult cannot find. Be that as it may, the story of Water Babies without its distressing moralizing is a delightful tale.

Tom, the chimney sweep, runs away from his master, Gradgrind. Meeting a clean little girl, Ellie, Tom discovers that he is a very dirty boy. In washing away the grime from himself in a river, he falls into the stream and becomes a water baby. He meets Mrs. Doasyouwouldbedoneby, Mrs. Carey, the stately salmon and his wife, and the otter family. He has adventures with sea anemones, lobsters, dragonflies, and other flying or swimming creatures on his way to the sea. With one exception, his nature observations appear to be authentic. Mrs. Gatty, a scientist herself who delighted in the book, felt that Kingsley's description of how a dragonfly sheds his skin was incorrect. She rectified that in a story of her own, Parables from Nature.

At one time, Kingsley did drawings himself for this story. The first illustrator mentioned by any of the authorities used for this

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 111.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 111. Muir, op. cit., p. 110, does not care for Water Babies. He much prefers the adult, Westward Ho!
work is J. Noel Paton who did two illustrations for the first edition. The illustrator was Sir Joseph Noel Paton, "Collector of books and armour, an amateur archeologist, and Queen Victoria's limner for Scotland."  

Philip James presents a sample of one of Sir Paton's illustrations for *Water Babies* and comments about both the book and the illustration, implying that comments about one fit the other. He feels that neither text nor picture are timeless, that both are typical of their period. He notes the crowded detail of Paton's line compositions. Paton has drawn a thumb-sucking baby (without the gills he developed in the story) to represent Tom. The baby is on a toadstool in the midst of wildly flowing lines which represent all manner of sea creatures. Three other water babies are swimming and carrying the toadstool and its contents along with them. The entire design is page size and within the confines of a circle.


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1. The Osborne Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 359.  
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 453, 454. Kingsley's own father had been a curator of a museum; for 18 years he was curator at Lahore.  
did a Houghton edition in 1915. ¹ Sambourne's was an early Macmillan edition of 1885.² Jessie Wilcox Smith was the only American, doing a 1916 edition for Dodd.³


Blanck considers this as "representative of the reading tastes of its days," "a milestone in juvenile reading during the past century"; once popular . . . but forgotten or overlooked [book].⁵ Representative also of an author and children's editor who did much to raise the quality of writing for American children and youth in the mid-eighteenth century.⁶

Tilton is the publisher of several of Trowbridge's other books. Among these are Neighbor Jackwood and The Drummer Boy. Cudjo's Cave is their Trowbridge publication that became an immediate best-seller. "The American Literary Gazette and Publisher's Circular declared that within three days after it appeared the edition ran to the tenth thousand."⁷

⁴Blanck, op. cit., p. 20.
⁵Ibid., p. ii. In the opinion of this noted bibliographer, Joseph Blanck, all of the books listed in his American Bibliography of Juveniles, Peter Parley to Penrod, are deserving of one or more of the statements quoted above.
⁶The Hewins Lectures, op. cit., p. 20; Meigs, op. cit., p. 241.
John Trowbridge was editor of *Our Young Folks*, one of the magazines that merged with *St. Nicholas*. Many of his stories for children were first published in both magazines. One of these is a chronicle about Jack Hazard who with his beloved dog, Lion, first appeared in a series of stories that continued from *Our Young Folks* into *St. Nicholas*. Jack recalled Trowbridge's own days as a boy near the Erie Canal in New York State. (Trowbridge was born in Genesee County.)

One of Trowbridge's universally known humorous poems is "Darius Green and His Flying Machine." Written in country dialect, this is an account of a boy's backyard experiment in days long before telephones, automobiles, and airplanes not to mention jetliners and sonic-jets.

Cudjo's Cave is quite different type of writing. Meigs states that it was meant to be anti-slavery propaganda for adults but was adopted by children.

There is no preface but Trowbridge puts his "L'Envoy" at the end of the story in which he states:

"... this book was written, not to please merely, but for a sterner purpose.
For peaceful days, a peaceful and sunny literature; and may Heaven hasten the time when there shall be no more strife, and no more human bondage; when ... from the lake ..."

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2The Hewins Lectures, op. cit., p. 11.
3Meigs, loc. cit.
4The Hewins Lectures, loc. cit.
5Meigs, loc. cit. Hart, loc. cit., differs. He states that this "was essentially a book for children [that] ... had a wide reading public among adults ..."
chain to the gulf, and from sea to sea, freedom, and peace, and righteousness shall reign; when all men shall love each other, and the nations shall know God.\(^1\)

The story involves many characters but it hands on the conscience and the action of a Quaker schoolmaster, Pen Hopgood, from Pennsylvania who is teaching in Tennessee. Because of his abolition tendencies, a group of ignorant white men tar and feather him. His landlady will not let him return to his room to pull off the feathers and heal his wounds so he goes to the home of an old blind minister, Dr. Villars. There, Toby (a freed Negro servant) and Carl (a befriended German boy) get him to bed while the minister's beautiful daughter, Virginia, sings for Colonel Blythewood who turns out to be the villain of the story.

During the ensuing number of exciting events Penn escapes from the Villars house to keep them from being marauded by the pursuing band. He is aided by two escaped slaves who live in a fantastic cave. The two slaves are direct opposites. Pompey is tall, well built, intelligent, knowledgable as a doctor, a sophisticated man who has lived on the continent. His freedom was tricked away from him by Blythewood. Cudjo was maimed and deformed by the blows of a cruel overseer for a "a tolerably good master." The overseer is the leader of the gang who tarred and feathered Penn.

Penn recovers, starts for his own state, overhears Blythewood plotting against the Villars with the renegade husband of the oldest daughter, Saliva, and returns to warn the family. In returning, he is captured. Escapes and recaptures occur in surprising variety of mode

\(^1\)Trowbridge, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 503, 504. The edition read is the original as listed in the bibliographical heading for the annotation.
and method. Pompey finds himself drawn into the fight that he hoped to avoid, vowing that white men should fight white men and leave the "blacks" alone. The involvement eliminates some of the persecutors but also leads to the murder of Saliva and to Cudjo's death. As he dies, Cudjo takes the hated Silas with him into the torrential stream near the cave.

Penn learns to fight. In struggling with his conscience he tells himself that non-fighting is the ideal but that only the truly Christian can live that way, that he is not Christian enough. Before he joins his Pennsylvania regiment to formally fight for the Union, he sees to it that the Villars and several freed Negroes (including Toby) get safely to Cincinnati. Pompey stays behind to guide Union soldiers to safety over the mountains and through the caves.

There is no wedding at the story's end although Virginia and Penn proclaim their love. The author states that there can be no wedding until after the war is over, and even then, only if Penn comes safely back.

The story is melodramatic but skillfully written. There is good contrast of character, and well-built incidents leading to strong and convincing climaxes. Negro and white men are shown in a variety of guises with more evil in more of the whites than in the Negroes. Toby and Cudjo speak in dialect, but so do the poor whites. Pompey speaks like the educated, intelligent man that he is.

The underground hideaway where Union sympathizers train and the exciting cave sequences must have appealed to boys and girls. Union sympathizers of the 1860's, child and adult alike, no doubt felt their sympathies reinforced. Considering the integrity of the man who wrote
it and his reputation as one who advanced the cause of good literature; this book bears reading.

There are no illustrations.

1863 Whitney, Adeline Dulton Train. 1 *Faith Gartney's Girlhood.*

Boston: Loring. 2 ICU - B, MID - CH, MID - R, 00x M. 53.

Girls' Story. Young Adult. Romance.

A representative work of one of the most popular writers of her day who is best remembered for her girls' books. 3 A step towards writing for girls that is less sentimental than those books such as *Wide Wide World* 4 preceeding this. 5

A. K. Loring, the original publisher sold the rights to *Faith Gartney*

to Houghton, Osgood and Co. sixteen years after its publication and subsequently over 40,000 copies were printed . 6

Miss Maria Cummins 7 had interested her English publishers, Sampson, Low, Son, and Marston Co. in publishing Mrs. Whitney's books. Her association with them was not too happy. There were misunderstandings on both sides. . . . 8

Her relationship with her American publishers was friendly

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1 Known as Mrs. A. D. T. Whitney. 2 Blanck, op. cit., p. 19.

3 Neigs, op. cit., p. 221. 4 Annotations, supra.


6 Ibid., p. 122.

7 Annotations, supra, *The Lamplighter*.

8 Field in *The Hewlns Lectures*, op. cit., p. 123. This unhappy relationship may explain the absence of Mrs. Whitney's name from the discussions of American authors by the English authorities used for this work.
and cooperative throughout their various changes from Fields, Osgood, and Co.\footnote{A list of Mrs. Whitney's works arranged according to the first publisher of each title may be found in \textit{The Hewins Lectures}, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 125, 126.} to A. K. Loring to James R. Osgood and Co. to Houghton, Osgood, and Co. to Houghton, Mifflin and Co.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 123.}

In spite of poor English publishing relationships, Mrs. Whitney was respected by well-known English people. This is evidenced by her correspondence with and visits to such people as the George MacDonalnds and the Kingsleys. Charles Kingsley was then Canon of Westminster Abbey and took Mrs. Whitney on a personally conducted tour of the Abbey.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 120-121. \textit{The Hewins Lectures}, ed. Sir L Andrews.}

The famous preacher and writer of classic fairy tales, George MacDonald,\footnote{Unfortunately, MacDonald's delightful works (e.g., \textit{At the Back of the Northwind} (1871); and, \textit{The Princess and the Goblin} (1872) do not fall within the scope of this study.} is one of the four men who had the greatest influence on Mrs. Whitney's professional and spiritual life. The other three are: Ralph Waldo Emerson, Charles Dickens, and Emmanuel Swedenborg.

Mrs. Whitney attended Emerson's Boston school at Temple Place. She is cited as referring to him "as the man who most influenced me."\footnote{\textit{The Hewins Lectures}, ed. Andrews, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 110.} Whether it was his influence or not, Mrs. Whitney was a serene, happy woman who lived the ideals expressed in Emerson's essays, ideals which he must have taught in his classes.

It was Mrs. Whitney's admiration for Dickens that led her to the naming of her characters in a manner that is descriptive of their
personalities. Her heroines have such names as Faith, Desire, Delight, and Peace. Her inevitable inspirational spinsters have such names as Miss Patience Strong or Miss Serena Wyse.  

MacDonald and Swedenborg presented religious interpretations that were most in accord with Mrs. Whitney's own beliefs or needs. Each era has its own problems. The mid-eighteen hundreds brought cholera; high mortality rates from other unconquered diseases such as tuberculosis; the foundering of ships; other uncontrollable natural forces (hurricanes, severe electrical storms); and the Civil War that so disrupted and saddened the American nation. Just as others did, Mrs. Whitney read contemporary books, that meant to comfort, such as Miss Phelps' Gates Ajar, and Beyond the Gates. They left her uncontrolled and so she turned to the works of MacDonald and Swedenborg. As Swedenborg is a noted mystic of the eighteenth century, it is possible that Mrs. Whitney read only as much of him as she felt related to herself. In fact her granddaughter, Mrs. Field, suggests this possibility.  

Mrs. Whitney had two aims in all of her books for girls: (1) to promote the idea that woman's place is in the home; and (2) to lead young women to understand the possibilities in the world for the development of Christian character. Although she did preach, her moralizing

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1 Ibid., p. 118.  
2 Ibid., p. 119.  
3 Ibid., p. 120. See also supra this chapter, Historical Background, America.  
4 For a discussion of these and similar books see Hart, The Popular Book, op. cit., pp. 121, 122, passim.  
was often unobtrusive, rarely obnoxious, and often made palatable with humor. The more she wrote, the less she preached.  

It is amazing that Mrs. Whitney wrote so much. Her hands were painfully arthritic and yet she wrote all of her more than twenty book manuscripts, her magazine articles, and an extensive correspondence in longhand. She also by hand made copies of all her books.  

Much of her correspondence was with people who were greatly influenced by her books. One of these was Eliza Orne Jewett, the later American writer of regional stories considered classic.  

Mrs. Whitney, herself, calls her books "neighborhood" stories. Although she rarely identifies them by correct name, preferring such anonymity as "A--" or "Z--,"  

she uses the same neighborhoods and the same stock characters of people. She writes primarily about an upper social level background divided into two kinds of people: (1) those who are responsible and seek to do for others; (2) those who are irresponsible and selfish. She loves to give the latter their "come-uppance."  

Her main characters are young girls, one of whom is usually "different" as well as introspective and misunderstood by her family; and, well-meaning, wise, always welcome spinsters whose main occupation is to meddle (a deus ex machina) in the "right way."  

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1 ibid., pp. 112, 116.  
2 ibid., p. 113.  
3 ibid., p. 114.  
4 ibid., p. 115.  
5 ibid., p. 118.  
6 ibid., p. 118.
In Faith Gartney¹ Mrs. Whitney uses two "needed" spinsters. One is Nurse Samson who pulls Mr. Gartney through a long illness and nervous breakdown. The other is Aunt Faith Henderson who helps Faith make the family decision in time of financial problems to move to their old country home. Aunt Faith helps her city namesake accept the necessity of adjusting to a family move to the country life at "Cross Corners." Nurse Samson, not only arouses Faith's admiration for selfless service, but weaves in and out of the story at strategic moments. She even appears at the end, symbolizing the rightness of Faith's wedding journey to help the hospitalized Civil War wounded at Georgetown.

Faith, at the beginning of the story, is a bewildered Idealistic girl of the upper classes who needs help in maturing. She is contrasted with another "young life," that of Glory McWhirk, Aunt Faith's "approved," emigrant Irish maid who suffered through years of the cruel upper class before she found an appreciative mistress who trained her well.² Perhaps an even greater contrast is Faith's older sister, Sardie, who spent her time travelling fashionably in Europe with their mother's wealthy elder sister.³

¹The edition read for this annotation is: Faith Gartney's Girlhood by Mrs. A. D. T. Whitney (Chicago: M. A. Donahue and Co., n.d.). This is no doubt ca. 1928 or 1930. This is not an illustrated edition. No authority lists any illustrations.

²Whitney, Faith Gartney, op. cit., chapter IV, V, pp. 10-31. Mrs. Whitney's father owned the "packets" which brought many Irish immigrants to America. Mrs. Whitney only approved of those "who were not lazy." See also Victorian Regime, Historical Background - America, supra.

³Whitney, op. cit., p. 57.
Two of the things which Faith discovers in the country are: (1) that she is a good cook; (2) that the New England countryside is beautiful. She discovers the first through necessity. The family cannot find a good cook who will stay in the country; Faith's mother cannot cook (and is not strong); Aunt Faith is such a good cook that her frequent offerings put other food to shame. Faith discovers the countryside in her frequent rides with the doctor whom she sometimes assists. On one such trip Faith sees:

Graceful birches, with a spring, and a joyous whispered secret in every glossy leaf [Jen] over the road toward the water; and close down to its ripples grew wild shrubs and flowers, and lush grass, and lady bracken, while out over the still depths rested green lily pads, like floating thrones, waiting the fair water queens who a few weeks hence, should rise to claim them. . . .

Mrs. Whitney, through Faith, loves the New England countryside in every season. When it is winter, Faith draws the window curtain to exclaim with delight, "It was a diamond morning."^2

Away off, up the lane and over the meadows, every tree and bush was hung with twinkling gems that the slight wind swayed against each other with tiny crashes of faint music, and the sun was just touching with a level splendor.3

After breakfast Faith and Glory (whom Faith has 'borrowed' from Aunt) go out into the ice-bound woods to see the beauty close at hand. Just as they liken the arched and ice-covered bows to a cathedral, the new minister appears. Both girls fall in love, though Glory knows that

1Whitney, op. cit., p. 61.
2Ibid., p. 75.
3Whitney, loc. cit., p. 75.
the consummation will belong to Faith. Glory finds happiness in opening the home which Aunt Faith ultimately leaves her as a haven for maltreated orphans such as she had been.

The story is filled with romance, daily happenings; crises such as fire, illness, and death; weddings; and finally the dread war. There are parties, dances, hard work, a mistaken but exciting engagement, the right man at the right time, an awakening to the sufferings of others, and a partial shouldering of their burdens. This is still a book for the young girl who wants romance but who also is idealistic and needs models for her ideals in the shape of living people. These appeals are as strong to twentieth-century girls as they were to nineteenth century girls.

Mrs. Whitney does more than use 'appeals' in the story. She demands or expects something of her reader. She expects that her reader will be familiar with nursery rhymes, singing games, hymns, Maria Edgeworth, Shakespeare, Emerson, Carlyle, and a battery of poets. She heads each chapter with some quotation such as Lowell's, "And what is so rare as a day in June? Then, if ever, come perfect days..."

For the person who does not have a proper background in children's reading, Mrs. Whitney chronicles what aspiring Glory McQuirk read: 'Mother Goose'; 'Fables'; 'Parents' Assistant'; 'Fairy Tales'; especially 'Beauty and the Beast,' and 'Cinderella.' Glory prepared for the something 'that might happen to her' by the fact that 'she identified herself with --lost herself utterly in--these imaginary lives. She was... Cinderella;

1Whitney, op. cit., p. 59.
she was Beauty...�

Glory is also made responsible for a delightful telling in prose and Irish brogue of the "Little Red Hen." This version was first told by the old apple woman on Boston Common. It begins--

Well, thin, there was once't upon a time, away off in the old country, livin' all her lane in the woods, in a wee bit iv a house be herself, a little rid hin. Nice and quiet she was, and niver did no kind o' harrun in her life. An' there lived out over the hill, in a din o' the rocks, a crafty old felliv iv a fox...�

The opinion about Mrs. Whitney's reviewers was not always unanimous. Not even in her own country. She was reviewed in such American magazines as Harpers; Scribners; and the North American Review. Writing for this last named review, Henry James vigorously condemned one of Mrs. Whitney's books. He felt she "degrade[d] sentiment to the puerile... [and he disliked] her triteness in moral lessons [but he felt that] the observation, the memory, the inventions, the fancy, the humor, the love of human nature are... almost an education."� English reviewers tended to damn her style as "transatlantic... wholesome [?]... but its method is unusual."�

1Ibid., p. 15. "Don't tell me," [said Mrs. Whitney] "she had nothing but her niggardly outside living [she had the world of imagination and books].

