Amusing Instruction: Constructing the Modern Child in England during the Long Eighteenth Century

by

Samantha Lack B.A.

A Thesis

In

History

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
of Texas Tech University in
Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for
the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Approved

Dr. Abigail Swingen
Chair of Committee

Dr. Stefano D'Amico

Dr. Jacob Baum

Mark Sheridan
Dean of the Graduate School

August, 2015

Acknowledgements

I would like to take a moment to thank all of the people who have helped me along the journey of writing this thesis. I am extremely blessed to have such an extensive network of people supporting me. My family, friends, co-workers, and professors have all provided the utmost encouragement and care to me during this endeavor.

From the start of my graduate school career I wanted to write a thesis that would add to the historiography of England, although I did not initially want to research childhood. I found my way to the subject of the history of childhood during a readings course and became enthralled with the topic. What I learned was that I will never feel like this thesis is complete nor will it ever be perfect. I consider this a living document, one that I want to improve in the future. I am, however, very proud of this, and there are several to whom I owe thanks. I was fortunate enough to receive the Rachel E. Hudson European Scholarship to conduct research in England during the summer of 2014. During my time there I visited the London Metropolitan Archive, the British Library, and the Victoria & Albert Museum of Childhood, and I am particularly thankful to Catherine Howell at the V&A. She was a tremendous help to me during my visit and took a great interest in my project. I am also indebted to Lorena Hannel, who spent the entire time in England with me visiting archives, putting puzzles together, transcribing game instructions, taking pictures, and helping me organize my materials. Together, we were able to take over four thousand pictures in two short weeks. She made a large part of this thesis possible and I will forever be thankful for her.

To my professors, past and present, at Texas Tech University and Lubbock

Christian University, I am grateful to each of you for your guidance and encouragement. Your interests in this project and belief in me helped me push through during difficult times. It is a powerful thing to know that so many people believe in you. I owe Dr. Abigail Swingen a special thank you for her patience with me, willingness criticize my work when necessary, and kindness when I thought there was no way I would ever finish. She has taught me a great deal and I am lucky to call her my advisor.

Lastly, I want to thank my family. My grandparents, Bruce and Kay, for the countless times they picked up the kids from school, helped me around my house, or took the kids for a few hours so I could get some work done. To my three beautiful boys—Justin, Alex, and Connor—it is for you that I have completed this. I hope that I have taught you that an education is worth fighting for and to always follow your dreams, especially when life throws you curveballs. Finally, my wonderful husband, Ben Lack, who was my greatest cheerleader through this process, even when I doubted myself. You are a wonderful partner in life and this would not have been possible without your support. I love you.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Chapter I
Introduction

Imagine for a moment a cosmopolitan city in every sense of the word, populated by people from numerous different cultures. Its inhabitants who stroll the streets hear the "Cries" of vendors as they attempt to convince onlookers to buy their goods, as well as musical instruments that create a noise of "very great disorder."[1] School-boys are present in the early morning with "Satchels in their hands" as they make their way to school.[2] The city is busy with commerce and trade as the harbor is filled with merchant ships from around the world and people within the city are actively involved in buying and selling merchandise. This great city is home to the Royal Exchange, a place described as having "so rich an Assembly of [Englishmen] and Foreigners consulting together upon the private Business of Mankind, and making this Metropolis a kind of Emporium for the whole Earth."[3] The "great city" that is referred to here is London in the early eighteenth century, and all of the above happenings point to the emergence of London as a vibrant, modern city.

It was in this great city in 1760 that William Hamley achieved his life long dream and opened *Noah's Ark* at 231 High Holborn. It was the first toy store in London. The

---

[1] Joseph Addison, "The Cries of London," *The Spectator,* no. 251, (London, 1711), *The Norton Anthology of English Literature Online*, http://www.wwnorton.com/college/english/nael/18century/topic_1/cries_of_london.htm, accessed February 27, 2015.

[2] Johnathan Swift, "A Description of the Morning," *Tatler* (London, 1709), *The Norton Anthology of English Literature Online,* http://www.wwnorton.com/college/english/nael/18century/topic_1/morning.htm, accessed February 27, 2015.

[3] Joseph Addison, "The Royal Exchange," *The Spectator*, no. 69 (London, 1711), *The Norton Anthology of English Literature,* http://www.wwnorton.com/college/english/nael/18century/topic_1/royal_exhange.htm, accessed February 27, 2015.

shelves were filled with toy soldiers, rag dolls, and other delights, and children were overjoyed as they entered the doors. By 1837 the store was known as *Joy Emporium* and was a huge success. Eventually, the store would be called *Hamleys* after its founder, and a second location opened on Regent Street with shelves filled with puppets, pedal cars, toy trains, and much more.[4] Children loved going to the store and buying new toys just the same as children today. But luxuries like toys, games, books, and nice clothing were not common for children prior to the eighteenth century.

The first English dictionary written by Robert Cawdrey in 1604 contained no entry for child, children, childhood, youth, or adolescence.[5] At this point in history, children were considered miniature adults. However, the concept of childhood was important enough to mention in Samuel Johnson's dictionary only one hundred and fifty years later in 1755, which can explain the success of *Hamleys* toy store. In Johnson's *A Dictionary of the English Language* there is not a specific entry for "childhood" or children," but "youth" and "adolescence" both have entries, and they each describe the phase of childhood. For example, the first part of the entry for adolescence reads, "The age succeeding childhood."[6] Between the years 1604 and 1755 childhood became

[4] "The history of Hamleys—London's famous toy shop," BBC London, http://news.bbc.co.uk/local/london/hi/people_and_places/history/newsid_8510000/8510277.stm, accessed January 17, 2014.

[5] Robert Cawdrey, *A Table Alphabeticall, conteyning and teaching the true writing, and understanding of hard usuall English words, borrowed from the Hebrew, Greeke, Latine, or French, &c.* (London: Edmund Weaver, 1604), sections under a, c, y, http://www.library.utoronto.ca/utel.ret.cawdrey0.html, accessed February 27, 2015

[6] Samuel Johnson, "Adolescence," *A Dictionary of the English Language: A Digital Edition of the 1755 Classic by Samuel Johnson*, ed. Brandi Besalke, http://johnsondictionaryonline.com/?p=14315, accessed February 27, 2015.

important enough to define, but this was not due to any one single cause. Instead, England went through several changes that allowed for this change to occur.

Between the seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries the home-based education of young children in England drastically changed in response to the new ideas about childhood. Not only were children being taught new ideas, they were also being educated in new ways and with new products. This thesis focuses on the emergence of educational products, specifically for use within the home, and concentrates on the youngest inhabitants of England. How and in what ways did education of young children change between the seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries? What were these changes in response to? What products were developed to help educate modern children? And, what do these products tell us about society and the anxieties surrounding the new perception of childhood? These questions are the focus of my research, which will provide a more intimate view of childhood and how it changed during the early modern period. The two main pedagogical innovations that I will focus on are children's literature and table games, and I will use these items not only to attempt to determine how children were perceived differently over the time period, but also what these objects tell us about what society considered important to teach children and what anxieties are evident.

In this thesis, I will focus on educational items produced and purchased for children and children's responses to these items. I will use these findings to draw comparisons between the childhood experience of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the long eighteenth century. By comparing the writings of children like Thomas Isham, who wrote his diary in the mid-seventeenth century England and Emily Pepys,

who wrote during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, clear differences are evident in how children experienced childhood during these time periods. For example, Thomas Isham wrote his diary to keep his father informed of his studies and to improve his Latin. Emily Pepys wrote her diary for more personal reasons, and as a result recorded more expression and feelings within its pages, as well as excitement over gifts she received and goods she owned.[7] Investigating the products created for children during the long eighteenth century, how these products differed from previous centuries, and how children responded to these new items, will enable me to show how the perception of childhood changed during the early modern period in England, and it may even help contemporaries better understand the modern childhood experience.

Historiography

In 1960, Philippe Ariés wrote *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life.* The focus of his work was the history of the idea of childhood in early modern France, and he was interested in finding out when the concept originated.[8] His sources included paintings, calendars, and writings such as *Christian Marriage* by Erasmus, *Réglement pour les enfants* (*Regulations for Infants)* by Jacqueline Pascal, and "Virgin and Child" by Baldovinetti. Ariés argues that the stage of life known as "childhood" first emerged during the seventeenth century. Before this time children were considered small adults and put to work as soon as they were able. It was important for every individual in

[7] Norman Marlow, trans., *The Diary of Thomas Isham of Lamport (1658-81): kept by him in Latin from 1671-1673 at his Father's command,* (Westmead: Gregg International Publishers, 1971); Dee Cooper, *The Journal of Emily Pepys* (Devon: Prospect Books, 1984).

[8] Philippe Ariés, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life,* translated by Robert Baldick, (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), 10.

medieval and early modern European societies to work in order for the family to survive. Since children were not considered to be different from adults, Ariés contends that parents did not show much affection for their children, nor were most children really loved.[9]

Ariés argues that the modern idea of childhood arose when the Protestant Reformation brought religious and educational reform to France. He notes that the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages was too focused on sacraments and other religious duties to teach the importance of family bonds and love. When the Catholic Church in France shifted its focus during the early modern period to salvation and teaching morals as part of the Counter-Reformation (with help from the Jesuits and Oratorians), it affected domestic life by emphasizing the importance of affection within families. Ariés also notes that with these shifting religious beliefs, parents in Europe began to see their children as innocent and in need of moral training. For example, this shift led to an increase in the number of educational institutions. It was the parents' responsibility to teach children how to have salvation. In order to do this in the Protestant worldview, one needed to learn to read the Bible. According to Ariés, this led to a transformation of domestic bonds, creating deeper emotional relationships within families because parents became more involved with their children's education by helping them acquire the necessary skills to achieve salvation. He notes, "A positive moralization of society was taking place [and]…the ethics of the time ordered [parents] to give all their children…a

[9] Ariés, 411.

training for life."[10] Even though Ariés' monograph was focused on France, it opened the door for other historians to consider the concept of childhood and its place in history.

Almost two decades after Ariés published his book, Lawrence Stone wrote *Family, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (1979). Stone used a variety of sources to complete his research, such as ego documents, newspapers, handbooks, literature, art, and legal records. Stone determined that family relations in England changed dramatically during the three hundred years he studied due to the rise of "affective individualism," or the awareness and intention of fulfilling ones own desires.[11] At the beginning of his period, parents were unaffectionate toward their children due to high infant mortality rates, but by 1800 it was not uncommon for parents to have loving relationships with their children. He concludes that capitalism and the Protestant Reformation changed social structures in England, and most families no longer needed to employ all family members seven days of the week in order to survive.[12]

While discussing demographic changes, Stone concludes that parents, especially among the poorer classes, were not loving and affectionate toward their children before the sixteenth century. He points to the high mortality rate of infants and children, and discerns that parents had a hard time loving children who had a low chance of survival. He writes, "Even when children were genuinely wanted and not regarded as economically crippling nuisances, it was very rash for parents to get too emotionally

[10] Ibid., 412-413.
[11] Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800,* abridged edition, (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1979), 164-165.
[12] Stone, 21.

concerned about creatures whose expectation of life was so very low."[13] Stone cites many medieval and early modern parenting practices as proof that parents were often harsh with their children, such as tight swaddling of infants for the majority of the day, corporal punishment, sending children to boarding school at an early age, and sending infants to wet nurses.[14] Stone presents early modern childhood as a difficult experience, as it was a time when parents were regularly neglectful and showed little affection.

A major challenge to Ariés and Stone came from Linda Pollock in her book, *Forgotten Children: Parent-child relations from 1500-1900* (1983). Pollock's main source bases are diaries and written correspondence such as *A record of the mercies of God* by Nehemiah Wallington, the diaries of Mr. and Mrs. Owen Stockton, Caroline Powys, as well as over forty more diaries from England, Scotland, and the English colonies. Pollock strongly disagrees with Ariés and Stone. She concludes that often the apparent indifference from parents presented in the written sources was not evidence of a lack of parental affection, instead, it was evidence of the religious and social expectations of the time. Parents were not expected to fret over their children's sicknesses or accidents, and those who lost a child were expected to grieve only for a short amount of time and praise God that their child returned home to heaven. Pollock found evidence of worry and anxiety among parents who had sick or hurt children, and argues that this is proof that early modern parents did love their children.[15]

---

[13] Stone, 57.
[14] Ibid., 267-271.
[15] Linda A. Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent-child relations from 1500-1900,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 127-128.

Pollock comes to an entirely different conclusion about parents than Stone and Ariés. Instead of being neglectful and non-caring, she finds evidence of parents who worried about their children, prayed for them, and genuinely wanted them. She notes "the high rate of infant mortality operated to increase [parents'] anxiety."[16] Pollock ends by recognizing that her work is not the final answer on the questions surrounding the history of childhood, and that no two childhood experiences were exactly the same. Her hope was that historians would continue to ask questions about children and family life in early modern England.[17]

One of the most important works of the twenty-first century so far in the history of childhood in England is Anthony Fletcher's *Growing up in England*, published in 2008. The book is a survey of the experience of childhood from 1600-1914. Fletcher's book is a revisionist history and his thesis is completely different from Stone's—he argues that the experience of children *did not* significantly change over the three hundred year period. Fletcher distinguishes between the practices of raising boys and girls in the early modern period, and he notes that there were different expectations for both. He also claims that fathers loved their children as much as mothers did. To support this, he cites the diaries of Edymion Porter and Sir Thomas Pelham who were both politicians and part of the aristocracy during the seventeenth century.[18] The problem is that Fletcher only uses diaries from the elite classes but uses his findings to make broad conclusions about parenting across English society.

[16] Pollock, 127.
[17] Ibid., 271.
[18] Fletcher, 57.

However, it is Fletcher's conclusion about the experience of childhood—that it did not really change—that prompted me to write this thesis. In his book, Fletcher recognizes that toys, books, dress, and luxuries all arose or changed during the time period, but he writes, "the research for [the] book has not revealed any grounds for supposing that anything of fundamental importance changed, between 1600 and 1914, in the dynamic of the relationships between parents and their children."[19] But I argue that there were so many innovations, new experiences, and changes in family life that took place during the early modern period that it seems likely that the perception of childhood drastically changed as well. Maybe childhood for elite children did not change drastically, but as capitalism and Protestantism helped form a new idea of childhood, the effect had to have been felt on the middling and lower classes, and I would argue that it was also apparent in the aristocratic class. Also, as anxieties began to surmount during the eighteenth century about the state of the empire, war, and tensions about the changing world, book and game publishers produced products that taught children to be patriotic citizens who contributed to the greater good of society and the British Empire. The first step in understanding this process is to grasp how the view of childhood changed between the late seventeenth century and the middle of the nineteenth century, as well as the content of books and games produced for children during the time period.

For the sake of time and space, I focus on the pedagogical innovations in children's literature and table games as way to show that the idea of childhood did, in fact, change drastically during the long eighteenth century. Among the middling sort,

[19] Anthony Fletcher, xxi.

especially, children went from working with their parents as soon as they were old enough to having an education, toys, and products marketed to them, as well as designated spaces within the home that were for their use. *Hamley's* is a great example of this phenomenon. With the emergence of the toy store during the eighteenth century, children could have their senses delighted. And parents clearly purchased playthings for children because *Hamley's* opened a second location a century later and added five stories to its original location.[20]

As the success of *Hamley's* indicates, the idea of the Consumer Revolution is also important to my thesis because it brings into focus the goods that were being purchased because of the rise of consumerism in early modern England. Adults were not the only individuals in early modern England to go through this revolution, because children also had goods marketed to them and in a sense became consumers themselves. Maxine Berg discusses consumerism in her book *Luxury & Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (2005). The book explores inventions in Britain, products from the New World, the emergence of specialized shops, and the rise of middle-class consumers in the eighteenth century. Berg argues that Britain became a "nation of shoppers" as more consumers entered the market. It became easier to purchase luxuries and desirables than it had ever been before. New and exciting products were also being introduced from all over the British Empire, such as calico and porcelain.[21]

---

[20] "The history of Hamleys—London's famous toy shop." BBC London, http://news.bbc.co.uk/local/london/hi/people_and_places/history/newsid_8510000/8510277.stm, accessed January 17, 2014.

[21] Maxine Berg, *Luxury & Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 24.

One significant social and economic change that Berg emphasizes is that the English middle class began purchasing things that were considered fashionable, instead of simple necessities, whether clothing, furniture, curtains, or other goods. This mattered because, as Berg writes, "The metropolitan elites may have been the big spenders of their time, but they represented a tiny proportion of the population, and the adventurous lead in creating a broad base of consumer spending was taken amongst those who, with less money, had recently prospered, the middling classes."[22] Berg's research aids in the understanding of the rise of consumerism in early modern England, but she does not discuss children's experiences. Nevertheless, Berg's analysis of the rising influence and purchasing power of the middle classes makes us aware that more people than ever before were buying manufactured goods in England.

The rise in consumerism also connects to another idea that had a large impact on English society during the long-eighteenth century, the expansion of England's empire. Some historians once saw empire as evidence of the rise of British exceptionalism. However, the goal of many post-revisionist historians who emerged toward the end of the twentieth century was to examine the complexities and anxieties surrounding the idea of empire. This school of history created a resurgence of interest about empire and also brought to light its multi-faceted nature. In 1994 Kathleen Wilson argued that common people in Britain had a stake in seeing the empire succeed. She has shown that a print culture developed around news materials, which helped create a national identity. The public, especially the middle classes, actively read and looked to printed materials for the

[22] Berg, 195-196.

news, because they understood the importance of colonies, trade, and exploration for the health of the empire.[23] The successfulness of the print culture meant that individuals were educated enough to develop and share opinions about politics and the state of the British Empire.

Another work by Wilson is *The Sense of the People* (1995). In the book, Wilson examines the idea of imperialism during the eighteenth century. She finds that the British people's identity was wrapped around the idea of empire, but that their identity was tested during the eighteenth century when the state of the empire was in question, especially because of the American Revolution and the loss of thirteen North American colonies. She argues that patriotism and national identity were inseparable, and people linked these two sentiments with British politics. But with the loss of America, fear crept up and challenged people's patriotism and national identity as politics seemed to fail.[24] It is the failure of politics in England and the unsure future of the Empire that created a need to educate children in a way that would lead to imperial minded adults. What historians still need to examine in depth is the relationship between empire and childhood.

Linda Colley argued briefly that children began being inoculated with patriotism from a young age, but she does not expand much on the topic.[25] But there is more to the

[23] Kathleen Wilson, "Empire of Virtue: The imperial project and Hanoverian culture c. 1720-1785," *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689 to 1815*, edited by Lawrence Stone (London: Routledge: 1994): 129-132.

[24] Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture, and Imperialism in England 1715-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 435-441.

[25] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 121-123.

story. The phase of childhood, being completely separated from adulthood, is a marker of modernity. As historian Patrick Ryan notes, "One of modernity's cardinal features is the special importance that it has granted to childhood in the discourses of being human."[26] I concur with Ryan that childhood is an invention of modernity, but that assertion leads to additional questions. How did this invention of childhood take place? If the idea of childhood was a radical transition from days past, how did educators and philosophers determine what childhood indicated? This perception of childhood arose in England during the time when the empire was at the forefront of thought, therefore this topic deserves considerable treatment by historians. It is not possible for me to do this topic justice in this short amount of space, but I hope that this thesis can encourage further work.

Definitions, Sources, and Methodology

Before proceeding I want to take a moment to define some terminology used throughout the thesis. The term "childhood" is used to refer to perceptions of the youngest inhabitants of England. I am no so much interested in how the experiences of childhood changed, although this does inevitably arise at points within the thesis. I am more interested in how childhood was constructed and perceived by educators, writers, and publishers during the time period. It was the very young children in England who would have read most of the children's literature and used the table games analyzed here. It is also important to note that when discussing education, I am referring to domestic

[26] Patrick J. Ryan, "How New Is the "New" Social Study of Childhood? The Myth of a Paradigm Shift," in *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 38, no. 4 (Spring, 2008), 553.

education, which took place between a young child and a parent or tutor. Boarding school education is, for the most part, left out of this narrative.

Research for this thesis was conducted using different sources and methodologies, including children's literature, advice pamphlets, pedagogical tracts, table games and more. Most of the table games used are located at the Victoria and Albert Museum of Childhood in London. The experience there was unlike any other and took me back to my own childhood, as the games had to be played in order to be understood and the puzzles had to be put together to photograph. But there was more to the creation of this thesis than mere fun.

I combined the history of childhood with sociological and material culture methodologies. I was concerned with finding out the reasons why children's books were written as well as what topics both games and literature for children addressed. Written primary sources were also extremely important to the research. Whether the documents were written by individuals for private use, by newspapers for public viewing, or were advertisements, these sources were important because they helped me understand the significance of the items within society. Another type of source that was used was ego documents (diaries, memoirs, travel logs, etc.). They were evaluated in order to find evidence about material products, as well as evidence that parents desired to buy products for their children. These sources, even though there are only a few of them, brought life to my project by adding personal experiences of children and their families.

This thesis consists of three chapters. The first chapter examines the social changes that occurred in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Any

story about the changing perception of childhood would be incomplete without this as part of the narrative, because this helps add context and allows us to see change over time. Agricultural, industrial, familial, and religious changes are just some of the transformations that the period witnessed. As a result of these monumental changes in English society, I argue that the concept of childhood transformed dramatically. The second chapter reviews the rise of children's literature between 1740 and 1800. This chapter focuses on the development of a market for children's products and the discussion about the importance of educational books that were also amusing. This was a time when childhood was recognized as being distinctly different from adulthood and, therefore, that children needed specialized products. Publishers such as John Newbery and John Marshall were integral in this process as they created products that would sell and meet the needs of children. Chapter three takes the history one step further by examining educational table games that were produced for children between 1780 and 1850. Although these games were intended to be fun, they also illustrate tensions about what children needed to learn in the modern age. This was a crucial time in the making of modern Britain and the empire and this chapter examines how the perception of childhood continued to be molded in relation to this. The British Empire was a fundamental part of society and as the games make evident it became extremely important to instruct children with this ideology from an early age.

In the end, this is a story about change in England, specifically social changes that led to revolutionary changes in informal education for children. By the middle of the eighteenth century, children had a whole new world of manufactured goods available to

them that was not present one hundred years earlier. This change happened very rapidly in England and an examination of this transformation follows here.

Chapter II

A Society In Flux

"Train up a child in the way that he should go: and when

he is old, he will not depart from it."

Proverbs 22:6[1]

The perception of children as distinctly different from adults is a marker of modernity. Children were not viewed in this light before the end of the seventeenth century, and in order to understand how this transition took place we must determine where this change stemmed from and how it occurred. First, it is imperative to consider the social and economic changes that took place in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These changes set England on a more progressive course, but they also created anxieties in society, even when it came to new ideas about young children. Second, early children's books will be analyzed in order to provide a better understanding of how children were educated in pre-eighteenth-century England. The third concern of this chapter is a reassessment of John Locke's role in the changes in domestic pedagogy. Historians have often credited Locke with reforming childhood education, but did Locke really revolutionize the pedagogical methods of teaching children or were his writings representative of the changing society around him? Lastly, home-based education within what some historians label the "private sphere" will be assessed. These factors will

[1] Pr. 22:6 KJV.

provide insight into the shifting understandings and anxieties surrounding the modern perception of childhood during this time period. I argue that it was all of these components—changes in English society, new writings about children and education, and restructured domestic values—that indicate the invention of modern childhood and, in turn, made the emergence of a distinctive market for children's literature and table games possible by the 1740s.

Social and Economic Changes

Over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, England experienced several social and economic changes. Keith Wrightson argues that changes in living and working conditions were so dramatic that contemporaries noticed them, even though they did not have statistics to back up their knowledge.[2] In short, people in sixteenth-century England knew their world was transforming. Fen-drainage, enclosures, new farming technologies, and disafforestation led to agricultural improvements, which in turn allowed for the production of more food and boosted the population. Consequently, it is estimated that between 1520 and 1680 the population of England doubled in size from 2.5 million to 5 million inhabitants.[3]

Traditionally, the perceived roles of men and women in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries England were very different. Men were considered the patriarchs of the family and, therefore, responsible for all of the members of the household, including wives,

[2] Keith Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680*, fifth paperback edition (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 122.
[3] Wrightson, 121-124.

children, and servants. The accepted hierarchy of the household mirrored that of the state, with a king over his subjects and a husband/father over his family. This was because women and children were considered incapable of making rational decisions and therefore needed a husband or father to rule over them, as a king ruled over his people.[4] John Dod and Robert Cleaver wrote about the proper roles of men and women in their advice book on marriage in 1598. In order for a marriage to be successful, Dod and Cleaver wrote that:

> The duty of the husband is to get money and provision; and of the wife's, not vainly to spend it. The duty of the husband is to deal with many men; and of the wife's to talk to few. The duty of the husband is to be intermeddling; and of the wife, to be solitary and withdrawn. …The duty of the husband is to be lord of all; and of the wife, to give account of all. The duty of the husband is to dispatch all things without door; and of the wife, to oversee and give order for all things within the house. Now where the husband and wife performeth these duties in their house, we may call it a college of quietness. The house wherein these are neglected, we may term it hell.[5]

This passage illustrates the ideal roles that men and women played in late sixteenth-century society. It was widely understood that if husbands and wives did not live up to these standards, they would have a very unhappy and tumultuous marriages, but if they each accepted their role in marriage than they would have a happy union. Understanding and accepting patriarchal roles by both sexes was important to maintain order within the household and society.

---

[4] Cynthia B. Herrup, *A House in Gross Disorder: Sex, Law, and the 2nd Earl of Castlehaven* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 147.

