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Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

PhD Thesis
in English Studies

Commercial Strategies in Paratextual Features of Late Eighteenth-Century Children's Books

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Commercial Strategies in Paratextual Features of Late Eighteenth-Century Children's Books

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working before deadlines. Her brother, Horațiu, has also contributed to my research by tracking down Lucy Peacock's *Eleanor and Jessey* and *Emily, or the Test of Sincerity* at the University of Glasgow. I cannot thank Paul Giurgiu enough for his constant assistance for the entire writing process, for his patience to read parts of my thesis and for offering his opinion on the subject matter. I would also like to thank fellow researchers Astrid Cañizares (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona), Deborah Brown (University of Chichester) and Sara Nyffenegger (University of Zurich), who have become my dear friends. Also Craig McCrorie and Diana Croucher for their most honest support given to me since I moved to Spain. Last, but not least, I would like to thank Roger for being my most faithful companion over the last ten years and who has provided me with the perfect example of discipline, hard work, passion, motivation and determination to always be at the top of your game.

FORMATTING

This thesis has been written mostly in accordance with the Modern Language Association (MLA) style. Paragraphs are indented except for sections 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 3.1, 3.2, 4.2 and 5.2, in which the paragraphs separation is necessary for emphasis.

A: OVERVIEW

1. Introduction

1.1 The Framework of the Study

The purpose of this research is to deepen the understanding of both individual children's books and of children's literature as a whole and to draw attention to the commercial side of children's literature. This area of children's literature has not to-date received the critical attention that it deserves, thus the thesis hopes to bring a significant contribution to its particular field. Within the context of the emergence of juvenile consumerism in the eighteenth century, the approach made by women writers of children's literature is a substantial contribution to the debate on education, providing women educators with both domestic and literary authority. The selected framework (1780-1816 in Britain) is a highly significant period as it is marked by important changes at all levels, primarily as a result of the French Revolution (1789-1799), and the subsequent social debate in Britain in response to this revolution.

The authors focussed on here (Sarah Trimmer, Ellenor Fenn, the Kilner sisters and Lucy Peacock) were women writers who shared the same prolific publisher, John Marshall. All were keenly aware of the literary market and, consequently, the paratextual features of their works (pseudonyms, titles and subtitles, epigraphs, dedications, addresses, advertisements, prefaces, postscripts, lists of subscribers, table of contents and indexes, footnotes, catalogue lists), which are a form of self-representation targeted at parents and/or children, contain a range of resourceful strategies with the possible purpose of influencing their audience to purchase their 'products'. Therefore, the thesis aims at studying this aspect of the writers' self-representation by looking at a series of literary texts and two periodicals – and their

paratexts – that were used to create interest and attention, and, by doing so, help these writers advance their commercial objective. [1]

The traditional approach to children's literature was to look at narrative strategies devised to attract attention and enhance readers' interest, such as point of view or perspective, choice of genre, characterisation, plot structure, style and figurative language.[2] My thesis, however, delves into a more recent type of research, namely the study of paratextual elements that address the position of the reader as a consumer. Yet, this method does not exclude the literary component; as Gerard Genette explains, all paratexts are "of a textual kind: titles, prefaces, interviews, all of them utterances that, varying greatly in scope nonetheless share the linguistic status of the text. Most often, then, the paratext is itself a text: if it is still not *the* text, it is already *some* text" (Genette, 1997: 7). Hence, the paratexts can be seen just as important as the texts themselves as they provide "some commentary on the text and influences how the text is received" (Genette, 1997: 7). The discussion of paratextual features has almost entirely pertained to the fields of Literary Theory, Applied Linguistics or of Translation Theory, and considerably uncovered by text-based literary studies, which generally view the text and paratext as separate, the former prevailing over the latter.

Furthermore, it was commonplace, as occurs in the references given above, to focus the analysis on the more 'dynamic' elements (such as titles and subtitles, epigraphs, dedications, addresses, advertisements, prefaces, postscripts, and

[1] At a distance of more than two centuries it is difficult to determine with any precision whether these commercial strategies were indeed successful. Throughout the thesis I propose that the fundamental objective of such paratextual features is to heighten the salability of the Marshall writers' works; it is a different, though related question, whether this in fact was the case. However, as a tentative means of engaging with this question (even though this is not the principal focus of my study here) I set out an annex with data relating to the number of editions of some of my texts, the frequency of which is relevant to their market success.

[2] See, for example, Darton, F.J. Harvey, *Children's Books in England*; O'Day, Rosemary, *Education and Society 1500-1800*; Pickering, Samuel F., *John Locke and Children's Books* and *Moral Instruction and Fiction for Children*; Summerfield, Geoffrey, *Fantasy and Reason*. See also my 1.3.

footnotes) and to ignore or minimise the importance of the more 'static' ones (for example, the names of the authors, lists of subscribers, tables of contents, and catalogues). When I use the term 'dynamic paratextual features' I refer to the traditional understanding and analysis of such material characterised by pragmatic features, constant change, meaningful activity or progress whereas 'static paratextual devices' have often been categorised as simply a reflection of objective content, lacking strategic value, insightful statements or comments on the text and, therefore, viewed as uninteresting. However, the more I look into this, the less clear the distinction is, as the names of the authors, the lists of subscribers, the tables of contents and catalogues are merely apparently static elements as they take on a surprising role in helping the writers advance their commercial objectives just as much as the dynamic ones. The study of paratextual devices thus makes possible the analysis of the interaction between them (and the text) as a dynamic process. The paratexts are, therefore, dynamic elements on the literary market economy and, to an extent, the literary message seems to be intertwined with financial and commercial considerations.

I will examine the particular means (which I call 'instrumental') – at both the stylistic and rhetorical level – by which a number of women writers appeared to have aimed at modulating reader response to their work, for the ultimate purpose of incrementing their commercial attractiveness and viability. To my mind, this is highly significant not simply because it brings to the fore textual aspects that are conventionally relegated or even ignored,[3] but most essentially because it points to the fact that these writers were not simply enthusiastic amateurs disinterestedly working for the education of the younger generations; rather, they were professional

[3] See my footnote 2.

practitioners of their trade who were adroit at instrumentally configuring their paratexts for the purpose of consolidating their place in a highly competitive market. By correlating the traditional approach to text-based analysis with the more modern study of the paratexts we can discover not only fascinating correspondences, but also the more surprising nature of those elements as promoters of the writers' commercial agenda.

The second chapter of this thesis provides the socio-economic and political context of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which resulted in an increasing interest and growth of children's literature. It aims to offer a coherent review of the voices in the debate on approaching child rearing, from Locke to Rousseau and the writers who strongly responded to their theories on children's instruction, and especially on female education. The chapter also explores the image of the child and the fundamental change in the direction of the publishing business and specifically in the ambit of children's books from popular culture (i.e. chapbooks, fairy tales) towards moralistic tales. This chapter is important for the thesis because it places it within the long eighteenth century and it engages with the educational theories of the time.

The third chapter focuses on the literary associates of John Marshall, both separately and collectively, emphasis being given to their shared objectives, influences and collaboration with the publisher. It also addresses the issues of building a network of skilful writers with a shared identity, the making of literary women and the redefinition of maternal status and role. The purpose of this chapter is to determine the scope of my thesis within the educational, literary and gender debate.

The fourth chapter looks into the paratextual features of late eighteenth-century children's books. It starts with a definition of the concept of paratextuality, distinguishing between what it is commonly understood as the peritext and epitext of a text in order to delimit the ambit of the thesis. The core and main objective of this chapter, in accordance with the thesis statement, is to provide a detailed analysis of the commercial strategies used by the Marshall writers in the paratextual elements supported by highly relevant examples from the primary sources.

The fifth and final chapter is concerned with the beginnings of children's magazines and periodicals and it analyses John Newbery's innovative *Lilliputian Magazine* and how it influenced John Marshall's subsequent projects of the same kind. Emphasis is given to two periodicals in particular, *The Family Magazine* and *The Juvenile Magazine*, as they were edited by two of Marshall's literary associates, Sarah Trimmer and Lucy Peacock, respectively. The chapter also reviews the range of commercial strategies employed by the women writers in the paratexts and assesses the rhetorical and content-related correspondences and/or differences with the ones discussed in the previous chapter. That is, this chapter extends the thesis statement to the study of periodicals, a valuable and commercially viable product of the consumer revolution. It is followed up by separate entries for conclusions, further research, annex and bibliography.

1.2 Primary Sources

As explained above, my thesis analyses the commercial aspect of (self) promotion in the paratextual elements of the works of five women authors working for John Marshall. I was granted access to the texts via the Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO), the Collection at Chawton House Library, the British Library and

the Hockliffe Project Website. They are mostly first editions; however, sometimes there is no year indicated on their title pages and, on other occasions, I used further editions of the texts as available and indicated. The list of primary sources is not exhaustive, yet it comprises most of the Marshall writers' texts that survived and are available to us today. This large corpus illustrates the complexity of the topic and, more importantly, that my thesis statement can be applied to a substantial number of the Marshall writers' works and not just to a few carefully selected texts to serve the purpose of the present research.

1.3 Contemporary Appreciation: Secondary Sources and Recent Research

There are many studies on children's literature and children's book publishing business, women writers of the eighteenth century and on paratextual elements in late eighteenth century children's texts; yet, there are not any studies that bring all these elements together. In this regard, as I will clarify more fully in my thesis statement, this is a further aspect by which my study makes an innovative contribution to the field.

The 1950s witnessed the publication of some great pioneering books such as Richard Altick's *The English Common Reader* (1957), Asa Briggs's *The Making of Modern England, 1783-1867: The Age of Improvement* (1959) and Percy Muir's *English Children's Books, 1600-1900* (1954). Muir offered a thorough description of the history of children's literature, Altick an extensive history and examination of the English reading public whilst Briggs's classic provided a comprehensive study of the socio-economic and political implications of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In the 1960s the critics engaged in educational reforms and campaigns shaped by politics and ideology (e.g. Brian Simon's *Studies in the History of Education, 1780-1870*, 1960), religion (e.g. Paul Sangster's *Pity my Simplicity, the Evangelical Revival and the Religious Education of Children 1738-1800*,1963) and by the different attitudes towards the reading interests and motivation of the youth (e.g. Aidan Chambers's *The Reluctant Reader*, 1969).

The 1970s studies started to focus more on children's literature, the impact of women writers and publishers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. I mention here the following titles: Lynne Agress's *The Feminine Irony: Women on Women in Early-Nineteenth-Century English Literature* (1978); Gillian Avery's *Childhood's Pattern: A Study of the Heroes and Heroines of Children's Fiction 1770–1950* (1975); Margaret Nancy Cutt's *Ministering Angels: A Study of Nineteenth-century Evangelical Writing for Children* (1979); J.H. Plumb's "The New World of Children in Eighteenth-Century England" (1975); Sydney Roscoe's *John Newbery and His Successors, 1740-1814: A Bibliography* (1973); Thomas Walter Laqueur's *Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture, 1780–1850* (1976).

A broad spectrum of the cultural, social, historical and political ambits of the long eighteenth century, and, more specifically, of the growing nature of children's literature are reflected in the most quoted titles produced in the 1980s and 1990s such as: John Brewer's, Neil McKendrick's and J.H. Plumb's *Birth of a Consumer Society: the Commercialisation of Eighteenth-Century England* (1982); Humphrey Carpenter's and Mari Prichard's *Oxford Companion to Children's Literature* (1984); Harvey F.J. Darton's *Children's Books in England: Five Centuries of Social Life* (1982); Mary Hilton's, Morag Styles's and Victor Watson's *Opening the Nursery*

Door (1997); Peter Hunt's *Understanding Children's Literature* (1999); Andrea Immel's "Mistress of the Infantine Language: Lady Ellenor Fenn, Her Set of Toys, and the Education of Each Moment" (1997); Mary V. Jackson's *Engines of Instruction, Mischief, and Magic: Children's Literature in England from Its Beginnings to 1839* (1989); Vivien Jones's *Women and Literature in Britain 1700-1800* (2000) and *Women in the Eighteenth Century: Constructions of Femininity* (1990); Gary Kelly's *Women, Writing, and Revolution 1790-1827* (1993); Mitzi Myers's "'Taste for Truth and Realities': Early Advice to Mothers on Books for Girls" (1987) and "Impeccable Governesses, Rational Dames, and Moral Mothers: Mary Wollstonecraft and the Female Tradition in Georgian Children's Book" (1986); Rosemary O'Day's *Education and Society 1500-1800: The Social Foundations of Education in Early Modern Britain* (1982); Frank O'Gorman's *The Long Eighteenth Century* (1997); Samuel F. Pickering's *John Locke and Children's Books in Eighteenth-Century England* (1981) and *Moral Instruction and Fiction for Children, 1749-1820* (1993); Alan Richardson's *Literature, Education, and Romanticism: Reading as Social Practice, 1780-1832* (1994); Geoffrey Summerfield's *Fantasy and Reason: Children's Literature in the Eighteenth Century* (1984); John Rowe Townsend's *John Newbery and His Books: Trade and Plumb-Cake for Ever, Huzza!* (1994).

In the 1980s studies were primarily concerned with providing a comprehensive introduction to women's writing history and tradition, as well as a concise evolution of children's literature with emphasis on the struggles, conflicts and contradictions of the long eighteenth century between fantasy and reason. They also dealt with social and educational change, commercial history and publishers' involvement in children's publishing. The book that marked a transition in the

research focus, setting a new standard for the analysis of children's literature, was Mary V. Jackson's *Engines of Instruction, Mischief, and Magic: Children's Literature in England from Its Beginnings to 1839* (1989). In the 1990s the central point went beyond earlier social, political and religious considerations and onto an approach oriented towards literacy development among women and children. Such studies treated reading as a social practice and provided an ampler image of women's efforts and role in education, schooling and literacy in eighteenth-century Britain. And, more importantly, critics started considering author's intentionality, reader's position and marketing strategies employed by publishers and booksellers.

More significant attention has begun to be given to the field of children's literature and in the last decade there has been an increasing number of scholars dedicating their research to this field. Among more recent studies (2003-14) I include the following: *The Ashgate Studies in Childhood, 1700 to the Present*, namely *Fashioning Childhood in the Eighteenth Century: Age and Identity* edited by Anja Müller in 2006 and *Educating the Child in Enlightenment Britain: Beliefs, Cultures, Practices* edited by Mary Hilton and Jill Shefrin in 2009; Hannah Barker's and Elaine Charles's *Women's History: Britain 1700-1850* (2005); Brian Alderson's and Felix de Marez Oyens's *Be Merry and Wise: Origins of Children's Book Publishing in England, 1650-1850* (2006); Michele Cohen's "'A Little Learning'? The Curriculum and the Construction of Gender Difference in the Long Eighteenth Century" (2006) and "Gender and the Public/Private Debate on Education in the Long Eighteenth Century" (2004); Rebecca Davies's *Written Maternal Authority and Eighteenth-Century Education in Britain* (2014); Patricia Demers's *Anthology of Children's Literature to 1850* (2004); Matthew Grenby's *The Child Reader* (2011); Pauline Heath's *Works of Mrs. Trimmer* (2010); Mary Hilton's *Women and the*

Shaping of the Nation's Young: Education and Public Doctrine in Britain 1750-1850 (2007); Matthew Grenby's and Andrea Immel's *Cambridge Companion to Children's Literature* (2009); Andrea Immel's and Michael Witmore's *Childhood and Children's Books in Early Modern Europe, 1550-1800* (2006); Sylvia Kasey Marks's *Writing for the Rising Generation* (2003); Karlijn Navest's *John Ash and the Rise of the Children's Grammar* (2011); Andrew O'Malley's *Making of Modern Child: Children's Literature and Childhood in the Late Eighteenth Century* (2003); Lissa Paul's *Children's Book Business: Lessons from the Long Eighteenth Century* (2011); James Raven's *Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450-1850* (2007); Donelle Ruwe's *Culturing the Child* (2005); Jill Shefrin's *The Dartons, Publishers of Educational Aids, Pastimes and Juvenile Ephemera, 1787-1876* (2009); David Stoker's "'Ellenor Fenn as "Mrs Teachwell" and "Mrs Lovechild": A Pioneer Late Eighteenth Century Children's Writer, Educator and Philanthropist" (2007) and "John Marshall, John Evans, and the Cheap Repository Tracts, 1793-1800" (2013).

From the first decade of the twenty-first century the focus has been on new considerations and constructions of maternity and educational authority, childhood and children's identity. Critics re-examine and challenge conventional ideas of the history of women's writing, education and childhood. Through a multidisciplinary approach they trace the developing concept of childhood, explore women and children's status (e.g. legal, medical, artistic) and raise questions of age, gender and literacy. Moreover, special interest has been shown in children's reading habits, book making and publishing, with a more in-depth analysis of the actual users of the first books written for children and of the relationship between (women) writers and publishers.

Within the range of criticism that has grown up around children's literature, only a relatively small amount of work has paid sustained attention to the paratextual elements. Some studies focus on the publisher's peritext (formats, covers, typesetting, bindings, illustrations) such as Brian Alderson's and Felix de Marez Oyens's *Be Merry and Wise: Origins of Children's Book Publishing in England, 1650-1850* (2006); Andrea Immel's "Some Picture Bibles and their Illustrations" (1997); Tessa Rose Chester's and Irene Joyce Whalley's *History of Children's Book Illustration* (1988); Penny Brown's "Capturing (and Captivating) Childhood: The Role of Illustrations in Eighteenth-Century Children's Books in Britain and France"; Christina Ionescu's *Book Illustration in the Long Eighteenth Century: Reconfiguring the Visual Periphery of the Text* (2011). Others address the private and public epitexts (memoirs, correspondence, diaries) such as Mathew Grenby's "Introduction" to *The Child Reader* (2011) as well as the study of extra-textual elements (publication records, subscriptions, inscriptions, marginalia) as, for example, Mathew Grenby's "Adults Only? Children and Children's Books in British Circulating Libraries 1748-1848" (2002) and "Introduction" to *The Child Reader* (2011), Andrea Immel's "Frederick Lock's Scrapbook: Patterns in the Pictures and Writing in the Margins" (2005), and H. J. Jackson's *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (2001). My thesis, however, focuses on those devices pertaining to the peritext (elements within the text: pseudonyms, titles and subtitles, epigraphs, dedications, addresses, advertisements, prefaces, postscripts, lists of subscribers, table of contents and indexes, footnotes, catalogue lists) and this decision will be further explained in my 4.1.

Of relevance to this thesis, although not concerned with the same issue, is Lia Guerra's "Catching the Readers' Attention: Paratextual Elements in Travel Books" (paper given at ISECS 2015, Rotterdam). It is the most recent and the closest in topic

to my own research that I have come across and it focuses on writers (both female and male) of travel books between the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and their relationship with their readers through paratexts seen as marketing strategies. And ultimately, my analysis of the commercial strategies in the paratexts has been in agreement with Gérard Genette's classification and terminology as presented in *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (1997). It is one of the most comprehensive studies regarding paratextual analysis that provides a global understanding of such pragmatic devices with literary function and their relationship with the reading public.

In conclusion, my thesis is very much indebted to all these studies carried out by well-established scholars and hopes to contribute to the on-going debate on children's literature. However, although a range of recent studies on children's literature has emerged, it is interesting to observe that discussion of children's literature paratexts and their commercial aspect is not at all a substantial concern in these assessments. The more that such studies reveal the means by which the writers in question attempted to ensure the acceptability and attractiveness of their 'product', the more we will be able to comprehend the original conditions of their publication contexts and, in doing so, come to better understand the influence of commercial concerns on these writers. In turn, this is of great importance as it challenges (and perhaps even undermines) the gendered notion of many women writers' dilettante involvement in the eighteenth-century literature.

1.4 Thesis Statement

In light of the above review, it is transparent, as I indicated at the beginning of my 1.3, that no study to-date has brought together a focus on children's literature and

children book publishing, on the one hand, and paratextual elements in children's literature, on the other. Therefore, my thesis approaches these questions and makes the following fundamental enquiry into the self-representation and promotion of the Marshall writers in a series of literary texts and two periodicals: to what extent were their paratexts employed with the purpose of generating interest and how did they enable these women writers to forward their commercially-minded agenda?

B: BACKGROUND

2. Education, the Image of Children and the Development of Children's Literature in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

2.1 Children and Children’s Education

The long eighteenth century[4] was marked by events at a socio-economic (the growth of the middle-classes, the expansion of literacy, the influences of Locke and Rousseau, the increase in population, trade and commerce, the consumer revolution, the scientific enlightenment),[5] political (the French and American Revolutions),[6] as well as religious (the rise of Evangelicalism) level.[7] The growth of the middle classes and their educational and didactic agenda led to a reading revolution and an expansion in the print culture, especially in the market for children’s books.[8] These factors thus encouraged entrepreneurial activities carried out by enterprising booksellers and printers. Moreover, new reading modes and forms of literature emerged as well as the concepts of childhood and family (the relationship between children and parents; parental roles) changed.[9] If in the seventeenth century children were considered to lack the ability to reason and self-reflect and “were generally regarded as being rather ill-disposed to reading, lacking the necessary self-discipline or unable to appreciate its direct and delayed benefits” (Grenby, 2011: 16), in the second half of the eighteenth century children’s education was seen as a profitable industry worthy of investment and much emphasis was placed on instruction

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[4] I will refer to the long eighteenth century to the period running from the Glorious Revolution in 1688 to the Reform Act in 1832, as delimited by Frank O’Gorman in his work *The Long Eighteenth Century*.

[5] For more information on the consumer revolution see Brewer, John; McKendrick, Neil; Plumb, J.H. *The Birth of a Consumer Society*. For additional information on the growth of the middle-classes see O’Malley, Andrew (1-16) and Borsay, Peter (53-62). For the influences of Locke and Rousseau see Houswitschka, Cristoph (81-88).

[6] See Jackson, Mary V. (169-90). Also Grenby, Matthew (2003: 1-26) and *The Anti-Jacobin Novel*.

[7] See Stott, Anne (41-56). Also Jackson, Mary V. (17-42).

[8] See Jackson, Mary V. (1-16).

[9] See Chodorow, Nancy; Contratto, Susan (54-75).

intertwined with delight, as "pleasure was the new ingredient, and the most significant one in terms of tracing the development of children's literature" (Townsend, 1997: 81).

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, only a few books had been published specifically for children, namely chapbooks, Aesop's fables and the so-called 'godly books'. Aesop's fables were considered to be a valuable tool to teach children moral lessons while the 'godly books', in agreement with the Puritan/Calvinistic learning, praised religion as the only aspect vitally important for life, and contained religious lessons on the original sin, eternal life, and ways to attain salvation.[10]

Chapbooks, which originated in the seventeenth century for the lower classes, pre-dated what is consensually understood today as children's literature and as the century progressed they "became an important catalyst in the growth of children's literature" (Jackson, 1989: 69). They were small in size, short in length, contained numerous illustrations and entertaining tales about the sensational and the supernatural, adventures of heroes, witches, and demons. Moreover, "their enormous vogue demonstrates the hunger of ordinary folk for entertainment, particularly for reading matter" (Jackson, 1989: 68). Because they were very cheap, chapbooks were often associated with lower classes; however, as Gary Kelly argues, not only lower classes used to read chapbooks, but also middle and upper-classes who used them as the first reading material for children.[11] Matthew Grenby explains why this kind of literature appealed to children: "its customary small format, its often copious illustrations, and its simple and engaging texts were all also features of the best early children's books. And if much popular literature was cheap, and was brought straight

[10] See Pickering, Samuel F. (1981: 138-168). Also Martin, Mary Clare (57-76) and Jackson, Mary V. (17-42).

[11] See Kelly, Gary (2002: i-xxv).

to the consumer without the necessity of a pre-planned trip to a perhaps forbidding bookshop, it may have been well suited to children's purchasing power and practices" (Grenby, 2011: 103). Therefore, throughout the eighteenth century "many children read romances, ballads, chapbooks, fairy tales, garlands, broadsides, jest-books, tracts, almanacs, penny dreadfuls and shilling shockers, even though these various forms of popular literature were usually intended primarily for adults" (Grenby, 2011: 103).

Furthermore, critics argue that the texts from the 1740s, 50s and 60s are hybrid texts with elements from chapbooks and moral tales overlapping.[12] According to *The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature,* the more respectable children's literature, which emerged and thrived in the second half of the eighteenth century and at the start of the nineteenth, in a way evolved in opposition to the chapbook tradition: "the work of the writers of moral tales for the young in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was largely a reaction against chapbook literature" (Carpenter and Prichard, 1984: 106). These writers' joint duty and aim was to guard "middle-class youth from corruption by court culture and contamination by lower-class culture" (Kelly, 1992: 58-60) as they viewed chapbooks, and by association fairy tales, as a danger to children's sense of morality and intellectual development. However, they did make use of some elements of fantasy (e.g. talking animals), but their fantasy always served an educational purpose. Moreover, the writers warned the readers in their prefaces that "such introductory appeals to the child's sense of perspective and of reality were necessary to middle-class authors seeking to reinforce the difference between their works and the dangerous plebeian fantasy contained in chapbooks and fairy tales" (O'Malley, 2003: 51). By and large, the main argument

[12] See O'Malley, Andrew (21). Also Grenby, Matthew (2007: 303) and (2011: 111).

against this kind of literature was that they were guilty of "awakening the imagination without providing useful, moral lessons for the understanding" (Pickering, 1993: 21).

The Religious Tract Society (1799) aimed "to prepare tracts with striking titles, and in some degree inferior in their contents, to prevent too great a discrepancy from those they were designed to supplant" in order to "catch the very uninformed minds" (*The Christian Spectator*, cited in Bratton 33). Likewise, Sarah Trimmer, who represented the confined and righteous religious viewpoint, repeatedly attacked popular literature. In 1802 she published *The Guardian of Education* in which she wrote articles on moral subjects, reviewed books and replied to the messages sent by the magazine's followers. Her objective was "to contribute to the preservation of the young and innocent from the dangers which threaten[ed] them in the form of infantine and juvenile literature" (Trimmer, cited in Darton 96). Such negative attacks "have risen relentlessly like a sporadic wave of righteous indignation or hysteria ever since – now powerfully, now feebly; often strident, even alarmist – from rationalists, moralists, and those who would improve the world's manners" (Summerfield, 1984: 33).

In spite of the many warnings against popular literature, the new higher-quality children's literature did not eradicate the chapbook tradition, but rather "these wistful and polemical fears of the chapbook's supersession were exaggerated. At the moment that Lamb and Wordsworth were complaining of the chapbook's obsolescence, others, like Clare or Bamford, were testifying to its continued use" (Grenby, 2011: 107-8). Finally, although the period of chapbooks was to be later considered by moralists "an obscure commercial aspect of children's literature" (Darton, 1932: 80), these works were relevant for three reasons, as F. J. Harvey

Darton explains: first, because of their wide circulation and audience; second, because children actually read this kind of literature; and third, because they represent the starting point of later children's books since by presenting "their contents so inadequately, so unpleasingly" "they almost forced a reaction to better productions" (Darton, 1932: 80-1).

In the 1740s, children's literature was introduced and established as a new commercial product; a new attitude was developed towards regarding the child as a reader and for the first time authors intended to write books that they hoped would satisfy children's needs and speak directly to them. Adults who were "concerned with children's culture, either personally (as parents or teachers), academically (as educationalists and social theorists), or commercially (as authors and publishers), increasingly asserted the necessity of a literature only for children" (Grenby, 2011: 137). The addresses to parents also show that writers hoped that other adults would collaborate with them in this ambitious mission. The material for children had increased considerably and "by 1800 the choice was bewildering. Moral and instructive tales, fairy stories, abridged novels, myths and legends, toy-books, limericks, riddles, jests, dramas and anthologies of old and new poetry were all not only available, but were published in a range of formats, at assorted price points, with various illustrations, and even occasionally in different languages" (Grenby, 2011: 136). Children's periodicals (e.g. the *Lilliputian Magazine*, *Monthly Review*, *Critical Review*, *Guardian of Education*, the *Family Magazine*, the *Juvenile Magazine*), miniature libraries (e.g. Marshall's *Infant's Library*), moveable and toy books were also available.

This new market, which specifically catered for the needs of the young, surfaced within the context of historical, socio-economic and cultural changes. This

"led to the formation of new subject categories, among them the modern child" (O'Malley, 2003: 1), "a differentiated subject category – an 'other'" (O'Malley, 2003: 11), which "becomes in this period the subject of all these discourses; writers for and about children in the late eighteenth century agreed that reason was the guiding principle of human activity, and that children, by definition and by the very nature of their *tabula rasa* minds (susceptible to every form of impression), were deficient in this essential and normalising faculty" (O'Malley, 2003: 11). Andrew O'Malley sees the child as an 'other', standing in opposition with the norms of society, therefore, children's literature could be understood as a "normalising genre" (Grenby, 2011: 264). Moreover, "the main emphasis was on how the Otherness could be 'tamed', the child being brought into line with the properties of respectable adult behaviour. This could best be achieved, the paediatricians and pedagogues thought, through education and, by extension, through children's literature" (Grenby, 2011: 264).

It is also noteworthy to mention that in the seventeenth century children were not welcome in coffee houses, theatres, assembly rooms, gardens, social events, reading clubs, and/or libraries as these were considered to pertain to the adult environment. Children were not considered important, they were marginalised and removed from the adult world (Plumb, 1975: 84-91). However, this attitude changed throughout the eighteenth century and the reason for this change might be that children had "to assimilate the ways of an adult world which they would eventually have to enter" (Borsay, 2006: 56). Now "children were expected to be companions of their parents in ways which would have been impossible in the seventeenth century, because the attractions did not then exist. Exhibitions of curiosities; museums; zoos; puppet shows; circuses; lectures on science; panoramas of European

cities; automata; horseless carriages; even human and animal monstrosities were available in provincial cities as well as in London" (Plumb, 1975: 85). Moreover, "parents, more often than not, wanted their children with them, not only in the home but on holidays" (Plumb, 1975: 87). Also circulating libraries were thought to be an exclusively adult ambit, they were used not only for the library services, but also as a space to talk about literature and other affairs, which is why children were not welcome in such places. There were several reasons for the incompatibility between children's reading habits and the intentions of circulating libraries and for not allowing children and children's books in the libraries. One may be that "the presence of children's literature in these reading rooms might have been regarded as undermining the image of polite refinement that proprietors sought to cultivate" (Grenby [1], 2002: 24) or that "the typical patterns of juvenile reading were incompatible with the sort of library culture fostered by the circulating libraries" (Grenby [1], 2002: 25). Children, on the other hand, might have been corrupted by the adult texts by having unsupervised access to books; in a way circulating libraries had a desire to protect their reputation from accusations such as that they provided children with "a free choice of material that would waste their time and money, and worse, corrupt their character" (Grenby [1], 2002: 29). The more obvious reasons are that children were noisy, they might have destroyed or stolen books, they were not fast-readers, and therefore borrowing books was not economically viable.[13] If before

[13] An important aspect to be mentioned here is that "children valued books as commodities to be possessed rather than consumed" and that perhaps "the libraries, in other words, sought to demolish the bond of ownership between reader and book" (Grenby [1], 2002: 26). This is why "children's books would have to make their own way in the world, finding individual purchasers, rather than institutions" (Grenby [1], 2002: 34). Nonetheless, there is some evidence that children were seen in and used the services of the circulating libraries (advertisements showing children inside libraries, diaries, records of book borrowing, catalogues, engravings, illustrations). The question is: were children passive receivers or did they have a say in the process of buying and selecting their reading material? Of course, adults were the main purchasers and this argument is sustained with numerous prefaces and advertisements as most of them were directed at adult consumers, meaning that adults

children's texts occupied only a small place in circulating libraries, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there was a "gradual shift toward greater targeting of children by circulating libraries" and "parents and society as a whole were increasingly willing to invest in both emotional and financial capital in children" (Grenby [1], 2002: 32). Between the 1790s and 1820s "provision of children's literature in circulating libraries was increasing" (Grenby [1], 2002: 30) and from 1820s onwards there was "a growing rapprochement between circulating libraries and children's literature" (Grenby [1], 2002: 34). That means that the long-term goal was for "readers [to] become literate as individuals among networks of readers" (Paul, 2011: 81) as "being literate is the first step towards formal education and full membership in a literate, civilised society, it exists in a blurred borderland between the pleasure, love, warmth, and celebration associated with children learning to talk, and the formal instruction of school lessons for teaching children to read" (Paul, 2011: 82). *Visits to the Juvenile Library* by Eliza Fenwick (1805) begins with an epigraph warning against the danger of children becoming "blockheads":

> To all who own the pow'r of speech,
> This useful lesson I would teach:
> That nature's gifts if you employ
> The purest pleasures you'll enjoy;
> Whilst ignorance, and sullen pride,
> Sense unexerted, misapply'd,
> Insure neglect, contempt, and hate,
> And the unpity'd blockhead's fate;
> For ah, you'll find it to your cost
> Age can't regain what youth has lost (Fenwick, 1805: 17).

