Université de Montréal

Building Blocks:

Children's Literature and the Formation of a Nation, 1750-1825

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Thèse présentée à la Faculté des études supérieures en vue de

l'obtention du grade de Philosophiae Doctor (Ph.D.) en études anglaises

décembre 2012

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Résumé

« Building Blocks: Children's Literature and the Formation of a Nation, 1750-1825 » examine la façon dont la littérature pour enfants imprègne les jeunes lecteurs avec un sens de nationalisme et d'identité nationale à travers la compréhension des espaces et des relations spatiales. La thèse étudie les œuvres d'enfants par Thomas Day, Sarah Fielding, Mary Wollstonecraft, Richard Lovell et Maria Edgeworth, Charles et Mary Lamb, Sarah Trimmer, Lucy Peacock, Priscilla Wakefield, John Aikin, et Anna Laetitia Barbauld. Les différents sujets thématiques reflètent la façon dont les frontières entre les dimensions extérieures et intérieures, entre le monde physique et le domaine psychologique, sont floues. En s'appuyant sur les travaux de penseurs éducatifs, John Locke et Jean-Jacques Rousseau, les écritures pour les enfants soulignent l'importance des expériences sensorielles qui informent l'évolution interne des individus. En retour, la projection de l'imagination et l'investissement des sentiments aident à former la manière dont les gens interagissent avec le monde matériel et les uns envers les autres afin de former une nation.

En utilisant une approche Foucaldienne, cette thèse montre comment la discipline est inculquée chez les enfants et les transforme en sujets réglementés. Grâce à des confessions et des discours, les enfants souscrivent à la notion de surveillance et de transparence tandis que l'appréciation de l'opinion publique encourage la pratique de la maîtrise de soi. Les enfants deviennent non seulement des ébauches, sensibles à des impressions, mais des corps d'écriture lisibles. Les valeurs et les normes de la société sont internalisées pendant que les enfants deviennent une partie intégrale du système qu'ils adoptent. L'importance de la visibilité est également soulignée dans la popularité du système de Linné qui met l'accent sur l'observation et la catégorisation. L'histoire naturelle dans la littérature enfantine renforce la structure hiérarchique de la société, ce qui souligne la nécessité de respecter les limites de classes et de

jouer des rôles individuels pour le bien-être de la collectivité. Les connotations religieuses dans l'histoire naturelle peuvent sembler justifier l'inégalité des classes, mais elles diffusent aussi des messages de charité, de bienveillance et d'empathie, offrant une alternative ou une forme d'identité nationale «féminine» qui est en contraste avec le militarisme et le nationalisme patricien.

La seconde moitié de la thèse examine comment la théorie des « communautés imaginées » de Benedict Anderson devient une possibilité à travers le développement du goût national et une compréhension de l'interconnexion entre les individus. Le personnage du barde pointe à la centralité de l'esprit communautaire dans l'identité nationale. Parallèlement à la commercialisation croissante de produits culturels et nationaux durant cette période, on retrouve l'augmentation de l'attachement affectif envers les objets et la nécessité de découvrir l'authentique dans la pratique de la réflexion critique. La propriété est redéfinie à travers la question des «vrais» droits de propriété et devient partagée dans l'imaginaire commun. Des cartes disséquées enseignent aux enfants comment visualiser des espaces et des frontières et conceptualisent la place de l'individu dans la société. Les enfants apprennent que des actions disparates effectuées dans la sphère domestique ont des répercussions plus importantes dans le domaine public de la nation.

Mots-clés: littérature pour enfants, dix-huitième siècle, dix-neuvième siècle, le nationalisme, l'identité nationale, la discipline, l'histoire naturelle, barde, cartes disséquées, des espaces

Abstract

“Building Blocks: Children’s Literature and the Formation of a Nation, 1750-1825” examines how children’s literature imbues young readers with a sense of nationalism and national identity through the understanding of spaces and spatial relationships. The thesis studies various children’s works by Thomas Day, Sarah Fielding, Mary Wollstonecraft, Richard Lovell and Maria Edgeworth, Charles and Mary Lamb, Sarah Trimmer, Lucy Peacock, Priscilla Wakefield, John Aikin, and Anna Laetitia Barbauld. The various thematic subjects utilised reflect how boundaries between the exterior and interior dimensions, between the physical world and the psychological realm, are blurred. Drawing from the works of educational thinkers, John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, writings for children highlight the importance of sensory experiences, which inform the internal developments of individuals. In return, the projection of imagination and the investment of feelings help shape the way people interact with the material world and with one another to form a nation.

Using a Foucauldian approach, this thesis shows how discipline is instilled in children, turning them into regulated subjects. Through confessions and discourse, children subscribe to the notion of surveillance and transparency while an appreciation of public opinion further encourages the practice of self-control. Children become not only blank slates, susceptible to impressions, but readable bodies of writing. The values and norms of society are internalised, as children become part of the system that they adopt. The significance of visibility is also underscored in the popularity of the Linnaean system, which emphasises close observation and categorisation. Natural history in children’s literature reinforces the hierarchical structure of society, underscoring the need to respect class boundaries and perform individual roles for the wellbeing of the collective. The religious connotations in natural history may seem to justify class inequality; however, they also disseminate messages of charity, benevolence, and

empathy, offering an alternative or “feminine” form of national identity that stands in contrast with militarism and patricianism.

The second half of the thesis looks at how Benedict Anderson’s “imagined communities” becomes a possibility through the development of national taste and an understanding of the interconnection between individuals. The figure of the bard points to the centrality of communal spirit in national identity. Alongside the growing commercialisation of cultural and national products in the period were increasing emotional attachments to objects and the necessity in discovering the authentic in the practise of critical reflection. Property is redefined in the question of “true” ownership and becomes shared in the communal imagination. Dissected maps teach children how to visualise spaces and boundaries and conceptualise one’s place within society. Children learn that disparate actions performed in the domestic sphere have larger implications in the public realm of the nation.

Keywords: Children’s literature, eighteenth century, nineteenth century, nationalism, national identity, discipline, natural history, bard, dissected maps, spaces

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List of Abbreviations

DA	Edgeworth, Maria. *Dumb Andy*. *Little Plays for Children*. *The Parent's Assistant*. Vol. 7. London, UK: R. Hunter, 1827. Print.
DP	Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Trans. Alan Sheridan. New York, USA: Vintage Books, 1995. Print.
EC	Lynch, Deidre Shauna. *The Economy of Character: Novels, Market Culture, and the Business of Inner Meaning*. Chicago; London, UK: The University of Chicago Press, 1998. Print.
EL	Edgeworth, Maria, and Richard Lovell Edgeworth. *Early Lessons*. 6th ed. Vol. 1. 2 vols. London, UK: R. Hunter, 1818. Print.
	Edgeworth, Maria, and Richard Lovell Edgeworth. *Early Lessons*. 5th ed. Vol. 2-4. 4 vols. London, UK: R. Hunter; Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy; Simpkin and Marshall; and Hamilton and Adams, 1824. Print.
GO	Edgeworth, Maria. *The Grinding Organ*. *Little Plays for Children*. *The Parent's Assistant*. Vol. 7. London, UK: R. Hunter, 1827. Print.
IB	Wakefield, Priscilla. *An Introduction to Botany, in a Series of Familiar Letters, with Illustrative Engravings*. Boston, USA: J. Belcher and J. W. Burditt and Co., 1811. Print.
"IG"	Myers, Mitzi. "Impeccable Governesses, Rational Dames, and Moral Mothers: Mary Wollstonecraft and the Female Tradition in Georgian Children's Books." *Children's Literature* 14 (1986): 31-59. Web. 29 June 2010.
INH	Wakefield, Priscilla. *An Introduction to the Natural History and Classification*

of Insects, in a Series of Familiar Letters: With Illustrative Engravings. London, UK: Darton, Harvey, and Darton, 1816. Print.

IT Edgeworth, Maria. *Illustrated Tales for Children*. Paris, France: J. H. Truchy, French and English Library, 1850. Print.

JA Wakefield, Priscilla. *Juvenile Anecdotes, founded on Facts: Collected for the Amusement of Children*. 7th ed. London, UK: Harvey and Darton, 1825. Print.

LCML Lamb, Charles, and Mary Lamb. *The Letters of Charles and Mary Anne Lamb*. Ed. Edwin W. Marrs, Jr. 3 vols. Ithaca, USA: Cornell University Press, 1975-8. Print.

LE Peacock, Lucy. *The Little Emigrant, a Tale Interspersed with Moral Anecdotes and Instructive Conversations: Designed for the Perusal of Youth*. London, UK: S. Low, 1799. Print.

MI Wakefield, Priscilla. *Mental Improvement; or the Beauties and Wonders of Nature and Art, in a Series of Instructive Conversations*. New Bedford, USA: Abraham Shearman, 1799. Print.

"NH" Coleridge, Samuel Taylor. "Notes on *Hamlet*." *Critical Responses to* Hamlet*, 1790-1838*. Ed. David Farley-Hills. *The Hamlet Collection: Critical Responses to Hamlet, 1600-1900*. Vol. 2. New York, USA: AMS Press, 1996. Print.

OS Wollstonecraft, Mary. *Original Stories, from Real Life; With Conversations, Calculated to Regulate the Affections, and Form the Mind to Truth and Goodness*. New York, USA: Garland Publishing, 1977. Print.

"OTS" Lamb, Charles. "On the Tragedies of Shakespeare." *Charles Lamb on*

Shakespeare. Ed. Joan Coldwell. New York, USA: Harper & Row Publishers, 1978. Print.

"PD"	Peacock, Lucy. "The Pearl Diver." *Friendly Labours, or, Tales and Dramas for the Amusement and Instruction of Youth*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Brentford, UK: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1815. Print.
PE	Edgeworth, Maria, and Richard Lovell Edgeworth. *Practical Education*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. Boston, USA: J. Francis Lippitt, Providence (R. L.) and T. B. Wait & Sons, 1815. Print.
PEYC	Edgeworth, Richard Lovell. *Poetry Explained for the Use of Young Children*. London, UK: R. Hunter, 1821. Print.
RP	Edgeworth, Richard Lovell. *Readings on Poetry*. London, UK: R. Hunter, 1816. Print.
"SS"	Edgeworth, Maria. "Simple Susan." *The Parent's Assistant*. Vol 1. 2 vols. New York, USA: Garland Publishing Inc., 1976. Print.
STCE	Locke, John. *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*. London, UK: National Society's Depository, 1880. Print.
TS	Lamb, Charles, and Mary Lamb. *Tales from Shakespear*. *The Works of Charles and Mary Lamb*. Ed. E. V. Lucas. Vol. 3. 7 vols. London, UK: Methuen, 1903-5. Print.
"YLDP"	Lynch, Deidre Shauna. "'Young Ladies are Delicate Plants': Jane Austen and the Greenhouse Romanticism." *English Literary History* 77.3 (Fall 2010): 689-729. Web. 29 May 2012.

Acknowledgments

Trying to express my gratitude on a printed page makes me acutely aware of the postmodern problem of the failure of language. Whatever words come to mind seem woefully inadequate as a reflection of my true sentiments. I can but try to offer a glimpse of the appreciation and indebtedness that I feel for the people who have helped make this thesis a realisation.

I am profoundly grateful to Dr. Michael Sinatra for sharing the wealth of his knowledge, for his invaluable advice, and for the continuous flow of encouragement over the years. Thank you for pulling me through when I most needed it. I am also appreciative of the faculty and staff of the Université de Montréal Département d'études anglaises for their services and aid in making my academic journey a success.

My gratitude extends to the staff of the Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books at the Toronto Public Library for their patience and assistance. The ability to come into contact with books centuries old, texts thumbed by generations and stained with use, is truly memorable.

I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to family and friends, who have stood by me in moments of sweat and tears. Dr. John Miller, Bianca Bourgeois, Janice Wilson, and Christian Charette have helped, in one way or another, to bring my project to fruition. My deepest debt, however, is owed to my parents, for raising and educating me, and to my long-suffering husband, James Wilson, who has had to deal with the thesis-writing monster that has consumed me.

Introduction:

The Growth of Children's Literature

and the Emergence of Nationalism

"The words whig and tory, occur frequently in English history, and liberty and tyranny are talked of – the influence of the crown – the rights of the people. What are children of eight or nine years old to understand by these expressions?"

(Maria Edgeworth and Richard Lovell Edgeworth, *Practical Education* 1:306)

The period that saw the development of children's literature as a genre was the same period that was marked by a rise in nationalism and national concerns. From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, there was a growing distinction between literature intended for children and that intended for adults. The proliferation of children's texts was chiefly the consequence of advances in print technology and changes in socioeconomic conditions. Meanwhile, increasing consumerism and political tensions, both domestically and internationally, led to an awareness of the link between the material world and national identity. Children must be imbued with a sense of patriotism and social spirit, seemingly intangible characteristics that form one's personality and inform one's habits. Nevertheless, these internal qualities are closely related to the physical world, both shaped by and shaping one's behaviour, concept of spaces and boundaries, and relationships with others. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, children's works teach their readers how and what it means to be a part of a nation by using themes and motifs that collate the realities of the material world and the psychological world of the self.

Although some texts for children existed prior to the eighteenth century, mainly in the form of folklore and religious allegories and hymns, it was then that greater attention was paid to the education and entertainment of a younger group of readers. Early children's authors were not concerned with the amusement of their readers and, barring a few rare exceptions,

paid little attention to the question of pedagogy. Even though earlier works, including hornbooks, Johan Amos Comenius's *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, and John Bunyan's *A Book for Boys and Girls; or, Country Rhimes for Children*, appear to be written for children, the focus seems less on teaching *children* per se than on teaching *literacy*. A major cause of and simultaneous to the dispute over children's literature and education are shifting definitions of "childhood" and "children." Critics like F. J. Harvey Darton, Peter Hunt, and Philippe Ariès do not view pre-eighteenth century texts as "children's literature" because early children's works were not separate from adult literature. In fact, as Patricia Demers points out in *From Instruction to Delight*, even when critics argue for the distinction of childhood as a category in earlier centuries, they admit that there was little actual recognition of the child as an individual with specific needs that diverge from that of an adult (2).[1] Thus, while numerous texts, like Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, continue to be read by both children and adults, it was in the eighteenth century that there began an increasing distinction between works meant for adults and those specifically intended for children.

The widening gap between adult and children's texts was due to the emergence of a new type of readers, one that came into being with the rise of the middle class and improvements in the print industry. The ability to ascend the social ladder and the heightening dependability of and reliance on technology created time for leisure and raised the age of adulthood, allowing children to essentially be children. Concurrently, with the invention and popularisation of the more reliable and legible Caslon type, Stanhope press, and steam-

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[1] For studies regarding the development of childhood prior to the eighteenth century, see, for example, Hugh Cunningham's *Children and Childhood in Western Society Since 1500*; Andrea Immel and Michael Witmore's *Childhood and Children's Books in Early Modern Europe, 1550-1800*; and Linda Pollock's *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500-1900*.

powered press in Britain, advances in print technology enabled mass printing of larger volumes, resulting in the proliferation of novels and children's books. Children's literature, like novels, became a profitable industry, and the existence of this new consumer group encouraged printers and booksellers to expand their stock to include merchandise like toys, maps, prints, and scientific tools. Such products were often promoted as being educational tools and were sometimes packaged together with or referred to within children's texts. John Newbery's *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book*, for instance, was sold with a ball or a pincushion while bookseller Benjamin Tabart offered his customers the purchase of a microscope, the use of which is introduced in one of the books in his shop, Eliza Fenwick's *Visits to the Juvenile Library, or, Knowledge Proved to be the Source of Happiness*. That children's literature was a lucrative business was apparent not only in the number of printers, booksellers, and advertisements that appeared in the eighteenth century, but also the number of authors, known for their adult works, who took to penning texts for children.[2]

Simultaneous to the sudden growth in children's literature were emerging questions regarding the education of children, what they should know and how they should know it, which were highly debated and continue to remain unresolved today. The definitions of "children" and "childhood" proposed by philosophers John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau

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[2] The list of authors includes Oliver Goldsmith, William Godwin, Mary Wollstonecraft, Maria Edgeworth, and Charles Lamb. For a look into the growth of children's literature as an industry in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, refer to John Feather's *A History of British Publishing*; Lissa Paul's *The Children's Book Business: Lessons from the Long Eighteenth Century*; and Judith Plotz's *Romanticism and the Vocation of Childhood*. As critics Lissa Paul and Jacqueline Pearson observe, however, sales figures are neither accurate indications of the popularity of texts nor of the levels of literacy in the period. Pearson offers the reminder that "[b]ooks were a relatively expensive commodity in throughout the period … The circulation of cheap or printed material suggests a much larger pool of potential readers" (12). Discussions of sales figures in children's publishing can be found in *Popular Children's Literature in Britain* by Julia Briggs, Dennis Butts, and Matthew Orville Grenby; *Women's Reading in Britain, 1750-1835: A Dangerous Recreation* by Jacqueline Pearson; and *The Children's Book Business: Lessons from the Long Eighteenth Century* by Lissa Paul.

became the foundation upon which children's texts were built, and these works, in turn, intersected and discoursed with one another, ultimately creating a recognisable polyvalent genre. Locke's proposition that children are *tabula rasa* or blank slates, subject to impression, and Rousseau's emphasis on environmental factors in upbringing reflect an acknowledgment of the material world's connection to children's psychological development. Even religious children's works that focus upon the saving of souls and the afterlife, disseminated chiefly by Evangelists and Puritans, began drawing upon Lockean and Rousseauan concepts, highlighting the significance of the body and sensual experiences.[3] The Age of Enlightenment also saw the movement away from rote-learning and silent obedience to the incorporation of other pedagogical methods, including what is today considered as active learning. As suggested by Locke and Rousseau, children were encouraged to explore the material world, ask questions, and develop responses based upon rational thinking and close observation of the physical realm.

As the burgeoning leisure class created a demand for consumer products, material objects became the vehicle through which one could cultivate and represent one's nationalism. Strained political and socioeconomic relationships, both domestic and international, in the eighteenth century led to a heightening awareness of national identity. Britain was engaged in a number of wars, particularly with France and America, while local changes, such as land

[3] Religious texts were printed and circulated by major publishers like the Religious Tract Society and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. These publishers initially published "serious" work, such as Christian sermons and doctrines. However, in the eighteenth century, dependent chiefly on women contributors, they also began publishing children's books in an attempt to gain a wider audience. Amongst their catalogue of noted children's authors are Mary Martha Sherwood, Sarah Trimmer, Priscilla Wakefield, and Hannah More, the latter whose Cheap Repository Tract, published by John Marshall, sold in the millions. Like Locke and Rousseau, religious children's writers underscore the significance of the natural world, believing that the impressions it leaves reveal the existence of Divine Power. Further discussion of the link between the natural world and works of two religious authors, Sarah Trimmer and Priscilla Wakefield, is found in the second chapter of this thesis.

enclosures, urbanisation, and anti-Jacobinism, placed pressure on the peripheries of the nation. A sense of Britishness grew as francophobia mounted, while Scottish, Irish, and Welsh nationalism rose in response to a hegemonic Englishness.[4] Antiquarians attempted to unearth artefacts and the marketplace became inundated with goods of cultural significance, exemplifying the materialism of the period.[5] While national identity appears to be a characteristic possessed by individuals, it is ultimately a quality that is based upon the connections one has with the external world. For many children's authors, nurturing children's sense of national pride and belonging means teaching them socialisation skills. As children's concept of self and understanding of the physical world are formed, they are taught to recognise the interconnection between their very own selves and others like them. In other words, individualism and socialisation develop concurrently, created by and creating relationships between self and community and between the interior and exterior realms.

Criticism of children's literature is relatively new even though some critics, such as Peter Hunt, Perry Nodelman, and Mitzi Myers, have begun to beam the spotlight on the genre. Given the diversity of texts and children's authors, with a large number of critics focussing on Victorian, 20th-century, and American children's literature or doing close readings on specific texts, even fewer criticisms are written on the subject of nationalism in Romantic children's literature. Peter Hunt provides general historical surveys of the genre in his well-known *An*

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[4] Linda Colley's *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* provides a comprehensive view of francophobia as a unifying factor in Britain and of the increase in nationalist sentiment in the British peripheries. Also see *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Program, Myth, Reality* by E. J. Hobsbawn; *The Roots of Nationalism: Studies in Northern Europe*, edited by Rosaline Mitchison; and *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History 1740-1830* by Gerald Newman.

[5] For studies on eighteenth-century antiquarian nationalism, refer to Alan S. Bell's *The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition*; John Hutchinson's *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revial and the Creation of the Irish Nation State*; and Stuart Piggot's *Ancient Britons and the Antiquarian Imagination: Ideas from the Renaissance to the Regency* and *Ruins in a Landscape and Ancient Britons: Essays in Antiquarianism*.

Introduction to Children's Literature and *Children's Literature*, showing not only the various kinds of available texts, but also the themes, historical uses, and approaches towards them. Hunt defines what children's literature is and describes the ways in which they are shaped for the purpose of social engineering. Essentially, Hunt argues for the value in understanding children's literature and how it works, so the "right" book can be chosen for kids.

One of the major debates by critics is whether children's literature provides an actual representation of child readers and the values that the texts purport to impart. Perry Nodelman's *The Pleasures of Literature*, Roderick McGillis's *The Nimble Reader*, and David Rudd's *Enid Blyton and the Mystery of Children's Literature* focus on reader responses, detailing and debunking common conceptions as to what it means to be a child and to experience childhood. All three critics assert that children and children's literature are constructed through the adult perspective, through ideology, and even through criticisms, in what McGillis terms the "extrinsic approach to literature" (4). Jacqueline Rose, in *The Case of Peter Pan or the Impossibility of Children's Fiction*, stresses this point by observing that children's literature addresses a constructed "child," one that children's fiction itself creates, excluding any and all "real" children. As Karin Lesnik-Oberstein points out in *Children's Literature: New Approaches*, Rudd's statement that children internalise adult beliefs refers to the production of a new discourse, one that is not a complete reiteration of adult discourse, but a hybrid between child and adult. For critics like Rose, Lesnik-Oberstein, and Rudd, there exists a child that is outside discourse, one who does not and/or cannot read what the texts convey and who read for sensual enjoyment, not psychological or moral development.

Several scholars have made significant contribution to the study of pedagogical children's writing in the eighteenth century. Mitzi Myers is perhaps the most relevant, prolific,

and noted critic when it comes to analysing children's texts from the period. Her examination of female children's authors, particularly those who were overlooked due to their apparent didacticism and conservatism, led to a consideration of marginalised writings and/or authors. Her close reading and contextualisation of children's works by authors such as Maria Edgeworth, Mary Wollstonecraft, Sarah Trimmer, and Anna Laetitia Barbauld highlight the importance of the domestic and the feminine in regards to pedagogy. Meanwhile, Andrew O'Malley's recent publication, *The Making of the Modern Child*, shows how changes in class structure affect educational concepts in the eighteenth century. O'Malley argues that middle-class ideology is disseminated in children's literature, as the emerging class tried to solidify and define itself. Thus, texts that are child-related, be it works of fiction intended for children or books on childcare, function to create a discourse that normalises middle-class values, qualities like industry, self-reliance, and prudence.

In considering the development of national, rather than just class, identity in children, it is essential to establish not just what young readers are taught, but also how they learn, especially in relation to space. Children have to be able to conceptualise the idea of a nation, which is both tangible (in the form of land space and the people who inhabit the space) and imaginary (in regards to the connection between the people who form the nation and the mutability of boundaries). As children are made aware of the significance of the physical world through their sensory experiences, they learn how to relate to and see beyond material representations to apprehend sociocultural and historical meanings. Essentially, children have to perceive the connection between spaces, both between their internal and external selves as well as between their private, domestic and the public spheres.

The usage of the term “space” here is derived from Michel de Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life* and Henri Lefebvre’s *The Production of Space*. For de Certeau, “space” consists of movement through and an ambiguation of place, constantly in flux; “place,” on the other hand, is defined as that which is constant and separate, never overlapping and having its own proper position:

> A place (*lieu*) is the order (of whatever kind) in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence. It thus excludes the possibility of two things being in the same location (*place*). The law of the “proper” rules in the place: the elements taken into consideration are *beside* one another, each situated in its own “proper” and distinct location, a location it defines. A place is thus an instantaneous configuration of positions. It implies an indication of stability.
>
> A space exists when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables. Thus space is composed of intersections of mobile elements. It is in a sense actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within it. Space occurs as an effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalize it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contractual proximities. On this view, in relation to place, space is like the word when it is spoken, that is, when it is caught in the ambiguity of an actualization, transformed into a term dependent upon many different conventions, situated as the act of a present (or of a time), and modified by the transformations caused by successive contexts. In contradistinction to the place, it has thus none of the univocity or stability of a “proper.”
>
> In short, *space is a practiced place*. (117)

In other words, while places indicate fixity, stability, and lifelessness, a form of deadened “being,” spaces express motion, instability, and a sense of “becoming,” as implied by de Certeau's references to “the map” and “'the tour” (Thacker 33).[6] The dichotomy between place and space also parallels Lefebvre's concept of “representations of space” and “representational spaces” (14 and 42). To sum it up, representations of space are the dominant ordered space of

[6] In the last chapter of this thesis, maps and tours are shown to be closely related and not in binary opposition through the production, popularity, and intersection of dissection maps and board games in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

planners, architects, and governments, produced according to ideologies; representational spaces, on the other hand, point to the "alive," imagined space of artists and writers who prefer the domain of passion, action, and lived situations to the logic of the representations of space (Lefebvre 42). Hence, children conceptualising what Benedict Anderson calls "imagined communities" have to be able to envision, understand, and negotiate through and with various spaces.

The examination of motifs and thematic subjects that are popular in children's works reveals how authors draw attention to and utilise certain aspects of the material world to instil their young readers with nationalistic and patriotic pride. In addition to illustrating how some authors employ the genre as a means to disseminate their beliefs, an analysis of the common threads running through texts written by distinct authors assists in tracing how certain objects and activities gain cultural and historical value in the British nation. Michel Foucault's discourse theory offers insight into how power, being inescapable, penetrates into all aspects of life and normalises behaviour associated with one's national identity. Foucault rejects the term "ideology" because of its implication of a fixed, stable truth; its reference to an individual subject; and its base in materialism. Instead, he replaces "ideology" with "discourse" and shows how power informs and produces discourse and knowledge. As social practice and knowledge are constructed by power, the subject, too, is informed by power, as Foucault shows in *The History of Sexuality* and *Discipline and Punish*. Thus, even seemingly harmless and leisurely activities, like playing with puzzles, reading, nature walks, and collecting, become implicated in the web of power and become subjects that generate discourse.

The importance of children's literature as a tool of power means a reconfiguration of the perception of spaces. Children's literature was a genre dominated by female writers, and

childcare was considered to be chiefly a feminine task in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Children, like women, are transient beings who, for the most part, inhabit the private domain, a space which, as Elise Smith suggests, is the playground for the formation of socialisation skills (25). Alternative forms of nationalism and patriotism, based upon values traditionally considered more feminine like charity and compassion, are offered by children's writers alongside the patrician, militaristic version often valorised in the masculine world and found in classical education. However, the distinction between private, domestic sphere and male, public sphere has been consistently challenged by critics throughout the years.[7] The blurring of boundaries between the public and private spaces draws attention to the intersection of discourses, allowing the seemingly marginalised to engage in more public matters.

The large number, diversity, and brevity of children's works published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries make text selection for analysis difficult. The authors in this thesis were chosen partly because they were either prolific children's writers (such as Maria and Richard Lovell Edgeworth, Sarah Trimmer, and Lucy Peacock) or they produced at least one fairly lengthy and popular children's text (as in the case of Thomas Day, Mary Wollstonecraft, and the Lambs), making close reading of texts possible. A few children's writers were included because their body of writing focussed on specific subjects that were relevant. Priscilla Wakefield, as an example, was an authority in natural history for children in

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[7] Examples of works that deconstruct the notion of public-private, masculine-feminine binary include Susan Dalton's *Engendering the Republic of Letters: Reconnecting Public and Private Spheres in Eighteenth-Century Europe*; Cathy N. Davidson and Jessamyn Hatcher's *No More Separate Spheres!: A Next Wave American Studies Reader*; Lawrence E. Klein's "Gender and the Public/Private Distinction in the Eighteenth Century: Some Questions about Evidence and Analytic Procedure"; Linda J. Nicholson's *Gender and History: The Limits of Social Theory in the Age of the Family*; and Simon Morgan's *A Victorian Woman's Place: Public Culture in the Nineteenth Century*.

the period due to her authoring of fictional and non-fictional works on the subject. Writers who published both adult and children's literature and those who work collaboratively with others in their writing are particularly useful in providing insight into their belief system. As national identity is based upon the idea of a society or a community, it is, thus, pertinent to see how the authors themselves incorporate the values in the process of producing discourse. Often, thematic subjects recur in children's works but only in a passing manner, suggesting that these motifs have gained enough currency for readers to understand the implications without further elaboration.[8] For example, even though only the Edgeworths give sufficient attention to dissected maps in their writing for children and about children, such geographical activities are actually mentioned in numerous children's works, including Peacock's *The Little Emigrant* and *A Visit for a Week* and Wakefield's *Juvenile Anecdotes* and *Juvenile Travellers*. Therefore, while a close examination of the motifs is difficult in works which, on the one hand, are already short and, on the other, do not provide much details or descriptions, it is essential to consider why these subjects appear repeatedly in children's writing.

This thesis consists of four chapters, with the first examining how, in the works by Mary Wollstonecraft, Thomas Day, and Sarah Fielding, discipline teaches children the interconnection between exterior and interior spaces. To become a part of a nation, one has to become subjects of the nation, and, as Foucault has argued, the subject is created through self-regulation and the normalisation of certain behaviours. The physical exteriority of the body is one of the first things that children learn about themselves and about spaces. However, although Locke is an advocate of sensory experiences in the education of children, he warns

[8] Consider, for instance, Edward Said's well-known and contentious argument that readers of Austen's *Mansfield Park* would instantly recognise the silence at the Bertram estate as complicity in the slave trade (*Culture and Imperialism* 96).

against the dependency on sensory pleasures. Instead of material rewards and punishments, he recommends the impression of the value of esteem on children. Esteem and the shame of its loss are dependent upon the individual's acceptance of and subsumption within society. Shame is felt when transgression from norms is believed to be visible to others and when one acknowledges one's interconnection with others. Thus, children must subscribe to the idea of their own transparency and vulnerability through a system of surveillance, confession, and culpability, techniques which, according to Foucault in *Discipline and Punish* and *The History of Sexuality*, are the extensions of power in modern society. The chapter "Disciplining the Subject: Shameful Confessions in Day, Fielding, and Wollstonecraft" thus shows that, in the narratives of these children's writers, child characters learn self-control by practising self-examination and the disclosure of truth. The process of repetition forces children to inscribe upon themselves, both physically and psychologically, the values of society. The validity of physiognomy in the period is made clear through the link between appearances and children's internal growth. Their errors and self-correction are discernable, as their bodies become texts upon which social norms are imprinted and reinforced. Hence, discipline is instilled in children through the implementation and internalisation of the monitorial system, a practice which was adopted and would continue to be used in British schools well into the Victorian period.

"Part of the Natural System: Sympathetic Imagination in Children's Literature" continues with the subject of observation in the education of children. This chapter traces the broadening of the scope of scrutiny, illustrating how, alongside the close examination of self, the careful attention to and categorisation of the natural world further reveal the interconnection between exterior and interior realms. The introduction of the Linnaean system

of classification led to the popularisation of natural history as a subject of education and entertainment for children from the eighteenth century onwards. Increasing interest in natural history was due to its accessibility, for the activity was cheap and could be performed in the domestic sphere. Furthermore, children's perceived proximity to the natural world implies an inherent interest in and connection to nature. Natural history was used to teach more than just biology or taxonomy; it was used to develop one's spirituality and social skills that are based upon "feminine" qualities of charity, compassion, and empathy. The transparency and visibility that are central to the inculcation of discipline are reinforced in the study of natural history, for the Linnaean system requires the investigation of physical markings for the purpose of classification and the religious connotations of the natural world demand an adherence to truth. To Linnaeus and to children's authors alike, nature provided evidence of God's supremacy and benevolence, qualities that should be emulated by those created in His image.

In addition to Wollstonecraft's *Original Stories*, the writings of Sarah Trimmer, Lucy Peacock, Priscilla Wakefield, Anna Laetitia Barbauld, and John Aikin illustrate how the spiritual and social characteristics of natural history are essential to the building of a community and, ultimately, of a nation. Chapter 2 explores the manner in which the Linnaean system and observation of nature allow children to learn the importance of hierarchy and of performing one's role according to rank. Ultimately, children are made to understand how they, as individuals, are intertwined with others and how the role that they each perform benefits the entire collective. The target readers of children's literature tend to be those in the middle or upper classes, those with the means to indulge in the leisurely activity of reading; as such, children's narratives espouse the responsibility of recognising the contribution of social

inferiors and of treating social inferiors with respect, compassion, and kindness. The benevolence and generosity shown to nonhuman beings are then transferred to humans. Even though class hierarchy is upheld in children's writings, the message disseminated through natural history is the equality and dignity of all humans, especially in the eyes of God, a dangerous statement to make in the politically charged climate of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Children's literature provided authors, particularly those of the female sex, the opportunity to comment on and take action in matters that concerned the nation and/or its neighbours, from the French Revolution to the question of abolition. By changing the way children perceive and interact with the world around them and by teaching them to appreciate the value of life, children's authors are shaping the future of their nation.

In a period of increasing materialism and consumerism, there began a need to show how property can become imbued with qualities that extend beyond its physical characteristics and values. The chapter entitled "Bardic Voices: Refining Tastes, Redefining Property" focuses on the figure of the bard in children's narratives by Charles and Mary Lamb and Maria Edgeworth, showing how values associated with the bard reconfigure the notion of property to include not just the physical, but also the private and the communal. The bard had cultural and historical significance for the English, who were redeeming Shakespeare as their national literary hero, as well as the peripheral nations. As the market became inundated with products, concern over the ability to discriminate between the authentic and the artificial arose. What was real and true became of extreme importance, and, hence, it was essential to try to discover the "actual" meaning of cultural and historical works. The Lambs' *Tales from Shakespear* reflects the siblings', particularly Charles Lamb's, desire to educate the young in the question of taste through the act of reading. Taste was a way to unify the nation, for it was how the

British could distinguish themselves from the Continental countries, especially France. Furthermore, taste requires the capacity to look beyond the material surface and perceive the sublime and the imaginary. The Lambs advocate the appreciation of Shakespeare's works through reading rather than performance, stressing the importance of quiet reflections and analysis over immediate, sensory stimulation. Although the taste of a nation is a shared quality, active reading itself requires the interaction between the material text and the reader's interior self. Therefore, through the act of reading Shakespearean plays, children can develop a form of nationalism that is private and domestic. In addition to reading processes, the third chapter also explores bards' affinity with oral tradition. Through her writing for children, Maria Edgeworth illustrates how language expresses one's historical background and national identity. Just as confessions reveal and reinforce the internalisation of a system, bardic songs disclose the truth of one's connection to one's past and to the present community. Edgeworth's texts emphasise the role of discourse in the nation-building process. Property is represented as something that cannot be privately owned; instead, it is to be shared by the community, whose claim is based upon an investment of feelings and contribution to the wellbeing and happiness of the society. The bard, then, is the embodiment of national spirit, a figure that ties the past with the present, the individual with the collective, and the material with the psychological.

The last chapter extends the analysis of Edgeworth's writings for children, taking into consideration how the author utilises dissected maps, a plaything and educational tool popularised in the eighteenth century, to teach children a new way of perceiving and organising spaces in the process of developing their national identity. While the Grand Tour was an educational experience deemed necessary by the upper classes, dissected maps offered those less financially able or more wary the opportunity to travel in the comfort of their own

home. Travel was, nonetheless, increasingly affordable and commonplace, and growing interest in travel led to and was fuelled by other innovations, including the panorama and the balloon. Activities related to the panorama and hot-air balloons had nationalistic connotations. While panoramas were used to disseminate ideologies and standardise beliefs through the portrayed images, balloons were symbolic of the nation's scientific and technological progress. More importantly, the panorama and balloon present a new way of looking, collating perception with movement and space. Likewise, dissected maps require the ability to discriminate and arrange pieces into a preconceived whole. There is a need to recognise how individuals fit within and connect with others to form a unified collective. Furthermore, as puzzles have only one solution or one complete landscape, the practice of putting puzzles together helps to discipline children, encouraging conformity and rational thought. The pleasure in assembling a dissected map is not immediate, for the satisfaction is obtained with progressive steps towards the final outcome. Thus, "Piecing the Nation Together: Dissected Maps and the Visualisation of Spaces" demonstrates how children also learn self-denial in the recognition that the happiness of the community outweighs the pleasure of the individual.

Children's authors' incorporation of motifs dealing with sight, sound, speech, and touch reflect the importance of sensory experiences in children's education. Locke's and Rousseau's proposal that children learn through their interaction with the external reality is incorporated in children's writings, so children's interiority develops as they navigate through the physical world in which they inhabit. A nation consists of more than mere maps or diagrams of lands and boundaries, and national identity is dependent on more than just one's address or place of birth. National pride and dignity are cultivated through one's understanding of and connection with spaces and the people who inhabit these spaces. To be part of a nation,

one has to project one's imagination in the establishment of relationships with others and to have a sentimental investment in the material realm. Ultimately, a nation is formed of individuals bound not just by borders, but by ties to one another. A nation is, as such, real and invented, and children's literature can be an essential guide to the traversal between young readers' inner and outer worlds.

Chapter 1:

Disciplining the Subject:

Shameful Confessions in Day, Fielding, and Wollstonecraft

“Poor boy! He little thought there was ONE saw him who sees all things, and from whose eye no hole nor corner can hide the sinner; ‘for he is about our bed, and about our paths, and spieth out all our ways.’”

(Hannah More, “Black Giles the Poacher” 344)

“Let those who are tempted to do wrong by the hopes of future gratification, or the prospect of certain concealment and impunity, remember, that unless they are totally depraved, they bear in their own hearts a monitor, who will prevent their enjoying what they have ill obtained.”