2Whitney, op. cit., pp. 17-18. See also reference to this in The Hewins Lectures, ed., Andrews, op. cit., p. 124. The student of the folk-tale might well do a study about the tales brought to America by the emigrant Irish. Ruth Sawyer's nurse told her some of them. (Ruth Sawyer is the world-famous American storyteller.)


4Ibid., p. 124.
Mrs. Whitney also wrote for magazines: Our Young Folks, Old and New, Wide Awake, St. Nicholas, The Atlantic Monthly, and The Ladies Home Journal. One of her books, Friendly Letters to Girl Friends, first appeared in The Ladies Home Journal. This grew out of responses to letters such as those sent by Eliza Orne White.

Mrs. Whitney had begun by writing for boys. Her Boys at Chequasset, written for her own son, was a precursor of Aldrich's Story of a Bad Boy (1869). However, her greatest contribution was to teenage and sub-teen girls who perhaps grew up to remember some of Mrs. Whitney's maxims.

Two to ponder are:

1. "The making of homes is the making of a country."
2. "The old womanhood of true womanliness is never haggish."

Mrs. Whitney believed and lived her own words.


Representative of a prolific and much liked author. A step ahead

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1See this section, Historical Background - American, supra, for a discussion of the children's magazines which came before 1865.
3Ibid., p. 115.
4Ibid., pp. 110, 111. The Boys of Chequasset is one of the titles listed in this work as being held by some of the surveyed institutional collections. Unfortunately, the book could not be located for reading at the time the investigator visited the holding institutions. Therefore, it is not annotated for this study.
6Ibid., p. 115.
in the development of nonsense. An example of the many facets of the Victorian 'mind': nonsense side by side with the serious; illustration by some of the outstanding artists of the day. First in a trilogy of "Lilliput revels,"

In 1864, Alexander Strahan had just moved to London from Edinburgh, the city of his birth and his apprenticeship in his father's business. There he founded the magazine, Good Works. He was a positive influence in the publishing of his day.1

William Brighty Rands was a prolific and versatile writer of fairy tales, poems, and other children's books. He wrote his Lilliput "trilogy" anonymously.2 It was not until R. Bromley Johnson, under the aegis of the John Lane Company in 1899, edited a volume called Lilliput Lyrics that Rands' name appeared on the title page as author. The Lane volume contained selections from all three of the original volumes.3

The Lilliput trilogy is: Lilliput Levee (1864); Lilliput Lectures (1871); and Lilliput Legends (1872).4 The first is illustrated by Sir John Everett Millais and George John Pinwell.5

Rands' pennames were "Matthew Browne," "Henry Holbeach," and "T. Talker." Darton wonders why "so prolific a writer preferred secrecy

1Ibid., p. 497.

2Darton, op. cit., p. 280. In fact Darton states that Rand was a "self-crammed" creature who seldom wrote under his own name.

3Meigs, op. cit., p. 215.

4Darton, loc. cit. Meigs gives a different publication date for the first volume. This may mean a later edition, a reprint, or even a pirated edition.

5The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 76.
and disguise. It could be that a man with his child sense of fun and imagination thought the secrecy was just that, fun. It could, instead, be a fear of exposing his private sense of the ridiculous to a sometimes critical world. Whatever his motives, his gift for nonsense was and is supreme.

Rands lays the scene for the poems that are to follow with these lines:

Where does pinafore palace stand?
Right in the middle of Lilliput-Land!  
........................................
Oh the glorious revolution!  
........................................
Now that the children, clever bold folks,
Have turn'd the tables upon the Old folks.  
........................................
They seized the keep, they patrolled the street,
They drove the policeman off his beat.  
........................................
They dress'd themselves in the Rifleman's clothes,
They had pea-shooters, they had arrows and bows.  

Then comes the PUBLIC NOTICE—

--This is to state,
That these are the specimens left at the gate
of Pinafore Palace, exact to date,
In the hands of the porter, curly pate,
Who sits in his plush on a chair of state,
By the gentleman who is a candidate
For the office of Lilliput Laureate.  

This must have roused great joy in the hearts of Victorian children who could not speak back to Papa or Mama but who could read such verse. However, Rands offered a variety of thoughts and verse. Some

1Darton, loc. cit.

2Rands, op. cit., pp. 2, 3. The edition for which the bibliography data is given at the heading of this annotation is the edition read.

3Ibid., p. 4.
of them are: "The Bewitched Toys"; "Topsy-Turvy World"; "The Rise of the Flowers"; and a verse that sounds like Christina Rossetti in "Sing-Song."¹

Polly, Brown eyes--
Straight nose,
Crumpled clothes,
Dirt pies.²

Rands can be serious, too. He tells the rather moral verse story of "The King of the Hills and His Four Sons."³ It begins this way.
Schelim is King of the Hills Country "which cannot be traced upon maps." His sons have too much of everything. They are tired of their jewelled rattles and have thrown them on the floor. It is possible that they might like India rubber rings with bells better. Next they want "slow ponies, slow horses, and now elephants."⁴ And so the story continues with spoiled little princes satiated with too much care for their father.

Out of the story comes two rather serious thoughts for a poet of nonsense:

1. "Will thy candle burn less brightly for lighting mine?"⁵
2. "You have exhausted happiness. Nothing new remains in the world for you but misery and want..."⁶

¹See Rossetti, annotation, supra.
²Rands, op. cit., p. 84.
³Ibid., pp. 161, 162, passim.
⁴Ibid., p. 165.
⁵Ibid., p. 168.
⁶Ibid., p. 171.
Rand could compose lyric poetry, too. His verse was smooth and free. This is best exemplified by a poem that many children loved in spite of their being 'made' to memorize it by countless teachers. Part of it is as follows:

Great, wide, beautiful, wonderful World,
With the wonderful water around you curled,
And the wonderful grass upon your breast,
World, you are beautifully dressed.

Mahoney lists only one of Rands' works, *Lilliput Levee*, illustrated by Millais and Pinwell in 1864. Millais was one of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, a student at the Royal Academy at the age of eleven. "Pinwell [was] a designer with a firm of embroiderers before working with the [famous] Dalziel brothers."


The beginning of an amusing series of books for small American children. The author was one of the first people to write without

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1"Wonderful World" by William Brighty Rands as found in *The Home Book of Verse*, ed., Burton Stevenson (New York: Holt, 1923), Vol. 1, p. 138. The writer of this study never looks out a jet-plane window but she hears these words in her mind.

2Mahoney, *op. cit.*, p. 497.

3*The Osborne Collection*, *op. cit.*, p. 452.


6Meigs, *op. cit.*, p. 221.
moralizing about the everyday adventures of little girls.\(^1\)

Lee and Shepard were the successors to Phillips, Sampson, and Company,\(^2\) and became today's Lothrop, Lee, and Shepard.

Rebecca Clarke was a beloved author for bigger girls as well as for the smaller. For older girls she wrote the Quinnebasset series 'which' were natural, lifelike stories comparing favorably with similar books today.\(^3\) But the stories of the Parlin family starting with *Little Prudy*\(^4\) was the first and long time favorite.

The Parlins had a Quaker Grandmother Read who slipped as naturally in and out of the stories with her soft "thees" as any of the children did. The stories themselves were uneventful: visits to relatives, the wedding of a favorite aunt, jelly-making, a visit to New York, willful disobedience.

Each of the sisters had an individuality of her own. And each individuality had a series wound around her. There were *Little Prudy Stories* (six of them), with *Little Prudy's Dotty Dimple* being the last in the series. Then there were six volumes in a *Dottie Dimple Series*, and six in the *Flaxie Frizzle Stories*. Finally there was a series called *Little Prudy's Flyaway Series* made up after the vogue had become strong for the series and a demand had been created for more.

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\(^2\)Blanck, *loc. cit.*

\(^3\)Melgs, *loc. cit.*

\(^4\)See annotation, *infra*, Dotty Dimple.
All the volumes were illustrated, usually with a frontispiece and two full-page illustrations. The artist was Thomas Nast\(^1\) whose tender little children have no resemblance to the cartoons for which he was so famous.


Nonsense close in spirit to the nursery jingles of traditional pattern.\(^3\) Prime example of the absurd in the comic invention of the nineteenth century. An advance in the use of pictures and rhyme for younger children.

The publishers, William Darling Griffith and Robert Farran, became partners in 1856.\(^4\) Successors to Newbery and Harris,\(^5\) this illustrious firm carried on the publishing of ridiculous verse, comical pictures, gay reading for children as begun by their predecessors.\(^6\) In this vein they published several nonsensical pieces by the illustrator, C. H. Bennett, as well as Thompson's inverted sequel to *Nursery Nonsense*.

\(^1\)Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

\(^2\)The Osborne Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

\(^3\)Thwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

\(^4\)The Osborne Collection, *op. cit.*, p. 476.

\(^5\)Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

Fun and Earnest; or, Rhymes With Reason (1865). 1

D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, like so many other serious scholars, was an authority in the classics who tried his hand at nonsense for children. Although none of the authorities used for this work trace successive editions of his verse, many have found their way into anthologies and are quoted or ready by people who know nothing of the man who conceived them. Thompson at various times was: Classical Master in the Edinburgh Academy, Professor of Greek at Queen's College in Galway, Ireland, and a contributor to Macmillan's Magazine. His serious works included a Glossary of Greek Birds and Fishes; Aristotle as a Biologist; A Bibliography of Protazoa, Sponges . . . ; and other titles relating to science, the classics, or a melding of both. He gave a series of lectures on English literature and from these he wrote a History and Philosophy of Story Telling. (1863).

Charles Henry Bennett, the illustrator, often had his work confused with that of John Tenniel, Linley Sambourne, and even Dick Doyle during the time that Darton calls the "bleak fifties" 2 of illustration. 2 Phillip James, in his Children's Books of Yesterday, states that in his opinion "insufficient credit has been given to Charles H. Bennett, an artist of originality and distinction. . . ."3 He believes that Bennett

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1See annotations, Old Mother Hubbard, supra; Thwaite, op. cit., pp. 84-85.

2Darton, op. cit., p. 267.

3James, op. cit., p. 109. James also calls the era "the bleak fifties," implying that such men as Bennet [sic] made the times less bleak. The various authorities differ in their spelling of the artists' name, e.g.; James: "Bennet," Darton, "Bennett."
ranks with Tenniel. To illustrate these points and the human ludicrousness of Bennett's personified animals, he prints two pictures (in black and white) from the "coloured editions of The Fables of Aesop and Others Translated Into Human Nature." Such pictures are forerunners of the early nineteenth century classic nursery books written and illustrated by Leslie Brooke. Nonsense, whether written by Brooke, Bennett, or D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson deserves and needs such pictures, at least for the small children, to enhance the humor.

Although Thompson never achieved the fame of Lear and Carroll with his little eighty-page book, his rhymes do have a swing:

4 in 2 goes twice as fast
If 2 and 4 change places,
But how can 2 and 3 make four,
If 3 and 2 make faces?

1865 Dodgson, Reverend Charles Lutwige. Lewis Carroll, pseudonym.

1865 Dodgson, Reverend Charles Lutwige. Lewis Carroll, pseudonym.

1Ibid., p. 109.

2Two of Brooke's most famous and appealing books are: Johnny Crow's Garden (1903) and Johnny Crow's Party (1907), both published by Warne. Mahoney, op. cit., p. 395, lists twenty-seven titles illustrated by Brooke, twelve of which are also written by him.

3Thompson, op. cit., p. 42. The edition read is the original cited in the heading for this annotation. Mahoney, op. cit., p. 390; also lists this as the only illustrated edition.

4The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 335.
civilization. A release for children and adults from the moral dryness of most earlier works for children.¹ Darton calls it "a spiritual volcano."²

The Macmillan Company utilized several of their presses and muster ed up all of their patience to meet the changing demands of the author. Dodgson preferred to pay the cost of printing himself, allowing the Macmillans twenty per cent of the gross receipts. This may have seemed like an excellent arrangement until Dodgson began to find fault with the edition.³

On June 30, 1865 Oxford University Press, which was doing the printing for Macmillan, delivered 2,000 sheets of print to Dodgson. He asked Macmillan to make them up into fifty bound copies for him to give away as presents. One was to be bound in white vellum for the namesake of the story. After Dodgson gave away the books, he decided that he did not like the print. He called back his gifts and sent the rest of the edition to the American publisher, Appleton. These rejects then became the first American edition.

Macmillan quickly came out with a new and acceptable printing in time for the Christmas season of that year, 1865. This included the same forty-two pictures that John Tenniel had designed for the unliked edition. In the meantime, Dodgson was making plans for the sequel; Alice Through the Looking Glass. Although this did not materialize in

¹Tarr, op. cit., pp. 121-122.
²Darton, op. cit., p. 267.
³Muir, op. cit., p. 139.
final published book form until Christmas, 1871, six years later, Dodgson began calling the two books, Alice I and Alice II.¹

Within two years of the original publication date, Alice I was translated into German and French. Later in the century it was translated into Russian and other languages. Although the book had immediately gone to the United States, Dodgson paid little attention to American sales. He appeared to believe that American children were not appreciative of his kind of writing.

Before Dodgson's death in 1898, Alice I had sold 156,000 copies; Alice II, 107,000. By 1911, Alice I had sold 650,000 copies; Alice II 430,000. The copyrights of the text expired in 1907. Then came a proliferation of editions. However, Macmillan retained exclusive rights for Sir John Tenniel's pictures until 1953.²

The author, Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, 'was born on January 27, 1832 in the rectory at the little village of Daresbury, in Cheshire where his father was the parson ... in the little church [of the village] is a window 'In Memory of Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (Lewis Carroll) ... in which you may see the White Rabbit, the March Hare, the Mad Hatter, the Dodo, the Cheshire Cat, and many others,'³

Charles had ten brothers and sisters younger than he. He wrote

¹The information in the above two paragraphs is from Muir, ibid., p. 140. Muir gives a more detailed rundown of the transactions than it is possible to give here in capsule form. It is interesting to note that the "new" edition, though sold for Christmas 1865, was postdated 1866.

²Muir, op. cit., p. 142. In 1907, William Heineman of London printed an edition of Alice, illustrated by Arthur Rackham. This was published simultaneously in New York by Doubleday Page and Co. See The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 335.

³Green, Teller of Tales, op. cit., p. 32.
nonsense and made up humorous games for them long before he ever thought of writing anything for publication. He loved games of several kinds: cards, chess, anagrams, puzzles, mathematical teasers; he especially liked to play around with neologisms. However, he was not adept at sports. As a consequence, he was slightly unhappy at Rugby, a school in which emphasis was put on cricket and football.

During his school days, Charles continued to make up amusements for his brothers and sisters at home. He wrote a magazine for them called Misch-Masch. In it, among other things, he hand-lettered a page that he entitled "A Stanza of Anglo-Saxon-Poetry," beginning "Twas Bryllyg, and the slythy tove did gyre and gymble in the wabe, . . . "

Another manuscript magazine for his family was The Rectory Umbrella. Both Misch-Masch and Umbrella were finished while he was an undergraduate at Oxford.

Green sums up much of Dodgson's life in the following paragraph:

On May 23rd, 1850, he matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford and came into residence there on the 24th of January following, and four years later took his B.A. degree after obtaining high honours and a number of prizes. He was then made a senior student of the College, which he continued until his death, lecturing sometimes as much as seven hours a day on Mathematics.

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1 Muir, op. cit., p. 136.
2 Green, Teller of Tales, op. cit., p. 33.
3 Muir, op. cit., p. 137. This became the first stanza of "Jobberwocky" in Through the Looking Glass.
4 Green, Teller of Tales, op. cit., p. 33. Green states that these two magazines "have recently been published" [1946]. He gives no other information.
5 Ibid., p. 34.
By May, 1856 Dodgson was writing both serious professional works and verse. These last were almost equally divided between serious and humorous verse. Dodgson, however, did not want the public to connect the writer of such professional works as The Condensation of Determinants with the writer of such verse as "The Path of Roses." He decided he must have a pseudonym. After a period of trial and error, he translated his own name "Charles Lutwidge" into the Latin "Carolus Ludovicus." He then transliterated the Latin into the Anglicized "Lewis Carroll." Lewis Carroll he remains for most people, certainly for all children.

In 1859 Dodgson became acquainted with three little girls, Alice, Lorina, and Edith Liddell who lived just across the deanery garden from his study window. Their father was Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and later Vice-Chancellor. Dodgson continued his life long habit of making up games, nonsense verses, and stories for children. With a colleague of his, Canon Duckworth, he often took the little sisters row-boatting for picnics up the river. It was on one such trip that he first told the story that eventually became Alice in Wonderland. The story of this is told in the dedicatory poem with which the book begins:

1Green, Teller of Tales, op. cit., "The Path of Roses" was published in a magazine called The Train, May, 1856.

2Ibid., p. 34.

3T умеite, op. cit., p. 114. Duckworth became Duck; Lorina, Lorry; Edith, Eaglet; Carroll, The Dodo; and Alice, "Alice," of course. This must have entranced the children.
All in the golden afternoon,
Full leisurely we glide;
For both our oars with little skill,
By little arms are plied,

Ah, cruel three! In such an hour,
Beneath such dreamy weather,
To beg a tale of breath too weak
To stir the tiniest feather!
Yet what can one poor tongue avail
Against three tongues together?