Parents did not wish for their children to be "blockheads", but rather to bring an important contribution to society. Here Fenwick suggests that reading provides access to an enlightened society and that ignorance could be cured through education and literacy.

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had control over the purchase, age and use of the books before children. For more information on this complex topic see Grenby, Matthew (2011: 139-193).

Of course, children and adults had different attitudes to books; writers and publishers, on the one hand, understood that and advanced their commercial intentions on two different fronts, but, on the other hand, they strove to bridge children's and adults' views and understanding of the works. As Grenby claims:

> both adults and children valued juvenile reading not for what it was so much as what it signified. For adults, this could be the child's better-regulated conduct and, above all, his or her future well-being, either spiritual or (increasingly) temporal. For children, on the other hand, owning books signified status, independence and maturity, not necessarily gained through the lessons in the text but acquired through ownership and exhibited use. For adults, it could be said, children's reading signified the reader's *future* success; for children it represented accomplishment already achieved, and gratifications that were present, not yet to come. This explains the fundamental dichotomy in the eighteenth-century attitudes to children's books, that while adults largely understood children's books as *texts* by which the child could profit, children understood them as material objects offering immediate gratifications to the owner (as opposed to the reader), the possession of which was just as important as the absorption (Grenby, 2011: 274).

Consequently, there were two groups of consumers: those who sought to monitor the use of books, such as parents and pedagogues, and those who actually made use of the books, namely children. Nevertheless, by uniting their forces "these two groups of consumers did as much to invent modern children's literature as the authors and illustrators, educationalists and publishers" (Grenby, 2011: 289).

Children reading novels was another polemical issue as the general belief was that novels were morally "appealing to the imagination rather than the understanding" (Pickering, 1981: 57-8). As Grenby informs, "these warnings were directed primarily to girls, and this opposition to children's use of novels was bound up with a much more general campaign against novel reading at any age, particularly by women. Children, along with women and the lower classes, could be seen as another component of the 'widening circle' of readers – readers who, in the conservative imagination, would be unable to discriminate between good literature and bad, and who would be susceptible to the chimerical hopes and utopian visions summoned up by irresponsible or deliberately subversive novelists" (Grenby, 2011: 112). However, "there seems to have been a general recognition children could not be

prevented from reading novels, and that the best policy was management rather than prohibition" (Grenby, 2011: 113-4). Sarah Trimmer warned that the young should not read novels "till they are in some measure acquainted with real life" and continues by saying that "even well-intentioned authors, have, under a mistaken idea, that it is necessary to conform to the taste of the times, contributed to encrease [sic] the evil [of novel reading]" (Trimmer, *The Guardian of Education*, vol. II, 1803: 408-9). As to poetry and drama, towards the end of the eighteenth century "a general attempt was being made to establish separate poetic and dramatic canons for children" (Grenby, 2011: 118) and "the ever-increasing quantities of poetry and plays published especially for children offer powerful testimony that a silent majority of childhood readers did encounter verse and drama in the guise of a literature specifically for them" (Grenby, 2011: 122). This means that there was an "increasing absorption of traditionally adult forms into children's literature" (Grenby, 2011: 137), for example, novels adapted for children, children's Bibles,[14] poetry, plays, and didactic texts.

Lastly, the long eighteenth century was indeed a period marked by improvement in female education within "the context of the network of professionally domestic women and their publishers" (Paul, 2011: 121). Lynne Agress suggests four nouns to describe the previous role of women: piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity (Agress, 1978: 171). Regardless of "the French Revolution's demand for liberty, quality, and fraternity, English society, perpetuating tradition, continued to view women as second-class citizens" (Agress, 1978: 169).

[14] The Sacred Scriptures were delivered in different ways (abridged, illustrated, adapted or in full form) as they had a key role in children's education: "over a century after Locke had voiced his concerns, the Bible had not lost its central place in children's education, for either rich or poor. But it was understood to be first, only one part of an extensive programme of reading, second, a book like any other, to be edited or repackaged to improve its efficacy (and saleability) and third, to be 'literature', for the enjoyment as well as the salvation of children" (Grenby, 2011: 102).

The difference between women of the middle and upper classes and women of the lower, or working class, was that "working-class women often had more equality, for the economic expansion resulting from the Industrial Revolution made it possible for them to work for wages in factories, in shops, on farms, and even in coal mines. These women were also freed from their homes; in the labour fields, they not only competed against men but earned their own money." (Agress, 1978: 169). On the other hand, whilst working-class women made use of their skills to, ironically, improve the life conditions of middle and upper class women, "it was the middle- and upper class woman who was respected – and respected essentially for her lack of ability" (Agress, 1978: 170). Therefore, the eighteenth-century society underwent an ironic redistribution of attitudes and freedoms regarding the class system and children's literature provided its young readers with stories about the differences between the poor and the rich and the interaction (or lack of interaction) between the two classes.

The second half of the eighteenth century started, however, with a "crisis in modern leisured motherhood" as "aristocratic women were often denigrated as abandoning domesticity" (Percy, 2006:114). The home then became the site of the domestic sphere that allowed women "the leisure to be wise" (Edgeworth, 1795: 51), which resulted in "a decline in patriarchal authority" and "an increased authority of mothers" (Showalter, 1979: 237-38). Inevitably, this opened up another debate: home education versus school education.[15] One has to bear in mind that the concept of home schooling is "a recent coinage; even the self-explanatory 'home education' was not widely used until the 1820s or 1830s. Instead, the debate was framed in terms of 'public education' versus 'private education'. In the eighteenth century, the great

[15] For more detailed information on this topic see Cohen, Michele (2004: 2-24).

divide was not between state and private school – there being, of course, no state system – but between a public education (being educated with other children in school) and a private education (being educated at home)" (Woodley, 2009: 22). Many educationalists argued that home education was better, especially after the publications of Locke and Rousseau, thus a large number of books were designed to help leisured mothers in the process of home-based education, which expressed not only ideals of the Enlightenment period, but also parents' concern and anxiety. By choosing to offer their children a home-based education, women "were often responding not simply to personal preferences or convenience, but to a vibrant philosophical debate that had consequences beyond the merely educational. […] It is clear that the close relationship between philosophy and educational practice in the late eighteenth century enriched both sides of the exchange, producing an educational discourse deeply grounded in the intellectual and cultural contexts of the time. […] Both radical and religious theories of home education reached their fullest development in the late eighteenth century" (Woodley, 2009: 38).

What's more, "this early generation of professional women found in children's books not just an outlet available to their sex, but a genuine vocation. In their capacity as surrogate mothers, these writing women testify to maternal and pedagogical power" (Myers, 1986: 33). Yet, given their moralistic agenda these women writers were "negatively branded as merely didactic" (Paul, 2011: 96). Unfortunately, "the stigma of didacticism still stains the reputations of the children's books created by the maternal teachers of the late Enlightenment" (Paul, 2011: 97). These negative connotations of the word 'didactic' probably started with a letter sent by Charles Lamb to Samuel Taylor Coleridge, in which Lamb expresses his disapproval of this kind of writing:

> ‘Goody Two Shoes’ is almost out of print. Mrs. Barbauld’s stuff has banished all the old classics of the nursery; and the shopman at Newbery’s hardly deigned to reach them off an old exploded corner of a shelf, when Mary asked for them. Mrs. B’s and Mrs. Trimmer’s nonsense lay in piles about. Knowledge insignificant & 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, & Billy is better than a Horse, and such like; instead of that beautiful Interest in wild tales, which made the child a man, while all the time he suspected himself to be no bigger than a child. Science has succeeded to Poetry no less in the little walks of Children than with Men – 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’ fable in childhood, you had been crammed with geography and natural history! Damn them! – I mean the cursed Barbauld Crew, those Blights and Blasts of all that is Human in man & child (Lamb, 1935: 326).

As Lissa Paul suggests, one response to these accusations could be “rebranding didactic as brilliant” (Paul, 2011: 97). Mitzi Myers states “late eighteenth century children’s literature is a genre shaped by gender” and it “comprehends an undervalued and almost unrecognised female literary tradition, the more revelatory precisely because it *is* didactic, because it accepts and emphasises the instructional and intellectual potential of narrative” (Myers, 1986: 33). The effect is that Myers’ idea “reverses the negative implications of didacticism, reclaims it, and turns it into a good, in that it positions women as not just teaching received wisdom, but rather as autonomous individuals exploiting the power of narrative to develop the mental and emotional resources of their intended young readers” (Paul, 2011: 104).

In conclusion, the image of children changed as the century progressed, just as children’s literature changed from instruction to delight and the relationship adult-child underwent a significant redefining, “marking an era of progress, suggestive of methods of usefulness and principles of duty, of wide and general, and yet of individual, application” (Balfour, 1854: 8). Education was intertwined with socio-political and cultural developments of the eighteenth century, forming “a conceptual space where politics, social history, ideology, and literary representations of all kinds meet, interpenetrate, and collide” (Richardson, 1994: 2).

2.2 The Educational Debate in the Works of Locke and Rousseau[16]

John Locke (1632-1704) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) are the key figures of seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries education. They offered two contrasting views on what they considered an appropriate child rearing approach and educational system, and the ideas promoted in their most influential works shaped the growth of a literature specially designed for children.

Locke in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, published in 1690, outlines his renowned theory of *tabula rasa* or the "empty cabinet" (Locke, 1690: 8): "Let us suppose the mind to be, as we say, white Paper, void of all Characters, without any ideas" (Locke, 1690: 37). His denial of innate ideas is explained by claiming that reason and knowledge come from experience through sensation and reflection. He argues that knowledge is formed by ideas, both simple and complex, and their association.

These views were further developed in *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, published three years later (1693), which played a pivotal role in the English tradition of child education. J. H. Plumb praises his work as it "encapsulates what was clearly a new and growing attitude towards child-rearing and education which was to improve the lot of the child in the eighteenth century" (Plumb, 1975: 67). In his work, Locke sets forth what he considers suitable (reading, writing, languages, drawing, gardening, geography, arithmetic, astronomy, geometry, chronology, history, law, travelling etc.) and what not for a child to learn (music, poetry, rhetoric, logic, fencing, painting, among others) by providing clear examples and rational arguments. Moreover, the work illustrates Locke's dictum: amusement intertwined with instruction, a system based on rewards rather than punishments:

[16] To distinguish between the ideas presented by each thinker more effectively, this section uses paragraph separation.

"learning might be made a play and recreation to children" (Locke, 1996: 115). His profit-delight formula would undoubtedly benefit both children and their instructors, and has become a slogan widely used by writers throughout the eighteenth century, as Grenby observes (Grenby, 2003: 15).

From the opening pages of *Some Thoughts*, Locke makes it clear that "the little, and almost insensible impressions on our tender infancies, have very important and lasting consequences" (Locke, 1996: 25) and therefore parents and teachers must ensure that children have the best examples around them. He is clearly not in favour of leaving children to the care of servants as they are "vicious or foolish people, who spoil children, both by the ill pattern they set before them in their own ill manners, and by giving them together, the two things they should never have at once; I mean vicious pleasures, and commendation" (Locke, 1996: 60). At the end of his work he goes back to the idea of the "empty cabinet" and adds that children's minds are like "white paper, or wax, to be moulded and fashioned as one pleases" (Locke, 1996: 179), thus parents and teachers must be cautious what it is written on it. He is also against corporal punishment and rules, believing that infants should be taught by being given examples and not constraining them to blindly and fearfully obeying adults' commands. Locke regards beating as "the most unfit of any [methods] to be used in education" (Locke, 1996: 36); however, he does mention that it should be used solely in extreme situations, such as "obstinacy or rebellion" (Locke, 1996: 61).

Furthermore, the philosopher also encourages parents to spend as much time with their children as possible, answer all their questions and carefully observe any changes in their behaviour, incite their curiosity and feed their appetite for knowledge. He advocates for home education and finding the right tutor, urging parents "spare no care nor cost to get such an one" (Locke, 1996: 72). In his opinion,

the tutor "must be well-bred and of a graceful carriage […] know the world and must exhibit the world to his pupil as it really is" (Locke, 1996: 73). In addition, "the great work of a governor is to fashion the carriage, and form the mind; to settle in his pupil good habits and the principles of virtue and wisdom; to give him, by little and little, a view of mankind; and work him into a love and imitation of what is excellent and praise-worthy; and in the prosecution of it, to give him vigour, activity, and industry" (Locke, 1996: 75-6). The main objective of Locke's system of education is to create a righteous, cultivated and wise gentleman as opposed to creating a scholar.

Locke also promotes rote learning since "by repeating the same action, till it has grown habitual in them, the performance will not depend on memory, or reflection, the concomitant of prudence and age, and not of childhood; but will be natural in them" (Locke, 1996: 44). He also considers vital to teach children kindness towards animals, and he enthusiastically endorsed the use of *Aesop's Fables* as fables could be used as a useful tool to teach children how to behave towards living creatures. On the other hand, he disproves of fairy tales for children, arguing that they are dangerous and psychologically harmful: "be sure to preserve his tender mind from all impressions and notions of sprites and goblins, or any fearful apprehensions in the dark" (Locke, 1996: 106).

Regarding religious studies, Locke thinks that "the promiscuous reading of it [the Bible] through chapters as they lie in order, is so far from being of any advantage to children, either for the perfecting their reading or principling [sic] their religion, that perhaps a worse could not be found" (Locke, 1996: 121). Some parts, however, are proper for child rearing, such as "the story of Joseph and his brethren, of David and Goliath, of David and Jonathan" (Locke, 1996: 122). He emphasises the importance of humility, benevolence, virtue and moral education and argues that at

the core of all education lies the principle of virtue and the ability to deny one's desires: "He that has not a mastery over his inclinations, he that knows not how to resists the importunity of present pleasure and pain, for the sake of what reason tells him is fit to be done, wants the true principle of virtue and industry, and is in danger never to be good for anything" (Locke, 1996: 35).

As Geoffrey Summerfield puts it, the seventeenth-century thinker "offered a coherent blueprint for the task of forming a child's mind, appealing to reason in fostering the growth of reason, and delicately attentive to the childlikeness, the distinctive sensibility, of the child as child, and not as plaything or dwarf adult" (Summerfield, 1984: 72). Locke's remarkable ideas on education served as the foundation, which, later in the century, many other writers contributed to and built on, as shown in what follows.

While Locke was interested in educating a citizen, Rousseau was concerned with educating the individual. His controversial work *Émile*, published in French in 1762 and in English in 1763, posed fundamental questions regarding the relationship between individuals and society. As Sophia Woodley rightly observes, "his system of education was not institutional; on the contrary, it focused completely upon the individual. Emile, his fictional pupil, was to be separated entirely from society and educated exclusively by a single young tutor, who would commit to staying by Emile's side for the twenty-five years that it would take him to grow into adulthood" (Woodley, 2009: 24).

According to his ideas in *Émile*, Rousseau believes that a child should be freed from the corruption of society as "everything is good as it comes from the hands of the Author of Nature; but everything degenerates in the hands of man"

(Rousseau, 1979: 1). As a result, he is in favour of home education with parents, especially fathers, or with private tutors, in charge of their children's education. Rousseau also considers that education should be progressive: "the education of man begins at his birth. Before he can speak, before he can understand, he is already instructing himself. Experience precedes lessons" (Rousseau, 1979: 25) and from five to twelve education should be through experience and the senses, followed by intellectual education from twelve to fifteen and moral and religious education from fifteen to twenty. What's more, children ought to develop free from adult intervention, parents should "grant to children more real liberty and less domination, to leave them more to do their own account, and to exact less from others" (Rousseau, 1979: 33).

Rousseau also stresses the importance of reason since "the master-work of a good education is to make a reasonable man, and we propose to train up a child through the reason" (Rousseau, 1979: 53). He is against rote learning and banishes fables: "Émile shall never learn anything by heart, not even fables [...] How can one be so blind as to call fables the morals of children, without reflecting that the apologue, while amusing them, also deludes them; that, while seduced by the fiction, they allow the truth to escape them; and that the effort made to render the instruction agreeable, prevents them from profiting by it? Fables may instruct men, but children must be told the bare truth; for the moment we cover truth with a veil, they no longer give themselves the trouble to lift it" (Rousseau, 1979: 80).

What attracted a lot of criticism was his view on women's education and role in society: "he clearly recognised the influence of education on what he represented as innately gendered characteristics and emphasised that women and men had separate roles to play in his concept of the perfect society. As mothers were to

educate future female citizens only, there was no need for them to develop 'masculine' reason" (Davies, 2014: 65), as Rebecca Davies explains. He, therefore, advocates for separate education for men and women: "they ought not to have the same education" (Rousseau, 1979: 261). Rousseau regards men as independent free thinkers while women are dependent, deceitful, manipulative, cunning, inclined to enjoy needlework and to play with dolls, incapable of deep analysis or abstract thinking. Rousseau clearly does not encourage the development of women's reason since he considers this skill to be of no use to women as these questions show: "Are women capable of solid reasoning? Is it important for them to cultivate it? Will they cultivate it with success? Is it culture useful to the functions imposed on them? Is it compatible with the simplicity which is becoming to them?" (Rousseau, 1979: 279). He goes on to claim that "the search for abstract and speculative truths, principles, and scientific axioms, whatever tends to generalise ideas, does not fall within the compass of women" (Rousseau, 1979: 281). For example, "why is it necessary that a girl should learn to read and write at an early age? Will she have a household to govern so soon?" (Rousseau, 1979: 267). Instead, they should be taught how to sing and dance: "I know that austere teachers would have young girls taught neither singing, dancing, nor any other accomplishment. This seems to me ludicrous. To whom, then, would they have these things taught? To boys? To whom does it pertain, by preference, to have these talents: to men, or to women?" (Rousseau, 1979: 271).

In his view, "woman is especially constituted to please man" (Rousseau, 1979: 260) and "the whole education of women ought to be relative to men. To please them, to be useful to them, to make themselves loved and honoured by them, to educate them when young, to care for them when grown, to counsel them, to console them, and to make life agreeable and sweet to them – these are the duties of

women at all times, and what should be taught them from their infancy" (Rousseau, 1979: 263). Women are thus made to obey and be submissive and docile. While Émile is "active and strong", Sophie, Émile's ideal partner, is "passive and weak"; he possesses "power and will" whereas she "little power of resistance" (Rousseau, 1979: 260).

Rousseau's attitude and opinion towards female education has aroused heated discussions and many writers took a stand against him, as explained in the following pages. Others like Thomas Day (1748-89) agreed with him. In one of his letters to his good friend Richard Lovell Edgeworth Day admits that "the second book I [he] should wish to save, after the Bible, would be Rousseau's *Emilius.* It is indeed a most extraordinary work – the more I [he] read[s] the more I [he] admire[s]. Rousseau alone, with a perspicuity more than mortal, has been able at once to look through the human heart, and to discover he secret sources and combinations of the passions. Excellent Rousseau! First of human kind! Behold a system, which, preserving to man all the faculties, and the excellences and the liberty of his nature, preserves a *medium* between the brutality and ignorance of a savage and the corruptions of society!" (quoted in R.L. Edgeworth's *Memoirs*, vol. I, 1821: 221). Day also experimented in marriage and put into practice Rousseau's ideas of a perfect wife, but he failed at achieving the desired results.[17] Moreover, his work entitled "*Sandford and Merton* (originally meant to be a short story) was his vivacious attempt to present Emile in the guise of fiction for English boys" (Darton, 1932: 146).

In conclusion, Locke and Rousseau both had significant influences on the writings of many authors that followed them, who responded and further developed their ideas on education and child rearing.

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[17] Day adopted two young girls and was determined to transform them into Rousseau's Sophie and finally marry one of them. For more information on this topic see Moore, Wendy, *How to Create the Perfect Wife*.

2.3 Moral and Religious Instruction and Its Effect on Women's Education[18]

No discussion about the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century would be complete without a treatment of the complex issue of moral and religious instruction. I have taken into consideration and analysed the works both of men (Isaac Watts and William Godwin) and women writers (Hannah More and Mary Wollstonecraft), and, although the former undoubtedly have compelling arguments on education, my thesis will focus more on the latter as my study is concerned with female authors writing on women's education.

Isaac Watts (1674-1748) was an influential religious educator inspired by Locke, with whom he agreed on the process of association of ideas. But unlike Locke, who believed that only basic knowledge of religion should be taught to children, Watts, like Hannah More, considered that religious education is extremely important. Along these lines he wrote the *Divine Songs* (poetry for children published in 1715), which "were an extraordinary success" (Pickering, 1981: 145). His two other famous works on the importance of education are *Improvement of the Mind* (1741) and *A Treatise on the Education of Children and Youth* (second edition in 1769). The former is a self-help guide that disclosed a system of learning and improving one's life and advocated for simple courses of action that could be followed by anyone and guaranteed results. Watts provides reader with rules regarding observation, reading, learning a language, meditation, and reason, to name a few. In the latter "the judicious Reader will find a proper Plan delineated for Instruction in the Principles of true Religion, as well as a Variety of excellent Rules

[18] To distinguish between the issue of moral and religious instruction of each writer more effectively, this section uses paragraph separation.

for regulating the Temper and Conduct from early Dawn of rational Life" (Watts, 1769: 5-6).

Hannah More (1745-1833) blamed the flawed education given to girls, which did not encourage girls to fulfil their intellectual and spiritual potential. Her fundamental argument is expressed in one of her main works, *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education*: "It is a singular injustice which is often exercised towards women, first to give them a very defective education, and then to expect from them the most undeviating purity of conduct" (More, 1799, vol. I: ix). Her "fusion of Evangelical theory and Lockean psychology explains her extreme and well-known hostility to what she saw as the trivial nature of the education of upper-class girls" (Stott, 2009: 49).

More, one of the "rational moralists" (Hunt, 1994: 45), focuses her writing on social and moral tracts (*The Cheap Repository Tracts*, 1795-1798), in which she shows her desire to improve the condition of the society of her time by reforming the moral conduct of its people. Although she recommends a better education and participation of women in the public sphere, More still supports the traditional view of family-oriented social roles of women. *The Tracts*, a successful series of moralistic and religious stories similar to chapbooks in size, illustrations and content, were meant to supplant them. As Brian Alderson and Felix de Marez Oyens inform, "she and her sisters were also active in an ambitious attempt to beat the chapbook sellers at their own game and, through a network of subsidised centres, to distribute a series of tracts (designed in chapbook style) that would carry the evangelical message to the chapbook public" (Alderson and Oyens, 2006: 217). The tracts contained instructive tales which taught discretion, virtue, honour, stressed religion and hard

work, and in which "the giants and wild beasts against which heroes tilted were the everyday living conditions of poverty and disease and common vices such as gaming, dishonesty, alcoholism, and atheism" (Pickering, 1981: 127). This shows that "the sensational was not avoided, for tracts describing murders and criminal life were included in the *Repository*. These, however, did not romanticised crime, and criminals were always punished, usually by execution or transportation" (Pickering, 1981: 129).

Other didactic works are *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education* (1799), *Hints towards Forming the Character of a Young Princess* (1805), and her only novel, *Coelebs in Search of a Wife* (1809).

Strictures is a manual of advice for parents and it outlines the writer's view on women's education and conduct, which, according to her, determine the moral state of a nation. It was written around the controversial topic of the French Revolution and in which More expresses her fears – "a fear of breakdown of traditional order, control, hierarchy and restraint in the state; and a fear of the power of female sexuality" (Hole, 1996: xxx). Although More advocated for female education, she reinforced the belief that women must take on a subordinate role, subscribing to the male view of women and she was not innovative in her ideas of what a woman's role should entail. Lynne Agress suggests that "clearly, women, especially spokeswomen who wrote, were often their own severest enemies" (Agress, 1978: 56).

Similar to Watts, More devotes large sections of the book to religion, advising parents to "go on to teach children the religious use of time, the duty of consecrating to God every talent, every faculty, every possession, and of devoting their whole lives to his glory" (More, 1799, vol. I: 121). She believed that female voices should be heard hence she encouraged women to speak so "that general society might become a

scene of profitable communication and general improvement" (More, 1799, vol. II: 52). By engaging in polite conversation their visibility increased, thus becoming active role models for young girls. In *Strictures*, she directly addresses mothers:

> But the great object to which you, who are or may be mothers, are more especially called, is the education of your children. If we are responsible for the use of influence in the case of those over whom we have no immediate control, in the case of our children we are responsible for the exercise of acknowledged *power*: a power wide in its extent, indefinite in its effects, and inestimable in its importance. On you, depend in no small degree the principles of the whole rising generation. To your direction the daughters are almost exclusively committed; and until a certain age, to you also is consigned the mighty privilege of forming the hearts and minds of your infants sons (More, 1799, vol. I: 59-60).

However, More's more conservative position on women's rights stands in contrast with the more liberal attitude expressed by Wollstonecraft's in her *Vindication of the Rights of Women*.

In *Hints*, a text which proposes a rigorous educational programme for Princess Charlotte, More praises Locke by stating that he was "the most accurate thinker, and the justest reasoner, which this or perhaps any other country has produced" (More, 1805, vol. II: 198). Likewise, she agrees with the idea of children having agreeable lessons, the concepts of tabula rasa, and the association of ideas. Her text was written

> to awaken a lively attention to a subject of such moment; to point out some circumstances connected with the early season of improvement, but still more with the subsequent stages of life; to offer, not a treatise on Education, but a desultory suggestion of sentiments and principles; to convey instruction, not so much by precept or by argument, as to exemplify it by illustrations and examples; and above all, to stimulate the wife and the good to exertions far more intellectual; – these are the real motives which have given birth to this slender performance (More, 1805, vol. I: xii).

Coelebs presents Lucilla Stanley, Coelebs' ideal partner, possessing both intellectual and domestic qualities. In this novel More adopts a male point of view, as Lucilla is given voice only on a few occasions in the two-volume work (415 pages, and 430 pages, respectively). Coelebs leaves home in order to find the perfect wife, who, in accordance with Milton, should know how to "study household good,/And good works in her husband to promote" (More, 1813, vol. I: 2). In his journey he meets several unsuitable partners (bad cooks, too superficial or not virtuous enough),

or sometimes their mothers' inappropriate behaviour is an indicator of their daughters' conduct. The male point of view and patriarchal authority are also enhanced by Coelebs' final choice: Lucilla is the girl whom his father wanted from the beginning of the novel. Coelebs admires Lucilla not only for her domestic qualities, but also for "her remarks […] on the construction of the fable, the richness of the imagery, the elevation of the language, the sublimity and just appropriation of the sentiments, the artful structure of the verse, and the variety of the characters". To him, "this […] is the true learning of a lady; a knowledge that is rather detected than displayed, which is felt in its effects on her mind and conversation; and that is seen, not by her citing learned names, or adducing long quotations; but in the general result, by the delicacy of her taste, and the correctness of her sentiments" (More, 1813, vol. II: 289-90). This illustrates that More, despite generally having a more traditional approach, tried to portray a less conventional view of the perfect woman, not just righteous, but also intelligent and educated.

Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797) was a political and moral theorist and activist, who wanted women to be freed through education and reasoning, thus providing them with professional competencies, which would make them self-confident and self-supporting. She delves into the circumstances for female improvement linked to a broader political and social discussion, and reassesses "the conditions for moral refinement by which the conduct manual has attempted to distinguish (and marginalise) female behaviour from public behaviour" (Sutherland, 2000: 37).

Thoughts on the Education of Daughters (1787) and *Original Stories from Real Life* (1788), two texts specifically addressing female education, are relatively

conservative works, the former pertaining to the field of conduct literature whilst the latter being a collection of tales for children. In her later works, she strives to shape a more autonomous female figure for future generations of women (e.g. *Vindication of the Rights of* Woman, published in 1792). This is why "Wollstonecraft's representation of motherhood is nevertheless conflicted because of her contradictory redefinition of women's social role, while simultaneously employing the trope of motherhood" (Davies, 2014: 64).

Although *Thoughts* is consistent with the conduct book tradition with its advice on dress, marriage and the role of a mother, it identifies female education as inadequate and in need of development. Wollstonecraft agrees with Rousseau on the matter of reason and innate principles of truth, wishing children "to be taught to think" (Wollstonecraft, 1787: 22). However, there is an important difference to be highlighted here: unlike Rousseau, Wollstonecraft advocates for reason for both genders. Moreover, she promotes the act of reading as it is "the most rational employment" and young girls should not "read merely to remember words" but to "seek food for the understanding" (Wollstonecraft, 1787: 49). Wollstonecraft shares a similar view with Rousseau on religion, that is women should be taught religious dogma and not theology: "books of theology are not calculated for young persons; religion is best taught by example. The Bible should be read with particular respect, and they should not be taught reading by so sacred a book; lest they might consider that as a task, which ought to be a source of the most exalted satisfaction" (Wollstonecraft, 1787: 53-4). Wollstonecraft is also in favour of "The Observance of Sunday" and describes the advantages that occur as a result of the sufferings sent by God in "The Benefits which Arise from Disappointment". For her, the educational system needs to be consistent with Christian values, stressing the importance of

moral duties, piety, humility, and universal benevolence. Consequently, she favours animal stories because "little stories about them would not only amuse but instruct at the same time, and have the best effect in forming the temper and cultivating the good dispositions of the heart" (Wollstonecraft, 1787: 16). Consequently, she wholeheartedly recommends Dorothy Kilner's *The Life and Perambulation of a Mouse*. (Wollstonecraft, 1787: 16).

In keeping with Locke's ideas, Wollstonecraft encourages home education and warns parents against leaving children with servants as they "are, in general, ignorant and cunning" (Wollstonecraft, 1787: 118), and, as a result, children become "troublesome" (Wollstonecraft, 1787: 13) or "are in danger of still greater corruptions" (Wollstonecraft, 1787: 60). Furthermore, she approves of Locke's theory of the association of ideas: "above all, try to teach them to combine ideas. It is of more use than can be conceived, for a child to learn to compare things that are similar in some aspects, and different in others" (Wollstonecraft, 1787: 22-3).

As to matrimony, Wollstonecraft regards early marriages as "a stop to improvement" (Wollstonecraft, 1787: 93) and believes that "when the education has been neglected, the mind improves itself, if it has leisure for reflection, and experience to reflect on; but how can this happen when they are forced to act before they have had time to think, or find that they are unhappily married?" (Wollstonecraft, 1787: 94). However, the ideas expressed in *Thoughts* are not extremely radical or liberal, for example, the author considers that domestic duties should not be neglected since "no employment of the mind is a sufficient excuse for neglecting domestic duties, and I [she] cannot conceive that they are incompatible. A woman may fit herself to be the companion and friend of a man of sense, and yet know how to take care of his family" (Wollstonecraft, 1787: 56).

Among other issues she disagrees with are vanity, fondness of dress and time wasted on fancy attire, ornaments, theatre going and cards playing because it is often associated with wasting time and idleness and because "cards are the universal refuge to which the idle and the ignorant resort, to pass life away, and to keep their inactive souls awake, by the tumult of hope and fear" (Wollstonecraft, 1787: 145).

In *Original Stories* "the author attempts to cure those faults by reason, which ought never to have taken root in the infant mind" (Wollstonecraft, 1788: v) and "to fix principles of truth and humanity on a solid and simple foundation" (Wollstonecraft, 1788: ix). The stories and conversations "were written to illustrate the moral" (Wollstonecraft, 1788: x) and "intended to assist the teacher as well as the pupil" (Wollstonecraft, 1788: viii). Wollstonecraft believes that "knowledge should be gradually imparted, and flow more from example than teaching: example directly addresses the senses the first inlet to the heart, the object education should have constantly in view, and over which we have most power" (Wollstonecraft, 1788: vii-viii).

The book is structured in dialogues between the surrogate mother, Mrs Mason, and 14-year old Mary and 12-year-old Caroline, two relative of hers. The young girls were "left entirely to the management of servants, or people equally ignorant" (Wollstonecraft, 1788: xi) and later, after their mother's death, under Mrs Mason tuition, "a woman of tenderness and discernment" (Wollstonecraft, 1788: xi) who succeeds in correcting their behaviour. Each dialogue is dedicated to one specific moral issue, which is often explained with the use of metaphors, comparisons and analogies as Mrs Mason sometimes uses people she knows as models. Mrs Mason teaches them how to treat animals, servants and the people around them, the negative implications of anger, bad temper, lying, vanity, self-contempt, idleness,

pride and selfishness, among others. She also offers them religious instruction explaining the importance of prayer, charity and devotion to God. Nonetheless, Geoffrey Summerfield sees *Original Stories* as "the most sinister, ugly, overbearing book for children ever published. It is permeated by a grim, humourless, tyrannical spirit of hectoring and unswerving spiritual and metal rectitude – all in the name of healthy growth: a dream of reason producing, indeed, a veritable monster in the form of Mrs Mason, the book's equivalent of Day's Barlow and Trimmer's Mrs Benson" (Summerfield, 1984: 229).