[5] John Dod and Robert Cleaver, *A Godly Form of Household Government: for the Ordering of Private Families, According to the Directions of God's Word* (London: 1598), *The Norton Anthology of English Literature Online,* http://www.wwnorton.com/college/english/nael/17century/topic_1/godlydod.htm, accessed March 14, 2015.

Lawrence Stone argues that the idea of patriarchy transformed during the late seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century as a result what he calls "affective individualism." The term refers in part to the rise in awareness of one's own desires. This led to women making marriage choices based on love and desire instead of adhering to their father's choice for a husband.[6] Another major change that Stone discusses is the rise of the nuclear family. Pre-eighteenth-century English families were tied together through kinship networks, but as the eighteenth century progressed, individual nuclear family units became the norm. The decline of influence by kin and neighbors allowed for several things to occur, according to Stone, including privatization within the family, better educational equality, mutual affection between husbands and wives, and the decline of patriarchal authority.[7] These new attitudes toward family life helped transform the dynamic of families, and also most assuredly had an impact on how children were perceived by parents.

The make-up of the family was not the only thing changing, other factors in England led to social and economic changes during the time period. Additional changes in English society included the rise of manufacturing (especially textiles) and the putting-out system, the inflation of prices, and, probably most importantly, these all led to the

[6] Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*, abridged edition (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1979), 164-165. Amanda Vickery notes that Stone's argument about the rise of the nuclear family and affective individualism has not been contested among historians even though he has been criticized about other topics. Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 306, n. 5.

[7] Stone, 411-413.

creation of a middle class, or middling sort in England due to their increase in wealth.[8] During the same era, England developed a market economy and became a consumer-based society in which the people relied more heavily on manufactured goods. As Joyce Appleby notes, "The novelty in consumption in the early modern period came from the inclusion of more and more people in the spending spree."[9] By the seventeenth century more people than ever before in England were working for wages and spending their income on groceries and consumer durable goods like furniture, clothing, and home accessories.[10] The act of being a consumer was an important result of these transformations. As England's economy became less dependent on agricultural production and more dependent on the production of consumer goods, foreign trade, and the Atlantic market society became more complex. I argue that this complexity also changed the way the English needed to perceive and educate their young. There were more things to learn, more technologies to understand, and a new segment of the population, the middle class, who desired to educate their children. Their multifaceted world created the need for a more intricate system of home-based education.

The development of a market economy, increased trade, and the Atlantic economy helped create more disposable income for families and individuals, and this led to the emergence of retail shops. As one historian so precisely notes by the late

[8] Keith Wrighton, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 8.

[9] Joyce Appleby, "Consumption in early modern social thought," in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, edited by John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), 172.

[10] Carole Shammas, "Changes in English and Anglo-American consumption from 1550-1800," in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, edited by John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), 177-205.

seventeenth-century, "England was quickly becoming a nation of shoppers and shopkeepers."[11] And during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries London became the center of consumerism in England. Not only were people buying more, but distributors also moved away from specializing in one product to diversifying their retail line to appeal to a broader base of customers, including children.[12] J.H. Plumb notes that during the eighteenth-century, parents, especially those of the middle class, were being enticed to buy products for their children's amusement.[13] But, it is difficult to know exactly what parents bought for their children. As Lorna Weatherill points out, family account books from the early eighteenth-century are rare.[14] However, Weatherill did find evidence of one father's expenditure on his children in the account book of Richard Latham from Lancashire. During the 1730s he purchased educational books, a new psalm book, and a child's guidebook for his children.[15] It would be impossible to determine with any certainty the exact titles of the books that Mr. Latham purchased, but this is evidence that parents were, in fact, buying books and other items for their children during the eighteenth-century.

---

[11] Steve Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 73.

[12] Carole Shammas, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America* (Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 1990), 360.

[13] J.H. Plumb, "The New World of Children," in *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Neil McKendrick, et al. (London: Europa Publications Limited, 1982), 286-292.

[14] Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour & Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760*, second edition (New York: Routledge, 1996), 229.

[15] Weatherill, 121.

The last major transformation of early modern English society to consider is religion. England became a Protestant country during the sixteenth century, and Protestantism significantly changed how people understood their relationship with God. Protestantism tried to differentiate itself from the old religion (Catholicism) by removing all of the magic and spiritual elements of the saints and the natural world.[16] By doing so, Protestantism emphasized that in order to achieve salvation it was necessary to combine prayer to God with self-help. Protestants understood their relationship with God as a direct one, and this led to the anxious realization that individuals could no longer rely on the intercession of saints and priests to achieve salvation. Instead, it was up to each individual to ensure that they lived a Godly life.[17] However, that did not mean that the change was instant or uncontested. By the middle of the seventeenth-century a number of dissenting groups, including Anabaptists, Diggers, Puritans, Quakers, Ranters, and Seekers, emerged due to the Civil War and separated from the Anglican Church. J.C.D. Clark notes that, "The unresolved problem of the period from the Reformation to the civil war was the existence of groups of religious extremists, committed to the idea of a single national church but resolved to capture control of it and reform it in their own image."[18] This transformation in ideology no doubt led to anxiety about how one achieved salvation, and it is likely that it also helped inform the types of children's literature that

[16] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth-and Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Penguin Books, 1971), 87-89. It is not my intention in this thesis to address the full consequences or reasons behind the Protestant Reformation.

[17] Thomas, 330-332.

[18] J.C.D. Clark, *English Society 1660-1832: Religion, ideology and politics during the ancien regime*, second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 63.

were published during the seventeenth century in England, which tended to focus on religion, memorization, and spiritual guidance.

Early Books for Children

When learning to read in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the first thing a child was expected to master was the alphabet. The alphabet was taught orally and lessons would begin as early as two or three years old. Letter identification was taught first, followed by sounds of vowels then consonants, and then the child would work on combining sounds to make words.[19] Hornbooks were an especially useful tool during the period for parents and tutors to use to teach the sight and sounds of letters. They were made by printing a lesson on a thin piece of animal horn and then adhering it to a wooden tablet, and the size was usually three to six inches (perfect for small hands). Some contained only the alphabet while others were far more detailed with the alphabet, consonants and vowels paired to practice combining sounds, and the Lord's Prayer to exercise all of the skills learned (Figure 1).[20] The main purpose of educating children during this time period was to make them pious, religious adults. But, hornbooks were small and could not hold a substantial amount of information. As the goals of education became more complex, pedagogical tools for young children needed to be modified. However, before this could happen the purpose of home-based education had to dramatically shift.

---

[19] David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 20-21.

[20] Meridee Bailey, "Hornbooks," *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 6, no. 1 (Winter, 2013): 5-6.

Figure 1
Miss Campion Holding a Hornbook (1661)
Nousheen Leila Saboonpaz, “”Horn-Books,”
Mary Mary Quick Contrary: Investigating the Mary Great Collection, Manchester Art Gallery,
http://www.marymaryquitecontrary.org.uk/archives/tag/horn-books

The Anglican clergyman Robert Shelford presented a sermon on the correct and virtuous way to educate children in 1606.[21] Shelford based his sermon on Proverbs 22:6 and said that the verse was both a commandment and a promise. The commandment was to “teach a child in the trade of his way,” and the promise was, “and when he is old he shall not depart from it.” In the sermon he admonished parents who spent more time

[21] Arnold Hunt, “Robert Shelford,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* accessed March 14, 2015.

caring for their "hogge, and the Horse, and the Cow" and, therefore, did not take the time to educate their children. He preached that this type of parents would "rather see their sonnes swearers, drunkards, whoremasters, or any other prophane person."[22] Shelford's sermon was a reaction to the "corrupt and declining age of the world" that he saw around him.[23] The idea that it was the parents' duty to properly educate their children would help mold the type of educational books produced for children over the next century.

In 1612, William Martyn wrote a moral tract on why children should be educated in religion. His book was titled *Youths Instruction,* and he dedicated it to his son Nicholas. Martyn was a lawyer and a historian, and his historical works concentrated on morality instead of politics.[24] In *Youths Instruction*, Martyn argued that a happy, fulfilled life could only be achieved when God was present, and that it was easy to get caught up in wickedness without God. Because of this, Martyn noted, "It is therefore very requisite, and fit that [youth] be carefully instructed, concerning the performance, and execution of this duty, which much be by a reverent feare of his deity, and power…[and] serve the Lord in feare…[which] is the beginning of wisedome, and or knowledge."[25] According to Martyn, it was the fear of God that created a faithful person and this was crucial for young children to learn early on in life. The element of fear was a common theme among

[22] Robert Shelford, *Lectures Or Readings upon the 6. Verse of the 22. Chapter of the Proverbs, concerning the virtuous education of Youth: A treatise very necessary for all parents in this corrupts and declining age of the world* (London: Felix King, 1606), 1.

[23] Shelford, Title Page.

[24] D.R. Woolf, "William Martyn," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed March 14, 2015.

[25] William Martyn, *Youth's Instruction* (London: John Beak, 1612), 4.

early books written for children and it was taught by memorizing certain catechisms and passages from the Bible.

The Puritan John Stalham used memorization as a technique in his book, *A catechisme for children in yeeres and children in understanding,* during the English Civil War in 1644. In the book, he warned parents to be diligent and teach their children and servants the importance of God and salvation. The book was one long catechism for children (and "illiterate servants") with questions and answers on subjects like salvation, sanctification, repentance, hope, faith, the commandments, as well as other topics.[26] Catechisms were a popular method for teaching children and highlighted memorization as a learning technique. It was not so much that the child understood exactly what he/she was reading as much as the books ingrained ideas into his/her mind and heart. This method aligned with the notion that children were born sinners because it did not give them much room for interpretation. Children needed to know that God loved them from a young age by memorizing specific Scriptures and Catechisms, and then they could move on to reading the Bible when they were older. These memorization methods were very popular and would continue to be used by authors for the purpose of educating children throughout the seventeenth-century.

An early book written specifically for children was John Owen's *The Primer* (1652). The book followed along with the societal norm at the time of teaching children to be moral, religious adults. Owen described the book as, "An easy way to teach Chidren

[26] John Stalham, *A Catechisme for Children in yeeres and Children in understanding: Chiefly intended for their instruction in the Family* (London: Christopher Meredith, 1644), 1-19.

the true reading of English, WITH a necessary catehisme, to instruct Youth in the grounds of Christian Religion. Also choice places of Scripture for that purpose."[27] The book included an alphabet to help children learn their letters, but the book also had lessons on profound spiritual formation. The Catechism included a lesson on the Ten Commandments with short explanations after each commandment. There were also several prayers for children to learn, including one called "A Prayer for in the morning." The prayer highlighted both the emphasis on the individual's relationship with God and the anxiety that came with that, as well as the seriousness placed on morality and spirituality. Part of it reads:

> Blessed Lord God, the God the Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: and in him my God, and my Father, of whose patience and mercy it is that I am not *consumed*; I thy *poor creature,* and *unworthy sinfull servant*…O Lord I am *weak, dark,* and *ignorant*, give me to know thee, and the onely true God, and whom thou has sent Jesus Christ: fill my heart with the feare of they great Name, and help me to grow up, and to increase in grace, and in knowledge of my Lord and Saviour.[28]

The prayer was meant to instill into children the necessity of God's love for salvation. The child reading the prayer was to understand that he/she was ignorant and feeble without God's love. This type of instruction taught religious authority, obedience, and humility to children and prepared them to carry on these habits as adults.

The Childes first Tutor by Festus Corin (1664) was another work meant to educate children in the art of reading and reverence to God. Corin described the book as "An easie and delightful way to learn the twenty four Letters, to spell, and read true

[27] John Owen, *The Primer* (London, 1652), title page, EEBO.
[28] Owen, "Morning Prayer," in *The Primer.* Emphasis Mine.

English in a short time."[29] The book included pictures for children so they would keep their interest as they read it, but it was also meant to teach the importance of dependence on God. Like Owen's book, *The Childes first Tutor* included the Ten Commandments, alphabet, Catechism, and prayers for everyday life. Children were taught to pray before bed, after waking up in the mornings, before meals, after meals, and even about their own upbringing. Praying for their education and salvation were important because children were expected to grow into functioning, faithful adults. And, in the Protestant worldview, their salvation depended on their faith alone. The importance of this lesson had to be taught from early on. One prayer went as follows, "O Lord God Almighty, as thou hast awakened my body from sleep, so for Christ has sake awaken my soul from sin, and put thy fear into my heart, that I may be always praying to, and praising thy glorious name. Teach me so to walk this day before thee, that I may not offend in thought, work, or deed, for the sake of Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen."[30]

As these examples indicate, the first three-quarters of the seventeenth-century was a time when children were expected to memorize and repeat their lessons, which were primarily religious in tone and function. Educational books were produced to help England's youth realize that they were inherently sinful and in need to God's grace, and not for their amusement. Because children were considered naturally sinful they required texts that taught prayers, catechisms, commandments, and more. For example, Thomas

[29] Festus Corin, *The Childes first Tutor: Or, The Master & Mistris* (London, 1664), title Page, EEBO.

[30] Corin, "A Prayer to be used by Children at their Upbringing," in *The Childes first Tutor.*

Isham grew up during the middle decades of the seventeenth-century. He was fourteen when he began his diary in 1671 at the request of his father. His father, Sir Justinian Isham, second baronet of Lamport, required that Thomas keep a diary in Latin so he could master the language, and paid him six pounds a year for doing so.[31] It is not necessarily surprising that there is no mention of *The Primer* or *The Childes first Tutor* in his diary because Thomas kept the diary at the insistence of his father. The interesting thing that emerges from Thomas's diary is that he was expected to be a serious young man and be invested in his home village. His family was part of the aristocracy and Thomas was learning to be the next baronet of Lamport so he wrote about the happenings and interesting events that took place close to home, presumably in order to begin learning about political and social norms. His diary suggests that he did not spend much time in play with peers or siblings, or even reading for pleasure. However, he did mention a few books. One was for keeping bees, the second was *Caesar's Commentaries*, and another was a gift from a friend but he does not give its title nor does he seem very excited about it. It is recorded as just another occurrence of the day.[32]

But, Thomas's diary is evidence that his training was a product of his time and social standing—he was expected to be a studious young man, serious in thought and demeanor. He provides a good example of how boys and young men, especially among the aristocracy, might have been expected and prepared to become active and beneficial

[31] Norman Marlow, trans., *The Diary of Thomas Isham of Lamprot, 1658-1681: kept by him in Latin from 1671 to 1673 at his Father's command* (Westmead: Gregg International Publishers LTD, 1971), 6.

[32] Marlow, 61, 79, 217.

members of society. And, whether or not Thomas ever read *The Primer* or *the Childes first Tutor* during his youth or childhood, these books certainly fit with the belief that children were not expected to be amused while being educated.

John Locke and the Enlightenment

Historians and literary scholars often credit John Locke with altering the course of education for children in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and with it the perception of childhood. Literary scholar Robert Bator wrote in 1972 that, "Locke shaped the educational work of the [eighteenth] century," and that it was mainly because of Locke that children had books fit for their needs during the same century.[33] Historian John Pickering notes in his work from 1982 that "It seems almost impossible to exaggerate the influence of Locke's writings upon eighteenth-century thought in general and upon educational thought in particular."[34] The point that Locke changed pedagogic methods at the same time he raised awareness about the state of childhood is still argued by scholars today. While discussing the impact that Locke had on the world of children's literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, literary scholar Seth Lerer notes that, "John Locke's theories of child-rearing and his philosophical commitment to the study of nurture and education…foster a distinctive place for children and their books in English literary history."[35] Although there is no doubt of John Locke's influence in creating

[33] Robert Bator, "Out of the Ordinary Road: John Locke and the English Juvenile Fiction in the Eighteenth Century," *Children's Literature* 1 (1972), 46.

[34] Samuel F. Pickering, Jr., *John Locke and Children's Books in Eighteenth-Century England,* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee, 1981), 9.

[35] Seth Lerer, *Children's Literature: A Reader's History, From Aesop to Harry Potter,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 10.

awareness for the stage of life we know today as childhood, Locke was not the only one who contributed to changing the perceptions of childhood in the late seventeenth-century by encouraging authors to write amusing tracts for children. Instead, there was a whole community who took it upon themselves to insist on better and more suitable education for England's young. These philosophers and educators spent the last part of the seventeenth-century producing a discourse on how to properly educate children.

John Locke wrote his monumental work *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* in 1693. In his treatise, Locke questioned the value of memorizing rules as the process of education that was standard among religious primary education texts. He wrote, "One thing I think a fault in the ordinary method of education…is the charging of children's memories upon all occasions, with rules and precepts, which they often do not understand, and constantly as soon forget as given."[36] Locke called for children to be able to use their imagination and have time for play. He argued that education should involve imagination and amusement—his idea was children would learn more if they enjoyed what they were learning.[37] Locke was responding to the style of religious instructional and educational books that were popular during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as those by Owen, Corin, and Stalham. These books did not encourage children to be creative because the purpose was to ingrain religious doctrine into the minds of young readers to save their souls. Locke saw this method as unsuitable for children, because

[36] John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education,* ed. John William Adamson (Mineola: Dover Publications Inc., 2007), 44.
[37] Locke, 115.

repetition did not ensure that they fully grasped the difficult concepts being presented. It only meant that children learned the lessons well enough for the sake of repeating them. However, Locke was not opposed to all things memorization.

In his treatise, Locke recommended John Worthington's book, *A Form of Sound Words: Or, a Scripture Catechism; Shewing What a Christian is to Believe and Practice in order to Salvation* (1681), as a good example of an easy and proper way to teach children about religion. Worthington was a clergyman in the Anglican Church, translator, and tutor.[38] Locke wrote, "Worthington…has made a catechism which has all its answers in the precise words of the Scripture…it may be fit for [the student] to learn a question every day, or every week, as his understanding is able to receive and his memory to retain them."[39] Worthington's book is not filled with pictures, amusing entertainment, or delight for children, but the benefit according to Locke was that the information and lessons in the book could be digested at the pace of the individual child. The book was formatted with inquisitive questions and knowledgeable answers, and it offered a substitute to memorizing scripture straight out of the Bible. An example of one question and answer series is:

> *Q. How many Gods are there?*
> A. There is none other God but one, for though there be that are called Gods, whether in Heaven or in earth (as there be Gods many and Lords many) yet to us there is but one God the Father, or whom are all things, etc.

[38] John T.Young, "John Worthington," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed September 22, 2014.
[39] Locke, 122.

1 Cor. 8:4,5,6.[40]

Worthington's idea was to offer an alternative to teaching religion once the student could read, but his idea was not completely new. The method of using question-and-answer catechisms to teach children had been used before by John Stalham as I have shown, but Worthington's catechisms were easier to understand and therefore, according to Locke, more suitable for young minds. The student could be a child or anyone needing to be educated in religious matters. Interestingly, in the preface of the book, Worthington addressed the state of education of children at the time. He reinforced the idea that parents were responsible for teaching their children about faith and salvation by referring to Proverbs 22:6, just as Robert Shelford had done almost eighty years earlier.[41] Worthington then proceeded to label the current educational methods made popular by the Church of England as "ancient," and continued by noting, "This way [of educating] hath not proved to be successful," indicating that even before Locke wrote his treatise, there were others who were concerned with the state of education in England and that a changing awareness of childhood was altering the thoughts on how to best educate children.[42]

Indeed, Worthington and Locke were not the only ones questioning the state of education and literature geared toward children. Eighteen years before Locke's *Some*

[40] John Worthington, *A Form of Sound Words: Or, A Scripture Catechism; Shewing What a Christian is to Believe and Practice in order to Salvation. Very Useful for Persons of all Ages and Capacities as well as Children,* (London: R. Royston, 1681), 2.

[41] Worthington, Preface.

[42] Ibid., Preface.

Thoughts on Education an author with the initials A.B. published *A Model for a School for the better Education of Youth* (1675). The tract was meant for the improvement of the education of gentlemen, but there was some evidence regarding the shifting perception of children within its pages. The author set out step-by-step instructions on how to educate children more precisely. One of the main topics of interest was the teaching of grammar. The author wrote, "The rules of grammar [ought] to be plain, that they may be easily understood; especially because they are to be learn't by Children."[43] A.B. put the decision as to what children should learn on the parents because parents knew best the capacity of their individual children. Schools should also be careful not to create only one educational method, but be willing to customize education to each child. This suggests that A.B. recognized the individuality of each child. Also, the author suggested that part of learning should be "delightful" and that learning could be accomplished during "intermission," or playtime. While discussing books, A.B. advised that children should not be required to read for more than one hour at a time.[44] All of these proposals included in this tract indicate that by 1675 children were already viewed by some as needing a new form of education to better match their short attention spans and individual uniqueness, and that these characteristics were being equated as distinct to childhood. It is interesting that the ideas of A.B. about educating children were published almost twenty years before Locke published his famous treatise. Again, this is evidence that the perception of

[43] A.B., *A Model for a School for the better Education of Youth,* (unknown; unknown, 1675), 1. EEBO, accessed August 25, 2014.

[44] A.B., 4-5.

children was already changing before the end of the seventeenth century, and others continued to write on this topic in the years that followed.

John Bettam wrote *A Brief Treatise of Education, with a Particular Respect to the Children of Great Personages. For the Use of His Royal Highness, The Prince* the same year that Locke published his book on education (1693). Bettam was the tutor to James Stuart, the son of the recently deposed James II, which meant that he was most likely Catholic.[45] Religious teaching played a large role in Bettam's writing. Bettam focused on the importance of a Christian education and wrote that a "Christian Education…ought to be lookt on as a thing of the greatest importance in the World."[46] But, Bettam also responded in his treatise to the changing nature of education at the end of the seventeenth century. He noted that tutors should always be instructing their pupils, even while they were at play, and that children had limitations on how much they could learn at one time and with one method. Bettam recommended books with cutouts and pictures for children for them to learn with. To end his work Bettam wrote, "One ought to endeavour to incline the Minds of Children to a commendable curiosity of seeing things that are strange and curious, and encourage them to be inquisitive of the reasons of whatsoever occurs. This Curiosity is no fault in their Age, because it opens and enlarges their Minds, and diverts them from many ill turns."[47] Bettam saw inquisitiveness as a positive and unique trait of

[45] Edward Gregg, "James Francis Edward Stuart," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed April 10, 2015.

[46] John Bettam, *A Brief Treatise of Eduation, with A Particular Respect to the Children of Great Personages. For the Use of His Royal Highness, The Prince* (Paris: P. Lauren: 1693), 2.

[47] Bettam, 16-22.

childhood, one that could benefit the education of children if properly utilized, and not something that should be punished. This train of thought took the pressure off of the child to learn rules and memorize Scriptures and placed it on the parent or tutor. It was the teacher's obligation to foster curiosity and, in doing so, create an effective learning environment.

Another interesting piece that dealt with the changing ideas of how best to educate children is Robert Ainsworth's *The Most Natural and Easie Way of Institution: Containing, Proposals For Making a Domestic Education Less Chargeable to Parents, and More Easie and Beneficial to Children*, written in 1698. Ainsworth's goal in the pamphlet was to instruct parents on how to educate their children in the study of Latin. In the text he noted that children's minds were like "clay" and could be molded. He recommended that children start learning to read as soon as they began talking, and that a tutor be hired to teach them as soon as the English language was mastered.[48] Ainsworth laid out several steps on how to easily teach Latin once a child was ready, and in some of these steps changing notions and ideas about childhood were evident. First, Ainsworth recommended that children be taught in the countryside, away from the pollution in London, and in a space where they could run and play. Second, he argued that punishment should not be part of education. Instead, children should be rewarded for good studies in Latin. Last, Ainsworth advised that children should not have tasks to

[48] Robert Ainsworth, *The Most Natural and Easie Way of Institution: Containing, Proposals For making a Domestic Education Less Chargeable to Parents, and More Easie and Beneficial to Children,* (London: Christopher Huffey, 1698), 17.

complete just for the sake of being kept busy.[49] He continues by noting that children are naturally inquisitive and curious and that "The learning of languages…ought to be…made pleasant."[50]

All of these men—Locke, Worthington, Bettam, and Ainsworth—saw childhood as a distinct phase of life, which was drastically different from adulthood. Because of this, they advocated for reformed education that would foster children's natural curiosities and make learning more enjoyable. These men believed that if children enjoyed what they were learning, then they would learn more. The examples above also provide evidence that Locke was not the sole person in England devising novel educational methods to suit the needs of children. All of the authors in this section recognized that the traditional educational methods of the previous centuries and decades, which emphasized the original sin of children, did not correspond with the modern idea of childhood. There were concerns about how to mix amusement with instruction and what methods would work best to teach children. This evidence indicates that the perception of childhood was changing by the end of the seventeenth century, and in response pedagogical methods needed to be transformed.

Changing Attitudes Toward Home-Based Education

Women fulfilled many roles in the home during the seventeenth century. Recent historians have challenged the binary of public vs. private spheres in England by bringing awareness to the numerous duties women had within the home. Steve Pincus and Peter

[49] Ainsworth, 18-19.
[50] Ibid., 20.

Lake argued that the idea of the public sphere (which was originally introduced by the theorist Jürgen Habermas) should be reconsidered within the historiography of early modern England, and that there needs to be a focus on the complexity of the each sphere in order to understand how they were related and different. The original narrative argues that within the public sphere, men would share news about religion and politics, and a political economy was formed in England.[51] This left the private sphere of the household for women to manage, including the servants and children.