(Maria Edgeworth, “The Bracelets” 53)

Despite increasing materialism in the eighteenth century, authors of children’s works were directing their readers’ gaze inwards to help form a new subjectivity. Drawing upon John Locke’s recommendations regarding reward and punishment, esteem and shame, Protestant writers and so-called “rationalists moralists,” including Thomas Day, Sarah Fielding, and Mary Wollstonecraft, wrote texts that develop children’s consciousness and their skills in rationalisation and self-regulation.[9] Their works advocate and attempt to teach the use of internal reflection in children, an ability that is attainable through the illusion of self-discovery and independence. Children’s conscience and discipline can be instilled through methods like question-and-answer or interrogation and confessions, techniques that, as Foucault has observed, have been used in prisons and mental institutions. While the championing of reason seems to imply an emphasis on the internal self, the collusion of interiority and the exteriority in the eighteenth century means that the resulting morality reveals itself in the body of the

[9] The term “rational moralists” is used by Patricia Demers in *From Instruction to Delight* to refer to writers who subscribe to Lockean and Rousseauan ideas that are based upon reason and morality. For further elaboration, see the sixth chapter of *From Instruction to Delight: An Anthology of Children’s Literature to 1850*.

subject. The body of the child can be read like the body of a text, and physical appearances become the measurement of self-control and virtue.

In *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, Locke devotes an entire section each to the topics of punishment and reward, arguing for a shift in emphasis from deterrent to reformation and encouragement. Corporal punishment, Locke argues, is not an effective way to regulate children's behaviour; in fact, he goes so far as to say that "the rod, which is the only instrument of government that tutors generally know or ever think of, is the most unfit of any to be used in education" (*STCE* 112). The explanation that Locke provides for his condemnation of corporal punishment is not because the act is cruel in itself, but because such a practice is rooted in sensual experience. A child punished in this manner will not learn to reason; instead, the child will learn to either avoid bodily pain or, conversely, seek physical pleasure. Hence, corporal punishment will serve "to cherish that principle in him, which it is our business to root out and destroy" (Locke, *STCE* 113). On the same basis, Locke warns against rewards that would tempt and enlarge a child's appetite. With the conventional method of punishment and reward, there is no mechanism in place to check a child's undesirable behaviour when the threat of punishment or the appeal of a bribe is not directly before him or her. If either is taken to the extreme, the child will be unable to function properly as a socially-adept individual in the future, and, with prolonged use, the child's body may adapt and become desensitised to such practices (Locke, *STCE* 114-5 and 120). So important is the discipline of children to Locke that he pronounces the ability to find a balance between instilling restraint and providing motivation, the knowledge "how to reconcile these seeming contradictions," "the true secret of education" or "the great secret of education" (*STCE* 112

and 119). Instead of beating or bribing children, Locke proposes that educators teach their students the value of regard and shame.[10]

Learning to appreciate respect and trust and to abhor the loss of either is a socialising experience for the child. The pleasure or pain that is felt by the child, due to the reception of approval or disapproval, is dependent upon the perception and reaction of others. Noting children's early sensitivity to signs of acceptance and rejection, especially from parents, Locke argues for a method of control that is primarily based upon treatment, not materialism. Essentially, children are to be rewarded with praises and affection and to be punished with neglect and indifference (Locke, *STCE* 119-20). Taught this way and as actions turn into habits, children internalise their society's values, and the internalisation then leads to the establishment of a moral compass within their selves. As Locke points out, "Esteem and disgrace are, of all others, the most powerful incentives to the mind, when once it is brought to relish them. If you can once get into children a love of credit, and an apprehension of shame and disgrace, you have put into them the true principle, which will constantly work, and incline them to the right" (*STCE* 119).[11] He further states that a person who is able to embed,

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[10] Despite the influence of Locke's theory regarding punishment and reward and its implementation in various school systems, including the Bell-Lancaster structure, whipping remained a popular choice for correcting pupils in Britain well into the twentieth century. In 1792, Robert Southey severely criticised corporal punishment in *The Flagellant*, a publication produced together with Grosvenor Bedford, resulting in his expulsion from Westminster (Speck 20-1). A few decades later, Charles Dickens attended Wellington House Academy, where the master, Mr. Jones, described by a fellow pupil as "a thrasher," later became the model for Mr. Creakle in *David Copperfield* (Hearn 64). Concurrent with Locke's work advocating reformative measures were equally vociferous calls for the use of the rod. Samuel Johnson, for instance, was an avid supporter of corporal punishment and put his belief into practice as a teacher (Parker-Jenkins 2; Meyers 19).

[11] Locke's choice of the word "credit" to denote esteem or regard here seems appropriate, for it underscores the social aspect behind the concept of money and anxieties about changes in the monetary system. As Deidre Shauna Lynch explains, money is "a marker of social agreement. Money stands for people's consent to a standard of value … Money memorializes the convention that draws persons into a community of mutual dependence – into a social space" (*EC* 96). The use of money implies a complicity in the exchange agreement. In a period when credit and banknotes or promissory notes were becoming common currency, one's reputation or trustworthiness

in children, the desire to seek social approval from others "may turn them as you please, and they will be in love with all the ways of virtue" (Locke, *STCE* 121). For Locke, the definition of what is "right" and good appears to be socially-constructed, a belief that can perhaps be traced back to his argument about the *tabula rasa*. His prescribed method of punishment and reward regulates children's conduct by normalising social values: when a child behaves appropriately, in a manner that is considered "correct" or "virtuous," s/he is accepted into the fold; when a child behaves otherwise, s/he is temporarily rendered an outcast.

As Foucault has shown in *Discipline and Punish* and the first volume of *The History of Sexuality*, normative behaviour is reinforced through the installation of an internal monitor, which is first made possible by the use of surveillance. "Hierarchical observation," where supervision is distributed amongst differing ranks, is integral to the implementation of disciplinary power and consists of "eyes that must see without being seen," being paradoxically "indiscreet, since it is everywhere and always alert … and absolutely 'discreet,' for it functions permanently and largely in silence" (Foucault, *DP* 171 and 177). "Disciplinary power," Foucault goes on to write, "is exercised through its invisibility; at the same time it imposes on those whom it subjects a principle of compulsory visibility. It is the fact of being constantly seen, of being able always to be seen, that maintains the disciplined individual in

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were linked to purchasing power or the lack thereof. Dissenting preacher Joseph Priestley voices his concern about morality in the credit system when he states, "Another thing to be particularly attended to in the education of persons of large fortunes is the moral obligation, as well as the personal advantage, of the punctual and timely payment of all debts, particularly those that may be due to tradesmen, who, being really honest, and therefore not making an exhorbitant [sic] profit, cannot afford to give long credit" (qtd. in O'Malley 7). In Priestley's description, the merchants, having provided the products upfront, are considered to be "really honest" in the exchange. For Locke's interests in the value of money, see his *Some Considerations of the Consequences of Lowering the Interest, and Raising the Value of Money*; for further discussion of money and creditworthiness, one may refer to Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall's *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* and the second chapter in Deidre Shauna Lynch's *The Economy of Character: Novels, Market Culture, and the Business of Inner Meaning*.

his subjection" (Foucault, *DP* 187). It is the assumption of being constantly observed, more so than the actuality of being observed, that makes an individual abide by the norms. Both Andrew O'Malley and Judith Burdan perceive the parallels between Foucault's panopticonism and Locke's disciplinary technique. The former explains how the fear of exposure and the possibility of shame are "internalized by the child, and becomes a self-regulating mechanism" (O'Malley 14). Meanwhile, Burdan writes that "both Locke and Foucault argue that children can be more effectively controlled if no visible parental control is being operated upon them, and if they, unaware that such a control is being used, believe that what they do is determined by their own desires rather than by the demands of an external authority" (8). In other words, discipline is said to work when the observer is rendered invisible and when the illusion of self-governance is perpetuated in the observed.

The importance of surveillance in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can be seen in the monitorial system recommended in educational tracts by Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster. Bell's Madras system utilises a system of supervision, one in which the power of observation is dispersed amongst members of varying ranks in a hierarchy: at the very bottom of the pyramid are pupils, who are the responsibility of tutors, and the latter are, in turn, subject to assistant-teachers, teachers, a master (whose position can be divided into sub-usher and usher, if necessary), a schoolmaster, and, ultimately, a superintendent (or trustee or visitor) (1-2). The uppermost position of the superintendent is described as one "whose scrutinizing eye must pervade the whole machine, whose active mind must give it energy, and whose unbiased judgment must inspire confidence, and maintain the general order and harmony" (Andrew Bell 2). The criteria that Bell specifies, starting with the "scrutinizing eye" and ending with the preservation of "order and harmony," resound of Foucault's panopticon.

O'Malley, in his study of the dissemination of middle-class ideology in children's literature, best sums up the Madras system as one that "speaks to the changing mechanisms of power, discipline, and normalization described by Foucault" (91). A system that allows students to become monitors or tutors can ensure that vigilance is maintained even at the lowest level at minimal costs.[12] To keep the monitors in check, Bell uses the Lockean form of punishment and reward. The position of tutor is one that is given based upon merit and, therefore, can be gained and lost: the post is aggrandised, fanning students' desire for entrustment and emulation, and a decline in progress leads to a fall from grace and a public demotion to the rank of an ordinary pupil (Andrew Bell 6-7).[13]

Lancaster would later adopt Bell's monitorial system, espousing it in his various tracts, especially in *Improvements in Education*. He suggests that the best way to discourage

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[12] Knowing how cost is a major consideration in setting up new schools, Bell and Lancaster are always careful to offer economic solutions in their educational tracts. In fact, both go so far as to promote material and calculate costs as seen, for example, in Bell's endorsement of Sarah Trimmer's primers:

> When rigid economy is necessary, as at the common run of schools, where the poor are taught, the Madras system enables the ingenious Schoolmaster, by means of his little Teachers, to practise various savings in books, paper, pens and ink … Little tracts, such as Mrs. Trimmer Charity-school Spelling Book, part 1st, and the child's first book, part 1st and 2d, may be introduced into any school. If purchased for them by a member of the society for promoting Christian knowledge, they will cost about 1d. for each child, and adding Mrs. Trimmer's second part 3d. more; and being well read a great progress is made. (Andrew Bell 36)

Here, the close link between educational tracts and works intended for children is visible, as Bell shows his awareness of not only titles, but also prices and print circulation. It is not accidental that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge which publishes Trimmer's works also publishes Bell's texts. Throughout their lives, Bell and Trimmer would exchange correspondence and meet to discuss the implementation of the Bell and Lancaster systems in schools and matters of publication.

[13] This is not to say that Bell is advocating the abolishment of physical punishment in his system. He expresses his disinclination in using corporal punishment, preferring "praise, encouragement, and favour … before dispraise, shame, and disgrace; confinement between school hours, and on holy-days and play-days, which your teachers enable you to inflict, to corporal punishment; and even solitary confinement to severe flagellation" (Andrew Bell 23). Nevertheless, he recognises that, "at all events, the authority of the master must be maintained by discipline, in one shape or other" (Andrew Bell 23). The repetition of "confinement" is a reminder of the prison system as a possible sanction. Set in opposition to the threat of physical agony, one cannot help but to consider Bell's list in the light of the still ongoing debate as to the primary function of the prison system: to reform or to deter.

disobedience is to promote a potential troublemaker into the position of a monitor and by channelling his energy to more productive ends. He avers, "[T]he surest way to cure a *mischievous* boy was to *make him a monitor*. I never knew anything succeed much better, if so well" (Lancaster 32). Obliged to uphold the rules and regulations he would have transgressed, the pupil would internalise the system, and, raised to a position of honour, he would be motivated to behave properly to retain his status and, perhaps more importantly, evade shame. Thanking Bell for his system of surveillance, Lancaster describes the effectiveness of organised supervision at school and even compares his students with criminals:

> In society at large, few crimes are ever committed openly; because, immediately detection and apprehension of the offender would follow. On the contrary, many are committed in privacy and silence. It is the same, in performing the same duties of monitors in my institution: their whole performances are so visible, that they dare not neglect them; and, consequently, attain the habit of performing the task easily and well. This effect is produced from this one cause; that everything they do is brought to account, or rendered visible in some conspicuous way and manner. What applies to the monitors, strictly applies to the boys. There is not a boy, who does not feel the benefits of this constant emulation, variety, and action; for they insensibly acquire the habit of exercising their attention closely, on every subject that comes before them; and this, without straining it too much. (55)

Aware of the possibility of exposure, students become more observant of others and of themselves. They focus their attention upon every move, controlling and regulating their own behaviour until such acts become automatic.

To further assist children in the internalisation of society's values, Bell endorses the employment of a public record of offences and a jury of peers. So essential is minute vigilance that, should an individual fail to document the violation of one under his purview in the "black book," the individual would, in turn, find his name included in the pages of the dreaded tome. The "black book" is an account of every act of misconduct, which is "solemnly inspected and scrutinised" and made public to all attendants of the institution on a weekly basis (Andrew

Bell 12). The transgressor, after pleading his case, is acquitted or judged and sentenced by a jury of his peers, and the implementation of the sanction, whether or not to mete out the punishment, is determined solely by the superintendent (Andrew Bell 13). The necessity of the meticulous inscription as well as the broadcast of every violation is not only to ensure the continuance of proper surveillance, but to engraft within students the senses of worth and shame as well. An acquitted student earns the esteem of his peers while a condemned offender is made to endure disgrace at the hands of his colleagues. Simultaneously, the students who make up the jury will become sensible of the trust, responsibility, and seeming independence that accompany their position. Self-governance is an illusion, for, as is mentioned above, the power to impose sanction actually lies in the hands of the superintendent. Nevertheless, students are made to believe that they are and become "delighted with being, to every wise and good purpose, their own masters. They are charmed that they see reason, feel the justice, and perceive the utility of all that is done to them, for them, and by them" (Andrew Bell 14). It is perhaps no coincidence that the last phrase echoes Lincoln's oft-quoted line, "a government of the people, for the people, by the people," from the Gettysburg Address, as Bell believes that the Madras system reflects and prepares students for the social, political, and economic systems of the real world. As O'Malley astutely points out, the monitorial system mirrors the colonial structure that is later used to govern India (92). By participating in the system rather than merely being subjected to it, students absorb the values propagated by the system.

The value of shame in discipline is likewise not lost on Lancaster, as he depends upon public opinion to reform recalcitrant students. His punishments of pillory, shackles, and cages are devised, on the one hand, to confine students, turning individuals into the Foucauldian "docile bodies"; on the other, the punishments expose the transgressors to public humiliation

(*DP* 135). Lancaster is careful to note that none of the punishments cause physical pain to the children, only slight discomfort, and to underline the significance of shame in the process. When the offenders are forced to parade in front of students, with their violations loudly announced, they become marginalised, for it is "[a] proceeding that usually turns the *public spirit* of the whole school against the culprit" (Lancaster 87). In another instance, Lancaster suggests ridicule as a way to break undesirable habits, saying, "It is sure to turn the laugh of the whole school upon the delinquent – It provokes risibility, in spite of every endeavour to check it, in all but the offender. I have seldom known a boy, thus punished once, for whom it was needful a second time" (89). While enduring his punishment, a student is continuously reminded of the cause of his suffering: himself. The master repeatedly informs, "reasons," and "convinces" the punished of the necessity of such measures until "[the pupil] finds how easily his punishments are repeated – that he himself is made the instrument – and no respite or comfort for him, but by behaving well" (Lancaster 88). In what seems to be a brainwashing process, the student is made to comply with the rules and his own punishment, physically and psychologically. As soon as the student admits to his guilt and "promise[s] *his endeavour*" to conduct himself in the proper manner, the punishment is lifted (Lancaster 86). The emphasis here seems to be upon the pupil's confession of his subjection than to any real assurance of future conformity. As the italicisation of the words "his endeavour" suggests, there is no guarantee of perfect conduct; what is desired is the willingness of the child to accept and yield to the norms. The acknowledgment of standards of behaviour subsequently leads to the practice of regulated behaviour.

One of the main objectives of the Madras system is to engender good habits in children by teaching them to govern their own conduct. Students are expected to pick up these habits as

they learn their lessons, as seen in the writing exercises outlined by Bell. As soon as children master the ability to copy characters, first in the sand and then through the use of a pen, they are made to copy words that O'Malley views as a contractual agreement in a self-ruled book (92): "This hand I am to keep to in writing throughout this book; and should I deviate from this rule wilfully and through carelessness, I am to be brought to punishment according to the regulations of this School" (Andrew Bell 43). These words are intended to act as reminders to children so that there is no excuse for inconsistency or lapses. In addition, the practice also compels students to subject themselves to the standards of the existing structure: "This voluntary submission to punishment for any deviation from the established norm facilitates the internalization of the gaze of authority by forcing students to blame himself for his own errors. As well, the contract compels a regularity in performance desirable in those who might have to perform repetitive tasks" (O'Malley 92). Because the characters are shaped in the pupils' hands, the responsibility for all conduct and misconduct becomes the students' own. Just as their writing must follow the lines drawn in the books by the students themselves, their behaviour must be within the boundaries set by the institution. From the pages, then, the inscription, repeatedly performed and viewed, becomes imprinted upon pupils' minds.

The admission of culpability is fundamental to one's subsumption in the system. Confession, as Foucault discusses in his repressive hypothesis, allows for the expansion of the realm of control and observation and strengthens the connection between power and pleasure (*The History of Sexuality* 44). According to Foucault, "The truthful confession was inscribed at the heart of the procedures of individualization by power" (*The History of Sexuality* 58-9). The engagement in a discourse of truth is a recognition of accountability, an acknowledgment of one's responsibility for oneself. As the practice of confessing becomes more prevalent, it

becomes naturalised: “The acceptance of confession became significant in an educational and domestic context as the employment of these techniques of ‘invisible’ observation and unforced ‘confession’ came to be represented as a ‘natural’ part of a daily routine” (Burdan 9). It is deemed normal to confess, and children are considered to have taken the correct step towards self-discipline in the act of confessing.

The fictional writings of Day, Fielding, and Wollstonecraft reveal their subscription to Lockean notions of surveillance, punishment, and internalisation. The children depicted in their texts are encouraged to reflect upon their misconduct and to learn, seemingly on their own, to view their mistakes as mistakes. The female students in Fielding’s *The Governess* learn the value of self-control, reflection, and confession from an aptly named Mrs. Teachum and monitor Jenny Peace. Mrs. Teachum embodies discipline, never losing her control and always maintaining a “steady Behaviour” (Fielding 50). Even at the death of her husband, “tho’ exceedingly afflicted by such a Loss,” she is able “to call forth all her Resolution to conquer her Grief” (Fielding 49). The control that she has over her emotions and actions is further evidenced when, having her anguish compounded by the passing of her children, she is described as still being capable of maintaining “a steady Behaviour” and “of doing what was proper on all Occasions,” due to the “Christian Fortitude with which (thro’ her Husband’s Instructions) she had armed her Mind” (Fielding 50). Based on the title of the novel, a reader might easily assume that the narrative focuses on the governess, but the major role is played by Jenny, the eldest student. The decentring of the presence of the governess in the story is an example of Foucauldian hierarchical observation, for it enables surveillance to take place without the visibility of the observer. In addition, according to O’Malley, in terms of Eleanor Fenn’s primer, *The Art of Teaching in Sport*, “Investing the eldest child with authority over

her younger siblings also serves to naturalize the gradations of the social hierarchy" (94). Hence, the division of supervisory authority is accepted as normal. Mrs. Teachum limits the number of wards according to her ability to see, "[taking] no more Scholars than she could have an Eye to herself, without the Help of other Teachers" (Fielding 50). Nevertheless, she does employ the services of her student-monitor, disseminating the power of surveillance down the hierarchy.

Fielding's Mrs. Teachum interacts chiefly with Jenny, through whom she constantly observes the students. After Jenny manages to reconcile the students who have had a fight over an apple in the garden, perhaps a biblical allusion, she voluntarily reports to Mrs. Teachum: "And as she thought proper to mention to them her Pleasure in seeing them thus altered, Miss *Jenny Peace* related to her Governess all that had passed in the Arbour, with their general Reconciliation" (Fielding 67-8). That it might be Jenny's own delight that she wishes to convey to the pupils appears unlikely, for she can express that directly to the students; it appears that Jenny's motive is to communicate Mrs. Teachum's anticipated joy at her wards' progress. As such, the lack of a clear antecedent for the pronouns in the quote blurs the distinction between the governess and the assistant. Upon receiving Jenny's report, Mrs. Teachum permits Jenny to manage the other girls with the condition that the latter "give[s] her an Account in what manner they proceeded" (Fielding 68). So effective is Jenny in disciplining the girls that, in less than five days, she has been accepted as an unerring voice of "Custom," indicating the process of internalisation that is taking place amongst the students (Fielding 110).

Wollstonecraft's *Original Stories, from Real Life* features a similarly strong, unerring

governess, whose surveillance is internalised by her wards.[14] Mrs. Mason, the governess, is so controlled that she can, unflinchingly, put an injured bird out of misery by stepping on its neck.[15] That the teacher and the text are supposed to teach discipline is apparent in the subtitle of the work, which reads "With Conversations, Calculated to Regulate the Affections, and Form the Mind to Truth and Goodness." The virtues that are to be emulated are achievable through reason and, more importantly, self-control. In fact, in the preface, Wollstonecraft writes that "[g]ood habits, imperceptibly fixed, are infinitely preferable to the precepts of reason" (*OS* v). Always calm and reserved, Mrs. Mason needs little to convey her thoughts, as seen when she disapproves of her pupils' behaviour. Merely telling Caroline and Mary that they have not deserved the loving kiss she has just given them puts them in a state of nervousness:

> They knew they had done wrong, and waited for an explanation to regain her favor. She was never in a passion, but her quiet steady displeasure made them feel so little in their own eyes, they wished her to smile that they might be something; for all their consequence seemed to arise from her approbation. I declare, said Caroline, I do not know what I have done, and yet I am sure I never knew Mrs. Mason find fault without convincing me I had done wrong. Did you, Mary, ever see her in a passion? No, said Mary, I believe she is never angry … I declare I cannot go to sleep, said Mary, I am afraid of Mrs. Mason's eyes – would you think, Caroline, that she who looks so very good-natured sometimes, could frighten one so? (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 49-51)

The girls' fear of Mrs. Mason seems to be due to the latter's omniscience. Although they themselves do not know how they have offended, they have taken up the governess's point-of-

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[14] *Original Stories* was first published in 1788, after Wollstonecraft had met and become a reviewer for Joseph Johnson's *The Analytical Review*. It was her second published book, following *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters*, but it was her first text targeted chiefly at child readers. In a letter to Johnson expressing her refusal to edit her critique of parents in the preface to *Original Stories*, Wollstonecraft writes, "[B]elieve me, the few judicious parents who may peruse my book, will not feel themselves hurt – and the weak are too vain to mind what is said in a book intended for children" ("Letters to Joseph Johnson" 355).

[15] The ability to deal with animals, lesser beings considered to be metaphors of the lower classes, in a disciplined and firm manner is essential in ensuring social stability, as I argue in Chapter 2.

view that they, inevitably, have. It is Mrs. Mason's regularity, a ruler with which the girls can measure themselves, that disconcerts the girls. It is not only the governess's eyes that are in consideration, but their own as well, for they feel diminished in their own estimation, a perception that they have been taught to adopt.

That the governess in *Original Stories* is presented as all-seeing and all-knowing is implied in the frontispiece produced by William Blake.[16] As Mitzi Myers observes, the frontispiece illustrates Mrs. Mason's position as moral and spiritual authority by presenting her "as protective cruciform … under Mrs. Mason's extended arms, each pupil's hat form a halo as the girls gaze up at their teacher" while she looks down ("IG" 50). That readers are meant to discern the religious allusion is further enforced by the caption underneath, describing how all of God's creatures, "Insects, Birds, & Animals, are all enjoying existence," and the supplicating postures of the girls, themselves miniature versions of Mrs. Mason.[17] While one child seems to have her hands folded over her breast, another is caught in a moment of clasping or unclasping her hands as though before or after prayer. The passage from which the copy is taken shows how a person is able to take on the almost divine ability to see: "Thank God for permitting you to see [insects, birds, and animals enjoying the day], and to imitate himself by doing good. Other creatures only think of themselves; but man is allowed to *retrace* the image of God first implanted in him" (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 10). Observation coincides with the practice of virtue. While a being without the ability to reason can perceive nothing beyond itself, a rational person is able to look outward and inward, observing the

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[16] Blake's illustrations first appeared in the second edition of *Original Stories*.

[17] In another etching by Blake, the two girls, sit with their hands and heads buried in Mrs. Mason's lap while the governess looks down upon them. They almost disappear, becoming a part of the Mrs. Mason's skirt, perhaps implying that they are being subsumed by the system represented by the governess.

Blake, William. Frontispiece, *Original Stories from Real Life*, 1796. (Collection of Robert N. Essick. Copyright © 2012 William Blake Archive. This project is supported in part by a William Blake Archive Reproduction Grant for Graduate Students)

material world while surveying and reforming oneself. As Mrs. Mason states, "The wiser, and the better you are, the more visible, if I may use the expression, is God – for wisdom consists in searching Him out – and goodness in endeavouring to copy his attributes" (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 122). The apprehension of the values of the system, in this case in the form of religious precepts, cultivates the internalisation of the system. Furthermore, Mrs. Mason reminds Mary that, even if one presumes to hide away from others, it is impossible to hide from God and oneself, "[I]f you consider a moment, you must recollect, that the Searcher of hearts reads your very thoughts; that nothing is hid from him" (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 36). While the "Searcher of heart" refers to God, the governess's instruction for the pupil to "recollect" turns the child into an interrogator of her own thoughts and feelings as well. Critics have noted the God-like omniscience that female authors of children's works seem to grant maternal figures. E. V. Lucas, in a 1906 introduction to Wollstonecraft's text, is among many twentieth-century critics who finds Mrs. Mason's seemingly inhuman perfection unsavoury, saying, "The great fault of Mrs. Mason is that she had none … She knows not only everything, but herself too; she has no doubts" (qtd. in "IG" 41). Meanwhile Elise Smith, in discussing the mother in Sherwood's *The History of the Fairchild Family*, mentions how "she must have seemed to the children to have the perspective and power of God within this domestic drama, being witness to all and judging all" (32). The system of surveillance is such that those in positions of authority know all, and it is the surety of their knowledge that causes one to re-evaluate oneself.

Alongside self-examination is the need for confession and accountability. Fielding's novel is a compilation of narratives, containing fairy tales and, more importantly, the confessions of transgressions. Throughout the novel, the pupils are continuously asked to

reflect upon their actions and their past and to admit their errors. Jenny, in relating her history to the girls, wishes that they will follow her example, “that every one of [them] will, some Day or other, when [they] have reflected upon it, declare all that [they] can remember of [their] own … there is nothing more likely to amend the future Part of any one’s Life, than the recollecting and confessing the Faults of the past” (Fielding 60). The pupils willingly comply and admit to negative qualities that are hinted at through their names. Lucy Sly, for instance, claims she used to lie while Nanny Spruce and Dolly Friendly confess to being vain and overly-loyal respectively. The affray over the apple at the start of the text is resolved not by Mrs. Teachum’s punishment of the participants, but by Jenny’s intervention. Even after Mrs. Teachum has meted out her punishment and made the girls avow to be friends, they still retain “a Grudge and Ill-will in their Bosoms” (Fielding 53). The fact that Mrs. Teachum’s sanction is never revealed to the narrator causes the readers to imply that the reformation in behaviour stems from a different source, one which is more effective than “the most severe Punishment” (Fielding 53). Jenny tries to convince Sukey Jennett of the latter’s faults through the use of questions, not commands and instructions, as is shown in Jenny’s statements in their dialogue:

> Now, pray, Miss *Sukey*, tell me, What did you get by your Contention and Quarrel about that foolish Apple? … Indeed, my Dear, I don’t want to govern you, nor to prove myself wiser than you; I only want, that, instead of quarrelling and making yourself miserable, you should live at Peace, and be happy. Therefore, pray do, answer my Question, Whether you got any-thing by your Quarrel? … But is not what I say true? If you had not been in the Battle, would not your Cloaths have been whole, your Hair not torn, your Mistress pleased with you, and the Apples your own? … Pray, Miss *Sukey*, do answer me one question more. Don’t you lie awake at Nights, and fret and vex yourself, because you are angry with your School-fellows? Are not you restless and uneasy, because you cannot find a safe Method to be revenged on them, without being punished yourself? Do tell me truly, Is not this your Case? … Don’t you consider what you say every Day in your Prayers? (Fielding 54-5)

This interrogation forces Sukey to look within herself for a response and evokes and articulates any uncertainties that she may have. It is after a barrage of questions that Sukey realises the error of her ways and a transformation takes place within her: "as Miss *Jenny* was in the Right, and had Truth on her Side; it was difficult for Miss *Sukey* to know what to answer" (Fielding 55). Sukey is silenced, having to "[pause] for some time," because Jenny is representative of the discourse of truth, in which Sukey is unable to participate unless she confesses (Fielding 55). Implicit within the structure of language is the value system of the culture. The narrator tells the reader that "it is impossible, without being very silly, to contradict Truth" and that the admission to wrongdoing from Sukey would have been "so great a Sign of her Understanding," underscoring the connection between confession and internalisation (Fielding 55). Sukey must either evince her comprehension of the discourse and its value system, or she will render the discourse meaningless. It is Sukey's speechlessness that makes Jenny hopeful of the former's reformation. Sukey, thus stimulated and left alone to reflect, finally makes a public admission of her culpability, a gesture which is later emulated by her peers. Thus, while Mrs. Teachum's punishment results in the external and empty expression of reconciliation, Jenny's elicitation of a confession of faults awakens an internal reaction and understanding.

Truth as the foundation of social interaction is also underscored in Wollstonecraft's *Original Stories*. Mrs. Mason stresses that "[i]t is impossible to form friendships without making truth the basis … I govern my servants, and you [her wards], by attending strictly to it, and this observance keeps my head clear and my heart pure; and I am ever ready to pray to the Author of good, the Fountain of truth" (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 38). The governess's assertion shows how society can only exist if relationships are built upon truth and transparency, for

Mrs. Mason's definitions of falsehood and truth encompass all manner of expression, direct or indirect, including "[t]ones of voice [and] motions of the hand or head" (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 36). Mrs. Mason advises the children that, without truth, communication breaks down. Like Fielding's Sukey, one who does not adhere to truth in speech will "be at a loss for words" (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 37).[18] Furthermore, by referring to the purity of her conscience in regards to her social interactions, the governess collates the material world with her psychological state. She is able to maintain the stability of class boundaries, to practise her authority over domestics and children, with principles that she herself has internalised. In the same conversation, the governess deconstructs the concept of honour by turning it into a quality that is given not only socially, but also personally. She says that "Honour consists in respecting yourself; and the foundation of it is Truth," and a truth-based form of honour in a person is what allows for the creation of strong social bonds (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 37). Wollstonecraft's text ends with Mrs. Mason reminding the girls, upon their departure, to "not deviate from truth" in writing to her, to "let [her] have the genuine sentiments of [their] hearts," and to "let the recollection of [her] affection, give additional weight to the truths [she has] endeavoured to instil" (*OS* 174). Even when they are no longer under their governess's care, Caroline and Mary are expected to continue with the act of confessing, having to bare their selves to their educator beyond the narrative frame of the text. The emphasis upon constant truth is coupled with Mrs. Mason's acknowledgment that the girls "are now candidates for [her] friendship" (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 174). The elevation of the girls' status from ward to peer at the conclusion of the text is a sign of their maturity, which is attained when they are properly socialised,

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[18] The connection between truth and speech is of great import in children's literature, especially for authors who utilise the character of bards in their works, as is elaborated upon in the third chapter of this thesis.

having learnt the lessons of truth. The book containing the lessons of their conversations that is presented upon their departure is perhaps an allusion to *Original Stories* itself. Considered in this light, the girls' education becomes a continuous process of discourse and transcription: the subjects of conversations have been collected into a tome to serve as a reminder, mirroring the lessons which readers have just perused and, hopefully, impressed upon their minds. Hence, the expressions of truth that Mrs. Mason insists upon seem to escape the fictional realm of the text into the material world of the readers.

The confessions made by the girls in *The Governess* are both verbal and textual, paralleling the lessons in reading and writing that are imparted throughout the novel. Jenny transcribes the confessions as they are revealed and hands them over to Mrs. Teachum (Fielding 160). In considering the function of journal-writing in female education, Burdan explains how written confessions enable the exertion of disciplinary control by maternal role models: "The written life is shown as a way to both monitor and correct character … Maese's advertisement echoes Fielding's narrative enactment of education's benignly disciplinary strategies by suggesting that the young woman could (and should) be 'written' and 'rewritten' to fit maternal and domestic specifications" (12).[19] The pupils, then, are seen as blank slates, upon which meaning and values can be inscribed. However, just as writing is essential, reading, too, is a necessary part of the pupils' education. Fielding's preface to her "young Readers" begins with a request for the consideration of "the true Use of Reading," which she states is to make the readers "wiser and better" (46). What Fielding and Mrs. Teachum aspire to teach is critical reading, the ability to perceive the good and bad qualities of a text and, as

[19] Sarah Maese, mistress of a boarding school, was the author of a 1767 three-volume epistolary text entitled *The School: being a Series of Letters between a young Lady and her Mother*.

such, to weigh the value of a text.[20] Mrs. Teachum reminds Jenny and, through Jenny, her students that all texts, including fairy tales, must be read "with the Disposition of a Mind not to be hurt by them" and that "great Care is taken to prevent [their] being carried away, by these high-flown Things, from that Simplicity of Taste and Manners which it is [her] chief Study to inculcate" (Fielding 84). Later, when asked if the reading of a play is acceptable, the governess asserts, "I like that you should know something of all kinds of Writings, where neither Morals nor Manners are offended; for if you read Plays, and consider them as you ought, you will neglect and despise what is light and useless, whilst you'll imprint on your Minds every useful Lesson that is to be drawn from them" (Fielding 150). The children have to learn to discern between what is appropriate and what is not as they read, and, by doing so, they are reaffirming the values that they have learnt. Furthermore, if the students are empty pages that can be filled, they are also pages that can be read. In other words, as Burdan says, "The girls do more than simply read texts – they become texts" (11). At the end of the novel, Jenny literally becomes a body of writing after her departure from the school. She exchanges letters with her friends and, when there are conflict and transgressions, "the Story of Miss *Jenny Peace*'s reconciling all her little Companions [is] told to them; so that Miss *Jenny*, tho' absent, still seem[s] (by the bright Example which she [leaves] behind her) to be the Cement of Union and Harmony in this well-regulated Society" (Fielding 175). Jenny is a text that reiterates the lessons imprinted upon her and the students, an expression of the internalisation of the system.

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[20] In the eighteenth century, critics and authors began to stress the import of critical reading due to the rise of literacy in the general public and mass production of copies. A more detailed discussion of the significance of judgment and taste is found in Chapter 3 of this thesis, where I show how reading tastes were related to one's values like psychological depth, quality of education, and nationalism.

Reading also has an educational role in both Wollstonecraft's *Original Stories* and Day's *The History of Sandford and Merton*, presenting children with the chance to practise judgment and regulation.[21] Mrs. Mason remarks upon the necessity of cultivating taste which, by her definition, is inseparable from virtue and requires discernment. Echoing Locke's argument of teaching by impressing upon the senses, the governess explains that imagination, evoked through reading, must be controlled: "The highest branch of solitary amusement is reading; even in the choice of books the fancy is first employed; in reading, the heart is touched, till its feelings are examined by the understanding, and reason regulates the imagination" (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 106-7). The constant employment of reason to sift through garnered impressions from books then becomes a routine needed to identify "useful" information and a habit that can be applied in other daily experiences. It is through this repetitive application of rationale that one's psychological wellbeing can be protected from negative influences and that one "acquire[s] a stock of knowledge … independent of outward circumstances" (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 107). As the father of Day's protagonist, Mr. Merton, cautions readers, reading must be done with guidance or proper moral foundation. Tommy, after listening to a story read by his tutor, exclaims how the story should be conveyed to the company whose negative influences have corrupted him. Mr. Merton's response is to shame Tommy by asking why a story should be expected to alter the ill behaviour of others when Tommy, despite his education in virtue, has severely offended against his close friend, Harry.

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[21] Wollstonecraft highly esteemed *The History of Sandford and Merton*, as seen in her glowing review of the text in October 1789. She praises Day's methodology of employing "questions, conversations, and lively representations of actions, levelled to [children's] comprehension" to educate child readers, a technique that she later imitates in her *Original Stories* (Wollstonecraft, "Contributions To *The Analytical Review*" 174). In addition, what probably appeals to Wollstonecraft most about Day's work is his idea regarding female education, which is "to see women educated like rational creatures" and which Wollstonecraft claims to be "perfectly coinciding with him in opinion" ("Contributions To *The Analytical Review*" 175-6).

Reading's usefulness is nevertheless redeemed by Mr. Barlow, who highlights Tommy's "present impressions, which are good and estimable" (Day 3:255). Like Locke, Mr. Barlow believes in the power of impressions as the first step towards educating a child, so much so that he claims that "all human characters frequently [are] traced back to impressions made at so early a period" (Day 1:33). Constant exposure to positive impressions, under the supervision of parents or teachers, will eventually engender good habits.

The Lockean concept of *tabula rasa* reflects eighteenth-century subscription to physiognomic characterisation. According to Deidre Shauna Lynch, the first part of the period saw the endurance of "flat" characters in writing due to the belief that "the body was discursive, a telltale transcript of the identity it housed" (*EC* 30). The critic hypothesises that the physiognomic understanding comes from burgeoning interests in nature and taxonomy and advances in print technology. The close observation and categorisation of nature encourages the comparison between the external world and human bodies while the proliferation of texts in a typographical culture leads to the consideration of bodies as cultural texts. Therefore, the term "character," as Lynch explains, is textual, corporeal, and moral (*EC* 30). Lynch's argument is supported by Janine Barchas, who does a comparative analysis of different editions of Fielding's *The Adventures of David Simple*, with the original novel unedited by the author's famed brother, Henry. Barchas proposes that the extensive use of dashes in the first publication is an attempt "to express the non-verbal communication between [Fielding's] characters," particularly since women are silenced, and highlights the correlation between outward expressions, like blushes and tears, and virtue (640).[22] While *The Governess* does not

[22] Blushes, flushes, tears, and other outward expressions of feelings are a standard feature in what Adela Pinch calls the "culture of Sensibility" in a period marked by the flourishing of sentimental novels ("Sensibility" 51).

contain a profuse use of dashes, it does demonstrate the import of physical appearances in determining moral quality. The story of Cælia and Chloe, read aloud by Dolly Friendly, finishes with Cælia's penitence, which is discernible because Chloe is able "to read in that intelligible Index, [Cælia's] Countenance, all [Cælia's] most inmost Thoughts" (Fielding 100). The redundancy of "most inmost" accentuates the impossibility of avoiding the penetrative gaze in a society of surveillance.