If in *Thoughts* and *Original Stories* Wollstonecraft adopts a more traditional point of view, in *Vindication* she strongly advocates for broadening social and intellectual opportunities for women by promoting the thinking and knowing child, incitement to thinking, "cultivation of mind" and the "education" that "teaches young people how to begin to think" (Wollstonecraft, *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, 1993: 247). She blames the "corrupt state of society" which "contribute[s] to enslave women by cramping their understandings and sharpening their senses" (Wollstonecraft, 1993: 88). Women are in this situation because they are denied "civil and political rights" and are forced "to remain immured in their families groping in the dark" (Wollstonecraft, 1993: 67). The issue of domestic duties explained in *Thoughts* is further elaborated in *Vindication*: "women cannot, by force, be confined to domestic concerns; for they will, however ignorant, intermeddle with more weighty affairs, neglecting private duties only to disturb, by cunning tricks, the orderly plans of reason which rise above their comprehension" (Wollstonecraft, 1993: 67-8).

In the "Introduction" Wollstonecraft attributes the unhealthy state of women's conduct to "a false system of education, gathered from the books written on this

subject by men who, considering females rather as women than human creatures, have been more anxious to make them alluring mistresses than affectionate wives and rational mothers" (Wollstonecraft, 1993: 71). Wollstonecraft refers here to the ideas promoted by Lord Chesterfield in his *Letters* to his son (dating from 1737), Rousseau in *Emile* (1762/3), John Gregory in *A Father's Legacy to His Daughters* (1761) and by James Fordyce in *Sermons to Young Women* (1766). Her criticism towards these male writers are summed up in Chapter V entitled "Animadversions on Some of the Writers who Have Rendered Women Objects of Pity, Bordering on Contempt". She particularly disagrees strongly with Rousseau (whom she quotes at length) and his belief that "a woman should never, for a moment, feel herself independent, that she should be governed by fear to exercise her *natural* cunning, and made a coquettish slave in order to render her a more alluring object of desire, a *sweeter* companion to man, whenever he chooses to relax himself" (Wollstonecraft, 1993: 91). To this Wollstonecraft replies: "What nonsense! [...] If women are by nature inferior to men, their virtues must be the same in quality, if not in degree, or virtue is a relative idea; consequently, their conduct should be founded on the same principles, and have the same aim" (Wollstonecraft, 1993: 91). Furthermore, the female writer raises a poignant question: "But what have women to do in society?" (Wollstonecraft, 1993: 229). Wollstonecraft firmly thinks that "women might certainly study the art of healing, and be physicians as well as nurses [...] They might, also, study politics, and settle their benevolence on the broadest basis [...] Business of various kinds" (Wollstonecraft, 1993: 229).

Regarding the reading material with an appropriate content for women, Wollstonecraft, "never touching a silly novel" (Wollstonecraft, 1993: 273), advises "[her] sex not to read such flimsy works" but rather "something superior"

(Wollstonecraft, 1993: 273). To her mind, women should not be “amused by the reveries of the stupid novelists” (Wollstonecraft, 1993: 271) because “soft phrases, susceptibility of the heart, delicacy of sentiment, and refinement, are almost synonymous with epithets of weakness” (Wollstonecraft, 1993: 73). However, Wollstonecraft provides a solution to this issue: a way to discourage women from reading novels is by ridiculing them and minimising their status and importance.

To sum up, in her works Wollstonecraft wishes to persuade women to acquire strength, not only of the mind, but also of the body, as their union is, in her opinion, “the most perfect education” (Wollstonecraft, 1993: 86). At the core of her ideas lies the power to reason defined as “the simple power of improvement; or, more properly speaking, of discerning truth” (Wollstonecraft, 1993: 122). Her ultimate aim is “to render women truly useful members of society” (Wollstonecraft, 1993: 280). Despite the common ground between Wollstonecraft and Rousseau, they were not involved in a debate, but in a fierce battle characterised by a fundamental disagreement about how men and women should be educated.

Wollstonecraft was not the only one interested in promoting reason as an important and necessary part of education. William Godwin (1756-1836), Wollstonecraft’s husband, was also concerned with a child’s development of autonomy and with creating the perfect individual. Correspondingly, he was always involved in education and wrote extensively about this topic through a shifting range of literary genres and methods: from collections of essays (*The Enquirer* in 1797; *Thoughts on Man* in 1831) to fiction (*Caleb Williams*, a three-volume novel published in 1794). In a letter to William Cole (1802) he claims that the aim of education is to develop “an active mind and a warm heart”, which echoes

Wollstonecraft's "a cultivated understanding, and an affectionate heart" (Wollstonecraft, *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, 1993: 172). Therefore, Locke's key words "instruct and delight" are reconceptualised as "think and feel", his works "cultivating both reason and imagination, thought and feeling, heart and mind." (Paul, 2011: 145).

The Enquirer; Reflections on Education, Manners, and Literature (1797) is a collection of twenty-eight engaging essays on educational (e.g. "Of an Early Taste for Reading", "Of Public and Private Education" or "Of Learning"), literary ("Of the Study of the Classics" or "Of Choice in Reading), linguistic ("Of English Style"), political and social issues ("Of Riches and Poverty", "Of Beggars", "Of Servants" or "Of Trades and Possessions"). The collection, a step forward for "intellectual and literary refinement" (Godwin, 1797: x), was published deep in the course of the French Revolution, which Godwin regarded as an "inexhaustible source of meditation to the reflecting and inquisitive" (Godwin, 1797: ix). *The Enquirer* shows a writer "with as ardent a passion for innovation as ever, he feels himself more patient and tranquil […] he is persuaded that the cause of political reform, and the cause of intellectual and literary refinement, are inseparably connected" (Godwin, 1797: x). He believes that intellectual and literary refinement (or, in other words, education) help people to reach both personal contentment and political justice: "those who shall be active in promoting the cause of reform, may be found amiable in their personal manners, and even attached to the cultivation of miscellaneous enquiries […] this will afford the best security, for our preserving kindness and universal philanthropy, in the midst of the operations of our justice" (Godwin, 1797: x). Furthermore, the main role of education is to awaken the mind and to lead to reasoning and intellectual thinking, but also to "the generation of happiness"

(Godwin, 1797: 1). The essays resulted from "an incessant recurrence to experiment and actual observation" (Godwin, 1797: vi) and "are principally the result of conversation […] There is a vivacity and […] a richness, in the hints struck out in conversation, that are with difficulty attained in any other method" (Godwin, 1797: vii). Finally, his findings "are presented to the contemplative reader, not as *dicta*, but as the materials of thinking" (Godwin, 1797: viii).

In conclusion, Watts, More, Wollstonecraft and Godwin, all contributed in different ways to the debate on education of the long eighteenth century. Whilst Watts and More were more concerned with religious education and took a more traditional approach, Wollstonecraft and Godwin advocated for the importance of reason and the promotion of rational thought and were more progressive in their arguments.

2.4 Catering to Juvenile Readers: Boreman, Cooper, Newbery and Marshall[19]

The long eighteenth century was characterised by a rise of consumerism; a considerable body of literature for young people was produced because publishers had realised that children's literature was a new, large, unexplored and unexploited market: "shrewd printers, booksellers, and hawkers understood that one way of feeding this appetite was to appeal to the fantasies and aspirations, of an emerging consumer society" (Demers, 2004: 94). Alongside publishers, authors and illustrators aimed at designing books as attractive as possible, making use of both literary (e.g. captivating narratives) and material devices (e.g. eye-catching illustrations, characters and formats). The books were meant to appeal to potential purchasers, to inculcate

[19] To distinguish each publisher more effectively, this section uses paragraph separation.

pedagogical competence and assurance in their purchasers and attempted to entice the young mind. In a way, children became "a trade, a field of commercial enterprise for the sharp-eyed entrepreneur", "luxury objects upon which their mothers and fathers were willing to spend larger and larger sums of money, not only for their education, but also for their entertainment and amusement" (Plumb, 1975: 90). Due to the large body of children's books that emerged in the 1780s "critics were convinced that a minor literary and educational renaissance was occurring" (Pickering, 1981: 20) as "the book became an object of desire for children, and a material expression of parental affection and duty" (Grenby, 2007: 302).

Thomas Boreman, Mary Cooper and John Newbery, who were aware of the increasing interest in entertaining the youth, but never excluding to instruct them, are considered to be the pioneers in the publishing business of children's books in the 1740s (Jackson, 1989: 71-100). They played an important role in the exploitation of children's literature, taking advantage of the publishing momentum and developing it.

Boreman and Cooper, of whom little is known nowadays, pre-dated Newbery. Boreman, the first publisher to cater for juvenile readers, published seven books (Jackson, 1989: 72-5): natural histories (*A Description of Three Hundred Animals*, 1730 and *A Description of a Great Variety of Animals and Vegetables,* 1736), guided-tour books (*The Gigantick History of the Two Famous Giants, and other Curiosities in Guildhall* 2 vols. 1740*; The History and Description of the Famous Cathedral St Paul's* 2 vols. 1742; *Curiosities in the Tower of London* 2 vols. 1741, and *The History and Description of Westminster Abbey* 3 vols. 1742-43), and a book on the subject of giants (*The History of Cajanus the Swedish Giant*, 1742). He

understood and put into practice Locke's advice on making children's books both instructive and amusing and used 'the tour' as the main device for his books.

Mary Cooper, Thomas Cooper's widow, took over her husband's printing business to provide for her family and ran it successfully until her death in 1761 (Raven, 2007: 172). Furthermore, "during the 1740s and 1750s the Cooper business proved the leading (and in a way, last) trade publisher of London. More than 600 books and pamphlets named Mary Cooper in their imprints between 1743 and 1745 and more than 1,500 between 1746 and 1764 (three years after Mary Cooper's death). At one point, even Pope used Mrs Cooper as his publishing agent" (Raven, 2007: 172). In 1743 Cooper published a second edition of her husband's *The Child's New Play-Thing: Being a Spelling-Book Intended to Make Learning to Read a Diversion instead of a Task*. Influenced by Boreman, she strove to create amusing chapbook characters and to lure children to read, collected and disseminated nursery songs, her most famous collection of nursery rhymes being *Tommy Thumb's Pretty Song Book* published in 1744, and two tour guides, *The Travels of Tom Thumb over England and Wales; Containing Descriptions of Whatever Is Most Remarkable in Several Counties* published in 1746, and the *History of England* in 1749.

Newbery, "the most authentic founder of this traffic in minor literature" (Darton, 1932: 1), made children's literature a commercial part of the literary market. He was "the first successfully to commercialise books for children, and he used a simple but durable formula: the encasement of the instructive material that adults thought their children would need within an entertaining format that children might be supposed to want" (Grenby [4]: 4). Newbery having "great commercial agility"

(Alderson and Oyens, 2006: 51) and "with a businessman's sense of capitalising on the success of competitors like Boreman and Cooper, he published and marketed dozens of titles, doing more than any other single publisher of his day to encourage the production of books for children" (Demers, 2004: 123). His books filled an obvious need and they were sold "in large numbers and stayed in print for many years: some into the next century" (Townsend, 1997: 87). Above all, Newbery was an educational publisher whose aim, "whether in pursuit of profit or from a wish to spread the benefits of learning – or, most likely, a combination of the two – was to educate the rising middle class, to which he belonged, and its offspring with it" (Townsend, 1997: 81).

His most famous books were *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book*, published in 1744 and sold together with a ball for boys and a pincushion for girls, and *The History of Goody Two-Shoes*, published in 1765. John Newbery's preface to *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book* "is almost an epitome of Locke's pragmatic approach to child rearing" (Alderson and Oyens, 2006: 7). Newbery not only agreed with Locke's ideas on education, "but he also realised that *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book* would stand a better chance of success if it were clearly identified with Locke" (Pickering, 1981: 72). *The History of Goody Two-Shoes* is "largely remembered as a tale of educational and social advancement, a baby bildungsroman promoting Enlightenment virtues and values- rationality, self-sufficiency, literacy – which are rewarded in the end with the requisite 'coach & six'" (Crain, 2006: 213).

Newbery's slogan was "Trade and Plumb-Cake for ever, Huzza!" (Newbery, 1767: 9), which shows the links between commerce and the benefits of education, between sweet treats and profit or between profit and fun pedagogical material. He "directly courted the growing middle classes, and his books often seemed apologias

for middle-class commercial activity" (Pickering, 1981: 1). This is at best illustrated in the following passage from *The Twelfth-Day Gift*:

> Without the Farmer you would have no Corn, and without the Tradesman, that Corn could not be ground, and made into Bread. Nay, you are indebted to Trade for the very Cloaths you wear, and but for the Tradesman you would not have a Shoe to your Foot. Even this Cake before me, which you so long for, is the Product of Husbandry and Trade. Farmer *Wilson* sowed the Corn, *Giles Jenkins* reaped it, Neighbour *Jones* at the Mill ground it, the Milk came from Farmer *Curtis*, the Eggs from *John Thomas* the Higgler; that Plumb came from *Turkey*, and this from *Spain*, the Sugar we have from *Jamaica*, the candied Sweetmeats from *Barbadoes*, and the Spices from the *East-Indies*. And will you offer to set a Trade at naught, when you see even a Plumb-cake cannot be made without it? (Newbery, 1767: 8)

Moreover, thanks to Newbery "the presses of John Marshall, John Harris, and Benjamin Tabart – all catering to juvenile readers – came into existence, thereby increasing the production of children's books a hundredfold" (Demers, 2004: 123). Even though my thesis is concerned with the Marshall writers, I consider that a brief account of the life and business of the publisher himself is inevitable and necessary in order to understand the collaboration between him and his writers. John Marshall (1756-1824) inherited his father's printing business in 1779,[20] which he continued running and extending it together with his mother, Eleanor, and his cousin, James, at No. 4 Aldermary Churchyard in London under the name of John Marshall and Co.[21] Marshall's career underwent three different stages; first, in the 1780s when he shifted from publishing popular literature to more respectable, albeit didactic, texts, recruiting women writers who would promote and engage with the new direction of children's literature. By 1793 Marshall had become the most prolific and successful publisher of children's books in England, "he operated three premises, employed more than forty servants and was advertising more than one hundred and ten

[20] Richard Marshall died on 24 August 1779 and left half of his business to John with quarter shares to his nephew James and his wife Eleanor (Stoker, forthcoming).
[21] For more information on Marshall, his life and printing business see Stoker, David (2013: 81-118) and "The Pitfalls of Seeking Respectability" (forthcoming). Also, Alderson, Brian; Oyens, Felix de Marez (62-6; 135-9) and Demers, Patricia (283-7).

children's book titles as well as two periodicals[22] and a number of teaching schemes"[23] (Stoker, forthcoming). Marshall, "the children's printer" (Fenn, *Fables*, 1783: 77), "was an astute promoter of what children wanted to see and what their parents were willing to buy", "never missing an opportunity to remind his clientele where 'a great variety of books and schemes for the Instruction and Amusement of young people'[24] could be purchased" (Demers, 2004: 283). The second stage of his career was marked by the end of 1799 when he was faced with serious financial difficulties due to disputes with his business associate John Evans, the manager of his shop at 42 Long Lane, with Hannah More over the creation and distribution of *Cheap Repository Tracts* and owing to Trimmer and Fenn's decision to cease their collaboration. And the third phase, between 1800 and 1815, when his business started to thrive once again (Stoker, forthcoming) as a result of his revival and return to children's publishing, which brought about monthly periodicals such as the *Children's Magazine* (January 1799-December 1800) and the *Picture Magazine* (1800-01). He was so confident about his writers and their publications that in 1800 he presented his other new project: miniature libraries for children (*The Juvenile; or Child's Library*; *The infant's Library* and *The Doll's Library*), all published almost at the same time (Alderson, 1983: 4). These were followed by *The Infant's Cabinet Series* (1800-1), *The Book-Case of Instruction and Delight* (1802), *The Infant's Letterbox* (1803) and *The Doll's Casket* (?1815).[25]

[22] Trimmer's *Family Magazine* (1788-9) and Peacock's *Juvenile Magazine* (1788).
[23] For example, Fenn's *Set of Toys* (1785), teaching schemes and educational devices (cards, alphabets, illustrations, wooden cases, booklets etc.).
[24] See Shefrin, Jill, *The Dartons*. Her research focuses on the use of printed pastimes and teaching aids in early modern and nineteenth-century education.
[25] See *Miniature Libraries from the Children's Books Collections*. Victoria and Albert Museum. <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/m/miniature-libraries/>, accessed 21 January 2016.

Marshall found writers “who were perhaps influenced by the growing interest in books for children and [encouraged] their activity” (Alderson and Oyens, 2006: 64), eventually making a profit from the publication of these writers’ books. He

> got in touch with them by steps not now to be traced, and he kept them and was responsible for nearly all their juvenile work. He started, perhaps, with something of Newbery’s impetuous anonymity and pseudonymity, and those who wrote for him disguised themselves after the fashion of the time. But they kept their identity, and were visible figures in the nursery adventure. The author, as well as the publisher, of children’s books had arrived as a citizen of the republic of literature, with responsibilities, rights, and compatriots of his won tribe (Darton, 1932: 139).

As David Stoker concludes, Marshall’s publishing career

> provides an ideal case study to illustrate the fundamental changes that took place in both the content and production methods of children’s books between the 1770s and the 1820s. A combination of Marshall’s resolute commercialism, his adaptability and readiness to embrace new ideas and technology, and his undoubted flair for children’s literature enabled him to prosper during the good times and also to remain in business during times of economic difficulty. He may not have been an easy man to work for, but he has left a huge legacy for future generations in terms of the items he published and the impact they had on other writers and publishers (Stoker, forthcoming).

Undoubtedly, Marshall and his literary associates are very important in the development of children’s literature and its promotion, which will be discussed at length in the following chapters of this thesis.

C: THESIS MATERIAL

3. Five Writers, One Common Goal: The Literary Associates of John Marshall

3.1 Writers of Influence: Fielding, Barbauld and Edgeworth[26]

I will start this chapter by looking at three women authors who were of great influence for the Marshall writers: Sarah Fielding, Anna Laetitia Barbauld and Maria Edgeworth, respectively. I consider that before introducing the literary associates of John Marshall, an overview of the context and the main sources of inspiration is necessary. All writers will be dealt with both separately and collectively; this is significant in order to understand the importance of building a network of skilful women writers with a shared identity. Moreover, by taking this approach, complex issues such as the making of literary women and the redefinition of maternal status and role can be explained chronologically, observing how these concepts have evolved over a short period of time, from the publication of "the first novel for children" in 1749 (Grey, 1968: 39) to the Edgeworths' detailed guide to the practices of private education in 1798.

The Marshall literary associates were influenced by, and, in turn, influenced other female authors to write, this being visible in the choice of narrative structure, format, style, and themes. In this section I will discuss the influences of their predecessor, Sarah Fielding (1710-1768), and their contemporaries Anna Laetitia Barbauld (1743-1825) and Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849), three authors who have

[26] To distinguish between the ideas presented by each women writer of influence to the Marshall authors more effectively, this section uses paragraph separation.

received more critical attention than the Marshall writers.[27] For instance, Fenn's *School Occurrences* and *School Dialogues for Boys*, or Dorothy Kilner's *Anecdotes of a Boarding School* and *The Village School* lie within the tradition of the school narrative initiated by Fielding. Barbauld's use of familiar dialogues was imitated by Fenn in, for example, *Cobwebs to Catch Flies* and *Rational Sports*, by Mary Ann Kilner in *Familiar Dialogues*, by Dorothy Kilner in *Dialogues and Letters on Morality, Oeconomy and Politeness*, in *Short Conversations*, and by Trimmer in *Sunday School Dialogues*. Edgeworth published her works about education in 1795 (*Letters for Literary Ladies*), 1796 (*The Parent's Assistant*), 1798 (*Practical Education*), and in 1801 (*Early Lessons*, a collection of stories for the youth), a period which coincides with the Marshall writers' final stage of their careers or collaboration with the publisher. However, the themes put forward are shared and further developed as explained in what follows.

Sarah Fielding's *The Governess* (1749) is regarded as "the first novel for children" (Grey, 1968: 39), depicting "characters taken from ordinary life and using ordinary everyday speech" (Grey, 1968: 79). Davies remarks that given the choice of genre (the novel) "Fielding was an early contributor to the process of raising the status of women to the position of guardians of knowledge" (Davies, 2014: 44). In "Dedication to the Honourable Mrs Poyntz" Fielding claims that her aim is "to cultivate an early Inclination to Benevolence, and a Love of Virtue, in the Minds of young Women, by trying to shew [sic] them, that their True Interest is concerned in cherishing and improving those amiable Dispositions into Habits; and in keeping down all rough and boisterous Passions; and that from this alone they can propose to

[27] For Fielding see Battestin, Martin C.; Probyn, Clive T. (eds.), *The Correspondence of Henry and Sarah Fielding*, and Bree, Linda. *Sarah Fielding*. For Barbauld see McCarthy, William, *Anna Letitia Barbauld*. And for Edgeworth see Butler, Marilyn. *Maria Edgeworth*.

themselves to arrive at true Happiness, in any of the Stations of Life allotted to the Female Character" (Fielding, 1749: iii). She also hopes "to inculcate, by those Methods of Fable and Moral, which have been recommended by the wisest Writers, as the most effectual Means of conveying useful Instruction" (Fielding, 1749: iii). Moreover, in "Preface to My Young Readers" Edgeworth argues that she wrote this book "to prove to you [them], that Pride, Stubbornness, malice, Envy, and, in short, all Manner of Wickedness, is the greatest Folly we can be possessed of, and constantly turns on the Head that foolish Person who does not conquer and get the better of all Inclinations to such Wickedness" (Fielding, 1749: ix).

The stories recounted in both the preface and the narrative itself display the variety of genre used: fairy tales (e.g. "The Story of the Cruel Giant Barbarico, the Good Giant Benefico, and the Little Pretty Dwarf Mignon"; "The Princess Hebe"), autobiographies (e.g. "The Life of Miss Sukey Jennett"), novella (e.g."The Story of Caelia and Chloe"), and fables (e.g. "The Assembly of the Birds"). It can argued that they are "mostly confessions of faults and errors" (Wilner, 1995: 311), lacking creativity and an actual plot. Arlene Fish Wilner claims that *The Governess* anticipates Rousseau's compliant characters in *Émile*, however, this is not to say that she influenced him directly, "rather it is to show the underlying themes in her mid-eighteenth-century instructional narrative for young girls encoded a set of gender expectations that were later more explicitly elaborated by authors such as Rousseau and Day who articulated an increasingly influential bourgeois value system in educational works that proves to be vastly appealing to the late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century reading public" (Wilner, 1995: 309).

The novel also illustrates the importance of female friendship between the surrogate mother, Mrs Teachum, and the young girls, who are the result of flawed

parenting. The teacher encourages the girls to each explain a story and later reflect on the moral. Thus, the stories are shown as "disciplinary strategies of observation and confession as successful means of effecting the cleaning, reformation, and socialisation of the female character" (Burdan, 1994: 11), as Judith Burdan comments. The text belongs to the tradition of school stories, in which "the school is not merely a setting for adventure but functions almost as a character itself. Narratives revolve around incident and attitudes which are implicit in, not extrinsic to, school life" (Grenby, 2008: 113).[28]

Fielding's fictional book is an undoubtedly relevant text in the evolution of children's literature because it "helps us to understand both the shifting culture of mid-eighteenth-century England and the development of late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century didactic children's literature, a remarkable body of work for which her little volume must certainly be considered a prototype" (Wilner, 1995: 320).

Anna Laetitia Barbauld inspired other women to write for children and these emerging writers, striving to follow in her footsteps, frequently mention her texts in their prefaces.[29] Barbauld's most well-known works for children are *Lessons for*

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[28] Another children's text written within the tradition of school stories and also portraying a conflict between literacy and the image of the mother is the collaborative work of Mary and Charles Lamb, *Mrs Leicester's School* published in 1809. The Lambs depict two different kinds of mothers – the absent and the surrogate. In their stories the maternal guidance is absent, the girls' narratives portraying a series of imperfect mothers who are either dead or have neglected or abandoned their daughters, forcing the girls to take their education into their own hands: Elizabeth learns how to read from her mother's tombstone, Elinor uses her dead mother's room as a study room, Margaret Green and Maria Howe confuse the realms of reality and fiction due to erroneous, misleading information resulted from unsupervised reading whereas Ann, through a play she writes about her real origins, loses both her birthmother and surrogate mother. All these dramatic stories make Jean Marsden assert that "in each case, the absence of the mother results in incomplete, inadequate, or incorrect learning" (Marsden, 1995: 33) and that "there is little hope of proper education in the home" (Marsden, 1995: 42). Nonetheless, Mrs Leicester indirectly acts as a surrogate mother herself and the school represents the place where the girls' education is to be set on the right track.

[29] For example, *The Rational Dame*'s title page contains a quote from Barbauld's *Hymns* and in the preface and the text itself there are several references to her work (See Fenn, 1786: xvi; 85-6; 96).

Children and *Hymns in Prose*. In *Lessons for Children* (1778-9) she advocates for lessons through dialogues as a pedagogical tool, promoting understanding through dialogues on familiar topics that explain things in a more natural, simple and fun way. As Clarke informs, "questions and answers, dialogues between parents and children, or tutors and children, were to be the most widely adopted formula amongst juvenile writers of this period, who sought to develop it beyond the rote learning of the catechism" (Clarke, 1997: 95). This method replaced rote learning as dialogues made children participate by learning how to interact and communicate with people. Moreover, "what 'familiar' offers is an artful pedagogic approach bringing together the informal – social, domestic – within the more formal dialogic form. The genre sets out to textually encode the existing practices and rules of polite sociality in ways that allow active participation in the construction of shared understanding while at the same time being structured and methodical so as to facilitate the integration of knowledge in the mind of the learner. […] Pedagogically oriented conversation offered the integration of knowledge and manners, and therefore encouraged civil forms of self-expression" (Cohen, 2009: 108). As Cohen further explains, "women appropriated not the narrative (written) form so much as the conversation itself, in particular the familiar, domestic conversations of the household. They explored the form, infused it with their own pedagogical ideas, and produced different textual and educational experiences" (Cohen, 2009: 113). Aidan Chambers adds that the dialogue helps "to stage-manage the reader's involvement" because by talking in dialogues children imagine themselves as participants (Chambers, 1980: 250-75).

Also, "Ellenor's interest in children's literature developed during the 1770s as she wrote, illustrated, and bound manuscript books for her nieces and nephews. She was influenced by Anna Letitia Barbauld's *Lessons for Children* (1778)". *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)* sv "Fenn, Ellenor, Lady Fenn (1744–1813)".

Lessons for Children illustrates a mother spending time with her child, Charles (Barbauld's nephew whom she later adopted), doing different daily activities while learning about the world around him. She encourages learning through experiences and senses, echoing Locke's fundamental ideas about education. With this publication it was apparent that for the first time children's needs were taken into consideration. In the "Advertisement" Barbauld identifies a gap in the market of books for children aged two to three and takes upon herself the "humble task" (Barbauld, 1830: 4) of fashioning a book with "good paper, a clear and large type, and large spaces" (Barbauld, 1830: 3). She is determined "to supply these deficiencies" (Barbauld, 1830: 4) as they are highly important for the comprehension and development of children's learning capacities. Acknowledging the challenging nature of such a job, but bearing in mind the long-term benefits in children's progress, Barbauld stresses how imperative it is "to lay the first stone of a noble building, and to plant the first idea in a human mind" (Barbauld, 1830: 4). In *Hymns in Prose* (1781) the hero is, again, Charles. In the preface Barbauld praises Watt's hymns for children, however, she considers that reading verse is not appropriate for children, hence her reason for writing her hymns in prose, which "are intended to be committed to memory and recited" (Barbauld, 1781: v). In addition, the aim is "to impress devotional feelings as early as possible on the infant mind" (Barbauld, 1781: v) and "to lay the best foundation for practical devotion in future life" (Barbauld, 1781: vi). Therefore, Barbauld's *Lessons* and *Hymns* were invaluable sources of inspiration for the Marshall writers, who continued writing in this tradition and made use of the dialogue in many of their books.

Maria Edgeworth also integrated elements of both Lockean and Rousseauian theories in her writings about the practice of private education. In *Letters for Literary Ladies* (1795) she presents the positive aspects of domestic life, above all the "leisure to be wise": "The other sex [women] have no such constraint upon their understandings; neither the necessity of earning their bread, not the ambition to shine in public life, hurry or prejudice their minds; in domestic life 'they have leisure to be wise'" (Edgeworth, 1795: 51). Paradoxically, women's exclusion from the labour market is their own source of empowerment and the *Letters* might be regarded as a feminist essay, a plea for reform in women's education, a defence of women's intellectual abilities.

Edgeworth, like the other writers, supported home education and encouraged parents to get involved in their children's education. In the preface to *The Parent's Assistant* (1796) she acknowledges the difficulties that may arise and sympathises with those parents "who have been interested in the education of a family, who have patiently followed children through the first processes of reasoning, who have daily watched over their thoughts and feelings, – those only, who know with what ease and rapidity the early associations of ideas are formed, on which the future taste, character, and happiness depend, can feel the dangers and difficulties of such an undertaking" (Edgeworth, 1869: iii). Further on she suggests that "it would not be advisable to introduce despicable and vicious characters"; nevertheless, she accepts that "in real life they must see vice, and it is best that they should be early shocked with the representation of what they are to avoid". However shocking these images might seem, children need to *know* that that "there is a great deal of difference between innocence and ignorance" (Edgeworth, 1869: v). Similarly to "the Barbauld crew" (Lamb, 1935: 326), Edgeworth's denial of ignorance is also reinforced by her

warnings against “the dangers which may arise in education from a bad servant, or a common acquaintance” (Edgeworth, 1869: v), which she exemplifies and corrects in the “Birthday Present” and in the character of Mrs Theresa Tattle. Her text, Edgeworth reassures mothers, has been carefully written “to avoid inflaming the imagination, or exciting false views of life, and creating hopes, which, in the ordinary course of things, cannot be realised” (Edgeworth, 1869: vi).

Practical Education was published in 1798 and written in collaboration with her father, Richard Lovell. In the preface they state their common aim: “We shall not imitate the invidious example of some authors, who think it necessary to destroy the edifices of others, in order to clear the way for their own. We have no peculiar system to support, and, consequently, we have no temptation to attack the theories of others; and we have chosen the title of practical Education, to point out that we rely entirely upon practice and experience” (Edgeworth, 1798, vol. I: v). The work includes ‘notes, containing conversations and anecdotes of children’ as an appendix, showing that when they wrote this text they were thinking of ‘real’ children using language naturally. The Edgeworths “united in a remarkable way the best of Locke and the best of Rousseau and produced a treatise which all still rings true today” (Alderson and Oyens, 2006: 14). They encouraged a hands-on education, aiming to create an independent and thinking individual, an idea developed by Wollstonecraft and Godwin, as explained and exemplified in Chapter 2.3.

The writers also warn about the dangers of superficial knowledge in women:

> Whatever young women learn, let them be taught accurately; let them know ever so little apparently, they will know much if they have learnt that little *well*. A girl who runs through a course of natural history, hears something about chemistry, has been taught something of botany, and who knows but just enough of these to make her fancy that she is well informed, is in a miserable situation, in danger of becoming ridiculous, and insupportably tiresome to men of sense and science. But let a woman know any one thing completely, and she will have sufficient understanding to learn more, and to apply what she has been taught so as to interest men of generosity and genius in her favour (Edgeworth, 1798, vol. II: 551).

As Sophia Woodley sums up, *Practical Education* is “a refreshingly down-to earth guide to the day-to-day realities of private education”, offering “a coherent and distinctive approach to the practice of private education, incorporating aspects of the theories of Locke and Rousseau, but remaining very clearly rooted in the family life of the Edgeworths” (Woodley, 2009: 33-4).

In conclusion, all these writers’ shared goals were to enhance the status of teaching, to equip teachers (both amateurs and professional) with practical advice about writing stories for children that would appeal to their imagination, albeit guided, while providing them with useful moral lessons along the general lines proposed by Locke and Rousseau.

3.2 The Marshall Writers[30]

I will start this section by giving a brief account of the biographies of the Marshall writers, then moving on to their works and collaboration with their publisher. After dealing with the writers separately, I will treat them collectively, emphasising their common goals and achievements.