Amanda Vickery also argues against the simple binary of public vs. private spheres. In her study on the genteel class in England during the Georgian period, she finds that women's duties were complex and did not always adhere to the private sector of society, nor the domestic home. She uses women's diaries and correspondence as a way to show the complex roles that women stepped into once they became the mistress of their household after marriage. She firmly argues against the use of public vs. private spheres as a way of describing eighteenth-century society and shows how much historians have missed the mark by noting that, "If 'separate spheres' boils down to the observation that women are obliged to spend more time at home with children while men appropriate greater institutional recognition and reward, then separate spheres is an

[51] Steve Pincus and Peter Lake, "Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England," in *Journal of British Studies* 45, no 2 (April 2006), 270-273. Pincus and Lake describe the emergence of a political economy as "socially anchored ideological conflict." The rise of a political economy was facilitated by coffee shops, news sources, development of a print culture, and the emergence of a politicized group.

ancient phenomenon, which is certainly still with us."[52] In the end she finds that women's work within the home was both needed and valued. And, one of the greatest social roles of women in the eighteenth century was motherhood. Women understood their duties as a mother as being necessary and important to both society and their household, and, as Vickery points out, the perception of motherhood, like childhood, was also an "eighteenth-century invention."[53]

It is clear that part of women's work was to manage the household, and this was also where women would educate their young children. During the seventeenth-century it was, however, still common for upper-class boys to leave home as young as seven to attend boarding schools.[54] Boarding schools were known during the time period as places of extreme discipline. The birch rod and flogging stick were the two most common paraphernalia used to reprimand school children, and punishment was a regular occurrence.[55] However, by the eighteenth-century mothers were being encouraged to keep their young children at home longer and teach them rudimentary knowledge.[56] The

[52] Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 7-12.

[53] Vickery, 90-95.

[54] Stone, 85. Even though Stone has been highly criticized by historians for his argument about the lack of love parents had for children before the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, his research on the discipline at boarding schools is still dependable.

[55] Ibid., 116-117.

[56] I was not able to find a reason for this shift in keeping young children at home longer. There is evidence that the mother knew the child better and a dislike of punishment at boarding schools, but neither of these seems to fully tackle why this shift occurred. However, this would be a wonderful project to take on in the future.

instruction of small children, particularly those younger than eight years old, became the responsibility of mothers.[57]

It is also likely that there was a connection between social anxieties of the time period due to civil war, as well as economic, demographic, and agricultural changes, and the return to Aristotelian ideas of education. Aristotle argued that mothers should educate their young children because well-educated children could benefit the state as adults.[58] The fact that so much literature was being published encouraging mothers to educate their young children at home suggests that there were tensions surrounding just how much individuality children should have and the direction the British Empire was headed. This is not to say that morals had drastically shifted, parents still wanted their children to be faithful adults and receive salvation, but now they were also worried about the future of the state and empire and that created a need for new pedagogical methods. And a lot of responsibility was put on mothers to help alleviate these anxieties.

One reason women were considered better equipped to educate their young children was that they were considered to be the overseers of morals.[59] However, as England continued to modernize in the seventeenth-century and the new ideas transformed how children were perceived, the focus on morality shifted. As historian J.H. Plumb notes, "After Locke…Morality [was] still uppermost, but it [was] a social morality

[57] Weatherill, 161.

[58] Kevin Sharpe, "Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England," New Haven: Yale University Press, 186-187.

[59] Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England 1680-1780* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 122.

with which parents and teachers [were] concerned, not [with] the repressions of old Adam, the suppression of evil, or the breaking of the will."[60] This shift to social morality created a need for publications on how and why mothers were well suited to educate their children. The Anglican clergyman Richard Allestree discussed women's facility to educate their children in *The Ladies Calling* in 1705.[61] According to Allestree, women had an "advantage towards Piety" and this made them more capable of instructing the young with their patience and goodness.[62] This was addressed in popular literature. For example, in 1718, an anonymous author wrote *Christian Education, Humbly Recommended to Parents, (Especially to Mothers).* The piece focused on how best to educate children on the subject of religion, but the author also included some interesting arguments as to why young children should be educated by their mothers. He/she argued that religious education was the mother's part "before all others, to [her] care; and that it ought to be their Part, before ever Children go out of their Hands, to make them suck in the Principles of Religion as it were their Milk, and to lay the first Corner Stone in this great Building." According to the writer, since a mother gives birth to her children and knows them from the time she carries them in the womb, she is best qualified to care for their souls (Figure 2). Also, since children become inquisitive at a young age and are usually in the presence of their mothers, it was wise for mothers to be able to begin to

[60] Plumb, 290.

[61] John Spurr, "Richard Allestree," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed March 15, 2015.

[62] Richard Allestree, *The Ladies Calling in two parts. By the author of the whole duty of man* (Oxford: 1705), 90.

teach their children while at home.[63] But women in England were not always properly educated themselves.

Figure 2
Joseph Highmore's Illustration of *Pamela teaching her children* (1743-1745)
In volume iv of Samuel Richardson's novel, *Pamela*
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph_Highmore

By the end of the seventeenth-century the discussion on how to best educate children was extended to include arguments for the better education of girls. Mary Astell argued for this in her book, *A serious proposal to the ladies, for the advancement of their true and greatest interest*, published in 1697. In the book Astell wrote that, "One would be apt to think indeed, that Parents shou'd take all possible care of their Childrens Education, not only for their sakes, but even for their own. And tho's the Son convey the Name to Posterity, yet certaintly a great Part of the Honour of the Families depends on

[63] Anonymous, *Christian education, Humbly Recommended to parents, (especially to mothers) and other instructors of youth; together with an exhortation to all sorts of persons to a more diligent study of the Holy Scriptures; and to seek, above all Things, the Kingdom of God and His Righteousness* (London: Richard Ford, 1718), 4-5.

their Daughters."[64] To Astell, families did a disservice to their daughters and to their family name if they left their daughters uneducated. Charles Rollin, a professor at the Royal College, agreed with Astell in his pamphlet published in 1735. He argued that women of all ranks should be educated, and that peasant girls often went without an education because their mothers had to work alongside their husbands in order to maintain the family. Therefore, Rollin proposed that there was an "indispensible obligation by which noblemen and others possess'd of estates in the country, are bound to establish schools for the instruction of girls, in their several villages." The education of girls was necessary, according to Rollin, for two reasons. First, peasant girls would likely "be one day mothers; and if they themselves have been piously educated, they will not fail of communicating that inestimable advantage to their children." Second, in conjunction with the first reason, if society was going to continue to modernize then girls would have to be properly educated.[65]

As well as the debate about educating girls, there was still anxiety about what would happen if parents did not train their children with the right manners and morals. Henry Boad, a schoolmaster, published the second edition to his book *The English Spelling-Book and Expositor* in 1734. Included on the title page of the book is the following poem:

Youth set right at first with Ease go on,

---

[64] Mary Astell, *A serious proposal to the ladies, for the advancement of their true and greatest interest. In two parts. By a lover of her sex* (London: Richard Wilkin, 1697), 17.

[65] Charles Rollin, *New Thoughts Concerning Education* (London: A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, 1735), 16-17.

> And each New Task is with New Pleasure done;
> But if neglected till they grow in Years,
> And each fond Mother her dear Darling Spares'
> Error becomes habitual, and you'll find
> 'Tis then hard Labour to reform the Mind.[66]

The poem highlights the "Ease" with which Boad desired his readers (both young and old) to learn to read and write by using his book. However, he also warns that if parents, and more specifically mothers, did not educate their children while they were young, they risked them becoming unruly when they got older. He noted that he wrote his rules for spelling and grammar in the simplest form possible in order to adhere to the capacity of a child's mind.[67] The book was so popular that it went through at least twenty-one editions before the end of the eighteenth-century. To Boad, it was important to write his lessons in a way that a child could understand them and be able to truly learn from them. He also desired that the tasks he laid out in the book be completed with ease and pleasure—two ideas that would take hold in children's literature and table games in the coming century.

These ideologies—a mother's duty to educate young children, education for girls, and the focus of morality—challenged the tradition of sending very young children off to boarding school. More mothers, some of whom probably lacked a proper education themselves, were now responsible for teaching rudimentary skills to their children before they left for school at an older age. This no doubt caused anxiety for mothers, especially

[66] Henry Boad, *The English Spelling-Book and Expositor: Being A New Method of Teaching Children and Adult Persons to Read, Write, and Understand the English Tongue in less Time, and with much greater Ease than has hitherto been taught*, second edition (London: Daniel Midwinter, 1734), title page. ECCO.

[67] Boad, v-x.

because most of the book materials available were chapbooks and religious texts full of catechisms. The format and purpose of children's books did not change instantaneously. Instead, the first quarter of the eighteenth-century saw a gradual shift toward books that highlighted the newer ideas on educating children articulated by Locke and others.

Even though the idea of amusing and pleasurable books was taking hold, there still was not a distinguishable market for children's books or games during the first part of the eighteenth-century. Several publishers' catalogs printed between 1710 and 1735 show that they were printing and selling a very small number of children's books, and no games at all.[68] There was still no recognized children's book publishers equivalent to John Newbery or John Marshall who both appeared later in the century and who specialized (at least partly) in children's publishings. In fact, all of the catalogues listed fewer than three books for children that they offered. These listings indicate that the market for children's products had not really begun to blossom by 1735, but would get a boost by John Newbery in 1744.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined how childhood became recognized as a distinct phase of life over the course of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. England experienced many transformations during the seventeenth century that aided this process

[68] Several catalogues were consulted. Some examples of ones with publications listed for children are: Philip Bishop, *Books Printed for, and sold by Philip Bishop. Bookseller, in St. Peter's Church-yard* (London: Philip Bishop, 1716) 14; J. Sowle, *Books Printed and sold at the Bible in George-Yard, Lombard Street* (London: J. Sowle, 1735), 6; James Knapton, et.al., *Books printed and sold by James, John, and Paul Knapton, at the Crown in Ludgate-Street, near the west end of St. Pauls, London* (London: Knapton, 1728), 6; George Conyers, *Books sold at the Ring in Little Britain, by G. Conyers* (London: George Conyers, 1710), 6.

including changes in family dynamics, agricultural improvements, the development of a middle class, and the emergence of a market-based economy. As England changed and society became more complex it became important to reconsider how best to educate young children.

The perception of childhood as distinctly unlike adulthood not only caused children to be viewed differently, but, alongside these social and economic changes, it also created anxiety about how best to educate England's youngest inhabitants. Prior to this, children were seen as having original sin and requiring harsh discipline. But changing times seemed to require changing approaches to childhood and educational techniques. Children were now considered complex creatures with each one having his/her own individuality, and this change in perception caused social anxieties. If children grew up guided by their own individuality then what would happen to the empire? The British Empire needed knowledgeable, patriotic, hard-working citizens to continue to prosper. Men such as John Locke, John Worthington, John Bettam, and Robert Ainsworth all advocated for different educational methods for children. They disagreed with the argument that children were full of sin, and instead saw them as a "tabula rasa" and naturally inquisitive and curious. The acceptance of their arguments allowed for new educational methods to be proposed that would make learning more enjoyable and amusing for young children. Mothers were also encouraged to begin teaching their young children while they were still at home, and the emphasis on home-based education for young children was a reaction to the growing complexity of society.

As these ideas began to take hold in England, it became evident that a new market was ripe for innovative and amusing products for children. John Newbery was the first to recognize this in the 1740s, but it did not take long for others like John Marshall to follow later in the eighteenth century. These men radically transformed books for children, which, in turn, aided the growth of a market for children's literature and table games. They created books that children enjoyed and parents bought, but their contribution to this process has too often been overlooked. It is to the growth of children's literature in England that we now turn.

Chapter III

The Growth of Children's Literature

"The grand design in the Nurture of Children, is to make them Strong, Hardy, Healthy, Virtuous, Wise, and Happy; and these good Purposes are not to be obtained without some Care and Management in their Infancy."

John Newbery[1]

In 1844, Emily Pepys, a ten-year-old girl in Worcestershire, England wrote in her diary that she could not believe her mother did not have children's books of her own when she was young. She wrote on Monday, August 26, that her "Mama often [told] us of what she used to do, she said there were hardly any children's books [when she was young] and she astonished me the other day by saying she had never read *Child's Own Book*![2] Emily had no way of knowing when she wrote this but she likely recorded a substantial shift in the reception of children's books. The few decades between Emily's and her mother's childhoods saw dramatic changes in the commodification of children's literature because, as indicated in the previous chapter, childhood was now recognized as a distinct phase in life. Beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, publishers began to recognize this as an economic opportunity. Why did children's books become popular during the eighteenth century and what were the objectives of publishers and authors?

[1] John Newbery, *A Little Pretty Pocket Book, Intended For The Instruction and Amusement of Little Master Tommy, and Pretty Miss Polly* (Worcester, MA: Isaiah Thomas, 1787), Introduction.
[2] Dee Cooper, *The Journal of Emily Pepys* (Devon: Prospect Books, 1984), 44.

This chapter focuses on children's literature published in England from 1740-1840 and the children's book publishing industry that arose during the same time period. These developments were directly related to the modern idea of "childhood" that evolved during the previous century. Children's books from the long eighteenth-century reflected the social anxieties about the new, modern notion of childhood. I argue that children's books were used as a mechanism to counter the anxieties about the newly-recognized phase of life, as well as teach children proper behaviors in order to be accepted by modern society. I also contend that publishers during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries recognized there was a market for such books for children and parents and began to publish them in order to make a profit in the new capitalist society.

Probably the most important scholarly work on the history of children's literature to date is the recent book *The Child Reader 1700-1840* by M.O. Grenby (2011). Grenby delves into topics such as who owned children's books, the contents of the books themselves, how children acquired books and how they used them, and what children and adults thought about books. He also uses a fresh approach to understanding the value placed on children's literature by examining all of the marginalia and notes within the books that he found. By using this methodology he argues that "Children's literature may have been one of the most important agents of consensus-building, spreading and solidifying the moral and ideological positions that would characterize nineteenth-century

culture and enabling the gradual coherence of national identity."[3] However, even though Grenby shows change over time in relations to children's literature itself, he does not attempt to explain why this shift occurred or how it related to the changing perception of childhood. Also, the emergence of a national identity is crucial to understanding the modern nation, as historians have argued.[4] But, before we can completely comprehend what it meant to use children's literature to help a national identity materialize, we must first understand what factors and anxieties influenced the themes and lessons of children's literature published during the long eighteenth-century.

Changing notions of childhood are evident in the works written for children and by children in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. English society went from seeing its young as sinful, miniature adults, to viewing them as inherently playful, amiable, inquisitive, and imaginative. I do not contend that children's literature alone changed what it was like to be a child in eighteenth-century England. On the contrary, I maintain that the burgeoning children's book market and changing notions of childhood each reflected the other. If parents and society had not changed the way they viewed children by the eighteenth century, then the children's literature market would not have flourished. More precisely, parents would not have purchased books for their children that taught them to be creative, free-spirited, and intuitive if those were not the prevailing

[3] M.O. Grenby, *The Child Reader 1700-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 70.
[4] See Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

notions of childhood at the time.[5] But, as I previously mentioned, it should not be overlooked that publishers and authors tried to influence society's young by teaching them manners, social norms, and religion to counteract any anxieties about what childhood meant.

In addition to analyzing some of the literature itself, whenever possible diaries and accounts by and about children will be utilized to help emphasize how the notion of childhood had changed. One important note on the use of sources: most historians have looked at particular themes within children's literature such as what lessons were presented, what kinds of characters were in the books, and what the morals and instructions said about society. I will draw on these kinds of questions, but in order to look for changes in ideas about childhood, the best place to find answers is in an author's preface or introduction because it was common for authors to state an agenda at the beginning of their work. Almost all of the children's books from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries included an introduction where the author stated what he/she hopes their book will achieve and the purpose for which it was written. These are important because they signify that scholars, authors, and educators were actively engaged in working out the determinants of the modern idea of childhood.

Changes in Children's Literature

As discussed in chapter one, authors in the late 1600s such as Locke, Ainsworth, and Bettam saw childhood as a separate stage of life, which was drastically different from

[5] The reasons for the shift in perception of childhood are discussed in chapter one.

adulthood. The distinction between children and adults is still valid in contemporary society. Sociologist Chris Jenks notes that, "The idea of childhood is not a natural but a social construct; as such its status is constituted in particular socially located forms of discourse."[6] Sociologists Carolyn D. Baker and Peter Freebody take Jenks's thesis further by arguing, "Early school reading books contain a form of social theory, and that this is theorising about the nature and position of childhood within the adult-defined social world."[7] To Jenks, Baker, and Freebody it is how adults define and construct ideas about childhood in relation to adults that defines what it means to be a child. This can also be said of the long eighteenth-century.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, book publishers began producing children's books that engaged with new ideas about childhood and education that had started to emerge in the seventeenth century. Lawrence Stone argues that England shifted to a more "child-oriented" society between 1750 and 1814 due to "social and economic developments which created a large upper-and lower-middle class market of parents."[8] It has also been argued by Anthony Fletcher that parents, especially fathers, began to show more affection for their children and were generally more concerned about their children's feelings during the same time period. He finds that this was due to the decline of the "puritan disciplinary imperative and with the permeating impact of Locke's

[6] Christopher Jenks, "Introduction: Constituting the Child," in *The Sociology of Childhood: Essential Readings* (London: Batsford, 1982), 9-24.

[7] Carolyn D. Baker and Peter Freebody, "'Constituting the Child' in Beginning School Reading Books," in *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 8, no. 1 (1987), 57.

[8] Stone, 258-259.

teaching after 1700." The affection of parents before the modern period is a contested issue among historians, however.[9] But, probably the most significant change that allowed for the development of the concept of childhood was the economic growth in England through commercialization, industrialization, and agricultural expansion, as described in chapter one.[10] These changes created a need for more modern and better educated adults so that the British Empire would continue to expand and prosper. However, these factors did not lead to a children's book industry that showcased British exceptionalism. Instead, children's publications highlighted the anxieties and unknowns about the novel and modern notion of childhood. This resulted in a new market available for the consumption of children's literature, and publishers began to answer the call.

This new wave of children's books highlighted the idea that children would learn better if they were amused more and punished less, and this supported the thought that childhood should be a happy time. The ideal notion of childhood was meant to be distinctly different from adulthood and so it could be a time of exploring, amusement, and delight. One of the first books printed in England that drew on the importance of raising happy children was John Newbery's *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book* (Figure 3). The book was Newbery's first children's book and was published in 1744. It was intended to

[9] Anthony Fletcher, *Growing up in England: The Experience of Childhood, 1600-1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 132-133. The idea that children were more loved by their parents by the eighteenth-century has been a debate among historians. It is my opinion that historians cannot fully evaluate the level of affection of parents towards their children. However, for this project, the issue of affection is muted because the focus is on the child-centered markets. Parents do not necessarily have to love their children to buy them things.

[10] Stone, 161.

teach morals like those from the seventeenth century, but it also had the intention to be both for "instruction and delight," following the Lockean theory of education.[11] Newbery noted in the introduction that "The grand design in the Nurture of Children, is to make them Strong, Hardy, Healthy, Virtuous, Wise, and *Happy*; and these good Purposes are not to be obtained without some Care and Management in their Infancy."[12] Newbery's focus on happy children differed greatly from the books written for children by John Owen and Festus Corin from the previous century.[13] But, Newbery differed in other ways as well.

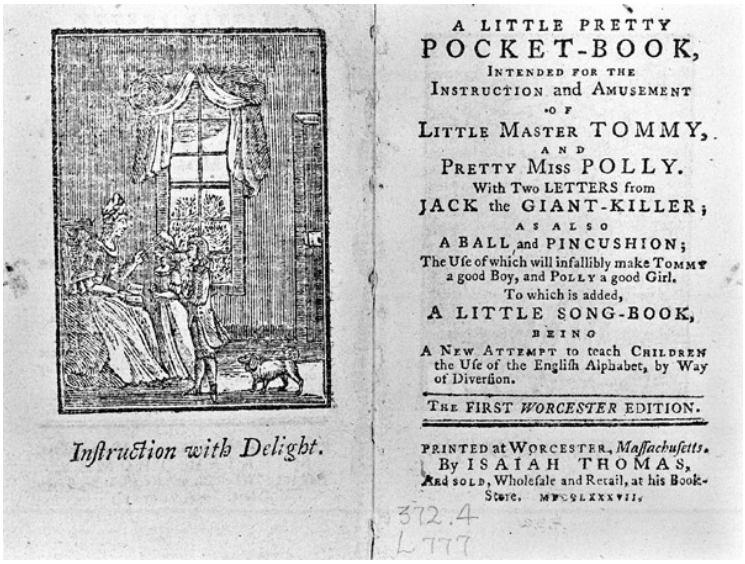

Figure 3
A Little Pretty Pocket-Book, 1787,
No surviving copies remain of Newbury's 1744 version.
http://www.history.org/History/teaching/enewsletter/volume2/images/littlepretty_titlepg_large.jpg

[11] Newbery, *A Little Pretty Pocket Book*, title page. This is the American publication that copied Newbery's. There are no surviving copies of Newbery's original version.
[12] Newbery, *Pretty Pocket Book*, Introduction.
[13] The writings of Owen and Corin are discussed in chapter one.

One thing that made Newbery's style different from previous writers was that he hinted to his young readers that they would receive rewards from society, and not only from God, if they exhibited good behavior.[14] While introducing *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book* and its purpose to Little Master Tommy and Pretty Miss Polly (two children in the book who represented the little boys and girls of England), Newbery pointed out that both children had been dutiful, prayerful, obedient, loving, clean, honest, and good-humored and that because of their good characteristics they were loved by everyone.[15] A child of the eighteenth century would have likely understood Newbery's message—that being loved was a product of one's good behavior. This is important because it provides evidence as to how parents began to persuade their children to exhibit good behavior without resorting to as much corporal punishment than was commonly used in previous decades. As Fletcher notes, before 1660 advice literature was clear that, "children should…have their original sin beaten out of them."[16]

This new way of persuading children to behave better was a break from the past. There was an emphasis on social pressure rather than on physical punishment. While discussing bad behavior in children, Newbery gave his parental readers an inside look into how he would discipline his son without "chiding, whipping, or severe Treatment." He wrote:

---

[14] Peter Hunt, ed. et.al., *Children's Literature: An Illustrated History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 6.

[15] Newbery, *Little Pretty Pocket Book,* Intro to Little Master Tommy and Pretty Miss Polly.

[16] Fletcher, 3.

> Were I to see my Son too much ruffled and discomposed, I should take him aside, and point to him the Evils that attend passionate Men; tell him, that my Love for him would make me overlook many Faults, but that his was of so heinous a Nature, that I could not bear the Sight of him while he continued so wicked; that he should not see his Mother nor any of his Play-mates, till he had sufficiently repented of that Crime: Upon which, I would immediately order him (in a very calm Manner) to be shut up from any Company for five or six Hours, and then, upon his Confession of the Fault, asking Pardon on his Knees, and promising Amendment for the future, I would forgive him.[17]

As this passage suggests, parents were still concerned about their children's behavior, but the emphasis was now on rationalizing with a difficult child in order to get him/her to behave. Instead of resorting to corporal punishment, Newbery suggested that children could learn just as well, if not better, by being removed from peers or family members until they were apologetic about their misbehavior. This goes along with the new view that children were born with inherent reason. In his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* John Locke argued that children "by their ordinary Discourse and Actions with others, [are] acknowledged to be capable or rational conversation."[18] Newbery advised parents to reason with their children when they commit wrongs and by doing so children will begin to understand, through the process of deduction, the proper way to behave. Learning how to analyze one's own behavior was a crucial step in a successful education according to Newbery, and it represented a clear break from the past where force and corporal punishment were the primary keys to raising orderly and

[17] Newbery, 10.
[18] John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (London: Edward Symon, 1731), 19.

obedient children.[19] However, it is extremely likely that parents still routinely beat their children as a means of discipline, but it was not the only method of punishment that was being promoted in advice manuals.

Not all children's books of the time period promised social acceptance for good behavior. Some still promised heavenly rewards in the face of extreme adversity. One such book was Newbery's *The History of Goody Little Two Shoes,* first published in 1765. In the book, Margery, an orphan, refused to give up in life after her father was financially ruined. In the introduction, Newbery wrote that he had lost his farm to a "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 mush reduce the common People to a State of Vassalage."[20] In other words, Margery's father lost everything to the process of enclosure. This reveals some anxiety about enclosures in the middle of the eighteenth century, but Newbery's book was not a tale of total despair. The book was meant to inspire children to keep following their morals and beliefs even if life becomes difficult, which is what Margery did. One of the things she did was continue to learn to read. She was so poor that she only had one shoe, but a friend gave her a complete pair of shoes because she was deemed worthy and good. She used the shoes to travel and teach other children to read and later became president of a college due to her

[19] Newbery, 9-12; Newbery even included a quote from Alexander Pope, a very famous poet during and after Queen Anne's reign, at the end of his introduction to the book, which reads, "Tis Education forms the tender Mind: Just as the Twig is bent, the Tree's inclin'd."