The confessions of the students in the novels of Fielding, Day, and Wollstonecraft, which must be articulated, are conspicuous on their bodies. In *The Governess*, Jenny is described in the most glowing of praises, as befitting her excellent qualities. Her eyes, in particular, are "expressive of every-thing that is amiable and good: For thro' them might be read every single Thought of the Mind; from whence they had such a Brightness and Chearfulness, as seemed to cast a Lustre over her whole Face" (Fielding 61). Her goodness makes her attractive and draws the attention of everyone who beholds her even though some of her friends are physically "handsomer," indicating her social acceptance and approbation (Fielding 61). When she feels that she has transgressed the moral boundaries established by her teacher, her eyes reveal "a Fear that she [has] incurred the Disapprobation, if not the

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Most critics who study the function of such physical markings in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as Eve Sedgwick, Diane Hoeveler, and Adela Pinch, focus on the surface meanings of these signs with little consideration about their connection to the characters' interiority. The few critics who do examine the links between physical imprints and interiority do not centre their attention on shame, the emotion which is of most interest in this chapter. Christopher Ricks, for instance, concentrates on Keats' aestheticism in relation to embarrassment, a sentiment which he distinguishes from shame due to its lack of transgression, while Mary Ann O'Farrell's feminist *Telling Complexions* looks at how blushes connote pleasure in novelistic discourse, creating possible sites of subversion and resistance. Nevertheless, all these critics agree that these bodily expressions are sociological, being informed by values of society and having currency when circulated in society. Further discussions are found in Diane Long Hoeveler's *Gothic Feminism: The Professionalisation of Gender from Charlotte Smith to the Brontës*; Mary Ann O'Farrell's *Telling Complexions: The Nineteenth-Century English Novel and the Blush*; Adela Pinch's *Strange Fits of Passion: Epistemologies of Emotion*; Christopher Ricks's *Keats and Embarrassment*; and Eve Sedgwick's "The Character in the Veil: Imagery of the Surface in the Gothic Novel."

Displeasure, of her Governess" (Fielding 84). Similarly, even before any of the girls admit to their faults, their regret is noticeable: "These poor Girls, I say, now struck with the Force of Truth, and sorry for what they had done, let drop some Tears, which trickled down their Cheeks, and were Signs of Meekness, and Sorrow for their Fault" (Fielding 59). The collusion of external and internal attributes means that the students are literally open books, subject to inspection by anyone and everyone. According to Mrs. Mason in *Original Stories*, "The soul of beauty … consists in the body gracefully exhibiting the emotions and variations of the informing mind. If truth, humanity, and knowledge inhabit the breast, the eyes will beam with a mild lustre, modesty will suffuse the cheeks; and smiles of innocent joy play over all the features" (Wollstonecraft 54). In other words, expressions belie the conscience and the success of the process of internalisation. Therefore, when Mary and Caroline are caught in a lie, Mrs. Mason requests that they show their blushing faces. The reddening cheeks please her because they are proof that lying has not yet become "a confirmed habit" and that the girls are still capable of change (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 36). Likewise, when Mr. Barlow in Day's novel notices the "signs of humility and contrition" upon his pupil's face, he feels "the greatest pleasure" (III.24). Tommy's outward appearance indicates his realisation that he has acted contrary to the social mores which he has come to accept as precepts of his own.

Essentially, the externalisation of thoughts and feelings underscores how shame displays the values and sociability of characters. Shame is a recurring subject in Fielding's novel, especially in "The *Princess* Hebe: A Fairy Tale." In the story within a story, Hebe, despite reminders from her mother and the good fairy, Sybella, falls prey to temptation, traps laid out by the wicked fairy, Brunetta. Brunetta tries to lure Hebe into leaving the safety of the enchanted Placid Grove through her minions, first Rozella and then Florimel. Smith, in her

study of the function of arbours and gardens in women's writing for children, attests that these spaces socialise children, allowing for "experimentation and role playing," while reinforcing gender boundaries (25). Hebe's transgression beyond the spatial borders forms her violation of both gender and moral codes, for Brunetta's ploys are said to be ineffective against virtue. When Hebe is tricked into crossing over into the external world, she ends up at Brunetta's castle which resonates with vice. Drawn into the castle, Hebe realises her mistake, but remains there because she thinks that she is ashamed:

> [H]er Mind having been thus turned aside from what was right, could not bear the Thoughts of returning; and tho' by her daily Tears, she shewed her Repentance, Shame prevented her Return: But this again was not the right sort of Shame; for then she would humbly have taken the Punishment due to her Crime; and it was rather a stubborn Pride; which, as she knew herself so highly to blame, would not give her Leave to suffer the Confusion of again confessing her Fault; and till she could bring herself to such a State of Mind, there was no Remedy for her Misery. (Fielding 136)

Real shame, unlike the "shame" that Hebe, with her inexperience, feels, is one which is reformative and socialising, for it calls for an acknowledgment of offense and an acceptance of appropriate sanction. It also requires, as the passage denotes, "a State of Mind," implying the need for internalisation.

Not only does Hebe have to feel shame, but she also has to admit the sociocultural values that foster this sense of shame. Elspeth Probyn, borrowing from Silvan Tomkins' works, draws the connection between shame, interest, and society in *Blush*, "What makes shame remarkable is that it reveals with precision our values, hopes, and aspirations, beyond the generalities of good manners and cultural norms … [Shame] is positive in its self-evaluative role; it can even be self-transforming. This is possible, however, only where shame is acknowledged" (x and xii). Shame, in contrast with guilt, is intimate because one has to care, both about how others view one and how one perceives oneself. It is the lack of

indifference that makes one question oneself, paving the way for change and growth. Because of the self-reflective element of shame, Mrs. Mason in Wollstonecraft's novel does not even need to punish her wards for killing a baby bird in a scuffle. She states, "I perceive you are ashamed of your behaviour, and sorry for the consequence; I will not severely reprehend you, and add bitterness to the self-reproach you must both feel, because I pity you" (*OS* 28). The girls voluntarily and willingly amend their behaviour to try to overcome their shame and to get into their governess's good graces again.

Furthermore, in feeling shame, all our experiences, personal and social, are evidenced on our body. According to Pierre Bourdieu, "[T]he body's expressions – including that classic one of shame, the hanging of the head – act as a metonym for the wider structures of social domination … The blush tells of the sum total of all that has made me" (qtd. in Probyn 53). As such, shame is based upon one's past and one's capacity to recollect or, rather, be haunted by the past. So deep can shame embed itself that it cannot be assuaged, and the body reacts to the way it has been taught. When Hebe is rescued, her mother is determined not to show her forgiveness until "she [has] seen [Hebe] some time prostrate at her Feet, and [has] heard [Hebe] with Tears properly confess, and ask Pardon for, all [Hebe's] Faults" (Fielding 139). Hebe's professions of her offence have to be accompanied by the proper bodily gestures. The princess has to reduce herself, both psychologically and physically, to the lowest point to express her shame before she can be rebuilt as a subject of the system. After Hebe has wholly submitted herself, she is conditionally accepted back into the society within Placid Grove, "[Her mother] then raised, and once more forgave her; but told her, that she must learn more Humility, and Distrust of herself, before she should again expect to be trusted" (Fielding 139). The Queen reminds Hebe that the latter has to continuously question and re-examine her

individual self in this process of reformation until self-doubt is internalised. By understanding the fallibility of the self, more control will be exerted in the governing of the self.

The imperfections of an individual is highlighted in the narrative of *The History of Sandford and Merton*, which revolves around the educational process of Tommy, a spoiled upper-class child, who is taught alongside his contrast, a virtuous farmer's son, by a minister. Like Rousseau, Day is critical of the urban and fashionable lifestyle, preferring the rustic simplicity and honesty of country folk and the skills of Robinson Crusoe.[23] As such, when Tommy is in the country, away from the negative influences of an over-indulgent mother and aristocratic society, he makes great progress in his learning. Rousseau, however, is not blind to the significance of society, nor does he condemn Émile to a life of utter isolation, for the pupil is sent out into society once he has received proper foundational training and is sufficiently reinforced against corruption; the difficult issue, for Rousseau, is the attainment of the equilibrium between the natural man and the citizen (8). Likewise, Day's narrator sends little Tommy back into society for the ultimate test, in which the protagonist fails miserably, appropriating the frivolities and vices of his newfound peers to the extent that he verbally and physically abuses his one true friend, Harry. According to Foucault, examinations "[combine] the techniques of an observing hierarchy and those of a normalizing judgement," allowing for the implementation of power (*DP* 184). As such, Tommy's failure to uphold the values imparted upon him provides the opportunity for punishment and further indoctrination.

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[23] *Robinson Crusoe* is the first book read by Rousseau's protagonist, Émile. For more information on the proliferation of children's books based upon Defoe's novel, also called Robinsonnades, in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries, see F. J. Harvey's *Children's Books in England: Five Centuries of Social Life* and the section on adventure stories in *The Norton Anthology of Children's Literature: The Traditions in English*, edited by Jack Zipes, *et al*.

The fact that Tommy Merton's punishment is essentially self-imposed underscores his internalisation of the value system. Despite being assaulted and insulted, Harry, with the assistance of a black beggar, saves Tommy from an enraged bull that has escaped from a bull-baiting ring. Disappointment in his child's conduct leads Mr. Merton to ask for advice regarding "the best method of treating [Tommy] in his present critical situation," as though Tommy's ill behaviour is symptomatic of a disease (Day 3:23).[24] The response of the boys' tutor, Mr. Barlow, is basically for those in the position of authority to do nothing, to "depend … upon the workings of [Tommy's] own mind" and to "be attentive to the silent workings of his mind, and regulate [their] behaviour accordingly" because the boy is already feeling "the keenest shame for his own behaviour" (Day 3:23). The disciplinary order embodied by the adults is visible in the control that they have over their own conduct and the expectation that, upon reflection and shame and without any external pressures, Tommy would come to his own conclusion regarding the error of his ways. Mr. Barlow states that the consciousness of one's faults "is a very great step towards amending them"; Tommy must, when he "[comes] to consider the matter coolly … perceive [his] faults and acknowledge them" (Day 3:171). Awareness of misconduct indicates the admission of society's values.

However, merely an internal recognition of guilt and shame is insufficient; a public avowal is needed in the exercise of disciplinary power. Tommy must make his apology and confession openly, as seen in the dialogue between him and Mr. Barlow:

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[24] The eighteenth century saw the intersection between medical discourses and educational treatises, with a proliferation of medical texts and advice books on all aspect of children's health, from childbirth and midwifery to childcare in the form of diet, exercise, cures for illnesses, and temperature of baths. Both Locke and Rousseau provide advice on caring for children in their educational tracts. Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* begins with a section called "On Health" whereas Rousseau is a major advocate of cold baths, breastfeeding, exercise, loose clothing, and plain diet. In terms of medication and doctors, Rousseau even draws from his precursor, stating that, since Locke counsels against providing children drugs, he will not consult a doctor unless fatality is imminent (22).

Mr. BARLOW.

If you want any future connection with Harry Sandford, it is your business to go to him and tell him so.

TOMMY.

What, sir, go to a farmer's to expose myself before all his family?

Mr. BARLOW.

Just now you told me you were ready to do everything, and yet you cannot take the trouble of visiting your friend at his own house. You then imagine that a person does not expose himself by acting wrong, but by acknowledging and amending his faults!

TOMMY.

But what would every body say, if a young gentleman like me, was to go and beg pardon of a farmer's son?

Mr. BARLOW.

They will probably say that you have more sense and gratitude than they expected … I have told you how you ought to act, if you would preserve the esteem of any good or sensible friend, or prevail upon Harry to excuse your past behaviour. But as you do not approve of what I suggested, you must follow your own opinions.

Pray, sir, pray, sir, said Tommy sobbing, do not go. I have used Harry Sandford in the most barbarous manner; my father is angry with me; and if you desert me, I shall have no friend left in the world.

Mr. BARLOW

That will be your own fault, and, therefore, you will not deserve to be pitied. Is it not in your own power to preserve all your friends, by an honest confession of your faults? Your father will be pleased, Harry Sandford will heartily forgive you, and I shall retain the same good opinion of your character which I have long had. (Day 3:180-2)

When Mr. Barlow mentions the visibility that accompanies transgressions, he highlights the penetration of surveillance, which is already at work regardless of the act of confession. Yet, Tommy must be humbled in the presence of others to receive their approbation and as an exhibition of his virtues; he must enter into a discourse of truth by providing "an honest confession of his faults" (Day 3:182). As Tommy himself understands, the refusal to subject oneself to the system is accompanied by the threat of exile from society, as represented by the diverse members of the British patriarchal culture: Mr. Merton, the father and the colonialist (an estate-owner with black "servants"); Mr. Barlow, the tutor and the minister; and Harry, his peer. This threat of social rejection is echoed in *Original Stories* when Mrs. Mason tells a rude

Mary to seek forgiveness from a maid or be rendered "very helpless … such is a child – I know what you are, you perceive" (Wollstonecraft 102). Mary, faced with the alternative of being left completely on her own, capitulates in a manner that bespeaks her resolution to regulate and obey: she says her prayers, an act of routine confession, and she reminds herself of the need for behavioural control.

Significantly, the responsibility for conformity and for the ensuing sanction lies on the perpetrator himself, and it is, paradoxically, this perception of individuality that is sociological. In Day's novel, Tommy is made to believe in the illusion of his own self-governance. As Mr. Barlow avers, it is Tommy who "has the power" or can "choose" to subject himself to the norms, just as he can transgress them (Day 3:182). When Tommy goes to make a public apology to Harry, Mr. Barlow tells the latter, "I bring you a little friend, who is sincerely penitent for his offences, and comes to own the faults he has committed" (Day 3:238). The word "own" here denotes both a confession, as in "owning up," and possession, as in "being mine." Thus, to admit aloud one's transgressions is to accept the violation as belonging to oneself, a recognition that is simultaneously public and also private and internalised, a drawing of boundaries that also reinforces the boundaries. In an essay that attempts to distinguish the differences and connections between concepts of person, self, and individual, Amélie Rorty claims that "[t]he quality of an individual self is determined by his qualities: they are his capital, to invest well or foolishly. Once an individual's properties and qualities are his possessions, rather than his essence, the problem of alienation can arise. The crises of personal identity center on the discovery of principles that essentially guide choices" (545). Rorty shows that one's values can be separated from oneself and it is the possibility of division that helps determine the self. One is able to assert whether an attribute "is me" or "is

not me" and seemingly makes choices that reflect one's "true" self. Lynch, who locates the capacity to don and discard qualities and identities in eighteenth-century consumer culture, argues that the function of material circulation is to cultivate "a notion of the self as different from the body and separate from the culture" (*EC* 184). However, as both Rorty and Lynch elucidate, the self is always circumscribed by society. The latter explains that one's ability to reject one's quality, claiming misrepresentation, reflects the fact that "one's properties – one's things or one's attributes – will never be personal enough" (Lynch, *EC* 185). One's qualities, then, does not and cannot articulate one's individual self despite the perpetuated fiction that it can. In characterising the fine distinction between "person" and "self," Rorty traces the development of the concept of self to changes in proprietary perception and the advancement of rational thinking: "When a society has changed so that individuals acquire their rights by virtue of their powers, rather than having their powers defined by their rights, the concept of person has been transformed to a concept of self" (545). Concurrent with the rise of the middle classes in the eighteenth century is the spread of the belief in autonomous choice, the concept that one's status is dependent upon ownership gained through abilities rather than birth. Seen in this light, Tommy's confession and proprietorship of his wrongdoing is supposedly a sign of his virtue, of the good inherent in him; however, his proclamation points to the sociological correlative of the values that he professes to possess.

The eighteenth-century educational treatises and children's books attempt to address the question of disciplining children, of instilling order and self-control in these seemingly irrational creatures. How does one ensure the obedience of a child? How does one not only convey the meaning of obedience, but make the child *want* to obey at all times? The movement away from corporal punishment suggests a deeper, more personal care about the

wellbeing of children and the long-term ineffectiveness of such physical method of discipline. After all, as the old idiom goes, “You can lead a horse to water, but you can’t make it drink.” The importance of sensory impressions to Locke means that he is attuned to both the possibility of a child’s adaptability to bodily pain and the connection between a child’s external and internal realms. Just as the physical world can create a psychological impression upon the child, the child’s thoughts and feelings inform his or her behaviour. Seen in this light, change has to come from within. Essentially, to make children conform to the disciplinary system, the children have to become the disciplinary system itself.

Chapter 2:

Part of the Natural System:

Sympathetic Imagination in Children's Literature

"His leisure hours were employed in the delightful study of botany; he dived into the secret properties of the useful and medical herb; and discovered, with admiration, the powers with which Providence has endued them."

(Lucy Peacock, "The Ambitious Mother" 27-8)

"Oh! What a cruel wicked thing,
For me who am a little King,
To give my hapless subjects pain,
And make them groan beneath my reign …

Now, and when I'm a bigger boy,
Let cruelty my heart annoy,
Because it s a dreadful evil,
That only fits me for the Devil."

(Jane Cave, "A Poem for Children. On Cruelty to the Irrational Creation")

When Carl Linnaeus introduced his taxonomic classification system, published in his *Systema Naturae* in 1735, he ignited a craze in natural history on the Albion shores. The fact that the text was originally written in Latin, instead of the author's native language, made it accessible outside of Sweden, but, when Erasmus Darwin, grandfather of evolutionist Charles Darwin, translated it into English in the 1780s, the work reached an even wider audience. No longer exclusive to the male, educated reader, the Linnaean system was made readily available to the common man and woman. Suddenly, everyone was focussing on the flora and fauna in his or her immediate surroundings. Writers of children's texts, too, pounced on the public's growing fascination with minute details of nature, recognising the pedagogical values of observing, collecting, and grouping objects of the external world. Natural history became a subject of extreme importance in a child's curriculum, and the literary market became inundated with abridged botanical and zoological books and amusing tales of animals. More

importantly, the natural world became a vehicle through which children's literary authors disseminated their ideological views on matters pertaining to religion and the nation. In their children's writings, Sarah Trimmer, Lucy Peacock, Priscilla Wakefield, Mary Wollstonecraft, Anna Laetitia Barbauld, and John Aikin show how, through nature, children can be taught that national identity is bound by one's sense of community and spirituality. In a period marked by revolutions and war, the nation is unified, not through the imposition of a singular national religion or political ideology, but through a prescribed practice of tolerance, sympathy, empathy, and discourse.

The simplicity and clarity of language espoused by Linnaeus mean that his concepts are more readily adaptable for the consumption of children, especially since children's authors constantly highlight the gravity of adhering to truth in their writing. Linnaeus wrote initially in Latin and then more frequently in Swedish. Latin was the language of science of the period in Europe, but the taxonomist began to publish in his native tongue when he realised that he could and should contribute to the improvement of his own nation by reaching out to his fellow citizens. Nevertheless, throughout his works, Linnaeus has repeatedly expressed the importance of transparency and plainness in language, indicating his sensitivity to the function of language in the spread of scientific knowledge. Quoting from Linnaeus's preface to *Vulcanus Docimasticus*, Bo Ralph elucidates that Linnaeus "is no doubt totally honest when he describes his favourite style as simple, using short words with a clear and unambiguous meaning. And his motivation is interesting: the soul of all scholarship is to make everything as simple as possible … This is primarily meant to apply to factual prose dealing with scientific

matters" (252).[25] Furthermore, Linnaeus's experiences with famed British gardeners, horticulturalists, and botanists, Peter Collinson, Philip Miller, and Hans Sloane, alerted him to the necessity of penetrating the English-language literary market. As Andrea Wulf remarks, Linnaeus courted these naturalists because he realises that, "[i]f his system was to succeed, it had to be accepted in England, as the country was becoming the most important horticultural market in Europe" (55).[26] Linnaeus was right in judging the centrality of British readership, but he would have to wait for several decades until his works were translated before his system was widely adopted in the British Isles. Little did he realise that the system he had created to facilitate the categorisation of living things in the natural world, a system that was ideally easy to understand and utilise amongst naturalists and horticulturalists, would be adopted and adapted for the education of children and for purposes other than just scientific knowledge.

For eighteenth-century children's authors, simplicity and accuracy in language and in portraying the nature of things were of grave import, as children must learn only what was

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[25] For further discussion of Linnaeus's take on language, see, for example, Wilfrid Blunt's *The Compleat Naturalist: A Life of Linnaeus* as well as Lisbet Koerner's *Linnaeus: Nature and Nation* and "Carl Linnaeus in his Time and Place." It is also important to note that Linnaeus's argument for and attempt to use plain language in his scientific treatises are no guarantee that he necessarily succeeds in achieving his objective. A number of his contemporaries, including Scottish botanist and Chelsea Physic Garden gardener Philip Miller, German-born botany professor Johann Jacob Dillenius, and French naturalist rival Georges Louis Leclerc du Buffon, were reluctant to acknowledge the simplicity and usefulness of the Linnaean system. Dillenius, for instance, refers to Linnaeus as "the man who has thrown all botany into confusion" while Buffon is "explicitly opposed to the way Linnaeus used language in his scientific work to describe objects of nature … In brief, Buffon rejects Linnaeus' system for relating the kingdoms of plants and animals, saying that it is a system of meaningless words and advocating instead the use of common-sense language enabling us to describe nature in the way it actually appears to us" (qtd. In Wulf 61; Sörman 141).

[26] Information on the horticultural obsession of Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is found in texts like *Early Nurserymen* by Alfred Brotherston Emden and John Hooper Harvey; *British Botanical and Horticultural Literature before 1800* by Blanche Henrey; *The Story of the Royal Horticultural Society, 1804-1968* by Harold Roy Fletcher; and "Gardening Books of the Eighteenth Century" by John Scott Lennox Gilmour. For an interesting look at horticulture's influence on literary works in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, refer to Amy M. King's *Bloom: The Botanical Vernacular in the English Novel* and Deidre Shauna Lynch's "'Young Ladies are Delicate Plants': Jane Austen and the Greenhouse Romanticism."

true. As such, natural history was suited to purposes of these writers since the practice involved close observation and the ascription of accurate names or categories to tangible things. Wakefield, who authored botanical and entomological books for children, avers that "[n]onsense has given way to reason; and useful knowledge, under an agreeable form, has usurped the place of the Histories of Tom Thumb, and Woglog the Giant. No branch of science seems better adapted to this important purpose [of educating children], than natural history" (*INH* iii). Her sentiments are echoed by Evangelists and rationalists alike, with Trimmer rejecting fairy tales in her *Guardian of Education*, a periodical that assesses the suitability of texts for children, and Barbauld's niece, Lucy Aikin, advocating "that the young mind be fed on mere prose and simple matter of fact," given that "dragons and fairies, giants and witches, have vanished from our nurseries before the wand of reason" (Richardson 114; *Poetry for Children* iii).[27] In addition, Wakefield recognises the role that language plays in the transmission of information on natural history:

> Botany is a branch of Natural History that possesses many advantages; it contributes to health of body and cheerfulness of disposition, by presenting an inducement to take air and exercise; it is adapted to the simplest capacity, and

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[27] The list of children's writers who are against the use of the supernatural and romantic is by no means exhaustive. Consider, for example, critiques by authors Hannah More, Mary Martha Sherwood, and Sarah Fielding. More cautions against "the vagaries of a mutable and fantastic fancy" in the section called "The Imagination" in *Moriana* and through one of her characters, Pastorella, in her closet drama *The Search After Happiness: A Pastoral Drama for Young Ladies* (391). Fielding, though unafraid to include fairy tales in her famed work, *The Governess; or, the Little Female Academy*, is careful to state that such fiction is acceptable on the condition that it teaches a moral. Nevertheless, the maternal figure in her novel, the governess, tells her student to "by no means let the Notion of Giants or Magic dwell upon [their] Minds" and to ensure "great Care is taken to prevent [their] being carried away, by these high-flown Things, from that Simplicity of Taste and Manners which it is [the governess's] Study to inculcate" (Fielding 84). Sherwood, however, is even more unforgiving than Fielding, censoring the latter's tales in a later republication. For Sherwood, since "fanciful productions of this sort can never be rendered generally useful, it has been thought proper to suppress" them (iv). For more information on children's authors who object to children reading fantastical works, see, for instance, Ruth B. Bottigheimer's "Fairy Tales and Folk-tales"; "Mary Martha Sherwood (1775-1851)" in *The Norton Anthology of Children's Literature: The Traditions in English*, edited by Jack Zipes, *et al*; and Alan Richardson's *Literature, Education, and Romanticism: Reading as Social Practice, 1780-1832*.

> the objects of its investigation offer themselves without expense or difficulty, which renders them attainable to every rank in life; but with all these allurements, till of late years, it has been confined to the circle of the learned, which may be attributed to those books that treated of it, being principally written in Latin: a difficulty that deterred many, particularly the female sex, from attempting to obtain the knowledge of a science, thus defended, as it were, from their approach. Much is due to those of our own countrymen, who first introduced these delightful volume of nature to popular notice, by presenting it in our native language; their labours have been a means of rendering it very generally studied, and it is now considered as a necessary addition to an accomplished education … It appeared that every thing hitherto published was too expensive, as well as too diffused and scientific, for the purpose of teaching the elementary parts to children or young persons; it was therefore thought that a book of moderate price, and divested as much as possible of technical terms, introduced in an easy, familiar form, might be acceptable. (*IB* iv-v)

Wakefield's statement points to the growing awareness that texts have to be affordable and accessible, being both in a language comprehensible by the reader and at a level appropriate to the understanding of the reader. Similarly, Barbauld, in the advertisement to her *Lessons for Children* series, argues for specifically age-appropriate and large-typed texts, something that was lacking in the eighteenth-century marketplace (2:19-20).[28] *Lessons for Children* was

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[28] Barbauld attaches the advertisement to a letter to her brother dated January 19th, 1778, asking that he include it if he decides to publish her text. Her request, considering that her main objective is to obtain only one copy printed "as soon as [Aikin] can, on fine paper, on one side only, and more space and a clearer line for the chapters" for her personal use, highlights the singularity of her project to develop a work for children that is simple, direct, and visually clear, even if the content of the work is not polished enough for public consumption.

Barbauld seems to have always been preoccupied with the transparency of language, even in her works for adults. For example, in her allegory "Hill of Science: A Vision," the narrator making a pilgrimage up towards the "temple of Truth" has to bypass "the gate of languages," which is guarded by the figure of a constantly-reciting Memory (Barbauld 2:164). Passing through the gate, the narrator complains of the assault upon his or her senses by "a confused murmur of jarring voices and dissonant sounds," a cacophony that is comparable to "to nothing but the confusion of tongues at Babel" (Barbauld 2:165). While Barbauld here seems to be attacking rote-learning, of memorising without fully comprehending, her reference to the "tongues at Babel" also points to language's ability to confound. Likewise, in her personal letters, although Barbauld praises the focus upon nature in poetry, she criticises the use of unfamiliar language that may alienate readers. In a letter to Dr. and Mrs. Estlin dated December 1813, Barbauld disapproves of Lord Byron's use of Persian words in "The Bride of Abydos," saying, "I cannot see any advantage in calling a nightingale *bulbul*, or a rose *gul*, except to disconcert plain English readers" (2:130). When giving her opinion to her brother about his text, "An Essay on the Application of Natural History to Poetry," Barbauld is quick to point out that what is lacking is a clear line indicating the extent to which the accuracy demanded by natural history should be incorporated within poetry. She writes in a letter in 1777 that certain appellations that are still not in common currency may end up marring a poetical work instead of improving upon it (Barbauld 2:16).

initially written for Charles, John Aikin's son whom Barbauld and her husband had adopted, and it was composed because "[i]t was found that amidst the multitude of books professedly written for children, there is not one adapted to the comprehension of a child from two to three years old. A grave remark, or a connected story, however simple, is above his capacity, and nonsense is always below it; for folly is worse than ignorance" (Barbauld 2:19-20). Here, Barbauld disapproves of "nonsense," works that have seemingly little or no pedagogical value, and of works containing allusions or ideas that are simply too difficult for a young child to grasp. She then adds, "Another great defect is the want of *good paper*, a *clear and large type*, and *large spaces*. Those who have actually taught young children can be sensible how necessary these assistances are. The eye of a child and a learner cannot catch, as ours can, a small obscure ill-formed word, amidst a number of others unknown to him" (Barbauld 2:20). Barbauld displays her sensitivity to the fact that children's cognitive skills (or lack thereof, rather) place different demands on authors and publishers catering to readership of that particular demographic.

The concept of truth in the eighteenth century had religious connotations and was believed by educational theorists and children's writers to lead to an understanding of God. Thus, nature is a gateway through which children can attain religious growth. Two of the most influential thinkers on the subject of education, John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, highlight the connection between nature and religion. Rousseau had always been a strong proponent of nature's educational value, suggesting in *Émile* that children should be taught away from the corrupting influences of urban areas: Nature is the best setting for a child's upbringing because "the vile morals of the town" are "seductive and contagious to children" (59). For the tutor of Rousseau's protagonist, where men congregate, there is a risk to young,

impressionable minds. The tutor is aware that men are social creatures, and, eventually, his ideal pupil will enter society, but the possibility of such influences must be delayed until the child has been psychologically and ethically prepared by proper early education. So enamoured is Rousseau by natural history and Linnaeus's passion for nature that he writes, in a letter to the latter dated 21st September, 1771, "Alone with Nature and with you I spend happy hours walking in the countryside, and from your *Philosophia botanica* I get more real profit than from all other books on ethics" (qtd. in Blunt 214). Nature is no longer something passive and becomes capable of nurturing a child's development, especially when coupled with lessons in natural history. To benefit from nature, one needs to see and understand the intricacies of nature. Hence, Rousseau criticises imaginative texts for fear that a child may be "attracted by what is false, and he misses the truth, and the means adopted to make the teaching pleasant prevent him profiting by it. Men may be taught by fables; children require the naked truth" (77). For Rousseau, even fables, which are meant to be understood metaphorically, are considered falsehoods. Children should apprehend what is true and good directly, and the most direct route to the development of children's psyche and morality is through nature. Less drastic than Rousseau's banning of books, Locke, in *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, considers fables age-appropriate for children. Still, his emphasis is upon the truth, and he suggests that children receive an early religious education. Even though Locke realises that a young child is incapable of truly understanding religious maxims and concepts, "there ought very early to be imprinted on his mind a true notion of God, as of the independent Supreme Being, Author, and Maker of all things, from whom we receive all our good, who loves us and gives us all things. And consequent to this, instil into him a love and reverence of this Supreme Being" (*STCE* 255-6). The philosopher hypothesises that close

observation of the natural world creates impressions upon our minds and leads to the need for explanations and rationale, paving the way for a presupposition of a divine power at work.

Even Linnaeus reveals the influence of Lockean associationist thinking, developing a form of natural theology that is based upon observation and reason. Tess Cosslett, for instance, explains how the material world was deemed to be representative of God's supremacy and teachings in the eighteenth century:

> Natural Theology means using the evidence of nature to demonstrate the existence and goodness of God. In particular, natural theologians used the argument from design: the signs of purposeful contrivance in Nature lead us to infer a Divine Designer as its Creator. It is a form of theology that fits well with the Enlightenment emphasis on reason and nature: religion is not superstition, it can be proved. All eighteenth-century children's authors are writing within this framework, and some are trying to teach it as well. Natural religion was seen as a gentle and easy way to lead children towards the concept of God. (17)

Religion, then, is not just spiritual, but tangible and visible in the wonders of nature. The Linnaean system relies heavily upon visual perception, attention to detail, and a strong sense of classification, whereupon one categorises after reasoning and forming patterns and connections; therefore, the system best reflects the way the Lord functions by "creat[ing] order where formerly chaos reigned" (Blunt 177). In fact, some critics have admired the spirituality of Linnaeus's work, arguing that it represents the "hand of God in the world He had created" and is a form of "divine science" (Hagberg 99 and 185). Nature becomes something that can be studied, and natural history's requirements in terms of specificity and clarity is affiliated with truth, making it an ideal subject for religious education. Wollstonecraft dedicates the first three chapters of *Original Stories* solely to the treatment and observation of animals and draws the connection between all living beings and God. The governess tells the children to "[t]hank God for permitting [them] to see [creatures enjoying the day], and to imitate himself by doing good" (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 10). According to Mrs. Mason, it is through the observation of

nature that “man is allowed to *retrace* the image that God first implanted in him; he feels disinterested love; every part of the creation affords an exercise for virtue, and a *consequent* source of pleasure” (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 10). Humans are to try to imitate the omniscience of God, and it is the visual attention to detail that religious and moral education can be imbued. Wakefield’s *An Introduction to the Natural History*, too, integrates religion with a simplified version of Linnaean entomological study. Natural history provides “a benefit of a much higher nature, that of leading us to a more intimate knowledge of the exquisite wisdom and goodness of the great Creator, displayed as eminently in these minute objects, as in those stupendous effects of his omnipotence, that astonish the most careless beholder” (Wakefield, *INH* 25).[29] Rather than to behold the supremacy of God merely through sublime wonders of nature, the Linnaean classification system redirects attention to the miniscule and even the ordinary.

Compared to other sciences, natural history was more readily accessible, allowing potentially everyone to engage with the subject without leaving the comfort of their domestic space. Women and children, typically figures with limited mobility and who were more likely to be financially dependent, could indulge in scientific study at home at little to no cost at all. The translation of Linnaeus into English also meant that foreknowledge of classical languages, something generally prohibited to women and girls, was not a requirement, despite the system’s utilisation of Latin names. It was perhaps due to the ease with which one can pursue this body of knowledge that made this subject so appealing to women writers and that led to the increase in botanical and zoological books in the field of children’s literature in the

[29] In *Mental Improvement*, Wakefield is even more emphatic in advancing the connection between Nature and religion. Almost all the characters in the conversational narrative, both parents and children, describe how natural religion is undeniable if one were only to observe or even consider the smallest part of nature (Wakefield, *MI* 172-3). Even the most savage of men, the ones closest to the natural state itself, are not unaware of the presence of Divine Power, despite their questionable method of celebrating or observing His values (Wakefield, *MI* 173-4).

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The two spoilt and dissipated children in Peacock's *Visit for a Week*, having recently lost their mother and sent to stay in the country, learn how to improve and entertain themselves through the investigation of creatures and plants found close to their aunt's home. The new maternal figure tells them that, especially with the use of a microscope, nature "will furnish [them] with an ample field for speculation, and lead [them] to adore that Being, whose wisdom shines in the minutest of his works" (Peacock, *Visit for a Week* 93). Not only are the children's fashionable activities of playing cards, attending balls, and visiting resorts replaced by simpler domestic and spiritual ones, but the traditional nuclear family becomes unified when, at the end, the father and his sister decide to live together in the same domicile. Therefore, natural history and the domestic are mutually reinforcing and enriching. Additionally, women were and still are compared to flowers and plants, and gardening was thought to be an activity permissible to and encouraged among the gentler sex. For eighteenth-century female writers, including Edgeworth, Wakefield, and the unknown author of the 1758 *Female Rights Vindicated*, "scientific ability was considered compatible with domestic duties and the smooth running of an efficient household," requiring skills and "characteristics … to be found in any female educated to sit still and embroider or sew for hours on end" (Brock 250). Hence, the garden and home became ideal settings for instructional purposes, and science and religion became affiliated with private observation, both in regards to visual attention and to spiritual conduct.

The shift in focus inwards towards the domestic is visible not only in children's literature and education, but also in other domains, such as the development of the novel and

scientific experiments in the eighteenth century.[30] As Lynne Vallone proposes, the second half of the eighteenth century was marked by a "domestic revolution," whereby the political struggles in the male public sphere transpired in conjunction with changes in the female domestic realm (73). Although Vallone's article chiefly examines the question of religion, with the Evangelical movement reflecting a growing interest in private worship and domestic concerns, her argument is applicable elsewhere. Critics, such as Ian Watt, Michael McKeon, and Nancy Armstrong, show how the novel became or at least were beginning to be considered a feminine genre, with the rise of the epistolary form, the increasing number of female novelists, and the intersection between the public and private spheres.[31] Furthermore, as suggested in "Ecocriticism and the Long Eighteenth Century," movement in the novel "away from the mists of poetry and romance toward the clarity of precise empirical

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[30] Note that, even though the children's literary and the novel markets were becoming dominated by women, with some authors writing in both genres, authors of children's texts were sometimes suspicious and critical of novels. The parent in Wakefield's *Mental Improvement* asks one of the children to always ensure that her speech accurately reflects the extent of her true emotions, saying that "excess of speech is to be expected from novel and romance readers, but are ill suited to a woman of good sense and propriety of manners" (59). Meanwhile, Barbauld, in "An Inquiry into Those Kinds of Distress which Excite Agreeable Sensations" discourages the reading of romances, which she equates with novels, in "young people" because they desensitise readers to true-life miseries:

> [T]hey lead us to require a certain elegance of manners and delicacy of virtue which is not often found with poverty, ignorance and meanness…Romance-writers likewise make great misfortunes so familiar with our ears, that we have hardly any pity to spare for the common accidents of life: but we ought to remember, that misery has a claim to relief, however we may be disgusted with its appearance; and we must not fancy ourselves charitable, when we are only pleasing our imagination. (2:228)

In other words, Barbauld's dissatisfaction with novels is sociological. For Barbauld, reading and literacy should be gateways to real action and the fulfilment of social or communal needs. Barbauld's critique is not unlike the one made by Mrs. Mason in Wollstonecraft's *Original Stories*. The governess shows the importance of small acts of thoughtfulness and responsibility that may be overlooked by those who make grand charitable gestures and "weep at a tragedy, or when reading an affecting tale" (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 165-166). True sensibility is found in everyday acts of kindness outside the fictional realm.

[31] Refer to Ian Watt's *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding*; Michael McKeon's *Theory of the Novel: A Historical Approach*; and Nancy Armstrong's *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel*.

description … reflects the most profound influence of Lockean empiricism on literature," which parallels the growing emphasis on truth and clarity in the study of nature and didactic writing for children (Hitt 136). In other words, Christopher Hitt argues that romance was giving way to realism at a time when natural history was gaining a foothold in children's literature. In the field of science, it was not unusual to have scientific experiments and lectures conducted at home. The Edgeworths' *Practical Education* lists numerous chemical and mechanical experiments appropriate for the young, and Joseph Wright's mid-eighteenth-century paintings of lectures and experiments on astronomy and air feature crowds of onlookers which include women and children. Science and literature were turning toward the private sphere; thus, it is not surprising that those interested in the instruction of children, particularly women, seized upon the opportunity to combine both as a way to lend their voice.