Sarah Kirby (1741-1810) married James Trimmer, a wealthy brick and tile manufacturer, and together they had twelve children, nine of whom survived. They were educated at home, mainly by their mother, “the six girls for the entirety of their educative years, the six boys receiving the classical part of their education either away at school or at home from a neighbouring clergyman” (Heath, 2010: 2).[31] Sarah Trimmer printed anonymously towards the end of 1780 and appears to have started

[30] To distinguish each and one of the Marshall writers more effectively, this section uses paragraph separation.
[31] For more biographical information see Mrs. Trimmer’s private journal, which was not meant for publication, but was later edited by her son (Trimmer, Sarah. *Some Account of the Life and Writings of Mrs. Trimmer*).

her collaboration with the Marshalls in 1785 when they published an abridged version of her six-volume work entitled *The Footstep to Mrs. Trimmer's Sacred History* in 1785.[32] She was in favour of using pictorial material in children's books and in 1786 they published *A Series of Prints of Scripture History*, with the accompanying book *A description of A Set of Prints of Scripture History*. Its success led to five more similar series of prints with their accompanying descriptions on *Ancient History* (1786), *Roman History* (1789), *English History* (1789), *the New* and *the Old Testament* (1790 and 1797, respectively). Apart from this scheme, Trimmer was also the editor and main contributor of the *Family Magazine*, which ran from January 1788 to June 1789, and the *Guardian of Education*, from 1802 to 1806. The objectives, nature of the magazines (with emphasis on the former as it was published by Marshall), the contents, its success, format and topics will be further explained in Chapter 5. Despite calling herself "a mere bookseller's fag" in her correspondence with Hannah More in 1787 (Roberts vol. II, 1835: 61), she continued her collaboration with the Marshalls for another decade, when she published her last series of prints.

Ellenor Fenn (1744-1813) collaborated with Marshall between February 1783 and late 1789 (Stoker, 2007: 817) under the name of Mrs. Teachwell. Between 1789 and 1796 she was published by local printers in Norwich and East Dereham in Norfolk, and between 1797 and 1813 either by Elizabeth Newbery and John Harris, Newbery's successor, or by William Darton and Joseph Harvey (Stoker, 2007: 817-8). In these two last periods she reinvented herself and wrote under the name of Mrs. Lovechild; however, Marshall "continued to publish new editions of the most

[32] *ODNB* sv "Trimmer, Sarah (1741–1810)".

successful of her existing titles and market them under Mrs. Teachwell's name" (Stoker, 2007: 841). Moreover, Marshall seems to have boycotted her later publications: "after Elizabeth Newbery published two new teaching schemes by Lady Fenn, *The Infant's Delight* and *The Infant's Path Strewed with Flowers*, […] Marshall produced two small publications of his own with exactly the same titles" (Stoker, 2007: 841). While working with Marshall Fenn received no payment for her writing, the copyrights being accredited to the publisher, and was only given free copies of her books to give to relatives and friends (Stoker, 2007: 836). She ceased her collaboration with Marshall after his dispute with Hannah More over "his excessive profits from the publication of her series of *Cheap Repository Tracts*" (Stoker, 2007: 841).[33] Fenn's books, games and teaching schemes were "very popular in her day and went through many editions" (Stoker, 2007: 817). She and her husband had no children of their own, but they eventually adopted William, Fenn's nephew, and took care of their other nephews and nieces as well, to whom Fenn dedicated her books. The Fenns were also guardians of Mary Andrews, a ten-year-old orphan heiress (Stoker, 2007: 819).

Mary Ann (1753-1831) and Dorothy Kilner (1755-1836) were both prolific authors and published many books in keeping with Marshall's marketing strategies. Dorothy wrote under the pseudonym M.P., which stood for Maryland Point indicating her home, but later she signed her books Mary Pelham. Mary Ann used S.S. for Spital Square also indicating her temporary home. Mary Ann was the daughter of a family friend and used to correspond with Dorothy since they were

[33] See also Spinney, G.H. (295-340).

children, "exchanging verse epistles on religious, moral, and personal subjects"[34]. Years later, Mary Ann married Dorothy's brother and since then the sisters-in-law started collaborating and wrote stories for children. Trimmer recommended them to Marshall and started writing and publishing books for him.[35] The Kilners would prove to be "instrumental in a fundamental change in the direction of their [the Marshalls'] business, and establish the area in which they are now best remembered – the publication of modern children's books" (Stoker, forthcoming). Their books are similar in content and style, writing explicit moralising stories and narratives pertaining to a genre in which inanimate objects recount their adventures. For instance, *The Adventures of a Pincushion* (1780), *The Adventures of a Whipping Top* (1783), *Memoirs of a Peg Top* (1785), written by Mary Ann, or *The Life and Perambulation of a Mouse* (1783/4) by Dorothy. Overall, their works "provided the Marshalls with a substantial back-list which continued to sell and were to be reprinted at regular intervals over the next quarter century. Their publication attracted the attention of other female writers interested in writing for children" (Stoker, forthcoming).

Lucy Peacock (1785-1816), author and seller of children's books at "259 Oxford Street in London", "doubtless used both her book trade and her society connections to secure well over a thousand subscribers including such notables as Princess Mary, a substantial portion of the aristocracy, and 'celebrities' such as Charles and Frances Burney, Richard Cumberland and Elizabeth Montague" (Grenby, 2011: 141).[36] She might have been married since some of her works were

[34] *ODNB* sv "Kilner, Dorothy (1755–1836)".
[35] *ODNB* sv "Kilner, Dorothy (1755–1836)".
[36] The list of subscribers was usually included at the beginning of her works.

"printed for R. and L. Peacock".[37] Her most famous work was her adaptation of Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* for children, *The Adventures of the Six Princesses of Babylon*, "printed for the author" in 1785. Peacock also translated from and into French and in January 1788 started editing *The Juvenile Magazine*, Marshall's second monthly magazine. The aims, nature of the magazine, contributions, its success, format and topics will be explained in more detail in Chapter 5. Marshall (jointly) published several of Peacock's works such as: *The Knight of the Rose* (1793), *Pastorals in Prose* (1795), *Eleanor and Jessey* (1797), *The Life of a Bee* (1800) and *Emily, or the Test of Sincerity* (1816). However, the Aldermary press printed other texts written by her, but these were "for the author".[38]

Collectively, Trimmer, Fenn, the Kilners, and Peacock, whose ideas were informed by notable thinkers such as Locke and Rousseau, "shared a common faith in maternal pedagogies, in a desire to speak to real children, a desire to work and to communicate faith in the possibilities of pedagogical practices" (Paul, 2011: 136). They were pioneers in the growth of child-oriented pedagogy and designers of valuable educational resources. These women writers were all sensitive about children's needs and sensible about the market demands, thus modifying their writing in order to satisfy both requirements. This means that they were not amateurs looking for personal amusement, but rather they were women wanting to be published and looking to earn a living as professional writers. As Myers reinforces, "with their homely plots where small actions have large moral implications and where women, children, and the lowly are taken seriously as moral agents, the little books tidily

[37] *ODNB* sv "Peacock, Lucy (*fl.* 1785–1816)".
[38] For instance, *The Visit for a Week*.

demonstrate women writers' resourceful exploitation of the available literary and cultural conventions to suit their own ends." (Myers, 1986: 55).

By exploiting the "maternal figure as a source of literacy acquisition" (Robbins, 1993: 138), the writers encouraged mothers to teach their children, but also provided them with both theoretical and practical advice. The increase in fashioning and use of pedagogical literature suggests that women teachers were beginning to regard themselves as part of a skilful group with a shared identity. This network of remarkable women established a distinctive pedagogical and literary identity for themselves. Moreover, "the subject of maternal education allowed women in the eighteenth century access to an empowering discourse" (Davies, 2014: 1) as "the authority gained by women writing within this discipline of maternal education was contained within their gender identity. Women entering educational discourse in the eighteenth century were authorised to speak as subjects in this discourse because they were women. In this way, women writers challenged the patriarchal domination of educational discourse by John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau" (Davies, 2014: 5). Mothers encouraged and promoted intellectual development in children and carefully wrote on the blank slate by selecting the appropriate material, directing the learning process and by monitoring the child's understanding and ability to project the values learned in a more restricted environment (home) onto the wider circumstances (outside world). Mothers were seen as "gatekeepers of national knowledge and morality" (Davies, 2014: 150), an image "which negated gendered assumptions of intellectual inferiority" (Davies, 2014: 6). The main advantage of maternal education was that, as Grenby comments, "mothers would be willing to personalise curricula according to the individual needs of their children" (Grenby [4]: 10). They, in a way, made use of the allegedly natural talent for teaching women possess and of "women's

domestic authority over males" (Percy, 2006: 125). Their texts did not challenge this stereotype, but rather they reinforced it: "in the eighteenth century women were increasingly constructed as the ideal educators of children, due to a cultural belief that maternity was innate in women combined with the notion that education was a key component of the maternal role. The social and personal value of women was thus culturally conceptualised as located within their domestic identity as wives and mothers" (Davies, 2014: 5). However, we are dealing with a redefinition of the maternal status and role and witnessing the making of literary women as female writers empowered mothers to teach their children, to dedicate their time, money and knowledge, and to invest in their children's education. Supporting home education and since children were believed to be in danger of being corrupted by ignorant servants, home education was often applied as an antidote: "the vices, prejudices, ignorance, and superstitions of the lower classes were seen by many middle-class parents and pedagogues as corrupting influences on the impressionable, unformed mind of the child; allowing the child unsupervised contact with servants threatened to undermine the moral and rational education the middle classes sought to promote" (O'Malley, 2003: 40).

Furthermore, the writers played a significant role in the middle-class reading public as they promoted reading as a nourishing mental exercise. Nonetheless, their libraries included carefully chosen and approved books for children, which earned them the reputation of being too moralistic and didactic. Their aim was to instil the virtues necessary to a good citizen and Christian and they used educational literature as a vehicle to instruct morally and religiously. Their overt agenda "aimed to socialise the young and inculcate the religious beliefs and social and moral values of the prevailing dominant culture. Books were, in effect, now regarded as tools for the

social, moral and political conditioning of the young" (Brown, 2008: 419). Unfortunately, the "sticky negative connotations of the word 'didactic'" (Paul, 2011: 100) have tarred these "networks of female involvement" (McDowell, 2000:136). This "monstrous regiment of women" (Muir, 1954: 82) were looking to assign the role of educating and establishing the morality of the next generation, and hence of British society. This means that "beyond an investment in their individual children, maternal education provided eighteenth-century women with the ideal opportunity to develop their private identity through fulfilling a valuable role in society" (Davies, 2014: 5). Thus, despite their highly moralistic agenda, they were revolutionary in their approach and their claim of female authority over children's education as their texts were aimed at revealing and transmitting the qualities needed in the broader community. According to McCallum and Stephens, a basic function of children's literature is "to socialise its audience by presenting desirable models of human personality, human behaviour, interpersonal relationships, social organisation, and ways of being in the world" (McCallum and Stephens, 2011: 361).

Another common feature of these writers is their treatment of the relation between children and the animal world. Darton observes that "Aesop was to become also the prey of literary hacks" (Darton, 1932: 13) as the writers "attempted to teach moral lessons via the metaphorical application of animals' activity to human children" (Spencer, 2010: 470). Animals embody some aspects of human conduct and are a means to implicitly draw the attention to how to correct certain behaviour. Animal stories allowed children to imaginatively observe different parallel perspectives while accounting for rational analysis of human minds and behaviour. One representative example is Fenn's *Fabulous Histories*, a guide on the ambivalent nature of anthropomorphism, whose aim was to inspire "compassion and tenderness"

towards animals, transmit "moral instruction" and "recommend the practice of general benevolence" (Trimmer, 1815: xii)."The contrasting attitudes of Mrs. Addis and Mrs. Benson toward animal and childrearing are doubly instructive since they underscore the issue of parental duty to children. On the one hand, Mrs. Addis takes better care of her animals than of her children. However, the sensible and knowledgeable Mrs. Benson cautions, 'Our affections towards the inferior parts of the creation should be properly *regulated*'. Among the other characters, the Jenkins children are downright cruel to animals, while Farmer Wilson seems to strike just the right balance between his regard for humans and his attention to animals" (Marks, 2003: 75-6). Additionally, "the representation of animals as the symbolic equivalents to the lower orders of society served not only to validate certain class structures and economic models, but to teach middle-class children their role within the class structure as well" (O'Malley, 2003: 56). O'Malley also claims that "transporting the lessons of kindness to animals onto the world of human society and class relations was the next logical step in the social and moral education of middle-class children, and narratives demonstrating to them the proper application of this particular virtue abounded in the late eighteenth century" (O'Malley, 2003: 57-58).

In conclusion, what these women writers achieved to do through their efforts and common educational attainments was to make knowledge accessible to the youth and lay "the groundwork for later developments in children's literature" (Wood, 2006: 218) as they influenced and changed the reading habits and interests of the next generations. They raised the status of children's literature itself and, in doing so, they made it socially acceptable for middle-class women to establish a public role for themselves. As Sarah Robbins puts it, these writers were "promoters of the ethos of domestic didacticism and of its potential social power for middle-class women"

(Robbins, 1993: 136). Therefore, through maternal writing they "effectively gain social and cultural status for themselves as women" (Davies, 2014: 147). Lastly, these writers and their publications have been unfairly judged and minimised and, to my mind, they deserve a more supportive evaluation of their importance, which is what this thesis aims to achieve. Although their textbooks are regarded as outdates nowadays,[39] they contributed to the long-term benefit of educating children.

4. Paratextual Features of Late Eighteenth-Century Children's Books

4.1 Paratextual Typologies and Stylistic Features

I will start this chapter by defining the concept of paratextuality, distinguishing between the peritext and epitext and delimiting the ambit of my research (4.1). Subsequently, I will focus my analysis on the commercial strategies used by the Marshall writers in the paratextual elements by providing clear examples from the primary sources (4.2).

My starting approach is in accordance with Robyn McCallum and John Stephens's idea that "no book is innocent of ideological implications […] Whether a text seeks to naturalise the belief systems of a culture or challenges them, it always places an ideological imposition on its readers, since ideology inheres in the very language and imagines from which it is made" (McCallum and Stephens, 2011: 359). Looking at the ideology of a text helps readers place a text within the context in which it was created, within its culture. For McCallum and Stephens ideology is "a system of beliefs which a society shares and uses to make sense of a world and which

[39] Their reputations were in eclipse by the end of the nineteenth century and their works were out of print by the mid-nineteenth century. See Immel, Andrea (1997: 216).

are therefore immanent in the texts produced by that society" (McCallum and Stephens, 2011: 360). Children's literature in the eighteenth century was fairly propagandistic as the texts for children were often a means to address political, religious, social and moral issues. Moreover, they contain "highly prescriptive prefatorial material about how they should be fitted in to a particular kind of curriculum, and the educational methodologies into which they were designed to be subsumed" (Grenby [2]: 182) and this kind of material is precisely the subject matter of this thesis.

A literary work is not just the text itself, it is also accompanied by other features that encompass and extend it. This approach thus "provides some commentary on the text and influences how the text is received" (Genette, 1997: 7). Paratextuality comprises, according Gerard Genette, "those liminal devices and conventions, both within the book (peritext) and outside it (epitext), that mediate the book to the reader: titles and subtitles, pseudonyms, forewords, dedications, epigraphs, prefaces, intertitles, notes, epilogues, and afterwords […] but also the elements in the public and private history of the book, its 'epitext' […]: 'public epitexts' (from the author or publisher) as well as 'private epitexts' (authorial correspondence, oral confidences, diaries, and pre-text)" (Genette, 1997: xviii). In other words, paratextual elements provide indirect support to the text with another text.

Furthermore, Genette defines the paratext as "a threshold, […] a 'vestibule' that offers the world at large the possibility of either stepping inside or turning back. It is an 'undefined' zone between the inside and the outside, a zone without any hard and fast boundary on either the inward side (turned toward the text) or the outward side (turned toward the world's discourse about the text), an edge" (Genette, 1997:

2). It is “a zone between text and off-text, a zone not only of transition but also of transaction: a privileged place of a pragmatics and a strategy, of an influence on the public, an influence that – whether well or poorly understood and achieved – is at the service of a better reception for the text and a more pertinent reading of it” (Genette, 1997: 2). As Grenby rightly explains, “with these children’s books the transactions is almost literal: adults were encouraged to use the paratexts – especially ‘their’ prefaces – to determine whether to buy the book for their children, or, having bought it, whether to permit children to read it. Only then would the children begin their use of the book, beginning with their own paratextual apparatus, perhaps including ‘their’ preface” (Grenby, 2011: 180). This issue of the addressees will be further explained and exemplified in 4.2.

For the purpose of my research, I will focus on what Genette calls the peritext (elements within the text): pseudonyms, titles and subtitles, epigraphs, dedications, addresses, advertisements, prefaces, postscripts, lists of subscribers, table of contents and indexes, footnotes, catalogue lists. On the other hand, the publisher’s peritext (formats, covers, typesetting, bindings, illustrations), private and public epitexts (correspondence, diaries, memoirs) lie beyond the scope of this research. Undeniably, illustrations are highly revealing of the writers and publishers’ intentions, although it is not always clear who has chosen them. Illustrations have a number of functions: they help communicate and reinforce the moral message of the narrative (e.g. obedience to parental authority, good behaviour, charitableness) and entice the reader; construct model of reality children would aspire to; represent a simplified version of reality by depicting activities typical of the times (often according to gender, for example girls are seen reading a book or sewing whereas boys flying a kite or running); they often show the relationship between parents and children

(which can be seen as both a harmonious picture of the family or obedience to parental authority and a supervised type of reading). Although I recognise the importance of illustrations as part of the commercial aspect and a valuable paratextual feature, I believe there are various studies on this issue conducted by distinguished scholars such as Andrea Immel (e.g. "Some Picture Bibles and their Illustrations"), Tessa Rose Chester and Irene Joyce Whalley (*A History of Children's Book Illustration*, 1988), Penny Brown ("Capturing (and Captivating) Childhood: The Role of Illustrations in Eighteenth-Century Children's Books in Britain and France"), or the collection of essays on book illustration edited by Christina Ionescu, among others (*Book Illustration in the Long Eighteenth Century: Reconfiguring the Visual Periphery of the Text*, 2011). Moreover, as Genette defines it, "the literary work consists, exhaustively or essentially, of a text, that is to say (a very minimal definition) in a more or less lengthy sequence of verbal utterances more or less containing meaning" (Genette, 1991: 261).

As to memoirs, diaries and letters, they are scarce and unreliable as they contain changing attitudes and are "very vulnerable to the distortions of authors' conscious or unconscious self-fashioning" (Grenby, 2011: 13). That is, "their minds and characters being in a process of development, a child's diary entry represents a snapshot of opinion, not a settled view" (Grenby, 2011: 13). And finally, my research also excludes extra-textual elements such as inscriptions and marginalia. Even though I recognise that marginalia give highly relevant insight into children's modes and contexts of reading, this lies beyond the ambit of the current thesis and, moreover, there already are several important studies into the field such as Mathew Grenby's "Adults Only? Children and Children's Books in British Circulating Libraries 1748-1848" (2002) and "Introduction" to *The Child Reader* (2011), Andrea Immel's

"Frederick Lock's Scrapbook: Patterns in the Pictures and Writing in the Margins" (2005), and H. J. Jackson's *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (2001). I will, however, point to publication records (i.e. the number of successive editions) and subscription lists when considered necessary since such information can give an approximate indication of a book's popularity and would act to support my thesis that the strategies employed by the selected women writers led to an increase in their books' sales.

Furthermore, I will examine the commercial strategies that the women writers under discussion employ within the elements of the peritext. Language and style (i.e. sentence structure, verb and word choice, register, figurative language, dialogue) play a vital role in convincing the audience as "ideology is formulated in and by language, meanings within language are socially determined, and narratives are constructed out of language" (Stephens, 1992: 8). As McCallum and Stephens argue, "ideology inhabits text in the most basic ways, in language structures and narratives forms" (McCallum and Stephens, 2011: 370), it is "inherent within linguistic and visual semiotic systems (sentence syntax, lexical selection, topicalisation or implicitness, conversational dynamics, and so on) (McCallum and Stephens, 2011: 362). I will further explain this issue and provide examples in 4.2. However, it is worth observing here that pragmatics has conventionally been an object of study in Literary Theory, Applied Linguistics and in Translation Theory, and is rarely the focus of literary criticism. A significant exception is the work on *Literary Pragmatics* by Roger Sell, but most criticism of the period covered by this thesis tends to engage primarily with the text over paratext. As indicated in the "Introduction", my concern here is not to review or assess a theoretical understanding of pragmatics developed by other areas

of study, but instead to reconnect directly and very specifically with the elements of paratextual interest in these specific texts.

In conclusion, to use Genette's words, "the paratext is only an assistant, only an accessory of the text. And if the text without its paratext is sometimes like an elephant without a mahout, a power disabled, the paratext without its text is a mahout without an elephant, a silly show. Consequently the discourse on the paratext must never forget that it bears on a discourse that bears on a discourse, and that the meaning of its object depends on the object of this meaning, which is yet another meaning" (Genette, 1997: 410). One clearly cannot deny that the paratextual elements are value-added to the books as they form an essential connection with the overall significance of the text and reveal fundamental intentions and attitudes of the readers, purchasers, and producers towards the emerging market. This issue has been historically overlooked, as I have mentioned in the Introduction, and the intention of my thesis being to bring it into focus.

4.2 Commercial Strategies in the Works of the Marshall Writers[40]

As the title suggests, this section will concentrate on the commercial nature of the paratextual features. According to Jackson,

> these marketing devices created business, for they kindled the desire to purchase books and in time fixed the book-buying habits for a significant portion of most classes. Using clever techniques for advertising to whet readers' appetites, and taking advantage of the newly emerging optimism [children's literature as a profitable and viable trade] infecting many, Newbery and his compeers eventually transformed customers into consumers and thus assured the increasing volume needed to build a shaky experiment into a valuable and highly influential trade offshoot (Jackson, 1989: 1-2).

In other words, readers are unknowingly manipulated by these paratextual elements. Moreover, the "accompanying productions" are meant to *present* the text, "in the

[40] To distinguish each commercial strategy more effectively, this section uses multiple subsections (from A to M).

usual sense of this verb but also in the strongest sense: *to make present*, to ensure the text's presence in the world, its 'reception' and consumption in the form […] of a book" (Genette, 1997: 1).

It is of interest to also consider the evolution of the word 'to advertise', whose meaning paradoxically shifted from 'warning against sale' to 'promotion of commercial sale'. Lissa Paul in *The Children's Book Business* has included both the *OED* definition and Elizabeth Eisenstein's considerations to be found in Chapter 17 of *The Book History Reader*:

> according to the *OED*, the word 'advertise', meaning 'to take note of, attend, observe' dates back from the early seventeenth century. Prior to that, as book history scholar Elizabeth Eisenstein reminds us, in the late medieval period 'advertisement', derived from the French 'advertissement', meant 'a warning (or advertissement) against sale' because the book designated as such had been copied in a medieval scriptoria during holy days and was especially sacred (Eisenstein 239). The meaning of the word 'advertisement' evolved into the exact inverse of its original incarnation: instead of drawing attention to warn against commercial sale, it has become to mean drawing attention to promote commercial sale. The 'advertissement' (a note placed in the colophon) distinguished a book that had been copied for the love of God, therefore not for sale, from those copied for commercial purposes, and so for sale. Once the printing press made it possible to produce multiple copies of books for commercial purposes, the act of copying books for predominantly religious purposes changed. The 'advetissement' against sale of the sacred became an advertisement to promote sale of the commercial (Paul, 2011: 29).

The following is a list of the paratextual elements (i.e. the peritext) that I was able to identify in my primary sources. I will discuss them in order, determine the commercial strategy used by the writers (and sometimes by Marshall himself)[41] and provide examples in order to sustain this point of view: name of the author, titles and subtitles, epigraphs, dedications, addresses, advertisements, prefaces, postscripts, list of subscribers, table of contents and indexes, footnotes, list of approved/recommended books and catalogues.

[41] It is not always clear whether it was Marshall or the writers who included some of the paratextual elements. For instance, the list of subscribers and the catalogues containing further books published by Marshall are highly likely to have been included by Marshall himself. Others, such as the epigraphs, tables of contents or indexes, are more difficult to be attributed to any of them and I was unable to find any further evidence. Nevertheless, this does not affect the analysis of the commercial strategies; I believe that, overall, the peritext is, in fact, a collaborative work between the publisher and his writers. This opens up an entirely new research opportunity, which could be explored as part of a post-doctoral programme. See also Further Research section.

A: Name of the Author

Here I will refer to pseudonyms and to the "By the author of…" formula. According to Genette, "using a pseudonym is already a poetic activity, and the pseudonym is already somewhat like a work" (Genette, 1997: 54). In my view, pseudonyms are important to look at due to the effect they produce on the readers and what the names themselves suggest.

Ellenor Fenn wrote under two fictitious names: Mrs Teachwell and later Mrs Lovechild, both clearly indicating the active role of mothers as providers of education and the strong connection between children and education, which was sought-after in the long eighteenth century.[42] Nevertheless, the choice of these "commonplace pseudonyms, which were not subject to any copyright" (Stoker, 2009: 63), is not unusual, as Stoker explains, "Mrs Teachwell was the name of the governess in her first published work, *School Occurrences* and presumably originated from the Mrs Teachum in Sarah Fielding's *The Governess*" (Stoker, 2009: 50). Lawrence Darton's bibliography "shows that after 1800 Lady Fenn was publishing works under the name of Mrs Lovechild for two publishers simultaneously, whilst her original publisher,

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[42] Although this lies beyond the main argument of this section, I consider that it is noteworthy to include the following quotes from the preface to Fenn's *School Dialogues for Boys*: "I wonder who this woman is? I am a person behind a curtain attempting to fly a kite. If it soar to the skies, I may venture to come forward; should it fall to the ground, I can remain in concealment. I am an old woman in a mask, personating youth. I am a Parthian, shooting my arrows at random, scarce daring to look where they fall. I am a woman exposing my child in a basket, and keeping aloof till it is received. I am an ostrich – I have laid my eggs – perhaps for the sun to cherish – perhaps for the passenger to crush. I am a spider – I have long spun in a corner, and now venture to fix my web in a more conspicuous situation. I am a schoolboy – I have placed my exercise upon the desk – from a retired corner I observe its success. I am – but I will be serious – you may suppose me a person interested in the conduct of children, and consequently desirous of conveying instruction in the vehicle which I believe to be most agreeable to them – you will conclude me not to be so much involved in the care of a family of children, but that I enjoy some leisure to supply them with harmless amusement – you will (I speak my hopes) perhaps believe me experienced in discovering the avenues to youthful bosoms – and if I might trust that I should appear not unskilful in my attempts to infuse the love of virtue, then would my utmost ambition be gratified (Fenn, 1783: xix-xxii). […] I will endeavour to resume my cheerful vein – and imagine my readers to exclaim – 'Who can this be? Mrs. –? Or Mrs. –? Or Miss –?' In answer, what imports my name? I am romping behind the scenes, but do not choose to appear on the stage. I am ANY BODY! Or, I am NOBODY!" (Fenn, 1783: xxv-xxvi). The quotes illustrate the author's desire to hide behind a curtain and to let her work speak for itself. Fenn's only wish is for her book to inspire virtue and harmless amusement among the young without exposing herself. This is further explained in the section dedicated to the analysis of prefaces.

John Marshall, continued to produce many more editions of the most popular works of Mrs Teachwell" (cited in Stoker, 2009: 46). This brought about incorrect or misleading attributions associated with her name.[43] Mrs Teachwell or Mrs Lovechild may have been common pseudonyms in that period, but, in my opinion, this does not diminish their symbolism,[44] rather it reiterates the idea previously explained (3.2) that there was a network of female authors with a shared identity.[45]

As to the formula "By the author of…", "that phrase in itself constitutes a highly devious form of the statement of identity: it is a statement of identity precisely between two anonymities, explicitly putting at the service of a new book the success of a previous one and, above all, managing to constitute an authorial entity without having recourse to any name, authentic or fictive" (Genette, 1997: 45). It is used "to announce to the reader the titles of the author's other books (possibly inciting him to read them) – or sometimes only the titles of the author's other books that are published by the same house" (Genette, 1997: 100). This is the case of Lucy Peacock

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[43] The critic David Stoker has undergone a detailed research on the works rightly or incorrectly attributed to Fenn. See Stoker, David (2009: 43-72).

[44] A lovechild also means (now and at the end of the eighteenth century) "a child born out of wedlock" (OED). Even at a subconscious and wholly unintended level, the choice of name may possibly reinforce an underlying illicitness, the writers challenging established authorities.

[45] A relative, but distinctive case, is the one of initials. For example, the Kilner sisters, as mentioned in my 3.2, used the initials of their (temporary) homes to sign their works: Dorothy wrote under the pseudonym M.P., which stood for Maryland Point, and Mary Ann used S.S. for Spital Square. Marshall in his catalogues also used the same initials to advertise their works. Dorothy later signed her books Mary Pelham. In this case perhaps the use of initials is more meaningful to the writers than to the readers as they reveal their roots and places with a lot of significance for them. Patricia Wright also informs that "the name Pelham was appropriated by other writers, notably the flamboyant Richard Phillips, and Beatrix Potter may have derived inspiration from *Life and Perambulation of a Mouse* through Charlotte M. Yonge's *A Storehouse of Stories*, in which Dorothy's tale was reprinted in 1870" (*ODNB* sv "Kilner, Dorothy"). Of course, there are different reasons why an author might decide to use initials instead of their real name: the lack of importance given to attributing a work to a name, the desire to hide their identity, gender, nationality, marital status, social class or association with someone famous. However, there is no evidence why the Kilners opted for initials. What we do know is that since they were young Dorothy and Mary Ann played and wrote together and "used the personae of Dorinda and Anna and kept up a verse-epistle soap opera about the lives and matrimonial problems of an imaginary titled family" (*ODNB* sv "Kilner, Dorothy"). After Mary Ann married Dorothy's brother, Thomas, and had children, Dorothy's career as "Aunt Do" and writer started (*ODNB* sv "Kilner, Dorothy"). This goes to show, in accordance with my thesis statement, that these women writers were not amateurs, but rather creative women able to reinvent themselves and produce works that substantially influenced the development of children's literature.

who sometimes signed her works using this formula: "By the author of The Adventures of the Six Princesses of Babylon" and occasionally with the addition of "Editor of the Juvenile Magazine". This formula was also used in the case of Mary Ann Kilner's *Memoirs of a Peg Top* signed "By the author of *Adventures of a Pincushion*". This clearly draws attention to their most famous works of fiction, allowing readers to identify them without the writers actually having to mention their names, establishing thus their credentials as successful and authoritative writers.

To my mind, pseudonyms, no matter how common, and the "By the author of…" formula are good for business as they are a powerful marketing strategy in order to appeal to the audience. These are, together with the title and publisher's information, the first printed elements that the readers come across; and precisely because they are common names and conventions they manage to create a connection (or, reconnection) with the readers and thus can prove to be essential in determining their intention to purchase the book.

B: Titles and Subtitles

This section will assess representative titles and subtitles in order to show their explicit or implicit messages, their political dimension and ulterior objectives. According to Charles Grivel in his *Production de l'intérêt romanesque*, the functions of titles are to designate, to point to the subject of the work as a whole and, finally, to emphasise and exploit it. (Grivel, 1973: 169-170). Leo Hoek adds that titles also have a luring power: a title is "a set of linguistic signs […] that may appear at the head of a text to designate it, to indicate its subject matter as a whole, and to entice the targeted public" (Hoek, 1981: 17). Not only these two definitions apply to my analysis, but also many of the titles of the children's texts discussed here helped to divide the

market into further categories, for instance genre, age and gender-specific market segmentations as explained below.

The titles of these works are relatively long and very often followed by a subtitle. In fact, titles with subtitles are double thematic, each one playing its own part: the titles, in accordance with Grivel's and Hoek's definitions, designate the subject matter and entice the readers, and the subtitles, in my opinion, emphasise the titles, exploit them and at the same time they determine specific markets. As Grenby observes, "by the end of the century children's books were being targeted at really quite specific socio-economic segments, a development indicative of strong confidence in the market's profitability" (Grenby, 2011: 75).

There are several considerations to make concerning this issue. To start with, many of the titles are followed by catch phrases such as "for the instruction and amusement of (little/all good) children/the youth". Through the insertion of such key phrases on their title pages, the writers were "knowingly invoking the conventions of the ideal eighteenth-century conversation precisely because it was so highly valued as a means of 'improvement' as well as sociability" (Cohen, 2009: 113). The stories are not only 'instructive' and 'amusing', but also 'easy' and with accessible vocabulary for children. For example, Trimmer's series of prints and their corresponding descriptions were advertised as "contained in a set of easy lessons", Fenn's *Spelling Book* was "designed to render the acquisition of the rudiments of our native language easy and pleasant" and Dorothy Kilner's *First Principles of Religion, and the Existence of a Deity* was "adapted to the capacity of the infant mind".