Thus grew the tale of Wonderland:
Thus slowly, one by one,
Its quaint events were hammered out—
And now the tale is done.

Later Alice asked him to write the story down for her. He did this very carefully, illustrating it (himself) with thirty-seven pictures. He presented it to her in February, 1863 as *Alice's Adventures Underground*.\(^2\)

Several now famous adults read this holograph edition\(^3\) and suggested that it was worthy of publication.\(^4\) Dodgson rewrote it but did not feel that his own illustrations were good enough for publication. He was able to persuade Sir John Tenniel to do the illustrations. Unfortunately, Tenniel could not come from London to use Alice Liddell as a model in every one of the pictures. Dodgson did, however, find a

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\(^2\) Thwaite, op. cit., p. 115.

\(^3\) Printed in facsimile by Macmillan, 1886. See Mahoney, op. cit., p. 368.

\(^4\) These are Henry Kingsley (novelist and brother of Charles) and George MacDonald (famous preacher and writer of fairy tales). MacDonald read the story to his own children. Their delight reinforced his belief that the story should be published.
little girl whom Tenniel could use as his model. This was golden-haired Mary Hilton Badcock who was small enough to model also for Alice II.¹

It was not until 1889 that Alice was prepared for children under five. This was done by Dodgson himself using the Tenniel illustrations printed in color by Edmund Evans. This was called The Nursery Alice. Dodgson, true to form, found the first edition unsatisfactory. Another edition was issued the next year. He addressed the "Preface" of this edition to "any mother."² In it he stated:

My ambition now . . . is to be read by children from nought to five. To be read? Nay, not so! Say rather to be thumbed, to be cooed over, to be dogs' eared, to be rumpled, to be kissed, by the illiterate, ungrammatical, dimpled darlings. . . .³

Alice⁴ would not be understood in its entirety by any child of the age for which it was originally intended. In fact, Martin Gardner believes that "the time is past when a child under fifteen, even in England, can read Alice with the same delight as gained from . . . [other stories]."⁵ His reasons are:

1. "No joke is funny unless you see the point of it . . .
2. Alice is filled with a curious, complicated kind of nonsense written for British readers of another century . . .
3. Some of Carroll's jokes could be understood only by residents

¹Green, Teller of Tales, op. cit., pp. 31 and 36. Martin Gardner, in The Annotated Alice, op. cit., p. 25, disputes the idea of a "model."
²Thwaite, op. cit., p. 205.
³As quoted in Thwaite, ibid., p. 206. Thwaite adds that this was the age of "dimples darlings."
⁴Only Alice I is discussed here as only this book was published in 1865.
⁵Gardner, op. cit., pp. 7, 8.
of Oxford, and other jokes . . . only by the [Liddell] . . . daughters.\textsuperscript{1}

Mr. Gardner's statement is only partially true. The first chapter of Alice, "Down the Rabbit Hole," is an exciting story in itself, ending with enough suspense to carry even quite small children along through the second chapter, "A Pool of Tears." It is not until the third chapter, "A Caucus-Race and a Long Tale," that the many allusions creep in to make a foreign language for the reader or listener who never heard of William the Conqueror, his liege earls and archbishops, a caucus, or even a comfit. This chapter could be very dull indeed, seeming to have no action of the kind that children like. But action picks up in Chapter IV, "The Rabbit Sends in a Little Bill," with Alice picking up another bottle to drink its interesting contents.

It is not until Chapter VIII that reliance on a card game begins.\textsuperscript{2} This underlying theme becomes more apparent to the adult and more confusing to some children from "the croquet game" until Alice awakens at the end of the story crying, "You're nothing but a pack of cards."\textsuperscript{3}

On the whole, this is a story to be read aloud, sometimes in bits and pieces, starting with the nonsense poems. There are six of these, all parodies. While recognizing the serious poem which the nonsense

\textsuperscript{1}Ibid., p. 7.

\textsuperscript{2}Adults tag Alice as based on a card game; Alice II on a game of chess. This is typical of Carroll with his love of such games. Perhaps it would be typical of the children to whom he taught these and anagrammatic games.

\textsuperscript{3}Gardner, op. cit., p. 161.
verse ridicules is "fun" for both adult and child, lack of such recog-
nition does not preclude a child's enjoyment. The children like verses
such as the following in or out of context:

Speak roughly to your little boy,
And beat him when he sneezes;
He only does it to annoy,
Because he knows it teases.

CHORUS

Wow! Wow! Wow!

Most children recognize the source of "Twinkle, twinkle, little
bat, How I wonder what you're at," as "Twinkle, twinkle, little star."2
They enjoy being told about the Taylor sisters, Ann and Jane of Ongar,
and their family tradition of looking at and wishing on the first star
of every evening.3

A surprising number of children know (and like) Mrs. Howitt's,
"Will you come into my parlour?" said the spider to the fly.4 Those who
do recognize "Will you walk a little faster," said a Whiting to a snail.
"There's a porpoise close behind us, and he's treading on my tail."5

This is children's humor.6 They enjoy it and they like to imitate
it, writing verses of their own.

1 I b i d . , p. 85. Gardner explains that the original is "Speak Gently
a happily unremembered poem by one G. W. Langford."

2 I b i d . , p. 98.

3 S u p r a , annotations, Jane and Ann Taylor.

4 S u p r a , annotations, Mary Howitt.


6 Fourth and sixth grade humor or a little older.
Does a child need to know about Isaac Watts' "Sluggard" to enjoy the following lines?

Tis the voice of the Lobster;  
I heard him declare  
You have baked me too brown,  
I must sugar my hair. 

I passed by his garden, and  
marked with one eye,  
How the Owl and the Panther were  
sharing a pie;  
The Panther took pie-crust and  
gravy and meat;  
While the Owl had the dish as  
it's share of the treat. 

"Soo-oop of the e-e-evening" would be a private joke for the Liddell sisters who sang "Star of the Evening," or for the children brought up in a family that sang old-fashioned songs. But, the very arrangement of the words on the pages gives the cue to its burlesque for either the person who reads the story aloud or reads it to himself.

"You are old, Father William" is much funnier for the child if he does not know about Robert Southey. To explain the unessential, especially when it is a long explanation, is the most likely way to kill joy.

"How doth the little crocodile improve his shining tail" is

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1 Supra, annotations, Isaac Watts.
2 Gardner, op. cit., p. 139.
3 Ibid., p. 140.
4 Ibid., p. 141. "Star of the Evening" was a popular Victorian Song with words and music by James M. Sayles.
5 Ibid., p. 69. The older child with practice in parodying would enjoy the comparison, recognizing Carroll's skill.
6 Ibid., p. 38.
almost as appealing as "speak roughly." It can stand alone for the
cell without help from Dr. Watts' "little busy bee." Adult recogni-
tion gives extra dimension. This is the charm of Alice.

There have been many comments to the effect that Alice frightens
children. Twentieth-century adults forget that it is the Walt Disney
movie that frightened the children. This movie includes episodes from
Alice I and Alice II. "The Garden of Live Flowers" sequence was blown
up into something that was not Alice II at all, approaching the grotes-
queness of Tenniel's Jabberwocky.

Although Carroll wrote other things for children, he is thought
of as a "one book man." The one book is a combination of the two Alices.
Rarely has a sequel so complemented the story which it continues. It
is the uniqueness of the "Alice" adventures that outweighs Carroll's
other book length (two volumes) story for children; Bruno and Sylvia.
Nevertheless, Bruno contains a charm of its own which is heightened by
the hilarious illustrations of Harry Furniss.

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1 Supra, annotation, Isaac Watts.
2 Gardner, op. cit., p. 8.
3 The Walt Disney movie was produced in 1951. Paramount's "funnier"
film utilizing such stars as Edward Everett Horton and Charlie Ruggles
came out in 1933.
4 See Gardner, op. cit., p. 198. Both Tenniel and Carroll were of
the opinion that this picture was too frightening to use as a frontispiece.
5 Muir, op. cit., p. 142.
7 Darton, op. cit., p. 264. It is the observation of the writer of
this study that both Carroll's anecdotes and Furniss' illustrations in-
spired the story and illustrations for American Frank Baum's later
Wizard of Oz.
The continued success and popularity of Carroll's work for children (especially Alice) inspired many imitators, most of whom lacked literary craftsmanship and discipline of thought. Except for those intelligent writers who recognized that Carroll was unique and so wrote as themselves, the imitators can be classed as "whimsical, wildly fantastic . . . employing the comic degenerating into silliness."

There is one outstanding exception to this in the six Wallypug books written by G. E. Farrow. These are based on the adventures of Wallybug of Why, "a sort of king." Instead of "Alice" there is "Girlie" who meets bad-tempered animals "who ridicule most of her accepted ideas on a basis of logical nonsense that is modelled directly on Carroll and is not worthy of its model."²

"Harry Furniss [the artist] originated the character [of the Wallypug], but was soon replaced by Alan Wright, who thereafter became Farrow's regular and very successful illustrator."³ This is the same Furniss who illustrated Sylvia and Bruno.⁴

Only the first Wallypug book and The Wallypug in the Moon are almost equal to Alice. The last named book is longer than the others; "and although he introduces many familiar nursery characters like Dick Whittington . . . it is a highly original work in which invention never flags . . . [It is possible that one of the characters] a cat called

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¹Thwaite, op. cit., p. 117.
²Muir, op. cit., p. 155.
⁴Supra, this annotation. The reader should treat himself to seeing Holiday Romps, a series of Routledge done by Furniss in 1886. See The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 71.
Without Alice to overshadow him "the Wallypub may have been considered great." And yet, the paradox is such that without Alice, there may have been no 'Wallypug.'

Unlike Furniss and the pictorial character he created, it is difficult to separate Tenniel from Alice. After 1907 there were many editions of the text illustrated by other artists. One of these has already been mentioned, the Heineman book illustrated by Arthur Rackham. Mahoney lists four of the outstanding other illustrated editions that came out between 1907 and 1947. These are editions with pictures by:

1. William Andrew Pogany for Dutton, 1929;
2. Charles Robinson for Cassell, 1910;
3. Amy Millicent Sowerby for Chatto, 1907;
4. Alice Bolingbroke Woodward for Blackie, 1890.

Darton gives an incomparable summation of the influence of the Carroll-Tenniel Alice:

The directness of such a work was a revolution in its sphere. It was the coming to the surface, powerfully and permanently, the first unapologetic, undocumented appearance in print, for readers who sorely needed it, of liberty

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1 Muir, *loc. cit.*
3 *The Osborne Collection, op. cit.*, p. 335.
4 *Mahoney, op. cit.*, p. 462.
of thought in children's books. Henceforth, fear had
gone, and with it shy disquiet. There was to be in hours
of pleasure no more dread about the moral value, the pon-
derable, measured quality and extent, of the pleasure
itself. It was to be enjoyed and even promoted with
neither forethought nor remorse.¹

1865² Patmore, Coventry, editor. The Children's Garland From
the Best Poets.³ London: Macmillan (?)⁴ ICU - B, MIDW -CH.


"The real beginning of the exploration for children of the whole
realm of poetry, now a feature of all their good anthologies."⁵

It is possible that the first edition was a part of the famous
Macmillan "Golden Treasury" series. Darton includes the title of one
of the books produced as a part of the graphic arts movement of the
sixties.⁶ This movement embraced such artists and engravers as Lawson,

¹Darton, op. cit. No attempt has been made in this annotation to
discuss or sum the volumes of criticism published concerning Alice; its
author, and its illustrators. Gardner, op. cit., gives much of this in
his "Introduction," pp. 7-16. He tells more in his annotations and
gives excellent sources in his bibliography. All of the other authori-
ties used for this study also give excellent bibliographies. Muir, op.
cit., p. 144, especially recommends The Handbook of the Literature of
the Reverend C. L. Dodgson compiled by S. H. Williams and F. Madan for
the Oxford University Press in 1931, and the Supplement issued in 1935.
For those who wish to examine an excellent collection of the serious
Dodgson works as well as Carrollian works, a magnificent collection is
housed in the Library of Princeton University.

Gardner, op. cit., p. 351, gives seven works which are Psychoanalytic
interpretations of Carroll.

²Darton, op. cit., p. 283. Thwaite gives an earlier publication
date, 1862. See Thwaite, op. cit., p. 136.

³Ibid., p. 136.

⁴The only source listing a publisher is Mahoney, op. cit., p. 419.
She cites an 1873 edition by Macmillan.

⁵Thwaite, op. cit., p. 137.

Millais, the Dalziels, the Wympers, Swain, and Linton. Most of the artists and craftsmen named above were commissioned by Macmillan to design the books in the "Golden Treasury" series. Lawson, who is cited by Mahoney as the 1873 illustrator of The Children's Garland was in his heyday during the sixties, was in the Macmillan fold. Without further verification it is not feasible to make a more definite assertion concerning the actual publisher.

Coventry Kersey Dighton Patmore was a prolific poet and critic connected with the Pre-Raphaelite Movement. He had little formal schooling but read constantly and worked diligently at self-education. He had a cloistered upbringing protected from a scoundrel-father by a dominating mother. He studied chemistry for two years, then turned entirely to literature, beginning to write in 1840. He became an assistant in the Department of Printed Books at the British Museum. Assured of a

1Lawson and Millais were illustrators. Lawson did pictures for the poems of Ann and Jane Taylor, and for stories by Jean Ingelow (The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 450). Sir John Millais was a painter of the Pre-Raphaelite School. Sir Henry Cole (Felix Summerly) commissioned him to illustrate some of his 'Home Treasury' series (The Osborne Collection, op. cit., pp. 452, 261).

2The Dalziels, Wympers, Swain, and Linton were all engravers, each with his own studio. The Dalziel brothers were also painters and designers and set up an art school. See The Osborne Collection, op. cit., for more information. Dalziel, p. 442; Wyymper, p. 461; Swain, p. 458; Linton, p. 451. Walter Crane served his apprenticeship under Linton.

3The Osborne Collection, op. cit., pp. 26,176; Muir, op. cit., p. 181.

4Mahoney, op. cit., p. 419.

5See Cruse, The Victorians ... op. cit., Chapter XVII, "The Aesthetes." All of the biographical data about Patmore is summarized from this chapter and several scattered pages in Cruse unless otherwise indicated.
living he married Emily Augusta Andrews (a Congregational minister's daughter) who helped him in his editing of the Pre-Raphaelite magazine The Germ. He also wrote for the Edinburgh Review and other such publications.

He was an uxorious man who wrote about his happy marriage and his six children (three girls and three boys). His best known and very popular long poem, The Angel in the House extolled the virtues of a good wife. This good wife, according to Thwaite, helped him compile The Child's Garland.¹

The Garland was meant for children. It contains 173 poems with Patmore excluding nearly all verse written expressly for children. However, he did include ballads, nursery rhymes, and story poems that children have always assumed were written for them. The first poem is Blake's, wrongly listed as "The Piper."² The last is Wordsworth's "The Rainbow." Gay, Wordsworth, Tennyson, Allingham, Browning, Shakespeare are among the poets included. Patmore took the liberty of shortening pieces or even substituting words according to his own tastes.

There is such a host of good poetry anthologies for children today that it is impossible to list more than two or three that were published between the 1900's and the present 1960's. Walter De la Mare and Louis Untermeyer each did an excellent anthology in 1923. De la Mare's is Come Hither for Knopf; Untermeyer's is This Singing World for Dutton.

¹Thwaite, op. cit., p. 136.
²Annotations, Georgian Period, supra, William Blake.
1865 Clarke, Rebecca Sophia. Sophie May, pseudonym. *Dotty Dimple.*

1 Boston: Lee and Shepard.  

2 ICU - B, MIDW - R, NRU - B, OCl - T, O0X M.  


Considered the best of the *Little Prudy* series. Forerunner of similar characters in later much loved family tales. Continuation of stories with no moralizing.

*Dotty* is born in this story. Prudy appropriates her for her own. Sometimes Prudy is jealous, until Dotty's arrival she was the baby of the family; sometimes she is adoring; sometimes she is provoked; always she is protective. Dottie is the mischief of the family. She mortifies Prudy in "Sabber" school by reciting a nursery jingle instead of a verse from the Bible; she likes to start a fight (a "fuss"); she almost drowns herself; she dresses up in her big sisters' clothes and minces off to a party they are attending to their fury; she often gets the croup.

Slight as these stories are, they have interest, action, and reveal a great deal about the life of small mid-nineteenth century children within a loving family. Dottie (whose real name is Alice Parlin) because of her bouts with croup very nearly doesn't live to be the almost five years old that she is by the end of this very small book. While some children in twentieth century United States still have violent attacks of croup, this respiratory disease so akin to diphtheria (in some respects)

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1 The last of "Sophie May's" first series, *The Little Prudy Series.*

2 Blanck, *op. cit.*, p. 23. For publisher, author, and illustrator information see annotation, *supra, Little Prudy.* See also landmark information in this annotation, *supra.*
and asthma (in others) was a real worry to nineteenth and early twentieth century parents. To her disgust, Dottie is dosed with castor-oil and molasses as her Daddy was, but she also is steamed, rocked, walked, and prayed for through nights of anxiety by those who loved her.

Prudy's experience with the "bone" man also is revelatory. Who can remember a bone man collecting left over scraps for his soap-making? He travels around town in his horse-drawn wagon making regular stops each week at certain houses. Neither Prudy, who rode with him one wild day, nor her readers who were her contemporaries, needed to have the bone man explained.

It is interesting to read the comments of Eloise Ramsey about the Sophie May books in general and about Dottie Dimple in particular. She writes:

There is a faint gleam in Sophie May's books—she might have been a better and different writer had she escaped her formula and her propensity to use 'baby talk.' Natural children, an eye for detail, that is what children see, but no sense of plot, even when the incidents would work into a plot. But the 'baby talk' I think that more than anything else finished Sophie May. I remember how it revolted me when I was six or seven. But 'Dotty' herself interested me--I have remembered her.