[20] John Newbery, *The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes; Otherwise Called Mrs. Margery Two-Shoes,* (London: Newbery and Carnan, ca. 1768), 12.

spotless reputation and gift for teaching. Margery also saw to it that students could attend her college even if they could not pay.[21] Hers was a moral tale, and her good behavior earned her not only social acceptance, mobility (she marries a gentleman), and praise, but also heavenly rewards. After her death, a monument was erected in the churchyard to honor her and to help generations to come remember her good works.[22]

Both books are important because they help us better understand the varying lessons and morals that were being taught in children's books in the eighteenth century as times were changing. *A Pretty Little Pocket-Book* displays the modern notion of society's acceptance of the individual. *The History of Goody Little Two Shoes* shows that even though society was changing, the desire for heavenly rewards was still prevalent and one should not sacrifice morals just because times were hard. The important thing to note is that the moral undertones in children's literature in the eighteenth-century differed from those produced during the previous century—from rigorous and formal lessons that represented structured religion to evangelical tales that represented the more flexible views of childhood. Miss Margery from *Little Goody Two Shoes* was not repeating catechisms or reciting dreary prayers. Instead, she was depicted as being a good servant to those around her even when she did not have much. Her worth was not based on recitation of rules and scripture, but on her inherent goodness and love for other people. As a result of this shift, children may have had less memorizing to do, but that did not mean that education was necessarily easier for them. Children living in the mid-to late-

[21] John Newbery, *The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes,* 61-66.
[22] Ibid., 90-91.

eighteenth century most likely did not understand the restructured version of how society expected them to behave, but, nevertheless, the children's books on the market were designed to help them learn these expectations in an enjoyable way.

Children's authors of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were often very clear about the moral or lesson they were trying to teach. It was common for authors to state their purpose for writing their book in an introduction or preface, which was sometimes intended for children and at other times it was directed toward their parents or adults in general. Authors often wrote that they envisioned their book for the instruction and amusement of children. Even Newbery's *Pretty Little Pocket-Book* noted on the cover page that it was intended for "Instruction with Delight." Seventy percent, or twenty-one out of thirty, authors taken from a small sampling of children's books from Eighteenth Century Collections Online and Early English Books Online from the eighteenth-century recorded in their preface or introduction that they intended their books to be amusing to children.[23] Children's book author Dorothy Kilner wrote in the preface of *The Life and Prembulation of a Mouse* (1784) that she hoped her book would both "amuse and divert" young readers. She wanted children to enjoy reading her tale of a traveling mouse while at the same time learn from it, and she wrote that she "Sincerely

[23] Thirty children's books were used for this project (found using EEBO and ECCO), mostly published by John Marshall and John Newbery in the eighteenth century. Out of the thirty books, the authors of twenty-one books notate that they desire that their books be amusing to children in their introduction.

wish[ed] that the Mouse may prove neither wholly unentertaining nor uninstructive [to readers]."[24]

Amusement and comprehension took priority in children's literature in the eighteenth-century, and authors began writing stories for children that they hoped would easily pique their interests. It became important for authors to write stories with morals that children could relate to. This trend is most visible in books written for younger children. Two books in particular where amusement mixed with morals were Dorothy Kilner's *The History of a Great Many Boys and Girls, For the Amusement of all Good Children of Four and Five Years Old* and *The Histories of More Children than One; of Goodness Better than Beauty*. Both were published by John Marshall. Neither book lists an author on the title page, but it is likely that Kilner wrote both works sometime in the 1780s.[25]

As discussed in this chapter, adults in the eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries saw their children as inherently different from them. The first seven or eight years of life were a time of discovery, learning, and curiosity, most especially for children who stayed at home longer. If this was the case, then it was not a far leap for

[24] Dorothy Kilner, *The Life and Perambulation of a Mouse in Two Volumes* (London: John Marshall, 1784), vi.

[25] At the end of *The Footsteps to Mrs. Trimmer's Sacred History* (1785) John Marshall advertised the books he had for sale at his shop at No. 4 Aldermary Street in London. Both books, *The Histories of more Children than One* and *The History of a Great Many Little Boys and Girls* are listed in the ad, and both books show the author to be "M.P." According to the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Dorothy Kilner published works anonymously under the name M.P. (Maryland Point and eventually Mary Pelham), but the ODNB does not credit her with these works nor have I found any other place where Dorothy Kilner is connected to these two children's books. From this point on I will refer to Kilner as the author of the books, but I will cite them under M.P.

authors and publishers to begin to develop prose that children could relate to and understand. In the preface of *The History of a Great Many Little Boys and Girls,* Kilner wrote she "lamented" the state of children's literature, especially those books written for children around the ages of four and five, which told stories of love, marriage, and trials that the typical child would not be interested in. She found these types of stories to be too advanced for young children's comprehension. She wrote, "In the opinion of the author, such like [stories] so far from being beneficial to Children, are either quite beyond their understandings, and therefore capable of affording no entertainment to them; or else, tend only to inspire their tendor [*sic*] minds with Pride, Ambition, Vanity, and every passion disgraceful to human nature."[26] Even though publishers were beginning to producing books for children at a higher rate, there were still areas of the readership (most notably, according to Kilner, the very young children between three and five) that needed books to learn from that would appropriately keep their interest.

Part of the purpose of Kilner's book was to provide moral instruction to young children, but it is interesting to note the changes in the format and the types of stories she presented. These new books were written with the ability of children to comprehend them in mind. *The History of a Great Many Little Boys and Girls* is filled with short stories about good and bad children with the same theme of society rewarding children who were good that is present in Newbery's *Pretty Little Pocket-Book* . Fictional stories of Miss Peggy Bright, Master Trueman, Miss Mary Ann Selfish, and Master Tommy Piper

[26] M.P., *The History of a Great Many Little Boys and Girls, For the Amusement of all Good Children of Four and Five Years of Age* (London: John Marshall, circa 1780), vii-viii.

fill the book's sixty-six pages with examples of how children should and should not behave. Morals such as honesty, cleanliness, sharing, meekness, and obedience were emphasized to teach children that they needed to possess these good qualities. Miss Peggy Bright and Master Trueman were both positive examples of how children should behave. Peggy was four years old and loved to learn and read as well as learn to work. Kilner wrote that her mother took "great pains" to teach her because she was such a good girl and did not want her to grow up to be a "dunce" and uneducated.[27] Master Trueman was seven and was distinguished in the community as "the best boy you ever saw in your life." He was honest and always obedient to his parents even when he was out of their sight. He was so good in fact that neighbors sent word to his parents of his obedience and this made his parents very proud.[28] But as good as the examples of Master Trueman and Miss Peggy Bright were, Kilner also provided illustrations of how not to behave courtesy of Miss Mary Ann Selfish and Master Tommy Piper. Mary Ann Selfish was so selfish that she stuffed her mouth full of food (which was also very un-lady like) and refused to share anything she had with her sisters who were kind-hearted little girls. One day when her mother had finally had enough, she picked her up and carried her to the pigpen. Her mother told her, "Mary Ann! If you will be so like a hog, you shall go and live with the pigs."[29] The last example, Master Tommy Piper, was a five-year-old boy who was so naughty that he screamed at the top of his lungs when he did not want to get a bath. As a

[27] *The History of a Great Many Little Boys and Girls,* 24-29.
[28] Ibid., 30-40.
[29] Ibid., 40-47.

punishment, he was thrown into the bathing tub by a neighbor named Mr. Makegood and whipped until he bathed and dressed (Figure 4).[30]

Figure 4
Master Tommy Piper being whipped by Mr. Makegood for being naughty.
M.P. *The History of a Great Many Little Boys and Girls*, ca. 1780. ECCO.

The stories presented in the book about good and bad children were written at a very basic level so young children could easily understand them. There are pictures with each of the short stories showing children either being praised or punished for their behavior. There is no mention of love, marriage, or any adult topic that a child would not understand. The themes are simple and relatable for the intended readers, and although there is corporal punishment depicted in the book, the author clearly meant for the stories to deter children from behaving in an unruly fashion.

The other book written by Kilner that was geared toward amusing and teaching younger children at a level they could understand was *The Histories of More Children*

[30] Ibid., 18-24.

than One; or Goodness better than Beauty (ca. 1780). One of the main characters in the book was young John Strictum. Kilner did not give the exact age of John, only that he was "little." As little John was reading aloud to his mother he came upon the word "thought" and although he knew how to spell it, he refused. His mother, having no other recourse but punishment because she loved him and wanted him to take reading seriously, took him outside and tied him to a tree. John stayed there all night until he finally yelled to his mother that he was sorry and how to spell the word. She graciously untied him and he went back inside the house. Once inside his little sister hugged him tightly and when she asked him where he had been all day he told her, Our good Mamma, was so kind in the morning as to take the pains to teach me to read, and I would not say the word *thought*, though I knew what it was all the time. But indeed I am very sorry, and will never be so bad a boy again. My Mamma has also given herself the trouble to punish me, to make me good; and that is the reason I have not been with you before, and now I do not deserve to be taken notice of by such a good girl as you are.[31]

A young child reading the stories from either book would likely have understood the lessons—good children were praised and bad children were punished, sometimes harshly. But as severe as these stories sound to us today, we need to examine them for what they tell us about changing perceptions of childhood in the eighteenth-century. Kilner saw a need for specialized books that young children could comprehend. As mentioned previously, she wondered why books for young children were printed about

[31] M.P., *The Histories of More Children than One; or Goodness better than Beauty* (London: John Marshall, circa 1780), 9-29.

matters that they could not understand or had no experience with. This indicates a change in the way young children and childhood were perceived. Children were no longer imagined only as miniature adults who possessed original sin that needed saving. They were instead encouraged to use their imagination and expected to want to be amused. These books provide evidence that by the end of the eighteenth century, children were seen as needing rudimentary texts that their young minds could understand to teach them how to behave and function in society. This suggests that eighteenth-century English society conceptualized childhood as a distinct phase of life and that specialized commercial products were needed to accompany the specific needs of children. Children's literature had come a long way since the seventeenth century when books were printed for children strictly to teach them about the dangers of sin and for elementary educational purposes. By the end of the eighteenth-century authors wrote books with entertaining stories, which combined with morals to teach children how to function properly in the new polite, commercial, and modern society.

Children's Publishers

By the turn of the eighteenth-century, London had several bookselling and publishing districts, some of these included Fleet Street, Paternoster Row, and London Bridge. Another important publishing site was St. Paul's Churchyard. After the Great Fire of 1666, the area was rebuilt, including a new Cathedral and School. The new St. Paul's School became known for its "excellent library immediately adjoining the school-room." The library represented a place of knowledge and could be used by upper-class

students and clergy.[32] With the existence of such an important library it is not surprising that a lively publishing business was quickly rebuilt and thrived just outside the cathedral and school along the street known as St. Paul's Churchyard. One very significant children's publisher moved to the district in the 1740s—John Newbery (Figures 5a and 5b).

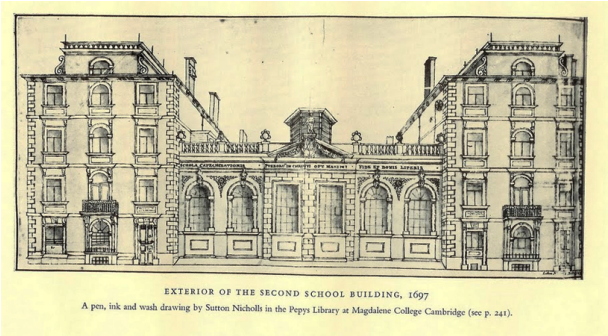

Figure 5a
New Exterior of St. Paul's School (1670)
Walter Thornbury, "St Paul's: The churchyard,"
http://www.british-history.ac.uk/old-new-london/vol1/pp262-274

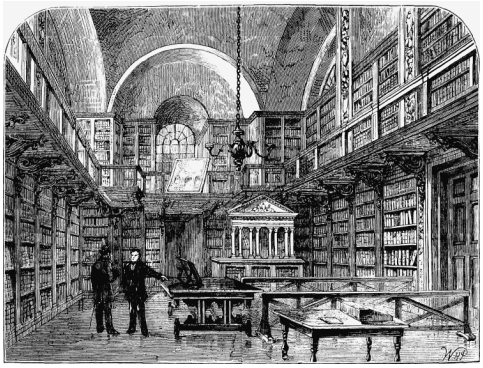

Figure 5b
St. Paul's School Library
Walter Thornbury, "St Paul's: The churchyard,"
http://www.british-history.ac.uk/old-new-london/vol1/pp262-274

[32] Walter Thornbury, "St Paul's: The churchyard," in *Old and New London*, vol. I (London: Cassell, Petter & Galphin, 1878), p. 262-274, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/old-new-london/vol1/pp262-274, accessed February 26, 2015.

Books not only changed in content during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, they were also published in greater numbers. By the nineteenth century one publisher listed over three hundred children's book titles in his advertisement.[33] This is important because it signifies that products for children could yield suitable profits and that the views expressed in children's literature became popular. In fact, a quick search on the English Short Title Catalogue for children's books published between 1700 and 1850 retrieved more than fifty publishers with over three thousand publications intended for children. This is quite an extraordinary number and suggests that children's literature was a popular way of educating England's youth. The historian M.O Grenby has shown that charity houses also bought books for children's education and amusement.[34] This made it possible for children of varying classes to enjoy children's literature, but evidence shows that the majority of children who owned the new, modern children's books were from the upper middle class.[35]

Children's book publishers needed to understand their targeted audience in order to make products that would sell. I argue that the business of children's publishing was successful because publishers produced books that fit with society's new ideas of childhood. If this had not been the case, it seems likely that the most determined children's book publishers would have changed their tactics and published children's

[33] John Harris & Son, *Harris's Juvenile Library: A Catalogue of New and Useful Books for Young People, Printed for Harris and Son* (London: John Harris & Son, ca. 1819-1846), 1-10.
[34] Grenby, 70-71.
[35] Ibid., 76-78.

literature with different morals to try to gain more sales, or they would have gone out of business. John Newbery and John Marshall were two of the most successful publishers of children's literature in London during the eighteenth century. Newbery and Marshall published children's books that were meant to both instruct and amuse, which can be seen from some of the examples above. But it is also imperative to understand that they were both businessmen and published books for children as a way to earn income and to take advantage of new, growing markets.

John Newbery began publishing children's books in the 1740s. Before Newbery, most books for children were either solely educational or "dreary" religious works, or they were chapbooks that were sold in small quantities to individuals by tradesmen known as chapmen. Chapbooks were folded and not stitched unlike Newbery's books, which were stitched and more durable for young children.[36] In 1885, while comparing Newbery's books with the works intended for children in the seventeenth century, Charles Welsh, an American educator, publisher, and author wrote that, "John Newbery arose to deliver children of his day, and in reading the titles of some of his earlier books, it is at once seen that a new note has been struck, and a new field opened for culture and development."[37] Less than a century after his death, it was clear that Newbery had revolutionized the field of children's literature.

---

[36] Charles Welsh, *A Bookseller of the Last Century: Being some Account of the Life of John Newbery, and of the Books he published, with a Notice of the later Newberys* (London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden & Welsh, 1885), 92.

[37] Welsh, 93.

One thing that helped Newbery become successful in selling children's books was his advertising skills. Newbery not only advertised in newspapers, he also owned stock or had influence in six newspapers in England and he used his power to promote all of his business ventures, including both medicine and books for children.[38] He also advertised his children's books in his publications for adults. An example of this is in *The Accomplish'd Housewife; Or, Gentlewoman's Companion* (1745). This was a cookbook and advice tract for women that taught them how to manage a kitchen, cook specific dishes, and even addressed how girls and children in general should be raised and educated.[39] This supports the argument put forth by historians that mothers were most often responsible for educating their young children at home and were also the primary household consumers during the time period.[40] In the front of the 1745 edition of the book he advertised *The Little Pretty Pocket Book*, which was "intended for the Instruction and Amusement of little Master *Tommy's* and pretty Miss *Polly*…which will infallibly make *Tommy* a good Boy, and *Polly* a good Girl."[41]

Newbery was known for his new ideas when it came to publishing books for children. One way that he revolutionized the children's book industry was by adding colored illustrations and incorporating flowered-Dutch paper into the binding of his

[38] Ibid., 336.
[39] Ibid., 237.
[40] Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760*, second edition (London: Routledge, 1996), 161; Rebecca Davies, *Written Maternal Authority and Eighteenth-Century Education in Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014), 1-16.
[41] Anonymous, *The Accomplish'd Housewife; or, The Gentlewoman's Companion* (London: John Newbery, 1745), 3.

books (Figure 6). He seemed to follow John Locke's theory that children would learn more if they not only enjoyed what they were reading but also what they were looking at. Newbery was always on the lookout for ways to improve books for children. The regular way of binding books in the early 1700s was by using leather. Newbery exchanged the leather for a green vellum for the binding of his children's books, because the vellum opened easier and would wear better—something he considered very important since they were made for children to touch and use.[42]

Figure 6
Example of a Dutch Flower Paper used inside cover of book (18th c.)
https://natlib.govt.nz/blog/posts/opening-up-the-covers

Newbery prided himself in publishing books for children, as M.O. Grenby has recently pointed out. Newbery described himself as, "Proprietor of a great variety of excellent little books calculated for Children, which are universally approved, and of

[42] Welsh. 116-117.

which [I] sell a very considerable number."[43] Newbery's shop was set up at 65 St. Paul's Churchyard, and his son, Francis, moved the location to 20 Ludgate Street in 1768 after his father's death. Francis also prided himself in publishing works for children and creating an environment conducive for children's happiness. It is also worth nothing that Francis advertised his business as a "Juvenile Library," which represented the reaction to the need for spaces to correspond with the modern notion of childhood.[44] Newbery actually made most of his wealth selling Dr. James' Fever Powder, but he still advertised and continued to produce children's literature. This indicates that he was likely making a profit publishing children's books, even if only a small amount. The Newbery Medal was established in 1921 in the United States to recognize John Newbery's contribution to the children's literature industry, and to recognize other children's book authors who have followed in Newbery's footsteps.[45]

John Marshall (1756-1824) was a man who most likely recognized Newbery's success and the growing market for children's books. Less is known about John Marshall the businessman than Newbery.[46] His father had published chapbooks and other minor publications in London and when Marshall took over the family business toward the end of the eighteenth century, and he began publishing works similar to Newbery's children's

[43] Grenby, 146. Quote from Mr. Mortimer, *The Universal Director, or, the Nobleman and Gentleman's True Guide to the Masters and Professors of the Liberal and Polite Arts and Sciences…To Which is added a Distinct List of the Booksellers* (London: J.Coote, 1763), 166 and 168-169.

[44] Grenby, 146-147.

[45] Ian Maxted, "John Newbery," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* accessed February 25, 2015.

[46] This is surprising because Marshall began publishing toward the end of the eighteenth-century and published more books than Newbery, however the best way to understand Marshall as a businessman is by examining the methods he used to publish and advertise the books he published.

books.[47] By 1800 Marshall developed his own innovative style of children's books and made a lasting mark on the business by publishing *The Infant's Library* (Figure 7). *The Infant's Library* was a collection of miniature books that came in a specialized wooden bookcase for safekeeping. Each book in the collection measured 6 x 4.5 centimeters, so young children could easily hold them in their little hands.[48] It can be argued that *The Infant's Library* was a success for Marshall because a year later he published another miniature library collection titled *The Infant's Cabinet of Fishes.* This collection was very similar to *The Infant's Library* with small books with full-colored pictures of different types of fish to intrigue young children.[49] Marshall's choice to publish a miniature library about fishes is interesting because it shows that by the turn of the nineteenth century children were also learning about the natural environment in which they lived. Other miniature library series that Marshall published were *Infants Cabinet of Flowers* (1801) and *Infants Cabinet of the Cries of London* (1807). Another indication of the success of Marshall's miniature libraries is the fact that copycat versions appeared. The publishing group Harvey and Darton of London published the *Infant's Own Bookcase* in 1801, just one year after Marshall's *Infant's Own Library* was published.[50]

[47] "The Infant's Library. London: Made and sold by John Marshall, [1800-1801?]," *Featured Book Archive,* Cambridge University Library, http://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/deptserv/rarebooks/infantslibrary.html, accessed May 8, 2014.

[48] Ibid.

[49] John Marshall, *The Infant's Cabinet of Fishes* (London: John Marshall, 1801).

[50] "Miniature Libraries," *4000 Years of Miniature Books Exhibition Home*, Lilly Library Home, Indiana University, http://www.indiana.edu/~liblilly/miniatures/libraries.shtml, accessed December 11, 2014.

Figure 7
"The Infant's Library," published by John Marshall, 1800.
Pinterest, https://www.pinterest.com/pin/226798531205042604/

Marshall eventually regarded himself as "The Children's Printer" and "The Protector of Young Minds" because he published works that were designed to entertain, amuse, and teach children at a level they could understand.[51] But it is important to recognize that Marshall was still practicing good business even as the children's self-appointed "protector." Like Newbery, Marshall advertised in newspapers, placing an ad for *The Infant's Library* in *The Times.* The advertisement read, "Infant's Library—Just published, by John Marshall, No. 4, Aldermary Church-yard, in Bow-lane, Cheapside, SIXTEEN LITTLE VOLUMES—Containing upwards of 200 pleasing Pictures with easy

[51] "The Children's Printer," *Miniature Libraries From the Children's Book Collection,* V&A Museum, http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/m/miniature-libraries/, accessed May 8, 2014. In this article, the V&A note that Marshall gave himself these names, but I have not found any documentation as of yet to offer as proof. However, I was only at the V&A for three-days and am sure they are not mistaken.

Descriptions, en-closed in a small Box, representing a book-case, under the Title of THE INFANT'S LIBRARY. 6s."[52] Marshall also promoted his new (and old) publications at the back of the children's books he published. At the end of *The Footsteps of Mrs. Trimmer's Sacred Histories* (1785), Marshall listed thirty titles available for purchase.[53]

Marshall's and Newbery's advertisements in the back of their published works and in newspapers are important when they are looked at in conjunction with the consumer revolution that took hold of England during the eighteenth-century. It is important to recognize, and many historians have, that the consumer revolution was not only for adults. J.H. Plumb introduces the question of how England's youth were affected by the new child-centered and consumer-based society that emerged in the eighteenth-century. He argues, "The repercussions on the world of children were very great. Society required accomplishment, and accomplishment required expenditure. The children's new world became a market that could be exploited. Few desires will empty a pocket quicker than social aspiration—and the main route was, then as now, through education."[54] It is clear that both Newbery and Marshall recognized this shift toward a child-centered market and advertised their books in numerous ways in order to reach his intended audience of parents who wanted to educate their children with an emphasis on social morality.

---

[52] "Infant's Library Advertisement," *The Times* (London), June 5, 1800, pg. 2, Issue 4813.

[53] John Marshall, "Publications for the Instruction and Amusement of Young Minds," in *The Footsteps of Mrs. Trimmer's Sacred History* by Mrs. Trimmer (London: John Marshall, 1785), 118-120.

[54] J.H. Plumb, "The New World of Children in Eighteenth-Century England," in *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* by Neil McKendrick, et.al. ed., (London: Europa Publications Limited, 1982), 286-290.

There is also evidence of Marshall's success in particular when we look at his fire insurance policies through the Sun Insurance Company. In October 1792 the company recorded a policy for Marshall that included insurance for his home and personal goods. That year he insured his goods including wearing apparel, china, and glass for £440.[55] In 1809 he took out another policy through the Sun Insurance Company, but this time he insured his household goods for £700.[56] This may not seem like a significant change but in today's figures, his estimated value of goods increased over £16,000, or $25,000.[57] These numbers are important to consider in order to better understand the level of success Marshall had in the children's book industry. Unlike Newbery, there is no evidence that Marshall had stake in newspapers or other business ventures, so it can be assumed that most, if not all, of his wealth came from publishing books for England's youth.

After investigating both John Newbery and John Marshall there is no doubt that they both changed the children's book industry in England, and that they were at least somewhat successful at marketing their works for children to the public. But what did children think of the new books that were marketed to them? The diaries and biographies of children who benefited from the modern publishing techniques and ideas are usually left out of the historical narrative due to the limited number of them, but they can help us glean how successful these authors and publishers were at facilitating the advancement of

[55] Fire Insurance Company, "John Marshall," October 8, 1792, CLC/B/192/F/001/MS11936/390/605815, London Metropolitan Archive.

[56] Fire Insurance Company, "John Marshall," April 23, 1809, CLC/B/192/F/001/MS11936/446/830281, London Metropolitan Archive.

[57] These figures are only approximations. The website used to compute the relative value difference was Measuringworth.com. http://www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/.

the forward-looking perception of childhood. We will now turn to their diaries and what they wrote about these possessions.

Children's Responses

One idea that went along with this new view of children as needing entertainment and diversion in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was the need for play. Children in the eighteenth century were given more freedom to express themselves in their play and greater allowances to experiment and make mistakes because they were no longer seen as miniature adults.[58] Another change that is evident within their diaries is that children began to enjoy reading during this period. They did not always record the names of the books they were reading, nor were they always able to comprehend and express how it was or felt to be a child during the time period. But, when diaries and memoirs written during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are read in search of generalizations about childhood one can begin to glean just how much their experiences differed from that of Thomas Isham in the seventeenth century, explored in the first chapter.

A clear example of the potential pleasure that children found in books is found in the memoir of James Post of Islington, which was written presumably by a relative or close friend in 1838 after the young man's death.[59] James Post was born in 1819 and died in 1835 at the age of fifteen or sixteen. According to his biographer, James had a weak

[58] Hunt, 35.

[59] The author does not identify their self in the memoir, but it can be assumed that it was a relative or close friend of the family based off of the details the person knew about James Post.

body from birth, but a strong and inquisitive mind and was anxious to learn new things, "long before he was of an age to be instructed by books."[60] James was a very bright young man and was so advanced by the time he was almost ten years old that he was no longer impressed by fictional books or juvenile toys. Instead he read science, math, geography, and history books and attended Islington Literary and Scientific Society meetings with his father.[61] But it is the account that his memoirist wrote about James as a young child that is of particular interest. His biographer noted that James had a very strong attachment to books when he was young, so strong in fact that he often slept with books under his pillow in case he awoke too early in the morning and needed something to keep himself busy. At the tender age of four, James visited his paternal grandmother and brought thirteen books along with him on the trip. While visiting his grandmother he insisted on carrying as many of the books as possible with him throughout the day, and his grandmother could not convince him to leave them in his room. His books were very special to him and he considered them his "treasures" and would not easily part with them.[62] This is significant because it shows that at least some children thought of their books as prized possessions and luxury items, even if they could not express such sentiments due to their young age.