Furthermore, there is the genre indication component. This feature "can serve as a relatively autonomous paratextual element [...] or it can take over – to a greater or lesser degree – the title or subtitle" (Genette, 1997: 58). By including the genre,

and implicitly showing the vast array of choices available for children, the writers help the purchasers to make an informed decision, whether they are looking for adventure stories (Mary Ann Kilner's *Adventures of a Pincushion*; Dorothy Kilner's *The Village School, or a collection of entertaining histories*), allegorical narratives (Peacock's *Knight of the Rose, an allegorical narrative, including histories, adventures &c.*), lectures (Mary Ann Kilner's *A Course of Lectures, for Sunday Evenings*), essays (Dorothy Kilner's *Miscellaneous Thoughts in Essays, Dialogues, Epistles*), dialogues and/or conversations (Mary Ann Kilner's *Familiar Dialogues*; Fenn's *School Dialogues for* Boys; Dorothy Kilner's *Short Conversations*), fables (Fenn's *Fables* and *Fables in Monosyllables*), memoirs (Mary Ann Kilner's *Memoirs of a Peg Top*), or epistolary works (Fen's *Juvenile Correspondence*; Dorothy Kilner's *Letters from a Mother to her Children*).

It is not only genre, but also gender and age that mark a further division of the market. Here are some highly representative examples that I carefully selected to illustrate the age segmentation as found in subtitles: Fenn's *Juvenile Correspondence* is "suited to children from four to above ten years of age", while Mary Ann Kilner's *Familiar Dialogues* is "for children of four and five years old" and Dorothy Kilner's *History of a Great Many Little Boys and Girls* for "all good children of four and five years of age". As to gender segmentation, I include the following: Fenn's *Female Guardian*, which was "designed to correct some of the foibles incident to girls and to supply them with innocent amusement for their hours of leisure", Mary Ann Kilner's *Adventures of a Pincushion, designed chiefly for the use of young ladies* and Dorothy Kilner's *Dialogues and Letters on Morality, Oeconomy and Politeness, for the improvement and entertainment of young female minds*. Thus, age and gender segmentation could be "indicative of publishers' confidence that the children's book

market could bear such segmentation" (Grenby, 2011: 48), whether we are referring to books for young learners or for more advanced readers, for girls rather than boys.[46]

This increasing confidence in the success of children's publishing material can also be seen in further subsections of the market, such as books with religious content. Grenby identifies this as "another symptom of increasing confidence in the viability of children's publishing: a confidence that texts aimed at religious subsections of the market could be profitable, just like books for beginners as opposed to intermediate readers, for boys as opposed to girls, or the poor as opposed to the rich" (Grenby, 2011: 86). This can be exemplified with Trimmer's *Scripture Lessons* or *A Description of A Set of Prints Taken from the New Testament*, Mary Ann Kilner's *Course of Lectures, for Sunday Evenings*, Dorothy Kilner's *The First Principles of Religion, and the Existence of a Deity* and *A Clear and Concise Account of the Origin and Design of Christianity*. Every so often, the subtitles also contain a religious and moralistic aim and/or message. Fenn's *School Dialogues for Boys* is "an attempt to convey instruction insensibly to their tender minds, and instill the love of virtue", Dorothy Kilner's *Anecdotes of a Boarding School* is "an antidote to the vices of those useful seminaries", Mary Ann Kilner's *Jemima Placid* is also entitled *The Advantage of Good Nature* and *The Adventures of a Whipping Top* is "illustrated with stories of many bad boys, who themselves deserved whipping, and some good boys,

[46] In the preface to *Memoirs of a Peg Top* Mary Ann Kilner explains how *The Adventures of a Pincushion* "was designed chiefly for the use of young ladies" (Kilner, 1785: vi) whereas *Memoirs* was "calculated for young gentlemen" (Kilner, 1785: vii). She gives as reasons "the different inclinations, employments, and amusements which engage the attention of boys and girls" (Kilner, 1785: v). The writer further explains that "for although the laws of justice, probity, and truth are of general obligation, yet, it was imagined, that by consulting different amusements and pursuits, and recommending the accomplishments separately, in which each sex were more particularly concerned, the subjects would become more interesting to those readers to whom they were immediately addressed, and have, in consequence, a better chance for approbation" (Kilner, 1785: vii). Moreover, "although structurally and thematically similar to the *Pincushion*, the tone of the *Memoirs* was less polite, as Mary Ann Kilner tried to suit it to the rougher world of boys" (Pickering, 1981: 99). In other words, the writer is aware that segmenting the market by gender would increase the appeal and, implicitly, the sales of her books.

who deserve plum-cakes", and Dorothy Kilner's *Short Conversations* is also called *An Easy Road to the Temple of Fame, which all may reach who endeavour to be good.*

Another important role of subtitles is that they sometimes allow writers to advertise other works written by them: Trimmer's *Scripture Lessons* was "designed to accompany *A Series of Prints from the Old Testament*", Fenn's *Art of Teaching Sports* was meant to be "a prelude to *A Set of Toys*", and Dorothy Kilner's *Clear and Concise Account of the Origin and Design of Christianity* was "intended as a second part to a work entitled *The First Principles of Religion, and the Existence of a Deity*". This shows that these writers become, to an extent, part of the commercial strategies by setting themselves up as commercial agents promoting themselves at every opportunity.

To conclude, titles and subtitles do not merely designate, indicate the subject of the work, emphasise and exploit it. As Hoek claims, titles also entice the targeted readers and, as I have tried to show throughout this section, the Marshall writers used the titles and subtitles as a means to either convey a moral and religious message in stories disguised as 'amusing' and 'fun', establish specific markets, or advertise their other works. Titles and subtitles have thus an underlying function as they allow writers to advance their commercial agenda.

C: Epigraphs

Epigraphs are, according to Genette, "a mute gesture whose interpretation is left up to the reader" (Genette, 1997: 156). They indirectly comment on or justify the title of a work and encourage readers to either anticipate the contents of the text, if read before, or to reflect on the text once they have finished reading it. It is a subtle

liminal device, yet "a signal (intended as a *sign*) of culture, a password of intellectuality. While the author awaits hypothetical newspaper reviews, literary prizes, and other official recognitions, the epigraph is already, a bit, his consecration. With it, he chooses his peers and thus his place in the pantheon" (Genette, 1997: 160). Used commercially, epigraphs therefore provide indirect support from another person, and the more respectable and renowned the author quoted is, the higher the importance and reputation of the writer and their work are.

Among the Marshall writers the Kilner sisters and Fenn are frequent users of epigraphs, which are usually placed on the title pages or at the beginning of chapters or stories (opening epigraphs). As stated in Chapter 3, "in the eighteenth century there was a particular vogue for such 'it-narratives', which told the life histories of both animate and inanimate things, as though ultimately there were no differences" (Rudd, 2009: 248). Mary Ann Kilner's *Adventures of a Pincushion* "was among the best of the children's biographies of inanimate objects" (Pickering, 1981: 97), "containing adventures which were witnessed or experienced by the pincushion and from which appropriate lessons were drawn, the book was, like all other children's fictional biographies, a miscellany of instructive stories" (Pickering, 1981: 97). The epigraph preceding the text appeals to readers' imagination whose "magic powers" allows them to picture the adventures of a pincushion: "Imagination here supplies,/What Nature's sparing hands denies;/And, by her, magic powers dispense,/To meanest objects, thought and sense". Similarly, the epigraph to Fenn's *Fables* is a quote from John Gay which underlines the idea that one can learn even from the most insignificant objects or creatures: "For ev'ry object of creation/Can furnish hints for contemplation;/And from the most minute and mean/A virtuous mind can morals glean". This echoes the epigraph chosen by Dorothy Kilner for *The*

Histories of More Children than One: “From objects most minute and mean,/A virtuous mind may morals glean./And in this book the way you’ll find,/To gain the love of all mankind”. The authors make use of inanimate objects and the animal world to teach children how to behave properly and treat all living creatures with kindness. Moreover, at the beginning of *The Rational Dame* Fenn includes four quotations about the importance of natural history to incite children’s curiosity: “In children there is an early tendency to contemplate the works of nature, and to enquire” and “If the inclination and capacities of youth were consulted, natural history would be the first branch of education” both taken from Lord Kaims; “Then most delighted, when we social see/The whole mix’d animal creation round/Alive and happy” from James Thompson’s *Four Seasons: Autumn*; and finally “We cannot see God, for he is invisible; but we can see his Works; and worship him for his Gifts” from Barbauld’s *Hymns in Prose for Children*.

The epigraph to Mary Ann Kilner’s *Memoirs of a Peg Top* reiterates the period’s renowned motto of instruction intertwined with entertainment: “Those trifles that amuse in life,/Promote a higher end,/Since reason in this higher dress/With pleasure we attend”. Fenn also reinforces this message by including an extract from *Life of Cyrus* at the beginning of *School Dialogues for Boys*: children “would be disgusted with dry precepts and cold maxims; and there is no way to instruct them, but under pretence of amusing them”. Dorothy Kilner in the opening epigraph to *Short Conversations* adds that the instruction and amusement come from a friend, not an authority, implying a desire to a close and intimate relationship with the readers: “For social converse you will find/Can please and edify the mind;/And those who heedful do attend,/May gain much knowledge from a friend”. A peculiar example of instilling instruction is the epigraph to Mary Ann Kilner’s *The Adventures of a*

Whipping Top: "Come quickly, your honour, walk into my shop/Buy a pipe, or a doll, or a good whipping-top/Or a lady of gingerbread fit for a wife;/She is silent, besides it need not be for life,/For if she's perverse, you to pieces may beat/And, if you love her- why then you may eat". Here the shopkeeper invites their customers to enter the shop and make a purchase. If the products do not fulfil the anticipated or desired expectations they could throw them away. In my view, the shopkeeper stands for the writer waiting for their readers to purchase, read and review their books; the writer's attitude is humble, hoping for the texts to be of use to the children. The second part of the epigraph, however, seems to indicate, I believe without the writer's intention, a darker, a more misogynistic and aggressive message. It appears to be hinting that education is about controlling, disciplining and abusing young girls, or children in general, who ought to be silent and obedient.

The authors make use not only of well-known catchphrases of the long eighteenth century (the edification of the mind through entertaining and moral lessons), but also of household names in the field of education, such as Locke and Rousseau. For example, Dorothy Kilner quotes from Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* at the beginning of *First Principles of Religion, and the Existence of a Deity*: "Nobody can think a child of three or seven years old, should be argued with, as a grown person. Long discourses, and philosophical reasonings, at best amaze and confound, but do not instruct children". The text is "explained in a series of dialogues adapted to the capacity of the infant mind", as the subtitle informs the readers, showing thus her agreement with the writer on the issue of religious instruction at an early age. In fact, in the "Dedication" Mary Ann Kilner reveals her intention of "present[ing] you [the dedicatee] with a second part of this work, containing a more particular account of the Christian Religion; which I [the author]

omit[s] at present, thinking you both much too young to understand its doctrines". Nevertheless, religion must play an important role in children's lives and should be taught to "Let Heav'n-born virtue be thy constant guide;/Nor seek they errors by deceit to hide;/Convinc'd no falsehood can mislead that Power,/Who's Judge Almighty of each passing hour!" as Dorothy Kilner advises in the opening epigraph to *The Rotchfords*.

Similarly, in *Fables in Monosyllables* Fenn uses Rousseau's words to show she acknowledged his idea of the thinking child: "Si la nature donne au cerveau d'un enfant, cette souplesse qui le rend propre à recevoir toutes fortes d'impressions; c'est pour que toutes les idées qu'il peut concevoir, & qui lui sont utiles, toutes celles qui se rapportent à son bonheur, & doivent l'eclairer un jour sur les devoirs, s'y tracent de bonne heure en caracteres ineffaçables". A thinking child will naturally become a thinking adult able to conceive useful ideas which will lead to their happiness. Dorothy Kilner reiterates this message by using Edward Young's words in the opening epigraph to *Miscellaneous Thoughts*: "If wisdom is our lesson (and what else/Ennobles man? What else have angels learnt?)/Grief! More proficient in thy school are made,/Than genius, or proud learning, e'er could boast./The private path, the secret acts of men,/If noble, far the noblest of our lives!".

Furthermore, at the beginning of each story in *The Female Guardian* Fenn inserts a relevant quotation from important literary figures[47] as a summary or moral of the lesson taught. For instance, the chapter entitled "Unassuming Beauty" starts with a quotation from James Thompson: "Thoughtless of beauty, she was Beauty's self"; "Erroneous Management" with a citation from Noël-Antoine Pluche's *Spectacle de la Nature*: "I would as soon abandon the direction of the subterraneous

[47] Some of these are Alexander Pope, Edward Young, Dr Nathaniel Cotton, Elizabeth Montague, James Thompson, Noël-Antoine Pluche, William Shakespeare, Thomas Gray, and Jean Jacques Rousseau.

parts of a palace to a mason's labourer, as trust the first seven or eight years of a child to the government of a servant without education or views"; and "The Storm" with Shakespeare's *King Lear*: "Take physic pomp:/Expose thyself to feel what wretches feel,/That thou may'st shake the superflux to them,/And shew the Heavens more just". Fenn also quotes from two important periodicals at the time: *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*; the former at the start of the chapter entitled "Partiality" to show her disapproval of favouring one child over another: "Those parents who are interested in the care of one child more than that of another, no longer deserve the name of parents, but are in effect as childish as their children, in having such unreasonable and ungoverned inclinations", and the latter to set the tone for the chapter "Timely Obedience", in which it is suggested the importance of cherishing and obeying your parents while they are still alive: "I cannot now go into the parlour to my parents, and their hearts glad with an account of a matter which was of no consequence, but that I told it, or acted in it". This also creates an opportunity to discuss the distinction between epigraphs intended for children and the ones for parents. While the writers pursue complicity with children and strive to address them as a friend, they also feel a strong sense of responsibility towards parents who need to be warned and guided through the process of educating their children in order to prevent them from acquiring bad habits.

It is noteworthy to bring into discussion the case of Fenn's *Rational Dame*; after the preface the author included a series of extracts "from superior writers, whose sentiments agree with those of the Compiler of this little volume" (Fenn, 1786: xii). There are eight quotations, most of which are from *The Monthly Review*; she also uses Barbauld's Preface to *Hymns in Prose*:

> (1) *The Monthly Review*: The first view of objects of sense excites curiosity; a most powerful and universal passion; by which children are strongly actuated, and which will spare an able

instructor the trouble of goading them on: all his business is to direct them, and to excite this passion on proper occasions (Fenn, 1786: xii).

(2) Let us avail ourselves of the curiosity of children; let us present to their minds ideas which are simple and easy to be comprehended; and in speaking to them of God impress their minds with the idea of a *Father* and *Benefactor*: let us lead them from the view of the world to the contemplation of its Author; and represent God to them as the common *Parent of mankind*, who has created them with a design to render them happy (Fenn, 1786: xiii).

(3) Let us endeavour to lead them to reflect upon the wisdom and goodness of God in the works of creation (Fenn, 1786: xiii).

(4) *The Monthly Review*: The faculty which it is (sic) the most difficult to induce children to exercise is that of reflection […] Children seldom reflect; and whenever they do, it is only for a moment. It therefore requires by judicious management to lead them into a train of consistent and solid reflections (Fenn, 1786: xiv).

(5) Let it be the constant aim of parents, to impress devotional feelings as early as possible on the infant mind: they cannot be impressed too soon; a child, to feel the full force of the idea of God, ought never to remember the time when he had no such idea; impress them by connecting religion with a variety of sensible things; with all that he sees, all he hears, all that affects his young mind with wonder or delight; and thus by deep, strong, and permanent associations you lay the best foundation for practical devotion in future life (Fenn, 1786: xv).

(6) Preface to *Hymns in Prose*: For he who has early been accustomed to see the Creator in the visible appearances of all around him, to feel his continual presence, and lean upon his daily protection, has made large advances towards that habitual piety, without which religion can scarcely regulate the conduct, and will never warm the heart (Fenn, 1786: xv).

(7) *The Monthly Review*: Everything that tends to make early impressions of tenderness on the minds of young children should be well received. Cruelty to any thing that God has endued with feeling, is the worst depravity of human creature; and it is always with inexpressible concern that we see the seeds of this vice thoughtlessly sown by unfeeling parents, nurses, &c. and habits of barbarity rooted in the tempers of infants, by giving them little animals, birds and insects to play with, and torment, by way of amusement. Thus they are early taught to make flight account of such poor dumb sufferers as have the misfortune to fall into their hands: and hence we are not to wonder at the unconcern with which, when grown up, they rob the innocent feathered tribe of their callow progeny, &c. &c (Fenn, 1786: xvii).

(8) *The Monthly Review*: Children are certainly capable of receiving impressions of tenderness and compassion, as soon as they are capable of any thing at all; and therefore they should be early taught to treat all created being which are capable of feeling pain, with mercy and compassion: by which means a beneficent temper would become habitual to them, as having the advantage of prepossession, and so not easily eradicated from tender minds. – Being thus trained up to take delight in shewing (sic) mercy, they would by degrees acquire the god-like virtue of universal benevolence. Experience abundantly declares the sad effects of the contrary practice. While children are suffered at first to torment poor little insects, and then learn the custom of making miserable every helpless creature that falls in their way, or that they can diligently seek out, they, by degrees, get an habit of oppression and cruelty (Fenn, 1786: xviii).

The quotations echo Locke's theory of learning and discovering the world through the senses, experience and reflection (1, 2, 4) and his belief that religious instruction should not be introduced at an early stage as children are impressionable beings (5, 7). Ideas should be taught in a simple way using an accessible language (2) and

children should also be guided by "an able instructor" to praise God and show piety (3, 6). The quotations stress the importance of animal world and how mothers ought to teach their children not to be afraid of insects, birds and animals, and, above all, to treat them with kindness, tenderness and compassion (7, 8). The purpose and rhetorical relevance of this selection of quotations is, in my opinion, to reinforce the preface and prepare the readers for the contents of her book. By including quotations from a renowned and respectable periodical of the time and echoing important thinkers and writers the book automatically receives more value and credibility as it aims to be aligned with a particular way of thinking.

Epigraphs can be found not only at the beginning of a text or chapter (opening epigraphs), but also at the end (terminal epigraphs). This "change in location may entail a change in role. For the reader, the relationship between introductory epigraph and text is still prospective, whereas in theory the significance of the terminal paragraph, after the text has been read, is obvious and more authoritatively conclusive: it is the last word, even if the author pretends to leave that word to someone else" (Genette, 1997: 149). This, however, is not a common practice among the Marshall writers. Fenn ends some of her stories in *The Female Guardian* with a quotation which stands for the conclusion of the text as a final reinforcement of the moral lesson. "Sensibility", a story about Betty Shapely's new found inner beauty and intelligence as opposed to her former superficial and vain self, ends with the following words from Joseph Addison's *Spectator*: "'Tis not set of features or complexion,/This tincture of a skin that I admire;/The virtuous *Shapely* tow'rs above her sex:/True she is fair, (oh! how divinely fair)/ But still the lovely maid improves her charma (sic)/With inward greatness, unaffected wisdom,/And sanctity of manner" (Fenn, 1784: 33). Or "Unassuming Beauty", which presents Eliza as a beautiful

woman not only because of “her face and figure”, “vivacity of her looks”, but also because of “the gentle modest manner of her speech; her composed deportment” (Fenn, 1784: 24) and “absence of self-conceit” (Fenn, 1784: 25). The story ends with Elizabeth Singer Rowe’s verses: “’Tis not *Clorinda*’s noble air,/Her shape nor lovely eyes;/(Tho’ matchless all, exact, and fair,)/That thus our hearts surprise./She by some mightier pow’r invades,/And triumphs o’er our souls;/At once with softest air persuades,/And with mild force controuls (sic)./’Tis in *Clorinda*’s charming mind,/The sweet attraction lies:/There all that fire and life we find,/That sparkles in her eyes./ In her a thousand graces shine,/That might our envy move;/Which yet our thoughts alone incline,/T’oblige, admire, and love” (Fenn, 1784: 26). The lines are added to draw a parallel between Clorinda and Eliza, at the end of which Fenn adds a final thought: “Imperious beauty which demand our approbation and homage; conceit which seeks our notice; these disgust us; but who can see the lovely Eliza without a smile of approbation?” (Fenn, 1784: 26).

In conclusion, epigraphs are used as an instrument of intellectuality on the part of the writers who chose and found support in other writers. Their selection of well-known literary figures and periodicals goes to show that the compilers were aware of what was prevailing on the market and used this to their advantage. By quoting from “superior writers” (Fenn, *The Rational Dame*, 1786: xii) and by applying the eighteenth century formulae, the Marshall associates helped readers to anticipate the content of their texts, encouraged reflection before and after reading, and guided them through the lessons provided and towards meaningful realisations. They succeeded in engaging their audiences, conveying and reinforcing their moralistic and commercial agenda through this simple, yet pretentious, literary device.

D: Dedications

Including a dedication implies "offering the work as a token of esteem to a person, a real or ideal group, or some other type of entity" (Genette, 1997: 117). What's more, "the dedication always is a matter of demonstration, ostentation, exhibition: it proclaims a relationship, whether intellectual or personal, actual or symbolic, and this proclamation is always at the service of the work, as a reason for elevating the work's standing or as a theme for commentary" (Genette, 1997: 135). The Marshall writers almost always inserted a dedication "as a token of respect or affection" (Fenn, *Female Guardian* 1784: iii) to the people they were indebted to, their inspiration and reason for taking up their pens and create for children.

There are two types of dedications: personalised, naming a specific person (e.g. Madame Genlis, relatives – aunts, brothers, sisters-in-law, nieces, nephews, sons and daughters) and generalised (children, albeit good children, in general, under the heading "To my readers" or "To my children"). The personalised dedications are, of course, flattering for the dedicatees, and the advantage of including a dedication to important figures is that it helps the writers create an essential link between themselves and an established authority. The message they transmit is that their work is approved by these household names, being under their protection and patronage. Moreover, even if their full name is not revealed (e.g. "To Miss F****") the people to whom the book is addressed are still able to identify themselves, or, perhaps, keep the other readers guessing who these people might be, thus engaging them in some sort of an entertaining game. The writers make here an appeal to the readers' understanding that they form part of a desired, elite community. However, even if the books are dedicated to specific children or parents this does not mean that they cannot be useful to others. Fenn writes in her dedication to *Fables*: "I have observed

that little people usually love fables, and therefore I offer these to you. They were written (as well as those in words of one syllable, and the morals) for my own family; but I shall be very happy to assist your mamma in amusing and instructing you" (Fenn, 1783: vi). Or in the dedication to *Cobwebs to Catch Flies*: "To Mrs. E****d F****, I can not deny myself the pleasure of dedicating one of my little works to you. I please myself with the idea of your infant son imbibing his first ideas from the same books which afforded so much pleasure to his cousin" (Fenn, 1783: vi).

On the other hand, the generalised dedications are open to everybody, yet they still succeed in creating a community of readers who share the same literary tastes. Additionally, by using the first person possessive pronoun "my", whose pragmatic function is to create identity, the writers establish an intimate relationship with their young readers. The writers claim that they used real children as inspiration and made them characters in their texts. For instance, Fenn dedicates *Rational Sports* to her sister-in-law, Jane Frere, whose children she has made "the persons of my [her] drama; so now, that I [Fenn] am seeking to oblige a few of my particular friends with copies, I [Fenn] feel a degree of satisfaction in continuing the names of the speakers, a circumstance which places me for an instant, as it were in your family; not to fay, that the dear little ones will imbibe, with tenfold satisfaction, the little information which they seem to receive from a brother or sister" (Fenn, 1790: viii). As a consequence, Fenn tries to imitate children's language by employing easy vocabulary and syntax in such a way that would make mothers remark: "This is just such stuff as my boy and girl themselves would write, if they could make use of a pen" (Fenn, *Cobwebs*, 1783: viii). Moreover, in the dedication to *Cobwebs* Fenn appears as a very confident writer boasting about her skills: "You see that I am sanguine in my hopes of success among my little readers. – I think that I am mistress of the infantine

language" (Fenn, 1784: vii). The authors are given more credibility by having real children as a source of inspiration, which gives them a familiarity with the way they communicate, as well as the best methods to teach and establish a close relationship with them.

Furthermore, as Shefrin informs, "visual methods remained central to the teaching of young children. Progressive educators preached the virtues of teaching from objects and pictures, and printers, readily identifying a market, provided pictorial aids for the use of teachers of élite children. […] Simple visual aids were an economical method of instructing the larger numbers of children, but aids designed for infant schools reflected a philosophy of teaching stressing the importance of the visual" (Shefrin, 2009: 164). Trimmer makes knowledge accessible to the youth with the aid of pictures and prints hung on walls, an economical, yet pleasing and visually attractive educational method. The prints give "verisimilitude to the text" (Pickering, 1981: 191), as they complement the series of descriptions of the prints, and prompt children to ask questions in a natural way, make remarks or hold conversations on different topics. Naturally, Marshall saw here an opportunity to expand his business and offered purchasers various forms of the prints: "the parent who wanted to decorate those apartments in which children received the first rudiments of their education could purchase the mounted set. For those who preferred the books, the bound set was available" (Pickering, 1981: 190).

At the beginning of *A Series of Prints of Scripture History* an explanation of the origins of the pattern followed is offered by Marshall:

> This plan is calculated to convey the outlines of universal History, in imitation of Madame Genlis' Method. It may be necessary to inform those who have not read that Lady's Writings, that in one of her works, entitled, 'Adele and Theodore; or, Letters on Education', an account is given of a nobleman and his lady, who retired from public life for a certain number of years, in order to be at leisure to devote their time to the education of their children. The castle chosen for their residence was so judiciously prepared for the purpose, that the pictures, hangings, and the stucco on the walls, were made vehicles of instruction; and the very doors

> and screen conveyed some useful lessons; so that they acquired knowledge, as it were by chance; and the lectures given them on history, not being confined to time or place, took effect without their being sensible of it. The hangings of the saloon contained pictures of the Roman History. On one side were medallions of the seven kings of Rome; --- those great men who made the Republic the most illustrious; --- and every emperor as low down as Constantine. The opposite side of the room contained pictures of the most celebrated Roman ladies. In a long gallery were paintings representing the Grecian history after the same manner. One room was hung with pictures representing parts of the Scripture History; the young lady's bed-chamber was ornamented with coloured prints, relating to the History of France, &c. As this excellent scheme will not (for obvious reasons) admit general imitation, it is hope that the substitute now offered to the public, will prove acceptable to those who are engaged in the instruction of young children. Each set of prints will be accompanied by a small volume, printed in a large clear type, containing an explanation of the plates in easy language, adapted to the capacities of those for whose amusement the prints are designed (Trimmer, 1786: 3-4).

The inclusion of such an explanation has the following objectives: it gives readers the context and origins of Trimmer's plan, it links Trimmer's work with an established figure on the literary market thus guaranteeing its success, it reminds parents of the importance of educating their children themselves and equips them with the material they can use for this purpose, and, not in the least, it presents Marshall as a responsible publisher who provides all the necessary information for his purchasers and who also takes this opportunity to advertise Trimmer's series of descriptions complementing the prints. And, needless to say, the ultimate purpose is to convince people of the value of Trimmer's work and boost its sales.

Trimmer therefore dedicates the corresponding *Description of a Set of Prints of Scripture History* "to the Countess de Genlis", whose "repute was high and influential, especially among the Blue-Stockings" (Darton, 1932: 150). The tone is humble, Trimmer hoping that she "will not disdain to patronise the humble imitation of your [her] own excellent Scheme, for ornamenting those apartments in which children receive the first rudiments of their education, with objects calculated at once to delight and to improve" (Trimmer, 1796: vi). She feels happy to be able to "contribute, even in the smallest degree, to repay the obligation which you [Madame Genlis] have conferred on the young persons of this kingdom; by furnishing in return, those young ladies and gentlemen of France, who study the English language, with

such easy lessons as may facilitate the task to them, and their instructors" (Trimmer, 1796: vii).

Just as Madame Genlis has helped French children to turn into honourable adults, the Marshall writers aim at instructing British children into becoming respectable and responsible adults contributing to the welfare of their society. Mary Ann Kilner's dedication "To Master -------" in *William Sedley* hopes for the boy "to form your [his] taste on the most perfect models" (Kilner, 1783: vii) and that he will "continue to advance in your [his] progress towards every thing which is great, generous, and manly, till you [he] become [becomes] an ornament of society, a blessing to your [his] friends, and the delight of your [his] indulgent parents" (Kilner, 1783: vii-viii). Thinking of children's future happiness Mary Ann Kilner in her dedication to *A Course of Lectures for Sunday Evenings* advises them "to pay obedience to the laws of God, to the duties of social life, and to the regulation of your [their] tempers and manners" (Kilner, 1783: vii) because "the remembrance of your [their] *actions*, the pleasure of your [their] good, or the remorse for your [their] evil deeds will *never* be effaced. Your [Their] happiness and misery throughout all *Eternity*, depends upon the improvement which you [they] now make of the advantages you [they] enjoy" (Kilner, 1783: viii-ix).

Furthermore, in the dedication to her readers of *Fables* Fenn enumerates the children's duties: "a ready and cheerful obedience; as inviolate in the absence of your parents as when they are present; a strict adherence to truth; a contended submission to the will of your superiors; and a readiness to comply with the innocent wishes of your equals – or, in other words, to do to them as you would wish they should do to you" (Fenn, 1783: vii). If they respect and fulfil these duties as children they will be happy adults; in fact, the writers frequently use the subjunctive form to constrain and

negotiate the terms of their future happiness and wellbeing. In Fenn's dedication "To Miss M----" in *Fables in Monosyllables* the author recommends doing "as your dear mamma bids you. If you be so good, we shall all love you. If you go on to take pains to learn to read well, I will send you more books, and they shall have nice prints in them, such as I know you will like. I love to please a good child" (Fenn, 1783: vii). In the generalised dedication Fenn admits having written the book "to teach you [children] to be good. If you be good your friends will love you. If you be good, God will bless you" (Fenn, 1783: xxiv). This implies that the benefits of these writers' works are only available on the condition that children fulfil specific requirements. This message is not only reinforced by means of subjunctives, but also by imperatives. For instance, the dedication to the readers of *Cobwebs to Catch Flies* contains both: "Be good, and you will be happy" (Fenn, 1783: xvi); "Be merry and wise (Fenn, 1784: xvi); "Obey readily and cheerfully" (Fenn, 1784: xvii) and "You will never taste such careless hours as you do now; when you grow up, you will have many cares; you may have many sorrows; yet assure yourselves, that if you be good, you will be happy – be happy for ever" (Fenn, 1784: xvii).

Therefore, in these highly representative examples the Marshall writers judiciously put forward the duties and conditions the children need to fulfil in order to be guaranteed to become reliable and happy adults playing an important part in the wellbeing of British society. The ultimate purpose is for adults to purchase their books, which are not simply a series of amusing tales, but rather a comprehensive "educational pack".

Not wanting to flame their imagination, Dorothy Kilner, Peacock and Fenn warn children in their dedications that their works are a product of fiction; nevertheless, they can still learn valuable lessons for their improvement whilst being

entertained. In the first volume of *The Life and Perambulation of a Mouse* Dorothy Kilner writes:

> To the Reader: Before you begin the following history, which is made believe to be related by a MOUSE, I must beg, you will be careful to remember, that the Author's design in writing it was no less to instruct and improve, than it was to amuse and divert you. It is, therefore, earnestly hoped, that as you read it, you will observe all the good advice therein delivered, and endeavour to profit from it, whilst at the same time, you resolve to shun all actions which render those who practise them not only despicable, but really wicked. Sincerely wishing that the Mouse may prove neither wholly unentertaining nor uninstructive to you, I subscribe myself, A very sincere Well-wisher, To all my little Readers, M.P. (Kilner, 1783: vi).

The text "was one of the best fictional biographies for children published in the eighteenth century" (Pickering, 1981: 92), "better than the other children's biographies of animals published during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. [...] Ranging far beyond the limitations of a single issue like cruelty to animals, the various episodes in Nimble's life each contributed to a large educational whole" (Pickering, 1981: 96).