The above criticism is valid in these respects: the story does have a "gleam"; the story children are natural; there is little sense of plot as built throughout an entire book but there is sufficient plot within each story to suit the needs and attention span of the small child reader or listener for whom the book is written. The average seven or

1The Ramsey notes, op. cit., unpaged. This was written about an 1868 edition of Dottie Dimple published by the publishers of all of the series, Lee and Shepard. This is the edition read for this annotation.
eight year old does not seek plot as an adult as Ramsey implies its definition. The "baby talk" does spoil the story. A little of it could give the idea of a tiny child's early misuse of the language. To an adult reader Dottie's phrases sound as though a loving adult had kept a record of an adored child's sayings that seemed "cute" within a family.

These sayings themselves and others, reveal family practices. For example:

1. Dottie's constantly reiterated, "Who's your little comfort?"

2. Provoked rejoinders from older sisters, Sue and Prudy:
   Mother . . . sometimes Dottie pretty nearly makes you cry!
   Don't you almost wish you hadn't any such little girl? [but
   the mother replies], "I am her mother, and she could hardly
   do anything that I should cast her out of my heart. . . .
   One of these days, when her reason grows, she will be a real
   blessing to us all." 1

3. Susy telling her father, who says to listen to both sides of
   a story, "It's queer you and mother should both talk so much
   alike." 2

4. Dottie at three saying, "Don't you pity me . . . Now 'top it." 3

These stories led to other books such as:

1 Clarke, op. cit., p. 33.
2 Ibid., p. 54.
3 Ibid., p. 102.
4 Ibid., p. 65.


The appeal, if not the literary style of such books to younger children, is timeless. A similar twentieth century series greatly loved and read by boys and girls but criticized by many adults as lacking in "quality" are the Betsey Books by Carolyn Haywood. Betsey does not talk "baby talk" but she is plagued by a little sister "Star" (born on Christmas Eve) who is not quite so troublesome as Dotty Dimple. Many of the anecdotes in the Betsey Books are twentieth century revamps of occurrences in the lives of Prudy, Susy, and Dottie Parlin.3

1Blanck, op. cit., p. 45. For those people who have never read Helen's Babies, it too is full of "baby talk" and as the sub-title implies tells of pranks. It was very popular for a time.

2Ibid., p. 54. "Phronsie" Pepper is another Dottie Dimple. These books (there is a series) with their stories of warm family life in "the little brown house" are still read in spite of their stilted language.

3One bibliographic example of this series is: Carolyn Haywood, Betsey's Busy Summer (New York: Morrow, 1956). The children grow in this as they do in The Prudy Books and in the Pepper series. Betsey starts school; plays with Eddie (who also has books entirely devoted to him), passes from grade to grade, and gets into mischief.

First work of an author who is best known today for one fairy tale; Mopse the Fairy. Representative of a writer whose work is a link in the development of book length fantasies for children.

Published the year after influential Scottish publisher Alexander Strahan moved the family publishing business from Edinburgh to London. Strahan published several of Miss Ingelow’s books.

Quiet Jean Ingelow was a prolific writer of both prose and verse. Her verse, though more lyrical in quality, was as popular as Felicia Hemans’ poetry. Like Mrs. Hemans her poetry was so well known that it "inspired" paradies that were instantly recognized by her wide and admiring public. This public thought so much of her that they proposed her as a candidate to fill the vacancy for "Poet Laureate" when Tennyson died. Jean’s charm was so strong that she numbered all well known literary people on both sides of the Atlantic as close friends. Some of these are Ruskin, Dean Farrar, Christina Rossetti, Oliver Wendall Holmes, and the Taylor family: Ann, Jane, their brother, Isaac and his namesake son, the Canon.

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1The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 358.
2Darton, op. cit., p. 289; Thwaite, op. cit., p. 118.
3The Osborne Collection, op. cit., p. 497.
4Ibid., p. 358.
5Darton, op. cit., p. 290. See annotation, supra; Felicia Hemans.
6Ibid., p. 288.
7Ibid., p. 289. See annotations, supra, Ruskin, Farrar, Rossetti, Ann and Jane Taylor.

The first story "The Grandmother's Shoe" exemplifies Miss Ingelow's plus and minus assets as a writer. A strong virtue is her insight into children's feelings. Two examples are: (1) a child defines a kind friend as one who "let me pay the turnpike myself, through the window, 1 (2) a sad child who refuses to get over his gloominess is tempted to forget his pout through activity. A little handmill and some corn are presented to him. Once he starts grinding the corn he admits that now he is "only a little sorrowful."2 Miss Ingelow's rambling and moralizing spoils what could be a suspense story. The little hero does something which he knows would displease his stern Quaker grandmother. He is unaware that the grandmother has gone off on an errand. He sees her shoes peeping from under the curtain which makes a little secret room for the grandmother at one end of a big room. With beating heart he waits for his punishment which never comes. He soliloquizes about this and the story blunders on into other events telling two stories but destroying the impact of both.

1Jean Ingelow, Stories Told to a Child (London: Strahan, 1866), p. 11. This is the edition read for this annotation.

2Ibid., p. 15.
Although St. John in *The Osborne Collection* lists the illustrators as John Lawson, F. Eltze, and Arthur Boyd Houghton.¹ Lawson also illustrated for the Taylor sisters.² Nothing is told about Eltze. Houghton, born in India, often "made use of his collections of Indian costumes and curios in his drawings of Eastern subjects."³

Mahoney mentions the "sequel" to *Stories* which is *The Little Wonder Horn. A New "Series" of Stories Told to a Child*, published by Henry King and Company of London (1872).⁴

*Mopsa the Fairy*, Jean Ingelow's classic was published in 1869.⁵ It is a precursor of such stories as Mrs. Molesworth's *The Tapestry Room* (1879); and, *The Cuckoo Clock* (1877).⁶ Spanning the change of the centuries came Edith Nesbit Bland's stories of children stepping from a world of reality into fairyland.⁷ The most recent of this type of story

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¹ *The Osborne Collection, op. cit.*, p. 358.
⁴ *The Osborne Collection, op. cit.*, p. 358; Mahoney, *op. cit.*, pp. 481 lists modern editions.
⁵ Darton, *op. cit.*, p. 289 (after 1865 the cut-off date for this study).
⁷ Mahoney lists these on p. 458; St. John annotates them in *The Osborne Collection, op. cit.*, pp. 325, 326. The first of these is *The Story of the Treasure Seekers* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1899).
to become modern classics are the C. S. Lewis Narnia Chronicles. The modern book length fantasy is a part of this long chain of stories, each one in many ways depending upon the immediately preceding stories.

1The Lewis books are discussed by only two of the authorities consulted for this work. They are Meigs, op. cit., p. 480; and Green, Teller of Tales, pp. 259, 260, and 282. There are seven books in the series of chronicles. The first of these is The Lion, The Witch and The Wardrobe (London: Macmillan, 1950).
PART III
CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA GATHERED FOR PURPOSE A

Varieties of Data

The data gathered for this complex study of magnitude and extensive scope are numerous and of many varieties. The assessment of such data involves equally complex techniques: (1) book selection: principles, criteria, critical reviewing; (2) bibliographic verification and analysis; (3) perspective-historical analysis; as well as (4) tabulation and classification of categories of data gathered through a survey of institutional holdings and collections.

Purpose and Scope

For purposes of understanding the general development of imaginative literature for children printed in English, it is necessary to have a synthesis of the first three techniques listed above. Analysis of some of the data gathered through these techniques makes up the scope of this chapter.

Bibliographic Data

Of these, the bibliographic data are the most tedious to trace even in the reliable secondary sources used for this study; but they are the most easily quantified. Because of the disrepute that bibliographic research has among many scholars in other fields, it is important to
demonstrate that socio-historical analysis of factors influencing
writing for children and revealed in writing for children of any histo-
torical period depends upon knowledge discovered through accurate
bibliographic research. The verification of first publication dates
of landmark titles in English points out the place in time whose
people wrote, wanted, needed, and, in some measure, were ready for
these writings. Only after this knowledge is acquired can either the
socio-historic background or the content of the printed materials be
examined for the purpose of understanding some of the pressures that
formed the wants, needs, and acceptances of the people.

Recognizing that "bibliography" is too often uncertain, the
criterion used in determining the validity of data in this class is
"authority." The specialists in the area of bibliography of children's
books are: The Baring-Goulds and the Opies for nursery rhymes; St. John
for titles held by The Osborne Collection of English Children's Books;
Rosenbach for titles held in The Rosenbach Collection of Early American
Children's Books; Welch for located titles of American children's books
published by 1820; Blanck for thirteen American children's books pub-
lished from 1827 to 1865; and the retrospective bibliographic sources
(both American and English) listed in Altick and Wright. Every
publication date is footnoted according to the source from which the
data are received.

Bibliography, however, does more than place a title in time. It
attempts to identify author (and pseudonyms), publisher, illustrator,
and editions. From such identification and ensuing studies in depth,
it is possible to ascertain some of the influences on and of the authors;
the growth of the book trade or publishing; the rise of the illustrator (types of illustration appearing at what points in time, factors influencing illustrators and illustration); and the varieties of editions of the original work appearing near the original publication date or down through the years leading to the twentieth century.

One hundred and twenty-three located titles (available for reading) are annotated in the body of this study. Each of these annotations begins with a complete bibliographic heading including the data mentioned above as well as several topical headings. The headings are of three kinds: classes of literary form, categories of subject, and a dichotomous arrangement symbolic of the age-old struggle between people who believe that children need to be controlled (for their own good) by rigid precepts of morality and people who believe that children also need an open ended world of imaginative possibilities.

The chronology and categories which are a part of the bibliographic data are presented here in the form of two tables. Each of these synthesizes data necessary for socio-historical analysis and for critical assessment of the 123 books which make up the model collection.

Table I is concerned with purely chronological development of titles. It is arranged by decades within the three periods into which the body of the study is divided: Puritan, Georgian, early Victorian. The 123 titles are then arrayed within each decade according to the order in which they were first published in English. This is a quick title index to the annotated landmark catalog.
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<td>Uncle Tom's Cabin</td>
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<td>A Wonder-book for Girls and Boys</td>
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<td>Tanglewood Tales for Boys and Girls</td>
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| Victorian | 1850 - 1860 | The Little Duke  
The Boat Club  
The Rose and the Ring  
The Daisy Chain  
Granny's Wonderful Chair  
The Heroes  
Little Songs  
Heroes of Asgard  
Tom Brown's School Days  
Coral Island  
Eric; or, Little by Little  
Popular Tales from the Norse |
|         | 1860 - 1870 | The Seven Little Sisters Who . . .  
Countess Kate  
Melchior's Dream and Other Stories  
Goblin Market  
The Water Babies  
Cudjo's Cave  
Faith Gartney's Girlhood  
Lilliput Levee  
Little Prudy  
Nursery Nonsense  
Alice's Adventures in Wonderland  
The Children's Garland from the Best Poets  
Dotty Dimple  
Stories Told to a Child |
Conclusions from Table 1

The number of titles printed in each of the historical periods are uneven in count and deceptive in meaning. It is easy to tell that only three titles were published in the Puritan Era at widely spaced intervals of time. Publishing is sporadic.

More titles were published during the Georgian Age. Even during this long span of time there are decades in which no titles appear. Publishing is still sporadic.

During the Victorian Regime the titles crowd one another. No decade is empty.

In order to formulate a more accurate interpretation of the data in Table 1, it is necessary to consult the analysis of other data.

To ascertain the quality of many of the unfamiliar titles, it is necessary to read the annotations. To discover the causes governing the time factor in publishing, it is necessary to know the socio-historic forces.

To see the development of the literary forms and subject categories, it is necessary to consult Table 2.

Table 2 is only broadly chronological. It presents 24 categories of "imaginative" work printed for children as they appeared in each of the three historical periods. The arrangement is determined by: (1) the first appearance of a literary form in a work meant for children (an example of this is "poetry"); and (2) the first appearance of a subject category similar to a subject heading used in classifying "imaginative" writing for children in the twentieth century, for example, "school story."
TABLE 2
CATEGORIES BY FREQUENCIES AND ROUNDED PERCENTAGES

aThe categories most often illustrated. This is especially true in the Victorian period. It is self-evident that the picture book puts heavy emphasis upon the use of more pictures than text.

bThe categories most often moral in tone in any of the three periods.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forms of Literature</th>
<th>Puritan</th>
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<th>Georgian</th>
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<th>Victorian</th>
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<td>7 9</td>
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<td>Nursery Rhyme (collection)a</td>
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<td>Tale (folklore)a</td>
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<td>Poetryb</td>
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<td>Publisher's Specialtya</td>
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<td>Victorian</td>
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<td>Adventure(^b)</td>
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<td>Animal(^b)</td>
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<td>School(^b)</td>
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<td>58</td>
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<td>123</td>
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</table>

\(^a\) Includes all stories except those with locating information.

\(^b\) Includes all stories.
The categories and the order of their importance are as designated by two or more of the twenty-seven authorities in the history of children's literature whose writings are used as basic secondary sources of data for this study. Only one of the several categories assigned to each of the titles is represented as a frequency in Table 2. Only the most predominant category is given statistical representation. Predominance is equated with importance in historical development of either form or subject. Thus, if a work is more important in the development of the form, "Junior Novel," than it is in the subject area, "Girls' Story," it is assigned only to "Junior Novel." Such single assignments when seen within the framework of the entire table give an easily perceptible grasp of both periodic and total development of the categories within the time limitations of this study.

The overall dichotomous categories are also portrayed in Table 2. They are symbolically labelled "moral" and "beautifully or gayly illustrated." Study of the table reveals the reasoning which motivated such labelling. These two categories are only indicated. The 24 categories are statistically summarized both in frequencies and in percentages.

Conclusions from Table 2

Of the three categories arrayed in the Puritan Era there are two of form and one of subject. They are poetry, the picture book, and the adventure story, respectively.

Twenty categories are assigned to the Georgian Period, the three begun in the Puritan Era and seventeen new developments. Among the new
developments, those of form are: the fable, the myth, collections of nursery rhymes, the fairy tale, the boys' story, the junior novel, plays, and the publisher's specialty. The new subject categories are: animal, family, historical, moral or didactic, mystery, nonsense, religious, school, and that catch-all 'other.'

Categories of books in the early Victorian Regime are significant in that no landmark in the publishing of the fable is present, and three new categories are added: the girls' story, the fairy tale or fantasy written by one person, and the theme of social consciousness which is so predominant a theme in children's books of the 1960's.

In comparing the categories most prominent in each period, it is interesting to note these phenomena. The three Puritan efforts are equally divided. The Georgian efforts, at first glance, appear to be heaviest in the areas of poetry and the moral story (fourteen titles). However, the key denoting the flavor or tone "moral" shows that seven other categories totaling twenty-eight titles could also be classed as moral. Thus, over one-half (thirty-two) of the sixty-two titles published in the Georgian Period were heavily moral.

In contrast to this, over half (thirty-nine) of the Victorian titles (fifty-eight) not only do not belong to any classification using the term "moral" but are exciting, fanciful, nonsensical (silly), or humorous. This is a far cry from the generally held conception of what the Victorian parent believed was good for his child. Of these thirty-nine titles, thirty-two were beautifully or gayly illustrated. This, too, is in contrast to trends in the Georgian Period. From the figures in Table 2, only nineteen of the sixty-two Georgian titles lay claim to
originality or beauty.

One other comparison needs highlighting. Although the total number of titles belonging to the Georgian Period (sixty-two) exceeds the titles belonging to the early Victorian Regime (fifty-eight) by four, such comparison is false. The Georgian Period extends from 1700 to 1837, an interval of 137 years. The Victorian Regime is only twenty-eight years in extent, from 1837 to 1865. Taking these factors into consideration, the increase in the production of significant imaginative literature during early Victorian years can be stated in terms of projected numbers of titles or in terms of increase by percentage:

1. At the rate in which books were published during the twenty-eight years of the Victorian Regime under study, the output for a comparable length of time to that defined for the Georgian Period would total approximately three hundred titles. This is as opposed to the sixty-two titles actually belonging to the Georgian Period.

2. This would mean an approximate percentage increase of 490%.

Analysis of Socio-Historical Data

Analysis reduces the 150 topics discussed in the three socio-historical essays to eight major categories of influence on the development of a literature for children common to each of the historical periods. Each of these is also reflected in one or more of the 123 annotations. The categories are: (1) government, (2) religion and philosophy, (3) living conditions, (4) rise of literacy, (5) class
emergence; (6) education and philosophy; (7) the Industrial Revolution and technology; and (8) nationalism.

None of these is a discrete category. There is such overlapping and interweaving of one influence upon another as well as upon the publishing-writing world of children's books that a symbolic diagram would have to be a circle whose circumference and every radius was made up of overlapping circles. For purposes of simplification, however, not only is each one treated as though it were influential entirely in itself but only one or two of its influences are emphasized.

Influence on Writing and Publishing

Puritan Era

During the Puritan Era in England, the government licensed publishing, limiting the first booksellers to London and later to other towns. Chapman carried books in their chapbags to country people. Because of this prohibition, much publishing was of a bootleg variety, carried on in clandestine fashion, often abroad in such countries as Holland. False names of publishers, places of publication, and authors were used as protection against governmental vengeance, making it difficult, if not impossible, for future generations to find authentic data about these publications. In turn, stories and verse of other cultures slipped into the text printed in the far land. Native English lore went underground, kept alive by word of mouth or in ill-printed chapbooks.