[60] Anon. *Extracts from the Diary and other Manuscripts of the Late James Post of Islington with a Memoir of His Childhood, Short Life, and Last Illness* (London: James Moyes, 1838), 1-4.
[61] Ibid., 15-28.
[62] Ibid., 10-11.

This chapter began with the example of Emily Pepys who started her diary in 1843 at the age of ten years old.[63] Her diary covers only a six-month period, but within that time Emily provided a lot of information about the books she read. Emily's father was Henry Pepys, Bishop of Sodor, and her family lived at Hartlebury Castle in Worcestershire during the time she wrote the diary (Figure 8). She had two older brothers and one older sister and the children were taught by their mother, Maria.[64] In her diary, Emily described what a typical school day was like. The children spent forty-five minutes speaking French, one hour learning geography with maps, one hour and fifteen minutes on music, forty-five minutes reading French and English, and thirty minutes writing French. Emily did not elaborate on the techniques her mother used for educating the children, but she did say that maps were her favorite.[65] According to Emily, she and her siblings spent four hours and fifteen minutes on schoolwork per day leaving them with an ample amount of time for entertainment and fun as indicated by the multiple games (both indoor and out).[66]

[63] Cooper, 9.
[64] Ibid., 12-16.
[65] Ibid., 44.
[66] All throughout her diary Emily writes about playing games such as Trap Bat and Ball and engaging in bow and arrow activities with her sisters and neighborhood children. She also played several board games including Battledore, Shuttlecock, Storming the Fortress, and The Marksman.

Figure 8
Hartlebury Castle, Worcestershire, home of Bishop Pepys and his family.
The castle still stands today, Hartlebury Castle Museum
http://www.whub.org.uk/cms/museums-worcestershire/hartlebury-museum/history-and-collections/hartlebury-castle.aspx

Within the six-month period that she wrote her diary, Emily mentioned ten books that she either read herself, family members read to her or by themselves, or that she received as gifts. One book that Emily mentioned was *White Lady*, which she read while at the park with her sister Louisa. She described the book as a ghost story. [67] Another time, she recorded that she read a book called *Influence*, and wrote that she identified with the main character, Ellen, and hoped to improve herself as Ellen did in the book. She said that she felt happier after reading the book.[68] In November 1843, her father visited a

[67] There is no record of a book by the name of *White Lady* in the English Short Title Catalogue, Eighteenth-Century Collections Online, or Nineteenth-Century Collections Online. Cooper, 31.

[68] Ibid., 28. I could not locate this book in any of the online archives and therefore do not know what the story was about. But, it is possible that the book was similar to other books of the time period, which taught societal morals, especially since Emily mentions that after reading the book she wants to improve herself.

store by the name of Cawthorn's in Worcester and ordered books for Emily. She noted that the books arrived four days later, and she began reading one of the books that very day entitled *Pickwick*.[69] Another time Emily's parents and sister Louisa went to Stourport and brought home the book *Hope on Hope Ever* for her and *The Vicar and the Vicarage* for one of her brothers.[70] It is obvious by reading her diary that Emily and her entire family valued fictional books and reading in general, and that she often read for entertainment. But on August 26, 1844, Emily made an entry about one of her favorite books, *The Child's Own Book* (published by John Marshall). She wrote that she found out that day that her mother did not have this book when she was young, even though the book had already been published when her mother was a child.[71] Emily's entry is interesting because one can imagine the shock that she felt at this realization. Her innocence and good spirit come through in her writings, and as the diary shows, books were a huge part of Emily's life at the young age of ten.

These two accounts of children show a much different picture than the diary of Thomas Isham discussed in the previous chapter. Where Thomas was serious, reverent, and made no mention of playing in any way with his young siblings, the other accounts present children who seemed freer to use their imaginations, read for enjoyment and entertainment, and act in ways that contemporaries today associate with the modern stage

[69] Ibid., 73-74. This could be *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club* by Charles Dickens, but Emily only refers to it as "Pickwick." Therefore, it is not possible to say with certainty that she was reading Dicken's first novel.

[70] Ibid., 90.

[71] Ibid., 44.

of life known as childhood. The variation of experiences between Thomas Isham, James Post, and Emily Pepys indicates that the expectations of children and childhood had changed. By the end of the eighteenth-century into the beginning of the nineteenth-century, children often considered reading to be enjoyable, and they were encouraged to play, use their imagination, and be happy.

Conclusion

England went through social, demographic, and economic changes in the eighteenth century. The goal of raising children in the eighteenth-century was socialization instead of salvation.[72] In response to the shifting view of children, a market developed for products that parents could purchase specifically for their young.[73] Children were also born and survived at higher rates during the eighteenth-century. This meant that more families had young ones to educate and purchase items for, another reason why the market for games was a success. During the eighteenth-century an upper and lower-middle class developed. A larger percentage of parents now had more expendable income to buy their children goods specifically designed for their amusement.[74] But, one of the most important reasons that games were bought and sold was that they aided parents in

[72] J.H. Plumb, "The New World of Children in Eighteenth-Century England," in *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* by Neil McKendrick, et.al. ed., (London: Europa Publications Limited, 1982), 286.

[73] Anthony Fletcher, *Growing up in England: The Experience of Childhood, 1600-1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 297-308.

[74] Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage, 1500-1800* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1979), 258-259.

teaching their young numerous lessons about what it meant to be English in a time when England was modernizing.

This chapter has attempted to show how children's literature changed over the course of the long eighteenth century in congruence with the changing ideas of childhood, and how authors and publishers tried to profit from this new conception of childhood. The idea that children would absorb more if they enjoyed what they were learning helped revolutionize the children's book industry and helped establish a specialized market for children's books. John Newbery and John Marshall responded to the modern idea of childhood and produced books for children that both amused and instructed, but they still revealed some tensions in society. But the instruction was also different—a shift had taken place and children were now being taught how to behave in order to be acceptable to society whereas previously the books had focused on religion and heavenly rewards. Children's books of the eighteenth century also had more pictures, color, and were written on a level that children of different ages could comprehend. Reading became more fun and enjoyable with topics children could relate to and learn from. Overall, children discovered that reading could be amusing, and they read not as much to learn as to pass the time.

As important as the changes in the children's literature were, the successful commodification of children's books by publishers such as Newbery and Marshall indicates that moral and social lessons taught in children's books were being accepted by society. Newbery and Marshall published works for children because there was potential

profit available. Children's literature would not have been successfully commodified during the eighteenth century if the books' morals and authors' purposes had not lined up with prevailing ideas about childhood. Authors were also shaping the minds of youth with the lessons they taught in their books. It became popular for authors to write their intended purpose in a book's introduction and many were clearly speaking to both parents and children. The belief that childhood was a unique stage of life and that children required specialized books and products is evident in the introductions that authors wrote. Authors specifically noted that their books were designed for young minds, a drastic change from the educational and religious texts for children published during seventeenth century.

The last sources that I have incorporated are the responses of children written in the first half of nineteenth century. It must be acknowledged that only having one diary and one biography limits the concreteness of conclusions. However, that does not mean that they should be left out of the history. They do show drastically different experiences than Thomas Isham had in the late seventeenth century. The diaries and biographies also indicate how much children enjoyed and interacted with their books, even if they were for learning. Historians of children's literature have failed to include diaries of children in their narratives, but these sources provide a unique view into the experiences of children and how books and amusement affected their lives. Without their writings included in the historiographical narrative, it would be hard to determine just how much the experience

of childhood changed during the long eighteenth century and how children responded to the burgeoning children's literature market.

What can be determined is that children's literature produced during the eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries was a response to the recently developed modern concept of childhood. These new children's books helped parents and children navigate their way in the changing world around them, and there is no doubt that with all of these innovations children in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had different experiences than their predecessors did. But, children's literature was not the only thing that developed along side the changing notion of childhood during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Products such as table games, card games, and puzzles also found a place in the burgeoning market of merchandise for children. It is to these items that we now turn.

Chapter IV

The Game of Life

"Thus children may be cozen'd into a knowledge of the Letters, be taught to Read, without perceiving it to be anything but a Sport, and play themselves into that which others are whipped for."

Francis Newbery[1]

In the previous chapter we saw how a market for children's literature emerged in response to changing ideas about childhood during the long eighteenth century. This chapter shifts the focus to the emergence and use of table games, card games, and puzzles. All of these items, like many children's books of the eighteenth century, were products that were designed to amuse and educate at the same time. Although historians and literary critics have used children's literature to examine a host of topics relating to the history of childhood, for the most part scholars have failed to include the study of table games when examining childhood during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the types of games that were made during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as a way to understand not only

[1] Francis Newbery, quote from autobiography, in *A Bookseller of the Last Century: Being some Account of the Life of John Newbery, and of the Books he published, with a Notice of the later Newberys*, Charles Welsh and Francis Newbery (London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden & Welsh, 1885), 116.

what children learned by playing the games but also what hidden anxieties and tensions about society and the modern notion of childhood were displayed within the games.

Games can provide a wealth of information from a past time and culture. However, the historiography of table games is not as extensive as that for children's literature, but some scholarship does exist. Lawrence Stone uses table games as evidence that England had shifted to a child-centered society by the mid-eighteenth century. He argues that it "was a time when toy-shops were springing up in provincial towns, and were doing a brisk trade selling toys that were designed merely to give pleasure to the individual child, not to gratify it parents' desires for moral or educational improvement."[2] J.H. Plumb also cites indoor games, whether for education or amusement, as proof that parents were spending more money on their children than ever before in the eighteenth-century. He contends that, "children…had become luxury objects upon which their mothers and fathers were willing to spend larger and larger sums of money, not only for their education, but also for their entertainment and amusement."[3] Even though Plumb and Stone wrote two very different histories, they both saw toys and games as evidence that parents were spending more money on children, primarily for amusement.

In 1999, historian Jill Shefrin conducted the first extensive survey of table games in Georgian England. She examined a small sampling of games to determine how they

[2] Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*, abridged edition (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1979), 258-259.

[3] J.H. Plumb, "The New World of Children in Eighteenth-century England," in *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-century England*, edited by Neil McKendrick, et al. (London: Europa Publications Limited, 1982), 308-310.

were used, who could afford them, and if, in fact, games for children were new during the period. She found that games were very expensive, but they were not entirely new in the mid-eighteenth-century. Shefrin found evidence that games, especially playing cards, were used during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as well. What was recent, according to Shefrin, was that publishers were producing a large variety of such games to sell; however, her article was not concerned with why this changed. In my opinion, Shefrin's major intervention was her analysis of how the games were used. She found that in the eighteenth-century, "Education itself began to be perceived as a science requiring the application of observation and experimentation to determine the greatest good." It was because of this, paired with the fact that mothers were primarily responsible for teaching their young children at home, that games were considered valuable. The games could be used and reused, with or without the observation of a parent or tutor.[4]

This chapter draws from the previous historiography and focuses on three very important and related questions. First, what types of games were produced during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries? Second, why did educators advocate for the use of games for learning purposes during the time period, and how were the games being used? It is essential to address these questions because the answers will help us appreciate the significance of using games as educational tools. Parents in the late

[4] Jill Shefrin, "'Make it a Pleasure and Not a Task:' Educational Games for Children in Georgian England," in *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 60, no. 2 (Winter 1999): 251-254.

eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries utilized these table games as instruments to teach their children, and it is important to understand why and how they did so. It is also probable that both girls and boys benefited from learning through games. Third, what lessons were presented in the games and what can these lessons tell us about the society and culture at the time? Games often reflect what a society values and what it is anxious about. Table games from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries reflect the new ideals about amusing children in education, but they also reveal the tensions about what the modern child needed know to be considered successful and respected in an a time when England was drastically transforming, through industrialization, imperialism, and more.

The Games

Eighteenth-and nineteenth-century games were typically printed on paper and adhered to canvas so they could be stored easily. They would then be folded and kept in either a wooden box or a leather slipcover with the instruction manual. In order to play table games, it was necessary to buy a few supplies, which were usually sold separately. One thing that was essential was a dice or teetotum, depending on the game. A teetotum usually consisted of four, six, or eight sides, was made of bone, and was spun by the player to determine how many spaces to move. Counters were also necessary as markers for each player on the board. These were usually purchased in a set and could range from small flat circles to woodcut shapes such as ships, people,

and animals (Figure 9).[5]

Figure 9

Example of a typical game setup, including teetotum, markers, folding game board, instruction manual and case. National Museum of Australia. http://www.nma.gov.au/collections/highlights/race-to-the-gold-diggings-game

In order to fully grasp the importance of table games in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries we need to first identify the role they filled in educating children. By the end of the eighteenth-century, mothers were being encouraged to begin educating their young children at home. According to Jill Shefrin, games were often designed for a mother to use with her children. Parents could use table games and puzzles as tools to help teach young children about subjects that they themselves were not experts in.[6] In her article, "Make it a Pleasure and Not a Task," Shefrin cites Abbé Gaultier's (1745-1818) reasoning on the usefulness of instructive games. Gaultier was

[5] Caroline Goodfellow, *A Collector's Guide to Games and Puzzles* (New Jersey: Chartwell Books, 1991), 8-9.

[6] Shefrin, 263.

an educational reformer from France, and many of his works were translated and published in English during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. When writing about the usefulness of games, he noted that:

> The custom of Games…offers four considerable advantages. 1. By rendering instruction amusing it prevents discouragement, the natural consequence which attend the dryness of the subjects… 2. It prevents their associating the idea of study with that of fatigue…3. The method of Games is most analogous to the feeble organization of children. At that age, what can we expect from an intense application of the mind…4. In short, it tends…to instill good principles into the minds of children, and to rend them of a good disposition…[7]

Abbé Gaultier's methods were praised in the introduction of *Instructions for playing the chronological and historical games of England,* which was first published in 1791. The author of the game addressed any anxiety about playing games that parents, tutors, or educators might have and assured them that:

> The person who undertakes to teach [by playing games], is to remember that he is playing at the same time that he teaches, and harsh tones, threats, and reproofs, are to be dispensed with, as being incompatible with the idea of the game. That the grand point is obtained when he has cemented in the minds of his pupils the desire of learning, combined with a certain hope of amusement.[8]

The idea was to instill a love for learning by making it enjoyable and at the same time teach children, even if they did not realize they were learning. But the author was also very clear that strict discipline had no place in this type of educating, because it would easily make it a task and not an amusing activity.

---

[7] Abbé Gaultier, *A Rational and Moral Game; or, A Method to accustom Young People to Reflect on the Most Essential Truths of Morality; and Reason the Remarkable Events of History* (London: P. Emsley, ca. 1791), 3-4.

[8] Anonymous, *Instructions for playing the chronological and historical game of England, according to Mons. L'abbe Gaultier's method* (London: Dudley Adams, 1791), 3.

Gaultier and his followers were not the only ones advocating for the use of educational and moral games in England. *The Westminster Review* published an article by the engraver and educator Isaac Taylor on the utility of toys, including games, in 1842.[9] Taylor noted that children, especially boys, were delighted by games and that "It is impossible to calculate the amount of strength given to the young facilities through the magnetism of toys; it is probably more than that derived from any other quarter for the first seven years of life."[10] For Taylor and Gaultier, games were a way to teach academic and moral lessons to children in an amusing way, but games were not new in Europe during this time period.

Board games had been played in Europe for over two centuries before they began being mass-produced for children in England in eighteenth century. One of the first board games was *The Game of the Goose*, and it was first written in Florence during the sixteenth century. *The Game of the Goose* was a gambling game for adults played with dice, but gambling was a significant issue of morality in eighteenth-century English society.[11] Some linked the use of dice and cards to gambling and worried that children would pick up the bad habit if they used these items for play. However, the natural philosopher Erasmus Darwin argued in 1797 in his *A plan for the conduct of female education, in boarding schools* that playing cards could be

[9] Robin Taylor Gilbert, "Isaac Taylor," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed March 17, 2015.

[10] Isaac Taylor, "Home Education," in *Westminster Review,* American Edition, XXXVII (New York: Joseph Mason, 1842), 58.

[11] Shefrin, 259.

beneficial as educational instruments if they were used with parental supervision.[12] He wrote, "It may be observed, that the early initiation of most children into card playing before they come to school, by giving clear and visible ideas of the ten first numeral, seems greatly to facilitate their acquirement of arithmetic."[13] As a natural philosopher Darwin would have been very interested in furthering the study of mathematics and science. The eighteenth century witnessed the development of more scientific societies as learning became more desirous and society became more complex, and it was necessary to have a solid understanding of math and science.[14] By the eighteenth century math had become a necessary part of industry and learning.[15] Therefore, it was essential to be proficiently skilled in math in order to get ahead in the modern age.

The mathematician John Bonnycastle highlighted the importance of teaching math to children at a young age his the book *An Introduction to Algebra* in 1796.[16] In the preface of the book he wrote that, "When the first principles of any art or science are firmly fixed and rooted in the mind, their application soon becomes easy, pleasant, and obvious; the understanding is delighted and enlarged; we conceive clearly, reason

[12] Maureen McNeil, "Erasmus Darwin," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed April 10, 2015.

[13] Erasmus Darwin, *A plan for the conduct of female education, in boarding schools* (London: J. Johnson, 1797), 19.

[14] Joel Mokyr, *The Enlightened Economy: An Economic History of Britain 1700-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 49, 84-86. The Baconian Model advocated for the gathering of facts through observation and recording of details, which required a solid foundation of math.

[15] Deborah Harkness, *The Jewel House: Elizabethan London and the Scientific Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.

[16] Thomas Wittaker, "John Bonnycastle," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed March 17, 2015.

distinctly, and form just and satisfactory conclusion."[17] Being familiar with arithmetic was also linked to good habits and morality. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which was founded in 1698, was the first Anglican missionary organization. By the late 1700s the Society was working through charity schools and they met yearly to discuss the progress that was made the previous year.[18] While discussing charity among poor children at the yearly meeting of 1778, the Anglican preacher Anthony Hamilton presented a sermon in which he stated "Let us give to them an opportunity, at on Period of their Being, at least, of Improvement in true Religion and Virtue, in the useful Arts of Writing and Arithmetic, and in general Habits of Industry and Attention."[19]

Parents and schools could use games to supplement a mathematics curriculum. In the book *Amusement Hall* (1794), the dialogue between characters told the story of a gentlemen being introduced to the utility of games. The gentleman, Mr. Carbonnel, told how he was indebted to the Smiths family with whom he had previously stayed. He then proceeded to explain how they amused him with games, including an arithmetic game, and how he was "surprised to find even little William so ready at

[17] John Bonnycastle, *An introduction to algebra; with notes and observations; Designed for the Use of Schools and Places of Public Education* (London: J. Johnson, 1796), Preface.

[18] SPCK: The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, "Our History," *The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,* http://www.spck.org.uk/about-spck/history/, accessed March 17, 2015.

[19] Anthony Hamilton, *A Sermon Preached in the Parish-Church of Christ Church London, On Thursday May the 7th, 1778: Being the Time Of the Yearly Meeting of the Children Educated in the Charity Schools, in and about the Cities of London and Westminster* (London: W. Oliver, 1778), 20.

casting up numbers."[20] This short episode in the book signified how useful games could be it teaching young children mathematics. This book is also interesting because it was written by a woman. There are many possible reasons why the author included this story in the book. She could have been encouraging others to use games by showing how advanced the young boy was in mathematics. But it is also possible that it was included because it had become more normal among some in the middling, gentry, and aristocracy.

One game that a young child could play to learn math was the *Game for Teaching Mathematics* (1791). It helped children acquire a basic foundation in math by teaching addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division. The rule booklet for the game is no longer in existence, but we can tell that the players would moved through the circular board by rolling a totum and reciting mathematical facts or equations.[21] John Wallis produced a game very similar to this in 1798 and entitled it *An Arithmetical Pastime: Intended to Infuse the Rudiments of Arithmetic Under the Idea of Amusement* (Figure 9).[22] Any number of players could play the game as long as each player had a marker to identify himself or herself on the board. If the player landed on a space that required him/her to recite a mathematical fact, and he/she got it right the player would move forward, but if he/she got it wrong the player would

[20] Anonymous, *Amusement Hall: Or, An Easy Introduction to the Attainment of Useful Knowledge. By a Lady* (London: T. Gardiner, 1794), 114.

[21] *Game for Teaching Mathematics* (London: C. Taylor, 1791). V&A Museum of Childhood.

[22] *An Arithmetical Pastime: Intended to Infuse the Rudiments of Arithmetic Under the Idea of Amusement* (London: John Wallis, 1798). V&A Museum of Childhood.

arithmetic by using two totums, numbering them one through nine, and spinning both on each turn and adding, subtracting, multiplying, or dividing the numbers to determine the number of spaces a player was to move.[23]

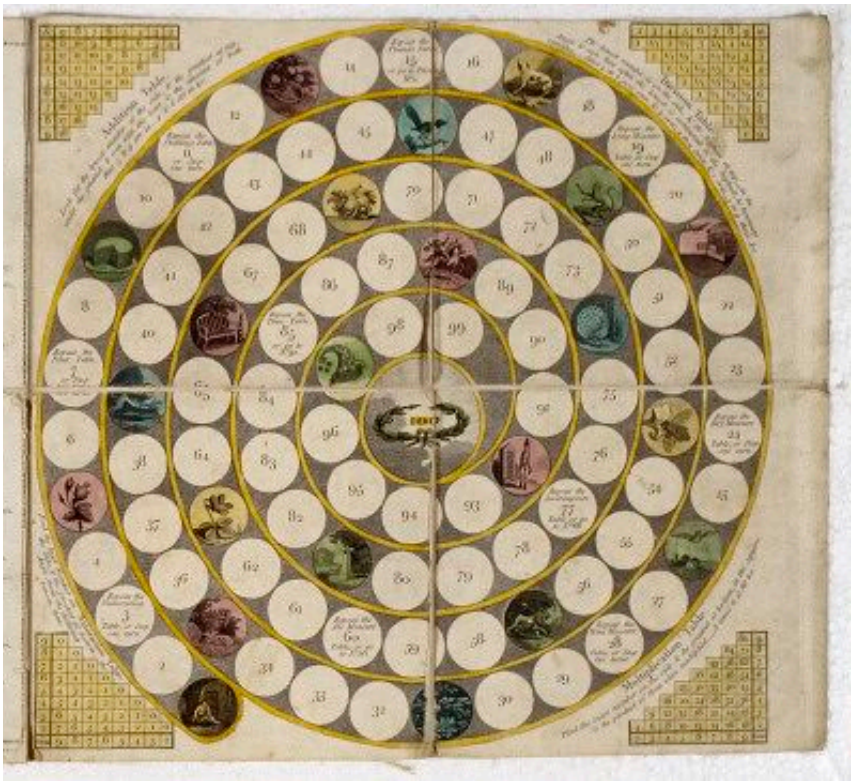

Figure 10
An Arithmetical Pastime, published by John Wallis, 1798
V&A Museum of Childhood
http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O26291/an-arithmetical-pastime-board-game-wallis-john/

Moral Games

Some games were designed to teach children about social morality and social conventions. As previously discussed in chapter one, the focus on morality had shifted by the middle of the eighteenth-century. Parents were no longer repressing the sins of Adam

[23] *An Arithmetical Pastime.*

and Even in their children. Instead, they had a responsibility to teach their children how to function and thrive in a modern society characterized by a market economy, social fluctuation, and empire.[24] *The New Game of Human Life* (Figure 10) was one game that the publishers John Wallis and Elizabeth Newbery, a descendent of John Newbery, produced in 1790. The spaces took the player from space one (infant) through the stages of life to space 84 (immortal man), but the spaces featured both moral and immoral characteristics. Moral characteristics included: the studious boy, the generous man, the good father, and the learned man. On the other hand, some of the immoral characteristics presented in the game included: the mischievous boy, the rebellious youth, the drunkard, and the gambler.[25] On the game board, parents were told that the utility of the game would be found if they stopped at each "character" and brought their child's "attention to a few moral and judicious observations explanatory of each Character as they proceed & contrast the happiness of a Virtuous & well spent life with the fatal consequences arising from Vicious & Immoral pursuits."[26]

[24] Plumb, 290.

[25] *The New Game of Human Life* (London: John Wallis & Elizabeth Newbery, 1790). V&A Museum of Childhood.

[26] Ibid., Directions for play.

Figure 11
The New Game of Human Life (1790)
V&A Museum of Childhood
http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O26273/the-new-game-of-human-board-game-newberry-elizabeth/

Another interesting game was *Laurie and Whittle's New Moral & Entertaining Game of the Mansion of Happiness*, which was produced in 1800 (Figure 11). The game took players on a journey through goodness and corruption in order to arrive at the Mansion (space 67), which signified ultimate happiness. If a player landed on a space that indicated a good characteristic such as piety, honesty, sobriety, chastity, and generosity, he or she would move ahead six spaces. But if the player landed on a space that represented vices he or she would move backward, skip a turn, or pay a fine. Some examples of vices on the game board were immodesty, passion, idleness, lying, cheating, and drunkenness. Punishments such as being sent to Newgate or Bridewell prisons, going to whipping post, and poverty were also spaces one could land on or be sent to on the board. If a player rolled their dice and landed on the "Cheat" space he/she was sent to the

"Bridewell" space and had to skip the next turn. If they were caught up in "Idleness" by landing on that space, they would be sent to the "Poverty" space and have to wait for their next turn.[27] These spaces represent anxieties about how much individuality children should have had. It was still necessary to work hard in order to stay out of poverty and away from crime, as entering into poverty was considered a moral failure, but these games were also used to instill modern ideas of consumerism and capitalism into young children's minds.