Although girls and women received social and cultural approval in the study and dissemination of natural history, they were disallowed from involving themselves in theoretical and speculative work. In fact, for some, the female sex should not even be seriously engaged in the subject of science. Ironically, although Rousseau writes against the idea of women pursuing scientific studies, including natural history, he is sometimes given credit for the popularisation of botany as a feminine subject. Emanuel Rudolph traces the origin of the belief that Rousseau supports the idea of botany for women to what may be considered a mistranslation of the title of the latter's text written at the request of a female relative, from *Essais Élémentaires sur la Botanique* to *Elements of a Botany Addressed to a Lady* (92). In *Émile*, Rousseau makes his reluctance to recommend natural history to women known, writing that "physical sciences are for the sex which is more active, gets around more, and sees more objects, the sex which has more strength and uses it more to judge the relations of sensible

beings and the laws of nature" (387). As in most subjects worthy of contemplation and examination, the female sex was denied complete access or participation. According to Mary Ellen Bellanca, while "[w]omen could and did pursue natural history in its descriptive, aesthetic, and non-invasive modes" and "became serious students of science, taught the young, and produced successful books for general readers," "women were not encouraged become experimental or theoretical scientists" (53).[32] Even daughters of the Lunar Men, progressive thinkers of the eighteenth century, including the offspring of Joseph Priestley, Richard Lovell Edgeworth, and Erasmus Darwin, were not immune to the prejudices common in their day:

> So the girls grew up in houses full of instruments and inventions and experiments, but the difference was that for women this could be only a hobby … in subtle ways their scientific culture worked to reinforce custom. There was a drive, at the time, to identify a *natural* order underlying the social; comparative anatomical studies had suggested – surprise surprise – that women were 'formed' to bear & suckle children; new notions of 'instinct' talked up the maternal role. (Uglow 313)

Women, though having access to certain branches of science, were still considered subsidiary or secondary to men. The Linnaean system that classifies flora and fauna seems to apply culturally and socially as well: just as animals were put into categories and even hierarchy, with mammals being at the top, men were ranked superior to women and children.

The suitability of animals and plants as subjects of children's literature and education lay in the eighteenth-century perception that, compared to adults, children were closer to

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[32] Barbauld shows her acute perceptibility about the ambivalence of female scientific pursuits when, according to her niece, she states, "[Y]oung ladies, who ought only to have such a general tincture of knowledge as to make them agreeable companions to a man of sense, and to enable them to find rational entertainment for a solitary hour, should gain these accomplishments in a quiet and more unobserved manner" (Aikin, "Memoir" 1:xvii-xviii). The relegation of women to a more subservient role in relation to men is similar to Wollstonecraft's proposal in *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. However, it is important to note William McCarthy's hypothesis that Lucy Aikin may have distorted some facts in her memoir to make her aunt conform to the more traditional feminine role. For a more detailed discussion, see William McCarthy, "A 'High-Minded Christian Lady': The Posthumous Reception of Anna Laetitia Barbauld."

nature. As Wollstonecraft's Mrs. Mason states, "It is only to animals that children *can* do good, men are their superiors" (*OS* 15). The governess even compares children's lack of ability to reason with that of animals: "If you caress and feed them [animals], they will love you, as children do, without knowing why" (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 14). Furthermore, children have always had an inherent attraction to or fascination with living things, particularly animals. By writing on the subject of natural history, children's authors were combining amusement with instruction and stimulating and gratifying their readers' inborn interest. Wakefield, in the preface to her book on botany, underscores how children's spiritual development and "endow[ment of] curiosity and activity, for the purpose of acquiring knowledge," can be shaped by a close study of nature: "The structure of a feather or a flower is more likely to impress upon their minds with a just notion of Infinite Power and Wisdom, than the most profound discourses on such abstract subjects, as are beyond the limits of their capacity to comprehend" (*IB* iii-iv). So useful was the natural world as a pedagogical tool that, despite their emphasis on truth and accuracy, some authors were not above fictionalising the abilities and characteristics of animals and plants to get their message through to their young readers. Cosslett, who examines the increasing use of anthropomorphised animals in children's literature, notes that there was a proliferation of "stories about talking animals for children in an age of Enlightenment and Reason, of Progress and Modernity" because children were deemed to be "less rational, more 'animal' themselves" (37). Pitched against fantastic or supernatural stories, texts that give human qualities to animals were more acceptable because they appeared to have a greater adherence to truth or at least have an end that can justify the means: "Animals, even when talking, were allied with science, ethics, and truth" (Cosslett 1). It was the believed proximity of children to the natural state that encouraged even the strictly

religious to adopt anthropomorphism as a device for their literary creations, as seen in Evangelist Sarah Trimmer's *Fabulous Histories*, in which a family of talking robins is juxtaposed with a gentleman's family. Early in Wollstonecraft's *Original Stories*, a text which places great emphasis on truth, Mrs. Mason presents Trimmer's *Fabulous Histories* to the children and remarks that the language of animals can be understood by those who truly pay attention: "[D]umb they [animals] appear to those who do not observe; but God, who takes care of everything, understands their language; and so did Caroline this morning, when she ran with such eagerness to re-place the nest which the thoughtless boy stole, heedless of the mother's agonizing cries!" (11). Animals may not be able to speak in human tongues, but they are able to communicate their needs and wants and, more importantly, serve as objects for the projection of human sentiments and values.

Nevertheless, even when humanising animals, authors are careful to remark that, in reality, beasts are distinct from and do not share the qualities of people who are present in the texts. Trimmer specifies in her introduction that child readers of her book should "be taught to consider them [the *Histories*], not as containing the real conversations of Birds, (for that it is impossible we should ever understand,) but as a series of FABLES" (x). The writer's warning is repeated in *Original Stories*, where Mrs. Mason not only reminds the children that "birds never talk," but also warns that "lying is a vice" that deserves sanction (Wollstonecraft 48). The emphasis on the element of fiction in the story reveals Trimmer's anxiety about possibly misleading her young readers into thinking that the robins are to be equated with the Benson family, and her concern leads to her "insistence that 'The History of the Robins' [a title sometimes used by publishers in consequent editions] be referred to under its original title" of *Fabulous Histories* (Ruwe 8). Even Aikin and Barbauld, whom Charles Lamb faults for the

loss of fairy tales and predominance of natural history in children's literary marketplace, humanise nonhuman life-forms, as depicted in their collection of children's works, *Evenings at Home*.[33] If children's closeness to nature and need for entertaining instruction are the

[33] On October 23rd, 1802, Charles Lamb writes to Coleridge:

> Mrs. Barbauld's stuff has banished all the old classics out of the nursery; and the shopman at Newbery's hardly deigned to reach them off an old exploded corner of a shelf, when Mary asked for them. Mrs. B. and Mrs. Trimmer's nonsense lay in piles about. Knowledge insignificant and vapid as Mrs. B.'s books convey, it seems, must come to a child in the *shape of knowledge*, and his empty noddle must be turned with conceit of his own powers when he has learnt, that a horse is an animal, and Billy is better than a horse, and such like; instead of that beautiful interest in wild tales, which made the child a man, while all the time he suspected himself to be no bigger than a child. Science had succeeded to poetry no less in the little walks of children than in men. Is there no possibility of averting this sore evil? Think what you would have been now, if instead of being fed with tales and old wives' fables in childhood, you had been crammed with geography and natural history!
>
> Hang them! – I mean the cursed Barbauld crew, those Blights and Blasts of all that is Human in man and child. (Lamb and Lamb, *LCML* 2:81-82).

Lamb here condemns what he perceives to be the didacticism of Barbauld and other like authors, but his blame appears to be unjustified. He does not seem to have taken into account Barbauld's entire body of work or the degree to which authors like her utilise the imaginary. While Barbauld's *Lessons for Children* and *Hymns in Prose for Children*, for instance, are more explicitly educational and simplistic, her later collection written in collaboration with her brother, *Evenings at Home*, offers various creative and fictional pieces. The collection includes more than just anthropomorphised animals and plants; it also includes fairies, with one story even being titled "Order and Disorder, a Fairy Tale." For those like Barbauld, Aikin, Trimmer, and Wakefield, the fanciful can be incorporated within children's writing, provided that moderation or caution is exercised. Wakefield, in her preface to *Juvenile Anecdotes*, for example, explains that her text contains fictionalised accounts that are crafted in a way that makes the narratives still relatable to her readers:

> The objection that I have frequently heard children raise against the influence of moral tales on their own conduct, that they were not true, but merely fictions, to entertain, induced me to believe, that real anecdotes of characters, of their own ages and dispositions judiciously selected, so as to interest their lively imaginations, and at the same time place the virtues and faults incident to their time and life in a perspicuous point of view, would probably reach their hearts with peculiar force … I shall think my time well bestowed, if they [Wakefield's stories] fulfil the intended design of combining moral instruction with amusement. (iii-iv)

Wakefield, Barbauld, and Trimmer, women who had real-life experiences teaching children, not just within their domestic homes but also in schools, were trying to engage the attention of their audience by relating what one reads with real-life experiences. The fantastic offers little benefit if it functions within its own bubble and is disjointed from the world outside it. Sarah Robbins suggests that Lamb's critique of "the cursed Barbauld crew" may be gender-related, with male Romantics belittling or ignoring the social imperatives central to women's writing for children (139). While Robbins' argument is persuasive, it may also be of interest to note that one of Charles Lamb's lesser known texts for children, *Felissa, or, the Life and Opinions of a Kitten of Sentiment*, mirrors the narrative structure and moral message common in the works of women writers focussing on natural history. It is unclear when *Felissa* was actually written (the earliest copy of and reference to the text that I have

reasons why anthropomorphism was used, then, proximity is also the reason why a clear line needed to be drawn between children and animals.

For children's authors, their young readers had to be taught that humans are above all else in the material realm, as decreed by God. Hence, the Linnaean system, which demands the ability to characterise and to categorise, was paramount in helping establish natural hierarchical differences. As noted by numerous critics, Linnaeus, being a religious man, saw his system as making visible God's work. According to Hagberg, for instance, the taxonomist believed that "God created man that he might admire His work" and acquire "knowledge of nature" (186-7 and 195). Humans were meant to not only conceptualise and reinforce God's creation, but also His organisation. Wakefield, who views Linnaeus's achievement as the result of "over-ruling Providence," recommends botany to the young because it will imbue them with "a habit of arrangement, a perception of order, of distinction, and of subordination" and sharpen the senses through "that accuracy and observation which are necessary to discriminate the various objects that pass in review before them" (*IB* 27 and 174). She even goes so far as to compare botanical categorisation with the division of humans into groups: "Vegetables resemble Man; Classes, Nations of Men; Orders, Tribes, or Divisions of Nations; Genera, the Families that compose the Tribes; Species, Individuals of which families consist; Varieties, individuals under different appearances" (*IB* 29).[34] Like all other living beings,

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found are dated 1811), so Lamb may have diverged from his opinion of the likes of Barbauld expressed a decade before.

[34] Wakefield employs the same comparative technique in *Mental Improvement*, a work where subjects of natural history and geography are presented through a series of conversation between Mr. and Mrs. Harcourt and their children. In this text, the parents expostulate on the differences between different categories of living beings and proposes that instincts in animals are perhaps a lower form of reason in humans:

humans, too, must be classified. Wakefield's natural history books for children thus exemplify the reinforcement of the hierarchical structure implicit in the Linnaean system. Eighteenth-century authors often cite the ability to rationalise as one of the criteria that marks the superiority of humans over beasts. In a discussion about the capacities of animals in comparison to humans, one of Trimmer's characters remarks that animals, "as they are not religious beings," lack "reasonable souls," and humans are unable to "penetrate into those things which must ever remain hidden, unless the inferior creatures were endued with speech" (67 and 69).[35] Regardless whether animals had any semblance of intelligence, they did not exhibit signs of reasoning faculty discernable to humans. The Lockean concept of reason being God-given and as a pathway to the recognition of His glory means that animals lacked religious significance in their existence and were, to a certain extent, dispensable. Wollstonecraft goes even further in establishing the connection between natural hierarchy and

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> Instinct, or that quality in animals which correspond with reason in man, is bestowed on each creature in proportion to its rank or order in creation. The gradation of being is something like the links of a mighty chain, the immediate distinctions of which are scarcely perceptible; but when we compare the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms together, the superior excellence of the latter is obvious; as the lowest degree of animal life is above the highest vegetable production. Let us proceed still further, and make a comparison of the most inferior orders of animals, such as oysters, &c. which seem only to possess a bare existence, void of faculties or enjoyment, with man, a creature endowed with the noble quality of reason, capable of exercising very extensive intellectual powers, and enabled to understand, admire, and investigate the works of his great Creator. (Wakefield, *INH* 126)

Like many of her contemporaries, Wakefield's championing of reason is religion-based. Humans are endowed with reason by the grace of God and, as such, should devote their time to the propagation of His values. As Mr. Harcourt warns his children after his wife's speech, there is a need to ensure one's conduct is appropriate to the position bestowed by God, for there may be beings of even more superior intellect than even humans (Wakefield, *MI* 126). Although he does not go on to speculate what beings are more knowing than humans, it is safe to assume that these entities are metaphysical.

[35] So confident is Mrs. Benson in the predominance of reason and religion that, when questioned whether "*Man* is LORD *of the Creation*" and "*all* brute creatures subject to *every* man," she replies, "[T]here is no *species* of *animals*, which, if collected together, *mankind* could not subdue; for though inferior to many of them in strength, men vastly exceed them in number, and having the use of *reason*, can employ a variety of means to conquer them … It is observable, and shews at once the goodness and wisdom of our great CREATOR, that those creatures, which are the most useful to us, are the easiest tamed; and yield, not only singly, but in flocks, to mankind, nay, even to boys" (Trimmer 175-6).

religion when, in *Original Stories*, she writes that between humans and God are angels and below humans are animals. Man, according to the governess in the text, is closer to angels because the former, unlike beasts, is "capable of improvement" and of the practise of virtue, and that potential is based upon the ability to reason and to learn: "Animals have not the affections which arise from reason, nor can they do good, or acquire virtue" (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 13-14). Animals can never hope to attain the status of humans, but when humans seek progress through benevolent means and acts, they are able to become angels and enter the realm of the Almighty.

The ordering of the natural world necessarily extended into social and political realms. By learning how living organisms were grouped and ranked, with humans being at the very top, children were being taught to respect social hierarchy, both within and without the confines of their home. In Trimmer's *Fabulous Histories*, the distinction between Man and beast is hinted at through duty and acts of charity. According to Mrs. Benson, duty and charity are first owed to people before animals (Trimmer 5-7). More importantly, however, both the human and ornithological mother stress that all children must be mindful of those on whom they are dependent. Mrs. Benson avers that "children can do nothing towards their support: therefore it is particularly requisite, that they should be dutiful and respectful to those, whose tenderness and care are constantly exerted for their benefit" (Trimmer 18). Duty to parents runs parallel with duty to the almighty Father, for, when the eldest chick, Robin, is malcontent over what he perceives to be preferential treatment of his siblings and disobeys his father, he falls out of the nest onto the ground. His fall echoes the Biblical fall, and his parents are only willing to come to his aid when he has confessed his repentance. Permanently injured, Robin has to live in the safety of the garden and depend on the charity of the children of the house for

his survival. In other words, he has to learn to be satisfied with his fate, being unable to soar too far or too high from his current state.

Other children's writers employing or interested in nature and natural history also underscore the significance of respecting class boundaries in their writing. In Aikin and Barbauld's collection, *Evenings at Home*, education, while assisting to open one's eyes to what else is out there, simultaneously leads to one's sense of fulfilment with one's station in life. As imputed in "Dialogue on Things to be Learned," the objective of education is to prepare one for one's current and future positions (Aikin and Barbauld 1:88). Meanwhile, in "Humble Life," when the upper-class boy, Charles, expresses his sympathy with what he perceives to be the deplorable conditions of a family of cottagers, he is brought into their company to witness their complacency with their lives. As his father elucidates, the family's religious and moral education as well as agricultural or botanical knowledge allow the family to be industrious and "[a]bove all … content with their lot, and free from anxious cares and repinings. [He] view[s] them as truly respectable members of society, acting well the part allotted to them, and that, a part most of all necessary to the well-being of the whole" (Aikin and Barbauld 5:133). The understanding of God's will, perceivable through nature, enables one to comprehend one's position in relation to others. Likewise, in Wakefield's *Mental Improvement*, Mr. Harcourt notes the interconnection between desires or tastes and education and habits. He argues that there is a need to tailor our wants to that with which we are accustomed, for "we are the children of one common parent, who has deemed it wise to distribute mankind into different ranks and orders in society, and to render the poor and the rich dependent on each other, that they may be united by the powerful tie of reciprocal benevolence and affection" (Wakefield, *MI* 147). Therefore, for authors like Trimmer,

Barbauld, Aikin, Wakefield, and Peacock, the success of society depends upon individuals performing their respective roles and accepting their prescribed functions.

The representation of animals as being subordinate to humans, coupled with the necessity of maintaining ranks, reveals that certain beings are created for the utility and survival of others. Every creature has a place and function in God's plan, and children's authors interested in natural history affirm that there is a need to understand how each operates in harmony with others, as expressed by the mother in *Fabulous Histories*:

> [Humans are] endued with Reason, which enables them to discover the different natures of brutes, the faculties they possess, and how they may be made serviceable in the world; and as beasts cannot apply these faculties to their own use in so extensive a way, and numbers of them (being unable to provide for their own sustenance) are indebted to men for many of the necessaries of life, men have an undoubted right to their labour in return. (Trimmer 216-7)

Trimmer appears to be advocating the symbiosis between Man and beasts, especially considering the fact that the entire narrative revolves around two families, one human and one nonhuman, in the same domestic space. Mrs. Benson goes on to list the different functions of animals, from the provision of sustenance and clothing to being objects of religious contemplation, and advises the children to "regulate [their] regards according to the utility and necessities of every living creature with which we are any ways connected" (Trimmer 219). Mrs. Benson mirrors her feathery counterpart, the mother robin, who stresses how "every individual ought to consult the welfare of the whole, instead of his own private satisfaction" (Trimmer 85). The two maternal figures' teachings underline the connection between the individual and those with whom they share the planet, seemingly propounding what ecocritics refer to as a biocentric perspective. Carolyn Sigler, who investigates how children's literature portrays the environment in the nineteenth century, explains how anthropocentricism focuses

on “humanity’s importance in nonhuman nature and nature writing” while biocentricism “explores the complex relationships between the human and the nonhuman” (148). For Sigler, children’s literature tends to be biocentric because it has a more “feminised” perspective of nature as a result of the typical gender of the authors (148). While the biocentric approach does reveal children’s writing as being interested in the way humans relate to other living beings in nature, what it also does is to expose how individual connection with nature informs one’s social and political development.

Some of the common motifs used by authors of children’s literature to portray the British class system and the service of the individual within society are entomological. Bees recur throughout writing for children, as seen in works by Trimmer, Barbauld and Aikin, Wakefield, and Peacock.[36] In each of the texts, the bees demonstrate how all individuals work to protect and provide for the species under the governance of a queen, and studying bees were supposed to imbue children with conservative values regarding the class system. Wakefield’s book on insects, which describes at length the Lord’s design in organising even the most minute creatures to show harmony and order, refers to bees as “fellow-citizens” and a wasp colony as a “commonwealth” (*INH* 25, 118, and 108). Trimmer’s story, however, makes the conservatism of children’s writing most visible when Mrs. Benson, after demonstrating how a hive operates, reminds her son that he owes his duty to his monarch and country:

> “[Mr. Benson] certainly would [ask his son to fight for the King], if there were occasion, as loyally as the best bee in the world; and I beg you will remember what I now tell you as long as you live: That it is your duty to love your King, for he is to be considered as the father of his country … I believe her majesty [the Queen] is as much honoured by her subjects as a queen bee in her hive,

[36] Bees are also mentioned, but only cursorily, in Wollstonecraft’s *Original Stories*. However, the bees’ metaphorical connection to humans is shown when they are described as having “comfortable towns” (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 5).

> though she has not so full a command over them; for it is a king that governs England as your papa governs his family, and the queen is to be considered as the mother of the country." (Trimmer 155)

If, as children's authors propound, nature reflects the plan of the Almighty Father, then, the supremacy of the queen bee and the comparison between filial duty and loyalty to the sovereign seem to imply that the authority of monarchs is God-given. In addition, faithfulness and affection are not one-directional, with the queen bee portrayed as being equally attached to her subjects as they are to her. In Peacock's *Visit for a Week*, the maternal figure of Mrs. Mills recalls how a queen bee intentionally starves to death when separated from its subjects. Thus, the hive is a metaphor of an ideal form of society with intersecting and cooperating parts working in unity for the preservation of the community.

The self-sacrificing queen bee is a reminder that heavy responsibility comes with the privilege of being in the ruling or upper classes. Most children's works prescribe a form of paternalism when it comes to determining the duties of those in these ranks. Simultaneously illustrating the possibility of maltreatment and suffering of inferiors, children's authors espouse charity, kind treatment, and compassion for those lower on the social ladder. In Wakefield's "The Journal," a story consisting of several journal entries by a governess about the children under her care, the governess, too, chastises her ward's misbehaviour towards domestics. The governess says, "Servants are our fellow-creatures … Circumstances may change. Your papa may become poor, and you be reduced to the condition of a servant … Merit is confined to no rank" (Wakefield, *JA* 112). There is a need to recognise the tasks that the lower classes do and the positions that they occupy within the structure of society. According to the governess, there are "obligations" that her ward "owes" her servant, hinting that, just as the inferiors have their assigned roles and duties to attend to, the ruling classes,

too, have their responsibilities (Wakefield, *JA* 112). The journal entry about Lucy learning to appreciate the services of her social inferiors is sandwiched between two narratives about her siblings, one of whom has robbed birds' nests while the other has neglected to care for her pets, painting the connection between one's attitude about animals and conduct towards humans. The governess critiques the forced domestication of animals that are intended to be free, not based upon principle, but because of the initial suffering they endure at being caught and the subsequent abuse and neglect that they are often subject to thereafter (Wakefield, *JA* 115). She goes on further to assert that, once tamed and used to their newly formed habits, however, these creatures would not fare well in freedom: "[The animals] were rendered unable, to provide for themselves, by being kept in a state of confinement, and therefore even liberty would be a barbarous gift to them now" (Wakefield, *JA* 115-6). Her comment seems to imply that greater kindness and generosity are shown to beings in helping them maintain their standards of living according to their customs than in trying to encourage them to go beyond their conditions. Part of the children's duty in these narratives, then, is to respect and value those considered their inferiors according not to the latter's social status, but to contributions as functioning members of community.

The popularity of natural history as a subject in children's literature was based on the idea that sensitivity to nonhuman living beings and their functions would engender the ability to understand and empathise with other humans. In his educational treatise, Locke draws the connection between animal cruelty and indifference to people, asserting how pain should not be inflicted on any living being unless it is for "preservation or advantage of some other kind that is nobler" (*STCE* 229). The philosopher even goes so far as to argue that, in fact, "the preservation of all mankind" is better ensured if all were to learn to refrain from causing any

creature harm (Locke, *STCE* 229). Therefore, concern about others, whether human or not, is not utterly altruistic; it is perhaps, more accurately, a recognition of inter- and intra-species relationships. Learning to care about other species is also about learning to care about one's own kind. As the governess in Wollstonecraft's narrative expounds, children's lack of resources means that they can perform benevolent and charitable acts only on animals. Nevertheless, it is through this constant exercise that children will develop the habit of being thoughtful and empathetic, a disposition that can be put to practise on people later in life:

> "This employment [of being of use to animals] humanized my heart, while, like wax, it took every impression; and Providence has since made me an instrument of good – I have been useful to my fellow-creatures. I, who never wantonly trod on an insect, or disregarded the plaint of the speechless beast, can now give bread to the hungry, physic to the sick, comfort to the afflicted, and, above all, am preparing you, who are to live for ever, to be fit for the society of angels, and good men made perfect." (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 15-16)

Mrs. Mason's explanation depicts how education can be conceptualised in stages: just as the education of children prepares them for adulthood, social acts of kindness as adults pave the way towards the glory of the afterlife. It is, thus, appropriate that the indifferent, spoilt wards "first [feel] the emotions of humanity" and show initial signs of their transformation and socialisation when they hear the cries of a mother bird whose nest has just been robbed (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 8). Ingrid Tague illustrates how concerns about human and animal slavery occurred concurrently in the eighteenth century, bringing into question the issue of "acceptable and unacceptable servitude" and leading to the "movement for more humane treatment of animals" as well as people (113 and 115). The anthropomorphism of animals offers readers the perspective of the vulnerable and the weak, and children's authors hope that, by extension, feelings of pity, mercy, and compassion will be applied to people typically marginalised by society. As Cosslett sums up, "two arguments that were to become standard in

children's literature about animals" are "the religious appeal to the idea of 'fellow creatures,' and the rhetorical device of reversing roles, translating animal pain into the equivalent of human pain" (14). Critics note that concerns about suffering derived from the "cult of sensibility" or "discourse of sensibility" that arose in the eighteenth century, whereby utility and scientific advancement were met with questions of morality and ethics (Cosslett 16; Bellanca 54).[37] As the eighteenth century unravelled and science started to spread across the nation, invading even the domestic space, anxiety about the effects of an increasingly utilitarian and technological world began to develop. If natural religion teaches one that nature is God's creation, one had to wonder about the consequences of desensitisation to one's actions of changing the face of nature and towards one another. Sensibility, fostered at home, became the "civilizing force of sympathy that would bind together otherwise unconnected individuals" (White 513). Thus, for children's authors, natural history is the doorway not only to religious faith, but also to social cohesion.

As an example, Wakefield's "The Evening Walk" shows how a nature walk, coupled with the study of insects and plants, ends with an act of charity that solidifies the social hierarchy. In the midst of their botanical lesson, the attention of Mrs. Spencer and her two children, Philip and Caroline, is attracted by the plight of children whose father has "gone

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[37] Barbauld's popular poem "The Mouse's Petition" and the responses it received upon publication are emblematic of the period's obsession over the question of inflicting pain for the purposes of progress. Often misconstrued by contemporaries as a condemnation of the scientific experiments of her friend, Joseph Priestley, the poem is, as Barbauld herself proclaims in later editions, a request for "mercy against justice" rather than "the plea of humanity against cruelty" (qtd. in McCarthy and Kraft 245). Most critics today consider Barbauld's footnote to be evidence that Barbauld's concerns lay in larger political issues, such as abolition and political oppression against Dissenters. Since the poem has already been analysed extensively by numerous critics and as my work chiefly concerns Barbauld's writings intended for children, I have chosen not to examine this text at great length. For some insightful analyses of the poem, see, for instance, Mary Ellen Bellanca's "Science, Animal Sympathy and Anna Barbauld's 'The Mouse's Petition'"; Kathryn Ready's "'What then, poor beastie!': Gender, Politics, and Animal Experimentation in Anna Barbauld's 'The Mouse's Petition'"; and Amy Weldon's "'The Common Gifts of Heaven': Animal Rights and Moral Education in Anna Letitia Barbauld's 'The Mouse's Petition' and 'The Caterpillar.'"

away to be a soldier, and left poor mammy to take care of them by herself" (Wakefield, *JA* 24). Implicit in this text written at the end of the eighteenth century is the destruction of the family unit as a result of wars involving Britain. However, with the intermingling of the domestic and public spheres, it becomes the social responsibility of those within the community to ensure the wellbeing of others. The wealthier Spencer family take it upon themselves to feed, clothe, and educate the children according to the latter's class. The patronage shown by the Spencer children to the poorer kids is repaid by the latter's eventual service, with one child being an apprentice to the gardener and the other becoming Caroline's "faithful and affectionate servant" (Wakefield, *JA* 26). Hence, the Spencers' benevolence and compassion result in a mutually caring society. Familial affection, instilled by the observation of natural theology, expands outwards to include members of the community, and the external world responds by further nurturing the Spencers' domestic sphere.

The doctrine espoused by the Spencer family is one that is underlined in Wollstonecraft's *Original Stories*. Mrs. Mason insists that humans are "sociable beings" with the desire for mutual care and gratification: "as in society virtue is acquired, and self-denial practised … men, if they have any affections, love their fellow-creatures, and wish for a return, nor will they, for the sake of a brutish gratification, lose the esteem of those they value" (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 75-6). The governess goes on to advise the children that enjoyment is to be postponed and reserved for "when you join the social circle" (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 77). The deference or exchange of pleasure is an indication of one's ability to think beyond the individual self in the consideration of the welfare of others. The source of pleasure that one receives should lie in the happiness which one brings to society, proving one's true membership in the community itself. As is summed up towards the end of the narrative, "The

interest we take in the fate of others, attaches them to ourselves" (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 157-178). Although animals can be employed to teach children empathy and sympathy, it is the capacity for reason and self-control that distinguishes humans from baser creatures. While one child is made aware of her selfishness in catering to individual satisfaction by witnessing the gluttony of pigs, her sister is considered to have been properly socialised when able to "regulate her appetites" through "a reasonable affection" (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 78). Having earned the governess's respect sufficiently to enter and enjoy Mrs. G's garden, Mary proves herself to be a "friend" and "no longer a child" when she picks fruit for both her and Mrs. Mason's pleasure (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 78). Hence, Mary depicts her maturity not only through the moderation of her actions, but also through her sensitivity to and recognition of the connectivity between members of a society.

Children's works propagate the conservative message that the lower classes and sometimes even slaves were, akin to children and animals, expected to keep within their ranks and rely upon the generosity and kindness of those superior to them. The juxtaposition of an ornithological family with a human family in *Fabulous Histories* reflects the comparison between humans and nonhumans, but the parallelism between the treatment of beasts and the treatment of domestics is underscored when a respected farmer tells how he owes his success to his "consider[ing] every beast that works for [him] as [his] servant, and entitled to wages" or, rather, provision and care (Trimmer 179). The farmer profits from the benevolence he has shown his animals, both financially and in terms of domestic bliss. On the other hand, his brother, having inherited an equal share of livestock, is impoverished and left a widower when he overworks and neglects his animals. Mrs. Benson in *Fabulous Histories* explains to the children how the organisation in nature and in society is all a part of the Divine plan:

> [T]he same almighty and good GOD, who created mankind, made all other living creatures likewise; and appointed them their different ranks in the creation, that they might form together a community, receiving and conferring reciprocal benefits.
>
> There is no doubt that the Almighty designed all beings for happiness, proportionable to the faculties he endued them with; therefore, whoever wantonly destroys that happiness, acts contrary to the will of his Maker. (Trimmer 216)

Everyone, high and low, has a function and all are mutually dependent upon one another. Therefore, as David Perkins argues, the correlation between animals and the lower classes in the Romantic period was used as evidence to prove that "inequality was natural" (108). If, in the natural world, there was a need for differing groups, then, in society, there was a need for varied social ranks.

Paradoxically, although adherence to the class system is bolstered by children's literature, readers are constantly reminded that monarchs and the privileged, stripped of their status or in the eyes of God, are equal to all other living creations. As is stated in Barbauld's *Hymns in Prose for Children* and Aikin and Barbauld's "Canute's Reproof to his Courtiers," the one true Sovereign is God, being able to even punish earthly monarchs for evil deeds. In Canute's own words, "A king is but a man; and a man is but a worm" (Aikin and Barbauld 1:107). However, each person was considered to be born into a station, and, as such, everyone had assigned tasks. As summarised in *Mental Improvement*, "no rank, however exalted, is exempt from labour" (Wakefield 162). For instance, lords were expected to protect the local manufactory, and British captains and officers had to ensure the safety and wellbeing of their crew, just as the crew owed its allegiance to their superiors (Wakefield, *MI* 92 and 147). In addition, while workers offered services and products, it was the existence and contributions of the upper classes that churned the economy. As proposed in Peacock's *Visit for a Week*, luxuries and fashionable activities, oft attacked for being wasteful and frivolous, "are, on the

contrary, beneficial as they furnish the means of subsistance (sic!) to the subordinate ranks of mankind" (207). Thus, there is a sense of interdependence that is disseminated in children's literature, whereby different classes rely on the services of one another for the wellbeing and protection of the entire community.

The dynamics between parental figure, child, and servant in Wakefield's "The Easter Procession" and Wollstonecraft's *Original Stories* encapsulate the reciprocal relationship that is idealised in children's literature. In the former anecdote, as a consequent of her ill behaviour towards her servant, the child protagonist receives a reprimand from her mother and is deprived of the services of her maid. Asked to dress herself in preparation to go see the Christ's Hospital student procession, "[t]he spirit of rebellion [rises] quickly in Adelaide's heart," and she disobeys her mother's instructions (Wakefield, *JA* 215).[38] If parental authority to a child is comparable to a ruler's authority over its citizens, the reference to Adelaide's sentiments and conduct as a form of "rebellion" may have evoked apprehensions in many Britons, especially since the text was written and published in the years after the American and French Revolutions. Adelaide's disobedience ends with her exclusion from society, for she is prohibited from leaving the house with her family to see the annual procession, despite the pleadings of her siblings for clemency. If Adelaide does not retain the values of society, then, she might as well be expelled from it. Her mother further clarifies the reason for Adelaide's sanction and the moral that she expects the girl to learn from this experience:

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[38] Christ's Hospital was a charity school, whose student list includes noted Romantic writers like Charles Lamb, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and Leigh Hunt. Lamb writes about his experiences at Christ's Hospital in his *Essays of Elia*, as Coleridge does in *Biographia Literaria*. For a collection of writings on the institution by these authors, including their critiques of the instructors' pedagogical methods, refer to *Christ's Hospital: Recollections of Lamb, Coleridge, and Leigh Hunt*.

> "To punish you, is a task that nothing but a sense of duty could impose upon me … Adopt this maxim in all your concerns: Never ask another to do for you, which you can do for yourself. But when you condescend to desire the assistance of others, you should take care to make the request with civility and gentleness. It is not because you are born of more wealthy parents, that you have a right to command the services of others: whatever is done for you is a favour, and calls for your gratitude and humility. Your perseverance in speaking haughtily and refusing obedience to me, marks a stubbornness that gives me great concern, and I hope this will be the last instance I shall ever see of it; as a continuance of such conduct must diminish my esteem, if not my affection for you." (Wakefield, *JA* 219-20)

The parent's responsibility, which the child will presumably shoulder when grown up, is to ensure that the child comprehends the delicate balance and interdependence between different ranks. The upper class has to protect the lower from the possibility of abuse, just as Mrs. Cooper has to teach Adelaide how to appreciate the work done by others and to conduct herself in a way that ensures the continuance of the cooperation of others. Service is provided as a courtesy, regardless whether it is given by or to those lower on the social scale. Just as Adelaide has to learn to respect her mother, who has authority over her and to whom she owes her duty, she has to show respect to those ranked below her as well. In a similar fashion, Mrs. Mason in *Original* Stories tells Mary that her rudeness to the maid is improper because, though a domestic, the maid is an adult with greater reasoning skills and experience. The governess explains how it is part of Divine Providence that "[o]ne being is made dependent on another," as we are all "linked together by necessity, and the exercise of the social affections … By these means we improve one another; but there is no real inferiority" (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 100). Mrs. Mason acknowledges that social rank is a necessity sanctioned by God, as each person has a duty to fulfill; however, true quality lies not in one's social status, but in the realisation of one's expected role:

> "If I behave improperly to servants, I am really their inferior, as I abuse a trust, and imitate not the Being whose servant I am, without a shadow of equality.

> Children are helpless; I order my servants to wait on you, because you are so; but I have not as much respect for you as for them; you may possibly become a virtuous character. Many servants have really been such; they have done their duty, filled an humble station as they ought to fill it, conscientiously. And do you dare to despise those whom your Creator approves?" (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 100).

Therefore, the governess makes a distinction between superficial superiority, one based upon the unrefined material categorisation of wealth and title, and true eminence, which is based upon action, morality, and ethics.

Given the political climate of the late eighteenth century, political and social critique had to be relatively covert, and children's literature presented the opportunity, especially for female authors, to discourse publicly with little fear of condemnation or repercussions. As Moira Ferguson astutely perceives, through their works on animals, women can participate in debates about national and political concerns (*Animal Advocacy and Englishwomen* 1). Aikin and Barbauld's "The Travelled" Ant," for instance, reveals the subversive tactics that some children's writers employ to voice their dissatisfaction about contemporary social affairs. Having returned from his adventures beyond the garden, the protagonist, an ant, discovers that the most important lesson is not the appreciation of one's native home, but the error in idealising one's race or rank above others: "[I]t is the current opinion with us, that every thing in this world was made for our use. Now, I have seen such vast tracts not at all fit for our residence, and peopled with creatures so much larger and stronger than ourselves, that I cannot help being convinced that the Creator had in view their accommodation as well as ours, in making this world" (Aikin and Barbauld 5:115-6). His statement underlines the equality of all races or stations as being products of God's design. However, a fellow ant advises him not to publicise his opinions, for "ants are a vain race, and make high pretensions to wisdom as well as antiquity" and "shall be affronted with any attempts to lessen [their] importance in [their]

own eyes" (Aikin and Barbauld 5:116). The protagonist's protest that there is no benefit in continuing with a false sense of superiority is met with what can be considered a strange dismissal that ends the narrative. The friend tells the protagonist to "do what is proper" and thanks the latter for the amusement provided (Aikin and Barbauld 5:116). The recommendation to not disclose the truth for fear of repercussions is an unusual moral in a genre that seems to insist upon honesty and integrity; yet, it is appropriate as a message directed at adults discoursing in a period that had seen at least two Revolutions and the anti-Catholic Gordon Riots.[39] By making the central characters anthropomorphised insects instead of people, the authors were able to state their point while deflecting any ensuing criticism.

Although children's authors appear to support the class system, they are also critical of abuses, which they view as diverging from one's duties and responsibilities within society. Animals, being sentient, are portrayed as being aware of good or bad treatment and of providing corresponding reactions. Barbauld and Aikin, Peacock, Wakefield, Trimmer, and Wollstonecraft each provide numerous accounts of animals' loyalty and utility to those who are humane and benevolent and, conversely, of bestial attacks upon the wicked and sadistic. If, in children's literature, the lower classes, slaves, and children are similar to animals, the depiction of creatures turning upon tyrannical masters and cruel people is an implicit warning to the ruling classes of possible future rebellions and social unrests as a result of oppression. Mrs. Mills in *Visit for a Week* goes so far as to tell her niece and nephew that "[i]n the present

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[39] Consider, for instance, the government suspicion that Wordsworth and Coleridge were spies for the French; William Blake being charged with treason after kicking John Schofield off his property; and Leigh Hunt's trial for libel against the Prince Regent. The state of paranoia lasted well into the Napoleonic era. More information is found in *Fearful Symmetry: A Study of William Blake* by Northrop Frye; *William Wordsworth: A Life* by Stephen Gill; *A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and Other Crimes and Misdemeanors* by T. B. Howell; *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison; and *Wordsworth and Coleridge: The Radical Years* by Nicholas Roe.

state of the world … war is sometimes necessary; but then it must be undertaken in defence of our lives, property, or independence" (Peacock 167). War is justified as defence against attack or tyranny, but not if it is prompted by "an insatiable thirst of wealth or power" (Peacock, *Visit for a Week* 167). Therefore, the neglect of one's social and political responsibilities may lead to the collapse of the society itself.