Religion and philosophy were not separate. Puritan England (and Puritan America) were bound in attitude and in daily living by religion's emphasis that life was but a preparation for the grave, the end of dreams.
The wonder is not that there were so few imaginative books for children but that there were any. In spite of the dourness, three men of the cloth fashioned literary forms that are important to children today. Comenius, believing that the child was interested by and learned through pictures, used this method to spread his educational philosophy that permeates the best of twentieth-century education. Bunyan, remembering his own wild delight in illicit chapbook stories, wrote the first adventure story. Later he attempted verse for children, paving the way for Georgian Isaac Watts who also believed that children were attracted by and learned best by rhythm and rhyme. Thus, the attitude towards the child began to change with emphasis on his needs.

Georgian Regime

Recognizing middle-class dependence upon the moral tale for the instruction of children masked as recreational reading, new publishing firms sprang up. At this time the writers became: (1) the major moral writers, (2) the theorists, and (3) the minor moral writers. The most strong-minded of these have been derogated as "The Monstrous Regiment," yet, from their writings have come the beginnings of the animal story (as differentiated from the fabliaux or the beast tales of earlier centuries), the first science fiction, the first detective story, stories of home life and school with minutiae of familiar detail that delights a child's heart, the further development of poetry for children, and drama.

Paradoxically, two very different kinds of people influenced the moral writers. The first of these was Daniel Defoe with his Robinson
Crusoe. The second was the French philosopher, Jean Jacques Rousseau, with his *Emile*. Although Defoe's *Robinson* is responsible for the still continuing type of adventure story known as the Robinsonnade, Rousseau added to its development by choosing *Robinson Crusoe* as the first book he would have his Emile read. Each of the many writers who declared himself a devotee of Rousseau interpreted his theories in sometimes strange and opposing ways. Such people as Arnauld Berquin, Thomas Day, and Maria Edgeworth mass-produced stories that were read until the early part of the twentieth century. They upheld the superiority of the upper middle classes and the dictum that working people should be happy with their lot.

To many critics such writing is nauseating. In spite of this, Maria Edgeworth's educational opinions still show sensible ideas that are used by teachers today. Her stories are of fine craftsmanship. Children, who skip didacticism, find they have plot and allow for real identification of their own feelings. The stories are also accurate descriptions of life as it was led in Georgian times.

To some extent Maria Edgeworth represents the host of women writers (both English and American) who were educated at home, had no political or few other rights, and who could find use for their talents only in teaching and writing for children. Many were father-dominated, an accepted attitude of the times. Maria is exceptional in that she was independently wealthy. The great majority of the other women writers found themselves dependent for their living (and often the living of their families) upon the income produced by their writing.
Women who could afford to were active in the Sunday School Movement started by Robert Raikes to keep factory children off the streets and out of trouble. Before child labor laws, young children worked six twelve-hour days during the week in factories. On the seventh day they marauded the streets. In Sunday schools children were taught to read. From children taught in these schools sprang many of the intellectual workingmen who were responsible for nineteenth-century reforms and the almost revolutionary movements such as Chartism. Thousands of moral stories were written for the Sunday school clientele. Religious publishing houses sprang up in all English speaking countries. Sunday school libraries began to circulate "wholesome" material to counteract the sub-literature of the chapbook and of the secular rental libraries which circulated gothic and other highly spiced romances. The circle of religion, literacy, technology, educational theories, reform, was in full spiral.

Many of the moral writers were moral in a secular fashion with no religious overtones. Hannah More and Mrs. Sherwood are the exceptions to this. Hannah More influenced such writers as American Samuel Goodrich (Peter Parley) to write his many fictionalized books of information. Mrs. Sherwood wrote the first fictionalized religious and missionary stories that influenced so many later American women writers. The impact of Mrs. More and Mrs. Sherwood reached America near the end of the Georgian period. Due to the trends they started in America, this time marks the beginning of the influence of American children's books in England.
During the era, technological discoveries by the Industrial Revolution included advances in printing and in the reproduction of illustrations. The English were the first to take advantage of these aids to mass production. Knowledgeable technicians and artists such as William Blake, the Bewicks, and Mulready whetted the public taste for both the beautiful and the comic. America, as always, produced an imitator. This time it was Dr. John Andersen who became so adept at woodcuts that he was known as the American Bewick. Unfortunately, American illustrators at the beginning of the nineteenth century neglected to sign their work.

Victorian Days

By the time of Victoria, books for children were an accepted thing. Some of the embittered intellectual workingmen were violently opposed to imaginative literature of any kind. The average middle-class family, however, read everything from Dickens to the newly collected and translated folk tales of the Grimm brothers and the fancies of Hans Christian Andersen. This delight in collections and imitations of folklore both advanced and was inspired by the wave of nationalism in every book and verse loving country.

As technology in the processes for book production improved, children's books ranged from the garish to the beautiful. Sir Henry Cole, under the pseudonym of Felix Summerly, carried on a polite feud with the American Peter Parley. Sir Henry, with the aid of the artists in the movement of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, led a crusade for good illustration and imaginative literature for children.
Fine artists were too numerous to list among the important English illustrators for children, however, were George Cruickshank, Richard Doyle, and John Tenniel. Their productions uphold the imaginative free reining of such writers as Mark Lemon, Sir Henry Paget, and William Makepeace Thackeray. Each of these men is important in the development of one-man written fantasy for children that culminated in *Alice in Wonderland.* Important American illustrators were Winslow Homer and Thomas Nast.

*Alice* was not the only type of writing, however. The Robinsonnade continued, abetted by Marryat, Kingston, and Ballantyne, building towards Stevenson's *Treasure Island.* Nursery rhymes were put into illustrated special editions. *Arabian Nights* found its way into a form considered respectable for children. Historical stories began for children and youth, utilizing legend and fact from many different nations. Greek, Norse, Indian, and other classic tales were rewritten for children.

In short, writing printed in English for children was not simply English, it was a heritage from all the world.

Of the influences that had made a possible market of people who could read and wanted to read more, one technological advance made children's books even more attractive. Color was added to illustration. Until as late as the early Victorian days, all color had to be added by hand. With the Baxter color process and the craftsmanship of well trained Edmund Evans, the way was prepared for superior color artistry in children's books.

It would be pleasant to end this analysis on such a note. Unfortunately, part of the reign of Victoria coincided with a struggle in the
United States for political and humanitarian rights, the freeing of the slaves. This was reflected in the books that were written in the United States. Some of these were popular in England where slavery was ended first. Others were not; life was too different.

Even many American books that reflected placid American home life were not popular in England. The English child preferred to read of a wild, exciting, frontier America, not of a United States in which children's education, speech, manners, and habits were becoming even more different from those of English children. Two kinds of American stories became great British favorites. Perhaps due to the religious revivals which swept both England and United States at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a lachrymose religious type of story found welcome acceptance in both countries. The dime novel, too, that sub-literature superceding the defunct chapbook, rivalled the British "penny dreadful."

**Influence as Reflected in Specific Works**

Although each of the annotated works reflect many socio-historic influences, some obvious examples are:

1. The nursery rhymes and songs that tell of Puritan governmental changes such as "Charlie over the water, Charlie over the sea."

2. *Goody Two-Shoes*, in which Margery's father, a Georgian small landowner, was tricked out of his land by rich landowners of cruel and avaricious temperament.


4. The Taylor sisters' verses (Georgian) portray the speech,
mannerisms, dress, and actions of the kind and loving mother
who rocks, washes, cuddles, feeds, or scolds her child.

5. **Adventures of a Pincushion**, (Georgian) enumerates the homily
dressmaking tools owned and used by every big and little girl;
describes furniture, carpets, dishes and clothing; explains
games and "romps."

6. **The Settlers at Home**, (Victorian) takes a backward look at the
Puritan struggle between Cavalier and Roundheads, painting the
disasters that befall a peace loving family who belong to
neither fiction.

7. **Holiday House**, (Victorian) the first book of humor, poking fun
at the bulky clothes girls wore, openly envying the freedom of
the boys, describing the everyday laughable scrapes of a tomboy
girl.

8. **Countess Kate**, (Victorian) contrasts the habits of those of the
same class who have money and those who do not; with descriptions
of the great exhibition which promoted the "new" technology.

9. **The Daisy Chain**, (Victorian) family life replete with a fatal
carriage accident, Tractarian sympathies, work in Sunday schools,
home education for girls, but full of still understandable jokes
and the warmth of family affection.

10. **Franconia Stories** (American-Victorian), everyday conversation,
gardening, storytelling, clothes buying, chore-accomplishing in
a placid New England village untouched by world problems but
possessing its quota of afflicted children with fevers and
blindness.
Critical Literary Assessment of the Annotated Works

The professional librarian or teacher whose work involves the critical assessment of belles lettres, fiction, poetry, or any imaginative work printed for children, youth, or adult experiences several knotty problems involving matters of taste, discrimination, and aesthetic response. None of these lend themselves to objective verification or quantified evaluation. Standards for such assessment are often individual matters of personal response to imponderables of style, and distinguishing between the "great" book, the merely good, the timely, and the timeless.

Such an analysis requires practice and skill in the art of selection and critical reviewing of material for children, an ongoing process. Each work so analyzed paves the way for the next. This has been the case in the analyses of the landmarks. No excerpt from the annotated catalog of landmark titles can be representative of such evaluation. The annotations are the analysis of data.
CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS FROM THE SURVEY OF HOLDINGS OF FIFTEEN GREAT LAKES AREA INSTITUTIONAL COLLECTIONS OF CHILDREN'S RARE BOOKS

Fifteen Great Lakes institutional collections of children's rare books were surveyed in terms of landmark titles held by these collections in any edition. Letters of invitation invited the librarians-in-charge of each collection to participate in the survey. There were total replies on the letters. One collection (The Chicago Teachers' College Collection), however, could not be surveyed. It had been dismantled with some parts divided into extremely small teaching collections and the greater bulk of the holdings sent to the University of Chicago.

The investigator visited each of the other fourteen institutions herself. There she held a semi-structured interview with each librarian-in-charge. A similar interview of lesser scope was held by telephone with the librarian-in-charge of the dismantled collection. Data from the interviews are summarized on the charts (1-19) of each institution which make up the major part of this chapter. A one-page chart giving the information about the Teachers' College Collection is included as a part of the fifteen.

During the survey at each institution the investigator directly transcribed pertinent data from the catalog cards, shelf list, or check list of holdings kept by that institution to work sheets designed to
elicited data needed to determine the extent of the holdings of the landmark titles in any edition. The wording, spelling, and punctuation transcribed are identical with the wording, spelling, and punctuation on the cards or check lists. No attempt has been made to change any of this.

In most cases the investigator did not ask to see or examine any book listed as held at institutions other than Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection; Detroit Public Library, Children's Historical Collection; and Wayne State University, Ramsey Collection and Children's Historical Collection. The exceptions to this rule involved the investigator's need to read a book in its earliest edition which could not be located for reading elsewhere.
Originally the Encyclopedia Brittanica Collection was privately owned by a Mr. Friedman who gave it to the Encyclopedia Company. It was used for publicity until the company gave it to the University of Chicago. Since the University has received the collection it has been catalogued and shelved. The catalog cards are kept with the other rare book catalog cards but filed separately under the collection heading. No attempt has been made to procure multiple copies of either titles or editions of titles. The books themselves are considered valuable documents in the literary, sociological, and historical eras covered. The primary emphasis is upon children's books or editions of those books that may not be read today. With this viewpoint in mind books by certain authors are not included in the collection. An example of such an author is eighteenth century Charlotte Yonge. All of her works may be found with multiple copies of titles, in the Humanities section of University Library. Some of the other authors who are classed in the same manner are Sir Walter Scott, Mary Shelley, Washington Irving, and James Fenimore Cooper.

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<td>1864</td>
<td>1869</td>
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<td>1864 colored verse by one Lydia Louise syllable Anna Very (71 p.)</td>
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<td>1855</td>
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Note: U. of C. holds 22 other Rollo books.

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<td>Tales of the Fairies (Contes des Fees)</td>
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<td>(English Edit.)</td>
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<td>1852</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Engraved by Baker from designs by Billings</td>
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The books at the Children's Memorial Hospital are an integral part of the nurses' library. They have been donated through the years by interested alumnae and other citizens. They are readily available to all users under the loving care of Vera Flandorff, the librarian-in-charge. The specialty is a class of books illustrated by Rackham.

### Chart 2

**CHILDREN'S MEMORIAL HOSPITAL, CHICAGO, NURSES' LIBRARY**

The titles and editions of these titles held are as follows:

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<th>Most Important Illustrated Editions</th>
<th>Printed With Other Material</th>
<th>Selections From Fac-simile</th>
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<td>1965</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1946</td>
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<td>Alice's Adventures in Wonderland</td>
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<td>...</td>
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<td>1926</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>19--</td>
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For many years a teaching collection of books representative of the development and history of a literature for children was maintained at the Chicago Teachers' College. After the college library became a part of the Community College Library both space for housing and use of the collection necessitated a change in the holdings. The most valuable group of the children's books were recently sent to the University of Chicago Libraries. There they have become a part of the Rare Book Room's Britannica Collection.
The late Clarence Monroe Burton, layman-historian, gave his collection to the Detroit Public Library in 1914. Until his bequest this had been the most important historical collection in the area. Burton's original purpose was to assemble materials illustrating the history of Detroit. He later realized that knowledge of Detroit's history involved equal knowledge of territories adjacent to or surrounding Detroit such as: the Old Northwest, Michigan and Canada. Consequently he began to collect material concerning these areas. This material includes printed historical volumes, pamphlets, atlases, maps, broadsides pictures, newspapers, original documents, personal papers of prominent Detroit citizens and miscellania. Children's books make up only a very small proportion of the entire collection.

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Originally with the Children's Department, this collection of children's books is now a part of the Language and Literature Division. Jessie M. Tomkins, during her tenure as head of the Children's Division, set up the purpose of the collection: to portray the development of literature for children through representative imprints. Her emphasis was upon all children's books printed in English but with special emphasis upon the development of literature for children in the United States. About 1946 the collection received a welcome addition. This was in the form of a large gift of books purchased by the Friends of the Detroit Public Library from Professor Karpinski of Ann Arbor. Catalog cards are filed in many places. Interested people should query Evan Thompson, Chief of the Language and Literature Division, or Miss Marion Young, Chief of the Children's Services Division.

### TITLES AND EDITIONS OF THESE TITLES HELD

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The children's books housed with the other materials in the Rare Book Collection are primarily those printed in the 17th and early 18th centuries with emphasis upon the earlier imprints. Although the selection and preservation of children's books was not the prime purpose of the collection's chief, the late Mrs. Frances Brewer (d. 1965), she did procure an exceptionally fine group of materials representative of the varied work of middle and late 18th century Kate Greenaway. A few of these books are on display. The Rare Book Room itself houses books of special value in illustrating the history of the book: illuminated manuscripts, incunabula, examples of fine binding and printing, early bibliographies, and the standard sources for tracing the imprint of early and rare editions.

### TITLES AND EDITIONS OF THESE TITLES HELD

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May G. Quigley, first chief of the children's department, gathered the books for the nucleus of this collection from 1904 until her retirement in 1943. It was her belief that can best house and protect early children's books while making them available to those people interested in them. The collection is designed to preserve those books which are valuable in the development of children's literature. The plan is to include books which may serve as examples of format, distinctive illustration or writing for children. Eleanor Burgess, present chief of children's services, is currently bringing the card catalog up to date as she continues to acquire books for the collection.

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From the copy in the N.Y. public library, Issued by F. G. Melcher on June 10, 1944 on the 200th Anniversary of the book's first appearance.
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<td>&quot;The History of the White Cat&quot; (Chapbook)</td>
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This is a circulating collection much used by students at Wayne State University. Housed in the Library Science Seminar room, it contains not only less important editions of titles (in terms of rarity) which are in the Ramsey Rare Book Collection, but also titles which represent a range of those books published for and read by children which may or may not be considered good or classic literature; e.g., The Tom Swift Books, The Henty Books, The Oliver Optic Series, The Lucy Fitch Perkins Twin Series. While the original publishing years of the titles range from the 1700's through the 20th century, the most heavy emphasis falls upon those books produced during the 1890's and the early 20th century.

There are excellent examples of the Brandywine school of illustration, of Maxwell Parrish, as well as of illustrations particularly indicative of the 1920's. There are one volume collections of stories and anthologies of poetry from Scudder to Arbuthnot. There are a few text books, geographies, biographies, picture books, books of information and several histories of children's literature. There are also intact sets of bound volumes of Saint Nicholas and of The Youth's Companion. These bound magazines, the Henty Books, and the Oliver Optics are for building use only.

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<td>By Gustaf Tenggren</td>
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The Collection is named for the late Eloise Ramsey, long-time head of children's literature in the College of Education at Wayne State University. All of the books, until her illness in 1964, were selected by Professor Ramsey. Many of them were originally in her own personal collection. Through the efforts of Professor Florence Cleary, then chairman of the Library Science Department, a proposal for a grant to the collection was accepted by the McGregor Foundation. The grant aided the collection in many ways. Among these were: 1) the purchase of the Beauchamp Library of rare books for children; 2) the purchase of individual important titles; 3) the establishment of a special card catalog with the services of a cataloger, Miss Joan Cusenza of the University Library; 4) the glassed cases in which the books are shelved; and 5) Miss Ramsey's services.

The historical scope of the collection ranges from the 16th century through the 1960's. Emphasis has been put upon the selection of books representative of the rise of a literature for children. There are a few chapbooks and none of the novelty toy-books. The largest portion of the collection is made up of books of imaginative literature printed in English. There is, however, a group of children's books printed in other languages. There are also, 1) a few subject matter books (such as the famous American 19th century "Zig-Zag" travel series), and 2) the Standard Source books for the History of Children's literature. The few contemporary books are made up of award winners (such as the Newbery and Caldecott) and other books which give promise of becoming modern children's classics.

Mr. Theodore Hanheim, Education Librarian, is in charge of the collection. Miss Joan Cusenza is compiling a book catalog of the collection as well as continuing the card cataloging.