Similarly, Lucy Peacock in *The Life of a Bee* reminds readers that

> through the medium of a story, to which I know your partiality, I present you with the true history of the Bee. I wish not to persuade you that a Bee any more than another insect is capable of speaking or of moralising, as I have supposed in my story, you need not be told that such things are impossible; yet Providence has, to the little busy people, established laws by which they are governed, and mutually contribute to the support and well being of each other; a true account of which, together with their industry, their oeconomy, their wars, their loyalty to their Queen, and a variety of other curious particulars that cannot fail of amusing, you will find in the ensuing narrative, for the better understanding of which, I refer you to the subjoined notes, which I request you will not pass over unread, as they will further my intention, which will ever be to unite instruction with pleasure. L.P. (Peacock, 1800: x-xi).

Also, Fenn includes in the dedication to *Fables* the definition of fables so as not to be confused with a tale: "To my young Reader, A fable---'a feigned story intended to enforce some moral precept'. This is the definition of Dr *Johnson*. Those young folk who are able to read *these* Fables, scarcely need to be told the distinction between a *Fable* and a *Tale*" (Fenn, 1783: v).

These three examples show the writers' intention to separate their works from fairy tales which are dangerous and responsible for flaming children's imagination. Therefore, they reject Rousseau's remarks and accusations against the use of fables

as they encourage 'falsehood', which is significant as it locates them in the great educational debate of the eighteenth century. On the contrary, Fenn regards fables as useful especially because they convey morals adapted to the age and need of the young generations and it is precisely the game of make-believe that entertains young readers and motivates them to follow the good examples set for them in the fables. What young readers ought to learn from these animal narratives is the proper behaviour at home and in society, how to be kind to all creatures, learn from mistakes and avoid the bad influence of others. As Fenn later puts it in *The Fairy Spectator*, "no fairy watches over you [the dedicatee], you [the dedicatee] are blest (sic) with one of the best mothers! That her care for you, and the rest of her children, may be blessed with success, is the sincere wish of My dear, Your affectionate friend" (Fenn, 1789: v-vi). Once again, the writer praises mothers and their effort to educate their children even better than imaginary beings with magical powers. The fairy is replaced by a 'spectator' as a monitor who "advises Miss Child in the story to reflect on her actions of the day by checking her mirrors each evening and recording in a journal her actual behaviour and what her behaviour should have been" (Marks, 2003: 40). According to Pickering, *The Fairy Spectator* "was actually an anti-fairy tale with an anti-fairy heroine, who turned down the usual miraculous paraphernalia for solid moral reasons and in the process exposed the pedagogic dangers of traditional fairy tales." (Pickering, 1981: 66).

Moreover, Fenn dedicates the third volume of *Lilliputian Spectacle de la Nature* "To Mrs Worthy, the excellent and amiable mother", "yet, should there be *many* Mothers conjectured to have furnished the model; should there be *many* found to solicitously attentive to their Children, so capable of improving their minds, as I would intimate my Patroness to be; I shall rejoice at the circumstance, and gladly

leave my DEDICATION among the Goddesses, to be contended for, inscribing it TO THE BEST" (Fenn, 1786, vol. III: vi-vii). In the dedication to *Cobwebs to Catch Flies* the writer reminds mother that "if the human mind be a rasa tabula, – you [mothers] to whom it is entrusted, should be cautious what is written upon it. Who would leave their common-place book among fools, to be scrawled upon? Yet how often are nurses and common servants allowed to give the first intimations to children, respecting the objects with which they are surrounded! Ideas they will have: it is your business (Mothers! To you I speak!) to watch that they be just" (Fenn, 1783: ix). Echoing Locke, Fenn encourages mothers to prevent servants from interfering with their children's education and to supervise their development themselves.

However, not all children are fortunate to benefit from home education and have to attend boarding schools where those "*mean, deceitful* arts too commonly practised" (Kilner, 1790: vi). Dorothy Kilner in the dedication to *Anecdotes of a Boarding School* writes: "To Miss *** ******** Few are the conveniences, my dear girl, that are to be acquired in this world without their attendant evils; and the numerous ones which await a boarding school education, are such, as for my own part, I think (in common) counterbalance the advantages that arise from it. However, there certainly are situations which render them very proper places for girls to pass some few years of their time at" (Kilner, 1790: v). The writer assures the young girl that "were your [her] mamma's time at her own disposal, I [the writer] doubt[s] not she would gladly dedicate every moment to your [her daughter's] improvement; and by her assiduity, amply supply the place of all other instructions; but her very numerous little family rendering that utterly impossible, she wisely submits to the mortification of parting with you [her daughter] for some few years, that she may

receive you [her] back greatly improved in all useful knowledge, as well as every ornamental science" (Kilner, 1790: vi). The reason why Dorothy Kilner wrote *Anecdotes of a Boarding School* was to point out "some of those *despicable* tricks, which children, when from under a watchful parent's eye, are frequently apt to commit, and even flatter them selves they are *harmless*, not considering to what dreadful practices they lead" (Kilner, 1790: vii). The writer advises the girl to "let the advice contained in the following sheets sink deep into your [her] mind, and be a shield to defend you [her] from the contagion, which bad example is ever apt to diffuse over the heart of unexperienced [sic] innocence" (Kilner, 1790: vii). Fenn reveals the same aim in her generalised dedication to *School Dialogues for Boys*: she "writes with a view to fortify him [one particular boy] against the contagion of bad example---- against the poison of pernicious counsel---- writes to shew [sic] him what characters he may expect to meet with" (Fenn, 1783: ix-x).

In other words, if children are left with no alternative and have to attend boarding schools, the writers feel responsible for equipping them with such stories that prepare them for their stay there, warning them about the possible dangers and preventing them from acquiring corrupt behaviour. The writers wish to offer assistance to mothers and spend their leisure time usefully; in *The Female Guardian* Fenn writes: "Should my books prove acceptable to mothers, I shall not regret that I have devoted a few of my leisure hours to the writing of them" (Fenn, 1784: vii). As she confesses in *Cobwebs to Catch Flies* Fenn "print[s] for the sake of those ladies who have less leisure than myself [herself]" (Fenn, 1783: vii).

In their dedications the writers appear to be concerned about the reception of their works and express their relief and appreciation knowing that someone they admire has asked for copies of their books. Strategically, this has the effect of

facilitating the Marshall writers' ability to protect their work by placing it under the patronage and approval of someone important. By doing so, the value of the writers' books increases, guaranteeing their quality standard: "Shall I confess, Madam [Mrs. Larney Markinn], that such a request highly flattered my vanity; as it was a most convincing proof, that you esteemed it fit to answer the end for which it was penned; namely, that of promoting *virtue* and *morality*, at the same time that it was capable of affording *amusement* to the imagination of the young reader" (Kilner, *Dialogues and Letters on Morality, Oeconomy, and Politeness*, 1780: vi-vii). Fenn in *Juvenile Correspondence* asks "Mrs. W--------" to help "to defend their writer from the imputation of any unworthy motive in allowing them to go to the press" (Fenn, 1783: vii). The writer compares a manuscript to "a virgin daughter, under parental protection" (Fenn, 1790: vii) whereas "a *printed work* is in every body's power, at every body's mercy" (Fenn, 1790: viii). Whilst "a *manuscript* is highly favoured – people are curious to *see*, what every man can *not see*" (Fenn, 1790: vii), "all have a right to condemn and abuse what they have purchased [a printed work], should they think their money ill exchanged for the book" (Fenn, 1790: viii). This shows the writers' fear of moving "from a circle of partial Friends, to hazard the censure of Strangers" (Fenn, *Rational Sports*, 1790: viii), from their comfort zone characterised by friendly advice and support to a world ready to offer harsh criticism if not satisfied. However, as Dorothy Kilner explains in the dedication to *Miscellaneous Thoughts*, children's future is more important than personal fears: "Still should I resolutely have resisted all their [the author's friends] solicitations, had they not started one argument, by the power of which, they overcame my determination of securing them from public censure. And that was, *The service in future life, they may possibly afford you, my dear children*. They suggested to me in the most lively

colour, the probability, of my being separated from you at a season, when, perhaps, you might most stand in need of my direction, and council" (Kilner, 1785: ii-iii).

Dedications are also the place where the writers advertise their future work. For instance, Dorothy Kilner in the dedication to *The First Principles of Religion and the Existence of a Deity* announces her "intention, at some future period, to present you [readers] with a second part of this work, containing a more particular account of the Christian Religion" (Kilner, 1780: vii), a promise which she keeps. Responding to her readers' requests, Dorothy Kilner opens the second volume of *The Life and Perambulation of a Mouse* with her desire to please her readers' curiosity: "To Master ******, As you were pleased to express so much pleasure at reading The Life and Perambulation of a Mouse, and so ardently to wish to know what became of it afterwards, I have endeavoured to gratify your innocent curiosity by again taking up my pen, and for a little while longer *making believe* the Mouse once more came and talked to me" (Kilner, 1784: v). The Marshall literary associates also confess in their prefaces that one of the reasons for deciding to write was the lack of appropriate material addressing children's needs. For example, Dorothy Kilner opens *The Holyday Present* with a dedication to Mr S.S.[48] who encouraged her to fill the gap on the market: "Upon my objecting to the intolerable and generally *uninteresting* nonsense with which most of the little books are filled, you replied, 'Then why don't you write one yourself?' Why indeed should I not? thought I to myself; for if I am capable of affording much *instruction*, I can, at least, keep clear of *corrupting* their minds: and poor indeed must be my imagination, if it will not furnish as good entertainment as the contents of the majority of little volumes for children" (Kilner,

[48] "When Dorothy dedicated *The Holyday Present* to 'Mr. S. S.' she may have meant to signify her sister-in-law but still felt obliged to pretend that Mary Ann was a man, or perhaps she was jokingly referring to her brother". See *The Hockliffe Project: Mary Ann Kilner, Jemima Placid*. <http://hockliffe.dmu.ac.uk/items/0158.html>, accessed 21 January 2016.

1781: 5). The writers thus feel responsible for children's education and unite their efforts to produce suitable reading material. This is best illustrated in the generalised dedication to *The Village School* by Dorothy Kilner: "To my children, As you all, my dears, are very fond of reading; and books that you can understand and are proper for you, are so difficult to be found, I have myself, for the sake of enlarging your little libraries, undertaken to write one for you, which I trust, will not only afford you amusement whilst you are reading it, but will likewise help to increase your love for goodness, and your abhorrence of every thing that is evil" (Kilner, 1795: vii-viii).

Written for instruction and amusement, with the wish for "improvement in every branch of useful knowledge" (Kilner, *William Sedley* 1783: vi), the Marshall writers take advantage of yet another paratextual device to promote their work. Given the personal nature of dedications, the authors target the readers directly, establishing a close connection and a relationship of interdependence. By these means, the readers are involved in the making of the book since they are, as the writers claim, the inspiration and catalyst of the writing process. This intimate relationship is also evident from the way the authors choose to sign off their creation. Here I include the following highly representative examples: Dorothy Kilner, *The First Principles of Religion and the Existence of a Deity* "your warmest friend and well-wisher" (Kilner, 1780: viii); *The Life and Perambulation of a Mouse*: vol. II "your most sincere Friend" (Kilner, 1784: vi); *A Clear and Concise Account of the Origin and Design of Christianity* "your unalterable Friend" (Kilner, 1781: v); *The Holyday Present* "your obliged Friend, and humble Servant" (Kilner, 1781: 9); Fenn, *Juvenile Correspondence* "your affectionate friend" (Fenn, 1790: ix). What these signatures have in common is the writers' intention to pass as friends ready to 'serve' their young readers. This also goes to show that in their efforts the Marshall writers view

themselves as part of a community and not singular entities. Mary Ann Kilner's *A Course of Lectures for Sunday Evenings* states: "I have, throughout the whole addressed myself in the *singular* number, though without any intention of excluding *any* of you from an equal share in my regard; but merely, that *each* may take it as friendly expostulation, and private advice. Religion is the highest concern of every individual; and therefore, is not distinguished (as are many of your accomplishments) by being peculiar to either sex, or to difference of situation" (Kilner, 1783: vi-vii). In the end, their lessons are aimed at all children regardless of their gender, age or social status and would not have been possible without the help of fellow writers, educators, mothers, children, and, of course, their astute publisher. In serving to advertise the writers' work we have thus further evidence of how they used dedications pragmatically to forward their commercial objectives.

E: Addresses

The addresses are very similar to the generalised dedications. Reviewing the primary sources I was able to identify four texts that contain such a paratextual device: Fenn's *Fables* and *The Art of Teaching in Sport* with addresses to mothers, and *Cobwebs* and *The Mother's Grammar* with addresses to children, respectively. Whilst the ones addressing mothers are deceivingly humble about the success of her books, the addresses to children are playful, yet moralising at the same time. Both, nonetheless, help the author to put forward her commercial intentions, Fenn never missing an opportunity to remind mothers of her writing skills and attainments for their benefit. The writer also brings to children's attention their friend Marshall, "the Children's Printer" (Fenn, *Fables*, 1783: 77) as well as the duties they need to perform in order to live a happy life.

Fenn in "An Address to Mothers" in *Fables* appears as "a rational woman, who is capable of expressing her ideas in tolerable language" and who "might render an acceptable service to mothers, by supplying young people with a series of little volumes, tending to enforce the duties of childhood and early youth" (Fenn, 1783: 75). Fenn also takes this opportunity to advertise Marshall and overtly promote her own work. Readers learn that Marshall accepted to print Fenn's *School Occurrences* manuscript "without expence to the unknown writer" (Fenn, 1783: 76). She explains that the "volume was designed as a trial how the method of writing would succeed in catching the volatile fancies of youth – and as a herald to proclaim the approach of others – to proclaim the approach of the books, but to leave the writer involved in a cloud" (Fenn, 1783: 76). The greater aim, however, was "to banish from schools, novels, plays and other injurious publications; by supplying girls with trifles suited to their taste, expressed in such similar language as they as disposed to relish; because they readily understand it – and to afford them a few dramatic lessons, which they would be able to read aloud with propriety" (Fenn, 1783: 76-7). Although she claims to prefer being "involved in a cloud" (Fenn, 1783: 76), Fenn wants to be actively involved in the promotion of a reading revolution supported and followed by her fellow writers.

Therefore, "the copies of *School Occurrences* were distributed extensively, for the purpose of making a speedy trial how they would succeed" (Fenn, 1783: 78). Yet, she excuses herself (which is, in fact, another strategy) for her impertinence to give a copy to children, arguing that she "had no interest in promoting the sale. – There could be no vanity in believing myself capable of writing to children. Thus I flattered myself I should escape censure, should I be discovered" (Fenn, 1783: 78). Apparently, her only wish "was (in disguise) to assist parents in training their

children; to assist them in a double capacity; by regulating the ideas of youth, and hinting to parents how they might best succeed" (Fenn, 1783: 79). As to her *Fables*, they "are the humblest compositions that can be imagined" (Fenn, 1783: 80). Fenn might call her work humble, yet her tone is indicative of pride and self-satisfaction; according to her, *Fables* inculcate "the fundamental duties of obedience, and deference to parents" (Fenn, 1783: 80). The boastful and confident attitude is followed by what Fenn calls "hope for approbation" (Fenn, 1783: 81), but what I identify as another strategy to make mothers buy her volumes: *guilt*. If mothers do not purchase her books they will appear as "not interested in the progress and conduct of such dear little ones" (Fenn, 1783: 81), in the engagement of "the most 'delightful task'" (Fenn, 1783: 80).

Fenn not only promotes her books, but also those of her fellow writer Mary Ann Kilner stating, for example, that "*Familiar Dialogue* is peculiarly agreeable to children; they understand it with ease, and therefore read it with satisfaction. Characters draw the attention of children" (Fenn, 1783: 77). For the Marshall writers it is vital for children to find characters in the books with whom they can identify, either because of the language they use or their behaviour. Here Fenn not only promotes Mary Ann Kilner's text, but also their common goal of creating stories with believable characters who embody the kind of virtues mothers should seek to instil in their children.

The other "Address to Mothers" is at the end of "The Grammar Box", the second part of *The Art of Teaching in Sport*. The aim is to attend "young ladies, who are not yet accustomed to teaching" and who "may be at a loss how to communicate to children the knowledge of Grammar in a playful manner" (Fenn, 1785: 37). Being at their service and believing that her advice is more valuable than a stranger's, Fenn

"whisper[s] in a note" and provides "a farther explanation how it [the grammar box] ought to be played with" so that inexperienced mothers or teachers would "improve her [their] child in sporting with it" (Fenn, 1785: 37). By means of another strategy, Fenn depicts herself as an experienced benefactress ready to share her knowledge as well as to attest that untrained mothers and teachers can use her material as long as they follow her explanations.

Moving on, the first volume of *Cobwebs* contains an "Address to All Good Children", which shows that Fenn intended children to read this paratextual element, and, what's more, to engage their siblings and turn the reading process into a collective and fun exercise:

> I shall not confine myself to short words, – but give you the pleasure of obliging your brothers and sisters, by reading my address aloud to them, after which you will resign my first volume, to one of the younger children, who is only able to read words of three letters; and he will be amused with my dialogue about the cat – whilst he gratifies the curiosity of the little happy circle – and enjoys the satisfaction of entertaining the whole family (Fenn, 1783: xix-xx).

Since this paratextual device is addressed to children, the writer, disguised as their friend, adopts a playful style with easy vocabulary in order to establish an intimate relationship with her readers. Fenn opens the story about William Freewill, a good boy who enjoys reading very much and obeys his parents, with: "This is the scene which my imagination paints. – Now let us chat a little" (Fenn, 1784: xxi). Moreover, the author also introduces another benefactress who is concerned with their education: "your [their] good friend Mr Marshall" (Fenn, 1784: xxiii) who "had begun to print for you [them] in a large clear type" (Fenn, 1784: xxiii). In this way, children are subtly introduced to Marshall (and his business) as a positive, unchangingly faithful and dependable presence in their life.

Lastly, Fenn ends her *Mother's Grammar* with an "Address to Youth", in which children are left with some useful advice: "At your age not a moment can be

wasted without taking the stock of happiness intended for you. The time that is suffered to remain idle is lost From gaining knowledge;/From discharging your duty;/From improving your virtue;/From giving joy to your friends;/From serving your God" (Fenn, 1798: 73). Learning, performing their duties as obeying children, showing kindness and serving God are the four pillars of a happy life. If children fulfil these, then they will be content as adults too.

Similar to dedications, addresses establish a close connection between the writers and the readers. The Marshall writers portray themselves as adroit professionals, successful on the market, yet rational women who envisage a step-by-step plan to help mothers to develop the necessary skills to instruct their children. They are also capable of reaching children by imitating their language and presenting them with stories replete with useful advice for life.

F: Advertisements

Advertisements serve as warnings, the writers informing readers in advance of the difficulties they had to face when choosing the right material for children's education. They also apologise for the imperfect state of their books and thoroughly justify the system of methods applied. Advertisements are not only employed apologetically, but also opportunistically as the authors use this paratextual instrument to their advantage by announcing and advertising their publications.

To begin with, in their "Advertisements" the Marshall writers address the difficulties they encountered while pursuing writing for children. Trimmer in *A Description of a Set of Prints of Ancient History* mentions the struggles regarding "the choice of subject proper to be exhibited to young children" (Trimmer, 1795: iii) and Dorothy Kilner in *Letters from a Mother to Her Children on Various Important*

Subjects “the great scarcity of religious books, tolerably adapted to the capacities of children” (Kilner, 1780: n.p.). Nevertheless, the authors, instead of being intimidated, took these difficulties as an opportunity to challenge and allow themselves to be creative and innovative on the new emerging market for children.

They, however, humbly “plead sufficient excuse for the publication of the following sheets” (Kilner, *Letters from a Mother to Her Children on Various Important Subjects*, 1780: n.p.). In the “Advertisement” to the first volume of *The Lilliputian Spectacle de la Nature* Fenn apologises for not knowing the English names for all the insects presented in the book: “the writer did not always know the English names of an Insect; (neither have many of them a name in English) yet she was loth to decline treating her little readers with the wonders of its history” (Fenn, 1786: n.p.). At the end of *School Occurrences* Fenn admits “having been mistaken in my [her] estimate, and finding that when I [she] thought I [she] had furnished materials for a *book*, I [she] had only furnished sufficient for *half* an one, it became necessary to send some additional sheets”. Therefore, she corrects a statement she made in the “Dedication” about her heroine who “once she errs slightly; but she rises higher for her fall” (Fenn, 1783: vii). In fact, as rectified in the “Advertisement”, the female character “trips more than **once* in the course of my [her] present volume” (Fenn, 1783: 137).

Dorothy Kilner in the “Advertisement” to *Miscellaneous Thoughts* requests readers “to observe that owing to the pieces being wholly unconnected, and written at various periods of time, the same names are used indiscriminately to very different characters” (Kilner, 1785: xvi). Also, after the preface to *A Clear and Concise Account of the Origin and Design of Christianity* there is a note, resembling the nature of an advertisement, in which Dorothy Kilner defends herself from accusations

of what we call today plagiarism: “Since the conclusion of the following work, the Author has read a book, entitled, ‘An Easy Introduction to the knowledge of Nature, and reading the Holy Scriptures, adapted to the capacities of Children:’ which, as the design of the present volume may be thought, in some particulars to resemble, it is necessary to assure the public, that it was entirely concluded before the Author had seen Mrs. Trimmer’s publication, or met with any other upon a similar plan” (Kilner, 1781: xiv).

Trimmer in the “Advertisement” to *A Description of a Set of Prints of Ancient History* justifies her decision to exclude dates in order to avoid overwhelming children: “so much of general history as this scheme will comprise, may be learnt before children are capable of comprehending how years accumulate to ages; and therefore, it was thought advisable to omit chronological dates, which would only burden the memory, without producing any immediate improvement” (Trimmer, 1795: iv). As I have tried to show in these highly relevant examples, the writers, using a defensive strategy, acknowledge the imperfections of their work without diminishing their value, anticipate possible criticism and find a way to counteract objections, taking immediate action to amend their mistakes. By doing so, they, in fact, appear as careful writers, aware of their shortcomings yet in want of perfecting their skills.

In the “Advertisement” to the first volume of *Cobwebs* Fenn explains and justifies the structure of her two-volume book. In the first volume mothers “will be aware of the consequence of the first lessons, where nothing meets the eye of the learner, but objects with which he is already familiar; nothing arises to his mind, but subjects with which he begins to be acquainted; sentiments level to his capacity, explained in words which are suited to his progress” (Fenn, 1783: xii-xiii). The

second volume "was written to please a set of children, dear to the writer; and it did please them: in the hope that it may be agreeable to other little people, it is given to the public" (Fenn, 1784: xiii). What is different in this advertisement are the language and rhetoric that she employs; Fenn adds another ingredient to her successful recipe of increasing the sales of her books: *guilt*. She implies that only good mothers are interested in the education of their children and therefore will receive this book positively: "the mother who herself watches the dawn of reason in her babe; who teaches him the first rudiments of knowledge; who infuses the first ideas in his mind, will approve my Cobwebs" (Fenn, 1783: xii). At a linguistic level, the author makes use of the subjunctive form to express her desire for mothers to get involved in their children's education. This is also reinforced with a rhetorical question: "She will, if she be desirous of bringing her little darling forward; (and where it can done with ease and satisfaction, who is not?)" (Fenn, 1783: xii).

As to their choice of topic, the writers reject fairy tales and romances. Dorothy Kilner makes it clear in the "Advertisement" to *The Histories of More Children than One* that her book is "totally free from the prejudicial nonsense of *Witches, Fairies*, *Fortune-Tellers, Love* and *Marriage*, which too many [books] are loaded with" (Kilner, 1795: vii-viii). She claims that these topics are "as far more unintelligible" and "consequently less interesting to the infant reader than incidents relating to child, a *plum-cake*, or a *rattle* which as they have all been seen and felt, can be much better understood" (Kilner, 1795: viii). Additionally, in the "Advertisement" to the second volume of *A Clear and Concise Account of the Origin and Design of Christianity* addressed to parents Dorothy Kilner confirms that "the enquiries in the subsequent Dialogues were *actually* most of them addressed to the Author; by a child not eight years old, and are such as are liable to be made to every

parent" (Kilner, 1781: ix-x). That is to say, the author assures mothers of the verisimilitude of her methods and dialogues since they were the result of real interaction between her and children. Her book is not the result of amateur writing, but a comprehensive collection of instructive and religious accounts.

Peacock, on the other hand, defends the use of allegory in the "Advertisement" to *The Knight of the Rose*; while it "is by many considered as an unfavourable vehicle to convey instruction" Peacock claims that she "cannot think that moral truths will make the less impression for being addressed strongly to imagination" (Peacock, 1793: n.p.). However, seven years after *The Knight of the Rose* Peacock published *The Life of a Bee*, "a dry detail of unconnected facts" (Peacock, 1800: viii). Determined to make the uninteresting interesting, Peacock "attempted to form those interesting particulars which are, upon the best authority, related of this little miracle of nature the bee, into a regular succession of events set forth in such a manner as to interest their tender minds, that while they are eagerly pursue the thread of the story, they may insensibly acquire a knowledge of facts, which cannot fail of exalting their ideas of the supreme being, by teaching them early to contemplate that wisdom and perfection which is visible in the minutest (sic) of his works (Peacock, 1800: viii)". She also hopes that "her views may be crowned with success, and to add, that she has no further recourse to fiction, than as she thought it convenient to introduce truths, and to convey a useful moral" (Peacock, 1800: ix).

Naturally, the writers take the "Advertisements" as another opportunity to advertise either their previous or future work. Responding to customers' needs and following up on the success of her previous book, Trimmer in the "Advertisement" to *A Description of a Set of Prints of English History* explains that "the original plan of 'Prints with Descriptions', was limited to a Series of Scripture and Ancient Universal

History; but the Author of it, from the favourable reception which it met with, was induced to extend it to Roman History, where she intended her task should end; supposing that as the History of England had been published in such a variety of forms, an additional one, would be deemed superfluous; but finding that many of the purchasers of the other sets were solicitous to introduce children by the same means, to an early acquaintance with the principal events of their native country, she has endeavoured (sic) to fulfil (sic) their wishes in the present work" (Trimmer, 1789: n.p.). Peacock, encouraged by "the approbation with which the Author was honoured some years ago on a former work of this kind, viz. the Adventures of the Six Princesses of Babylon" (Peacock, 1793: n.p.), decided to venture into another project, *The Knight of the Rose*, whose "idea she has borrowed from the Second Book of Spenser's Fairy Queen" (Peacock, 1793: n.p.). Fenn in the "Advertisement" to *The Child's Grammar* sets out the objective "to enable Ladies, who may not have attended to the subject themselves, to instruct their children in the rudiments of Grammar, at a very early age" (Fenn, 1831: v). Even though this book "is intended for the use of Boys, as well as Girls", Fenn suggests mothers that "perhaps for our [their] Daughters, the Continuation, under the title of The Mother's Grammar will be found sufficient" (Fenn, 1831: v). Assuming a humble tone and a politically correct attitude in what looks like an "Advertisement" to *The Female Guardian*, Fenn appears to be suggesting that potential readers recognise her 'protector' status as author: "the lady who wrote this little volume for a family of children, blushes to assume the title of Female Guardian in public; (neither is it policy to remind the purchasers, that there is such a work as The Guardian just at the instant when they open her trifling book;) – but her young friends will perhaps be pleased with the title by which they have already perused these papers, and the public will pardon it – by

the public the writer means mothers; to whose indulgence she flatters herself is entitled for her endeavours to assist them in that important work, of forming the dispositions of their children" (Fenn, 1784: n.p.).

Moreover, by advertising their books the writers are intentionally trying to do readers a favour (and therefore hoping to attain favourable response), pointing out precisely which books they should purchase. This means that they bring the financial factor into question as another strategy to entice purchasers. Explaining her plan in the "Advertisement" to *Scripture Lessons*, Trimmer underlines the money-saving benefit from buying her book: "the following work is composed upon a plan entirely new; it consists of extracts from such chapters of the Old Testament as contain more than is necessary for children to be made acquainted with, and references to such passages as they may read through with advantage. It is to be hoped that there are Bibles in every family, therefore no difficulty can arise from this method, and expense is saved by it to the purchasers. With a view to the accommodation of those persons who are already in possession of the Sets which have been published, the Lessons are so contrived as to include all the prints in them that have any reference to this Bible" (Trimmer, 1797: n.p.).

Finally, Trimmer edited *Sunday School Dialogues*, which is, in fact, an abridgement of Dorothy Kilner's *First Principles of Religion, and the Existence of a Deity*. In the "Advertisement" the editor states that "the scarcity of books adapted to the capacities of children, in the lower classes of life, precluded the necessity of an apology for presenting the public with the following abridgement" (Trimmer, 1790: iii). She is convinced that "the high degree of estimation, in which the original work has long been held, will secure it [the abridgement] a favourable reception, as the sentiments and language are preserved, with such variations only as the present

appropriation of the plan requires, in order to extend the benefits, which has already been widely diffused" (Trimmer, 1790: iii). Acknowledging the popularity of Dorothy Kilner and her book, Trimmer "esteem[s] myself [herself] greatly obliged to the unknown, but truly respectable Author, for her ready compliance with a request, which I [Trimmer] should not have taken the liberty of making, but from a desire of imparting to those, whose improvement in religion and morality is one of the first objects of my [her] wishes, important instruction, in an inviting and pleasing dress" (Trimmer, 1790: iii).

This is not the only occasion when an author edited the work of their peer. A.C., publishing for Marshall, edited *Sacred History*, the six-volume opus by Trimmer and called it *The Footstep to Mrs Trimmer's Sacred History* (1785). In the "Advertisement" A.C. praises Trimmer's volumes and hopes that the selection of stories included in this book would lead readers to Trimmer's text. The author apologises "for making use of her name in the title to this publication. The high opinion she entertains of Mrs Trimmer's *Sacred History*, made her wish to put it into the hands of her pupils; but finding it above the understanding of very young children; she has, in this, attempted to form a Footstep to lead them to Mrs Trimmer's more improved work". (A.C., 1795: 3-4). The project was received positively, according to *The Monthly Review*, "Mrs Trimmer has here abridged a work of M.P.'s, which has been held in no small degree of estimation by those who are engaged in the important duty of conveying religious and virtuous principles into young minds. The scarcity of books, adapted to the capacities of children in the lower classes of life, has, since the establishment of Sunday Schools, excited Mrs Trimmer, and several others, to furnish such as are necessary for the purpose; and, perhaps, literature is seldom more usefully employed" (*The Monthly Review*, 1788 vol. 78: 532). From a

commercial point of view, abridging renowned books has the benefit of placing the original work back into focus, offering free advertising, as well as it protects and ensures the success of its abridgment.

In conclusion, the Marshall literary associates in their "Advertisements" warn readers of the imperfections of their work, yet they cleverly turn these weaknesses into strengths. Excuses and justifications are, in fact, solid defence strategies, which, together with overt advertising, help the writers push forward their commercial agenda and increase the sales of their books.

G: Prefaces

To start with, it is commonplace to think that the purpose of prefaces is to ensure that the text is read properly by providing guidance and information on how readers are supposed to approach and read the text. They, in fact, reveal information about the origins of the text, the circumstances in which in was written, the purpose of its creation and/or, at a pragmatic level, the author's own interpretation of their work, or what Genette calls "the statement of intent" (Genette, 1997: 221) with the phatic function of justifying themselves. Moreover, the addresses, advertisements and prefaces share multiple characteristics and similar strategies and this section aims to bring into focus further examples of how the women writers took full advantage of the paratextual resources in order to promote their money-orientated interests.

Apart from revealing their intentions, many times in their prefaces the writers also provide a summary of the contents of the work to help the purchasers and future readers make an informed decision about whether they consider the books worthy of

buying or not. This, in a way, resembles the later practices of the please-inserts[49] or of the blurbs and is also related to what I have previously identified as another commercial strategy: money-saving. The writers present their religious and moral content to appeal to and assure parents that the subject matter is educationally proper for their children's instruction. They proudly present their contents as a safe alternative to popular literature, fairy tales, romances, novels, and satires. Dorothy Kilner in the preface to *Dialogues and Letters on Morality, Oeconomy and Politeness* laments that "almost the whole catalogues of entertaining books for children, turn chiefly upon subjects of gallantry, love, and marriage" (Kilner, 1780: xi), "they generally are filled with incidents totally uninteresting to them; such as gentlemen and ladies meeting with great happiness in the nuptial state, and arriving at great wealth and riches, through their superior wisdom and goodness" (Kilner, *The History of a great Many Little Boys and Girls*, 1780: vii). These "subjects, with which no prudent parents would wish to engross the attention of their children, of six, seven, eight, or even a dozen years of age" (Kilner, *Dialogues and Letters on Morality, Oeconomy and Politeness*, 1780: xi), "tend only to inspire their tendor [sic] minds with pride, ambition, vanity, and every passion disgraceful to human nature" (Kilner, *The History of a great Many Little Boys and Girls*, 1780: viii). Nonetheless, Dorothy Kilner assures the purchasers that her work "is however perfectly free from any of that kind" (Kilner, *Dialogues and Letters on Morality, Oeconomy and Politeness*, 1780: xi).