Conversely, just as the equilibrium of society can be threatened by the mismanagement of power by those higher up on the social ladder, there is also a degree of danger if one over-sympathises with those considered to be of the subordinate classes. Aikin and Barbauld stress the importance of treating creatures according to their ranks in the aptly named tale "What Animals are Made For." After hearing her father expostulate on the importance of all of God's creations, Sophia wonders if she should refrain from killing any animal. Her father responds by informing her that, like all other living beings, humans have the right to "make reasonable use of all animals for our advantage, and also to free ourselves from such as are hurtful to us … But we should never abuse them for our mere amusement, nor take away their lives wantonly" (Aikin and Barbauld 4:154). Too much kindness to others may prove to be equally damaging to oneself and to the balance necessary in life. He concludes his speech with an anecdote about a vegetarian Brahmin who is rescued from a man-eating tiger by an English soldier. Although grateful, the Brahmin, who has thus far been condemning every insectivorous and carnivorous animal he encounters for their seeming cruelty, refuses to kill one of his cows to nourish the starving soldier. The anecdote, the story, and the *Evenings at Home* volume end simultaneously with the English soldier's statement, "Then kill the next tiger yourself" (Aikin and Barbauld 4:160). The possibility of a future encounter with a man-eater, coupled with the abrupt ending and the collapse of the narrative act, leaves the reader

with a sense of foreboding and extreme discomfort. If *Evenings at Home* is, as the authors describe in the introduction to their first volume, the result of a domestic and social activity at Beechgrove Hall, the sudden discontinuation of the narration underscores the destruction of the discourse and bonding between members of the community.[40] Harriet Ritvo, who examines how the moral judgment of certain groups of animals reflects social organisation, argues that the delicate relationship between carnivorous animals and humans illustrates the direness of maintaining balance in the class system, of "the consequences that might follow any weakening of the social hierarchy, any diminution of respect and obedience on one side and of firmness and authority on the other" (89). For Ritvo, the man-eater is a threat, and it must learn the sanctity of human flesh. To be overly sympathetic to those lower in the hierarchy, to over-sentimentalise beasts, would be to court danger, and the results may be disastrous to one's wellbeing.

The need to control the level of sympathy and sensibility felt for others, so that emotions do not overtake reason, is also apparent in Trimmer's *Fabulous Histories*. In stark contrast with the cruelty of Master Jenkins and the initial callousness of Miss Jenkins is the

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[40] *Evenings at Home*, according to the introduction, is a collection of the writings produced by members of the Fairborne family, who would then gather, together with their friends, to read the works aloud (Aikin and Barbauld 1:1-3). The collection is also a collaborative effort of the sibling authors and just one example of the influence they each have on one another's works.

Although Lucy Aikin claims that only fifteen pieces in *Evenings at Home* were written by her aunt, I make no distinction between the authorship of individual works in the collection. Michelle Levy, building upon McCarthy's scepticism of Lucy Aikin's memoir, questions the accuracy of the texts attributed to Barbauld by her niece. Also, the closeness with which the siblings work, with Aikin often editing his sister's texts and with Barbauld commenting on her brother's pieces, would make it difficult to make a clear distinction between individual ideas, opinions, or even writing. After all, in a letter addressed to her brother dated September 9th, 1775, Barbauld proposes that they "sew all [their] fragments together, and make a *Joineriana* of them" (2:9). As Levy observes, the siblings have always refused to acknowledge individual authorship: "[T]hey intentionally rejected a model of autonomous authorship, preferring to take joint responsibility for the work as a whole, which throughout displays a unified style and a shared set of ethical and political beliefs" (130). The cooperative approach that the brother-sister team has towards their writing also reinforces the social imperatives and communal spirit that they try to disseminate through their literature. Michelle Levy's "The Radical Education of *Evenings at Home*" and Daniel E. White's "The 'Joineriana': Anna Barbauld, the Aikin Family Circle, and the Dissenting Public Sphere" are examples of texts that examine the collaboration between Aikin and Barbauld.

overindulgent Mrs. Addis who prefers her numerous pets over her own children. Prefiguring Charles Dickens's Mrs. Jellyby, the "telescopic philanthrop[ist]" consumed by care for African children over her family, Mrs. Addis is a character who exhibits the effects of excessive and wrongful investment of feelings (82). By favouring animals to the detriment of humans, Mrs. Addis is inverting the natural order, and what ensues is a scene of chaos in the domestic setting. Animals run amok, the garden is unkempt, and her daughter is presented as "sickly, dirty, and ragged" and "a very vulgar figure … for want of instruction" (Trimmer 104). At the end of the text, readers are told that her pets turn uncontrollable, dying accidentally or having to be put down, while her children become as neglectful of and hardened towards their mother as she has been to them during their childhood. During a visit to the Addis household, Mrs. Benson reminds her daughter that "our affections towards the inferior parts of the creation should be properly *regulated*" (Trimmer 107). Hence, there is a need to find a balance between compassion for and over-sentimentalisation of subordinate beings.

If empathy for animals is meant to provide readers with the point-of-view of the inferior, then, a number of children's writings are intended to enlighten readers to the hardships endured by slaves. Aikin and Barbauld, the latter most known for her anti-slavery text, *Epistle to William Wilberforce, Esq.*, and Wakefield express their sentiments in favour of abolition in their writing for children. When slavery is condemned, it is not just through the illustration of the physical sufferings the slaves endure, but, more apparently, through the destruction of the slaves' familial happiness. The discussion of slavery, portrayed in a conversation between parents and children at home in Wakefield's *Mental Improvement*, points to the close connection between the public issue of abolition and the feminine, private

space. One of the children laments the separation between family members that necessarily follow the enslavement of individuals (Wakefield, *MI* 77). However, as her parent discerns, the blame should lie not only on slave-traders and the nations that enslave, but also the society which, lacking compassion and empathy for its members, allows such abuses to occur. The African royalty, being ignorant and easily corrupted, fails to perform its duty of defending its subjects (Wakefield, *MI* 77). As such, the barbarity and the stagnation of the African nation are due to both the actions of outsiders as well as its own people.

Aikin and Barbauld also use defamiliarising techniques in their works for children to try to win sympathy for the abolition cause. Alongside tales with talking animals, *Evenings at Home* contains narratives which try to make readers view things and situations differently than the norm. If natural history is dependent upon close observation and the classification of nature, defamiliarisation requires further interrogation into what one perceives. The significance of minute examination is expressed in "A Lesson in the Art of Distinguishing," where Charles's father asks him to define a horse by considering its visible characteristics and through comparison. The purpose of the exercise is to show the boy that "nothing is more useful than to learn to form ideas with precision and to express them with accuracy. [The father has] not given [him] a definition to teach [him] what a horse is, but to teach [him] to *think*" (Aikin and Barbauld 2:140). Thus, it is not enough for children to learn how to categorise based upon empirical evidence; they also have to consider what an object or concept actually is and means. "Eyes, and No Eyes," subtitled "The Art of Seeing," further reveals the differences in perception by depicting the varying experiences of two boys taking the same route on a walk. What one child considers a dull walk, another takes to be an opportunity to gain more knowledge through the country's landscape. As the tutor in the

narrative says, the proper way of looking can make any common, domestic ramble more enlightening than the Grand Tour itself (Aikin and Barbauld 4:112). Thus, ordinary British life can be and is presented as an exotic culture, as in another story, "Travellers' Wonders." Meanwhile, wars are depicted as "bloody murder" in "Things by their Right Names," and "true heroes" are not mythical or major historical figures, but John Howard, an English prison reformer, and Tom, a mere working-class, dutiful son who provides for his family (Aikin and Barbauld 1:154 and 5:86-8). In perhaps their most scathing of children's narratives, "The Price of a Victory" and "The Cost of a War," Aikin and Barbauld illustrate the brutalities of war by describing pathetic scenes and sufferings of soldiers and citizens, reconstituting what terms like "victory," "honour," and "glory" signify. As the father in the latter text avers, there is a need to deconstruct conventional definitions, for humans have become numb to the suffering of others:

> [M]ankind have been too long accustomed to [war], and it is too agreeable to their bad passions, easily to be laid aside, whatever miseries it may bring upon them. But in the mean time let us correct our own ideas of the matter, and no longer lavish admiration upon such a pest of the human race as a *Conqueror*, how brilliant soever his qualities may be; nor ever think that a profession which binds a man to be the servile instrument of cruelty and injustice, is an *honourable* calling. (Aikin and Barbauld 5:63)

It is with an enlightened and critical eye that readers should evaluate the norms and values of their society. As is questioned in "The Globe Lecture," a text that provides a geographical and cultural overview of different continents, "If a black dog is as much a dog as a white one, why should not a black man be as much a man?" (Aikin and Barbauld 6:131). After all, if one were to view things from a Linnaean point of view, the different races of men are little more than variations of the same species.

Although Peacock's "The Pearl Diver" ends with the liberty of a slave, the narrative seems to support paternalism rather than the abolition of slavery or the class system. Tague discovers that, although many authors struggled to deal with the issue of slavery, both in regards to animals and to humans, "many critics stop short of advocating its total abolition throughout the British Empire" (117). Peacock's short story displays that, given proper care and shown benevolence, slaves, like those in the working classes, are capable of gratitude and willing to offer their services. The protagonist, Farnando, is the son of Basco, a slave overseer reputed for "kindness and humanity," so much so that he has "entirely gained [the slaves'] affections" and is "much beloved by the negroes under his command" (Peacock, "PD" 141-2). Brought up in his father's image, Farnando rescues a slave pearl diver from death and, later, discovers his family destitute because of his parent's charitable conduct. His late father's employer, a Spanish nobleman, places Farnando under the management of a cruel and tyrannical captain. However, when Farnando leaves his position, unable to endure more abuse, and tries to complain, he finds the nobleman "too proud to bear contradiction from an inferior" and himself dismissed with threats and insults (Peacock, "PD" 158). The contrast between the nobleman's behaviour towards Farnando and the conduct that Farnando himself has shown slaves is underscored at the end of the narrative through the return that they each receive from their inferiors. The previously rescued slave chooses to gift a particularly exquisite pearl he has found to Farnando instead of selling it to his own master, and his act leads to the protagonist's financial success and, ultimately, the slave's own liberty.[41] Meanwhile, even though Farnando has "from an infant been taught to honor and revere" the Spanish nobleman,

[41] The footnote to Peacock's story states that a slave pearl-diver is only required to fulfil a quota of pearls for his master. Pearls exceeding the quota belong to the slave although they are typically sold to their masters (*Friendly Labours* 1:164).

the latter misses out on the prized jewel, both literally and metaphorically in the form of a faithful and diligent employee (Peacock, "PD" 158). Farnando, not unlike a maltreated slave, refuses service and loyalty while the real slave repays generosity and empathy in kind. As implied by the title of the narrative, "The Pearl Diver," the main subject of the text is slavery even though the protagonist himself is a free-born individual.

In addition to the abolition debate, the French Revolution, which forms the backdrop of many children's works, allowed authors to comment on social and political situations in and beyond the British nation. In Wakefield's "The Power of a School-Boy," a French noble family flees its homeland for England due to the Revolution, and, impoverished, the father is forced work as a language teacher. The narrator makes a point of telling the readers that, prior to the family's misfortune, the Monsieur had been diligent in his studies as a boy and the family had been consistently charitable. Even in their present difficult situation, the family manages to maintain their cheerful disposition and strong affections for one another. In other words, the French family embodies all the domestic and social qualities that Wakefield tries to encourage in her writing for children. The Monsieur falls ill as a result of the challenges he has had to endure, and one of his students, Octavius, gets the community together to assist the family. Although the French nobleman eventually passes away, the family is able to sustain itself thanks to "the kind exertions of those friends, whom the benevolence of Octavius had procured for [the widow]" (Wakefield, *JA* 263-4). The text specifies that the student is one "whom [the narrator] shall call Octavius," implying that Octavius is not the character's real name (Wakefield, *JA* 262). By alluding to the Roman emperor and by ascribing the efforts of the community to that of the boy, the moral at the end of the narrative, which is also the moral at the end of the collection, overturns conventional social hierarchy: "[T]he power of doing

good is neither confined to age nor station; it consists more in inclination than in the possession of talents or riches" (Wakefield, *JA* 264). Throughout her collection and even in this anecdote, class distinction has always been maintained; even when having to work for his living and depending on charity, for instance, the Monsieur is still referred to as "the gentleman." Nevertheless, by valorising the "power of doing good," Wakefield is blurring class boundaries (*JA* 264). If charity, kindness, and generosity form the new measurement of worth and such qualities are universally attainable, the value of the ruling or privileged classes becomes diminished. Furthermore, as the nationalities of the benefactors and the recipients of aid suggest, such humanitarian qualities are the mark of British national identity.

Even though *Original Stories* was initially published before the French Revolution, already visible in the text is Wollstonecraft's critique of some of the cruelties on the continent. The unnamed "dreadful" gaol in France referred to in the first edition is made explicit as "the Bastille" in the second, published in 1791 (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 26). Included in the description of the barbarities experienced by the prisoners is the complete isolation from society of any living creature, human or otherwise. A prisoner's plea for the life of a pet spider is met with utter disdain and lack of pity from the authorities, and "[feeling] more pain from the crush [of the spider], than he ha[s] experienced during his long confinement," the prisoner realises that "he breathe[s] where nothing else [draws] breath" (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 26-27). Later in the text, another French prison is described, with English prisoners of war dying as a result of horrible conditions and treatment. Although the surviving prisoner is careful to note that not all French people are heartless, the only French presented as being charitable are women, creatures lower on the social ladder in patriarchal societies (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 69-70). Thus, at the core of Wollstonecraft's narrative lies a critique of the abuse of power and the wars

between nations that result in needless suffering and the disintegration of the domestic unit. Due to what is presumably the American War of Independence, sailors like Jack are forced to separate from their families, endure hardships, and face death and permanent injuries. It is only when prisoners are exchanged and with the intervention of women like Mrs. Mason and the French ladies that Jack is able to be reunited with his wife and have a home. The patrician form of nationalism which espouses militarism comes under attack and is replaced by more familial values, as the sailor and his wife decide to reside by the coast, catching and providing fish for the governess and the community.

As in Wakefield's and Wollstonecraft's stories, Peacock's *The Little Emigrant* espouses magnanimity and charity and tries to link these values with the British nation. "[T]roubles in France," most likely the French Revolution, has led to the separation of a French girl from her family, leaving her stranded amongst strangers in England (Peacock, *LE* 14). She is taken in by Louisa and her father, Mr. Vincent, who provide her with care and education. The pair's act is not unusual, for readers are told that "there is, perhaps, no country in the world, where charitable institutions are so numerous, or so liberally supported as in England" (Peacock, *LE* 111). Charity being a quality of Englishness or Britishness is further emphasised when Mr. Vincent later refuses payment for having looked after Annette, referring to monetary exchange as "no less than treason" (Peacock, *LE* 167). Although herself a child, Louisa teaches Annette English and natural history; in return, Annette teaches her friend French and feminine accomplishments, such as singing, drawing, and music (Peacock, *LE* 18-19). The interaction and exchange of instruction between the two children exhibits the level of international cooperation that is possible between nations. Nevertheless, the lessons and educational values propounded by the English seem to be valorised, for, later on, when

Annette is reconciled with her parents and brought back into the upper-class circle, she is unhappy, missing the simple life to which she has grown accustomed and which she "confess[es] superior to those tumultuous pleasures in which she [is] constantly engaged" (Peacock, *LE* 193). It is not because she is living in the city and in the upper classes that Annette is unhappy. Earlier in the story, Mr. Vincent diverges from Rousseau's idealisation of nature to remind the children that God is everywhere, including cities like London. Man's artificial products and manufactory, though inferior to God's natural creations, and Man himself are all part of the Divine plan (Peacock, *LE* 131-2). What seem to be under attack are the selfishness and shallowness of the fashionable crowd, whose values originate from the Continent. Miss Eliot looks down upon Annette, for the latter has, through Mr. Vincent, learned "music as a science" and does not know current composers; yet, Annette's superiority is proven when the former is unable to play even "the most simple ballad" (Peacock, *LE*170). Meanwhile, the contemptuous Miss Gould, pretending to be of great knowledge and expressing a preference for French literature and *Belles Lettres*, shows her lack of true understanding when quizzed on the subject of English history. Hence, unlike her new peers, Annette has been imbued with values developed from an education that can perhaps be considered truly British. At the end of the text, the D'Abergs decide to reside near the curate and his daughter in a parish, and the children continue to "pursue the same studies, and together the taste of high enjoyments, that of doing good" (Peacock, *LE* 202). The French aristocratic family is subsumed into and contributes to the local English community, highlighting the superiority of British education founded upon principles of natural religion, generosity, and kindness.

The cultivation of taste in sensibility, of having the acumen to recognise the pleasure in humanitarian acts, had become essential in British children's education. Children had to be taught to feel for others, and they had to be taught that such emotions are spiritually and aesthetically fulfilling. If the sublime fills one with a sense of awe, terror, and wonder, charity provides a more homely or communal feeling of pleasure. According to Kathryn Ready, natural history reconfigures the perception of readers, so that beauty becomes visible in humbler and more common forms (95). In other words, the exotic is displaced by the everyday. In "Nature, Nation, and Denomination," Emma Major compares the pedagogical works of Dissenting authors with that of Trimmer, hypothesising that authors like Wakefield and Barbauld cause unease in the Anglican writer because of their stress on taste and pleasure rather than duty (916). Dissenters try to imbue in children "a devotional taste through appreciation of a national landscape," claiming a form of non-sectarian, purer form of faith and nationalism that is accessible to all (Major 921). Arguably, however, the focus on nature evokes one's national pride not only through sensibility to visual beauty. If the understanding of nature leads to an awareness of the interconnectedness of living beings and the necessity of doing good for the welfare of others, then, the British landscape becomes the stimuli and the scene for the projection of one's charitable feelings. As Tague points out, in the eighteenth century, values like "liberty" and "humanitarianism" became associated with Britishness and a source of British pride, as they became hallmarks of a nation's progress and civility (112 and 115). The more advanced a nation is, the greater is its responsibilities to care for the people of its own and other countries.

The qualities ascribed to the flora and fauna themselves also reflect and glorify British characteristics of social responsibility, generosity, and kindness. Just as bees represent the

class system and sovereignty and man-eating carnivores are political or social threats, other nonhuman beings connote either positive British or inferior foreign values. The first text in the first volume of *Evenings at Home* is “On the Oak,” which consists of a dialogue between a tutor and two boys on the contributions of the English oak to the nation, from being used to strengthen British naval forces to furnishing British homes. So esteemed and useful is the mighty oak that the tutor calls anyone who plants an acorn “a benefactor to his country” and avers, “[T]o this tree our country owes its chief glory and security” (Aikin and Barbauld 1:16 and 7). Britain’s national bird, the robin, is used throughout children’s literature, highlighting the domestic virtues that ought to be emulated by readers.[42] In Aikin and Barbauld’s “Humble Life,” the instruction of the rustic cottagers, presented as being praiseworthy, is religious and nationalistic. Aside from the Bible and the almanac, the industrious weaver and his family have several ballads including, “Children in the Wood,” “Heart of Oak,” and “Rule Britannia” (Aikin and Barbauld 5:129).[43] “Children in the Wood,” a ballad also alluded to in Trimmer’s *Fabulous Histories*, is a traditional verse about two orphans who die from being abandoned by their uncle and are “piously” covered with leaves by robins (127). It is after the birds’ sympathetic act that God punishes the uncle for his sins. According to Mitzi Myers, Trimmer’s constant reference to robins as “Redbreasts” has religious connotations: “The breast color supposedly comes from the robin’s attempt to succour a bleeding Christ” (“Portrait of the

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[42] Even though *Original Stories* does not portray a real redbreast, the third chapter of Wollstonecraft’s text consists of a narrative about “crazy Robin,” an industrious, honest man who succumbs to incessant tragedies at the hands of cold-hearted upper-class men. The start of Robin’s domestic problems, the death of his wife and children, and his downward spiral into insanity are caused by the seizure of his property and ensuing poverty, and his death follows the cruel execution of his sole remaining companion, his dog. If Robin is taken to be an allusion to the national bird, the chapter may be an illustration of the downfall of Britain’s domestic situation as a consequence of an uncaring society.

[43] “Heart of Oak” is a British naval ballad written by David Garrick “in commemoration to several victories over the French, among them the capture of Quebec” (Ogasapian 100).

Female Artist as a Young Artist" 238). Hence, the robin is a reminder of the self-sacrificing saviour of Mankind. Trimmer also contrasts the native family of robins with other birds and animals that are metaphors for foreigners. The cuckoo, which steals eggs and nests, is abhorred for taking advantage of local labour while the swallow, which kills pests, is accepted for its contribution to the local community, highlighting what is considered acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. Canaries, meanwhile, are deemed "little foreigners" with a claim to British "hospitality," being unable to fend or provide for themselves, thus reinforcing the image of Britons as being generous and compassionate (Trimmer 32). In return for patronage, the canaries, not unlike the robins who visit the Benson breakfast table, provide musical entertainment. To be a part of British society and to warrant the nation's benevolence, one has to, therefore, both conform to accepted social roles and be functioning members of the community.

Just as charity and humanity are promoted as sentiments that can be instilled through the study of nature in the domestic space, other less than favourable qualities must be weeded out from the home and nation. Animals and plants that are considered "unnatural" or forced to behave in ways that are detrimental to others are condemned. In *Fabulous Histories*, Mrs. Addis's pet monkey, treated as though a human, "destroys a recent symbol of the industrial revolution, a product of Josiah Wedgwood's inventions and craft," by breaking a teaset, and it dies of a broken neck because "Britain cannot countenance an untamed other who refuses to be quenched and contained" (Ferguson, "Sarah Trimmer's Warring Worlds" 106). In children's literature, lapdogs become associated with fashion, decadence, and uselessness, for they are bred purely for show, unlike local working dogs (Tague 124). These animals do not contribute to society and are, hence, excluded from it. However, as exemplified by the

swallow and the canary, not all that were non-native were automatically excluded from British society. As exotic flora and fauna crossed geographical boundaries and as canals and manicured lawns changed the British landscape in the eighteenth century, new questions arose as to what was and was not natural and what could be incorporated within the nation. In "'Young Ladies are Delicate Plants,'" Deidre Shauna Lynch examines how tensions developed between botanists and naturalists, and between florists and gardeners, in what she terms "greenhouse romanticism" (692). The naturalists and gardeners, advocates of native, natural species were concerned about the influx of exotic species and the popularity of "unnatural" gardening techniques, such as forcing bulbs and use of greenhouses, essentially the creation of artificial environment (Lynch, "YLDP" 704). Nevertheless, as Lynch points out, "'naturalization' was in fact a term originating on the social side of the nature/society divide" ("YLDP" 724 n. 44). Thus, one did not have to be native in order to belong. If Britain were more compassionate and welcoming, beneficial foreign qualities and knowledge could be transplanted into the nation, and adaptive incomers could, like the D'Abergs in Peacock's *The Little Emigrant*, become functional, contributing citizens.

By drawing attention to the minute details of nature, children's authors hoped to open their readers' eyes and hearts to their surroundings. Through their works, Aikin, Barbauld, Trimmer, Peacock, and Wakefield show that the home and garden can offer equally important lessons in life, instructions not just about plants and animals, but about society itself. As Elise Smith states, gardens and arbours allow for "a coherent view of one's place in a social geography" (25). Finding one's position in relation to others, however, does not lead to social cohesion. In order for a community to truly come together, bonds need to be formed based upon reciprocity, empathy, and compassion. Sensitivity to nature can lead to our

understanding of the needs and desires of other people. Humans may be a part of nature, but we are also social creatures. It is the ability to feel for others that makes us truly human, but it is by being humane that makes us a society.

Chapter 3:

Bardic Voices:

Refining Tastes, Redefining Property

Some people learn poetry by heart for the pleasure of quoting it in conversation; but the talent for quotation, both in conversation and in writing, is now become so common, that it cannot confer immortality. Every person has by rote certain passages from Shakespeare and Thomson, Goldsmith and Gray: these trite quotations fatigue the literary ear, and disgust the taste of the public.

(Maria Edgeworth and Richard Lovell Edgeworth, *Practical Education* 1:326)

Edwin. Perhaps, Felix, you may show me some of the faults, that I may mend them.
Felix (*sarcastically*). 'Pon my honour, I see no faults *that can be mended*. But why did you not take some real play; some of the new plays that have been acted in Lon'on? then we might have had a chance of some fun, instead of all this stupid stuff, about children and grandmothers, and old nurses.
Edwin. I never saw any of the new plays.
Felix. Never! then, how could you, my dear fellow, possibly think of writing any thing in the dramatic line, as they call it.
Edwin. You know, mine is only a little play for children.

(Maria Edgeworth, *Dame School Holiday* 194)

The political climate of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was conducive to an increase in nationalistic and patriotic sentiments. The French Revolution, 1800 Act of Union, and Napoleonic Wars helped encourage the proliferation of discourses that attempt to define what it means to be English, Irish, Scottish, and even British. National identity was shaped through its distinction from other nations and cultures. As such, Irishness was seen as separate from Englishness, and the British identity existed in its differentiation from the French. So prevalent was the concern with one's origin, citizenship, and culture that even the domestic realm became a public space for the construction of national identity. As antiquarians and historians unearthed material evidence to point to the connection between culture and geographical regions, authors of children's literature look to the mythic figure of the bard as a vehicle to instil national pride within the hearts of young readers. This chapter explores Maria

Edgeworth's characterisation of Irish bards and Charles and Mary Lamb's adaptation of Shakespeare's plays in writings for children, revealing how the public and masculine form of nationalism becomes intertwined with the private and the feminine, as property becomes invested with psychological attachment and value.

Although the Lambs and Maria Edgeworth did not socialise within the same circles, they shared similar interests and, perhaps more importantly, a collaborative form of writing process that blurs boundaries of intellectual proprietorship and gender. *Practical Education* is not Edgeworth's only publication with joint authorship. Her other works were often edited by her father and can be seen as a family project rather than an individual achievement.[44] Frances Botkin expands upon Marilyn Butler's well-known biography which describes how influential Edgeworth's relatives were to the author's writing:

> Edgeworth's authorship was not just a partnership; it was a collaborative effort involving the whole family. Edgeworth in fact referred to the older members of her domicile as the 'Committee of Education and Criticism.' These 'committee members' contributed by listening to or reading Edgeworth's drafts aloud, editing, consulting, and even contributing material. Earlier in her career, Edgeworth had relied heavily upon her Cousin Sophy, her aunt (by marriage) Harriet Beaufort, and especially her Aunt Ruxton, whom Marilyn Butler dubs 'the presiding genius of the first half of Maria's career as a writer of fiction' (300). Later in her career, Edgeworth depended upon her younger sisters, her aunts, her cousins and a few female friends. For Edgeworth, the writing process was a means of getting people involved. (94)

The network of influence under which Edgeworth operates is even more extensive when one considers her lifetime correspondence with Rachel Mordecai, with whom Edgeworth

[44] Numerous critics, including Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, Caroline Gonda, Anne Mellor, and Mitzi Myers, have written about Richard Lovell Edgeworth's patronage of his daughter's texts, examining and debating how Edgeworth defers to and challenges her father's authority. See, for instance, Kowaleski-Wallace's *Their Fathers' Daughters: Hannah More, Maria Edgeworth, and Patriarchal Complicity*; Gonda's *Reading Daughters' Fictions, 1709-1834: Novels and Society from Manley to Edgeworth*; Mellor's *Romanticism & Gender*; and Myers' "Shot from the Cannons; or, Maria Edgeworth and the Cultural Production and Consumption of the Late Eighteenth-Century Woman Writer."

discussed politics and her literary works. The continuance of the two women's communication beyond their deaths by their female family members further highlights how writing is perceived as a social and domestic product in the Edgeworth household.[45]

The Lambs also worked closely together and within a close circle of friends. Mary Lamb's brother was her editor and also her collaborator in her two most popular children's books, *Tales from Shakespear* and *Mrs. Leicester's School*. In his Elia essays, Charles even refers to their relationship as "a sort of double singleness" (Lamb, *The Works of Charles and Mary Lamb* 2:75). For many decades, Charles was the sole person accredited with the authorship of *Tales from Shakespear*; however, in a letter to Wordsworth, he claims responsibility only for the tragedies and part of the preface (Lamb and Lamb, *LCML* 2:336).[46] The division of genre amongst the siblings may be due to the brother's belief that tragedy, unlike comedy, loses its complexity in being staged, and, thus, the transcription from verse to prose requires greater literary finesse and experience. Janet Ruth Heller explains that, for Charles Lamb, while "comedy allows the spectators to escape the 'shackles' of their ordinary lives to experience the freedom of a fictional dream world … tragedy is more metaphysical

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[45] Botkin details a 120-year correspondence between the Mordecai and the Edgeworth women:

> Rachel Mordecai Lazarus died first, but her sister, Ellen (also a teacher) continued corresponding with Edgeworth, and, after Edgeworth died, with Edgeworth's third stepmother and with her sisters. After Ellen's death, her half sister Emma took over, then her niece, Augusta, and finally, Rachel's great-niece, Rosina. On Edgeworth's end, her stepmother wrote until 1865, followed by Maria's sister Harriet, then by her sister Lucy, and Maria's niece, Harriet Jessie. Thus Maria Edgeworth's and Rachel Mordecai's correspondence continued until 1942, a closely connected circle of women who nurtured this relationship through several generations. (97)

[46] E. V. Lucas suggests that Mary Lamb's lack of recognition as the author of *Tales from Shakespear* may be due to a desire for anonymity after the murder of her mother or, as the editor puts it, "the unhappy publicity which she had once gained by her misfortune" (478). However, as Jane Aaron proposes, even when Mary was later recognised for her contribution, she continued to be overshadowed by her brother's fame and was largely ignored by critics (13).

and requires deeper audience involvement and imaginative effort, which reading alone can provide" (117). Furthermore, the siblings knew William Godwin and were close friends of William Hazlitt and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, with whom they, particularly Charles, constantly engaged in literary discussions and projects. So intimate were the Lambs with Coleridge that, as Alison Hickey points out in "Double Bonds," the marriage analogy is often used by the authors to describe their relationship with one another.[47] According to Hickey, Charles Lamb's letters to Coleridge reveal a transposition of the writing process upon the domestic scene and of his relationship with Coleridge upon his relationship with Mary. Citing an example from Charles's letter to Coleridge, dated October 28th, 1796, in which the former shifts from a discussion of writing and metaphysics to "the proper business of life" or "talk[ing] a little together respecting [their] domestic concerns," Hickey argues that Charles collapses the boundaries between public and private and between male-male and male-female connections (745). Simultaneously, Mary Lamb writes of the siblings' support for one another and the eradication of gender distinction during the process of writing *Tales from Shakespear*, comparing themselves to Hermia and Helena in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and Darby and Joan, a conventional representation of the old, happily married couple leading a quiet life (Lamb and Lamb, *LCML* 2:228-9).

The emphasis on familial co-operation in writing children's works and in conceptualising educational theories highlights the opportunity for the intersection of the domestic world with the masculine, public sphere when it comes to nationalism. Women were

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[47] As Hickey proposes, Lamb's June 14th, 1796, letter to Coleridge, where the former jokingly wishes his friend unmarried so they can have an evening of smoking and drinking together, shows how "Lamb appropriates and alters the discourse of domesticity to conjure up a scene of his own bonding with Coleridge – a bonding that takes place in a little smoky room in a public house, a masculinized version of female domestic space. In this nest, brooding over their egg-hot, the two men incubate ideas and affections" (740).

able to comment upon and, more importantly, help shape political and nationalist beliefs. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as Linda Colley observes, Englishness and Britishness seemed to be determined by acts and pastimes associated or limited to men, such as fox-hunting, celebrations of military and naval victories, education at public schools and universities, and literary competitions (167-173). Even though there were famed female nationalist writers, such as Felicia Hemans and Maria Edgeworth herself, women were excluded from many such activities, particularly if it meant competing against their male compatriots. In "Minstrelsy Goes to Market," Erik Simpson examines the rise of bardic competitions and poetry prizes, showing how such cultural contests that promote patriotic interests discriminate against women and dissenters: "University poetry prizes were a kind of official credential that writers outside of the Oxbridge sphere – women and Catholics, for instance – could never attain, no matter how well they supported the British cause in their work" (694). These contests reinforce the patrician form of patriotism, one that is elitist, militaristic, and Protestant.

The concern that some children's authors have over the inculcation of militaristic nationalism in young boys is visible in their works. In a section dedicated to the recommendation of books for young children, for instance, the Edgeworths caution against the dangers of reading and emulating heroic acts found in adventure tales: "Boys, on the contrary [to girls], from the habits of their education, are prone to admire, and to imitate, everything like enterprise and heroism" (*PE* 1:201). The writers' objection lies in the belief that boys who absorb the values of heroic narratives lose their ability to rationalise to the inflammation of their imagination, making them unsuitable for any profession other than the armed forces. As Richard Lovell Edgeworth states in *Essays on Professional Education*, war histories found in

classical education and adventure stories like *Robinson Crusoe* “are calculated to rouse in [a boy’s] young mind the notions of honour, and the feelings of emulation. In his education, it must be the object to excite enthusiasm, not to subject him to the nice calculations of prudence, or the more accurate judgments of reason. Consequently, a species of reading which may be disapproved of for other pupils, should be recommended for the young soldier” (124). Ultimately, the Edgeworths do not reject patrician nationalism completely but, instead, offer alternative forms of patriotism and nationalism for the general reading public.[48]

The popularity of minstrelsy and literary competitions, and the esteem and commercial gain that accompany the prizes, are indications of the accepted conventions of nationalism or patriotism in the literary marketplace. Therefore, as Simpson elucidates, “writers who could not afford a Shelleyan or Wordsworthian disdain of the marketplace,” must assume the accepted conventions, even as exploratory grounds for their own nationalistic interests (696). However, in lieu of adopting the masculine form of the “minstrel contest poem” in adult literature, as Hemans does, authoring children’s texts allows female writers to participate in the system of literary production while engaging in nationalistic discourse. The likelihood of commercial success and of widening the sphere of influence through writing children’s books is not lost on authors. In fact, critic Judith Plotz coins the term “the vocation of childhood” to describe how, in the Romantic period, childhood’s centrality led to a proliferation of activity, production, and occupation (xv). By comparing the explorations and characterisations of

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[48] Siblings Anna Laetitia Barbauld and John Aikin were equally interested in the subjects of war, politics, and nationalism, as depicted in their co-written children’s book *Evenings at Home*. As Michelle Levy suggests, they, too, perceive “the family home as the site of the public sphere, and of the family itself as the institution capable of effecting profound national change”; however, “[u]nlike the Edgeworths … Aikin and Barbauld reject a military career (as well as other occupations that would take men away from their families and Britain) as both immoral and unnecessary” (128 and 132). This chapter does not consider the works of Barbauld and Aikin because of my interest in the way the Lambs and Edgeworth incorporate the figure of the bard in their works to develop a sense of nationalism.

childhood with the process of colonisation, Plotz argues, “Increasingly throughout the nineteenth century, British childhood – like the East, like the Empire – becomes a career …No longer the humble sphere of flogging schoolmasters and shadowy governesses, childhood becomes a profession, a vocation, even a habitat for scientists, anthropologists, philosophers, novelists, and poets” (2). The construction of childhood, then, can be seen in conjunction with the delineation of nation and nationalism.

The conversion of Shakespeare’s drama into children’s works is one way to develop a more domestic and familial form of national identity. That Shakespeare’s plays, in their original, collected forms, were considered to be more readily accessible to males or a form of masculine knowledge is discernable in the statements made by the Lambs and Richard Lovell Edgeworth. In their preface, the Lambs aver that *Tales from Shakespear* is targeted more at girls or “young ladies” since boys are likely to have been introduced to the bard’s works at a young age: “For young ladies too it has been my intention chiefly to write, because boys are generally permitted the use of their fathers’ libraries at a much earlier age than girls are, they frequently having the best scenes of Shakespear by heart, before their sisters are permitted to look into this manly book” (2). Despite the target audience and formal changes from verse to prose, *Tales from Shakespear* is referred to as “this manly book,” a text which maintains its masculinity due to its content (2). Not only are boys asked to assist their sisters in providing clarification of difficult sections, but they are also assigned the task of selecting reading sections for their siblings. Therefore, boys are given the responsibility within the private sphere of educating girls in the latter’s formative years, and, if successful, the girls will eventually be inspired and able to move on to Shakespeare’s original plays themselves.

Meanwhile, in Richard Lovell Edgeworth's *Poetry Explained for the Use of Young People*, it is written that Shakespeare's "writings relate so much to the passions of men, and the concerns of princes and politicians, that a person must have what is called a knowledge of the world, and must have had some experience of the effects of human passions, before he can perceive the beauties, or have a relish for the excellencies of Shakspeare" (159-60). As implied by the author in this text, the information that is required to fully apprehend and appreciate Shakespearean texts comes from masculine education, a consciousness of politics, history, and the workings of the public domain. Nevertheless, Edgeworth crosses gender boundaries, when, in another book of poetry for children, he remarks that the lessons pertaining to the development of poetic taste and "masculine understanding" are transferable to young ladies, "giv[ing] strength to the female judgment" (*RP* xviii). Echoing Wollstonecraft's advocacy of female education, Edgeworth continues by proclaiming that "[m]en no longer desire that women be kept in ignorance, and women no longer find it necessary to be, or to affect to be uninformed in order to *fascinate*" (*RP* xix). The insights that have been available to men were becoming more attainable for women, indicating both the encouragement of the pursuit of literary knowledge in women and the domestication of masculine education.