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The Davis Collection of some six hundred American and English children's books published from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries was given to the University of Rochester by Mrs. C. Schuyler Davis, a prominent Rochesterian, in 1950. It is classified by place of publication, of various countries together, and subarranged by date of publication. The Collection has examples of all the styles in the history of children's literature. It contains a fine group of chapbooks including those of the English Banbury and Otley as well as examples of the American Cobb, Day, Babcock, and Wood.

Prominent artists who are well represented are: Kate Greenaway, Randolph Caldecott, and Walter Crane.

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Ticknann, Reed, and Fields

New York: A.L. Burt Co., The Home Library

Linley Sambourne
This "Treasure" Collection of rare children's books which is an adjunct of the Lewis Carroll Room appropriately holds 62 different editions of Alice in Wonderland. The collection is much used by children's literature classes of several nearby colleges and universities. It is rich in Americana yet holds an amazing number of editions published in England. To a certain extent the collection is representative of early holdings in the Cleveland Public Library's children's room. Additions are made by gift and purchase.

TITLES AND EDITIONS OF THESE TITLES HELD*

*Eight of the more important editions were selected, in terms of this check list, by Miss Margaret M. Clark of the Lewis Carroll Room.

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Dr. E. W. King, librarian and director of the Miami University Libraries 1922-56, studied juveniles during most of his professional career. With the aid of Mrs. King, he assembled this collection of some five thousand volumes. The chronological range of the imprints is from 1700 to the 1930's. The major emphasis is upon English and American imprints. All major forms of writing for children are represented showing the development of writing for children through many important landmark books.

### TITLES AND EDITIONS OF THESE TITLES HELD

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The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes
Intro, in fac. by Charles Welsh of the 1766 edition

The History of Sandford and Merton
Contains woodcuts by Victor Stuyvaert from photographs of woodcuts in the 1802 edition.

Hymns in Prose for Children (Barbauld)
Wrapper dated 1812 has cut of burning of John Rogers—same as appears on New England primer.

Hymns on the Works of Nature for the Use of Children

Scenes & Hymns of Life, The Forest Sanctuary, & Hymns for Childhood, c. 1835

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This has been set up primarily as a resource both for teaching and for laboratory experiences with books which is an integral part of education for library school students preparing for work with children. It is housed with the library school at the Madison campus and is under the direction of Miss Bernice Gibson. Although a few of the books are set aside to be a part of the Rare Book Section, the great majority of them are a much used part of the Library School's regular circulating collection.

### TITLES AND EDITIONS OF THESE TITLES HELD

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These children's books are housed with the education curriculum laboratory of the Marion College. The collection includes more books of importance printed after 1865 than it does books printed before that date. The books are primarily those that have belonged to teaching collections. However, the number of gifts is increasing as interested people become aware of the collection. Sister Mary Assissi is head of the Education Department. Miss Marion Carney is the College Librarian.

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In 1949 Mr. Edgar Osborne, Librarian of the Derbyshire County Library, donated his collection of "rare, quaint, and curious" books for children to the Toronto Public Library as a memorial to his wife, Mabel Osborne. He flew from England to assist in arranging an exhibition of his collection at the official opening on November 14, 1949. The gift was a direct personal tribute to the work of internationally known Miss Lillian H. Smith who was head of The Boys and Girls Division of Toronto Public Libraries for forty years. The books are housed in a specially built rare book wing of the new Boys and Girls House on St. George Street, adjacent to the campus of the University of Toronto.

Miss Judith St. John is the librarian in charge of the Collection. She compiled the beautiful 1958 Catalogue of the Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books as well as the 1964 selected list of Recent Additions to the Osborne Collection.

Since the publication of the Catalogue, more than 1,600 books have been added to the Collection. The preparation of catalogue cards for these new acquisitions is, necessarily, a continuous process. As a consequence, data concerning some editions of titles held in the Collection are not available for transcription. This chart, therefore, is a presentation of data which has been transcribed from the 1958 Catalogue and from the 1964 list of Recent Additions. Selected data are transcribed for those few titles which are represented in the Catalogue by ten or more entries. The data selected includes earliest edition, latest edition, varieties of format such as facsimile or chapbook. An asterisk designates those titles for which all entries are not transcribed.

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*Note: The * indicates that the collection is a translated or adapted version of the original work.
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    - 1830
    - 1835
    - 1840
    - 1841
  - Most Important Illustrated Editions: ca.1830
  - Printed With Other Material From: The History of Tom Tucker
  - Selections: 1938
  - Facsimile: 1938

- Comic Nursery Tales:
  - 2 volumes:
    - Volume I: 1842
    - Volume II: 1843
  - Most Important Illustrated Editions: Volumes I & II
  - Printed With Other Material From: Hand colored plates engraved on wood by Henry Wizetally after A. Crowquill
  - Selections: 1938
  - Facsimile: 1943

- Coral Island:
  - 1 volume:
    - 1858
  - Most Important Illustrated Editions: Plates in color by the author
  - Printed With Other Material From: Hand colored engravings on wood
  - Selections: 1858
  - Facsimile: 1858

- The Cowslip:
  - 3 volumes:
    - 1814
    - 1815
  - Most Important Illustrated Editions: 1814
  - Printed With Other Material From: Hand colored engravings on wood
  - Selections: 1850
  - Facsimile: 1850
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<th>Number of Titles</th>
<th>Earliest Edition</th>
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<th>Conden-sations</th>
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<th>Selections From</th>
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<th>Latest Edition</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1870 (entire volume)</td>
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<td>Addition of Cruikshank's views on total abstinence and rebuttal letter to Charles Dickens</td>
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<td>The Daisy</td>
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<td>Intro, by Charles Welch 1897 in Mrs. Turner's Stories, comp. and intro, by E.V. Lucas</td>
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<td>Edit, with additional verses by John Ruskin</td>
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<td>1851 Seven hand colored lithographs</td>
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<td>1798 Frontispiece on copper by Dudley after John Thurston</td>
<td>1798 Dedication to author's dead son</td>
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<td>1814</td>
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<td>1814</td>
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1865 Illus. with a frontis-piece and title-page vignette engraved on wood by William Green after John Absolon
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<td>...</td>
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<td>1868</td>
<td>Illus. engraved by James D. Cooper after Robert Barnes, T. Kennedy, J. Jellicoe, A. W. Bayers, E. M. Wimperis, T. Green, J. Lawson, and others</td>
<td>1833</td>
<td>Illus. by Kate Greenaway. In &quot;Little Kate Greenaway &quot; Ann and Other Poems&quot;</td>
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<td>Original Stories from Real Life (Wollstonecraft)</td>
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<td>Parables from Nature</td>
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<td>1855</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>1855</td>
<td>Sepia engravings are after drawings by the author</td>
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<td>The Parents' Assistant Two Parts.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1796</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Ca. 1903 Illus. by Hugh Thomson</td>
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<td>Twelve of the orig. stories published under the title &quot;Tales from Maria Edgeworth&quot;</td>
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<td>1783</td>
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<td>1783 Preface signed N. P.</td>
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<td>1743</td>
<td>1743</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1743 Part III, anonymous continuation, Ca. 1817</td>
<td>1743 Part II, five additional cuts 1786</td>
<td>1743 The eight plates are printed in color</td>
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<td>1895 Facsimile reproduction of the first edit. Intro. by Dr. John Brown</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Part II</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>1786 Wood engravings 1817</td>
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<td>1895</td>
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<td>...</td>
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<td>1818</td>
<td>1818</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Additions and Corrections</td>
<td>&quot;Preface to Parents&quot;</td>
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|                              |                  |                  |               |            |                     | Ca. 1845                             | "Preface to the new edition 1825."
<p>|                              |                  |                  |               |            |                     | Additions include poems by Wadsworth and Robert Southey. |
| Renowned History of Giles Gingerbread | 1          | 1820             | ...           | An        | ...                 | 1820                                 | ...                        | ...             | 1820      |              |
|                              |                  |                  |               | Abridged Chapbook version |            | Two poems, &quot;The Boy Who Knew Nothing&quot; and &quot;Praise for the Gospel&quot;, are at the end. |
| Rhymes for the Nursery       | 2                | 1808             | ...           | ...        | 1                   | 1808                                 | ...                        | 1808            | 1814      |              |
| (Taylor)                     |                  |                  |               |            | Copperplate engravings |                                      |                             |                 |           |              |
|                              |                  |                  |               |            |                     | Contains thirty-four of the eighty-one poems... Including the famous &quot;Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star&quot; by Jane. |</p>
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<th>Abridgments</th>
<th>Condemnsations</th>
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<th>Most Important Printed Editions</th>
<th>With Other Facsimile Material simile Editions</th>
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<td>1832</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Ca. 1840</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1736</td>
<td>...adorn'd with intro-(Partial)</td>
<td>1869</td>
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<td>1831</td>
<td>ductory facsimile verses by a.g.</td>
<td>1869</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1778</td>
<td>Bernard Ornamental Headpieces and Initials</td>
<td>1869</td>
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<td>William Lee, Esq.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1832</td>
<td>numerous engravings from drawings by George Cruikshank designed expressly for this edition.</td>
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<td>Ca. 1840</td>
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<td>1969</td>
<td>One hundred original illus. by Ernest Griset</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>...forty-eight chromolithographs after watercolor drawings by Carl Marr.</td>
<td>1882</td>
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Robinson Crusoe
Two Vols. By Mrs. Elliott, Vol. II An early edition... of cloth binding...
The eighth edition is the sixth example... (The Rosebud Series)

1736
...adorn'd with cuts.
1831
1869

1886
...numerous engravings from drawings by George Cruikshank designed expressly for this edition.

1832
...copperplate frontispiece, wood engravings

Ca. 1840
Woodcuts engraved by A. R. Branston after George Cruikshank

1869
One hundred original illus. by Ernest Griset

1886
...forty-eight chromolithographs after watercolor drawings by Carl Marr.

1882

Robert and Harold; or The Young Marooners on the Florida Coast
1 1882 ...

1882
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<th>Titles in Collection</th>
<th>Number of Titles</th>
<th>Earliest Edition</th>
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<th>Selections From</th>
<th>Fac-simile</th>
<th>Latest Edition</th>
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<td>The Rose and the Ring</td>
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<td>1855</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(Illus, by the author)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sacred Dramas</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1782</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>To which is added Sensibility, a poem</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>Settlers at Home</td>
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<td>1841</td>
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<td>...</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1841</td>
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<td>(The Play-fellow, Vol. 1)</td>
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<td>The Settlers in Canada</td>
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<td>1844</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>With Illus, by Sir John Gilbert</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1875</td>
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<td>1817</td>
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<td>Frontispiece drawn and engraved by H. Melville</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The dedicatory letter addresed &quot;to the Rev. F. P. Hode,&quot; the author's only son, is dated Oct. 10, 1826</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>Stories Told to a Child</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>The plates are engraved on wood by Scoain after John Lawson</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ingelow)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of the Three Bears</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1831</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Thirteen water-colors</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1831</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Original, MS)</td>
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<td>Titles in Collection</td>
<td>Number of Titles</td>
<td>Earliest Edition</td>
<td>Abridgments</td>
<td>Chap-books</td>
<td>Illustrated Editions</td>
<td>Most Important Illustrated Editions</td>
<td>Printed With Other Material</td>
<td>Selections From</td>
<td>Fac-simile</td>
<td>Latest Edition</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Swiss Family Robinson</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1814</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1814</td>
<td>1814</td>
<td></td>
<td>1862</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The frontispiece is engraved by Springsguth after Henry Corbould</td>
<td>Ca. 1862 With twenty-four full-page illus.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1814</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1814</td>
<td>(Preface by William Godwin the translator and the publisher)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ca. 1862</td>
<td>The preface ...written for a sequel ...erroneously included in this edition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tales from Shakespeare</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Intro, Preface by Andrew Lang</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td></td>
<td>1909</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Duplicate of the 1809 edition)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Illus. by Robert Anning Bell.</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>A publisher's preliminary note...</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Illus. by Arthur Rackham</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tales of a Grandfather</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1828</td>
<td>1828</td>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>1830</td>
<td>1830</td>
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<tr>
<td>(V.1)Frontispiece and</td>
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<td>1828</td>
<td>1828</td>
<td></td>
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<td>vignette engraved on steel</td>
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<td>by Sir William Allan, Those</td>
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<td>for the other vols. are</td>
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<tr>
<td>engraved by W. H. Lizars</td>
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<td>(on steel) after drawings</td>
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<td>by himself and Henry Corbould</td>
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<td>1829</td>
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<td>are drawn and engraved</td>
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<td>on steel by W. H. Lizars,</td>
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<td>The frontispieces are</td>
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<td>engraved by Lizars after</td>
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<tr>
<td>Van Dyke and Sir Peter Lely.</td>
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<td>The frontispieces and added</td>
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<td>title-page vignettes are</td>
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<tr>
<td>engraved by Lizars.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Titles in Collection</td>
<td>Number of Titles</td>
<td>Earliest Edition</td>
<td>Abridgements</td>
<td>Chapbooks</td>
<td>Illustrated Editions</td>
<td>Most Important Illustrated Editions</td>
<td>Printed With Other Material</td>
<td>Selections From</td>
<td>Fac-simile</td>
<td>Latest Edition</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Theatre of Education 4 Volumes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1781</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1781</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tom Brown's School Days</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Two Cousins</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1794</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Illus. with a copperplate frontispiece</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1794</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Water Babies</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1863 With two illus. by J. Noel Paton, &quot;L'Envoc&quot;...</td>
<td>1863 With one hundred illus. by Linley Sambourne.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Wide Wide World 2 Volumes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1853</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Illus. by William Harvey</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1853</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Wonder-Book for Girls and Boys</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1852</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1852 With illustrative engravings 1892 With 50 designs by Walter Crane</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wonderful Stories for Children (Andersen)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1846</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Illus. with four hand-colored plates</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1846</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

*_bound in original dark green cloth with marbled edges, ...First Edition...*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Titles in Collection</th>
<th>Number of Titles</th>
<th>Earliest Edition</th>
<th>Abridgments</th>
<th>Chapbooks</th>
<th>Illustrated Editions</th>
<th>Most Important Illustrated Editions</th>
<th>Printed with Other Material</th>
<th>Selections From</th>
<th>Facsimile</th>
<th>Latest Edition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young Misses Magazine</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1776</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>1776</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Not a periodical, a depository)
Symbols: Libraries

Symbols of libraries have been adapted from Welch. Adaptations involve an extension of the usual symbol for an institution to one representing each of several collections in that institution; e.g., MID, Detroit Public Library is extended one letter, R, to indicate Rare Books, and extended CH to indicate Children's Historical Collection.

Illinois

ICU-B University of Chicago, Chicago. Friedman Encyclopedia Brittanica Collection.

ICM-H Children's Memorial Hospital, Chicago. Nurses Library.

ITC-C Chicago Teachers' College, Chicago.

Michigan

MID-B Detroit Public Library, Detroit. Burton Historical Collection.

MID-CH Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Children's Historical Collection.

MID-R Detroit Public Library, Detroit. Rare Books Collection.


MIDW-CH Wayne State University, Detroit. Children's Historical Collection, Education Library.

MIDW-R Wayne State University, Detroit. Ramsey Collection. Children's Rare Books.
New York State

N R U - D University of Rochester, Rochester, Davis Collection.

Ohio

O C I - T Cleveland Public Library, Cleveland, Treasure Room.
O Ox M Miami University, Oxford, King Collection.

Wisconsin

W I U M - LS University of Wisconsin, Madison, Library School.
W I Ma - F Marion College, Fond du Lac, Curriculum Laboratory, Children's Collection.

Canada

Ca O T P Toronto Public Library, Toronto, Boys and Girls House, Osborne Collection.

Analysis of Title Survey Findings

While every collection holds some of the landmark titles the greatest number, ninety-three titles out of the one hundred and twenty-three, are held by The Osborne Collection of Toronto Public Library, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. The second highest number, seventy-four, is held by the Ramsey Collection at Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan.

The University of Chicago Britannica Collection and the King Collection at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio are next with sixty-five and sixty-four titles respectively.

The Children's Historical Collection at the Detroit Public Library holds fifty-seven titles. Cleveland Public Library's Treasure Room follows with forty-five titles.
### TABLE 3

LANDMARK TITLES HELD BY EACH COLLECTION IN FREQUENCIES AND ROUNDED PERCENTAGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Library Collection</th>
<th>Number of Titles Held</th>
<th>Percent of Total Titles (123)</th>
<th>Rounded Percent</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Illinois</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I C U - B</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>52.8</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I C M - H</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I T C - C</td>
<td>. .</td>
<td>. .</td>
<td>. .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Michigan</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M I D - B</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M I D - CH</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M I D - R</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M I GR - Q</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M I DW - CH</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M I DW - R</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>60.1</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>New York</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N R U - D</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ohio</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O C I - T</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>36.5</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O O x M - H</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wisconsin</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W I U M - LS</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W I M a - F</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Canada</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ca O - TP</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>75.6</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Quigley Collection of the Grand Rapids Public Library, the Library School Collection at the University of Wisconsin's Madison Campus, and New York State's University of Rochester, Davis Collection hold thirty-five, thirty-four, and thirty-three titles respectively.

The collections with the least number of holdings are the Detroit Public Library's Rare Book Collection with thirty titles; Wayne State University's Children's Historical Collection with twenty-seven titles; Detroit Public Library's Burton Collection holding nineteen titles; Children's Memorial Hospital Nurses' Collection with sixteen titles; and Marion College, Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, Curriculum Laboratory Children's Collection with thirteen titles.