Figure 12
A section of the game of *Mansion of Happiness* (1800).
This section of the board displays Honesty, Audacity, A Drunkard, Newgate Prison, and Humanity.
V&A Museum of Childhood
http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O26295/laurie-and-whittles-new-moral-board-game-r-h-laurie/

A very similar kind of game was *The Cottage of Content* produced in 1848 (Figure 12). The goal of the game was to follow the easiest and quickest path to the "Cottage of Content," which represented a life full of opportunity but also a satisfied resignation about one's station in society. Some of the paths that players could land on

[27] *Laurie and Whittle's New Moral & Entertaining Game of the Mansion of Happiness* (London: George Fox, 1800). V&A Museum of Childhood.

were "Misfortune Lane," "Forethought Road," "Prudence Passing," "Tittle-Tattle Corner," and "Long Sought Lane." The pathways that represented good characteristics led the players closer to the cottage, but the ones that depicted bad traits led players away.[28] Another game published during the time period focused on the value of education. *The Mount of Knowledge* (1804) taught that education was a hard-fought process and good decisions would lead to "the mount of knowledge," but bad decisions would take one back a few steps. Players began on space one (the Horn Book) and would begin to learn their letters. On their next role, they learned their letters they could move forward on the board (signifying that they learned their letters). But, the players had to be careful what spaces they landed on as some of them signified the folly common among young students such as carelessness, truancy, and idleness. If the players landed on one of these spaces, they would have to skip a turn, admit their wrong doing to the other players, or go back a few steps. As they moved along the board the process of maturing as a student was signified with spaces marked as repentance, exertion, and diligence. The first player to reach space 60, the "Mount of Knowledge," completed their "education" and won the game.[29]

[28] *The Cottage of Content, or the Right Roads and Wrong Ways* (London: William Spooner, 1848). V&A Museum of Childhood.

[29] *The Mount of Knowledge* (Greenwich: W. Richardson, 1804). V&A Museum of Childhood.

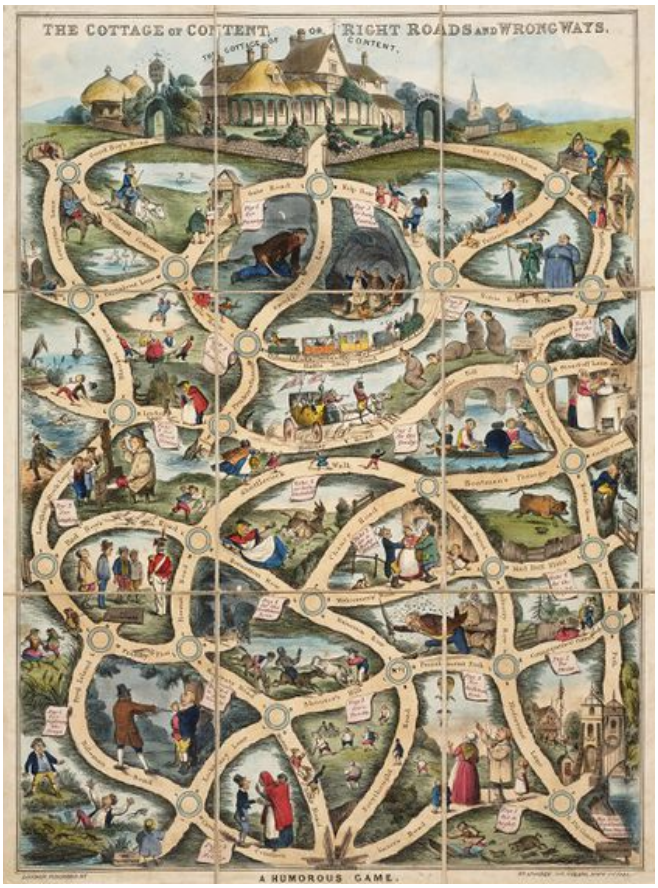

Figure 13
The Cottage of Content (1848)
V&A Museum of Childhood
http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O26330/the-cottage-of-content-or-board-game-spooner-william/#

All of these games were intended to teach virtuous qualities to children, but they also reveal characteristics and priorities of eighteenth and early nineteenth-century English culture. One thing that the games depict is a tension about class. By the end of the eighteenth-century a middle class had emerged and the one thing that unified them was the desire to continue to gain wealth. Contemporaries believed that the state of the empire rested on industrialization and, more importantly, consumption,

and as these brought more wealth to England the middle class prospered.[30] The games described above highlight the bourgeois attitude of rising in the ranks. In the *Mansion of Happiness* and *The Cottage of Content* the final spaces are picturesque homes. They are not small cottages, but homes with multiple rooms and landscaped yards (Figure 13). And the players reached these targets quicker if they adhered to the spaces that represented good virtues.

Figure 14
Depiction of Picturesque Home
The Mansion of Happiness as depicted in the game by the same name.
V&A Museum of Childhood

The accumulation of land, especially in the countryside, was a common goal among the middling classes. Their desire was to be close to their modes of production (factories), yet distinguish themselves from the working class individuals who labored in

[30] Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People, England 1727-1783* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 642-653.

their factories.[31] The rising middle class also imitated the upper class by spending money on luxury items. As manufacturing moved from being domestic to industrial, a market economy developed and people began to spend money on products such as furniture, clothing, and home accessories.[32] In particular, as the eighteenth century progressed it became common for men and women of all classes to spend money on clothing. The problem with clothing as historian John Styles has pointed out was that "The capacity of clothes to deceive seemed to grow as fashion became ever more pervasive and people more willing and better able to engage in it." In short, the lines of class and merit were blurred as more people, especially those of the lower classes, spent money on clothing that was above their rank. This was an issue for the aristocracy and upper-classes, because clothes had been used in previous centuries to distinguish the social order, but now the rising middle class was using fashion to emulate those above them.[33] In *The Game of Life* each space depicts a very well-dressed boy, man, or elderly man. Some of the clothing items illustrated are a variety of hats (some with feathers), several different brightly colored coats, double-breasted undercoats, ruffled shirts, knee breeches, stocking, and buckle shoes. Most importantly, in no scene is the man's clothing tattered nor is he ever dirty, indicating that he was probably not from the working class.[34]

---

[31] Maxine Berg, *The Age of Manufacturers: Industry, Innovation and Work in Britain 1700-1820* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1985), 72.

[32] Carole Shammas, "Changes in English and Anglo-American consumption from 1550-1800," in *Consumption and the World of Goods,* edited by John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), 177-205.

[33] John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 181-182.

[34] *The Game of Human Life.*

These games were created in an effort to better guide children through this new world and empire, but they also highlighted the anxieties that surrounded morals, class, and capitalism. The world was changing and adults needed a way to educate young children about the complex world in which they were born. The state of the British Empire strongly determined what it meant to be Briton during the long eighteenth century. Most Britons were deeply invested in the empire whether through trade, banking, politics, or exploration, and it was the ordinary citizens who furthered the empire the most. Britons believed that there was a finite amount of wealth in the world and, therefore, they needed to conquer and colonize as much as possible in order to claim as many riches and resources for themselves and the mother country as possible.[35] That the British Empire helped form a national identity for adults through coffee shops, print culture, and politics in the metropolis as well as provincial towns have been evaluated by historians. But these trends are also evident in educational games produced for children during the time period.[36]

History and Empire Games

Teaching children arithmetic and morals were very important, but the largest selection of games produced were intended to teach history, geography, and the

[35] Kathleen Wilson, "Empire of Virtue: The imperial project and Hanoverian culture, c. 1720-1785 in *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689-1815*, edited by Lawrence Stone (London: Routledge, 1994), 130-134.

[36] Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England 1715-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998; Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, ed., *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

importance of Britain's empire. History and geography were taught through memorization, just as spelling and religion had been, in pre-eighteenth century England. By the late 1700s, teaching history was not only about memorization but about understanding Britain's past so the future could be better. It was no longer enough to only know where places were and who ruled at what time. While discussing this shift in his book *An introduction to the study of history* (1772), R. Johnson wrote, "From reflecting properly on the most singular and instructive parts of history, true morality will be derived, and the heart improved; but when young people read such passages only to retain and repeat them, nothing more will be learned from them, than a vain conceit of their own exalted abilities."[37] Learning history was now seen as a crucial part in bettering oneself and the future of Britain. In this passage Johnson chastised parents who had their children memorize maps and facts for the sake of showing their children off to others. Instead, Johnson saw history as something that should be reflected on and could be used for the improvement of oneself.

Games produced with the intention of teaching history became popular by the turn of the nineteenth century. John Wallis produced several games that taught world and English history. One was the *Historical Pastime or a New Game of the History of England from the Conquest to the Accession of George the Third* (1803), which Wallis

[37] R. Johnson, *An introduction to the study of history; wherein is considered the proper method of reading historical works, in order to acquire a perfect knowledge of mankind; With a View to Improve the Judgment, and correct the various Errors arising from Passion and Prejudice* (London: T. Carnan, 1772), 5. There is no listing in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography for an R. Johnson. There are a few for a man by the last name of Johnson and the first name beginning with R, but I cannot determine with any surety which, if any, the author was.

published with another game publisher, John Harris (Figure 15). The game featured 158 spaces and had a circular layout where the player began on the bottom of the circle and worked their way around to the middle of the board to end at George III. Spaces on the board included kings and queens of England and historical events, and the rule booklet contained historical details about each space.[38] The game was intended to teach the history of England to children and the advertisement on the game read, "The utility and tendency of this Game must be obvious at first sight; for surely there cannot be a more agreeable study than History, and none more improving to Youth, than that which conveys to them, in a pleasing and comprehensive manner, the Events which have occurred in their own country."[39] Linda Colley notes how by the first half of the nineteenth century boys from the landed gentry were indoctrinated with patriotism in school in an attempt to maintain and teach the importance of British conventions.[40] However, the customs of the British Empire was important enough to teach more than just the young males of the landed gentry. The production of games for young children also signifies that these values were being taught to younger students, including those of the female sex.

The significance of this game lies in the historical events listed on the game board. Since the game covers over seven hundred years, Wallis and Harris could only

[38] Goodfellow, 30.

[39] *Historical Pastime or a New Game of the History of England from the Conquest to the Accession of George the Third* (London: John Harris and John Wallis, 1803). V&A Museum of Childhood.

[40] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, second edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 170.

include specific historical events that they deemed most important to England by the turn of the nineteenth century. In order to mold patriotic subjects they included events that highlighted England's and Britain's rise and power. It was intended to increase children's love for their king and country and willingness to help further the empire. A similar game produced by Wallis was *Wallis's New Game of Universal History and Chronology* (ca. 1840). This game was intended to teach a broader history of world events from the time of Adam and Eve onward. However, as can be expected, the board highlighted many important British events such as Christianity coming to Britain, the founding of London, the establishment of Australia, unification with Wales, the execution of King Charles I, and the creation of the lottery system.[41] The lottery was a new invention of the eighteenth century and it is interesting to find it included within this board game. It was an easy and relatively inexpensive way for people of all sorts, but especially from the middle class, to invest their money for a chance to win a large cash prize. The substantial amount of investment in the lottery system signaled its success as well as the public's optimism for the financial state of the empire.[42] It was important for children to learn about these events at an early age so they could understand what being British meant and develop national and imperial pride. Of course, all of these sentiments were still relatively new in England, but games such as this one helped teachers, parents, and the buying public navigate how best to teach children about

[41] R.C. Bell. *The Boardgame Book* (Los Angeles: The Knapp Press, 1979), 10-11.
[42] Carl Wennerlind, *Casualties of Credit: The English Financial Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 170.

the complex world of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century British empire.

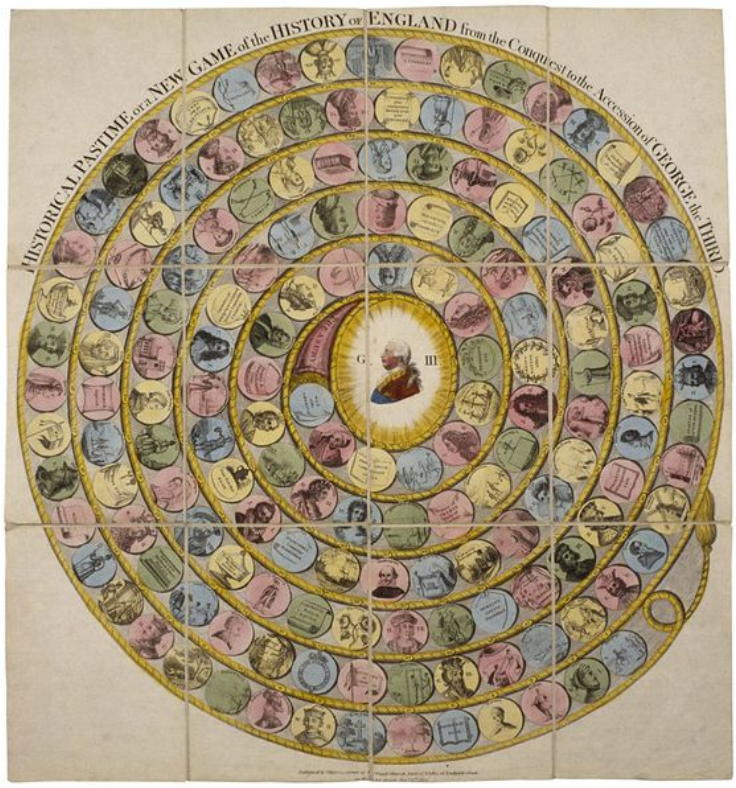

Figure 15
Historical Pastime (1803)
V&A Museum of Childhood
http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O26301/historical-pastime-or-a-new-board-game-harris-john/#

Games publishers also created matching games that taught historical content to children. The games often came in a wooden box and had cards to match to each other. N. Carpenter published the matching card game *Historical Amusement: A New Game* in 1840. The game contained two sets of cards, one set with pictures of the kings, queens, and peerages of England and the other with facts about each individual for the child to match to the corresponding pictures. The cards were drawn by a child the group

designated as "president" and he/she was responsible for keeping up with who got the correct matches and the score. The game ended when all of the cards had been matched, or when the pool of description cards was empty and no players had anything else to play.[43]

Knowledge of geography was also seen as a vital part in educating British children. In the preface of *A new, royal, authentic, complete, and universal system of geography* (ca. 1794), George Baldwyn wrote that, "The utility of Geography has been so able proved…[and] it is a Science which unites so much *Entertainment and Instruction*, that it well demands that attention of every class, and cannot be too earnestly recommended. Hereby we attain a KNOWLEDGE of the WORLD; without which it is impossible we can KNOW OURSELVES."[44] Baldwyn continued by acknowledging that all parts of the population of England should be educated in geography. He argued that:

> Geography is useful to all ranks of people; it furnishes entertainment for the Young and Gay, and is a pleasing companion to the Old and Studious. It is interesting to Men of Letters, because no History can be properly understood without it—to Politicians, as being necessary to understand the true interests of States and Kingdoms—to Military and Naval Officers, by informing them of the states of different Countries…to the Merchants and Traders, to assist them in taking prudent measures for the advancement and circulation of Commerce throughout the World; and to the curious Enquirer, to give an ample gratification in his thirst for Knowledge.[45]

---

[43] *Historical Game: A New Amusement* (London: N. Carpenter, 1840). V&A Museum of Childhood.

[44] George Augustus Baldwyn, *A new, royal, authentic, complete, and universal system of geography* (London: ca. 1794), 3.

[45] Baldwyn, 3.

This passage illustrates that this was a time of exploration, curiosity, and increasing knowledge about the world. A familiarization of geography could assist many different segments of the population and was therefore just as crucial as learning history, but it was also vital in teaching the youngest English inhabitants about the importance of the British Empire.

Geographical puzzles were the first type of games produced for children during the mid-eighteenth century. John Spilsbury created the first puzzles around the middle of the eighteenth century.[46] He conceived of them as a way to teach geography to children in a fun manner, and by the 1800s geographical puzzles were popular. There were puzzles that taught world geography, the geography of Europe, and those that depicted the Eastern and Western hemispheres.[47] Puzzles gave children a hands-on-approach to learning about the world they lived in, and they could be used time and time again. An example of a puzzle created to teach about both geography and different cultures was *Europe Delineated,* which was published around 1830 (Figure 16).[48] The puzzle contained a dissected map in the middle section, as well as dissected squares with information about England and other countries surrounding the map. This puzzle is particularly interesting because it teaches about both geography and cultures.

[46] Shefrin, 260.

[47] *Europe Delineated* (London: John Betts, ca. 1800); *Western and Eastern Hemispheres* (London: William Darton, 1820); *The World on Mercator's Projection* (London: George Phillip & Son, ca. 1830). V&A Museum of Childhood.

[48] *Europe Delineated.*

Figure 16
Europe Delineated Puzzle (ca. 1830)
V&A Museum of Childhood

Puzzles were a great tool used by parents and schools to teach young children. They were a means of keeping children busy as well as educating them. Most puzzles came in wooden boxes with sliding lids that depicted the full image of the puzzle on the front to help guide children. Puzzles were usually made of wood with pictures pasted on top and then dissected into varying shapes. The pieces typically fit next to each other, instead of interlocking like modern-day jig-saw puzzles. In an address to mothers written in 1842, the educational reformist Richard Lovell Edgeworth wrote about the importance of fixing details into the minds of children, especially when it came to learning facts

about geography and history.[49] Puzzles were seen to be a great way to instill these types of facts in the minds of children without it being a tedious task.

Geographical games also became popular during this time period. John Wallis transformed copies of his maps produced at his warehouse on Ludgate Street in London and created games that taught the geography of England, Wales, Europe, and the world.[50] Two games that he produced in 1794 were *Wallis's Tour Through England and Wales* and *Wallis's Tour of Europe.* The games could be played with two or three players, and their object was to travel through the map until on player reached London and won the game.[51] In *Wallis's Tour of Europe*, players could also move double the number of spaces indicated by the teetotum if they landed on an important capital in Europe such as St. Petersburg, Berlin, Vienna, Constantinople, Madrid, and Paris among others (Figure 17).[52] But, it is worth emphasizing the fact that Wallis's games ended in London, which he considered to be the most important city in Europe and the center of the world. London was a cosmopolitan city by the end of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century. The poet John Lawrence explained why it was so influential in his poem "London in the Nineteenth Century," which was written in 1844. A portion of his poem reads:

---

[49] Richard Lovell Edgeworth, "Address to Mothers," in *Early Lesson, in Four Volumes* by Maria Edgeworth (London: R. Hunter, 1824), xxi-xxii.

[50] Shefrin, 260.

[51] *Wallis's Tour Through England and Wales, A New Geographical Pastime* (London: John Wallis, 1794); *Wallis's Tour of Europe, A New Geographical Pastime* (London: John Wallis, 1794). V&A Museum of Childhood.

[52] *Wallis's Tour of Europe.*

> My theme is LONDON! Opulent and great;
> The port, the mart, the centre, and the source
> Of all that's good or evil, grand or mean,
> Of great or little, in the British realm.
> The fame of London is gone forth to all
> Four quarter of the wide commercial world;
> In climes remote, and regions beyond
> The rolling surges of the western flood;
> From where the orient sun salutes the morn,
> To where he dips his golden beam in night;
> Wherever commerce rings the change of gain,
> At cent, per cent, on costly merchandise,
> Her trading empire holds a powerful sway.[53]

To Lawrence and many others during this time, London was the center of commerce and a worldly city. It was the center of the British world where merchants tended to set up shop, trading ships came in daily to the ports, and where the Bank of England was located. The grandeur and importance of London demonstrated how powerful the British Empire was and the extreme amount of wealth that flowed through it.[54]

[53] John Lawrence, *London in the Nineteenth Century: A Poem, in Three Books* (Wantage: J. and G. Lewis, 1844), 10-11.

[54] Mokyr, 224-228.

Figure 17
Wallis's Tour of Europe, 1794
V&A Museum of Childhood
http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O26288/new-geographical-game-exhibiting-a-board-game-wallis-john/

By the eighteenth century Londoners were consuming subjects and they depended on the empires' colonies, trading companies, and merchants to keep up their way of life. The people of England had become accustomed to purchasing luxury goods that they wanted but did not necessarily need. As Maxine Berg has argued, the English especially had become a people who shopped for pleasure. It became a social function, especially among the middling sorts.[55] But, whereas Berg's analysis does not concentrate on children, it can be assumed that children were seeing and understanding the value placed on shopping. However, they would probably have not been able to comprehend exactly

[55] Maxine Berg, *Luxury & Pleasure in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 247-278.

how these goods came to the shops. That is where the geography games and those about the British Empire came in. These types of games showed the regions that Britain controlled and could also assist children in learning about the countries that England traded with, where itscolonies were, and even what products were native to a particular country or region.

Because of the significance placed on empire and consumption, some of the most intriguing games developed for children during this time period were exploration games. Exploring and discovery were important aspects of building a nation and empire in eighteenth and nineteenth century England, and children began to be indoctrinated with these lessons early on.[56] Benedict Anderson defines a nation as an "imagined community," one that is made up of cultural distinctions, instead of political ones.[57] One of the best ways to define this kind of nation is against "the other." The British inhabitants were able to use exploration as a means to build their national identity, and by the eighteenth century Britons distinguished themselves as the greatest against all other nations in the world.[58]

Several table games were produced that signified the importance placed on exploration and discovery in British culture. One game was *British and Foreign Animals: A New Game, Moral, Instructive, and Amusing* published in 1820 by William Darton. The game featured thirty-seven animals from rabbits to lions on the winning space. Each

[56] Colley, 231-232.
[57] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 6-12.
[58] Colley, xviii-xix.

animal had a description provided in the booklet that accompanied the game.[59] As children played the game they could learn about native animals like foxes, horses, and deer, but they could also familiarize themselves with kangaroos, antelopes, and elephants from elsewhere in the British empire. Another game that depicted animals was *Wallis's New Game of Wanderers in the Wilderness*, published sometime between 1818 and 1847 by Edward Wallis (Figure 18). The game featured a large drawing of South America with native animals and landscapes depicted.[60] Territories were not distinguished on the map. But, it is worth noting that the players began and ended at a location that represented British Guiana, a territory that Britain had only gained in 1814. England acquired Guiana for the purpose of setting up sugar plantations with slave labor. Lord Aberdeen, Secretary of State in 1835, referred to British Guiana as "the settlements which in wealth, population, and value, holds the second place [to Jamaica] in the West Indian possessions of the British Crown."[61] The establishment of a successful colony in British Guiana would have meant more products, resources, and wealth being transported to Britain, but it is still surprising how quickly a game for children was produced that highlighted British Guiana after its incorporation into the British Empire. This tells us that teaching children about changes within the empire was equally important as educating them on

[59] *British and Foreign Animals: A New Game, Moral, Instructive, and Amusing* (London: William Darton, 1820). V&A Museum of Childhood.

[60] *Wallis's New Game of Wanderers in the Wilderness* (London: Edward Wallis, ca. 1818-1847). V&A Museum of Childhood.

[61] Quoted in William A. Green, Jr., "The Apprenticeship in British Guiana, 1834-1838," in *Caribbean Studies* 9, no. 2 (July 1969), 44.

how valuable the empire was to Britain. Even the youngest British subjects needed to know the intricacies and benefits of the empire.

Figure 18
Wallis's New Game of Wanderers in the Wilderness (ca. 1818-1847)
V&A Museum of Childhood
http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O26490/walliss-new-game-of-wanderers-board-game-wallis-edward/

Part of the attraction of imperialism was the massive amount of wealth and goods that colonies brought to Britain.[62] The West Indies was a source of substantial wealth and goods in the nineteenth century, but Britain had also set its sights on Australia as well. Britain had sent convicts and other less desirous citizens to Australia since the late

[62] Colley, 69-70.

eighteenth century, but by the middle of the nineteenth century more individuals were willing to go for one reason—gold. After gold was discovered in Australia in 1851, Great Britain began to envision that its colonies could provide more than raw materials, slave labor, and consumer goods. The prospect of acquiring gold encouraged explorers and gold miners to go to Australia by the hundreds. Just like *Wallis's Wanderers in the Wilderness,* the game *Race to the Gold Diggers of Australia* (Figure 19) was produced shortly after the discovery of gold and encouraged children to imagine themselves as explorers racing to Australia to mine for gold. The players sailed around the game board from England around the Cape of Good Hope to Africa. The goal of the game was to get to Australia first and acquire a fortune in gold, but the players had to be careful not to shipwreck, get hurt, or let others beat them.[63] This game perfectly highlights the importance of exploration in order to maintain the empire, and children could learn these lessons through play. Exploration and discovery were the means by which the empire expanded and continued to gain wealth. The British world was growing and children could learn the importance of supporting or participating in exploration endeavors from an early age.

[63] "Race to the Gold Diggings of Australia game," *National Museum of Australia,* http://www.nma.gov.au/av/journeys_connections/home_page_assets/applets/game/3640/show_tell3640_text.htm, accessed March 18, 2015.