[49] A *please-insert* is "a short text (generally between a half page and a full page) describing, by means of a summary or in some other way, and most often in a value-enhancing manner, the work to which it refers" (Genette, 1997: 104-5). The Petit Robert dictionary defines the please-insert as "a printed insert that contains information about a work and is attached to the copies addressed to critics" (cited in Genette, 1997: 104). As Genette argues, this definition is no longer accurate in current usage as it is no longer an insert, nor it is addressed to critics. The term comes from earlier practices of the nineteenth century when this type of information was printed separately and later inserted. Rarely the please-insert is allographic, which means that the authors themselves sign the please-insert. The common practice, however, is for another person to write the please-insert, resembling the practice of a blurb.

Moreover, tired of once again justifying the use of fables Fenn concludes: “Fables are generally pleasing to children. Since they are so; were it not more advisable to supply them with such as afford lessons suited to their age; than to waste our time in debating whether or no fable-writing be most desirable code of instruction?” (Fenn, *Fables in Monosyllables*, 1783: ix). Mary Ann Kilner in the preface to *The Adventures of a Pincushion* rejects the use of satire, arguing that “to exhibit their superiors in a ridiculous view, is not the proper method to engage the youthful mind to respect: to represent their equals as the objects of contemptuous mirth, is by no means favourable to the interests of good-nature: and to treat the characters of their inferiors with levity, the author thought was inconsistent with the scared rights of humanity” (Kilner, 1780: vii-viii). Consequently, restricted to “the narrow boundaries of simple narrative, it has been the design of the following pages carefully to avoid exciting any wrong impression, and, by sometimes blending instruction and amusement, to make it more easily retained” (Kilner, 1780: viii).

Therefore, being aware of “the avidity with which children peruse books of entertainment”, the writers anticipate that they “should always endeavour to present them with proper models of imitation” “suited to their simplicity”, “expressed with propriety” and “innocent of corrupting” (Kilner, *The Adventures of a Pincushion*, 1780: ix). Furthermore, the lessons and “reflections drawn from them [their narratives] will not corrupt the heart. On the contrary, […] [they] may be productive of real, and lasting good” (Kilner, *Dialogues and Letters on Morality, Oeconomy and Politeness*, 1780: xii). For instance, in the preface to *School Dialogues for Boys* Fenn trusts that “the boys, for whom they [the dialogues] are primarily designed, would be grown up to men” (Fenn, 1783: xvii) and the mother “will, in the intervals of actual instruction, feel a repose of mind, in the confidence that her beloved child is imbibing

just notions, and acquiring modes of conduct, which she will hope may be of use, when he quits her sheltering wing" (Fenn, 1783: xiv). That is to say, the writers create a link between education and social advancement. They strongly believe that "education, even its most enlarged sense, does but open the mind for improvement. In its more confined acceptation, namely, the acquisition of language, education merely qualifies the scholar for future researches into the depths of learning only furnishes the power of seeking for knowledge among the treasures of antiquity" (Fenn, *Rational Sports*, 1790: xi).

For the purpose of educating the youth and helping them to progress, the writers embody the figure of the altruistic benefactress who employs their leisure hours usefully. Fenn in the preface to *School Dialogues for Boys* admits that there is no greater pleasure than seeing her dialogues proven useful to children, because it means that the author "will then be amply repaid for the few leisure hours which she passed in writing them" (Fenn, 1783: xix) for those mothers who are not fortunate to have leisure time at their disposal. The benefactresses also spare mothers of dealing with boring tasks, as Fenn puts in in the preface to *A Spelling Book*: "the act of reading syllables is dull; it confines their roving eyes, it is a heavy task, and often disgusts them, so as to raise an aversion for books; which it is difficult to surmount. To prevent this disagreeable consequence is the aim of Mrs Teachwell's Spelling Book: those ladies, therefore, who wish to avail themselves of her labours for that purpose, will allow her to explain the plan for using it" (Fenn, 1787: vii). In the preface to *The Mother's Grammar* Fenn also makes sure that instructors have all the necessary information without them having to spend considerable amount of hours looking for additional information in other sources: "the substance is professedly borrowed; but being extracted from the works of our best writers upon English

Grammar, it is hoped it will not be unacceptable to those ladies that are engaged in tuition, and consequently have not much leisure to turn over various authors in search of further information upon any subject than is immediately required, as being suited to the capacities of their younger pupils" (Fenn, 1798: iii).

The advantage of their books is that they can also be used by untrained teachers. As Fenn states in the preface to the first volume of *Lilliputian Spectacle de la Nature*, "but all Mothers have not the fund of knowledge: some have not the knack of instilling what they have: few have leisure: and, even where all these requirements meet, tell me, what Mother but would be glad to have something to put into the hands of her Children, that may further her work, whilst she indulges in the relaxation of an hour's reading? a luxury she rarely allows herself, though it may furnish her with a supply for the future occasions of those dear ones that surround her" (Fenn, 1786: x-xi). The purpose of Fenn's *The Mother's Grammar* is "to facilitate the work of teaching to those who may not have much attended to the subject themselves; and to assist such persons as are more conversant with it" (Fenn, 1798: iii). Despite not being professionals, mothers possess a natural talent and domestic authority and are capable of "lay[ing] the foundation for every structure which is to be raised" (Fenn, *Rational Sports*, 1790, xii). As opposed to schoolteachers, they have "the opportunities of infancy and early childhood [...] [and] those of the vacations from school" when mothers should seize the occasions and "tincture the mind" (Fenn, *Rational Sports*, 1790, xii). Fenn thus writes for sensible mothers who happily sacrifice everything, "for real mothers, not ladies who leave their offspring to imbibe the follies of the kitchen, whilst they roam to places of diversion" (Fenn, *Rational Sports*, 1790: xiii). Fenn, echoing Locke, warns mothers against neglecting and leaving their children with unsuitable carers and encourages them to gratify "the

incessant enquiries of a sprightly apprehensive child" as "to form the constitution, disposition and habits of a child; constitutes the chief duty of a mother" (Fenn, *The Rational Dame*, 1786: iv). This also seems to show an alignment of Fenn's work with presiding notions of female propriety, which is in itself a very sophisticated strategy.

In addition, these women authors write from their own experience of mothering and teaching their children, nieces, nephews and pupils. Together they must "defy the derision of such as – 'never had a child'" (Fenn, *Fables in Monosyllables*, 1783: xiii) and show how their methods have been successful in educating the young minds. Fenn expresses her content in the preface to *Juvenile Correspondence* "having seen the method succeed to my [her] wishes. The receiving of a letter is such a joy, that there needs little spur to answering it: the sight of such letters as young folk of their own age are feigned to have written has a great effect – this I have experienced – with this view I offer these – may they meet with a candid reception from the public – and it will give pleasure to, Madam, &c., The Author" (Fenn, 1790: xv). As Clara Lucas Balfour argues, Trimmer's "methods of government and instruction were peculiarly her own, and her well-ordered family were evidences of her success. The want she experienced of books suitable in infant and home instruction led her to devise easy pleasing methods of improvement for her children, and friends very justly thought that what had been so manifestly useful to one household might be equally beneficial to others" (Balfour, 1854: 24). By using this strategy the writers, having seen positive results, guarantee mothers of the success of their methods.

Being surrounded by children has benefitted the writing since one of the main objectives of their narratives is for children to be able to identify themselves with the story and characters. In order to achieve this, the writers use familiar language and

tone and place children at the heart of their stories. Fenn argues in the preface to *School Occurrences* that "those who are conversant with children, know, that they are more influenced by maxims which they chance to meet with in books, than by those that are inculcated by their parents" (Fenn, 1783: ix). Moreover, "another circumstance, equally well known, is, that children (would it were otherwise!) are apt to place more confidence in the opinions of young persons, than in those of people, whom age and experience enable to judge with propriety" (Fenn, 1783: ix-x). Having this in mind, Fenn "venture[s] to set the example, and write to children in the character of a child", a strategy whose benefit is that the authors may escape future criticism because "who would be severe in scrutinising the works of a child?" (Fenn, 1783: xi).

As to the tone used in their prefaces, this varies from apologetic to boastful, the writers recognising the imperfections of their works yet defending their style and choice of subject matter. By using tone as part of a strategy goes to show another level of sophistication on the part of the writers and indicates that the profit-oriented strategies are not only formal, but also stylistic. A sincere Dorothy Kilner admits in the preface to *A Clear and Concise Account of the Origin and Design of Christianity* that "an Author's acknowledging the multiplicity of faults any production may abound with, is doubtless but a slender shield to ward off the censure of the public" (Kilner, 1781: vii). Defending her belief that the scriptures should not "be kept *close sealed* from the inspection of children" (Kilner, 1781: x), Dorothy Kilner claims that she "had infinitely rather my [her] opinions should be condemned by the multitude, than transcribe one word which I [she] thought disadvantageous to that cause I [she] most ardently wish[es] to support" (Kilner, 1781: x). Along the same lines, Fenn in the preface to *School Dialogues for Boys* refuses to "ask pardon for exposing so hasty

a production; because I [she] hope[s] it may be useful, or I [she] would not expose it at all" (Fenn, 1783: xvi). Moreover, the authors are confident in their abilities and the quality of their work. Drawing a comparison between her *Lilliputian Spectacle de la Nature* and food, Fenn flatters herself that she has "provided a *plain* dish, which has this negative merit to boast, that there is no latent poison disguised by seasonings. – I [she] can likewise assert, that it has pleased the palate of my [her] own little friends, and agreed with their stomachs. It is a morsel; but, if it prove palatable and nourishing to young folk, it will surely be acceptable to their Parents" (Fenn, 1786, vol. II: xiii). This argument is also sustain with the following quotes from the preface to Fenn's *School Dialogues for Boys*:

> I wonder who this woman is? I am a person behind a curtain attempting to fly a kite. If it soar to the skies, I may venture to come forward; should it fall to the ground, I can remain in concealment. I am an old woman in a mask, personating youth. I am a Parthian, shooting my arrows at random, scarce daring to look where they fall. I am a woman exposing my child in a basket, and keeping aloof till it is received. I am an ostrich – I have laid my eggs – perhaps for the sun to cherish – perhaps for the passenger to crush. I am a spider – I have long spun in a corner, and now venture to fix my web[50] in a more conspicuous situation. I am a schoolboy – I have placed my exercise upon the desk – from a retired corner I observe its success. I am – but I will be serious – you may suppose me a person interested in the conduct of children, and consequently desirous of conveying instruction in the vehicle which I believe to be most agreeable to them – you will conclude me not to be so much involved in the care of a family of children, but that I enjoy some leisure to supply them with harmless amusement – you will (I speak my hopes) perhaps believe me experienced in discovering the avenues to youthful bosoms – and if I might trust that I should appear not unskilful in my attempts to infuse the love of virtue, then would my utmost ambition be gratified (Fenn, 1783: xix-xxii).
> […] Perhaps I am too much encouraged, by the favourable reception which some similar attempts have lately met with. – perhaps I am presumptuous, in the hope of this meeting with equal success; – perhaps – but I will not anticipate unpleasant sensations – I will endeavour to resume my cheerful vein – and imagine my readers to exclaim – 'Who can this be? Mrs. –? Or Mrs. –? Or Miss –?' In answer, what imports my name? I am romping behind the scenes, but do not choose to appear on the stage. I am ANY BODY! Or, I am NOBODY! (Fenn, 1783: xxv-xxvi)

[50] The web metaphor also appears in *Fables in Monosyllables* ("I weave nets for my insects", 1783: xi) and later in *Cobwebs to Catch Flies*. The author compares herself to a spider aiming to trap the attention of her young readers through her work. The metaphor also reveals Fenn's interest in natural history as she published several books on this subject (e.g. *The Rational Dame*, *The Lilliputian Spectacle de la Nature*, *A Short History of Quadrupeds*). She must have been acquainted with and inspired by Noël-Antoine Pluche's *Spectacle de la Nature* (1732-51), "a phenomenal best-seller throughout Europe" (Koepp, 2006: 154) which "before 1800 it had already appeared in at least fifty-seven editions in French, twenty-two editions in English, an numerous other versions in Dutch, German, Italian, and Spanish" (Koepp, 2006: 154). His texts incorporated "a pedagogy informed by curiosity, experiential learning, and the importance of useful, practical knowledge" (Koepp, 2006: 154). Moreover, he was against "bad pedagogy, boring lessons, too many abstractions, harsh punishments, little fun, and a failure to recognise the uniqueness of each child" (Koepp, 2006: 155).

At the beginning Fenn shows herself as cautious, lacking self-confidence and expresses her desire to remain unknown and wait for her work to be either cherished or crushed. However, the author gradually convinces her audience that her books are suitable for children and that she is a serious, experienced, skilful, and successful writer, with a strong desire to convey instruction through amusement. Fenn encourages mothers to follow her example as any mother can teach her children, yet no mother can do it without the necessary support. These passages are almost spectacularly post-modern containing a subversive woman-to-woman appeal with an ironic self-referential quality reminiscent of *Tristram Shandy*.

In their discourses the writers repeatedly insert key phrases such as 'instructive and entertaining' or 'useful and amusing', alluding to the period's renowned motto of instruction blended with amusement. The writers complain that despite the vast number of children's books "there are but few to be found, where instruction and amusement proceed hand in hand. Either the former engrosses the whole, and renders it too dry and unentertaining to be studied with much avidity, or the latter so much prevails, as to make it difficult to determine what possible advantage the young mind can have gained (Kilner, *Dialogues and Letters on Morality, Oeconomy and Politeness*, 1780: x). The aim of Mary Ann Kilner's *Memoirs of a Peg Top* is "to promote the cause of virtue, and to blend the hints of instruction with incidents of an amusing nature" (Kilner, 1785: vi) and Fenn's *School Dialogues for Boys* "to supply innocent amusement; to infuse ideas; to teach children to think, and to act with propriety" (Fenn, 1783: xxiii). Mothers are encouraged "to prattle with her [their] children; to mingle in their sports […] whilst she [they] engages [engage] their affections; yet without relinquishing parental authority" (Fenn, *Fables in Monosyllables*, 1783: xii). Even though the secret of youth

education lies in “making amusement the vehicle of instruction” (Fenn, *The Rational Dame*, 1786: iv), the writers, nevertheless, wish to assist mothers “in the delightful task of forming in those children an habit of amusing themselves in a rational manner during their hours of leisure” (Fenn, *The Rational Dame*, 1786: xi). As Fenn puts it at the end of the preface to *School Dialogues for Boys*, the most successful method of educating the youth is to have “two grains of moral, hidden in two bushels of prattle” (Fenn, 1783: xxiii). Therefore, under “the watchful eye of maternal tenderness” (Fenn, *The Rational Dame* 1786: ix) children’s curiosity, “being the inlet to knowledge, must not be supressed; nay, it must be encouraged: yet it is always necessary to regulate, and sometimes to restrain [it]” (Fenn, *The Lilliputian Spectacle de la Nature*, 1786, vol. I: ix).

Naturally, the writers make use of the prefaces in order to advertise themselves, other authors or their publisher. Fenn in the preface to *A Spelling Book* openly advertises Marshall’s business and the variety of products available in his shop: “such lessons may be rendered delightful by the assistance of cuts; moveable ones, to be produced after the lesson is read, are esteemed the best; or such as Marshall has, of nouns with their names at the back” (Fenn, 1787: ix). Fenn does not wish to recommend her own books solely because they were composed by her (which is in itself another strategy), but because she believes they serve the greater educational purpose and “it would be false modesty to apologise for admitting her own little volumes among those recommended for the purpose, since she wrote them with a view of supplying a series, to render the acquisition or the first rudiments of language an amusement” (Fenn, 1787: xiv). She also praises Trimmer’s “pleasing little work” which was “written with the same benevolent intention of smoothing the path of infancy, and on a similar plan to this” (Fenn, 1787: xv). The resemblance is

"a flattering circumstance, though perhaps it may be impolitic to mention it, as the comparison may be no advantage to that of Mrs Teachwell" (Fenn, 1787: xv), because what she wishes is for her own book to "be placed at the head of her Child's Library, or catalogue of books, which she ventures to recommend to young mothers for their children" (Fenn, 1787: xv).

Although the following lies beyond the scope of the thesis, I believe that it is noteworthy to bring into question some examples from the texts themselves in which the writers advertise themselves or make cross-references to their peers and their work, and to Marshall himself. This shows that the authors not only made effective use of the liminal devices, but also of their narratives, reinforcing thus my thesis statement that these writers never missed an opportunity to remind readers of their commercial intentions. Little Martha in Dorothy Kilner's *Anecdotes of a Boarding School* is about to be sent to a boarding school due to her mother's bad health. Upon leaving, her mother gives her "a very pretty book" containing stories written "upon the same subjects I [she] could wish, if I [she] had time and abilities, to write to you [her daughter]" (Kilner, 1790, vol. 1: 19). Additionally, Martha is also given a copy of Dorothy Kilner's *Letters and Dialogues*, and Mary Ann Kilner's *Adventures of a Pincushion* and *Memoirs of a Peg Top*: "when her mamma stopped her, saying, stay, my dear, that is not all I have for you, there are two more volumes of those Letters and Dialogues; and here are the Adventures of a Pincushion, and the Memoirs of a Peg-top, of all them very pretty, entertaining, instructive books, which I dare say you will find great amusement in reading, and I am sure if you attend to, and remember the instructions contained in them likewise, you will reap great improvement from them" (Kilner, 1790, vol. 1: 20).

In Fenn's *Fairy Spectator* the girls have a bookcase filled with toys and books, among which Mary Ann Kilner's *Course of Lectures for Sunday Evenings*, Dorothy Kilner's *Good Child's Delight*, *Little Stories for Little Folk* and *History of Little Boys and Girls*, and books by Hester Chapone and Catherine Talbot (Fenn, 1789: 23 and 46). In *School Occurrences* Mrs Teachwell is a beloved character praised by parents for her teaching skills: "Mrs. Sprightly: Mrs. Teachwell watches every action, word, and almost, one may say, thought. Stranger: She is very superior to most ladies in her station. Mrs. Sprightly: Mr. Sprightly is charmed with her. He says she reminds him of Dr. Johnson's character of Watts. Stranger: I do not recollect it. Mrs. Sprightly: Perhaps I may not be accurate in the words. – "For children, he condescended to lay aside the scholar, the philosopher, and the wit, to write little poems of devotion, and systems of instruction, adapted to their wants and capacities, from the dawn of reason, through its gradations of advance in the morning of life" (Fenn, 1783: 115). Not only are parents happy with Mrs Teachwell, but also her pupils: "Stranger: I am told she is much beloved by her pupils. Mrs. Sprightly: She is very chearful (sic) amongst them when she is perfectly well, and when she retires to her chamber sick, her comfort is to see the tender attention of some of her children" (Fenn, 1783: 116).

In *Rational Sports* the teacher engages in "agreeable entertainment" (Fenn, 1790: 87) with the children, suggesting that parents and children should play together as it is both an exciting and instructive activity. Moreover, in *The Female Guardian* Mrs Teachwell's "library for the use of the young people is selected with the utmost caution, as a point on which depends the health and purity of their minds" and no other books "are allowed to be read but such as I [she] provide[s]" (Fenn, 1784: 9). The author also acknowledges the effort made by her fellow female writers in

contributing to the spread of children's literature: "within a few years the collection has been greatly increased, and not a little by my own sex" (Fenn, 1784: 9). Advertising within their stories and having characters reading and recommending their books are clever ways to emphasise and complement the same message conveyed in the paratextual material. Unavoidably, readers are manipulated into purchasing the persistently advertised products. Furthermore, Marshall is, of course, present in their narratives; Fenn in *A Spelling Book* advertises her *Art of Teaching in Sport* and the publisher's cuts available in his shop in London: "it would be pleasant to have a multitude of cuts of objects, whose names the child had been reading, to exhibit. Some sets are already provided for that purpose, and sold by Marshall (the Child's Printer, in London) who has likewise a Set of Boxes for teaching the rudiments of Spelling, Grammar, and Arithmetic; with a book to explain the manner of using them, called The Art of Teaching in Sport" (Fenn, 1787: 113).

Cleverly, Mary Ann Kilner's *Adventures of a Whipping Top* ends with the following paragraph:

> One day, throwing me into the river, Keeper was surly, and would not jump in for me, so the stream took me and carried me a great way, till I came to shallow water, where a great stone stopped me, and the current forced me on shore just a little way from a town in Yorkshire, where I wrote my history, and flung it into the stream, directed to Mr. Marshall, Printer to the King of Lilliput, at No. 4, Aldermary Church-Yard. Here, in all probility (sic), I shall lay and rot, unless something very particular should happen. – I know if any boys should come this way they must see me, or if a flood should happen, I shall then, no doubt, have an opportunity of communicating the second part of my life, and making a six-penny book, as big as the Memoirs of a Peg-Top; which is sold at the Lilliputian Warehouse, Aldermary Church-Yard (Kilner, 1783: 73).

At the end of the book readers learn four things: first, the origin of the story; second, Marshall's address; third, a disguised Marshall lets his readers know that if they are interested in the second part of this story they would have to pay him visit, requesting such a volume; and four, Marshall takes this opportunity to advertise Dorothy Kilner's *Memoirs of a Peg Top*. This is followed by Marshall's "Address to his Little

Customers", in which he echoes his writers' rejection of flaming children's imagination:

> this history coming to me in the manner it did, made me question the truth of a Whipping-Top writing its own life: indeed I can hardly believe it; I have so many good reasons to support me in this opinion, that some one who wishes well to all little boys and girls in Great-Britain, has taken the pains of introducing to amuse and divert them, and not chusing (sic) to have their name published, has wrote (sic) one in character of a Whipping-Top. This history came to me with pen and ink: how the Top should find pen, ink, and paper behind a stone in the middle of the stream is wonderful, and past all credit; and supposing it could, it had no hands to make use of; nay more, it never once mentions learning either to write or read: If it could write and read, why did it not send a direction to some little good boy in the town it mentions to have stopped near? I make no doubt but there was one good boy in it, who would have been glad to have walked a mile to have found it. I, therefore, would not wish you to believe it, but to understand, that it pictures out the characters of good and bad boys and girls, shewing (sic) how amiable is carefulness even in play-things; and how those who mind neither their books or marbles are to be despised (Kilner, 1783: 78).

His final advice is: "when you are at school mind your learning; and when at play, mind your play; in short, whatever you do, do with all your ability, with care, with spirit, and with cheerfulness" (Kilner, 1783: 78). Therefore, Marshall joins forces with his literary associates in order to promote their publications; in front of their readers, they appear to be partners collaborating and making an effort for the business to thrive.

In conclusion, as Mary Ann Kilner puts it in the preface to *Memoirs of a Peg Top*, the writers trust "for a favourable reception, more to the utility of the plan than the merit of its execution" (Kilner, 1785: vi). Despite arguing that they write "without a claim to any title, but such as my [their] wish to lead little folks, to wisdom may confer" (Fenn, *School Occurrences*, 1783: xi), it is apparent that "an Author is naturally anxious, that the purchaser should be satisfied with his bargain; and tries to anticipate the objections which may arise" (Fenn, *A Spelling Book*, 1787: v). Whilst it is true that these writers strive to instil lifelong lessons, they are also (primarily, perhaps) concerned with the reception of their texts. The more they strategically explore the paratexts, the more convincing they are and the more assertive they sound, the better the response they receive and, ultimately, the more books they sell.

H: Postscripts

The drawback of having a preface is that the readers are not yet familiar with the work, so by replacing it with a postface, or postscript, the reader becomes actual and not potential and it would increase the reader's understanding of the work itself, making thus the reading of the text more meaningful and relevant. However, there are certain risks: the postface becomes less monitory and preventive as the readers are not informed from the beginning about the ways in which to approach the text, the readers might not even reach the end of the text or the postface, or, if they do, their reading might not have been in agreement with the intention of the author and thus rendering the reading of the text useless or less effective (Genette, 1997: 238-9).

Fenn is the only one of the Marshall writers who has included postscripts, yet with the purpose of complementing her prefaces, advertisements, dedications, or addresses. In this way the writer reminds her readers of the purpose of her books as stated from the beginning, reiterates and reinforces the moral, and draws final conclusions. At the end of *The Female Guardian* Fenn expresses "the tenderest [sic] affection" she has for her "dear readers" and admits that she has "assumed various shapes with a view to amuse your [the readers'] volatile fancies, but retain the same uniform purpose, namely, to convey and enforce virtuous principles, such as may render you [them] worthy and amiable" (Fenn, 1784: 128). The postscript restates the objectives expressed in the preface and clearly makes reference to the period's slogan: entertainment fused with instruction.

Fables ends with a personal message "To Mrs. F -----", "disclosing nothing to strangers, yet to those who are acquainted with us [Fenn and Mrs F-----], to those who know the connexion which subsists between us [Fenn and Mrs F-----], may intimate, that I [Fenn] do[es] not forget to whom I [Fenn] am [is] indebted for some

of the most striking features which constitute the picture of a perfect mother" (Fenn, 1783: 84). The traits of a perfect mother are scattered throughout her volumes and by "uniting them, give us [the readers] the image of a W-----, a C-----, a F------; give us [the readers], in other words, a *perfect Mother*. How important the office! How valuable the character! To such Mothers we look up to form the manner of the rising generation; to such women, to save a nation from impeding ruin, by training the youth to virtue. These are mothers!" (Fenn, 1783: 85). As stated throughout her books, Fenn believes that mothers have the responsibility of educating the rising generation into becoming valuable assets to society.

Fenn's *Art of Teaching in Sport* was meant as "a prelude to A Set of Toys, for Enabling Ladies to Instill the Rudiments of Spelling, Reading, Grammar, and Arithmetic", as the subtitle informs the readers, and it contains three sections: "The Spelling Box", "The Grammar Box" and "The Figure Box". At the end of second section the writer adds a postscript, in which she suggests that "The Grammar Box may long retain its novelty, by a little art in the management. A fresh supply of cuts will renew that charm, which is so strong a recommendation to young people. A new set of verbs would tend to enliven the sport. It is almost impracticable to have a greater variety at one time in the box, as the number would be a real inconvenience" (Fenn, 1785: 47). This suggests that Fenn is a professional writer who thinks of ways of improving her work in order to extend its life and success. In addition, she takes into consideration children's needs and what appeals to them so that her work would become beneficial for their instruction and amusement.

The postscript to *School Occurrences* makes reference to another text by Fenn, namely to *The Fairy Spectator*, in which Mrs Teachwell makes up a story for Miss Sprightly as a follow-up to her dream of a fairy. The story is about Miss Child,

a motherless and vain girl, to whom a fairy appears, acting as her guardian and who gives her two enchanted mirrors: one which shows her as she is and the other as she ought to be or become: "To Miss F**** My Dear, Whether I hold to you a mirror, to shew [sic] you what you *are*, or what you *ought to be*, I believe you will not start at your own figure in *my* glass. You know I allude to my Fairy Mirrors" (Fenn, c. 1783: 138). Fenn also makes sure that her readers do not view Miss Sprightly, the heroine of both books, "as a perfect model. No! she is a frail mortal. But though not faultless, I mean to represent her as a harmless, lively good-tempered girl, who has a strict sense of honour; who is affectionate and tender; desirous of pleasing, but forgetful: in short, a worthy, amiable girl, with foibles consistant [sic] with innocent vivacity, but yet she must strive to correct. I draw variety of characters; do you imitate the Bee, which extracts honey from both flowers and weeds; collect from each what in each is commendable, 'till you become as amiable as you are wished to be by, My Dear, Your affectionate, &c." (Fenn, 1783: 138-9).[51]

Postscripts have, therefore, the aim to reinforce the intentions stated in the prefatory material; Fenn stresses the blending of instruction with amusement, the attributes of the perfect mother and the effort invested by them into shaping individuals with valuable characters for the benefit of the society. Lastly, her postscripts reveal her commercial objectives and professionalism with which she treats her (future) works. Since postscripts contain the last words, Fenn ensures that the last message to send to her readers is effective and enchanting as her mirrors: what consumers are without her books and what they will become after their perusal.

[51] It needs to be mentioned that *School Occurrences* was published in 1783 and *The Fairy Spectator* in 1789, which means that the above postscript was added in later editions. However, the copy I possess via the ECCO online resources has no publishing date on its title page. This does not diminish the importance of such a paratextual feature, yet it shows that Fenn added more paratextual material to make cross-references (intertextuality) and promote her other texts.

I: List of Subscribers

I was able to identify this highly pragmatic and commercial paratextual feature in Lucy Peacock's works, the list of subscribers being relatively extensive (approximately fourteen pages) and it contains some important names such as Princess Mary, Charles and Frances Burney, Richard Cumberland and Elizabeth Montague, among others (Grenby, 2011: 141). Moreover, it also includes the number of copies the subscribers required (between one and six copies).

The list of subscribers is included (most likely by Marshall himself) before the main text. The reasons behind including such a long list at the beginning of a text might have been to point out to the readers how valuable that work was, how many people showed regular interest in Peacock's texts and how the subscribers had already given consent to receiving her further publications, confirming thus their long-term confidence in the author's writing. Also, the list might have given purchasers the feeling of a shared community with a shared literary taste, as well as a feeling of pride of being included among an esteemed and educated public. The list of subscribers could arguably find its correspondent in modern commercial advertising in which people are reassured of the expertise of the producer, consumers' satisfaction, and the high quality and longevity of the product.

J: Table of Contents or Indexes

Including a table of contents or index might not increase the sales of a book, but it does confirm that these writers are, as I have tried to show throughout the thesis, professional writers, taking into consideration not only the literary conventions, but also making their texts more accessible to their readers, providing them with an

apparatus that enables them to clearly see the writers' intentions as well as to look for specific information with ease at any given moment.

If there is no such paratextual element, Isaac Watts in *Improvement of the Mind* suggests that "'tis very useful to make one as you are reading it: Not with that Exactness as to include the Sense of every Page and Paragraph, which should be done if you design'd to print it; but 'tis sufficient in your *Index* to take Notice only of those Parts of the Book which are new to you, or which you think well written, and well worthy of your Remembrance or Review" (Watts, 1741: 65-6). This shows the importance he gives to this paratextual feature and, in case there is one, he encourages readers to read it before the main text as "by this means you [the readers] will not only be better fitted to give the Book the first reading, but you will be much assisted in your second perusal of it, which should be done with greater Attention and Deliberation, and you will learn with more Ease and Readiness what the Author pretends to teach" (Watts, 1741: 61).

After a careful consideration of the primary sources I was able to identify several texts with such paratextual element and draw the following conclusions. In accordance with the literary conventions, the table of contents is placed either at the beginning or at the end of the main text and reminds readers of the titles of the chapters with their corresponding pages, and, occasionally, provides a summary. Fenn's *Fables*, *The Female Guardian*, *Rational Sports*, *The Rational Dame*, *The Lilliputian Spectacle de la Nature*, *The Juvenile Tatler*, and *The Fairy Spectator* are representative examples of works containing a table of content indicating the titles and page numbers. Fenn's *Juvenile Correspondence* and *A Spelling Book* also include a summary: in the letter to be found on page 40 William writes to Mary and, as the summary informs the readers, "laments that at his school merit is not distinguished.

Relates what pains he takes to improve. Tells how each branch of his learning affected him" (*Juvenile Correspondence*); and chapter VI of *A Spelling Book* is "a course of easy reading lessons for children; beginning with single words of three letters, and advancing gradually to sentences of six or seven words". In the "Advertisement" to the second volume of *Cobwebs to Catch Flies* "parents are requested to consult the table of contents, and direct their children to read the dialogues in the order in which they are t[herein] arranged. The printer thinks it but respectful to the author to acq[uaint] ladies and others, that his inattention occasioned the [re-ar]rangement of the dialogues" (Fenn, 1783: n.p.).

Therefore, having a table of contents or an index gives readers a sense of clear structure of the text. If read before the main text, as Watts recommends, then readers know what to expect from it, and this approach will also enable them, the second time they read the text, to fully understand the message conveyed by the authors. By means of such a simple, but insightful device, the writers put themselves forward as professionals with a clear agenda: to cater for their readers by providing them with a visually effective device that facilitates and structures the information and message given.

K: Footnotes

Generally speaking, notes and footnotes "may be statutorily optional for the reader and may consequently be addressed only to certain readers: to those who will be interested in one or another supplementary or digressive consideration, the incidental nature of which justifies its being bumped, precisely, into a note" (Genette, 1997: 324). However, this section aims to challenge this traditional approach, unveiling the

more surprising nature of footnotes as they take on a pragmatic and commercial purpose.