Caution must be taken in assessing a collection's value in terms of these statistics. Several qualifying factors must be considered. First, a review of the condensed data from the interviews with the librarians-in-charge of collections shows that many of the collections were not set up to be rare book collections. Some librarians prefer not to follow a planned program in acquisition of titles. Other collections were legacies; the initial collection set a pattern for the future. Since the word rare means unusual, it is logical that rare book collections should tend to differ in their holdings. Second, no attempt is made here to assess total holdings of these collections in any area except in that of the landmark titles annotated for this study. Thus, the overall strengths and weaknesses of each collection are not touched upon. They are not within the scope of this study. Third, and most important, a union catalog, such as the one contemplated in this study, can be made up of holdings from any number of small collections which may or may not have
significance within themselves. A rearrangement of the statistics showing the holdings of the surveyed collections according to neighboring geographical groupings then would show total or near total holdings of the landmarks in every group of collections.

Such grouping can be done in four ways: (1) a combination of the holdings of two or more collections within the same building (in statistical terms only); (2) a combination of holdings of collections housed in adjacent or neighboring buildings in the same city; (3) a combination of the holdings of collections near enough geographically to be visited in one-day trips; and (4) a combination of holdings of institutions that could be visited during a weekend or over a period of two or three days.

Examples of collections whose holdings could be utilized in such combinations are:

1. Wayne State University's two collections, the Ramsey and the Historical. They are both housed on the same floor of the General Library, adjacent to each other. Their total holdings of the landmark titles are 101.

2. The Detroit Public Library has three collections within the same building with total holdings of 106 landmark titles. Their books are not as accessible in terms of open shelves or easily opened locked shelving.

3. Wayne State University Library and the Detroit Public Library are directly across the street from one another. In combination, their total holdings of the landmarks are 205 titles.

4. The University of Chicago's Britannica Collection and the Nurses' Library of Children's Memorial Hospital are in the same
city within twenty minutes drive of one another. Their combination holdings of landmark titles total 81.

5. Several one-day trips can be (and have been) made to Grand Rapids and back from Detroit by car; to Toronto and back from Detroit by train; to Cleveland or to Rochester from Detroit and back by plane.

Interested people in each locale can route their own trips in similar fashion. Travel by air could, no doubt, take a student whose starting point was in or near any one of these collections to any of the other listed collections that could not be reached during a comfortable one-day round trip by automobile, bus, or train.

Summary

There were total responses to the letters inviting the fifteen institutions to participate in the survey. All librarians-in-charge were interviewed by the investigator. All except one dismantled collection holds some of the 123 landmark titles. Fifteen charts show the findings from all of the participating institutions. While no one collection holds all of the titles, several institutions adjacent to one another in combination do hold every title though not necessarily in preferred editions. Other combinations of collections geographically accessible to one another in terms of visits of one day or more also hold all of the titles. Such availability assures students and other seriously interested people of adequate primary sources for the study of the landmark titles in the development of writing printed in English from 1658 to 1865 for children.
CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS OF DATA FROM THE SURVEY OF SERVICES
AVAILABLE AT EACH OF THE FIFTEEN INSTITUTIONS
HOLDING LANDMARK TITLES

In order to assure serious students of the opportunity to read primary sources, early children's books, a check list of items was designed to elicit data describing the extent of such availability. During her interviews with the librarians-in-charge at the surveyed institutions, the investigator either recorded this data as given to her by the librarians-in-charge or saw that they were recorded.

Data from each institution were transcribed to one master table. In Table 4 institutions are arranged in alphabetical order according to: (1) state (in the United States), (2) institution and collection, (3) other countries in alphabetical order, and (4) city and collection. Under item three above there is only one collection surveyed in another country, The Osborne Collection at Boys' and Girls' House, Toronto Public Library, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Although Table 4 indicates some types of study facilities, it does not state the number of people the designated facilities can hold. This poses no serious problem as the table does indicate that visitors should query before arranging study visits of extended duration or for special purposes. Such queries and their answers can point out both the needs of the inquirer and the ways in which these needs can best be met.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COLLECTION</th>
<th>SHIELDED LOGUE</th>
<th>PRINTED CARD INDICATES CATALOGUE (S)</th>
<th>PRINTED MATERIAL CARRELS (C)</th>
<th>PRINTED SUPPLEMENT AVAILABLE</th>
<th>OTHER HOURS COLLECTED LISTED</th>
<th>CLASSES INDIVIDUALLY VISITED</th>
<th>VISITORS BY APPOINTMENT DURING COLLECTION HOURS</th>
<th>REGULARLY SCHEDULED LECTURES</th>
<th>DUPLICATION PRIVILEGES GRANTED BY AVAILABLE FACILITIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University of Chicago</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes M - F 10 - 5</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friedman Encyclopedia</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes M - F 10 - 5</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brittanica</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes M - F 10 - 5</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children's Memorial Hospital</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes M - F 10 - 5</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago, Ill.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes M - F 10 - 5</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto Public Library</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes (S)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes M - S 10 - 6</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto Osborne</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes M - S 10 - 6</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Rapids Public Library</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes M - S 10 - 5</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quigley</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes M - S 10 - 5</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marion College</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes Query</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fond du Lac, Wisconsin</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes Query</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Wisconsin</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Query</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes Query</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Madison, Wis.</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Query</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes Query</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland Public Library</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes Query Reg. Lib.</td>
<td>Cl</td>
<td>No Query</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasure Room</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Query</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Xerox could be done for people with special permission.
### TABLE 4—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COLLECTION</th>
<th>SHELVED LOGUE</th>
<th>SUPPLEMENT AVAILABLE</th>
<th>PRINTED CARD LOGUE (S)</th>
<th>CATALOGUES (C)</th>
<th>APPOINTMENT PRIVILEGES</th>
<th>CARREL (S)</th>
<th>ARRANGED DURING VISITS</th>
<th>INDIVIDUAL LIBRARY VISITORS</th>
<th>DAYS COLLECTION SCHEDULED</th>
<th>REGULARLY COLLECTED LECTURES</th>
<th>DUPLICATION PRIVILEGES</th>
<th>DUPLICATION FACILITIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Mich. Children's Historical</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>By special arrangement</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>H - S 10 - 5</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Query</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Mich. Burton Historical</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>By special arrangement</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>H - S 10 - 5</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Query</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Mich. Rare Book</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Query</td>
<td>Query</td>
<td>M - F 12 - 5</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich. Ramsey</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Query</td>
<td>Query</td>
<td>M - S 9 - 7</td>
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<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich. Children's Historical</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Query</td>
<td>Query</td>
<td>M - S 9 - 7</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich.

Children's Historical

| Yes | Yes | No | No | Yes | Yes | Query | Query | M - S 9 - 7 | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |

Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Mich.

Historical

| Yes | Yes | No | No | Yes | Yes | Query | Query | H - S 10 - 5 | No | Query | Yes | Yes | Yes |

Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Mich.

Burton Historical

| Yes | Yes | No | No | Yes | Yes | Query | Query | H - S 10 - 5 | No | Query | Yes | Yes | Yes |

Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Mich.

Rare Book

| Yes | Yes | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Query | Query | M - F 12 - 5 | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |

Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich.

Ramsey

| Yes | Yes | No | No | Yes | Yes | Query | Query | M - S 9 - 7 | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |

Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich.

Children's Historical

| Yes | Yes | No | No | Yes | Yes | Query | Query | M - S 9 - 7 | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes |
TABLE 4—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COLLECTION</th>
<th>SHELFED</th>
<th>PRINTED CARD LOGUE (S)</th>
<th>CATA-LOGUE SUPPLEMENT</th>
<th>OTHER PRINTED MATERIAL</th>
<th>STUDY FACILITIES BY CARRELS (C)</th>
<th>STUDY FACILITIES OTHER (0)</th>
<th>CLASS PRINTED VISITS</th>
<th>INDIVIDUALLY ARRANGED VISITORS</th>
<th>REGULARLY SCHEDULED LECTURES</th>
<th>DUPLICATION PRIVILEGES FACILITIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, King Stacks</td>
<td>Yes No</td>
<td>Bibliogs, Other Histories, Pubs, Cats, Dealer's Cats, In shelf list of total rare book collection from XPS 3515 through XPZ 87</td>
<td>Yes Yes On demand Library No</td>
<td>Yes Yes</td>
<td>M-S 9-5 No Query</td>
<td>Yes Inquire</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Query</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Rochester, N. Y. Davis</td>
<td>Yes No</td>
<td>Yes (0) Yes Articles</td>
<td>Yes Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Query</td>
<td>Yes Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Another form of availability is found in *Books in Print*, the author-title index to Publisher's Trade List Annual. These two volumes are book selection tools commonly used by all people whose work necessitates knowing what American trade books are currently in print and available for purchase. The 123 landmark titles are checked for availability according to the 1965 *Books in Print*. The results are in Table 5.

Combining the data from Charts 1 through 15 and Tables 4 and 5 gives indications of total availability of all the landmark titles for serious study or examination. This combination is portrayed in Table 6.

**Summary**

The data analyzed in this chapter are summarized in the following statements:

1. Each institution indicates willingness to allow any of the landmark titles held by that institution to be duplicated by serious college and library school students or teachers.
2. Each institution has some form of duplication service on or near its premises.
3. Every title of the 123 landmarks is held by some institution in some form or other.

The third statement needs amplification. No analysis is made in this study of how many first editions are available of any of the landmarks. Charts 1 through 15 give data which can be so evaluated by the person interested in such information. This, however, entails more than a matter of simply counting frequencies. Data in the annotations
TABLE 5

LANDMARK TITLES IN PRINT, JUNE, 1965

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The Adventures of Ulysses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Aesopus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Alice's Adventures in Wonderland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Arabian Nights Entertainments (Thousand and One Nights)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The Book of Nonsense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The Children of the New Forest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>The Comic Adventures of Old Mother Hubbard and Her Dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Coral Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Countess Kate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Dame Wiggins of Lee and Her Seven Wonderful Cats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>The Fairy Ring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>LaFontaine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Granny's Wonderful Chair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Green Mountain Boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Gulliver's Travels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>The Heroes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Heroes of Asgard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Histories on Tales of Past Times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>The King of the Golden River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>The Lamplighters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>The Little Duke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Masterman Ready (3 volumes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Nursery Nonsense; or, Rhymes Without Reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Parables from Nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Pilgrim's Progress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Robinson Crusoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>The Rose and the Ring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>The Settlers in Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>&quot;The Story of the Three Bears&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Songs of Innocence</td>
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<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>The Swiss Family Robinson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Tales from Shakespeare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Tanglewood Tales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Tom Brown's School Days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Uncle Tom's Cabin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>The Water Babies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>The Young Voyageurs</td>
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</table>
TABLE 6

TOTAL AVAILABILITY OF LANDMARK TITLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Availability</th>
<th>Number of Titles</th>
<th>Rounded Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Titles in Print, June, 1965</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Titles out of Print</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Known to be Extant only</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Facsimile Copies, Printed in Limited Numbers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Duplication</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Known to be</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Available in any form</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

show that accurate tracing of first editions has not yet been accomplished for all of the titles under discussion. Such tracing could well be a study in itself.
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The ferment in twentieth-century education has put emphasis upon furthering the several goals common to teachers of English and those people who are concerned with preparing librarians for work with children and youth in school and public libraries. One of the most important of these goals is to transmit the culture and the humanistic heritage as it is found in literature. For such transmission the teacher on any level must have a deep knowledge and understanding of the factors which make up that heritage.

Research shows that, in general, teachers do not know this heritage and do not understand the complexity of its development. They need an intimate knowledge of the forms which are a part of children's literature, a foundation in common, to help them build a multi-level understanding of the structure of the literary aspect of English as a discipline.

General Purpose

This critical and analytical historical study is designed to be one way of meeting the need suggested by research. It is a two-part study with a dual purpose.

A. To set up a model collection of titles significant as landmarks in the writing of imaginative literature for children and youth printed in English during the years

1051
1658 through 1865 in the form of a critically annotated list which could be used as a selection tool for college and library school teachers of survey courses in children's literature.

B. To augment the usefulness of this selection tool through building it into a union catalog of the holdings of the landmark titles by fifteen Great Lakes institutional collections of rare books for children and youth. These collections are treated in terms of: (1) holdings of the titles according to any edition; and (2) the services available to teachers, librarians, and other scholars interested in using any of the listed holdings.

Significance

The study is significant in that it meets the challenge of needed research by giving teachers of children's literature an opportunity to know specific materials in the history of children's literature so thoroughly that they will enjoy them and communicate this enjoyment through their teaching.

The study is significant in that it identifies landmark titles considered by a number of recognized experts in the field of children's books as important in the development of a literature for children.

The study is significant in that it presents an overview of the socio-historical factors that are necessary knowledge for an understanding of the forces that not only helped to create a literature for children but that also motivated the writers to create each of the landmark titles.
The study is significant in that for the first time it brings together in one place information, previously difficult to find, about each of the landmark titles.

The study is significant in its assignment of first publication dates in English to each of the landmarks with information as to the specific source of such assignment.

The study is significant in its arrangement. This involves a chronology which allows the student an opportunity to assess and compare the titles within as large a period as the Georgian Period (132 years) or within as small periods as one, five, or ten years. It also allows for use of all the annotated titles written by the same author, those illustrated by the same artist, those published by the same publishing house.

The study is significant in that it identifies what kinds of information can be found in each of the authorities used as secondary sources for this work.

The study is significant in that it identifies geographically accessible institutional collections whose resources are available to teachers in colleges and library schools and to other scholars in such fields as education, literature, art, and publishing.

The study is significant in that it presents survey instruments which can be used to determine the holdings of landmark titles in institutional collections of other geographical areas, and to assess the availability of those holdings for interested teachers, librarians, and other scholars.
Literature of the Fields

A survey of the literature in the multi-disciplines of English, its sub-discipline Children's Literature, and Library Science revealed that no research has been done which pulls together a consensus of opinion and scholarship about what early children's books are most worth knowing together with data about why they are worth knowing, their publication, authorship, illustration, imitation, reception, and the social milieu in which they were generated. Solid work had been done in assigning reasonably definite dates for first publication in English of these works in book form. Equally authoritative work had been done giving important background information about some authors, some publishers, some illustrators. Yet the information was so scattered in so many works along with such an abundance of material about so many works for children that it became more difficult with each new publication to get a clear picture which could bring landmarks into focus.

Methodology

The methodology used for this study was a synthesis of many techniques. Part I primarily depended upon those techniques customarily used in library research. These involved the historical perspective technique and critical evaluation of books for children as distinguished from critical evaluation of books for adults. Part II depended upon survey techniques.

Criteria were set up for the selection of the landmark titles. These included: (1) recommendation by two or more of the authorities cited as reference for this purpose with a definitive statement of their
reasons for assigning landmark status to the title; (2) publication in book form in English between the years 1658 - 1865; (3) the book must have been purposely written for children's pleasure reading or, if adopted by children from books meant for adults, accepted by all of the authorities as a "children's classic" (to be a "classic" was not a criterion for the books written purposely for children); and (4) the book had to be available for reading and actually read by the writer of the study for annotating.

Data about 150 different topics were elicited by the library research for the three socio-historical essays which preceded and gave background for the chronologically arranged annotations of: (1) The Puritan Era; (2) The Georgian Period; and (3) The Victorian Regime, 1837-1865. The reference books used were selected according to the authority of the author, scope of his work, validity of his statements as cross-checked with other authorities in the field, and either timelessness (in the sense of "classic" in its field) or timeliness (in the sense of its author's use of twentieth century techniques of scholarship and current research) of the edition used.

Data for the annotations were of two kinds: (1) bibliographic and (2) eclectically assorted; both objective and perspective historical data including the biographical; critical literary analysis; summary or content of children's books; bibliographical citation of other books important for comparative or other discussion purpose.

A common and acceptable bibliographic pattern was adopted for consistent use with the inclusion of arabic code number of the title for ease of reference to the work sheets, alphabetic code of each institu-
tion holding that title, and the subject headings assigned to the title. Date of the first English edition, titles used in that edition, name or pseudonyms of the author, place of publication and publisher were all elicited from recognized bibliographic authorities with reference made to the authority from whom such assignment of data was taken.

A check list of the categories for both bibliographic and content data desired (as described in the paragraphs above) was constructed for use in data gathering and as structure for the body of the annotation which was presented in narrative form. The data used were found in the standard reference sources written about the history of children's literature as found on the reference shelves of the Ramsey Collection at Wayne State University in Detroit and of the Osborne Collection in Toronto.

Data for the two parts of the survey were elicited by two check lists and questions asked during a semi-structured interview with the librarians-in-charge of each institution. Of the fifteen institutions chosen for the survey in Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Ontario, fourteen allowed participation. The fifteenth had recently been dismantled with its holdings sent to other institutions. The writer visited each of the fourteen institutions, conducting the survey and the interview herself.

The questions asked during the interview concerned: (1) the purpose of the collection; (2) outstanding features that were not touched upon by the scope of this study; (3) thumb-nail history of its establishment (by whom, when, where, why its name).

The check list of Titles and Editions of Titles Held listed the
159 titles about which data were sought in twelve categories which were concerned with the holding of the title by each institution and the varieties of editions (illustrated, facsimile, and others) in which the title was held. There was one check list for each of the institutions surveyed.

The check list of services offered by the surveyed collections elicited data of fourteen categories concerned with the availability of holdings for scholarly use. In summary form these categories involved: the accessible shelving of the titles held; card catalog; printed catalog; other printed material; study facilities; class visits; days and hours collection is open for visitors; lectures; interloans; duplication privileges; necessity for querying about the use of facilities. One check list sufficed for all of the collections.

Specific Purposes

The specific purposes, as implemented by the methodology and data gathering, for Purpose A were to:

1. Present socio-historical background to assure an understanding of the times which generated the children's literature of the years 1658-1865. To facilitate such understanding this long time span was divided into three periods of unequal length: The Puritan, 1658-1700; The Georgian, 1700-1837; The Early Victorian Regime, 1837-1865.