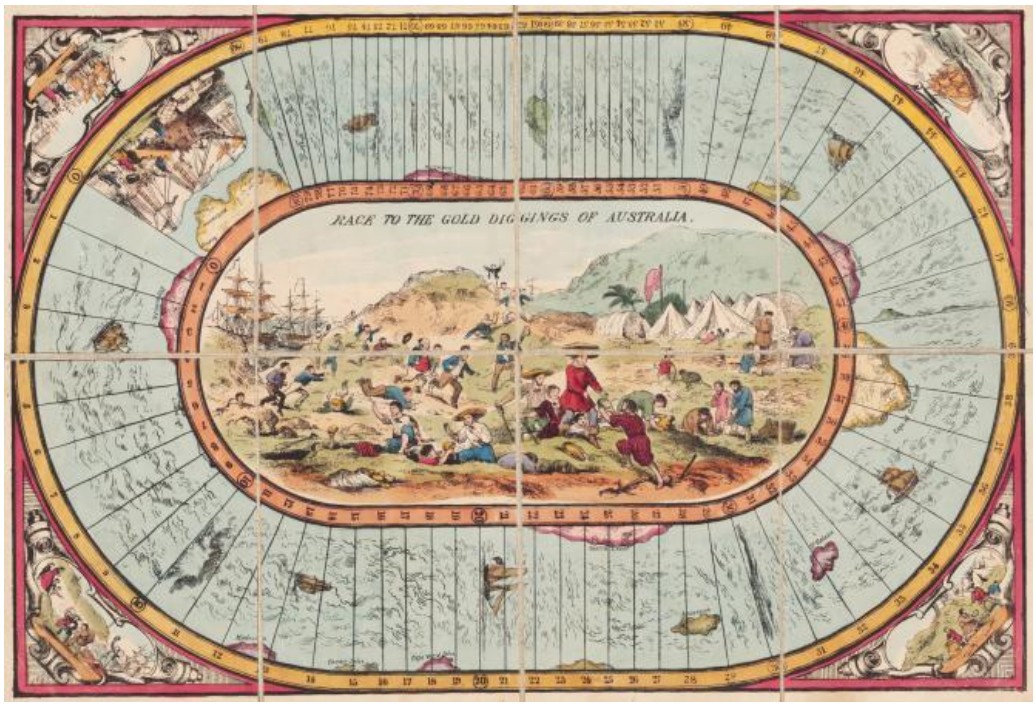

Figure 19
Race to the Gold Diggings of Australia Game (ca. 1855)
National Library of Australia, *Treasure Explorer*
http://treasure-explorer.nla.gov.au/treasure/race-gold-diggings-australia#game-board-race-gold-diggings-australia-c1855

England also continued with the process of industrialization during the nineteenth century. Puzzles and games produced for children indicated that publishers understood this time as a period of progress and saw the desire to impress the importance of the developments on to children. One such development was the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway on September 15, 1830. The L&MR was the first railway designed exclusively for the purpose of transporting passengers and rapidly became popular because it reached its destination quickly and could transport large amounts of people and goods. To commemorate the special occasion, numerous products were made including prints, jugs, and handkerchiefs, but it is also interesting to note that products for

children were also produced to celebrate the event.[64] Shortly after the railway opened, Edward Wallis published a puzzle venerating the momentous occasion (Figure 20). The puzzle was made up of forty-six pieces and included three images of the passenger train cars on the day of the train's inauguration. The images show the full band playing and numerous passengers participating in the historic event and riding the train. In the middle of the puzzle it was written that the "Length of Road thirty-one miles. Average time of Journey one hour and a quarter. Cost of execution 820,000 pounds. Opened 15th Sept. 1830."[65] The middle class heavily sponsored the financing of railways between 1830 and 1845. About 45% of investments into the railroad companies were from merchants and 28% were from landowners. The new rail networks were essential in increasing trade and wealth throughout England and this fact was evident to contemporaries.[66] And so it was significant enough to sell souvenirs to all portions of the population, including children, in order to celebrate the technological achievement but also the greatness that the railway would help Britain achieve.

[64] Collections Department, "The Liverpool and Manchester Railway: Opening and Operations," *Museum of Science and Industry*, http://www.mosi.org.uk/media/33871611/liverpoolroadstation,manchester.pdf, accessed December 15, 2014.

[65] *The Locomotive Engines on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway* (London: E. Wallis, ca. 1830). V&A Museum of Childhood.

[66] Mokyr, 266-267.

Figure 20
Liverpool and Manchester Railway Puzzle (1830)
V&A Museum of Childhood

At the same time England expanded its rail network, it also continued to focus on its naval authority. An interesting puzzle was *The Progress of Shipbuilding* published by William Spooner around 1850 (Figure 21). The puzzle featured several scenes that depicted the different tasks that were involved in building ships. Some examples included cutting down the oak or pine tree, drawing timber, forming the ribs of the ship, sail making, rope spinning, and launching the final product.[67] All of these images were meant to instill a pride in English shipbuilding methods, the navy, and empire, as well as help explain the intricate processes necessary for building ships. Both *The Progress of Shipbuilding* and the *Liverpool and Manchester Railway* puzzles were meant to celebrate significant technological achievements. They were therefore, designed to instill a sense of national pride to England's youngest members of society.

[67] *The Progress of Shipbuilding* (London: William Spooner, ca. 1850). V&A Museum of Childhood.

Figure 21
The Progress of Shipbuilding Puzzle (1850)
V&A Museum of Childhood
http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O27244/the-progress-of-shipbuilding-dissected-puzzle-spooner-william/#

As momentous as these occasions were they not as significant as the Great Exhibition of 1851. The Great Exhibition opened in London on May 1, 1851, and it was meant to showcase England's wealth and power. The *Chester Chronicle* heralded day as "the most glorious day in the history of our island." It continued by stating that the event "thus solemnly inaugurat[ed] the metropolis of the British empire as the industrial capital of the world."[68] The exhibition was the brainchild of Prince Albert, Queen Victoria's husband, and thousands traveled to see the marvels present there. There were over 100,000 inventions from all over the world and they were all housed in London's Crystal Palace built for the occasion in Hyde Park, no doubt a modern marvel all its own. Things

[68] "Opening of the Great Exhibition," *Chester Chronicle*, Saturday, May 3, 1851.

like printing and illustrating presses, updated carriages, and weaponry lined the halls for visitors to see.[69] Some of the findings at the exhibition were written about in "The Great Exhibition," written on May 3, 1851, just three days after it opened. The sonnet read:

> London and the Exhibition of 1851.
> The city of the world! Propitious thought!
> Like some proud queen arrayed for conquest, waits
> Expectant—ope'd are all her royal gates—
> Her *palace* chamber, too, of crystal wrought.
> And now the arms of gathered nations see!
> Bear to hear lap the fruits of golden hours!
> From *Persian* looms soft garbs, and woven flow'rs—
> Wools from Cashmere, and silks from *Lombardy*!
> From *Greece* her sculpture—from *Japan* rich wares!
> Lace from *Bohemia*—and from "Sister France"
> A thousands fabrics! While *Ceylon* prepare
> Her precious woods, the tide of wealth t'enhance!
> And in the midst see! Angenora [The Goddess of Industry] stand,
> To crown the triumphs of our native land![70]

The opening of the exhibition was so momentous that a wood-dissecting puzzle was created for children shortly after it opened titled *Industrial Exhibitions for All Nations* (Figure 22). The exterior of the Crystal Palace was the central image of the puzzle with the flags from every nation represented flying high above the Palace. The puzzle also depicted numerous visitors, from various nations and cultures, moving towards the building, either by foot or carriage, to see all of the displays inside.[71]

---

[69] "The Great Exhibition," *British Library*, http://www.bl.uk/learning/histcitizen/victorians/exhibition/greatexhibition.html, accessed December 15, 2014.

[70] E.E.M.K. "The Great Exhibition: A Sonnet," *The Pioneer, and Weekly Record of Movements* (London, May 3, 1851), Issue 3, pg. 38.

[71] *Industrial Exhibition of All Nations* (London: unknown, ca. 1851). V&A Museum of Childhood.

Figure 22
The Industrial Exhibition of All Nations (ca. 1851)
V&A Museum of Childhood

The Victorians viewed the Great Exhibition as a momentous occasion for Britain. Its supporters hailed it as signifying Britain's arrival as a developed capitalist society as well as showing that England believed in its economic and political achievements.[72] This puzzle is a wonderful example of published children's products designed to teach England's young the importance of these economical and political values, as well as instill a sense of national pride and a vision of empire. Britain had become a capitalist and industrial society, and the games produced indicate that children were considered an intricate part of this transition. As a result, these ideas were important to instill in youth as they might ensure that these values survived.

[72] Sylvi Johansen, "The Great Exhibition of 1851: A precipice in time?" in *Victorian Review* 22, no. 1 (Summer 1996), 61-62.

Conclusion

The puzzles and games examined in this chapter represented more than just educational items for amusement and pleasure. Even though the new perception of childhood advocated that children would learn better if they were doing something that they enjoyed, these pieces also depict Britain's diverse and changing society in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Britain lost its American colonies and witnessed the French revolting against their monarch in the late eighteenth century. And with the changing times, war, and political instability came anxieties about the future of the empire. It became important to raise patriotic and working individuals, but there was also anxiety about mothers not being properly educated. Therefore, tools like table games and puzzles were necessary to ensure that children were learning the appropriate lessons. The games presented in this chapter also highlight the fear of idleness and poverty, for it was believed that poverty and idleness were the result of the individual's sins or wrongdoings. Teaching children the importance of math, empire, technology, history, and geography from a young age was a way that parents, tutors, and publishers could try to curtail the freewill and individuality of children as they grew up and help them become patriotic citizens.

This chapter has only covered a dozen or so of the games produced during the time period, yet it provides evidence that the view of childhood had drastically changed by the turn of the nineteenth century. Because children were being viewed as potential threats—through poverty, idleness, and crime—to the future of the empire it was no

longer adequate to only teach spelling, grammar, simple arithmetic, and basic geography and history. The modern child was now being raised in a complex society and culture, which emphasized empire, capitalism, class, industrialization, and more. The games and puzzles were designed to teach children not only rudimentary knowledge, but they were also mean to instill a sense of British nationalism and identity into the youngest members of society about the multifaceted "game" of human life.

Chapter V
Conclusion

Between 1801 and 1802, the Newbery family sold its shop in St. Paul's Churchyard to John Harris, who quickly made a name for himself as a publisher of children's literature. He had worked for the Newbery's as their manager and seemingly knew the business well enough to ensure that it continued to prosper.[1] Sometime after 1819, when John's son, John Harris, Jr., joined the business, the duo issued *Harris's Juvenile Library: A Catalogue of New and Useful Books for Young People, Printed for Harris and Son.* On the front piece of the catalogue was an image of their shop in St. Paul's Churchyard (Figure 23). The illustration depicts a mother and her small child peaking into the store to get a view of all the fun and amusing items available to purchase. The catalog listed over three-hundred items for children including, books, games, and puzzles, whereas one-hundred years prior most catalogs listed no more than three publications for children (see Appendix I).[2] That is a *ten thousand percent* increase over the average number of children's books listed in a very short amount of time, leaving no doubt that a major transformation occurred in a little over one hundred years.

[1] Jill Shefrin, "John Harris," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* accessed April 18, 2015.

[2] John Harris & Son, *Harris's Juvenile Library: A Catalogue of New and Useful Books for Young People, Printed for Harris and Son* (London: John Harris & Son, ca. 1819-1846) 1-10. I am comparing this catalog to those examined in chapter one. Between 1710 and 1735, most publishers listed no more than three books published for children in their yearly catalog.

Figure 23
Harris's Juvenile Library Storefront, ca. 1819-1846
William Roberts, *A Book-hunter in London, Historical and Other Studies of Collectors and Collections*, pg. 213

Prior to the eighteenth century, children were seen as being born with original sin and in need of strict discipline to guide them to salvation. Education centered around religion and books constantly enforced the neediness of the child's soul for God's grace. Common elements in these early pieces of literature were catechisms, the Ten Commandments, and prayers. The idea was for children to memorize these once they learned to read. Memorization was key when it came to education during this time period because the goal was to teach the child what they needed in order to be saved, rather than to inspire their imaginations. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed an increase in population, a change in familial relationships, and the development of a market economy. These changes created a more complex society. John Locke, John

Bettam, and Robert Ainsworth addressed the need for updated educational methods, ones that would encourage children to learn by tapping into their imagination and natural curiousities. This shift indicates that the new perception of childhood was emerging by the end of the seventeenth century, and it is especially interesting because it took a firm hold by the middle of the eighteenth century.

The first to emerge was children's literature, and John Newbery heavily guided and influenced this movement from 1744 until his death in 1767. He was not afraid to tackle social issues in his books, but he also wrote and published books that encouraged good morals, happiness, and imagination. But, Newbery was first and foremost a businessman and had stakes in newspapers and medicinal products, so the fact that he kept his children's publishing business tells us that he sold books and was turning a profit. John Marshall became another well-known children's book publisher not long after Newbery's death. He prided himself on publishing books that children would enjoy and worked hard to produce innovative items. His products continued to revolutionize the field of children's literature, and we have him to thank for colored illustrations and miniature libraries.

Examining books published for children during the long-eighteenth century allows us to see how the perception of children changed over the time period. Newbery and Marshall's books were filled with pictures and delights for children and were written with the qualities of children in mind—easily distracted, inquisitive, and curious. Their goal was to appeal to the new child reader, one who was growing up with the expectation of being entertained, even when it came to education.

By the turn of the nineteenth century, the children's publishing industry began to focus on amusing and educational games for children, as well. These games were designed to be used either with or without parents or tutors, which made them invaluable learning tools. The goal of the games was to teach children about subjects such as history, geography, math, and to create upright, patriotic subjects, as well as try to maintain a sense of control over the individuality of each child. The new child needed a progressive education, one that would teach him/her mathematics for business and banking, history and geography in order to understand England's past and rise to greatness, and empire, industry, and technology to grasp the importance of the British empire and understand why it was a great leader in the world. The fact that parents and educators felt the need to teach about these matters is evidence that there was anxiety surrounding the question of how best to educate the modern child. The world had radically transformed over the previous few centuries and publishers and educators attempted to adapt pedagogical methods in order to better prepare children for the world in which they lived.

This thesis has analyzed the ways in which England constructed the modern idea of childhood by examining the emergence of a market for children's literature and table games and the evidence of social anxieties within these products. Historians differ on whether or not childhood changed drastically or was stagnant over the long-eighteenth century, and this will probably continue to be a point of contention between historians of childhood for years to come. This thesis, however, adds to the historiography by emphasizing the ways in which childhood became a complex perception once it was a

recognized phase of life. Whether childhood was better or not, the perception of childhood continued to adapt and readapt to the modern world once it originated.

It is clear that the perception of childhood changed over the course of the long-eighteenth century. However, it has been impossible for this thesis to address all the ways that childhood was altered. The goal was to bring to light the fact that historians need to reconsider the ways in which the advent of industrialization, the rise capitalism, and new social ideas changed how people perceived children and the stage of life called "childhood." There were numerous developments and discourses over the course of the time period studied that I could not include in this thesis, but could help shed light on this topic and would make interesting future studies. A few of them include: the full story of the rise of the toy-shop, the importance of doll-houses and military play sets in constructing ideas about gender, the debate about the usefulness of non-moveable toys and the utility of scientific toys, the resurgence of religious teachings during the Victorian period, and how the fall of empire was reflected in later publications for children. The study of the history of childhood is still a treasure trove waiting to be tapped, and, just maybe, if we can comprehend how the modern perception of childhood was constructed in the long-eighteenth century, we might be better equipped to rationalize our own understanding of childhood in the twenty-first century.

Bibliography

Archives
BL—British Library
EEBO—Early English Books Online
ECCO—Eighteenth Century Collections Online
LMA—London Metropolitan Archive
NCCO—Nineteenth Century Collections Online
V&A—Victoria and Albert Museum of Childhood

Primary Sources

Ainsworth, Robert. *The Most Natural and Easie Way of Institution: Containing, Proposals For making a Domestic Education Less Chargeable to Parents, and More Easie and Beneficial to Children.* London: Christopher Huffey, 1698.

Allestree, Richard. *The Ladies Calling in two parts. By the author of the whole duty of man.* Oxford: unknown, 1705. ECCO.

An Arithmetical Pastime: Intended to Infuse the Rudiments of Arithmetic Under the Idea of Amusement. London: John Wallis, 1798. V&A.

Anon. *The Accomplish'd Housewife; or, The Gentlewoman's Companion*. London: John Newbery, 1745.

Anon. *Amusement Hall: Or, An Easy Introduction to the Attainment of Useful Knowledge. By a Lady*. London: T. Gardiner, 1794.

Anon. *Christian Education, Humbly Recommended to parents, (especially to mothers) and other instructor of youth; together with an exhortation to all sorts of persons to a more diligent study of the Holy Scriptures; and to seek, above all Things, the Kingdom of God and His Righteousness.* London: Richard Ford, 1718. ECCO.

Anon. *Extracts from the Diary and other Manuscripts of the Late James Post of Islington with a Memoir of His Childhood, Short Life, and Last Illness*. London: James Moyes, 1838.

Anon. *Instructions for playing the chronological and historical game of England, according to Mons. L'abbe Gaulteir's method.* London: Dudley Adams, 1791.

Astell, Mary. *A serious proposal to the ladies, for the advancement of their true and greatest interest. In two parts. By a lover of her sex.* London: Richard Wilkin, 1697. EEBO.

------. *Reflections upon marriage.* Third edition. London: R. Wilkin, 1706. ECCO.

B.A. *A Model for a School for the better Education of Youth.* Unknown: unknown, 1675. EEBO.

Baldwyn, George Augustus. *A new, royal, authentic, complete, and universal system of geography.* London: unknown, ca. 1794.

Bettam, John. *A Brief Treatise of Education, with A Particular Respect to the Children of Great Personage. For the Use of His Royal Highness, The Prince.* Paris: P. Lauren, 1693. EEBO.

Bishop, Phillip. *Books Printed for, and sold by Phillip Bishop. Bookseller, in St. Peter's Church-yard.* London: Phillip Bishop, 1716. ECCO.

Boad, Henry. *The English Spelling-Book and Expositor: Being A New Method of Teaching Children and Adult Persons to Read, Write, and Understand the English Tongue in less Time, and with much greater Ease than has hitherto been taught.* Second Edition. London: Daniel Midwinter, 1734.

Bonnycastle, John. *An introduction to algebra; with notes and observations; Designed for the Use of Schools and Places of Public Education.* London: J. Johnson, 1796.

British and Foreign Animals: A New Game, Moral, Instructive, and Amusing. London: William Darton, 1820. V&A.

Cawdrey, Robert. *A Table Alphabeticall, conteyning and teaching the true writing, and understanding of hard usuall words, borrowed from the Hebrew, Greek, Latine, or French, &c.* London: Edmund Weaver, 1604. http://www.library.utoronto.ca/utel.ret.cawdrey0.html. Accessed 2/27/15.

Conyers, George. *Books sold at the Ring in Little Britain, by G. Conyers.* London: George Conyers, 1710. ECCO.

Cooper, Dee. *The Journal of Emily Pepys.* Devon: Prospect Books, 1984.

Corin, Festus. *The Childes first Tutor: Or, The Master & Mistris.* London: unknown, 1664. EEBO.

The Cottage of Content, or the Right Roads and Wrong Ways. London: William Spooner, 1848.

Darwin, Erasmus. *A plan for the conduct of female education, in boarding schools.* London: J. Johnson, 1797.

Dod, John and Robert Cleaver. *A Godly Form of Household Government: for the Ordering of Private Families, According to the Directions of God's Word.* London: unknown, 1598. *The Norton Anthology of English Literature Online.* http://www.wwnorton.com/college/english/nael/17century/topic_1/godlydod.htm. Accessed 3/14/15.

Edgeworth, Richard Lovell. "Address to Mothers." *Early Lessons, in Four Volumes* by Maria Edgeworth. London: R. Hunter, 1824.

Europe Delineated. London: John Betts, ca. 1800. V&A.

Fire Insurance Company. "John Marhsall." October 8, 1792. CLC/B/192/F/001/MS11936/390/605815. LMA.

Fire Insurance Company. "John Marhsall." April 23, 1809. CLC/B/192/F/001/MS11936/446/830281. LMA.

Game of Teaching Mathematics. London: C. Taylor, 1791. V&A.

Gaultier, Abbé. *A Rational and Moral Game; or. A Method to accustom Young People to Reflect on the Most Essential Truths of Morality; and Reason the Remarkable Events of History.* London: P. Emsely, ca. 1791.

Hamilton, Anthony. *A Sermon Preached in the Parish-Church of Christ Church London, On Thursday May the 7th, 1778: Being the Time Of the Yearly Meeting of the Children Educated in the Charity Schools, in and about the Cities of London and Westminster.* London: W. Oliver, 1778.

Harris, John and Son. *Harris's Juvenile Library: A Catalogue of New and Useful Books for Young People, Printed for Harris and Son.* London: Harris and Son, ca. 1819-1846.

Historical Game: A New Amusement. London: N. Carpenter, 1840. V&A.

Historical Pastime or a New Game of the History of England from the Conquest to the Accession of George the Third. London: John Harris and John Wallis, 1803.

Industrial Exhibition of All Nations. London: unknown, ca. 1851.

"Infant's Library Advertisement." *The Times* (London). June 5, 1800, pg. 2, issue 4813.

Johnson, R. *An introduction to the study of history; wherein is considered the proper method of reading historical works, in order to acquire a perfect knowledge of mankind; With a View to Improve the Judgment, and correct the various Errors arising from Passion and Prejudice.* London: T. Carnan, 1772.

K.E.E.M. "The Great Exhibition: A Sonnet." *The Pioneer, or Weekly Record of Movements.* London, May 3, 1851. Issue 3, pg. 38. NCCO.

Kilner, Dorothy. *The Life and Perambulation of a Mouse in Two Volumes.* London: John Marshall, 1784.

Knapton, James, et. al. *Books printed and sold by James, John, and Paul Knapton, at the Crown in Ludgate-Street, near the west end of St. Pauls, London.* London: Knapton, 1728. ECCO.

Laurie and Whittle's New Moral & Entertaining Game of the Mansion of Happiness. London: George Fox, 1800.

Lawrence, John. *London in the Nineteenth Century: A Poem, in Three Books.* Wantage: J. and G. Lewis, 1844.

Locke, John. *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding.* London: Edward Symon, 1731.

------ *Some Thoughts Concerning Education.* Edited by John William Adamson. Mineola: Dover Publications Inc., 2007.

The Locomotive Engines on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. London: E. Wallis, ca. 1830.

Marlow, Norman, trans. *The Diary of Thomas Isham of Lamport, 1658-1681: kept by him in Latin from 1671-1673 at his Father's command.* Westmead: Gregg International Publishers LTD, 1971.

Marshall, John. *The Infant's Cabinet of Fishes.* London: John Marshall, 1801.

------ "Publications for the Instruction and Amusement of Young Minds." *The Footsteps of Mrs. Trimmer's Sacred History* by Mrs. Trimmer. London: John Marshall, 1785.

Martyn, William. *Youth's Instruction.* London: John Beak, 1612. EEBO.

The Mount of Knowledge. Greenwich: W. Richardson, 1804.

Mortimer, Mr. *The Universal Director, or, the Nobleman and Gentleman's True Guide to the Master and Professors of the Liberal and Polite Arts and Sciences…To which is added a Distinct List of the Booksellers*. London: J. Coote, 1763. ECCO.

The New Game of Human Life. London: John Wallis & Elizabeth Newbery, 1790.

Newbery, John. *The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes; Otherwise Called Mrs. Margery Two-Shoes*. London: Newbery and Carnan, ca. 1768. ECCO.

------ *A Little Pretty Pocket Book, Intended For The Instruction and Amusement of Little Master Tommy, and Pretty Miss Polly.* Worcester, MA: Isaiah Thomas, 1787. ECCO.

"Opening of the Great Exhibition." *Chester Chronicle*. May 3, 1851. BL.

Owen, John. *The Primer.* London: unknown, 1652. EEBO.

P.M. *The Histories of More Children than One; or Goodness better than Beauty.* London: John Marshall, ca. 1780.

------ *The History of a Great Many Little Boys and Girls, For the Amusement of all Good Children of Four and Five Years of Age.* London: John Marshall, ca. 1780.

The Progress of Shipbuilding. London: William Spooner, ca. 1850. V&A.

Richardson, Samuel. *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded.* London: 1743.

Roberts, William. *The Early History of English Bookselling.* London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company, 1892.

------ *The Book-hunter in London: Historical and Other Studies of Collectors and Collecting*. London: Elliot Stock, 1895.

Rollin, Charles. *New Thoughts Concerning Education.* London: A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, 1735. ECCO.

Shelford, Robert. *Lectures Or Readings upon the 6. Verse of the 22. Chapter of the Proverbs, concerning the virtuous education of Youth: A treatise very necessary for all parents in this corrupt and declining age of the world.* London: Felix King, 1606. EEBO.

Sowle, J. *Books Printed and sold at the Bible in George-yard, Lombard Street*. London: J. Sowle, 1735. ECCO.

Stalham, John. *A Catechisme for Children in yeeres and Children in understanding: Chiefly intended for their instruction in the Family.* London: Christopher Meredith, 1644. EEBO.

Taylor, Isaac. "Home Education." *Westminster Review*, American Edition XXXVII. New York: Joseph Mason, 1842.

Thornbury, Walter. "St. Paul's: The churchyard." *Old and New London*, vol. 1. London: Cassell, Petter & Galphin, 1878. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/old-new-london-vol1/pp262-274. Accessed February 26, 2015.