Tales from Shakespear was written in response to a request by Godwin and due to financial necessity. Money was a constant source of concern for the Lambs, as expressed by Mary Lamb in her June 2, 1806, letter to Sarah Stoddart:[49]

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[49] The Lambs' pressing need for money is discernable in many of Charles Lambs' letters to his friends as well. In a letter to Thomas Manning dated May 10th, 1806, for example, Lamb foresees the profit he will gain from *Tales from Shakespear*, perhaps even going so far as to make a pun on Mary's progress in the project: "I think [*Tales*

> My *Tales* are to be published in separate story-books; I mean in single stories, like the children's little shilling book. I cannot send you them in Manuscript, because they are all in the Godwins' hands; but one will be published very soon, and then you shall have it *all in print*. I go on very well, and have no doubt but I shall always be able to hit upon some such kind of job to keep going on. I think I shall get fifty pounds a year at the lowest calculation; but as I have not yet seen any *money* of my own earning, for we do not expect to be paid till Christmas, I do not feel the good fortune, that has so unexpectedly befallen me, half so much as I ought to do. But another year, no doubt, I shall perceive it.
>
> When I write again, you will hear tidings of the farce, for Charles is to go in a few days to the Managers to inquire about it. But that must now be next-year's business too, even if it does succeed; so it's all looking forward, and no prospect of present gain. But that's better than no hopes at all, either for present or future times. (Lamb and Lamb, *LCML* 2:228)

Given the Lambs' state of affairs, reworking Shakespeare's plays was a financially sound plan, for England was seeing an intensification of what George Bernard Shaw would later refer to as "bardolatry," an adulation (or, in Shaw's case, an over-adulation) of Shakespeare (33).

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Shakespeare and his works were reconceptualised and popularised. Jonathan Bate asserts that Shakespeare has always been reconfigured and adapted to suit the times; however, as the critic himself recognises, it was in "the latter part of the eighteenth century [that] Shakespeare became commercialized and was made into a commodity, an object of material consumption" (5 and 45). Bate lists the profusion of production, including the celebrity status of David Garrick and Charles Kemble; the much-celebrated 1769 Shakespeare Jubilee in Stratford-upon-Avon; John Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery and the subscription to engravings; caricatures by James Gillray; and discourses in the form of critical essays, satires, and parodies. Anyone can be in possession of

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from Shakespear] will be popular among the little people, besides money. It's to bring in sixty guineas. Mary has done them capitally, I think, you'd think" (Lamb and Lamb, *LCML* 2:225).

a piece of Shakespeare, be it in the form of a bust, a painting, or even a "manuscript." The forged manuscripts by William Henry-Ireland and the ensuing debate over the authenticity of the papers in the late-eighteenth century accentuate not only the cultural obsession with Shakespeare, but also the profitability of and activity in recreating Shakespeare for public consumption. The remarks by Ireland's father that the manuscripts are "the production of Shakespeare himself" is taken by Tom Lockwood to mean that "the papers are not only produced by Shakespeare but, at the same time, are involved in the business of producing Shakespeare" (110). In other words, the fake plays and letters are both the consequence and cause of the continuance of the Shakespearean tradition and myth.[50] Furthermore, the fact that the Ireland forgeries occurred a few decades after James Macpherson's fabrication of Ossianic poems demonstrates how important bards and bardic history were not just to the English, but across the British nation. Shakespeare was to England what Ossian was to the peripheries. The increase in duplication, not just in regards to Shakespeare, is what leads Richard Lovell Edgeworth to remark in his preface to *Poetry Explained for the Use of Young People* that "[t]he world of literature now abounds with copiers of copyists, who, varying merely the arrangement of words, run the changes eternally upon the same set of ideas" (v). For Edgeworth, the act of replication is brought about by reverence instilled through impressions of standards at a young age, where imitation is a form of compliment and reinforcement of conventions. If children are made to believe that excellence consists of certain criteria, then, it

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[50] For more information about the influence of forgeries on literary production, see the section on "Forgeries" by Debbie Lee in *Romanticism: An Oxford Guide*. The decision of the editor to include the section under the heading of "Romantic Forms," amongst the epic, sonnet, narrative poetry, and novel, is perhaps telling of the widespread popularity and impact of counterfeit texts in the Romantic period.

necessarily follows that those rules and forms will be repeated in an attempt to attain quality and success.

Paradoxically, it is the marketability and public consumption of Shakespeare that Charles Lamb criticises and to which he contributes. In consenting to co-author *Tales from Shakespear* for monetary reasons, he is engaging in the economy of re-producing Shakespeare. Nevertheless, in his essay "On the Tragedies of Shakespeare," Lamb expresses his dissatisfaction with his contemporaries' emphasis on materiality when it comes to Shakespeare and Shakespearean plays. Lamb was commenting in a period which was marked by what Michael Eberle-Sinatra terms "[t]he full development of the star system," whereby the theatrical world was dominated by actors and a public that adored them (13). It was due to the spotlighting of performances and performers that enabled Leigh Hunt to become arguably "the first major Romantic theater critic" and "the first Romantic critic to develop the concept of a 'mental theatre,'" paving the way for the ensuing debate on the staging versus reading of plays (Eberle-Sinatra 9). Lamb's essay begins with the narrator happening upon Garrick's statue in Westminster Abbey. For Lamb, the statue's inscription, which compares the genius of the actor with that of the playwright, is an insult, as there is a great distinction between poetic ideas and the physical aspect of a dramatic performance:

> [T]he reflection it led me into was a kind of wonder, how, from the days of the actor here celebrated to our own, it should have been the fashion to compliment every performer in his turn, that has the luck to please the town in any of the great characters of Shakespeare, with the notion of possessing a *mind congenial with the poet's*: how people should come thus unaccountably to confound the power of originating poetical images and conceptions with the faculty of being able to read or recite the same when put into words; or what connection that absolute mastery over the heart and soul of man, which a great dramatic poet possesses, has with those low tricks upon the eye and ear, which a player by observing a few general effects, which some common passion, as grief, anger, &c. usually has upon the gestures and exterior, can so easily compass. ("OTS" 25)

The danger of overvaluing the performer or performance of Shakespeare's works lies in the depth on impression that such outwardly show has on an individual. Such impressions, once made, distract the perceiver from pursuing a deeper analysis of Shakespeare's characters, resulting in a superficial understanding and appreciation of Shakespeare's art. Lamb states that after the "juvenile pleasure" of watching a dramatised play, "we find to our cost that instead of realizing an idea, we have only materialized and brought down a fine vision to the standard of flesh and blood" ("OTS" 27). "Juvenile pleasure" is one of the phrases which links Lamb's preference for reading Shakespeare to his notions of education and of children. He disparages the use of Shakespearean quotes in what appears to be rote-learning, referring to "those speeches from Henry the Fifth, &c. which are current in the mouths of school-boys from their being to be found in *Enfield Speakers*, and such kinds of books," and he comments on the overused soliloquy from *Hamlet* as being "handled and pawed about by declamatory boys and men" (Lamb, "OTS" 27).[51] By merely mouthing speeches and aping gestures, one ignores the psychological intricacies of Shakespeare's characters. Hence, Lamb insists throughout his essay that Shakespearean plays are meant to be read, not staged.

The emphasis on reading marks the shift from focussing on the external world to the internal developments of individuals, both in the characters of the plays and in readers themselves. On stage, the significance of character may be due to the growing power that actors wielded as theatre managers or over dramatists and theatre managers (Eberle-Sinatra 13). Meanwhile, on the page, characters, rather than plot, became the central focus of critics,

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[51] As Joan Coldwell explains, Enfield's work "was popular as a school text-book and went into at least eleven editions by 1800" (163 n. 7). Coldwell's claim is strengthened by Richard Lovell Edgeworth's comment that *Enfield's Speaker* "is an established school-book, and [they] see in private families that it is in everybody's hands" (*RP* vi).

and Hamlet became the most captivating subject because of his internal conflicts and motivations. As David Farley-Hills elaborates, there began "an interest in the psychological analysis of Hamlet's character" and "the desire to sentimentalize and the desire to treat characters as if they have a life independent of the text in which they occur" (xiii and xvi). Hamlet's thoughts and his emotions flesh out the character, making him more humanlike. Lamb argues that *Hamlet* may have an educational purpose, but any moral lesson that Hamlet can possibly impart is lost when the play is acted out:

> The play itself abounds in maxims and reflexions beyond any other, and therefore we consider it as a proper vehicle for conveying moral instruction. But Hamlet himself – what does he suffer meanwhile by being dragged forth as a public schoolmaster, to give lectures to the crowd! Why, nine parts in ten of what Hamlet does, are transactions between himself and his moral sense, they are the effusions of his solitary musings, which he retires to holes and corners and the most sequestered parts of the palace to pour forth; or, rather, they are the silent meditations with which his bosom is bursting, reduced to *words* for the sake of the reader, who must else remain ignorant of what is passing there. These profound sorrows, these light-and-noise abhorring ruminations, which the tongue scarce dares utter to deaf walls and chambers, how can they be represented by the gestulating actor, who comes and mouths them out before an audience, making four hundred people his confidants at once? ("OTS" 29)

Already, the character's private and fluid interior world is forced into the physical realm by being fixed upon a page for the perusal of a reader; to stage the play, for Lamb, would be to further publicise and remove, from the perceiver, the character's true values and Shakespeare's genius. The attention paid to characterisation parallels the changes in the marketplace and in print culture described by Lynch, as mentioned in the previous chapter. The concept of self that is distinct from the physical body is brought about by what Lynch calls a "reading revolution" (*EC* 126). Evolutions in printing technology and in the bookselling industry resulted in "a new insistence on distinguishing between styles of reading and on propagating the decorums that separate one reader's refined receptiveness to literary

meanings from another, vulgar reader's avid following of fashion" (Lynch, *EC* 127). Richard Lovell Edgeworth himself outlines the shift in fashion from mere "poetical repetitions" to conversations requiring the display of taste and knowledge, stating how "[t]aste is in reality only the rapid application of judgment to a certain class of feelings and of objects" (*RP* xxiii and xxvii). As such, a reader's ability to discriminate and discern the intrinsic worth of a text and its characters is a reflection of the reader's good taste, and it is the reader's developed sensibility that reveals his or her level of knowledge and individual superiority.

Ironically, the attempt to distinguish one's personal tastes from others' had, in the Romantic period, become commonplace. Lynch suggests, through her example of Austen's characters who run the risk of turning into types, that practically everyone had a desire for and were pursuing individuality in an era when development in print processes increased the quantities and frequencies of copies made from originals.[52] Consider, for instance, Edward's satirical comment in *Sense and Sensibility* that Marianne, if she were rich, would stock up on books because she believes herself to be the only one able to appreciate them: "Thomson, Cowper, Scott – she would buy them all over and over again; she would buy up every copy, I believe, to prevent their falling into unworthy hands; and she would have every book that tells her how to admire a twisted tree" (Austen 68). Likewise, in *Pride and Prejudice*, the protagonist's wish to be able to accurately recollect the scenery of the Lakes unlike other travellers likens her to them since the act of ascertaining and copying, even if only in memory, sublime and unique sights had become a popular exercise for domestic tourists. Ultimately, Jean Marsden points out in a study which examines the alterations in the criticism and adaptation of Shakespeare that, as interior development and individualism gained greater

[52] Refer to Lynch's chapter called "Jane Austen and the Social Machine" in *The Economy of Character*.

emphasis in the latter half of the eighteenth century, "[d]epth of soul rather than breadth of learning became the basis of literary appreciation" (104). Therefore, Shakespeare's characters started to take on the appearance of roundness, as taste was made the new measurement of readers' understanding and inner worth. Nevertheless, the search for individuality and the development of personal taste were standardised within the education system, as illustrated by Lynch: "When 'English' emerged as a school subject, when the romantic-period reader's strategies for ethical individualization found a place within the supervisory machinery of public administration, the character appreciation became a device for forming the student's character and for exposing the student's sensibility to invigilation by a sympathetic inspector-teacher" (*EC* 141). Even when subjectivity is promoted and cultivated, it is realised within a social, public context that is controlled and regulated.

The primacy of developing the British public's taste is apparent in the works of critics concerned with acted Shakespearean plays. Through his reviews, Hunt tries to shape the sensibility of both play-readers and theatre-goers, believing in journalism's effectiveness as a pedagogical tool. Unlike his contemporaries, Hunt shows how viewing a performance can be as equally engaging and intellectual as reading a play. As Eberle-Sinatra argues, Hunt subscribes to the notion that the imagination, fostered by studying theatrical criticism, enables the formation of a dialogic connection between audience and actor, allowing for the evaluation of the quality of the performance (22). The consequence of a more enlightened and critical audience is improvement in theatrical arts, and, thus, an increase in social spirit and national pride: "Hunt views drama as one of the major social influences on the citizens of a country," linking, as he writes in *Critical Essays*, "public taste with that of public virtue" (Eberle-Sinatra 25; qtd. in Eberle-Sinatra 130 n. 24). The function of imagination in constructing social

preferences and emotional connections is also addressed by Coleridge, Hazlitt, and Lamb. However, the critics advocate the reading rather than viewing of Shakespearean drama because of the perceived passivity brought on by the sensory experience of spectatorship. As Heller writes in her study of the Romantics' suspicion of physical senses in drama, the critics "emphasize the primacy of readers and the need for individuals to become imaginatively involved when reading drama" and fear "that spectacle impedes this imaginative participation" (32). Although they do not go so far as to dismiss stage performance altogether, all three express the need to go beyond impressions produced by senses to the contemplation of ideas.

The ability to transcend sensory perception allows one to relate to characters as well as real-life people. Imagination and taste, developed through the practice of active reading, evoke empathetic sentiments and encourage the growth of sympathy and compassion. Hazlitt, in one of his dramatic essays, insists that "true imagination [is] to put [one]self in the place of others, and to feel and speak for them" (184). For Coleridge, Hazlitt, and Lamb, the constant consultation of one's inner thoughts and feelings develops one's conscience and morality. Heller argues that they recommend imaginative literature and the reading of Shakespearean plays because the presentation of obscure ideas in texts, unfettered by the immediacy of stage performances, demands active intellectual participation and prolonged consideration: "The romantics often praise the act of reading because it allows more distance and abstraction than viewing a performance does" (41). In his lecture notes, Coleridge writes that to truly appreciate and comprehend Hamlet, "the darling of every country in which the literature of England has been fostered," "it is essential that we should reflect on the constitutions of our own minds … a balance is constantly maintained between the impressions from outward objects and the inward operations of the intellect" ("NH" 61). Building upon John Locke's

emphasis on the senses, Coleridge posits that external sensations must be filtered by and meditated upon by one's consciousness. For Coleridge, the lesson the play imparts is the "moral necessity of due balance between our attention to the objects of our senses, and our meditation on the workings of our minds – an *equilibrium* between the real and the imaginary worlds," a quality which Hamlet himself lacks ("NH" 62). Hamlet is unable to exact his revenge because he fails to collate his external and internal realities. The physical manifestation of Shakespeare's fictional characters that Lamb may have deemed a fruitless distraction is here seen as the gateway to one's psychological self. More so than Coleridge, Hazlitt stresses the connection between the material world and moral faculty in what Roy Park terms "experiential response" (38). Drawing upon Hazlitt's works, especially *Essay on the Principles of Human Action*, Park shows how the critic rejects rising utilitarian theories by making imaginative capacity the core of moral improvement: "In his criticism of psychological egoism Hazlitt developed a theory of imagination as the faculty of self-transcendence … By creating the possibility of impartial action, imagination ensured the morality of individual actions" (47). Imagination is central to social cohesion and welfare, for communal bonds are created by the ability to move beyond self-interest and sensual gratification to the conceptualisation of and identification with the suffering of others.

The repetition of the process of reflection is habit-forming, and Coleridge recommends this practice as a way to educate. In *Biographia Literaria*, Coleridge proposes two levels of imagination, primary and secondary:

> The primary Imagination I hold to be the living power and prime agent of all human perception, and as a repetition in the finite mind of the eternal act of creation in the infinite I Am. The secondary Imagination I consider to as an echo of the former, coexisting with the conscious will, yet still as identical with the primary in the *kind* of its agency, and differing only in *degree*, and in the *mode* of its operation. It dissolves, diffuses, dissipates, in order to recreate; or

> where this process is rendered impossible, yet still at all events it struggles to idealize and to unify. It is essentially *vital*, even as all objects (as objects) are essentially fixed and dead. (202)

The universal primary imagination represents objects in the mind, allowing for the apprehension or consciousness of external realities. Meanwhile, the secondary imagination, employed by men of poetic genius, tries to recreate the true essence of the perceived world. The usage of the adjective "vital" to describe the secondary imagination underscores how the process of materialising the ideal is continuous and dialogic, with constant consultation and comparison between the psychological and physical realms. Furthermore, as Howard Creed articulates, the secondary imagination is not limited to poets, but extends to active readers as well:

> Coleridge's secondary imagination is a good deal more than the universal primary imagination … It is a productive imagination … The poet who has creative imagination masters "the essence, the natura *naturans*, which presupposes a bond between nature in the higher sense and the soul of men." The poet, by an act of the will, unites thought and thing – subject and object – in a creative revelation of the living spirit in the universe. The good reader, who is something of a poet himself inasmuch as he too is endowed with secondary imagination in a high degree, recognizes the product of the poet's free creative act and finds pleasure in contemplating both the unity of the poem and the unity of the universe symbolically expressed in the poem. (1175)

A reader with secondary imagination does not only discern the ideas and values in the works perused, but also attempts to identify similar qualities in the material world. The concurrent reflection of that which is within and without the text nurtures the desire for harmony in replicating the perceived beauty in the real world. In "Notes on Hamlet," Coleridge writes that method, the established custom of pondering over objects and impressions and the connections between these objects and impressions, is evidence of "the well-educated man"; in contradistinction, "the absence of method … characterizes the uneducated" (84). For Coleridge, it is through constant deliberation upon one's inner thoughts and emotions that one

is able to perceive the sublime. The poet writes that "the sense of sublimity arises, not from the sight of an outward object, but from the beholder's reflection upon it; -- not from the sensuous impression, but from the imaginative reflex" (Coleridge, "NH" 62). The awe and grandeur that are evoked do not come from instantaneous and direct responses to the physical world, but through the invocation of recollected memories and the associations that are made in conjunction with these remembrances.[53]

The sublime, which captured the imagination of the British during the Romantic period, allowed critics to exhibit the depth of their emotions while redeeming any appearance of rudeness or immorality in Shakespeare's plays. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Shakespeare's works, which diverged from the Aristotelian definition of tragedy and comedy, were censured for being rude and unrefined by the likes of Samuel Johnson, Voltaire, Jeremy Collier, and John Dennis. Collier attacks Shakespeare's want of decorum in creating immodest female characters while Dennis questions the lack of poetic justice in the plays.[54] In a letter calling Shakespearean plays "monstrous Farces" and attributing the playwright with the "Ruin of the English Stage," Voltaire writes that the English bard "was natural and sublime, but had not so much as a single Spark of good Taste, or knew one Rule of the Drama" (73). The ability to appreciate the sublime is based upon one's sensibility and, as Coleridge proposes, one's reflections upon sensations. As the focus turned to character study in the second half of the eighteenth century, Shakespeare's plays are given the quality of

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[53] Coleridge's arguments hearkens back to Wordsworth's "Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*," where it is written that, while "[p]oetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings," "it takes its origin from emotion recollected in tranquility: the emotion is contemplated till by a species of reaction the tranquility gradually disappears, and an emotion similar to that which was before the subject of contemplation is gradually produced, and does itself actually exist in the mind" (504).

[54] Various responses and reviews are collected in David Farley-Hills's *Critical Responses to Hamlet*.

sublimity, for the playwright draws from nature and writes from the heart; Shakespeare does not follow the prescribed classical form for dramatic unity.[55] As Marsden elucidates, "early eighteenth-century translations [of Longinus's *Treatise on the Sublime*] occasionally used Shakespeare to exemplify the sublime, but not until mid-century does the term become current with critics" (114). By the early nineteenth century, Shakespeare's name had become synonymous with the sublime, and August Wilhelm Schlegel's argument for Shakespeare's "'organic' unity in art over one merely imposed by external rules" had become commonplace (Farley-Hills xxviii). Charles Lamb himself refers to Shakespeare's plays as inspiring "sublime emotion" and "sublime images" in the mind ("OTS" 36). Just as the term "sublime" places the terrifying and awe-inspiring nature within the reach of comprehension, "the easy use of such terminology makes Shakespeare knowable and thus controllable" (Marsden 115). As early as 1710, critics have made allowances for immorality in light of Shakespeare's impact on their sensibility. The third Earl of Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, for instance, praises the moral in the bard's plays due to "the aptness of many of his *Descriptions*, and the plain and natural Turn of several of his *Characters* [which] pleases his Audience" despite Shakespeare's "natural Rudeness, his unpolish'd Stile, his antiquated Phrase and Wit, his want of Method and Coherence, and his Deficiency in almost all the graces and Ornaments of this kind of Writing" (Farley-Hills 38). Concurrently, John Upton sums up in his *Critical Observations of Shakespeare*, "[E]very thing in poetry should have manners and passions: and the moral should shine perspicuous in whatever aims at the sublime … Descriptions without moral or manners, however designed by the poet to raise the passion of wonder and

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[55] For critics at the end of the eighteenth century, Shakespeare's capacity as writer of "nature" does not mean that the playwright lacks the ability in artifice. As Farley-Hills points out in his translation of Schlegel, Shakespeare's works are not mere copies from nature but carefully crafted masterpieces (xxviii).

astonishment, are not instances of the *true* sublime" (96-7). In other words, the critiques reveal how the moral question becomes subsumed and is excused by Shakespeare's sublimity.

In the eighteenth century, Shakespeare was turned into English property. According to Marsden, when English literature and English literary criticism were recognised as "a legitimate focus of study," there was a need for an English genius: "Shakespeare occupied a symbolic post as the father of English literature. He was not only an ancient but a *British* ancient, and as British literature was incorporated into the overall expression of nationalistic feeling, Shakespeare attained the prominence of a national hero" (7 and 104). By the end of the Romantic period, Shakespeare had been canonised, and his works were considered "national literature," as expressed by Cydwell in *The Gentleman's Magazine*: "A nation that possesses a real national literature, is master of an inexhaustible treasure. It may revive from the ashes of its country, when its sacred books have been preserved … The Englishman would revive from Shakespeare alone, even if London were a prey to its neighbours, and the Thames choked up" (139-40). Although Cydwell does not specify who the threatening "neighbours" are, it is safe to assume that most Britons would consider the statement a reference to the French in light of the recent wars. In the same magazine a few decades earlier, a contributor known simply as "L. H." uses Shakespeare to rouse the spirit of nationalism in the face of Napoleonic Wars: "Shakspeare often delights us on the stage in the hour of amusement, -- let him now in the hour of peril inspire us with the Patriotism and Courage which animated our forefathers to those Deeds of Glory which he describes – Shakspeare now speaks in the character of a true Englishman and a sturdy John Bull, indignant that a French army should wage War in our isle" (664). Bate goes back further into time to observe that one of the earliest instances of the "patriotic appropriation of Shakespeare in time of war" is attributed to

Garrick's performance at the peak of the Seven Years War (28). The bard became the emblem of Englishness and was used as a contrast particularly against all that was considered French, be it in terms of school of thought, moral standards, or politics.[56] As Colley educes, Britain's topography, its "physical identity, its very shape and place on the map," reinforces Britons' francophobia and belief "that they were different from those beyond their shores … Not so much consensus or homogeneity or centralization at home, as a strong sense of dissimilarity from those without proved to be the essential cement" (17-18). Romantic critics rejected the neoclassical approach to Shakespeare endorsed by their predecessors, arguing that the Restoration period was corrupted by French aestheticism and morality: "For these critics, Shakespeare is the standard not only of genius but of proper morality against which the frenchified and thus immoral writers of the Restoration could not compete" (Marsden 106). Hence, they considered their predecessors' susceptibility to French influence a sign of bad taste and poor understanding.

The neoclassical insistence upon adherence to structure was seen as linked to French politics. The French were deemed incapable of dealing with liberty, a quality which the British quickly claimed for themselves, and required the imposition of external rules. Henry Mackenzie, who published his "Criticism on the Character and Tragedy of Hamlet" in two editions of *The Mirror* in 1780, begins by acknowledging that criticism is subject to national prejudices and ends his essay by spotlighting the impossibility of subjecting Shakespeare's play and genius to a classical formula:

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[56] The "othering" of the French is also discernible in Maria Edgeworth's novels. The protagonist of *Ormond*, for one, solidifies his own nationality by contrasting it with French culture and society. A few months in Parisian society is sufficient for him to "decid[e] for ever his taste and judgment, after full opportunity of comparison, in favour of his own country" (Edgeworth, *Ormond* 296).

> Shakspeare's genius attended him in all his extravagances. In the license he took of departing from the regularity of the drama, or in his ignorance of those critical rules which might have restrained him within it, there is this advantage, that it gives him an opportunity of delineating the passions and affections of the human mind, as they exist in reality, with all the various colourings which they receive in the mixed scenes of life; not as they are accommodated by the hands of more artificial poets to one great undivided impression, or an uninterrupted chain of congenial events. It seems therefore preposterous to endeavour to *regularize* his plays at the expense of depriving them of this peculiar excellence, especially as the alteration can only produce very partial and limited improvement, and can never bring his pieces to the standard of criticism, or the form of the Aristotelian drama. (275)

Mackenzie's usage of the adjective "peculiar" contrasts Shakespeare's unique brilliance with restrictive conventions. Shakespeare diverges from Aristotle's structure because the playwright cannot and should not be "restrained." Marsden sums up the connection that the British made between patriotism and the love for liberty by drawing upon the claims made by writers like Edward Young and Samuel Foote: "They did not need the classics because, as Foote argues, a true patriotic Englishman 'will not be indebted to any other country'" (110). If Englishness is not derived from other traditions, then what it means to be English or British has to be redefined.

The issue of property has always been central to the establishment of nationalistic and patriotic sentiment. Who is the owner of what and where one belongs are questions that need to be addressed. Lynch, in *The Economy of Character*, contends that the eighteenth century also saw an increase in the privatisation and personalisation of property with the investment of sentiment and proprietorship upon one's body and in one's qualities. Concurrent with the canonisation of Shakespeare, personal taste, sensibility, and morality became characteristics affiliated with Englishness or Britishness, and the appreciation of Shakespeare and his plays best demonstrates the refined qualities that personify one's patriotism. As Katie Trumpener suggests, the period saw a growing fixation on "refining, then redefining, English literary

style, with analyzing the nuances of English sensibility," in canonised British literature (16). How one reads becomes characteristic of one's national identity. In his examination of the appropriation of Shakespeare in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century popular print culture, Bate depicts how journals like *The Gentleman's Magazine* and *Blackwood's Society* try to link the English gentleman, no longer defined by birth, with taste. One of the chief criteria for being what Samuel Johnson calls "a new species of gentleman," one who is educated and financially successful, is being "sufficiently at ease with Shakespeare to enjoy the nuances of the 'Parodies'" that were popular in British popular culture (Bate 112-3). This accounts for ventures like the Shakespeare Gallery, where the founder, Boydell, attempted to simultaneously refine taste and promote the nation's reputation.

Taste was a sign of sound judgment and morality because Shakespeare indiscriminately depicts both vice and virtue in his literary works. De Grazia posits that eighteenth-century critics' practice of using quotations marks to cordon off sections of Shakespeare's passages illustrates their exercise of aesthetic and moral principles: "the quotations from Shakespeare have a heuristic function, serving to illustrate standards of poetic and moral excellence" (63-4). To be able to dissect Shakespeare's plays by determining what is and is not estimable is to be able to prove that one is capable of discerning good from bad and "right" from "wrong." As Lynch describes, "[g]ood reading has to be juxtaposed with bad reading. The reader who is sensitive to Hamlet's hidden motives doesn't only opt *for* this one set of interpretive protocols but refuses another" (*EC* 147). Richard Lovell Edgeworth writes of the relationship between taste and the sublime in *Poetry Explained for the Use of Young*

Children, where taste is necessary in comprehending what the sublime truly is.[57] Edgeworth criticises Thomas Gray who collects and reuses Dryden's phrases, saying that constant employment of "quaint or uncommon expressions" is due to children's and poets' mistaken assumption that "the sublime is veiled in obscurity, and they are inclined to venerate whatever is obscure, as if it were necessarily sublime" (*PEYC* vi). For Edgeworth, the cursory understanding of the sublime can be avoided through the formation of poetic taste, which is developed through close observation of nature and reading texts, particularly prose. Prose is favoured as a way to sensitise children to the sublime and "true poetry" because of its simplicity, making the meaning easier to apprehend (Richard Lovell Edgeworth, *PEYC* ix). It is the belief in the general difficulty of poetic language that prompts Edgeworth to, similar to the Lambs, turn one of Shakespeare's speeches from *Henry IV* from verse into prose in the book and explain, as he goes along, the formal components of poetry and the meaning of words and phrases.

Furthermore, as de Grazia suggests, the usage of quotations is a way to claim authorship in the process of appropriating Shakespeare in one's own work. The quotation marks demarcate where one's own individual effort and property begin and end, "reveal[ing] not only how important Shakespeare's words were to the Romantics, but also how important their own words were to themselves" (de Grazia 66). In *Tales from Shakespear*, the Lambs utilise many direct quotations from Shakespeare's plays and explain their reasons for doing so in the Preface:

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[57] The necessity of developing taste is also expressed in Edgeworth's other texts, such as *Readings on Poetry*, where he explains how reading leads to the accumulation of knowledge and a growth in "powers of judgment and taste" (v). The primary objective of *Readings on Poetry* is the "enlarging of [children's] understanding, and forming their taste for literature" (Richard Lovell Edgeworth v-vi).

> But this fault [of using the speeches of Shakespeare's characters], if it be as I fear a fault, has been caused by my earnest wish to give as much of Shakespear's own words as possible: and if the "*He said*" and "*She said*," the question and the reply, should sometimes seem tedious to their young ears, they must pardon it, because it was the only way I knew of, in which I could give them a few hints and little foretastes of the great pleasure which awaits them in their elder years, when they come to the rich treasures from which these small and valueless coins are extracted; pretending to no other merit than as faint and imperfect stamps of Shakespear's matchless image. Faint and imperfect they must be called, because the beauty of his language is too frequently destroyed by the necessity of changing many of his excellent words into words far less expressive of his true sense, to make it read something like prose; and even in some few places, where his blank verse is given unaltered, as hoping from its simple plainness to cheat the young readers into the belief that they are reading prose, yet still his language being transplanted from its own natural soil and wild poetic garden, it must want much of its native beauty. (1-2)

Here, aside from alluding to the sublime "natural" and "wild poetic garden" that characterises Shakespearean verse, the Lambs use the metaphor of genuine and counterfeit money to refer to Shakespeare's and their own words respectively, signalling the increasing concern with authorial proprietorship. In a period of growing anxiety about the number, quality, and authenticity of copies produced, both in regards to money and to literary texts, due to advances in print technology, writers were beginning to be possessive about their own individual reputation.[58] That the popularity of using quotations indiscriminately is disconcerting to some authors can be perceived in Richard Lovell Edgeworth's remark that "[q]uotations which were formerly new and elegant, have now been so much hacknied," so much so that extensive citation is itself considered tasteless (*RP* xxii). Throughout his text, the author is concerned that human propensity for sounds will lead to "counterfeit," "poetaster," "feign[ed] admiration," and "[t]he habit of servile imitation" (Richard Lovell Edgeworth, *RP* ix-xv).

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[58] For more information, refer to Lynch's *The Economy of Character: Novels, Market Culture, and the Business of Inner Meaning*. Lynch investigates the development of round characters and taste as a result of changes in the literary and economic world. The first half of the text presents an interesting study of the literary world's interest in money and credibility after Charles Stuart's attempts to regain the British throne.

Therefore, quotation marks are employed not just to give credit to Shakespeare, but to writers themselves as well: “Quotation takes on new forms in the same decades that the traditional construct of authorship emerges. Both coincide with the gradual formulation of authorial rights” (de Grazia 68). The acknowledgment of the “faint and imperfect stamps” which have the potential “to cheat” readers reflects the admittance that the Lambs’ text is to be considered distinct despite being an appropriation of Shakespeare. In the process of assimilating Shakespearean words in their work, the writers recognise the need to highlight their own creation.

By the time Austen writes *Mansfield Park* in 1814, the educational concept that a developed taste in Shakespeare reveals one’s patriotism was widespread. In the novel, Henry Crawford interrupts Fanny Price reading *Henry VIII* to her aunt and, in the interest of wooing the protagonist, engages her attention by reading aloud the speeches in the play. That Shakespeare seems to have been a required reading in school and connected to Englishness is apparent in Henry’s confession that he has not read Shakespeare since the age of fifteen “[b]ut Shakespeare one gets acquainted without knowing how. It is part of an Englishman’s constitution” (Austen, *Mansfield Park* 518). Edmund Bertram, who has trained to become a clergyman, affirms the popularity of Shakespeare and later moves the discussion towards the importance of reading aloud and its connection with speaking well and taste:

> There is now a spirit of improvement abroad; but among those who were ordained twenty, thirty, forty years ago, the larger number, to judge by their performance must have thought reading was reading, and preaching was preaching. It is different now. The subject is more justly considered. It is felt that distinctness and energy may have weight in recommending the most solid truths; and besides there is more general observation and taste, a more critical knowledge diffused than formerly; in every congregation there is a larger proportion who know a little of the matter, and who can judge and criticise. (Austen, *Mansfield Park* 519)

More and more, the British population were becoming learned in the matter of taste, and, as Edmund suggests, taste in literary matters have penetrated other domains. Taste relates to one's critical ability, and having both qualities provides one with the impression of having greater access to and understanding of truths.

The importance of being able to apprehend truths through a speaker is apparent in the desire to discover the "real" Shakespeare and the "true" meaning of his works. At the height of bardic reproductions and appropriations, critics attempted to distinguish the voice of Shakespeare and understand who the bard really is. De Grazia points out that, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Shakespeare's quotations were taken to be a representation of the poet's thoughts, "giv[ing] the illusion that Shakespeare is thinking behind them and speaking through them" and that the words are "by Shakespeare exclusively" (65). Charles Lamb valorises the reading of Shakespearean works over the staging of the plays because a performed drama detracts from the "true" sentiment of the plays and a better understanding of the characters' interior processes. As Lamb states, "Talking is the direct object of the imitation here," implying that there is a truth that is being rendered invisible as a consequence of physical distraction ("OTS" 28). What is replicated is the mere act of speaking. Nevertheless, the preface to *Tales from Shakespear* expresses the difficulty the siblings had in transcribing the plays into prose, leaving them little choice but to adopt many of the bard's original speeches. In the Tragedies, "Shakespear's own words, with little alteration, recur very frequently in the narrative as well as in the dialogue" whereas, in the Comedies, the Lambs are apprehensive that they "have made use of dialogue too frequently for young people not used to the dramatic form of writing" (*TS* 1). In trying to preserve the "true sense" of Shakespeare's works, the authors have replicated much of the poet's writing

(Lamb and Lamb, *TS* 1). Furthermore, they hope that their contribution will encourage their readers to seek out the "true Plays of Shakespear" in adulthood, plays that the Lambs believe contain all sorts of educational values, being "enrichers of the fancy, strengtheners of virtue, a withdrawing from all selfish and mercenary thoughts, a lesson of all sweet and honourable thoughts and actions, [teaching] courtesy, benignity, generosity, humanity" (*TS* 2). Reproducing Shakespeare truthfully, then, is an important criterion that the Lambs feel they must meet because of all the qualities embodied by Shakespeare's works which can be passed on to the next generation.

The truth that emerges through Shakespeare's writing does not just pertain to virtue and morality; it is also connected to the historical culture of the English. Thomas Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, which is an eighteenth-century publication of a collection of traditional ballads, underscores the need for English antiquarians to hunt for archival material and outlines the pervasiveness of the aural effects of Shakespearean poetry in writing. Nick Groom elucidates that Percy's profuse usage of the archaic "y" and "e" in his compilation of songs discloses the extensiveness of the sounds of the Gothic harp, so much so that the letter "e" has become the most common letter in the English language, recreating the "drone-like effects of literary archaicism" and the "constant noise of *Englishness* reverberating through the written word" (197). The Gothic harp, which Percy associates with England and Scottish Lowlands, is representative of the English identity, as opposed to the Celtic harp which hearkens of the sounds of the Irish, Welsh, and Highland bards (Percy 1:xv). The music that is transmitted through the pages revives the image of the English landscape in the minds of readers, "helping to create an England in part predicated on the Gothic myth of the sublime. The affect of sound has faded far into the past, but returns, like the repressed, as the half-

heard, uncanny noise of archaic orthography, the remote rumble of national history" (Groom 198).[59] The popularity of Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* means that the Romantics were familiar with the required spelling and resulting music in reproducing Shakespeare's works. As Groom notes, even Charles Lamb realises that the "e" is essential to the appropriation of Shakespeare's writing when the latter jokingly refers to the proliferation of the letter in Chatterton's forgeries as the product of popular, modern imitation (197).

Richard Lovell Edgeworth, too, is attuned to the quality of sound in poetry, particularly in Shakespeare. In the preface to *Readings on Poetry*, Edgeworth links aural sensibility to discernment and taste, declaring that "[t]he easy flow, the harmonious cadence of verse, please the ear and captivate the judgment both in youth and age … Since the age of Swift knowledge and literature, and the taste for poetry especially, have increased so rapidly, that it may be deemed impossible for any one of common education *now* to be imposed upon by so palpable a counterfeit" (ix-x). Taste, which is the practice of refined acumen, is necessary in distinguishing the music of "true" poetry from imitation. In another book of children's poetry, Edgeworth alleges that Shakespeare is not well understood by the young due to the bard's antiquated language. Paradoxically, Edgeworth's ensuing use of the words of "an old author" written in archaic spelling and font "[w]ith the view of accustoming the eye and ear to ancient

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[59] Wollstonecraft's children's text, *Original Stories*, also links bardic music with the haunting of historical past. The governess discovers the existence of an impoverished and abused Welsh bard and his family when, musing upon the ruins of a castle, once "the hospitable abode of the chief of a noble family," "the national music [of a harp] seem[s] to give reality to the pictures [her] imagination ha[s] been drawing" (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 110). Later, in the midst of one of his songs, the bard tells her his sad personal tale, leading her to reflect upon the losses caused by the abuse of power and change from communal spirit to individual proprietorship: "While [the Welsh bard] was striking the strings, [she] thought too of the changes in life which an age produced; the descendent of those who made the hall ring with social mirth, now mourned its ruins, and hung his harp on the mouldering battlements. Such is the fate of buildings and of families!" (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 115). The deteriorating building and mournful music, therefore, become reminders of past times and values, qualities the governess wishes to instil in her young wards and in future generations.

English" exhibits his recognition of the sounds that permeate through Shakespeare's writing (*PEYC* 163). Shakespeare's works can thus be seen as the channel through which a reader can listen to distant voices of the past and connect to English roots.