2. To find what the reference books written about the history of children's literature and the landmark books themselves have to say about the titles in terms of representativeness, place in the chronological
development of children's literature, publishing and publisher information, author and illustrator information, author purpose, works similar to or inspired by this title, readability of the title in terms of twentieth century children, category of subject area and literary form in which the title would be placed today, if still in print as of June, 1965.

The specific purposes for Purpose B were to determine:


2. The services offered by the surveyed collections in terms of the shelving of the books, availability of a check list or card catalog of the holdings; printed catalog, other printed material, availability of study facilities, permission for class visits, permission for individual visits, hours and days the collection is open, the availability of lectures, interloan privileges, form of duplication available or permissible.

Findings, Conclusions, Recommendations

General Findings

Only eleven of the major findings can be presented here. In generalized form these are:

1. One hundred and twenty-three landmark titles were annotated as important in the development of a literature for children.

2. The identification of five socio-historic influences common to
each of the three periods that both moulded the creation of and were reflected in the writing of the landmarks.

3. Biographical data could not be located in the sources used for this study about all of the landmark authors or their illustrators, with the greatest lack apparent in the data for illustrators, 1800-1865.

4. Detailed data could not be found, in the sources used for this study, about all of the publishers of the landmark titles, with the greatest lack apparent in the data about American publishers (most publishers were identified but little other information was available.)

5. In all the periods controversy raged among adults about the values of didactic literature as opposed to the values of imaginative literature for children.

6. Thirty-nine (over half) of the titles published during the early Victorian Regime (1837-1865) not only do not belong to any classification using the term "moral" but are exciting, fanciful, nonsensical, silly or humorous. What is more, of these 39 titles 32 were beautifully or gayly illustrated.

7. All except three of the categories of literary form and subject as discussed in the analysis of the findings were in evidence by the nineteenth century.

8. In every era there were condensations, abridgements, "edited" editions, and facsimile editions of children's books and books adapted for children.

9. English children's books were most used by Americans and most
influential in American writing for children until about 1820, then children's books written in America became numerous with increasing influence on the writers of English children's books;

10. No one institution among those surveyed holds all of the landmark titles but collectively they hold all of the titles in multiple copies of multiple editions.

11. All of the collections offer visitation, interloan, and duplication privileges to any professional individual who queries about such services.

12. Assorted numbers of the collections offer all of the services categorized on the services available check list: nine offer limited study facilities; three institutions (totaling six collections) have facilities for class visitations and will offer lectures during class visits to the collection in question upon pre-arrangement with the librarian-in-charge who will lecture and host the visit.

Specific Findings

Each major finding has a cluster of specific findings subsumed under it, therefore, only twelve of the major findings can be discussed here.

Finding One

One hundred and twenty-three titles were annotated as important in the development of a literature for children. The study began with five hundred possible titles which after rigid subjection to the criteria for selection were reduced to 159 titles. These 159 were printed on the
check lists and used in the survey of institutional holdings. Only 123 were annotated. The missing 36 were eliminated for three reasons: (1) the book was not held by any of the institutions or if it were listed as held, it could not be located for reading during the data gathering time; (2) continued research disclosed that the title had not been printed in book form before 1865 but had, instead, been printed in magazine form; (3) further research disclosed that certain titles were not as universally acclaimed as "children's classics" adopted from writing for adults as earlier research had suggested.

The conclusions for Finding One are: (1) that the books which could not be located have not lost their landmark place; (2) landmarks were often printed in magazines with potent influence on the development of literature for children; (3) there are always "gifted" or advanced readers among children, landmark books for them may well include books not read by less gifted readers.

Among the implications that lead to recommendations for future studies are these: that unlocated landmark books, landmarks first printed in magazines, and adult books most often read by gifted child readers are worthy of further investigation in depth. These could be researched in a follow-up study to this one or there could be three separate studies, one for each of the cited categories. It is the recommendation of this writer that a special study or series of studies of the important children's or family magazines complementary in time to the time scope of this present landmark study be instigated, especially of the neglected American years 1800-1865.
Finding Two

The five socio-historic influences on children's books and reflected in children's books that are common to the three historic periods in the study (Puritan, Georgian, and Victorian, 1837-1865) are: (1) educational philosophers or educators; (2) religion; (3) rise and continued rise of a strong middle class; (4) scientific discoveries and resultant technological developments and; (5) searches for freedom as seen in wars, civil wars, revolutions, the chartists, women suffragettes, trade unionism, anti-slavery agitation, the lifting of secular bans against such religions as Roman Catholicism and the wide spectrum of Protestant dissenting groups. It is plain to see that every trend or influence seeps over into other trends and influences. There are few discrete categories.

Comenius, Locke, and Rousseau have long been extolled as having influence on the writing of children's books. No total study, however, has ever been made only of the many ideas put forth by Comenius or Locke or Rousseau. It has less obviously been told that many children's authors ran schools, taught school, were noted for their writings about education, were considered authorities in the field who were to be followed. No study has been done which seeks the import of such connections.

In seeing the influence of these noted and less noted educators the implication arises that the ideas of Froebel might be traced in story writing for very small children. The same implication could be extended to any noted educator. It is recommended that scholars researching in the field of education consider the importance of such relationships and instigate a series of studies investigating these influences in books that children read at a most impressionable age.
Finding Three

Biographical data could not be located, in the sources used for this study, about all of the landmark authors or their illustrators, with the greatest lack apparent in the data for American illustrators, 1800-1865.

It would appear that if knowledge of the biographical data about some authors and illustrators is important towards a better understanding of their work that similar data for all important authors and illustrators should be necessary. Little was found about such specific people as English writers Lady Fenn, Arabella Argus, the Kilner sisters (or sisters-in-law, the term itself as used in Georgian England bears investigation), any of the Georgian publisher John Newbery's coterie of writers (even Oliver Goldsmith's authorship of children's books is hypothetical) and nineteenth-century American Sophia Rebecca Clarks (Sophie May, pseudonym) who wrote the beloved books beginning with Prudy about the Parlin family. Nothing except her name (and pseudonym) was found in any source.

The English sources make an attempt to identify all of their writers for children. They do not appear to be ashamed of early didacticism. Americans appear to be apologetic about their early writers for children, although the newest books used in this study present material which evidences pride over the achievements of these writers.

Very little was found about the important English illustrator William Mulready although his name was mentioned frequently. Less was said about the American illustrators, 1800-1865, in some instances not even the names were known. It was suggested that an important study could be made identifying and presenting data about these American illustrators. A
source was even suggested, the American children and family magazines of those years in which the quality of illustration was high and the printed comments about the contributors were frequent.

It is recommended that a series of studies be made to rescue from anonymity both landmark authors and illustrators presenting their contributions as professional people to both art and letters.

Finding Four

Detailed data could not be found, in the sources used for this study, about all of the publishers of the landmark titles with the greatest lack apparent in the data about American publishers. With only a few exceptions, most publishers were identified. Among these exceptions were English Charlotte Yonge's titles. None of the sources used for this study mentioned by specific name the publisher of her first editions. The writer deduced from other material presented who the publishers might be. None of the sources specifically mentioned the publisher of the first edition of Coventry Patmore's *The Children's Garland*. Again, this information was deduced but not authenticated.

American publishers were identified as were the cities in which they published. In some instances (not always) their places of business (street, building, location in the city) were also identified, but little anecdotal evidence concerning the author-publisher relationship or the history and longevity of these publishers was found in any source. It is an accepted fact among librarians that a history of publishing in general is important to them. It can be implied that in like manner a history of American publishers of children's books is important to children's librarians and
teachers of children's literature. Working on the assumption that such an implication is true, a study or series of studies, of American publishers of American books for children would be an important study. A study of these publishers during the years in which Americans were beginning to prefer American written stories for children, 1820-1865, would be of special and unique importance.

Finding Five

In all of the eras controversy raged among adults about the values of didactic literature as opposed to the values of imaginative literature for children. Among the needs for research located by the literature search for this study was the need to acquaint teachers and children with the myths, Bible stories, fairy tales, and imaginative literature of the past that give insight into human truths and make for divergent rather than convergent thinking. Scholars such as William Riley Parker, Jerome Bruner, Ernest Schactel, and the Getzels-Jackson team added their weight to the importance of this need. In the eyes of some people this finding might tend to refute statements concerning the delight in the imaginative children's literature of the past. Finding number six, however, casts a different light upon the point at issue.

Finding Six

Thirty-nine (over half) of the titles published during the early Victorian Regime (1837-1865) not only do not belong to any classification using the term "moral" but are exciting, fanciful, nonsensical, silly or humorous. What is more, of these thirty-nine titles, thirty-two were beautifully or gayly illustrated.
After the passing of the worst of the Puritan strictures against pleasure reading the legitimatized folktale (as opposed to the chapbook version and as exemplified by the eight Perrault fairytales), the nursery rhyme, nonsense tales or verse, and finally the one-author fantasy gained in publication ascendance. It was at this time that more than half the landmarks of the Victorian Regime fell into the categories described above. Twenty-two of the thirty-seven landmark titles that are still in print in the 1960's belong to these categories. (The others are primarily adventure stories.)

This finding is misleading for it does not give an exact picture of how many of these items of imaginative literature are still in print. The references work used, Books in Print, does not give tales, poems, verses, or rhymes that are printed under different titles, as single units by themselves, in anthologies or collections of verse, tales, or both.

A study could be made tracing the numbers of editions (by separate tale or in collections) of only the Perrault tales and perhaps their illustrations limited by any time span that the researchers deemed feasible. Taking the work of the Opies or of the Baring-Goulds as a model, the same type of tracing could be undertaken for specific poems, verse, and nonsense rhymes.

Finding Seven

All except three of the categories of literary form or subject as discussed in the analysis of the findings were in evidence by the nineteenth century.

There are several conclusions. Subject categories of children's books are not an invention of the twentieth century. Children's interests,
no matter what the century in which they live, in essence do not change, only the style of writing used for stories exhibiting the interests sometimes change. Since the landmarks are only representative of categories, numbers of books in each class must exist waiting for an interested researcher to do a full-length study in any one of these categories or in any combination of them. One timely class is that of "social consciousness," one of the three that did not begin until the nineteenth century. It flowered with the public rage against slavery and the American Civil War. Little bibliographic work has been done in even listing what may have been a rash of nineteenth-century works for children about slavery, the Civil War, or the social consciousness engendered by the plight of other minority groups.

Finding Eight

In every era there were changes made, by adults, from the original manner in which even "classics" had been written for children. Specifically, there were abridgements, condensations (sometimes in words of one Syllable), edited works with notes, introductions, explanations, deletions, and additions. The implication is that every age has had parents, educators, and publishers who felt that too many children could not read unless they had books of simple words, short sentences, and reduction of content. Twentieth-century advocates of abridged (or otherwise changed) children's classics or antagonists of such condensations might well undertake any one of a number of possible studies concerning the kinds of abridgement done in several ages. This could be on a comparative basis. It could be limited to one title. It could involve several well known titles.
Finding Nine

English children's books were most read by American children and most influential on American writers until about 1820; then American children's books became numerous and popular in America with a beginning reading public in England and with some influence on writers of English children's books. It could be concluded that America was coming of age, that there was better cooperation between the publishers of the two different nations, between writers of the two different nations, that both countries were recognizing that America had something to say that was worth listening to. Anyone of these possible conclusions, or others, could springboard research into what really caused the change in American book production and the Anglo-American children's literature relationship.

Finding Ten

No one institution among those surveyed holds all of the landmark titles but in union they hold all of the titles in multiple copies and of multiple editions. Specifically, the Osborne Collection holds the greatest number of titles, the Ramsey Collection is next. The five collections in the two Detroit institutions, the Detroit Public Library, Wayne State University, and Grand Rapids Public Library hold all of the titles with two or more copies of a variety of editions. Other combinations of two or three collections also hold all of the titles.

The conclusions in regard to the librarians who selected books for the collections is that they selected wisely in terms of what was representative of popular and sometimes good reading for children one, two, and almost three hundred years ago. The conclusion in regard to the resources for study of the development of a literature for children in
the Great Lakes Area is that such resources are excellent. On the surface of the conclusion in regard to books that were obtained by Midwestern adults of the nineteenth and early twentieth century for Midwestern children to read is that the books were eclectic in range and reflected the reading done by children in Eastern America, in Ontario, and in England.

It is recommended that a more thorough analysis be made of the holdings of the surveyed institutions; first, in terms of the editions, illustrators, and publishers of the titles selected for the present study; second, in terms of the total book holdings of each collection. The findings would show the extent to which the last mentioned conclusion is valid. There might be great differences in the overall titles read by children in the above mentioned English reading localities.

Findings Eleven and Twelve

The last two of the findings to be discussed here are corollary to ten above and ancillary to one another. They are:

11. All of the collections offer visitation, interloan, and duplication privileges to any professional individual who queries about such services;

12. Assorted numbers of the collections offer all of the services categorized on the Services Available check list; eight offer limited study facilities; three institutions (totaling six collections) have facilities for class visitations and will offer lectures during those visits on prearrangement with the librarian-in-charge who will lecture and may host the visit.

This has tremendous implications for teachers of college and library school classes in history of children's literature. Their laboratory of
primary resource material has become enlarged. Their opportunity for lectures by experts in specific areas of this study has become expanded. The conclusion is that firsthand knowledge of this heritage of children's books is not only a possibility but a welcome probability.

For those colleges that wish to build their own collections of landmark titles for future study on their own campuses, the services available allow for this. Depending on budget allocations, the librarian may purchase one or two titles or several in some duplicated form. Librarians should study the most durable form of duplication available and consider the problems of binding or other forms of retaining pages in sequence and in good condition.

Individual scholars wishing to do research in the areas of education as reflected in the landmark titles, illustration, publishing, printing, and a number of other areas can utilize these services to the mutual satisfaction of themselves and the librarians-in-charge of the collections.

In summary, this study has fulfilled its purposes of: (a) setting up a critically annotated list of children's books that are landmarks in the development of imaginative literature for children printed in English, 1658-1865, to be used as a selection tool for college and library school teachers of children's literature, and (b) augmenting the list into a union book catalog of a number of institutional collections in the Great Lakes area. It has also fulfilled its specific purposes of presenting: (1) socio-historical background in the three essays which accompany the annotations, and (2) reasonable amounts of author, publisher, illustrator, and comparative data with other books in the same subject area, as well as a summary of a critical evaluation of each book in terms of reading
for twentieth century children.

In view of the success of this study, it is recommended that the data gathering instruments constructed for this study be used as they are or restructured for the purpose of gathering similar information about the holdings of landmark titles in other institutional collections and the services available in those institutions.
Ms. Vera S. Flandorf
Children's Memorial Hospital
Nurses' Library
700 W. Fullerton Avenue
Chicago 14, Illinois

Dear Ms. Flandorf:

This is to request your one day participation in my study of collections of children's rare books in the Great Lakes Area. Part one of the study identifies a number of titles which many of our professional colleagues deem "landmarks" in the development of imaginative literature printed in English for children during the years 1658-1865. Part two is an attempt to locate which titles are among the holdings of fifteen collections in this Great Lakes Area.

I purport to do the data collecting for part two myself. This would involve a short interview with you (or with any person immediately responsible for your collection as listed in Ash), and would give me an opportunity to see if any of the "landmark" titles which are in your collection. For this reason I should like to visit your collection at any time that is convenient for you during the week of May 9-14 (Mon.-Sat.). If none of these dates are convenient for you do let me know the earliest possible date.

I realize how busy you must be but I would like your immediate response. To facilitate this I am inclosing a self-addressed stamped envelope with statements which you may check. This will indicate the time most convenient for my visitation.

I hope to visit three collections in Chicago, one in Madison, and one at Fond du Lac.

If you are interested in the outcome of the study I shall be very happy to send you copies of the final charts and tables.

Sincerely,

Alice G. Smith

AGS:ak.

Note: 19th Century
Please indicate first choice (1), second choice (2).

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Tuesday, May 10  
Wednesday, May 11  
Thursday, May 12  
Friday, May 13 
Saturday, May 14 

Name: Robert Pearson

Collection: 11-19 Chicago
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<th>Abridgements</th>
<th>Condensations</th>
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<th>Illustrated Editions</th>
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<td>11. Anecdotes of a Boarding School</td>
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<td>16. Biography of a Spaniel</td>
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Authorities B


**Authorities C**


AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT

Name: Alice Margaret Gullen Smith

Birth: Farmington, Michigan


Positions: Detroit Public Library, 1929-1932; Teacher: Wayne University, College of Liberal Arts, 1933-1934; Kern Road Schools, Jr. High, 1934-1935; Detroit Public Schools, 3rd, 5th, 6th, 8th grades, 1935-1940; Religious Education Coordinator and Education Director, Detroit Girl Scouts, 1940-1950; Librarian, Detroit Public Schools, 1950-1960; Instructor and College Supervisor of Elementary and Secondary Directed Teaching, Wayne State University, Library Science Department, 1960-1965; Chairman, Library Science Department, Florida South University, 1965-present.

Recognitions: President, Class of 1932, Karyatides, Alpha Gamma Delta; Secretary, Pan Hellenic Association; Wayne University Summer School Recreation Chairman; Member, Gold Key, Pi Lambda Theta, Who's Who Among College Women; Honors Award Recipient for Outstanding Women Graduates, Wayne University.


Offices: Executive Board Member and Secretary, Detroit Children's Book Fair, 1960-1965 and 1962-1965, respectively; Camp Director, Workshop Director, Trainer, Detroit Girl and Cub Scouts; local president, area president, program chairman, education chairman, Detroit Parent-Teacher Association; library and literature resource person, Camp Fire Girls of Metropolitan Detroit; Member of Board of Directors and Secretary, Wayne State University Alumni Association;