Wallis's New Game of Wanderers in the Wilderness. London: Edward Wallis, ca. 1818-1847. V&A.

Wallis's Tour of Europe, A New Geographical Pastime. London: John Wallis, 1794.

Wallis's Tour Through England and Wales, A New Geographical Pastime. London: John Wallis, 1794.

Welsh, Charles. *A Bookseller of the Last Century: Being some Account of the Life of John Newbery, and of the Books he published, with a Notice of the later Newberys.* London: Okeden & Welsh, 1885.

Western and Eastern Hemispheres. London: William Darton, 1820. V&A.

The World on Mercator's Projection. London: George Phillip & Son, ca. 1800. V&A.

Worthington, John. *A Form of Sound Words: Or, A Scripture Catechism: Shewing What a Christian is to Believe and Practice in order to Salvation. Very Useful for Persons of all Ages and Capacities as well as Children.* London: R. Royston, 1681. EEBO.

Secondary Sources

"An Arithmetical Pastime." *V&A Museum of Childhood*. http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O26291/an-arithmetical-pastime-board-game-wallis-john/. Accessed April 9, 2015.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso, 2006.

Appleby, Joyce. "Consumption in early modern social thought." *Consumption and the World of Goods*. Edited by John Brewer and Roy Porter. London: Routledge, 1993.

Bailey, Meridee. "Hornbooks." *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 6, no. 1 (Winter, 2013): 3-14.

Baker, Carolyn D. and Peter Freebody. "'Constituting the Child' in Beginning School Reading Books." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 8, no. 1 (1987): 55-76.

Bator, Robert. "Out of the Ordinary Road: John Locke and the English Juvenile Fiction in the Eighteenth Century." *Children's Literature* 1 (1972): 46-53.

Bell, R.C. *The Boardgame Book.* Los Angeles: The Knapp Press, 1979.

Berg, Maxine. *The Age of Manufacturers: Industry, Innovation and Work in Britain 1700-1820.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1985.

------ *Luxury & Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

"The Children's Printer." *Miniature Libraries From the Children's Book Collection.* V&A Museum. http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/m/miniature-libraries/. Accessed May 8, 2014.

Clark, J.C.D. *English Society 1660-1832: Religion, ideology and politics during the ancien regime.* Second Edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Collections Department. "The Liverpool and Manchester Railway: Opening and Operations." *Museum of Science and Industry.* http://www.mosi.org.uk/media/33871611/liverpoolroadstation,manchester.pdf. Accessed 12/15/14.

Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.

"The Cottage Content or the Right Roads and Wrong Ways. *V&A Museum of Childhood.* http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O26330/the-cottage-of-content-or-board-game-spooner-william/#. Accessed April 9, 2015.

Cressy, David. *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Darton, F.J. Harvey. *Children's Books in England: Five Centuries of Social Life.* Third Edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Davies, Rebecca. *Written Maternal Authority and Eighteenth-Century Education in Britain.* Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014.

Fletcher, Anthony. *Growing up in England: The Experience of Childhood, 1600-1914.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.

Gilbert, Robert Taylor. "Isaac Taylor." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* Accessed March 17, 2015

Goodfellow, Caroline. *A Collector's Guide to Games and Puzzles.* New Jersey: Chartwell Books, 1991.

"The Great Exhibition." *British Library.* http://www.bl.uk/learning/histcitizen/victorians/exhibition/greatexhibition.html. Accessed December 15, 2014.

Green, Jr., William A. "The Apprenticeship of British Guiana, 1834-1838." *Caribbean Studies* 9, no. 2 (July 1969): 44-66.

Gregg, Edward. "James Francis Edward Stuart." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* Accessed April 10, 2015.

Grenby, M.O. *The Child Reader 1700-1840.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Harkness, Deborah. *The Jewel House: Elizabethan London and the Scientific Revolution.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.

Hall, Catherine and Sonya O. Rose, eds. *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Harley, Lannon. "Race to the Gold Digging of Australia Game." *National Museum of Australia.* http://www.nma.gov.au/collections/highlights/race-to-the-gold-diggings-game. Accessed April 9, 2015.

"Hartlebury Castle." *Hartlebury Castle Museum.* http://www.whub.org.uk/cms/museums-worcestershire/hartlebury-museum/history-and-collections/hartlebury-castle.aspx. Accessed April 14, 2015.

Herrup, Cynthia B. *A House in Gross Disorder: Sex, Law, and the 2nd Earl of Castlehaven.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

"Historical Pastime or a New Game of the History of England from the Conquest to the Accession of George III." *V&A Museum of Childhood.* http://collections.vac.ac.uk/item/O26301/historical-pastime-or-a-new-board-game-harris-john/#. Accessed April 9, 2015.

Hunt, Arnold. "Robert Shelford." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* Accessed March 14, 2015.

Hunt, Margaret. *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England 1680-1780.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

Hunt, Peter, ed., et. a. *Children's Literature: An Illustrated History.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

"The Infant's Library. London: Made and sold by John Marshall, [1800-1801?]. *Featured Book Archive.* Cambridge University Library. http://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/deptserv/rarebooks/infantslibrary.html. Accessed May 8, 2015.

"Infant's Library." *Pinterest.* https://www.pinterest.com/pin/226798531205042604/. Accessed April 1, 2015.

Jenks, Christopher. "Introduction: Constituting the Child." *The Sociology of Childhood: Essential Readings.* London: Batsford, 1982.

Johnson, Samuel. "Adolescence," *A Dictionary of the English Language: A Digital Edition of the 1755 Classic by Samuel Johnson.* Edited by Brandi Besalke. Http://johnsondictionaryonline.com/?p=14315. Accessed February 27, 2015.

Johansen, Sylvi. "The Great Exhibition of 1851: A precipice in time?" *Victorian Review* 22, no. 1 (Summer 1996): 59-64.

"Laurie and Whittle's New Moral and Entertaining Game of the Mansion of Happiness." *V&A Museum of Childhood.* http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O26295/laurie-and-whittles-new-moral-board-game-r-h-laurie/. Accessed April 9, 2015.

Langford, Paul. *A Polite and Commercial People, England 1727-1783.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Lerer. Seth. *Children's Literature: A Reader's History, From Aesop to Harry Potter.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

Maxted, Ian. "John Newbery." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Accessed February 29, 2015.

Mokyr. Joel. *The Enlightened Economy: The Economic History of Britain 1700-1850.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.

McNeil, Maureen. "Erasmus Darwin." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* Accessed April 10, 2015.

"Miniature Libraries." *4000 Years of Miniature Books Exhibition Home.* Lilly Library Home, Indiana University. http://www.indiana.edu/~liblilly/miniatures/libraries.shtml. Accessed December 11, 2014.

"The New Game of Human Life." *V&A Museum of Childhood.* http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O26273/the-new-game-of-human-board-game-newbery-elizabeth/. Accessed April 9, 2015.

"New Geographical Game Exhibiting a Tour of Europe." asr*V&A Museum of Childhood.* http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O26288/new-geographical-game-exhibiting-a-board- game-wallis-john/. Accessed April 9, 2015.

Pickering, Jr., Samuel F. *John Locke and Children's Books in Eighteenth-Century England.* Knoxville: The University of Tennessee, 1981.

Pincus, Steve. *1688: The First Modern Revolution.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014.

Pincus, Steve and Peter Lake. "Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England." *Journal of British Studies* 45, no. 2 (April 2006): 270-292.

Plumb, J.H. "The New World of Children." *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England.* Edited by Neil McKendrick, et.al. London: Europa Publications Limited, 1982.

"The Progress of Shipbuilding." *V&A Museum of Childhood.* http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O27244/the-progress-of-shipbuilding-dissected-puzzle-spooner-william/#. Accessed April 9, 2015.

"Race to the Gold Diggings of Australia Game." *National Library of Australia, Treasure Explorer.* http://treasure.explorer.nla.gov.au/treasure/race-gold-diggings-australia#game-board-race-gold-diggings-australia-c1855. Accessed April 9, 2015.

"Race to the Gold Diggings of Australia Game." *National Museum of Australia.* http://www.nma.gov.au/av/journeys_connections/home_page_assets/applets/game/3640/show_tell3640_text.htm. Accessed March 18, 2015.

Ryan, Patrick J. "How New Is the 'New' Social Study of Childhood? The Myth of a Paradigm Shift." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 38, not. 4 (Spring, 2008): 553-576.

Saboonpaz, Nousheen Leila. "Horn-Books." *Mary Mary Quite Contrary: Investigating the Mary Greg Collection, Manchester Art Gallery.* http://www.marymaryquitecontrary.org.uk/archives/tag/horn-books. Accessed April 18, 2015.

Shammas, Carole. *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America.* Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 1990.

------. "Changes in English and Anglo-American Consumption from 1550-1800." *Consumption and the World of Goods*. Edited by John Brewer and Roy Porter. London: Routledge, 1993.

Sharpe, Kevin. Reading Revolution: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.

Shefrin, Jill. "'Make it a Pleasure and Not a Task:' Educational Games for Children in Georgian England." *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 60, no. 2 (Winter 1999): 251-275.

------ "John Harris." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* Accessed April 18, 2015.

SPCK: The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. "Our History." *The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.* http://www.spck.org.uk/about-spck/history/. Accessed March 17, 2015.

Spurr, John. "Richard Allestree." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* Accessed March 15, 2015.

Stone, Lawrence. *Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800.* Abridged Edition. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1979.

Styles, John. *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.

Thomas, Keith. *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth-and Seventeenth-Century England.* London: Penguin Books, 1971.

Trevelyan, G.M. *History of England: The Illustrated Edition.* Introduction by Asa Briggs. Essex: Longman Group Ltd., 1973.

Vickery, Amanda. *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

"Wallis's New Game of Wanderers in the Wilderness." *V&A Museum of Childhood.* http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O26490/walliss-new-game-of-wanderers-board-game-wallis-edward/. Accessed April 9, 2015.

Weatherill, Lorna. *Consumer Behaviour & Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760.* Second Edition. New York: Routledge, 1996.

Wennerlind, Carl. *Casualties of Credit: The English Financial Revolution.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011.

Wilson, Kathleen. "Empire of Virtue: The imperial project and Hanoverian culture, c. 1720-1785." *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689-1815.* Edited by Lawrence Stone. London: Routledge, 1994.

------ *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715-1785.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Wittaker, Thomas. "John Bonnycastle." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* Accessed March 17, 2015.

Woolf, D.R. "William Martyn." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* Accessed March 14, 2015.

Wrightson, Keith. *English Society 1580-1680.* Fifth paper edition. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992.

------. *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.

Young, John T. "John Worthington." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* Accessed September 22, 2014.

Appendix A

This is a transcription of *Harris's Juvenile Library. A Catalogue of New and Useful Books for Young People*, which was published in 1819. I have included the title and price of the each book included in the catalog. For spatial purposes, I have left off descriptions of the books. This shows a drastic change from the beginning of the eighteenth century when most publishers produced less than three books a year for children.

The front piece of the catalog read:

> *A Catalogue of New and Useful Books for Young People, Printed for Harris and Son (Successors to Newbery,) At the Corner of St. Paul's Church-yard, Who flatter themselves, their present list will be found to exceed former ones in variety of Entertaining and Instructive subjects, and as they have been solicitous to render every new or important information suitable for the comprehension of Youth, their productions, it is hoped will still merit the distinguished patronage they have hitherto experienced. They would also be to apprize the Nobility, Gentry, and Parents in general, that their Library is not confined to Publications of their own, but every Book or Device, adapted for the Amusement or Instruction of the Young, may be procured at their old Establishment at the Corner of St. Paul's.*

New Instructive and Amusing
Publications,
Just Published

1. Hints on the Sources of Happiness. 2 vols. 12s.
2. True Stories from Ancient History, Chronologically arranged, from the Creation of the World to the Death of Charlemagne. 3 vols. 7s.
3. True Stories from Modern History, Chronologically arranged, from the Death of Charlemagne to the Battle of Waterloo. 3 vols. 7s. 6d.
4. The Picture of England, or Historical and Descriptive Delineations of the most curious Works of Nature and Art in each County; calculated as an agreeable Companion to the Tourist, or a Class Book for the Student. 2 vols. 11. 4s.
5. The History of Britannicus, and his Sister Octavia, a Story from the Roman History. 6s.
6. The Eskdale Herd Boy, a Scottish Tale for Youth. 5s.
7. Stories from the History of France. 2s. 6d.
8. The Advantages of Education, or History of the Wingfield Family. 2s.
9. Scenes in Europe, for the Instruction and Amusement of little Tarry-at-home Travellers. 4s. plain, or 6s. coloured.
10. Scenes in Asia. 4s. plain, or 6s. coloured.
11. Scenes of Africa. 4s. plain, or 6s. coloured.

12. The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, a new and improved edition. 3s. 6d. plain, or 4s. 6d. coloured.
13. The Chapter of Kings; exhibiting the most important events in the English history and calculated to impress uponthe Youthful Mind a recollection of the Succession of the English Monarchs. 3s. 6d. plain, or 5s. coloured.
14. A Visit to Uncle William in Town; or, a Description of the most remarkable Buildings in the British Metropolis. 4s.
15. Marmaduke Multiply's Merry Method of Making Minor Mathematicians. 4s. 6d. plain, or 6s. 6d. coloured.
16. A Visit to the Bazaar. 3s. plain, and 4s. coloured.
17. A Familiar Natural History of Birds, Beasts, Fishes, and Insects. 3s. plain, or 4s. coloured.
18. Scripture Portraits; or, Biographical Memoirs of the most distinguished Characters recorded in the Old Testament. 2 vols. 8s.
19. Nina, an Icelandic Tale for Youth. 2s.
20. A Chronological Atlas, or Outline of Universal history. 1L. 8s.
21. The Pentateuch, or the Fives Books of Moses Illustrated. 5s. 6d.
22. The Pence Table Playfully Paraphrased. 1s. plain, or 1s. 6d. coloured.
23. The Mint; or Shilling transformed into Pounds. 1s. plain, or 1s. 6d. coloured.
24. Some of the Trades and Customs of France Portrayed. 1s. plain, and 1s. 6d. coloured.
25. Dame Truelove's Tales, now first published, as Useful Lessons for Little Misses and Masters. 2s. 6d. plain, or 3s. 6d. coloured.
26. Classical Letters; or, Alphabet and Memory, intended for the Instruction and Amusement of Young Persons. 2s. plain, or 3s. coloured.
27. The Numerals and the Pence Table Fancifully Depicted. 3s. 6d.
28. A Medley of Pleasing Pictures. 5s.
29. The Canary Bird; a Tale of Youth. 4s.
30. Always Happy!! or, Anecdotes of Felix and his Sister Serena, a Tale. 2s. 6d.
31. Right and Wrong; exhibited in the History of Rosa and Agnes. 2s. 6d.
32. A Key to Knowledge; or, Things in Common Use Simply and Shortly Explained. 2s. 6d.
33. The Mother's First Book. 1s.
34. The Pleasures of Life; written for the Use of her Children. 2s. 6d.
35. Nursery Morals. 3s. 6d. plain, or 4s. 6d. coloured.
36. The Spring Bud, or Rural Scenery in verse; with descriptive Notes for the Instruction and Amusement of Young Persons. 2s.
37. The Twin Sisters; or, the Advantages of Religion. A Tale for Young Persons. 3s. 6d.
38. The History of William Selwyn. A Tale. 4s.
39. The Adopted Daughter. A Tale for Young Persons. 3s. 6d.

40. Pleasure and Improvement Blended; or, an Attempt to Shew that Knowledge can only be attained by Early Inquiry and Judicious Explanation. 3s.
41. The Travels of St. Paul. 2s.
42. The Adventures of Poor Puss; an Amazing Tale for Children. 3s.
43. The Son of a Genius; A Tale for Young Persons. 2s. 6d.
44. Ellen the Teacher; A Tale for Youth. 2s. 6d.
45. The Blind Farmer and His Children. 2s. 6d.
46. The History of an Officer's Widow and her Family. 2s. 6d.
47. A Complete Course of Geography, by means of Instructive Games. 1L. 1s.
48. A Set of Counters…for playing the above game. 10s. 6d.
49. Mrs. Trimmer's English History. 2 vols. 9s.
50. Trimmer's Ancient History. 4s. 6d.
51. Trimmer's Roman History. 4s. 6d.
52. Trimmer's Scripture History, New Testament. 3s.
53. Trimmer's Scripture History, Old Testament. 3s.
54. Trimmer's Old Testament Prints. 2 vols. 3s. 6d.
55. Trimmer's New Testament Prints. 2 vols. 3s. 6d.
56. Trimmer's Roman History Prints. 2 vols. 5s. 6d.
57. Trimmer's Ancient History Prints. 2 vols. 5s. 6d.
58. A Geographical Companion to the Above Histories. 6s.
59. Mrs. Trimmer's Questions to her English, Ancient, Roman and Scripture Histories. 2 vols. 6s.
60. The Child's Grammar. 9d.
61. The Mother's Grammar. 1s.
62. Parsing Lessons for Elder Pupils. 1s. 3d.
63. Parsing Lessons for Young Persons. 9d.
64. Grammatical Amusements in a Box. 6s.
65. Sunday Miscellany. 9d.
66. Short Sermons for Young Persons. 9d.
67. A Classical Dictionary. 8s.
68. Harris's Cabinet of Amusement and Instruction. No price listed.
69. Dame Dearlove's Ditties for the Nursery. 1s. 6d.
70. Nursery Novelties, or First Book for Infants. 1s. 6d.
71. The Infant's Friend; or Easy Reading Lessons. 1s. 6d.
72. Peter Piper's Practical Principles of Plain and Perfect Pronunciation. 1s. 6d.
73. The Snow Drop, or Poetry for Henry and Emma's Library. 1s. 6d.
74. Mother Hubbard and her Dog. 1s. 6d.
75. The History of Cock Robin, a Painted Toy, for Girl or Boy. 1s. 6d.
76. The House that Jack Built. 1s. 6d.
77. Dame Trot and her Cat. 1s. 6d.

Threepenny

78. Robin Goodfellow
79. Elmina
80. Tom Thumb
81. Tommy Titmouse (*sic*.)
82. King Pippin
83. Tommy Lovebrook
84. Virtue and Vice

***An assortment of Penny and Twopenny Books are likewise to be had in dozens.

Fourpenny

85. Sailor's Confidence
86. Julia
87. Kentish Lawyer
88. Conjuring Cap
89. Six Weeks at Home
90. James Covey
91. Innocence Rescued
92. Entertaining Medley
93. Chimney Sweep
94. Juvenile Heroes
95. Little Thumb

Sixpenny

96. White Cat
97. Enchanted Castle
98. Oracles
99. Sinbad the Sailor
100. Silver Penny
101. Silber Threepence
102. Juvenile Rambles
103. First Book for Children
104. Triumph of Goodnature
105. Gulliver's Travels
106. Youthful Recreations
107. Tommy Playlove, and Jack Lovebook
108. Imperial Primer

Ninepenny

109. Rice's Progressive Lessons
110. Child's Grammar—*Ten Thousand are sold annually*
111. Introduction to Geography
112. Parsing Lessons for Young Children, to correspond with Child's Grammar
113. Sunday Miscellany
114. Short Sermons

One Shilling

115. The Mother's Grammar
116. New Tom Thumb; Wood Cuts
117. Arthur and Alice
118. Whim and Contradiction
119. Walter and Herbert
120. Watt's Songs
121. Popular Tales
122. Edwin and Jessy
123. Cowslip
124. Daisy
125. Flora
126. The Lily
127. Affection's Gift
128. Children in the Wood
129. Sorrows of Selfishness
130. Broth and Sisters
131. Car of Fancy
132. Tales and Fables
133. Orlando Herbert
134. Peacock at Home; *30,000 of this Work have been sold.*
135. Peacock and Parrot
136. Paddy O'Murrough
137. Commerce of Albion
138. Old Woman and her Pig
139. Jerry and Kitty
140. Old Woman and her Sons
141. Picture Gallery
142. Poor Old Robin
143. Peter Prim's Present
144. Peter Prim's Proverbs
145. Butterfly's Birthday
146. Butterfly's Ball
147. History of an Apple Pie
148. Alphabet of Goody Two Shoes
149. Madam Blaze
150. Lion's Masquerade
151. Horse's Levee

152. Flora's Gala
153. Rose's Breakfast
154. Council of Dogs
155. Joe Dobson
156. Burial of Cock Robin
157. John Gilpin
158. Original Poems
159. Mother Hubbard
160. Dame Trot
161. Dr. Watt's Cradle Hymns
162. The Oak of Boscobel
163. Historical Alphabet
164. Spring Flowers
165. Monthly Monitor
166. Nursery Dialogues
167. The Fashionist
168. Harvest Home
169. All in the Wrong
170. Duplicity
171. The Contrast
172. The Birth Day
173. Quarter Day
174. The Bank Note
175. Agnes
176. Motherless Mary
177. Marmaduke Multiply, Part I
178. Marmaduke Multiply, Part II
179. Marmaduke Multiply, Part III
180. Marmaduke Multiply, Part IV
181. Short Stories
182. The Ferry
183. Juliet, or the Reward of Filial Affection
184. Mother's First Book
185. Bunch's Fairy Tales
186. Goose's Fairy Tales
187. The Pence Table
188. Little Lucy
189. The Paragon of Alphabet
190. The Mint
191. The Trades and Customs of France

Eighteen Pence

192. Economy of Life
193. Ventum's Tales
194. Aviary
195. Guardian Angel
196. Mill's England
197. Mill's Birds
198. Mill's Beasts
199. Mill's Bible
200. Mill's Costumes
201. Mill's Rome
202. Mill's Greece
203. Mill's London
204. Mill's Biography
205. Mill's Portraits of the Kings
206. Bible in Miniature
207. Florian's Guide to the Study of Goldsmith's Roman History

Two Shillings

208. The Fisherman
209. Short Stories in One Syllable
210. Keeper's Travels in Search of his Master
211. Rational Brutes
212. Classical Alphabet
213. Travels of St. Paul
214. Elements of Philosophy
215. Youth's Remembrancer
216. Prince Lee Boo
217. Blind Child
218. Ancient Geography
219. Geography for Children
220. Short System of Polite Learning
221. Florian's Guide to the Study of Goldsmith's England
222. Nina, an Icelandic Tale
223. The Wingfield Family
224. The Spring Bud

Two Shillings and Sixpence

225. Always Happy
226. A Key to Knowledge
227. Right and Wrong
228. Geographical Guide
229. Ladder to Learning
230. Tales for Youth
231. Biography for Girls
232. Biography for Boys
233. A Week of Instruction
234. Tales of the Cottage
235. Tales of the Hermitage
236. Godmother's Tales
237. A Cup of Sweets
238. The Officer's Widow
239. The Sylphid Queen
240. The Power of Music
241. Pity's Gift
242. Paternal Present
243. Ellen the Teacher
244. The Soldier's Family
245. Cooper's History of England
246. Cato, the Dog of Sentiment
247. Son of a Genius
248. New Child's Friend
249. Dame Truelove's Tale
250. The Portfolio of a School Girl
251. The Bible in Miniature
252. Mother Goose's Fairy Tales Complete
253. Mother Bunch's Tales Complete
254. Don Quixote abridged
255. The Blind Farmer
256. Nursery Morals
257. The Pleasures of Life
258. Stories from the History of France
259. True Stories from Ancient History
260. True Stories from Modern History
261. Selection of Modern Poetry
262. Choice Emblems

Three Shillings and Six Pence

263. The Rector and his Pupils
264. Beauties of Sturm
265. Blossoms of Morality
266. Looking-Glass for the Mind
267. Interesting Tales
268. Moral Maxims
269. Sacred Elucidations
270. Croxall's Esop's Fables
271. Charles Leeson
272. Simple Pleasures
273. Pelham's Essays
274. Twin Sisters
275. Modern Arabia
276. The Adopted Daughter
277. Jones's Pronouncing Dictionary
278. Goldsmith's History of England
279. Goldsmith's Rome and Greece
280. Margate, or Sketches descriptive of that celebrated place of resort

Four Shillings

281. The Canary Bird
282. History of William Selwyn
283. Gertrude
284. Haller's Letters
285. Sacred Mirror
286. Mitchell's Tales of Instruction
287. Visit for a Week
288. Wakefield's Introduction to Botany
289. Juvenile Dramas
290. Sandford and Merton, 1 vol.
291. Sanford and Merton, 2 vols.

Four Shillings and Six-Pence

292. Newbery's History of the bible
293. Helme's Instructive Rambles
294. Helme's England
295. Florian's Fables

296. Dodd's Beauties of History
297. The Rudiments of Reason; or Young Experimental Philosopher
298. Felissa, or Memoirs of a Kitten of Sentiment

Amusing and Instructive Cards and Games

299. The History of England, on Cards. 3s.
300. A Geographical Description of the World. 3s. 6d.
301. A new and interesting method of instructing Youth in the four first Rules of Arithmetic, on Cards. 2s. 6d.
302. A Lilliputian History of England, in easy Verse. 2s. 6d.
303. An Historical Game, with Tetotum. 7s. 6d.
304. The Jubilee. 9s.
305. The Panorama of London, a New Game. 9s.
306. Geographical Recreations, or a Voyage round the habitable Globe, a New Game. 9s.
307. The Game of Emulation. 7s. 6d.
308. The Game of Human Life. 6s.
309. The Reward for Merit, a New Game. 6s.
310. The Road to the Temple of Honour and Fame. 6s.
311. The Swan of Apollo, A New Game. 7s. 6d.

*** *Together with Dissected Maps, Historical Table, Portable Libraries, &c. &c.*