The significance of sounds and oral tradition to Maria Edgeworth is apparent in her use of dialects in texts written for adults, in novels and Irish tales like *Ennui*, *Castle Rackrent*, and *Ormond*. Although her writings for children reveal a restrain when employing dialects, probably due to the need for simplicity and clarity in language for a younger readership, the use of idiomatic words and phrases as well as footnotes in some texts is telling of the attention Edgeworth gives to oral speech. *The Parent's Assistant* and *Illustrated Tales for Children*, for example, contain footnotes that offer explanations of words unfamiliar to the English. One footnote in "The Orphans" explains the distinction in the meaning of the word "moat" to the Irish (Maria Edgeworth, *IT* 51). Meanwhile, another expounds upon the title given to an old woman who roams the land looking for treasure according to an ancient prophecy: "*Goody* is not a word used in Ireland. *Collyogh* is the appellation of an old woman: but as *Collyogh* might sound strangely to English ears, we have translated it by the word Goody" (Maria Edgeworth, *IT* 51). The admittance of translation underscores Edgeworth's concern over possible confusion amongst child readers that may result from her employment of dialect even as she uses it. In considering the function of Irish bulls in Edgeworth's conceptualisation of nation, Amit Yahav argues that the differences in metaphorical understanding in Edgeworth's works reflect the author's advocacy of a nation based upon dialogue and heterogeneity. As Yahav writes, for Edgeworth, "the national community is one of debate rather than of agreement, whereby the members exert themselves in discussion not to cultivate consensus but, instead, to cultivate collaboration despite differences" (83). By accentuating oral speech,

Edgeworth is putting into motion "engagement with *actual* others," unlike the imagined communities proposed by Benedict Anderson (Yahav 94). Thus, Edgeworth's pluralist community is one that is dependent upon constant discussion over dissimilitude and disagreement with people who are present and real.

Other critics also recognise that Maria Edgeworth's national identity seems to be more cosmopolitan, fluid, and dissociated from blood relationships or legal right. Katy Brundan observes that much of Edgeworth's writing explores the intersection between cosmopolitanism and nationalism, where cosmopolitanism has been redefined as going beyond "the form of the gentleman traveller" in recognition of "other, less privileged but perhaps more genuinely transnational, figures" such as migrants and exiles (123). Thus, the nomadic bards featured in Edgeworth's children's books can be, like the Anglo-Irish, integrated into and contribute productively to the local community. Like Yahav who calls for a view of "Edgeworth's nationalism less in terms of a cultural heritage …than in terms of citizenship," Esther Wohlgemut speculates that Edgeworth's exploration of Anglo-Irish and transient figures reveals how such identities are "not a static deadlock or incongruity, but rather an active and ongoing reconciliation of contradiction" (Yahav 81; Wohlgemut 654). Likewise, Marilyn Butler acknowledges that, in three of Edgeworth's famed novels, *Ennui*, *The Absentee*, and *Ormond*, the protagonists learn to become a part of a community that is "a localized, hybrid, and ideal society" (50). Butler compares the pluralism advocated by Edgeworth with Bakhtinian heteroglossia, whereby the multiplicity of languages in the author's form represents the diversity and interaction that take place within a community. Therefore, the boundaries of a community are continuously negotiated, and national identity becomes mutable and a matter of choice.

Given the significance of oral speech to Maria Edgeworth, bardic songs become the expression of the truth of one's historical connection and nationalism in her writing for children. Edgeworth's "Simple Susan" (published in various collections including *The Parent's Assistant* and *Illustrated Tales for Children*) and her plays *Dumb Andy* and *The Grinding Organ* are examples that feature minstrels who are concerned with narrating the truth and the question of allegiance and property, subjects which are central to the national identity of the Irish. The old harpist in "Simple Susan" who comes from the Welsh mountains and plays "unusual music" is able to recognise the characteristics of the people around him despite his blindness, for he plays to "suit [the children's] several humours" and claims to know their personality by their voices (Maria Edgeworth 127 and 129). The harpist reveals his trick to be in his acute sensibility, his ability to accurately read beyond the surface and replicate his surroundings, valorising truth as he perceives it. The belief that bards express only the "truth" is seen in Edgeworth's closet drama, *Dumb Andy*, where the protagonist faces a dilemma, having to decide whether to help cheat a generous and honest family or betray his conniving, gypsy-like adoptive parents. While planning their act of deception, Winny and Watty deliberate over Andy's two possible roles, the ballad-singer or Dumb Andy, the deaf and mute beggar child. Andy produces a song about his father's legal right to "neither land nor living" and dependency upon the charity of "neighbours," likening his parent to the nomadic minstrel and the dispossessed and aligning himself with the traditional role of the bard. When asked by Watty to sing a happier tune in the "true spirit" of a ballad singer, Andy's "voice fails" and he claims he is unable to sing since the death of his mother (Maria Edgeworth, *DA* 136-7). Andy, who is said to be able to "touch a heart of stone" should he "speak for himself," here appears reluctant to associate his song or speech with a fake identity and the life of

falsehood that he has been leading since being adopted. As the boy himself states, his preference is for “honest industry” rather than “this cheating life of a dumb beggar” (Maria Edgeworth, *DA* 138-9). Thus, duplicity is aligned with silence and, conversely, utterance by Andy consists of the truth. Despite his loyalty, the boy constantly expresses his desire to “confess the truth about [him]self,” but, as Watty tells him, any revelation of truth has to be complete: “all truth, or none” (Maria Edgeworth, *DA* 153-4). Andy is told by his foster mother to “[b]e *Dumb Andy*, that’s all [he] can be” (Maria Edgeworth 154). In the play, truth exists in a binary system, where Andy can play either the role of the mute, deceitful beggar or the honest ballad-singer.

Furthermore, “truth” represents the virtue of a more domestic or familial form of national identity and stands out in sharp contrast against the political context in the play. Watty pretends to be a wounded soldier who had served under the Duke of Wellington in the Napoleonic Wars. In a dialogue with his wife, he contends that, given the recent wars with France, people are more likely to be charitable to impoverished and injured veterans, hinting at the negative consequences of upholding and valorising patrician nationalism. Watty’s assertion also shows that militarism has become an almost superficial form of national identity that is imitable yet devoid of true sentiment. He goes on further to remark that the failure of their previous con is due to his error in military information when conversing with a gentleman. According to Watty, if he had been feeding the story to a lady, she would not have realised the deception, showing how nationalism is gendered, with militarism being a form of knowledge and experience inaccessible to women. Feeling indebted to Winnie and Watty for raising him, Andy keeps his silence, and betrayal is deemed “turn[ing] traitor, or informer, or runaway,” a belief which is later reinforced by Andy in his confession at the end of the drama

(Maria Edgeworth, *DA* 139). The use of the words “traitor” and “informer” spotlights the connection between truth and national identity, for Andy’s utterance of truth is likened to a treasonous act.

Similarly, in *The Grinding Organ*, Maria Edgeworth illustrates the close connection between national identity and domesticity through the figure of a travelling musician. The seemingly old and poor organ grinder turns out to be Cousin Brown, a wealthy relation who has recently retired from the army and who is trying to decide on a family with which to reside. In contrast to Mrs. Ross and her daughter, Priscy, who are ill-natured, greedy, and hypocritical, the Haynes family are warm, generous, and kind. The two Haynes daughters, Bess and Patty, can be said to represent a peaceful alliance between England and Ireland, especially as Bess requests the ballad about the glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth while Patty learns how to sing from the organ grinder. As Priscy speculates, Bess’s desire to hear “O the Golden Days of Good Queen Bess” is probably “because Bess is her own name” (Maria Edgeworth, *GO* 28). In addition, the song itself makes explicit reference to contemporary times by expressing the wish that King George be as successful as and more famed than his predecessor (Maria Edgeworth, *GO* 30). Concurrently, the song that Patty learns, “Over the Mountains and Over the Moors,” is a traditional ballad sung from the point-of-view an orphan who roams the countryside and depends upon charity. In other words, by singing the song, the aptly named Patty becomes, as Priscy herself affirms, “a ballad-singer” (Maria Edgeworth, *GO* 35). The political nature of the scene is further elucidated when Priscy, in a fit of rage, threatens to break the organ box and wishes that the musician be “hanged and quartered” (Maria Edgeworth, *GO* 33). The order of punishment likens Priscy to a cruel monarch, especially since, a few lines earlier, in “O the Golden Days of Good Queen Bess,” the

“hangman [is] starving, / For want of a job” (Maria Edgeworth, *GO* 29). The scene becomes the first evidence of the true nature of the two families to Cousin Brown, who, throughout the play, emphasises the need for “Concord” over “Discord.” As such, the Farmer Haynes’s family is a microcosm of the nation, and domestic peace becomes aligned with national harmony.

Songs in Maria Edgeworth’s works help to reveal the truth, and, though intangible, the oral form is closely linked to and even becomes property. *The Grinding Organ* is filled with disputes over property, with Priscy and her mother each trying to forcefully take or destroy what is not theirs: a rose, raspberry jam, an organ, and a watch. The climax of the play centres on a contestation over Cousin Brown’s china, with china being one of the prized commodities of the British empire. Farmer Haynes announces that both the china and organ grinder are under his protection in his household, drawing the connection between and highlighting the value of the china and the minstrel and his music (Maria Edgeworth, *GO* 51). A wager is made where Mrs. Ross is allowed the possession of the china only if she can hold her temper for half an hour. Farmer Haynes and the organ grinder use songs to provoke Mrs. Ross into revealing her true nature, which she does when they sing about a sharp-tongued, hot-tempered woman who only becomes “dumb, dumb, dumb” when under a charm (Maria Edgeworth, *GO* 64). Enraged, the widow smashes her brother-in-law’s watch while her daughter breaks the musician’s organ, acts which result in the organ grinder revealing his true identity and effectively costing the mother and daughter not only the china, but also the possibility of future financial gain. The simultaneity of the burst of violent destruction with the end of music or the “charm” and the donning of disguise suggest that the truth in the song is transferred into reality. The ex-military man opts to retire in the Haynes household or, as he puts it, with his

“cousin Concord,” and the farmer states that, with the departure of Mrs. Ross and Priscy, they “shall have some chance of peace, and belike may hear [their] own ears again” (Maria Edgeworth, *GO* 73). With harmony, there is a chance to continue to listen, allowing for the extension of dialogue and music.

Property, like money, has currency to those who agree upon the value, and, in “Simple Susan,” property is given different meanings and worth by various characters. When the bard receives a counterfeit shilling as payment for his music from the son of Attorney Case, he chooses the protagonist as the judge of the worth of the coin. Hence, Susan, who cannot help but “speak the truth” at all times and whose last name happens to be “Price,” is the one who determines the value of the exchange (Maria Edgeworth, “SS” 138). Attorney Case and his two children, unlike the other characters, have no consideration for sentimental attachment to or history in any form of property. While the son attempts to pass off a bad shilling, Barbara, the Attorney’s daughter, tries to take possession of Susan’s pet guinea-hen and the honeycomb intended for Susan’s ill mother. Concurrently, the Attorney himself strives to enclose the common green which has been the children’s playground for years and hopes to gain financially through a legal flaw in the lease of the Price’s home. Susan’s father, forced to enter the militia, is granted a week’s reprieve when Susan reluctantly gives up her pet lamb to the Attorney for slaughter and is finally freed from his obligation when the harpist wins the minstrel contest with a song based upon Susan’s sacrifice. What the Cases deem as mere material property is considered to be of emotional import and, hence, represents truth and virtue to the Prices.

The entire narrative of "Simple Susan" is based upon the question of true ownership and the nostalgia for the restoration of lost property.[60] Property is depicted as something that cannot be privately possessed, for it is communal and based upon a sense of belonging and national identity that is fluid: "[Maria] Edgeworth's plots [centre] around the instability of identity and mutability of tradition that make all possession random and illegitimate" (Maurer 366).[61] In "Simple Susan," ownership depends upon a true sense of attachment and investment of feelings, not just upon legal right, as shown in the Price family's attitude.[62] When asked about the legal flaw that would cost his family his home, Price reveals the opposing concepts of proprietorship, aligning his viewpoint with that of truth:

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[60] Chapter XIV of Wollstonecraft's *Original Stories* about the Welsh harper is, similarly, about the loss and recovery of property. The Welsh bard's domestic and financial situations suffer at the hands of a cruel justice, a tyrant who has thrown the bard's son into prison and who demands services and goods from his tenants beyond their means. The reference to the justice as a "petty king" may be Wollstonecraft's critique of the monarchy or the aristocracy (*OS* 113). However, the revelation that the justice's ancestors were originally from a lower class than the bard's may be a reminder to those in the middle and upper classes, like Wollstonecraft's readers and the governess's wards, of potential reversals of status and the need to treat social inferiors with kindness and generosity. At the end of the narrative, Mrs. Mason helps reunite the family and reinstate them to a small farm, and, in return, the bard provides her household with entertainment during harvest, a time of plenty and celebration. The scene that ends the chapter is one of communal exchange, with Mrs. Mason and her wards providing charitable presents to the labourers and their families and the bard providing music. The "social mirth" which the governess imagines is lost with the ruins of time is now transferred into the "honest heart-felt mirth, and the loud laugh" and "the sound of their shoes … on the barn-floor" (Wollstonecraft, *OS* 116).

[61] In an article examining the representation of gypsies in Sir Walter Scott's *Guy Mannering*, Amit Yahav-Brown shows how gypsies can be used to reconceptualise community and property. Yahav-Brown argues that, in the novel, Glossin's failure to become Lord Ellangowan is because "there are some properties (previously known as immovables) that ought to be recognized as taking an especially large amount of agency to alienate (to move) – an amount of agency that can be achieved only by coming the wills of many individuals, the will of those who legally own the land along with the wills of all those who just reside on it" (1139). Here, as in "Simple Susan," possession is communal rather than individual.

[62] The stress that Edgeworth places upon psychological attachment as a form of entitlement to property is seen in her other writings for children as well. In the play *Dame School Holiday*, for instance, the landlord, at the behest of his proud and spiteful children, tries to execute a seizure of Dame Deborah's property due to her failure to pay rent. The confiscation of her benches would have meant a cancellation of a dance that the village children are organising, but, yet again, the catastrophe is avoided thanks to the generosity of a wandering pedlar who has been invited to play his fiddle. The pedlar refuses to take Edwin's watch as collateral, saying that the latter's word suffices (Maria Edgeworth, *Dame School Holiday* 253). The pedlar's nomadic lifestyle and his readiness to share his wealth are indicative of Edgeworth's critique of the privatisation of material property. Here, as in "Simple Susan," sentimental attachment to and communal participation in the enjoyment of the property trumps individual legal claim.

> "In truth, and the truth is the fittest thing to be spoken at all times," said the farmer, "I didn't know myself what *a flaw*, as they call it, meant, till I heard of the word from attorney Case; and I take it, *a flaw* is neither more nor less than a mistake, as one should say; now, by reason, a man does not make a mistake on purpose; it seems to me to be the fair thing, that if a man finds out his mistake, he might set it right; but attorney Case says, this is not law, and I've no more to say. The man who drew up my lease made a mistake, and if I must suffer for it I must," said the farmer. "However I can shew you, Sir Arthur, just for my own satisfaction and your's, a few lines of a memorandum on a slip of paper, which was given me by your relation, the gentleman who lived here before, and let me my farm. You'll see, by that bit of paper, what was meant; but this attorney says, the paper's not worth a button in a court of justice, and I don't understand these things. All I understand is the common honesty of the matter. I've no more to say." (Maria Edgeworth, "SS" 208-9)

For Price, the land belongs to those for whom it is originally intended and whose exchange is openly agreed upon by the local community. "Common honesty" could be a reference to the simplicity of industrious life that Edgeworth advocates in her writing for children; however, it could also be taken as a reference to a collective understanding of truth. According to Sara Maurer, the narrative does not disregard the significance of the material world; rather, it is "more focused on the attachment to physical objects that stand for family" (365). In Edgeworth's story, property is "owned" not because one has a legal right to it, but because one has an investment of feelings in it. Therefore, the English and Anglo-Irish do not have a legitimate claim on Ireland because their claim is purely legal but not emotional.

As Maurer further suggests, "Simple Susan" is about non-ownership and about property that cannot be owned in the legal or economic sense. The lamb cannot be given up for slaughter because it is a pet while the green belongs to the children and their tradition of hosting the May Day celebration. To partake in the ownership of the property, one has to subsume oneself within an economy that is based upon psychological attachment. The restoration of both animals to Susan requires the effort of and is celebrated by the local community. The village children amass their money to try to pay the ransom for the guinea

hen, and the housekeeper and her son secure its release when they recognise the hen and relate the entire incident to Miss Somers, the baronet's sister. Similarly, the lamb is rescued by the butcher who considers it a sin to kill a pet. When the creatures are to be returned, the housekeeper's son opts to give Rose, Susan's closest friend, the "pleasure of restoring the Guinea Hen," and the animals are led in a procession, with each villager adding his or her contribution as the parade passes by (Maria Edgeworth, "SS" 178). Thus, the enjoyment of the property is not exclusively Susan's but potentially everyone's. The harpist who wins the minstrel competition in Edgeworth's tale is an excellent example of "the intersection of national identity with this secure non-ownership," for the songs of a bard do not belong to he himself, but to the culture and history of the geographical location (Maurer 370). The ten-guinea prize that Llewellyn, the blind harpist, wins in the contest becomes both a loan to the Price family for them to secure the farmer's release from the militia and a "debt" for having used the narrative of Susan's virtue and sacrifice in the ballad. In sending the five guineas, a sum that implies an equal sharing of the prize money, Llewellyn states that he will not be "as hard a creditor as attorney Case," yet the loan is one that he has no intention of collecting if the Prices choose not to repay (Maria Edgeworth, "SS" 204). Furthermore, as he writes, "I am in a great measure indebted to your sweet daughter Susan … Your hospitality to me has afforded me an opportunity of learning some of your family history," suggesting that the "loan" is, in actuality, a form of reimbursement (Maria Edgeworth, "SS" 203). The prize, won through the narration of the struggle over property, "Susan's Lamentation for her Lamb," and the ballad itself are returned to the inhabitants of the village for their shared enjoyment, as seen in the conclusion of the story when Susan joins the crowd that is gathering in the green to partake in the good tidings and festivity.

It is perhaps significant that the last speech in *The Grinding Organ* includes a statement about the Haynes children's willingness to share their own property with those who are deserving, and the deserving is defined as those who partake in and are willing to share with others the delight of material property. Throughout the play, the Haynes children are not willing to give in to Priscy's demands because the things the latter asks for are not theirs to give. The rose is intended for the girls' mother while the jam has been entrusted to them for their safekeeping, just as the china is entrusted to their father.[63] The play begins with a speech by Bess who declares that the girls love giving flowers to their mother. Therefore, though the rose is to belong to the mother, the pleasure is to be shared by the family. In return for the performance given by the organ grinder, Bess and Patty offer sustenance to the musician. Bess's offer of provision is shaped in the form of a question to her sister, "Let us go into the kitchen and give him something to eat. Some of *our* suppers, at least, we can give him – can't we, Patty?" (Maria Edgeworth, *GO* 38). The uncertainty in her remark shows how careful the children are in ensuring that the portion that is shared is theirs to give or, rather, from their own share, for the musical pleasure received have been only theirs thus far. Their understanding of the boundaries of rights is later reiterated in a dialogue between the organ grinder and their father. Just as the organ grinder states that the children refuse to give what is rightfully not theirs, Farmer Haynes asserts his certainty that the minstrel "would not take any thing from them but what they had a right to give" (Maria Edgeworth, *GO* 41). The farmer

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[63] Likewise, in *Dame School Holiday*, Dame Deborah cannot give the landlord's children her benches because the benches have been promised to the village children for the dance. The dame's refusal leads to the landlord's attempt at forcibly removing the items. When Dame Deborah likens her promise to Miss Babberly's shawls, she is comparing the different values of material property. Miss Babberly's fashionable shawls can only give the individual owner pleasure whereas the benches offer the chance of pleasure to everyone within the community, including the Miss Babberly herself. In addition, Dame Deborah rejects the bribe of Miss Babberly's shawls, preferring her own old one that has been spun by the different generations of children she has taught, an object of joy that is produced by and represents communal love and respect.

invites the organ grinder to stay, but his invitation is followed by a request for a list of songs that the musician can perform. Thus, the hospitality is extended in so far as the organ grinder reciprocates in contributing to the amusement of the evening. Ultimately, the play culminates in the sharing of not only the material wealth, but also of the household, amongst the Haynes with Cousin Brown.

It is the willingness of the Bridgman family to share their physical wealth with the protagonist in *Dumb Andy* that essentially allows the orphan to develop a sense of belonging and communal responsibility. The plot of the drama revolves around Andy's trial of truth and virtue, as the Bridgman children bombard the boy with tests to determine if he really is deaf and mute. Andy withstands the challenges until the children, believing his pretence, provide him with sustenance and shower him with their clothes, at which point the boy breaks his silence and confesses the truth. The divulgence of his unfortunate history brings about Andy's re-education and assimilation into the community. With his adopted parents having run away, Andy is to be cared for by the "most honest people" in the community, the gateman and his wife (Maria Edgeworth, *DA* 160). As Mr. Bridgman says, Andy is a "poor, ill taught, unfortunate creature" who must be "better taught" (Maria Edgeworth, *DA* 159). Although the gateman's wife avers that Andy will start with a clean slate, with the new foster parents "never be remembering or throwing the past up again him," the final speech of the play made by Andy implies that the future is still connected to the past: "Troth it was – no harm, but great good, come of my telling the truth. Then, if ever I'm in a condition, I'll show my gratitude, I will, to them that buried my mother, and I'd be bad if I was not good to them that was good to me, wouldn't I? Mane time I'm thankful I'm not forced to play the rogue any more for them, I'm no more Dumb Andy" (Maria Edgeworth, *DA* 160). Andy's actions to come is a reflection

of the value and meaning of past memories to him, and his liberty from his silenced character allows him both a voice and the opportunity of living a life of truth and virtue. The combination of memory and voice is what constitutes the role of a bard, a character who symbolises the lamentation of past glories of a nation, as described by Trumpener throughout *Bardic Nationalism*. Yet, for Edgeworth, the figure of the bard simultaneously looks back at the past and forward into to the future, allowing for the building of a national community that is based upon discourse as well as history.

The bard is central to the children's works produced by the Lambs and Edgeworth, for it enables the definition and development a more private and familial form of national identity. The Lambs try to instil a sense of national pride through the refinement of sensibility and taste, especially pertaining to the sublime, qualities which were considered representative of English or British identity. Charles Lamb, especially, like contemporary critics Hunt, Coleridge, and Hazlitt, view taste as something that can formed through active reading, a dialogic interaction with the text. In the meantime, Edgeworth advocates an identity that is more communal and less individualistic, one that based upon dialogue and shared contribution. However, despite the differences in the ways they utilise the bardic figure, the writings of the three authors reflect an interest in the intersection between material and psychological realms. Ultimately, it is the very existence of physical property, be it in the form of land or cultural text itself, which allows for the investment of feelings and thoughts; conversely, it is the ability to sentimentalise and personalise that leads to the appreciation and enjoyment of such property.

Chapter 4:

Piecing the Nation Together:

Dissected Maps and the Visualisation of Spaces

"'Dear mamma, only think, my cousin cannot put the map of Europe together – or my cousin cannot tell the principal rivers of Russia – or she never heard of Asia Minor – or she does not know the difference between water-colours and crayons! How strange! Did you ever hear anything so stupid?'"

(Jane Austen, *Mansfield Park* 370)

"As for Browning, the fault is certainly great, and the disadvantage scarcely calculable, it is so great. He cuts his language into bits, and one has to join them together, as young children do their dissected maps, in order to make any meaning at all, and to study hard before one can do it."

(Elizabeth B. Barrett, "Letter to Mr. Westwood, April 1845" 163)

Children's books were not the only material promoted as beneficial to children's education. Toys were invented, produced, and upheld as instruments of amusement and knowledge, especially by innovative printers and publishers like John Newbery. From the 1740s onward, Newbery's *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book* was sold together with a ball for boys and a pincushion for girls for the purpose of providing entertainment and instruction to children. That a pincushion was believed to be a child's plaything is an indication of how varied and loose the definition of "toy" was in the eighteenth century. Included in the list of toys mentioned in the Edgeworths' *Practical Education*, for instance, are ivory or wooden sticks, steel buttons, prints, scissors, clay or wax, and wooden cuckoos. Similarly, the automata, clocks, and watches created by noted jeweller James Cox were also referred to as "toys" by his contemporaries, for, as Clare Le Corbeiller notes, that was the term by which "these trinkets were called in Georgian England" (318). Walter W. Skeat, famed for his

etymological dictionaries in the late Victorian period, traced the origin of the word "toy" to the Dutch-Scandinavian regions. According to Skeat, "toy" is derived from the Dutch word *tuig*, which means "tools, utensils, implements, stuff, refuse, trash," or the Old Dutch word *tuyg*, described as "silver chains with a knife, cizzars, pincushion, &c. as women wear" (517). Therefore, "toys" have connotations of being both useful and trifling at the same time. In the chapter entitled "Toys," activities like basket-weaving, gardening, carpentry, and chemical experiments come highly recommended by Maria Edgeworth, suggesting that play can encompass any pastime that engages the attention of a child. One of the most important forms of play for the Edgeworths, however, is puzzle-solving, especially of dissected maps. In *Early Lessons*, the authors demonstrate how dissected maps are essential tools that can help develop the concept of spaces, nation, and citizenship in children of the period.

Improvements in print technology and increasing leisure time amongst a rising middle class in the eighteenth century mean that jigsaw puzzles have enjoyed tremendous popularity from the moment of its inception. In *The Birth of a Consumer Society*, J. H. Plumb observes that "[t]wo inventions – printing combined with the alphabet – possessed explosive social possibilities that only began to be exploited to their fullest extent in the eighteenth century" (266). In addition to written texts, print technology also contributed towards the rise in production and dissemination of prints and illustrations. Pictures accompanied texts in children's books, and successful, entrepreneurial publishers, like John Spilsbury, the Dartons, and the Wallises, diversified their products by venturing into the printing of puzzles. As children themselves became sources of pleasure to adults, attention was directed at children's education and entertainment, and children became consumers: "They became a sales target – their toys, their books, their clothes and even their education … To spend more money on

children required not only greater surplus income but also a preoccupation with the child's future and his or her standing in society" (Brewer, McKendrick, and Plumb 286). Therefore, booksellers and toy-makers created advertisements that publicised their wares and their talents, taking full advantage of the printing materials and technologies available to them. Jill Shefrin, in her *Neatly Dissected for the Instruction of Young Ladies and Gentlemen in the Knowledge of Geography*, remarks that "[m]ost successful eighteenth-century publishers sold a variety of books, stationery and novelties, and there was certainly an overlap between the principal map-sellers and the principal children's book publishers" (10). Shefrin's observation draws attention to the assortment of products in the world of publishing and the proximity of children's literature and maps. Publisher Spilsbury, often accredited as the inventor of dissected maps, had trade cards which characterises himself as "Geographer to his Majesty" and indexes his merchandise to include "All sorts of Dissected Maps, for Teaching Geography" (Hannas 18). Spilsbury had about thirty different maps for sale, some of which were housed in elegant mahogany cabinets. The fact that, two decades later in 1783, another publisher, John Wallis, found it worth his while to publicly claim to be the first producer of dissected maps shows how lucrative the manufacturing of puzzles actually was.

The map-making industry also exploded as a result of growing interests and opportunities in travelling. More and more people had the means to and did travel, both within and without the nation, especially given the ease in and affordability of transportation:

> Movement – by comparison with all that went before – became easy and cheap in eighteenth-century England, and the horse and coach brought as much happiness as the automobile does today … This revolution in travel, the comparative ease, comfort and speed by which one could move about England by the last quarter of the eighteenth century, is profoundly important – not merely for its influence on economic development, but also because of the changes it encouraged in the style of life: not only people travelled in

> increasing numbers along the English roads, but so did fashions and ideas. (Plumb, *Georgian Delights* 11 and 13)

Travel, thus, allowed for the exchange and dissemination of knowledge, and the Grand Tour became a form of education necessary to those from the upper and middle classes. Young gentlemen flocked to the continent to learn manners, the classics, art, culture, and history, and, for those who could not afford to go abroad, instructors and tutors were imported. The Grand Tour led to the proliferation of travel literature, maps, and various teaching professions, profiting "journalists, publishers, amateur writers … fencing masters, dancing masters, riding masters" (Plumb, *Men and Places* 61).[64] Young ladies, inhibited by their gender from pursuing the same form of educational travel, benefitted from the influx of ideas and tastes in the domestic space. Geography became a subject necessary for both boys and girls, and, thus, dissected maps, capable of engaging children's attention, became an ideal educational tool for many. In Richard Lovell Edgeworth's continuation of "Harry and Lucy," for example, "Harry and Lucy [turn] to the map of Europe which they have been putting together, and [point] to Swisserland, as their mother [speaks]" (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 4:163). Here, their curiosity and understanding of European nations are enhanced through their familiarity and interaction with the dissected map.

Regardless whether one approves of or criticises the notion of the Grand Tour as an imperative part of education, the Tour allowed for the inculcation of nationalistic pride within individuals. Those who believed in the educational values of the Grand Tour, those who can

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[64] So popular were maps that even handkerchiefs and fans were turned into geographical charts. Mapmakers used the same printing plates on cloths to manufacture multi-purpose, longer-lasting products. Some of the map handkerchiefs were so detailed that an engraver like Spilsbury could boast silk cartographies with "A New and Most Accurate Map of Roads of England and Wales; with the Distances by the Milestones and other Most Exact Admonsurations between Town and Town" (Shefrin 9). For a comprehensive list of other cartographical products produced by map-engravers, see Linda Hannas' *The English Jigsaw Puzzle: 1760-1890* and Jill Shefrin's *Neatly Dissected for the Instruction of Young Ladies and Gentlemen in the Knowledge of Geography*.

afford such travels, saw themselves “as the true heirs of Augustans. They came, in consequence, to believe passionately in the virtues of courage and stoicism. They thought nothing became them so well as heroic death in the service of their country, and in the wars against Napoleon they died as well as many a Roman” (Plumb, *Men and Places* 65). Classical subjects, which emphasise militarism and diplomacy, endow youths with an appreciation and love for one’s heritage and history. Paradoxically, the Grand Tour opened up instructional opportunities that were once limited to the aristocrats, dissolving class boundaries while consolidating a group of people through their attachment to their origins and nation. As Plumb enunciates, what resulted from the popularity of the Grand Tour were unity and a uniformity of tastes and convictions on a grand scale (Plumb, *Men and Places* 62). The middle classes shared, or believed they shared, similar values and historical ties with the people they were seeking to emulate.

Those who were leery of international travels also recognised that the Grand Tour could evoke nationalistic sentiments. One’s sense of Englishness or Britishness would be enhanced as a result of unpleasant encounters with or a reaction against the depravity of continental cultures. Continental, particularly French, mannerisms and fashion were deemed foppish, effeminate, pretentious, and decadent. The second half of the eighteenth century saw an increase in the criticism of the Grand Tour in educational tracts and travel literature, with the argument being that a youth would be vulnerable to the corrupting influences that could diminish his masculinity and English virtues (Cohen 6). Both Michèle Cohen and Jennifer Mori point to Richard Hurd’s *Dialogues on the Uses of Foreign Travel*, in which conversations between Lord Shaftesbury and John Locke are recollected, to show the ambivalence with which eighteenth-century Britain viewed the Grand Tour. Shaftesbury

argues that the Grand Tour creates a "Citizen of the World" by furnishing a young gentleman with civility, refinement, and virtue through an exchange or "commerce" of ideas (Hurd 76 and 60). The lessons learnt from other civilisations can then be used to improve the conditions and reputation of one's own nation and to transform Britain, in turn, into "the seat of Arts and Letters, as well as of trade and liberty" (Hurd 62). On the other hand, Locke contends that the young are safer in the confines of their own homes, where they can be gradually exposed and develop an immunity to vices before travelling without the nation. The instruction that foreign travels bestow "tends to cramp [the] faculties, effeminate the temper, and break that force and vigour of mind which is requisite in a man of business for the discharge of his duty, in this free country" (Hurd 117). For Locke, masculinity and nationalism are intertwined, and both can be nurtured on domestic soil:

> Let a manlier character prevail here. We have a Prince to serve, not to flatter: We have a country to embrace, not a court to adore … Let our countrymen then be indulged in plainness, nay the roughness of their manners: But let them attone for this defect by their useful sense, their superior knowledge, their public spirit, and above all, by their unpolished integrity. (Hurd 162).

Continental civility is a mere pretension, a façade that disguises the honesty or truthfulness with which men are born. Admitting that every country has its vices as well as its virtues, Locke is not utterly against foreign travel. It is only when one is armed with Reason, the consequence of enlightened British instruction, that one is prepared to face the dangers of the world. The Grand Tour, in this form, does not contribute directly to the gentleman's learning. Rather, it serves to reaffirm the English or British values and beliefs already fostered by local education.

In addition to the bolstering of one's sense of national identity, the concept of travelling also helped to develop a new way of looking. As movement became a new

phenomenon, Britain's attention was gripped by a series of innovations related to motion, chiefly the panorama and the balloon. The nation was so enthralled by these amusements and scientific advancements that the people were described as having experienced "panoramania" and "balloonomania."[65] A late eighteenth-century Irish invention, the panorama took Europe by storm by providing the illusion of travel through the depiction of moving landscapes in confined spaces and by the travelling nature of panoramic shows themselves:

> Unlike a painting, postcard or peepshow, the panorama allowed a full three-dimensional bodily experience; it was a landscape the observer gazed upon, but also one he moved through (or around); one that wrapped or deceived him; one able to cause a sense of vertigo or seasickness; one that, for a few pennies, offered the visitor a real-life experience of places he could not otherwise come in direct contact with. At the same time, panoramas were also material objects; huge and heavy canvasses moving from 'box to box' (or from rotunda to rotunda), from city to city, from country to country. They were objects deteriorating in the course of their physical transportation; objects often changing their meaning and form during their journeys; objects received, appropriated and reproduced in different ways and through different media, according to the geographical and cultural contexts through which they transited. (della Dorra 288)

Just as one navigates through or within the panorama, the panorama traverses through communities, allowing everyone equal opportunity in interacting with and interpreting the designed sceneries. Through the panorama, one is no longer the passive onlooker who merely receives still images, but an active "tourist" who engages in and helps create a geographical discourse. Veronica della Dorra best sums up the contribution of panoramas to geographical knowledge when she writes, "Along with smaller optical devices, but also atlases and illustrated textbooks, panoramas proved central in the shaping of eighteenth-century Western geographical imagination" (290). A visitor to the panorama is forced to look at the landscape

[65] Although "panoramania" seems to be a contemporary term, coined by Ralph Hyde in his 1988 publication, *Panoramania!: The Art and Entertainment of "All-Embracing" View*, "balloonomania" is referred to as early as 1784 in a correspondence by Horace Walpole with Sir Horace Mann (596).

with a roving eye, unable to take in the entire scenery beyond his or her field of vision all at once. The panoramic tourist then reassembles the jumbled pictures into an imagined landscape. Furthermore, the visitor's visual journey does not end when s/he leaves the panorama; instead, the images inside the panorama are juxtaposed against the spaces outside, and the perceiver has to reconcile the sights and experiences within the panorama with the ones without.

Even though panoramas were purported to be accurate and truthful representations of nations and geographical locations, they actually reflect the interpretations and motivations of their creators. Panoramas were utilised for more than just the provision of entertainment; like maps, they were tools for the dissemination of ideologies. A number of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century panoramas conveyed militaristic and nationalistic messages. These panoramas re-enacted past battles, royal events, and significant national achievements. Even the landscapes were intended to stimulate national pride by reproducing the glory and beauty of "Britain's extensive colonies" (della Dorra 301-2). As Michael Biggs avers, "Over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, map-making gradually became institutionalized," and the value given to the surveys were militaristic and scientific in nature (382-3). Subsidised by a public with an increasing appetite for cartographical representations, map surveys and the resulting products illustrate what Biggs calls "a degree of symbiosis between the state and an emerging public sphere" (384). The public contributed towards and helped promulgate the knowledge embedded within maps, homogenising belief and value systems regarding one's own and other nations. Maps standardise and unify communities by rationalising spaces, reaffirming political authority and power, as boundaries are drawn and redrawn: "Published maps – whether sponsored by rulers or not – engraved the distinctive shape or a particular

territory on the imagination" and, inversely, "[t]he state came to constitute the object of cartography by an imposition of state territories on the ground so that they inhered in geographical reality" (Biggs 390-1).[66] Therefore, cartographies both shape and are shaped by the map-reading public.

Concurrent to the popularity of panoramas was Britain's fascination and obsession with hot-air balloons, which resulted in feelings of nationalism, regardless whether one supported or ridiculed the phenomenon. Popularised by the French and the Italians, especially by Vincenzo Lunardi in the late eighteenth century, balloons evoked contrasting emotions in onlookers and critics. On the one hand, the ability to take flight in hot-air balloons was deemed by many to be symbolic of the nation's modernity and progress in science and technology.[67] Ballooning captured Britain's imagination to the extent that "balloon-makers" became a profession; balloon-themed merchandise were in vogue; and travel literature explored the possibility of air travel. It is perhaps due to the infectious enthusiasm for balloons that Richard Lovell Edgeworth, in proposing the usage of globes in geographical education, likens homemade globes to inflated balloons (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *PE* 2:239). One critic even draws upon articles in travelogues to show how optimistic some writers were about

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[66] Biggs notes that accuracy in dissected maps was not a concern for engravers until the early nineteenth century and, as such, "[t]he jigsaw's bounded space still did not fully depict contemporary political units" (396). A detailed discussion of the growing consistency and exactness of cartographical puzzles is found in Biggs's "Putting the State on the Map."

[67] Although ballooning was associated more closely with the French and the Italians, it is important to note that the British, despite their xenophobic sentiments, were not above and beyond incorporating foreign advancements in their own innovations and products. As Puetz elucidates in "Design Instruction for Artisans in Eighteenth-Century Britain," "[T]he widespread francophobic rhetoric produced in the period should not blind us to the fact that French goods and not French design *per se* were seen as a threat to Britain's economy. It seems that French design, when internalized by home-grown talent, could be perceived and presented as a truly national version of the 'present taste'" (225). Thus, while some eyed the balloon spectacles with great wariness and suspicion, others, like Joseph Priestley, Henry Cavendish, and William Windham, saw the potential in further research for the nation's scientific and technological improvements. After all, it is thanks to Priestley's and Cavendish's experiments on air that made it possible for ballooning to be invented (Keen 512).

the prospect of flight: "In what the *European Magazine* called this 'age of travellers and of travelling authors,' balloons carried explorers onto an 'untrodden path' through the 'untasted sweets' of 'the virgin air,' yielding a predictably rich and varied crop of published accounts" (Keen 510). Texts, including *The Air Balloon* by an anonymous author and *Hints of the Important Uses, to be Derived from Aerostatic Globes* by Thomas Martyn, propose that, in addition to air travel, balloons may be used for militaristic, communicative, and mapping purposes (Keen 514). Even noted authors, like Anna Lætitia Barbauld, Elizabeth Inchbald, Horace Walpole, William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and Percy Shelley, were not immune to the appeal of balloons, alluding to or discussing balloons in their personal documents and literary works.[68] In a period when competition between nations was measured in terms of technological improvements and economic stability, even luxury products and leisurely activities became sources of rivalry. Britain, like Germany and France, began to produce toys and amusements for both domestic and international consumption, and, by the mid-nineteenth century, international exhibitions to showcase the talents of the nation's inventors and manufacturers had become commonplace. James Cox's mechanical toys were so

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[68] While Wordsworth merely mentions a balloon in the prologue to *Peter Bell: A Tale in Verse*, Inchbald wrote an entire play titled *The Mogul Tale; or, the Descent of the Balloon* about three English characters, a doctor and a couple, who land into trouble with a Great Mogul when their balloon is blown off course. Shelley himself wrote a sonnet called "To a Balloon Laden with Knowledge," which illustrates how the balloon represents hope and optimism, no matter how fleeting, and, Coleridge, in his notebook, characterises a rising balloon as almost merging with nature when it appears shortly after a flock of starlings. In a letter to her brother dated January 2nd, 1784, Anna Lætitia Barbauld describes how the balloon exhibition at the Pantheon "has given us so much pleasure," for, when the balloon ascends, "it mounts to the top of that magnificent dome with such an easy motion as put [her] in mind of Milton's line, 'rose like an exhalation'" (1:22-3). Barbauld continues to regale her brother and friend, Miss. F., with descriptions of events pertaining to balloons in letters dated Oct. 7th, 1785; June 29th, 1786; and September 1811. Likewise, through his letters, Horace Walpole reveals how occupied he is with the subject of balloons, even if he is being satirical at times. Writing to the Honourable H. S. Conway on October 15th, 1784, for example, he claims to have "amused [him]self with ideas of the change that would be made in the world by the substitution of balloons to ships" (Walpole 259). For more information on "balloonomania" and its effect on literary authors, refer to Richard Holmes' *The Age of Wonder: How the Romantic Generation Discovered the Beauty and Terror of Science*; Paul Keen's "The 'Balloonomania': Science and Spectacle in 1780s England"; and Simon Schama's *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution*.

popular and well-known that there was even a Cox's Museum exhibiting his automata between 1772 and 1775 in London (Le Corbeiller 319). Thus, while ballooning may be perceived as a frivolous activity of no real consequence or use by some, it, nonetheless, remained an event that inspired feelings of awe, grandeur, and national pride in many spectators.

The blurring of distinction between scientific achievement and spectacle, coupled with the association with continental fashion, however, aroused suspicions in the British. Just as the Grand Tours were criticised for jeopardising the virtues and masculinity of young Englishmen, engagement in "balloonomania" was considered by some to be little more than tomfoolery and susceptibility to foreign deception. As Keen depicts, a number of prints and periodicals satirise British naïveté and foreign propensity to be duplicitous:

> If, at its most respectable, ballooning constituted a much publicized source of national pride, its more dubious forms summoned up images of conniving foreigners preying on John Bull's credulity … An inscription [in *The New Mode of Picking Pockets*] emphasized ballooning's recurring and negative association with both foreigners and performing animals as the two antithesis of English propriety … The issue was ultimately about national dignity as much as honesty. (518)

For many of the critics, the cause for concern lay not only on proximity between ballooning and continental culture, but in the high visibility surrounding the launching of balloons as well. Taste, which was central to British culture at the time, demanded a discerning eye, and that which was so celebrated by the mob was regarded as commonplace and graceless. The Grand Tour, which was supposed to educate the young in matters regarding taste by exposing them to classical antiquities and continental culture, was circumspect because of the possible exposure to vices; likewise, the rage over balloons appeared to be a form of threat to British integrity and perception. The risks involved in increasing exposure to foreign culture in a

world of heightening interest in motion and mobility mean that there was a need to hierarchise objects and ideas. Just as the Grand Tours, panoramas, and hot-air balloons created new ways of looking at the world, there grew a necessity in organising and prioritising that which was perceived. The distinction between good and bad, proper and unacceptable, and right and wrong had to be instilled, and the connection between what we sense in the external world and the qualities we develop internally had to be emphasised.

Furthermore, with the increasing use of illustrations to accompany texts in the production of children's works, images, particularly those relating to maps, began to hold greater significance in the education of children. As Yvonne Brink elucidates in her study of eighteenth-century maps of Cape Town, the word "figuring" has multiple implications, "in the sense of drawing, or map-making; figuring in the sense of populating, that is introducing the inhabitants and their lives and actions; figuring in the sense of puzzle solving – making connections in order to interpret" (105). Brink's statement links cartography with geographical studies and the ability to create a sense of coherence and unity, alluding to the skills and knowledge required in putting together a dissected map. The proper joining of a dissected map requires of both an understanding of geometry and geography. Geography, as Franco Moretti explains in his *Graphs, Maps, Trees*, is more than just an examination of locations' relational distances between one another. Referring to Cerreti's critique of his *Atlas of the European Novel*, Moretti acknowledges that his previous publication contains what is more appropriately called "diagrams," which falls under geometry rather than geography. For Ceretti, geography involves what he calls "extension" and "intension," "the *quality* of a given space … the stratification of *intrinsically different qualities* and heterogeneous phenomena" (qtd. in Moretti

55). In geography, the specific places themselves are more important than the places' connection with other locations.

Dissected maps encapsulate both the centrality of locations in and of themselves as well as the interrelationship between places. They are categorised as geometrical or mathematical puzzles in "A Study of Puzzles" because the activity involved is the joining of fragmented shapes and, as such, there is a need for "geometrical imagination" (Lindley 440). However, the very fact that the puzzles themselves are of maps, typically cut according to provincial or national borders, mean that these amusements are, ultimately, geographical in nature. Thus, dissected maps are both geometrical and geographical. As Shefrin elucidates, "The primary educational value of a dissected map is that the pieces are cut along the political borders, enabling the child to learn the shapes of discrete political areas and their location in the larger map" (15). Through play, a child is expected to not only understand the domain of local or provincial political authority, as represented by the individual puzzle piece, but also to apprehend how the political and socio-cultural influences intersect with and fit in within other territories to form a nation. As Biggs notes, "With cartography a geographical image became possible. Published maps – whether sponsored by rulers or not – engraved the distinctive shape of a particular territory on the imagination. This familiar shape provided an alternative symbol of political authority: a body of land, or 'geobody'" (390). Children are, hence, able to perceive a visual and tactile representation of the nation, an imagined community that they have yet to conceptualise and understand.

Manufacturers of dissected maps utilised the concept of geographical education as their selling point, incorporating details about locales as much as possible in their products. Inserts providing geographical information were sometimes included in the packaging of the

puzzles, but, just as often, the information was integrated as part of the puzzles themselves. John Betts's *Europe Delineated*, as an example, is a puzzle that consists of a map in the centre, cut along national borders; however, the dissected map is surrounded by other puzzle pieces providing illustrated scenes and brief descriptions of each nation and its people. The scenes and statements are stereotypical, with the Irish presented as poor peasants while Italy is overrun with criminals, reflecting general prejudices of the period. Like a number of puzzles of the time, *Europe Delineated* turns into a board game or "race game" when put together, whereupon players race through countries to reach the finish line. The race game actually predates Spilsbury's dissected maps. Meanwhile, John Jefferys, borrowing from seventeenth-century French card games that utilised maps and English gambling games, invented *A Journey Through Europe, or The Play of Geography* in the middle of the eighteenth century: "He took a map of Europe and made it into a race game in which 'travellers' were moved along a track through all the countries by the throw of a dice" (Hannas 13).[69] By combining dissected maps with race games, puzzle-makers were able to simulate a miniaturised version of the Grand Tour, whereby children were able to traverse the continent and learn about different nations without having to leave the comfort and safety of their own homes.

The educational value of dissected maps lies in the ways in which the toys are able to change the way children see the world. Children need to learn how to identify and separate the correct puzzle pieces from other pieces and to picture the finished image in their heads in the process of joining the puzzle together. Just as discernment and perception are necessary to a reader with taste or an inexperienced traveller in foreign lands, such skills are essential in the

[69] A detailed catalogue of maps mentioned in this thesis is found in Linda Hannas's *The English Jigsaw Puzzle: 1760 to 1890*.

development of national identity within children. As remarked in “Puzzling Empire,” “the activity of puzzling grew out of what Michel Foucault has identified as an eighteenth-century desire to tabulate, catalog, classify, and order the world into meaningful hierarchies” (Norcia 2). The Linnaean preoccupation with putting nature into correct and specific categories is paralleled by the culture’s and government’s interest in forming and reinforcing the concept of the nation and nationalistic identity. The act of piecing together a puzzle, of creating structure and coherence out of disorder, is akin to the formation of a nation, of the joining of lands and cultures as well as the drawing of boundaries and mapping of terrains. Norcia points out that “[t]his activity serves as a wonderful metaphor for the nation-making process: an abstract idea or outline realized through a series of discrete local acts” (“Puzzling Empire” 4). Children learn how small actions lead to larger consequences, and, as such, become more mindful of their decisions and conduct. In addition, piecing puzzles also teaches reading skills which requires the joining of letters into words and words into phrases or sentences. According to Norcia, “[P]uzzling also fostered child development by reinforcing reading (children could piece together big words that cut across the surface of the map as a strategy for solving the puzzle); familiarity with the geo-mathematical logic of concepts like latitude and longitude; and hand-eye coordination” (“Puzzling Empire” 11). All the skills listed by Norcia demand the ability to envision a larger picture and to distinguish the parts that make up the whole.

In the chapter called “Toys” in *Practical Education*, Maria Edgeworth expounds upon the values of dissected maps, showing how they teach the art of observation and discernment. She writes:

> It will not be beneath the dignity of a philosophic tutor to consider the different effects, which the most common plays of children have upon the habits of the understanding and temper. Whoever has watched children putting together a dissected map, must have been amused with the trial between Wit and

> Judgment. The child, who quickly perceives resemblances, catches instantly at the first bit of the wooden map, that has a single hook or hollow that seems likely to answer his purpose; he makes, perhaps, twenty different trials before he hits upon the right; whilst the wary youth, who has been accustomed to observe differences, cautiously examines with his eye the whole outline before his hand begins to move; and, having exactly compared the two indentures, he joins them with sober confidence, more proud of never disgracing his judgment by a fruitless attempt, than ambitious of rapid success. He is slow, but sure, and wins the day. (Edgeworth and Edgeworth 1:30)

As mentioned in the first sentence of the passage, toys and games have the capacity to mould children's behaviour and disposition. Edgeworth demonstrates the advantages developed by the "youth," who presumably has greater experience in putting together dissected maps. Having learnt from past mistakes, the "youth" is able to distinguish minute differences between two similar objects, as opposed to the reckless and unassuming "child," and successfully produces the required result in the test. He retains the ultimate prize, which are his dignity and the ability to display his abilities in perception and reasoning. Edgeworth's recognition of dissected maps' ability to inculcate discernment and judgment is echoed in later psychological studies when Ernest H. Lindley notes that puzzles develop new habits while curbing old, impassioned ones. Puzzles offer all sorts of possibilities at once, "to 'swamp' the mind with the multiplicity of more or less incongruent trains and motor tendencies called up," and it is up to the individual to control and sift through all variations to come up with the correct response (Lindley 445). Puzzles also teach conformity because there is only one possible solution despite the plethora of options. As Lindley proposes, "Uniformity and reiteration of experience make for habitual modes of response" (445). If, as Edgeworth advocates, puzzle-piecing informs children's perception and judgment, then, through dissected maps, children also learn that there is only one right way of looking and reasoning. It is by learning to identify the invariably precise piece that makes a child be like others. There is only

one way to put the puzzle together, and everyone who assembles the puzzle has to do so in the same manner.

Maria Edgeworth utilises toys, including dissected maps, in *Early Lessons* to highlight the importance of discriminating perception and conformity within a social structure. The story "Frank" begins with the protagonist learning how to reason and to respect boundaries and property. Encouraged by his parents to consider why they ask him to stop playing with the table leg, Frank realises that the table would have collapsed upon him if he were to disobey his parents. Shortly thereafter, Frank and his mother go for a walk, and they chance upon a gated garden. The boy's mother allows him to accept the gardener's invitation to enter on the condition that Frank "take[s] care to not meddle with any thing in the garden" (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 1:17). As Frank grasps the importance of recognising boundaries, of where he can and cannot go and what he can and cannot do, as well as the value of property, his elder brother, Henry, tries to make him visualise the garden the latter intends to have the following spring. Henry draws a map of the garden which Frank compares to the maps of countries in his father's study. Frank recognises that, like the map Henry has just drawn, geographical maps serve to "show [people] whereabouts places are" to assist in the conceptualisation and imagination of a complete unit with all its disparate parts (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 1:178). When Frank continues by enquiring about Henry's dissected map of England and Wales, Henry proceeds to cut up the illustrated garden map for his brother to assemble. It is only after Frank proves that he is able to put together the garden map and promises to count the pieces before storing them that he is rewarded with the opportunity to borrow and assemble a real dissected map for a week. The children's mother's reminder to Frank of the seriousness of making a promise shows how performative the nation-making process is. The

mother warns Frank, “No persons are believed, or trusted, who break their promise … I would rather, that you should never put that map together, than that you should make a promise and break it” (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 1:180-1). A promise exists on the condition that the person who makes the promise keeps it. Likewise, the dissected map, metaphorically representing the nation, can be completed only if Frank, like other citizens, continuously disciplines himself and learns behaviour that conforms to certain values of society.

The gravity with which Frank takes his promise reflects the importance of common values, such as mutual trust and respect, within a community. Regardless how eager he is to indulge in a different activity, the protagonist of Edgeworth’s narrative pauses to count the pieces of the puzzle. He searches relentlessly for the missing Middlesex piece until he finds it although he wishes to see the book of prints his father has out. On the last day of the week, Frank “at last succeed[s]” in assembling the map, “hook[ing] every county, even crooked little Middlesex, into its right place. He [is] much pleased to see the whole map fitted together – ‘Look at it, dear mamma,’ said he: ‘you cannot see the joinings, it fits so nicely’” (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 1:186). The emphasis on the individual piece in the creation of the whole map highlights both the importance of individuals within the nation as well as the subsumption of the individual within a national community. As Frank notices, when placed correctly, the dividing lines between individual pieces are no longer visible. When he returns the dissected map to his brother, thus exemplifying his trustworthiness and care, he is rewarded with the loan of the book of prints by his father and a box of bricks by his brother. Both parent and sibling repetitively underscore the fact that their willingness to lend him their property is based solely on the care that Frank has taken with the dissected map. The book and box of bricks are significant because Frank professes a desire “to build a house in [his] garden,” and the lent

items will help him understand the basics of construction (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 1:191). The book of prints and box of bricks that would allow Frank to erect this "house" suggests that there is a close connection between the nation and the domestic sphere. Henry demonstrates to his younger brother that, just as the map can be divided into individual pieces, a domicile can be broken down to its components: "Henry showed him how to *break the joints*, in building – how to build walls and arches … And [Frank] kept his promise, not to wet them and not to take them out of doors. 'It is a good thing to keep one's promise,' said his mother: 'people are trusted, who keep their promises – trusted even with little bricks'" (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 1:192). The home, then, becomes the foundation of nation-building, whereby children, like Frank, learn the fundamental lessons of citizenship.

In the continuation of Frank's story published in the third volume of *Early Lessons*, Frank finally manages to obtain his "house," an old garden hut given to him by his parents, after further displaying his ability to not only be self-disciplined, trusted, and respectful of boundaries, but also to understand the consequences of actions within society. Frank dutifully restrains himself from going into the hut, as promised, even though he is tempted by a boat that he has previously left within the hut; in return, he is given the privilege of venturing to the river unaccompanied whenever he wants. Because he has kept his first promise, it is assumed that he is to be trusted with future promises. His reward indicates that he has earned the right to liberty beyond the confines of his domestic space and the added responsibility and independence that come with it. Frank obtains access to spaces in gradations, as seen in the boundaries demarcated by his father; Frank has his parents' permission to sail his boat whenever he chooses between "the stump of [a] willow tree, as far in … toward the land" (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 3:19). Just as a map of the nation appears through the addition

of pieces, Frank's development is depicted spatially. Furthermore, Frank learns the important benefits of being part of a functioning society, to be one amongst many. The garden house is gained when he manages to empty it of flower pots, a task he achieves thanks to the assistance of his brother and cousins, who are willing to help him because of Frank's previous act of kindness. The thatching for the roof is similarly attained through what Frank's father tells him is "division of labour" (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 3:41). The need for cooperative effort in order for Frank to obtain a house of "his own," a term he uses repetitively, points to the interconnection between individual improvement or gain and communal effort (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 3:21). Plumb expounds that, as the nation became more modern, especially when the empire was expanding, there was a rising need for specialisation of skills, even in children (*In the Light of History* 163).[70] Every member of a group becomes essential to the whole, as each is assigned a distinct task that contributes towards the outcome of their efforts; conversely, the success of the group profits the individual himself.

Maria Edgeworth's other story in *Early Lessons*, "Rosamond," published in the second volume, continued in the third, and finished in the fourth, also exhibits the close connection between nationalism and the domestic hearth. In the third volume, the protagonist enters into a wager with her brother over excuse-making. Godfrey believes that Rosamond will make no less than fifty excuses in a week, and the stakes consist of Rosamond's "kings of England against [Godfrey's] joining map of the world" (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 3:175). The prizes to be won reflect the nationalistic element of Rosamond's behavioural changes. In order

[70] Norcia observes that "puzzles like [John] Bett's [*Lithographed Jigsaw Puzzle of the Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*] reinforced a way of seeing the world with what Mary Louise Pratt has termed 'imperial eyes'; children pieced together Crusoe's tale as an island monarch, learning step by step how to master and organize resources, and how to command loyalty and respect from indigenous subjects" ("Puzzling Empire" 26 n. 14). Thus, there was a need for citizens to acquire certain sets of specialised skills. Betts' puzzle, published in 1840, reflects how puzzles took on a more obviously imperialistic theme as the British Empire gained more power and territories.

for Rosamond to keep her kings and to obtain Godfrey's dissected map, she has to cure herself of her bad habits and take responsibility for her own actions. She has to be imbued with a sense of self-discipline to be part of the national community, exemplifying the practice of Foucauldian biopower: "[T]he more she saw that he watched her, the more cautious she became" (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 3:182). The bet ends, not with one sibling being victorious over the other, but with mutual agreement. The children realise that the wager is wrong and give it up because it encourages discord amongst themselves and evokes pleasure in the suffering of others. Self-improvement and common affection and concern become more important than personal triumph over a peer. Rosamond's self-control continues beyond the bet, even without the watchful eye of others, and it is in her personal development that her brother celebrates and encourages.

Rosamond's lessons in thinking of others over self and of the future over the present are reinforced later on when the protagonist's family visits Mrs. Egerton. While awaiting the arrival of her siblings, Rosamond is introduced to an India cabinet and some of its contents. Although curious to look further into the other drawers and is given the permission to do so, Rosamond decides to delay the pleasure until she is joined by her brother and sister. Rosamond's choice is, as her mother puts it, a "resolution to submit to self-denials, and to do what is known to be best … being able to resist some little present temptation … being able steadily to prefer a great future to a little present pleasure" (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 3:232). Rosamond's ability to appreciate collective happiness is a sign of her participation within the social group because she can relate to and identify with their interests and sentiments. The self-control involved in denying individual pleasure for other people's benefit and enjoyment is deemed so important that Rosamond's mother links it to the difference

between doing good and bad (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 3:232). Rosamond's patience, empathy, and consideration are repaid when, in return for showing her siblings the Chinese mechanical toys and paintings on Chinese screens found in the India cabinet, she is brought to see machines at work in the local cotton factory. Later on, the manufacturer tells of the story of Ellen, who works to earn money for other younger children, so that they can all purchase a going-away present for a clergyman whom they love. Ellen does not purchase the present herself but, instead, gives the money to the children, so that "they might have the pleasure of subscribing for themselves" (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 3:278-279). As such, Ellen's individual labour and sacrifice are, like Rosamond's self-denial, for the enjoyment of the collective.

The Rosamond narratives emphasise the centrality of the discriminating eye based upon Reason, a quality that is linked to Britishness. As Godfrey asserts, the machines used by the local cotton manufactory are functional and, thus, are of more value than the Chinese toys, which merely provide entertainment (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 3:254). Godfrey's preference for the Spinning Jennies, an English invention, over trivialised imports highlights his national pride and his esteem of rational thinking. His sentiments are echoed by Rosamond who notes that she prefers "pleasure in commanding oneself, which is better, after all, than seeing Chinese tumblers of any thing else" (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 3:240). In a later chapter, the girl professes to like a poem about Spinning Jennies because of her newfound understanding of and respect for the machines and industry (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 4:22). The children's development shows how one needs to be able to put into practice one's ability in discernment, to distinguish the difference between usefulness and the lack of utility and to obtain pleasure from doing something for the general good.

Throughout the Rosamond stories, both Godfrey and his sister exhibit lapses in judgment, basing their ideas of people and objects on the opinions of others and physical appearance. From the beginning of the first Rosamond story, the protagonist has had to learn how to form accurate assessments. In the first chapter called "The Purple Jar," a popular tale previously published in *The Parent's Assistant*, Rosamond learns that the pretty purple jar she purchases is actually a clear jar filled with foul-smelling coloured liquid. The protagonist fritters her money away on purple medicine that she does not need instead of buying a much-needed pair of sensible shoes and suffers the consequences of her choice. As Rosamond tearfully says at the end of the chapter, "how I wish, that I had chosen the shoes – they would have been of so much more use to me than that jar" (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 2:16-17). The Rosamond narrative in the second volume ends with a discussion between the siblings and their father as to the most important virtue. The parent avers that virtues should be esteemed according to their usefulness (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 3:284-285). As he advises his children, "[W]e must know, what contributes most to the happiness of the greatest number of people, and for the greatest length of time" (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 3:285-286). The father's utilitarian statement underscores the belief that one's thoughts and effort should be for the collective as a whole and that the welfare of others should supersede individual concerns. Likewise, one of the protagonists in "Harry and Lucy" declares, "[W]e grow tired only of things, that we cannot make any use of" (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 4:246). Included in the children's list of useful toys are dissected maps, and their assertion against frivolous pastimes is made as they ask for a saw with which to make a fire to warm the family hearth. As Karen Klugman proposes, children's desire for a toy "may convey a longing to be part of a

community" (170). Hence, Harry and Lucy's plea links the concept of utility with collective comfort and happiness.

The conclusion of "Rosamond" in the fourth volume of *Early Lessons* reinforces the moral of thinking of others over the self. In the last chapter called "The Microscope," Godfrey invites his sister to play at pretending to be "Aurelian, the Roman emperor and … Zenobia, queen of the east" (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 4:77). Rosamond refuses to participate until she has finished her long division, a decision that is praised by the maternal figure of her sister, Laura. Laura states, "[T]hen you will have done all you ought to do, and then you can be queen of the east, as long as you please" (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 4:79). Echoing a previous remark by her mother, Laura's assertion appears to make a connection between seemingly trivial domestic acts and the imagined community as represented by Rosamond's pretend monarchical role. Laura further elaborates, "[T]he more you practise, even in the least things, the sort of resolution you showed this morning, the more, I think, you would have resolution to be really generous: that is, to give up your own pleasures for other people" (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 4:95). Rosamond receives some illustrated books on microscope as a reward from her mother because she has performed her "DUTY [that] morning – to finish [her] long sum instead of going out … to be queen of the east" (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 4:86). The protagonist's self-control leads to the enjoyment of others, in the form of her mother's pride and pleasure and her brother's ability to borrow her books. Godfrey initially criticises Rosamond's values, arguing that her act is not "grand" or "great" and that she is too calculative of her own pleasure in her self-sacrifice to be truly altruistic (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 4:86-87). However, he is proven wrong when his sister later willingly gives up her week to assist him in a task that results in his gaining a much-desired

microscope. The attainment of a microscope and the conciliation between the siblings that end the Rosamond stories underline the importance of attention to minute acts that may appear to be trivial and domestic but that result in the most amount of happiness for the highest number of people. In other words, small deeds contribute to the greater good and provide more pleasure, and the contribution of a citizen adds to the welfare of the nation.

The concept of the domestic sphere as a gateway to nationalism was touted in the wake of the French Revolution. As Susan Manly elucidates, advocates and opposers of the Revolution alike, such as Richard Price and Edmund Burke, draw the connection between the public and political realms and the home. For Manly, Maria Edgeworth reacts against Burke's argument "that aristocratic and monarchical authority possessed natural claims equal to the private affections of home and family" and criticises his adherence to rote-learning by "showing how the apparently private realm of child-rearing and early education might become a source of social transformation and of challenge to established authority" (143). Edgeworth believes that it is essential to teach children how to reason and to champion utility in order to have a progressive, egalitarian society. Manly illustrates how Edgeworth constantly connects family with society, a unit that is enlightened by the voice of Reason and encourages discourse, in *Practical Education* and in a manuscript about home education in chemistry:

> Crucially, Edgeworth suggests that it is children's full inclusion in rational society that helps to create new knowledge: in a 'large and literary family' where there is continual conversation and dialogue, especially if children are 'encouraged to take a reasonable share in conversation' and permitted to 'talk freely of what they read', curiosity will feed the memory at the same time as invention is nurtured … Children, like adults, argues Edgeworth, have more motivation for absorbing ideas when they feel that they can make use of them 'in some future invention.' (144-145)

The exchange of new and innovative ideas that would contribute toward the wellbeing and advancement of a society and nation is dependent upon the understanding of the notions of

utility and the future. Children must be made to understand that present concepts and knowledge may not provide immediate gratification or even consequence and that it is in the future that their contribution is invested.

Building upon and diversifying the didactic purposes of jigsaws, puzzle-makers also designed toys that were purported not only to teach geography, but to teach history as well. Historical puzzles, introduced and propagated by publishers like William Darton and John Wallis, allow children to arrange monarchs or events in chronological order and provide data about each reign and occurrence. Hannas observes that, despite being a small category in the domain of jigsaw puzzles, Wallis's *Chronological Tables of English History* enjoyed tremendous popularity in the late eighteenth century (24). Concurrent with the interest in the Grand Tour, which, as Plumb proposes, instils "a love of ancient Europe and its artistic heritage," historical jigsaws endow the young with the knowledge and appreciation of their nation's past (*Men and Places* 66). For the Edgeworths, history is essential to the education of children, for geography alone cannot endow children with a sense of national pride and identity. Like other subjects, history must be taught in a fun way, as written in *Early Lessons*'s "Address to Mothers." Richard Lovell Edgeworth spends three pages of the introduction to the third volume on the instruction of history, recommending charts and books, especially those with prints, and cautioning against overloading children's minds with miscellaneous or incomprehensible information ("Address to Mothers" xx-xxii). Although generally against rote-learning, he admits that "artificial memory" can be excused in the study of history because there is a need to remember chronological order, "The succession of Roman emperors, of English kings, the large geographical divisions of the world, the order of the principal inventions and discoveries … the discovery of America and of the passage to India

by the Cape of Good Hope, &c.; may be chronologically stored in the memory, without injury to the understanding" ("Address to Mothers" xxii). However, as he expounds, chronology is essential only as a precursor to understanding, and, hence, rote-learning does not replace a student's comprehension of historical figures and events.

Maria Edgeworth demonstrates how unproductive it is to learn by rote without comprehension when her characters, Godfrey and Rosamond, recite verses. Rosamond attempts to recite "Gray's Elegy in a Country Churchyard," but, as her brother points out, she does not truly know what she is saying because, lacking historical knowledge, she does not understand terms like "Cromwell, guiltless of his country's blood" (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 4:13). Godfrey himself understands only certain parts of Pope's "Sarpedon's Speech to Glaucus" because he has read how Edward the First "when he conquered Wales had put all the Welch bards, or poets, to death," an act which led to the king's eventual downfall (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 4:16). Godfrey's limited historical knowledge is akin to Edward the First's lack of appreciation for the nationalistic bard. When the boy can display his understanding of the poem's historical context, he is able to "[go] on victoriously"; however, when he is no longer able to rely on notes that he has read, he falters, incapable of distinguishing the speaker of the poem or even empathising with the suffering of the oppressed Welsh (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 4:16):

> Godfrey could not make any sense of this passage; he did not know who wept – who slept – who the gristly band were – what dreadful harmony they joined, or what they wove with bloody hands.
>
> Moreover, it now appeared that Godfrey did not clearly know, whether the person, who had been speaking from the beginning of the poem till this moment, was the ghost of a bard, or the bard himself. (Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *EL* 4:17)

Godfrey confounds the past with the literary present, and, in his confusion, fails to appreciate the nostalgia and nationalistic sentiments evoked by the poem. To truly value how Britain was formed and to be a part of Britain's future, he needs to first understand the voices of the nation's past.

Puzzles' ability to amuse and educate made them one of the most popular and recommended toys of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Jigsaws can teach geography and history, but, more importantly, they can imbue children with a sense of nationalism, of belonging to an imagined community. As one critic mentions, "Toys copied, on a small scale, features of the real world" (Pointon 66). They are ideological mirrors of society and culture and can help shape a child's future. Piecing a dissected map allows children to practise skills required to become a citizen of the nation and to envision, in their mental landscape, the community in which they live and to which they contribute. Just as every piece fits nicely within a completed map, then, a child learns to be an individual within a collective, to be one amongst many.

Conclusion:

From Nation to Empire:

Into the Future of Children's Literature

"'Are you ready?' 'Yes.' And away comes the ball kicked high in the air, to give the School time to rush on and catch it as it falls. And here they are amongst us. Meet them like Englishmen, you School-house boys, and charge them home."

(Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown's Schooldays* 109)

For centuries, one of the most important tasks of educators is to teach children how to read. Learning how to read is more than just acquiring a skill in literacy, for reading (or what is termed "active reading" today) involves engagement with the text and the ability to see beyond the surface meaning of the text. The recognition of the intersection between an intangible world of meaning and the physical imprint of the written word is an indication of the growing comprehension of the interconnectivity between exteriority and interiority. Reading, then, is an activity that puts into practice the perception and configuration of various spaces, from the materiality of the text to the imaginative realm of the psyche and the real world beyond the text. Through children's literature and its various motifs, child readers' understanding of spaces and spatial relationships deepens, allowing for the inculcation of nationalistic ideas.

Discipline is central to both the learning process and the transformation of an individual into a subject. Discipline depends on the notion of transparency, that what we are able to perceive within us is visible to others, just as what lies beyond the physical surface is discernable to us. Without self-regulation, study is unproductive, lacking foundation and structure. More importantly, as Foucault suggests in *Discipline and Punish*, without discipline, control becomes difficult in a modern institution. A nation requires a society that is organised, cohesive, and manageable, a collective in which each disparate part performs its necessary

function. The system of surveillance and confession depicted in writings for children reinforce societal norms and values, especially since one's position and worth within the community are presented as being dependent on the esteem of others. In addition, the internalised belief in constant supervision, by oneself as well as others, reflects the subscription to the notion of interconnection between individuals.

Through naturalist and cartographical motifs, children are further exposed to the processes of the unification of a nation. Natural history reaffirms the roles of individuals within a hierarchy, promoting the considerate and proper treatment of others to ensure the smooth operation of a society. Children's literature portrays society as mirroring the natural order, an arrangement that is bulwarked by religious arguments, thus justifying socioeconomic inequality. The wellbeing and happiness of a collective supersede individual desires, and children learn that, even at a young age, seemingly minute actions, performed in the comforts of the domestic sphere, have repercussions in the community at large. The very form of puzzles, consisting of disparate pieces that make up a whole, provides necessary practice for children trying to visualise the concept of a nation and to comprehend their own positions within society. Children have to learn that, as individuals are intertwined, a nation is built not only on a system of conformity and alliance, but one of exchange and discourse as well.

The diversity that exists in the British Isles is brought into harmony through a common discourse of truth and a shared imagination. Nationalism has to be based upon the emotional and moral investment in the idea of the nation and the spaces associated with the nation. One's national identity has to represent who and what one really is in order to have any meaning and so that the exchange of services and goods is deemed as contributing towards a mutually beneficial goal. If Benedict Anderson's "imagined communities" stresses the shared belief of

individuals in being members of collective, Edward Said's "imaginative geographies" pertains to the constructed meaning of spaces and time:

> The French philosopher Gaston Bachelard once wrote an analysis of what he called the poetics of space. The inside of a house, he said, acquires a sense of intimacy, secrecy, security, real or imagined, because of the experiences that come to seem appropriate for it. The objective space of a house – its corners, corridors, cellars rooms – is far less important than what poetically it is endowed with, which is usually a quality with an imaginative or figurative value we can name and feel: thus a house may be haunted, or homelike, or prisonlike, or magical. So space acquires emotional and even rational sense by a kind of poetic process, whereby the vacant or anonymous reaches of distance are converted into meaning for us here. The same process occurs when we deal with time … there is no doubt that imaginative geography and history help the mind to intensify its own sense of itself by dramatizing the distance and difference between what is close to it and what is far away …
>
> Yet there is no use in pretending that all we know about time and space, or rather history and geography, is more than anything else imaginative. (*Orientalism* 55-6)

Said is interested in how the inscription of symbolic meaning informs our understanding of geographical spaces and creates the subject by highlighting spatial and temporal distances. By referring to the heightening sense of one's psychological self, Said shows how one's experience of attachment or detachment from a space or time helps develop one's identity. Identity, however, is performative, as are our understanding and experience of spaces.[71] Critics have demonstrated that our perception of spaces consists of "performances of spaces" or that "space is also a doing, that it does not pre-exist its doing, and that its doing is the articulation of relational performances" (Gregory 19; Rose 248). Therefore, just as we project our imaginations upon spaces, our interaction with and knowledge of spaces shape the persons that

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[71] Performativity's significance in regards to identity has been established and popularised by queer theorists, such as Judith Butler and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick. See, for instance, the former's *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* and *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* as well as the latter's *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity*.

we are.[72] The bard in children's literature promotes the discourse of truth and sentimental investments in materiality. By emphasising the function of the imagination, the bard allows listeners or readers to connect with the historical past, providing cultural meaning to a space. Nevertheless, as spaces are experienced and always "becoming" in their constant construction within the psyche, there is a need to continuously produce discourses that define and redefine the history and geography of a nation and what nationalism entails. Borders and communities consistently shift, especially as Britain headed into the Victorian era and expanded its realms to form an empire.

The eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century writings for children underscore the importance of the domestic sphere as an early training ground for nationalists. As the British Empire grew and control became increasingly difficult, however, there was a greater demand for a more organised and rigorous curriculum in regards to children's education as well as pastimes:

> [T]he majority of British children in the nineteenth century were engaging in games which were preparing them for the administrative, as well as martial, work of the Empire … Whereas games like cricket took place within a specifically ordered, bounded, and usually male homosocial space, party games and home theatricals were played by both girls and boys within the context of their everyday lives – in the same parlors where they were drilled on social behavior and decorum, as well as in the nurseries where they learned reading,

[72] Terry Castle points to the eighteenth century as the beginning of the collapse of boundaries between the material and psychological world. The critic focuses on the subject of death, whereupon she explains that, in contrast to earlier periods, when death was accepted as an organic experience, death in the eighteenth century began to undergo a process of spiritualisation. Castle draws from Phillipe Ariès's hypothesis that "changing affectional patterns, the breakdown of communal social life, and the increasingly individualistic and secular nature of modern experience" led to the intensification of bodily repression in the face of death, invoking a "growing subjective fascination with idealized images of the deceased" and a belief that "physical separations were only temporary" (242-3). Objects were imbued with memories and subjected to sentimental investments. The shift in the approach to death reaffirms both the continuity of the dead as well as those who are living, for the negation of death implies one's immortality (248). Ordinary distinctions between fantasy and reality, mind and matter, subject and object, break down. Castle terms the projection of one's psychological state onto the material world "the supernaturalization of everyday life" and the internalisation of the physical realm, the change from "sensory experience" into an "absorption in illusion," "the spectralization of the other" (234, 246, and 237).

> arithmetic, and geography. The recreation offered by domestic games extended the learning undertaken in parlors and on playgrounds, and was, in fact, a *re*creation of the lessons learned in other media. (Norcia, "Playing Empire" 294-195)

Games and sports became character- and team-building activities, intended to strengthen imperialistic messages found in children's literature of the period. The usefulness of children's texts for the dissemination of nationalistic discourses during the Victorian period is visible in the proliferation of subgenres, such as school stories, and the depiction of nationalistic pastimes.[73] For example, the best-selling *Tom Brown's Schooldays* by Thomas Hughes, which depicts a football match at Rugby boarding school, was one of the sources of inspiration for Lord Baden-Powell when the latter began consolidating the Boy Scout movement at the turn of the century (Zipes et al 1460). In fact, it is arguable that traces of nationalism in children's literature are still discernable today, if we consider the reproduction of the traditional school story structure popularised by Hughes in the *Harry Potter* series and the overwhelmingly British cast of the adapted movies. So influential are the *Harry Potter* books that J. K. Rowling is now a national cultural icon and the narratives have helped change the spaces of London, with King's Cross Station adding Platform 9¾ and a partially disappearing trolley against its wall.

The mutability of national borders means that we have to constantly learn how to navigate our way through spaces and be sensitive to how spaces inform our identity. Today, countries have become more cosmopolitan, and our identities are becoming more and more embroiled with emerging spheres, including the cyberspace. Children's literature may offer us

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[73] More information on school stories is found in sections pertaining to the subgenre by Sheila Ray in *International Companion Encyclopedia of Children's Literature*, ed. Peter Hunt and *The Norton Anthology of Children's Literature: The Traditions in English*, edited by Jack Zipes *et al*.

an understanding as to how we teach our children the concept of a nation and what it means to be a citizen of a nation. These questions are especially pertinent, in light of the fact that we are shaping not just the present, but also the future, of our society. If we are truly what we consume, then, what children read today will show us what our nation will be tomorrow, and the patterns of the past may contain clues as to what awaits us, as we close the book on our current generation.

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