In Trimmer's series of descriptions of her prints there are a great number of footnotes, many of which make reference to a certain volume of the series that would complement the understanding of a particular issue. For instance, in *A Description of a Set of Prints of Scripture History* there is a footnote recommending readers to "see Number IV. of Assyrian Monarchy – Ancient History, Part I" (Trimmer, 1786: 83) or in *A Description of a Set of Prints of English History* if the readers wish to know more about the origins of the Britons they should "see Ancient History, Part II, Page 96" (Trimmer, 1789: 1). Similarly, Dorothy Kilner in *Letters from a Mother to her Children on Various Important Subjects* adds the following footnote with reference to another book written by her: "For a fuller explanation of baptism, see 2nd vol. of a 'Clear and Concise Account of the Origin and Design of Christianity'" (Kilner, 1780: 83). This kind of footnotes have thus two purposes: to give further references to a particular subject and to direct readers to other texts written by the authors in cause.

The footnotes may make reference not only to the writer's own work, but also to other books that deal with the same topic. For example, in *Scripture Lessons* Trimmer addresses parents in a footnote and recommends them to "let the child read in the Bible the whole of the first chapter of Genesis, and the three first verses of the second chapter" (Trimmer, 1797: 1).

The moral lessons and advice are not only contained in the texts themselves, but also in the footnotes. For instance, Fenn in *School Dialogues for Boys* addresses parents and tutors in a footnote, stressing the importance of teaching children how to spend their weekly allowance:

> It were well if parents and masters would attend to the conduct of children in these particulars. – How many young people contract at school, habits of extravagance which involve themselves and their families in distress and disgrace! – It is the epidemical madness

> of this age to spend on Monday the allotment for the present week, and to mortgage on Tuesday the allowance for the next (Fenn, 1783, vol. II: 99).

In *Juvenile Tatler* in the first chapter entitled "The Foolish Mother" the author presents a parallel between two mothers, Mrs Steady and Mrs Giddy, the former being a good mother capable of controlling her children and educating them properly, and the latter a mother in need of guidance and improvement. After Mrs Giddy's confession of her children's naughty behaviour Fenn inserts a footnote in which she reveals her disgust and disapproval of such behaviour by means of a poignant rhetorical question: "Can spoiled children be set in too disagreeable a light?" (Fenn, 1789: 5). Fenn thus makes use not only of the text itself but also of an apparently simple, yet perceptive and disapproving, footnote to illustrate the negative consequences of spoiling your children.

In other cases, the footnotes have the purpose to give more detailed explanations of something that was mentioned in the main text. For example, Peacock in *The Life of a Bee* further explains as a footnote the birth of a bee:

> In this place it may not be out of time to inform the young reader, that a Bee is produced from an egg something larger than a fly-blow. This egg being hatched a small white maggot appears, which is daily fed by the old Bees, and continues to increase in size. About the fourteenth day it cease to eat, and then the old Bees inclose (sic) it in its cells, by close sealing up the entrance with wax, during the time it remains in this confinement, it gradually throws off its old skin, and, from an ugly maggot, becomes a perfect bee, and at the time that nature has appointed, which is observed to be about the seventh day, breaks from its confinement as described in the story (Peacock, 1800: 15).

Or, what a drone or humble bee is:

> The Drone, of humble Bee, generally thought to be the male Bee: this insect has no sting like the other Bees, and is incapable of gathering honey as they do, nevertheless he is very useful to the swarm from his diligence in brooding over the eggs, and assisting the females, or working Bees, in feeding and taking care of the young (Peacock, 1800: 16).

These footnotes address those readers keen on knowing more about certain types of bees, either curious children or parents who may want to read this information to their children if they notice any special interest. This kind of footnotes offering supplementary information can also be found in Fenn's *School Dialogues for Boys*.

Here, however, the footnotes provide facts and details about certain books and writers that were mentioned in the text itself. After Sprightly, the teacher, mentions a book of advice that she used to read and copy in her youth, there is a footnote with details about the writer's life and work: "It was written by *James Reynolds*, Esq. of *Bumpstead Helion*. in *Essex*, for the instruction of his son, *Robert Reynolds*, Esq. and is dated the first of *June*, 1683" (Fenn, 1783, vol. II: 28). An even more detailed footnote is added about "the widow of the same person for her [dead][52] son" (Fenn, 1783, vol. II: 28):

> This book, dated in 1690, was written by the second wife of *James Reynolds*, Esq; for their only son, *James*, who, by following the good and prudent advice of his parents, and by his own diligence and application, became an honor to his family, and an ornament to his country. He was born in 1686; educated for the law; appointed a judge in 1724, and in 1730 succeeded Sir *Thomas Pengelly*, as Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, which high office he executed till the 7th of *July*, 1738; when his memory, (worn out by a too great and constant application to study, and the duties of his profession) failing him, he was requested to resign. He survived his resignation only till the 9th of *February* following, when he died, having just completed his fifty-third year, and was buried in the south aisle of Saint *James's* church, in *Bury Saint Edmund's*, in *Suffolk*. Where a large and expensive, though inelegant monument, is erected to his memory. He was a polite scholar; a good lawyer; and remarkable for the pleasantry and cheerfulness of his conversation (Fenn, 1783, vol. II: 28-30).

This extensive footnote includes not only facts about James Reynolds's son, but also his qualities. As I mentioned above, the writers make use of footnotes to include a moral message and instruct young readers to become better individuals by providing them with examples of respectable people who have achieved greatness and served their society because they followed their parents' useful advice. The footnote ends with a prayer that "was composed by his Lordship for his own private use" (Fenn, 1783, vol. II: 30). After Sprightly explains some anecdotes of the Reynolds's (including how James Reynolds, the father, went to school daily two miles on foot), Mildmay, one of her pupils, expresses her wish to know the prayer that James Reynolds used to say to give him strength. Unfortunately, as Sprightly informs the readers, "there is no copy of that" (Fenn, 1783, vol. II: 32). However, in a footnote

[52] The original has the symbol "+".

Fenn adds: "A descendant having expressed the same wish as Mildmay here does; a friend wrote a prayer, which she thought might suit the occasion, and placed it in his way. The sweet boy exclaimed with emotion, 'Here is a copy of my ancestor's prayer!' – As it was designed to cherish worthy impressions, can it be deemed impertinent to add the copy?" (Fenn, 1783, vol. II: 32). By including *The Child's Prayer for Wisdom* in a footnote, Fenn once again reinforces the moral and religious message of her text.

Occasionally, the writers make use of the footnotes in order to give their personal opinion about a certain topic. In *The Female Guardian* Fenn writes about what constitutes a good mother; after including a quote from Madame Genlis's *Théâtre à l'Usage des Jeunes Personnes* in which she expresses her belief that a good mother is the one who dedicates her time and youth to her children and their education,[53] Fenn inserts the following footnote: "Such is my idea of a MOTHER; such is the enchanting picture which is given by Madame Genlis" (Fenn, 1784: 20). With this footnote, Fenn reinforces the image she holds of a perfect mother whose traits have appeared throughout all her volumes.

In the same text in another footnote Fenn also voices her views on boarding schools in England:

> Doubtless public education is often necessary, even for girls; and we have many excellent schools: neither will those ladies who are at the head of such seminaries dissent from me in my opinion, that it is to the watchful eye of maternal tenderness we must be fundamentally indebted for the virtues of the rising generation. Nay more, – they will join with me in saying that we have by far too many boarding schools for young ladies in England, more particularly in and near metropolis (Fenn, 1784: 29).

This topic (home versus public education) was a controversial one in the long eighteenth century as we have seen in Chapter 2. Even though Fenn gives credit to

[53] Original quote in French: "Ne vivre que pour ses enfans; renoncer à la dissipation, aux plaisirs, pour se livrer entierement à leur education; passer le jour à leur donner des leçons, & une partie des nuits à etudier à s'instruire pour eux, leur sacrifier avec joie sa jeunesse, son temps" (Fenn, 1784: 20).

school education, she strongly agrees with and supports the idea of mothers instructing their children at home. The writer not only expresses her opinion openly in her texts, but also in the paratexts, in this particular example in a footnote. By reiterating her view on the topic, readers are aware and constantly reminded of the differences between home and public schooling, and guided towards making an informed choice.

In a footnote in *The Rational Dame* Fenn is of the opinion that parents should peruse a book before their children and warns mothers of the language they need to use:

> The compiler of this little work presumes, that every attentive parent peruses a book before she allows her child to look into it; but this will require something further. Where the style is above the comprehension of the little one, on whose account it might be purchased; (as being taken from works by no mean designed for children) a mother will doubtless have pleasure in translating it into easy, familiar language; such as is suited to the capacity and attainments of her little companion (Fenn, 1786: 20).

In the same text in other two footnotes Fenn provides guidance for mothers and humbly suggests possible answers to children's questions either by directing them to another book (footnote 1), or by recommending them to follow an example she set in the main text (footnote 2):

> (1) If the curiosity of the little person who receives this information be judiciously managed, he will here enquire with some eagerness, 'What is their use?' and I know not how to direct any solution of the difficulty so well as by referring the teacher to the Sermon whence these extracts were taken (Fenn, 1786: 23).
>
> (2) Need to be hinted to mothers, that a long winded, harangue is by no mean adapted to children, no- remarks offered in short sentences (as occasion requires) or answers given to questions artfully introduced, are much more agreeable to them. The Ox and Sheep may serve as specimens (Fenn, 1786: 26).

These footnotes show that Fenn had mothers and children's interests at heart when she compiled her volumes, and, moreover, she anticipated their difficulties to which she offered possible solutions. This argument is sustained with two further examples of footnotes inserted in *The Child's Grammar*: "These examples will serve to practise with again, after having learned the distinction of cases; the parts of speech should

first be perfectly familiar to the young pupil" and "It is much better to abstain from farther explanation, till the pupil is perfectly mistress of the whole of the first part of the Child's Grammar" (Fenn, 1831: 8 and 24).

As I have tried to show in this section, footnotes have a variety of functions: to give supplementary information, provide readers with further references to the writers' work or to other authors, emphasise the moral lessons, give and reiterate personal opinions, and assist parents and teachers by offering solutions. Although footnotes "may be statutorily optional for the reader and may consequently be addressed only to certain readers" (Genette, 1997: 324), this does not diminish their importance and the effect they have on those readers who do decide to read them and take them into consideration. And, most importantly, the footnotes are yet another instrument used by the writers to advocate their commercial objective.

L: List of Approved/Recommended Books; Catalogues

The list of approved and recommended books or catalogues is a paratextual feature which "supplies additional facts and figures, so readers are effectively assured that information given is authoritative" (McCallum and Stephens, 2011: 360), for instance, the number of volumes and the price. As mentioned in my 4.2 and footnote 41, some paratextual features are more likely to have been included by the publisher rather than the authors themselves: "a catalogue is a collection of titles attributed, properly, not to an author but to a publisher. The publisher, not the author, can say 'This book is' or 'is not' or (horrors!) 'is no longer in my catalogue'" (Genette, 1997: 74). Nonetheless, this device is not only meant to provide readers with facts and figures; the catalogue inserted by Marshall is used pragmatically and commercially to make buyers aware of the thriving nature of his business and the productivity and

success of his associates, and, needless to say, to convince customers to purchase more volumes. Marshall even advertised offering "good allowance to those who buy a quantity" (Kilner, *Dialogues and Letters on Morality, Oeconomy and Politeness*, 1780, vol. I: 177). With this offer, he appears to be protecting, promoting and having the interests of consumers at heart; yet, the more sensible explanation is that he was a shrewd businessman engaged in promotional practices to boost profits.

The printer often included, either at the beginning or at the end of a book, an extensive list of "Publications for the Instructions and Entertainment of Young Minds, printed and sold by J. Marshall, and Co. at no. 4, Aldermary Church-Yard, in Bow-lane, London". At the end of Fenn's *Juvenile Correspondence* and Dorothy Kilner's second volume of *Anecdotes of a Boarding School* Marshall also wrote this message to his purchasers to assure them of the high quality of his publishing. He strategically brings together "ladies, gentlemen and the heads of schools", making thus the ordinary customers feel as important as an authority and, moreover, to identify themselves with the advertised product:

> Ladies, Gentlemen, and the Heads of Schools, are requested to observe, that the abovementioned Publications are original, and not compiled: as also, that they were written to suit the various Ages for which they are offered; but on a more liberal Plan, and in a different Style from the Generality of Works designed for young People: being entirely divested of that prejudicial Nonsense (to young Minds) the Tales of Hobgoblins Witches, Fairies, Love, Gallantry, &c. with which such little Performances heretofore abounded.- A Deference to the Opinion of others will not permit publishers to say more; and they trust, Truth does not require, that they should say less (Fenn, 1783: 126 and Kilner, 1790: 104).

Pickering believes that "in stating that his publications were composed on 'a more liberal plan', Marshall implied that children's books had improved since the days when Newbery began publishing" (Pickering, 1981: 200). In *School Occurrences* Miss Sprightly leaves *Goody Twoshoes* "to the little ones" (Fenn; 1783: 64-5) while her mother recognises this text as one she used to read as a child. "Newbery's publications, Marshall implied, represented an unsophisticated first generation of

children's books. As educational practice progressed, so, many educators believed, children's books advanced. Proper books published in the 1780s would take sprightly children far beyond the ignorance which marked many a lady of the previous generation who read Newbery's books" (Pickering, 1981: 200-1).

Other times, Marshall published at the end of some of Fenn's books (e.g. *The Juvenile Tatler*; *A Spelling Book*) *A Complete Catalogue of Mrs Teachwell's Books*. This helps readers to have an unabridged list of Fenn's works and perhaps to purchase the missing volumes from their libraries. Moreover, by compiling such a list the authors and the publisher appear to do readers a favour by indicating precisely which books they should purchase as they know which ones are appropriate for children. Also, at the end of *The Female Guardian* he incorporated *Mrs Teachwell's Library for her Young Ladies*, which contained not only books written by the Marshall writers, but also by other authors, such as Barbauld, Chapone, Talbot, Fordyce, Johnson, Thompson and some French plays. Here, the recommendations come from the author herself (authorial authority), without Marshall himself having to put himself forward. This, of course, could be seen as another strategy, readers, perhaps, being more inclined to pay attention to the writer's recommendations rather than the publisher's, as the relationship between writers and readers is based on trust and intimacy. [54]

[54] A relative, but distinctive, case is the one of Peacock's second edition of *The Knight of the Rose*, published by J. Johnson and J. Harris, fourteen years after its first edition published by Marshall. Interestingly, it also contains such a catalogue, however, for *The Visit of a Week* the following passage from the *Analytical Review* has been included: "The following account of this work appeared in the Analytical Review- <We have pleasure in introducing this publication to the attention of parents and preceptors, as a valuable addition to the children's library. Its objects are to awaken in the minds of young people a taste for study, and to teach them, in an amusing and interesting way, lessons of prudence and virtue; and both these ends this miscellany is very happily calculated to promote. Among the rest an excellent story is introduced, tending to inspire young people with that firmness of mind, which will preserve them from being laughed, or persuaded, out of what is right; and another, to correct the propensity, so common in young minds, towards jealousy and envy>" (Peacock, 1807: n.p.). Undoubtedly, including such review, which was published in a respectable periodical, gives credibility to one's work. At a broader level, this raises the question of the possible advertising that

By incorporating such catalogues, Marshall not only displayed a "great variety of rational publications for the instruction and improvement of young people" (Trimmer, *A Series of Prints of Scripture History*, 1786: 4) printed and sold by him and Co. at No. 4, Aldermary Church-Yard, Bow-Lane, London, but also "a great variety of other entertaining books, of various prices" (Kilner, *Letters from a Mother to Her Children* vol. II, 1780: 179). By this means, he introduced his literary group, book prices, number of volumes, recommended works, or the latest titles. Therefore, he joined forces with his collaborators to increase the reputation of his business, and the popularity and sales of his products.

M: Additional Rhetorical Devices[55]

The Marshall writers skilfully use stylistic devices in order to persuade their audience and, although this has been mentioned throughout my analysis of the commercial strategies in the paratexts, I think it is important to bring it again into mention in one separate section aimed at repeating and summarising the relevant points, and provide more examples to sustain my argument, because the overriding macro-purpose is to position the authors with respect to the readers and/or purchasers. The list of rhetorical devices is not exhaustive, yet it comprises, in my view, sufficient proof to

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these works were given and whether the advertisements echoed the marketing objectives of the paratextual features and whether there is some evidence that the prefaces might have determined potential readers' decision to purchase the books. This is a complex topic and lies beyond the scope of my thesis; nevertheless, it opens up another research opportunity at a post-doctoral level. Moreover, looking at the reviews of children's books in periodicals such as *The Monthly Review*, *The Critical Review*, *The Analytical Review*, *The Eclectic Review*, *The British Critic* or *The Anti-Jacobin Review* and analysing advertisements possibly to be found at the Public Record Office in Kew, London, would undoubtedly reinforce and complement the kind of research I am undertaking at the moment. See also Further Research section.

[55] To distinguish each rhetorical ambit more effectively, this section uses paragraph separation.

illustrate the complexity of the issue, on the one hand, and the writers' literary and stylistic sophistication, on the other.[56]

At a linguistic level, the writers, in their paratexts, make use of the subjunctive mood in order to constrain and negotiate the terms of children's future happiness and wellbeing. For instance: "If you be so good, we shall all love you. If you go on to take pains to learn to read well, I will send you more books, and they shall have nice prints in them, such as I know you will like. I love to please a good child" and "If you be good your friends will love you. If you be good, God will bless you" (Fenn, *Fables in Monosyllables*, 1783: vii and xxiv); "if the boy study mere words, if the youth acquire no taste for literature, the man will be no better for the cost and pains which have been spent upon his education" (Fenn, *Rational Sports*, 1790: xi). The implication here is that the benefits of these writers' texts are only available on the condition that children meet specific requirements. This is also applied to future mothers; in the preface to *The Art of Teaching in Sport* Fenn lays the conditions for the eldest daughter to become "a good deputy-parent": "if she acquit herself with propriety in this honourable department; if she be adroit at seconding the views of her mother; if she be watchful to relieve her parent from a part of that care, of which she has been, and still is, herself the object; if, with cheerful affection, she execute this most agreeable branch of the parental office; what rational man will not say to himself: 'This young lady is a good deputy-parent; when occasion requires it, she will fulfil the more serious maternal duties; the man who marries her, will find in *her*, a Mother to their children'" (Fenn, 1785: 6). If young boys and girls follow these instructions and fulfil these requirements, they are guaranteed a promising and happy

[56] For further information see Booth, Wayne C. *The Rhetoric of Fiction*.; Mullan, John. *How Novels Work*. and Wood, James. *How Fiction Works*.

future. The hypothetical and unreal situations of the subjunctive are contrasted with the indicative mood of the simple present, used to dramatise and recreate a situation in a dynamic manner to help readers visualise the scene described. For instance, Fenn in the preface to *Rational Sports* recreates the following scenario for mothers: "You walk into the garden; the caterpillars are devouring the stocks; a butterfly is fluttering about; a bee is at work; all these little incidents furnish subjects of *rational amusement*, lively enough to engage your child's attention. You return to the parlour; he flies with eagerness to a book, where he can peruse an account of those things; he reads what you have really just told him; (this children delight to do) thus is he gently conducted, along the paths of amusement, to a taste for rational employment" (Fenn, 1790: xii-xiii).

The Marshall writers also exploit the uses of the modal verbs (expressing likelihood, ability, permission and obligation). Dorothy Kilner shows confidence in her writing abilities affirming that she "can, at least, keep clear of corrupting their minds" (Kilner, *The Holyday Present*, 1781: 6). Likewise, Trimmer in the "Advertisement" to Sunday School Dialogues is "persuaded, that the high degree of estimation, in which the original work has long been held, will secure it a favourable reception" (Trimmer, 1790: iii). On other occasions, the women writers appear to be less boastful and hope for their work to be favourably received: "The Author has only to hope that her views may be crowned with success, and to add, that she has no further recourse to fiction, than as she thought it convenient to introduce truths, and to convey a useful moral" (Peacock, *The Life of a Bee*, 1800: ix); "if it should be destributed [sic] into the hands of other children, they may, perhaps, be equally entertained with reading the histories of so many little boys and girls" (Kilner, *The*

History of a Great Many Little Boys and Girls, 1780: viii). Throughout the paratexts educators, parents and children are given advice on various subjects and this is illustrated with the use of the modal verbs 'should' and 'ought to': "Letters ought to be most attractive toys […] The first sounds of syllables should likewise be acquired" (Fenn, *The Art of Teaching in Sport*, 1785: 9). Less common, however, is the employment of the stronger modal verb 'must': "The child must be led to esteem it a privilege, when he is permitted to see the first reading lessons" (Fenn, *The Art of Teaching in Sport*, 1785: 10); "I must beg, you will be careful to remember, that the Author's design in writing it was no less to instruct and improve, than it was to amuse and divert you" (Kilner, *The Life and Perambulation of a Mouse* vol. I, 1783: n.p.). Experimenting with the various usages and subtle differences of the modal verbs, the authors come across as in control of their writing style, being capable of capturing the essence of their work and masterly transfer it on paper.

The linguistic status of the paratexts is also determined by use of imperatives to give children clear instructions and authoritative commands with the purpose of educating and guiding them towards a happy life. I include here the following examples: "Do not, therefore, be too proud to receive instruction" (Kilner, *William Sedley*, 1783: vi); "Be it your case therefore, my dear, not to disappoint her pleasing expectations" and "Be careful, *greatly* careful, my dear child, that familiarity with the sight, does not make you grow indifferent to the consequences of such actions" (Kilner, *Anecdotes of a Boarding School*, 1790: vi and vii); "Do not imagine that, like a great spider, I will give you a hard gripe, and infuse venom to blow you up" and "Enjoy your sports; be as merry as you will" (Fenn, *Cobwebs*, 1783: xv and xvi).

The imperatives are not only addresses to children, but also to (inexperienced) mothers in need of advice on how to approach and improve their children's education. For instance, when dealing with natural history Fenn asks mothers to "explain to them that the butterfly is a creature, formed by that hand which made themselves; and formed to enjoy happiness; relate to them the wonders of its transformation; teach them to rejoice in the satisfaction which it appears to have as it flutters in the garden; inform them that they have no right to interrupt its enjoyments; but invite them to admire the elegance of its wings" (Fenn, *The Rational Dame*, 1786: vii). In the preface to *The Art of Teaching in Sport* Fenn also advises mothers on toys, proper reading and writing material and on the importance of observing their children's behaviour: "Let the toys be such, as will serve to convey instruction, and precious hours of childhood are improved to be good" (Fenn, 1785: 8); "Let him amuse himself, in combining the same vowel with variety of consonant, bat, cat, hat &c." (Fenn, 1785: 11); "Let them, therefore, read nothing but what is level to their capacity" (Fenn, 1785: 14); "Attend to their prattle; listen when your girl imagines herself to be teaching her doll to read; – when she feigns to be visiting; – when she accosts her ideal guests; – observe with what propriety and vivacity every sentence is uttered" (Fenn, 1785: 15); "Supply them then with phrases similar to their own and they will delight in books" (Fenn, 1785: 16). The purpose and rhetorical relevance of using imperatives is that it allows writers to make requests or give commands and instructions in a very direct way, which ensures the authors' firmness and assertiveness.

The direct address is also reinforced by the use of the second person personal pronoun 'you' and first person possessive pronoun 'my' to create identity and a close

and affectionate relationship; that is, this functions as a rhetorical device of proximity, intimacy and contact. See, for example: "I would wish you, my dear boy" (Kilner, *William Sedley*, 1783: vii). Moreover, the writers make use of the first person plural object pronoun 'us' to create a sense of community, urging either children, mothers or other writers to join forces: "Let us write sprightly chat to amuse our young people, and win them insensibly to goodness" (Fenn, *School Occurrences*, 1783: x) and "Let us strive to improve these thoughts, by doing what is in our power" (Fenn, *The Fairy Spectator*, 1789: v). With respect to viewpoint, the authors in their paratexts alternate between first and third person perspective. Compare, for instance, "the want of opportunity, and the frequent interruptions which I met with during the course of them, have rendered the whole less worthy your acceptance than I had hoped, when I first formed the design" (Kilner, *William Sedley*, 1783: v-vi) to "the author of the following sheets is well aware of the objections which may be made to the performance" (Kilner, *The Adventures of a Pincushion*, 1780: vii). The former gives readers access to the writer's personal experience, thoughts and feelings, thus creating a more convincing, personal and emotional sense of directness and link with the readers. Furthermore, when targeting adults the writers frequently opt for a third person position, which creates a sense of detachment and distance from the accounts. It also reveals the writers' commercial sensibility, being able to change their voice depending on whom they are addressing.

As to register, there are noticeable differences depending on who the dedicatees are. In her "Dedication to Countess de Genlis" in *A Description of a Set of Prints of Scripture History* Trimmer uses a more humble and formal language: "I beg" (Trimmer, 1786: v), "Madam" (Trimmer, 1786: vi), "you will not disdain to

patronise the humble imitation of your own excellent Scheme" (Trimmer, 1786: vi). Dorothy Kilner in the "Dedication To the Miss ****s" in the second volume of *A Clear Concise Account of the Origin and Design of Christianity* writes to her "dear children" who made "so good use of the last little volume" (Kilner, 1781: v), whereas Fenn makes mothers feels guilty by wishing "none but fond mothers to see my [her] books" since "it is your [their] business (Mothers! to you I speak!) to watch that they [children's ideas] be just" (Fenn, *Cobwebs*, 1783: viii-ix).Whether the writers forward their message to an authority, children or mothers, they dexterously modify their writing style for a better appeal and understanding of their contents.

This is also true in the case of signatures. When the relationship with the dedicatees is of proximity, then the writers sign off their texts using phrases such as "your most sincere Friend" (Kilner, *The Life and Perambulation of a Mouse* vol. II, 1784: vi), "your unalterable Friend" (Kilner, *A Clear and Concise Account of the Origin and Design of Christianity*, 1781: v), and "your affectionate friend" (Fenn, *Juvenile Correspondence*, 1790: ix), whereas when the dedicatee is an authority (e.g. Madame Genlis) then their signatures involve a certain degree of formality such as "your most obedient, and humble Servant, S Trimmer" (Trimmer, *A Description of a Set of Prints of Scripture History*, 1786: viii).

The authors also advance their commercial purposes at a semantic level,[57] employing words pertaining to the field of literary commerce. In the "Advertisement" to *A Description of a Set of Prints of English History* Trimmer uses words such as "favourable reception", "purchasers" and "solicitous", and in the "Advertisement" to *Scripture Lessons* "expense" and "publication". Furthermore, the Marshall writers

[57] The rhetorical structures used by these women could be scientifically approached through corpus linguistics and stylistics. See also Further Research section.

throughout their paratexts repeat certain words belonging to the same semantic field to make their point clearer and to constantly remind readers of the central idea of their work in accordance with the period's motto: education through pleasure. Among the most repeated words are: "instruction", "knowledge", "amusement", "(un)entertaining", "(un)interesting", "agreeable", "young minds", "innocent", "duty", and "prattle". Moreover, some of these key words are used contrastingly (as binary opposites) to show and emphasise the confines and struggles of the late eighteenth-century society: moral-corrupt, useful/beneficial-trifling, virtue-vice.

Interestingly, this is also marked graphically in the writers' (or publisher's) choice of italicised words.[58] The final sentence of Mary Ann Kilner's preface to *The Adventures of a Pincushion* is written in italics and evokes the renowned slogan of the age: "*That of presenting the juvenile reader with a few pages which should be innocent of corrupting, if they did not amuse*" (Kilner, 1780: x). On other occasions, just certain key words are italicised, as for example: "and though this little work may be regarded as *trifling*, yet, the *moral* which it contains, is worthy your most serious attention" (Kilner, *William Sedley*, 1783: vi) and "You, I know, have too much good sense ever to refuse *instruction*, because it is conveyed to you through the channel of an *entertaining* little book" (Kilner, *The Life and Perambulation of a Mouse* vol. II, 1784: v-vi). By reiterating and italicising such key words, the writers' aim of emphasising and constantly reminding their purchasers of the essence of their texts is successfully achieved.

[58] Clearly, graphical aspects of formatting, such as underlining, italicising or setting words in bold, could obviously be easily identifiable rhetorical features. However, there is no reliable way of knowing to whom these features correspond. It is entirely plausible to suppose that a typesetter made such decision at the publisher's indication, weakening the argument that this is an authorial strategy. Therefore, I have not followed this issue any further. See also my footnote 41.

Syntactically, there is a clear distinction between paratexts written for adults and those intended for children. Compare, for instance, the following two extracts:

> The main design of this publication is to prove from *example*, that the pain of disappointment will be much increased by *ill-temper*; and that to *yield* to the force of *necessity* will be found wiser than vainly to *oppose* it. The contrast between the principal character, with the peevishness of her cousin's temper, is intended as an incitement to that placid disposition which will form the happiness of social life in every stage; and which, therefore, should not be thought beneath any one's attention, or undeserving of their cultivation (Kilner, *Jemima Placid*, 1790: vi-vii).
>
> I will tell you a tale. Master Brotherton was a good child. When he was three years old, he would bring his books and learn to read. He spelt the words thus b-r-e-a-d – bread, and so on. He was apt, and fond of his book. One day I met with some nice, clear, large print letters and I cut them out, and stuck them on card; then laid them thus, c-a-t – cat, d-o-g – dog; and he said the words at sight- Was not this nice? Then it came in my mind to print with a pen for him; so I made tales of the dog, and the cat, and such short words---Should you not jump for joy?---He did (Fenn, *Fables in Monosyllables*, 1783: xvi-xviii).

Whilst in the first extract (preface to *Jemima Placid*) Mary Ann Kilner writes more elaborated and longer sentences (e.g. subject+verb+indirect object+direct object or subject+verb+direct object+object complement sentence pattern) containing complex vocabulary, in the second one (dedication to *Fables in Monosyllables*) Fenn opts for far shorter sentences with intentionally simplified syntax (mainly subject+verb+object sentence pattern) and accessible vocabulary. In the first case the preface is intended for an adult audience, whereas the second for the 'young minds', thus the styles adopted by the writers are in agreement with the targeted public. This illustrates the authors' ability to modify their writing technique to appeal to different groups of readers so that their message is received and understood as per intention. This also justifies the choice of dialogues for some of the texts since it "keeps awake that attention which flags even in a speech protracted beyond a few lines. […] Advice, (like medicine to refractory children) must come disguised or it will never please. Remarks come with double weight from those who are of their own age" (Fenn, *School Dialogues for Boys*, 1783: xxiv). In addition, Fenn assures mothers that "familiar dialogue is peculiarly agreeable to Children; they understand it with ease, and therefore read it with satisfaction" (Fenn, *Fables*, 1783: 77).

Another stylistic device used to achieve emphatic effect are inversions since they enable writers to lay stress on what really maters to them and what they wish their readers to remember first and foremost.[59] Consequently, Mary Ann Kilner in the dedication to Master ----- in *William Sedley* stresses that “it is from a superficial knowledge either men or books, that we derive a supercilious contempt of the one, or are critically nice in our judgement of the other” (Kilner, 1783: vi-vii) while Dorothy Kilner’s reminds her readers in the preface to *Dialogues and Letters on Morality, Oeconomy, and Politeness* that “to make instruction be listened to with attention, it has been for many ages the opinion of all who have had any knowledge of the human mind, that it is distasteful precepts, should be administered, as far as possible, in the vehicle of amusement” (Kilner, 1780: ix-x).

Moving on to rhetorical questions, these are handled in various ways. First, an answer is provided: “Why then (it may justly be asked) does any person with such conviction of mind, intrude into the world their faulty production? And here give me leave, in the language of Authors, to reply, ‘In hopes of stimulating some abler pen to undertake what, to the best of my poor abilities, I have attempted’” (Kilner, *A Clear Concise Account of the Origin and Design of Christianity* vol. I, 1781: vii-viii) or “School Dialogues! For what purpose? To supply innocent amusement; to infuse just ideas; to teach children to *think*, and to *act* with propriety” (Fenn, *School Dialogues for Boys*, 1783: xiii). Second, no answer is expected: “Children love wonders. Why not be amused with talking of the changes which the gnat upon the window has

[59] Clearly, we need to recall and be aware of the fact that inversions were a far more frequent feature of eighteenth century written English, and there is a consequent risk of over-interpreting the significance of their presence or frequency. However, having said that, they obviously break with standard subject-verb-object (SVO) ordering and, therefore, can still be considered a device of rhetorical significance.

undergone? or the origin of the fly upon the sugar; then view the different parts, which you have at hand, in the microscope?" (Fenn, *Rational Sports*, 1790: xii). Third, the answer is another rhetorical question: "Then why don't you write one yourself? Why indeed should I not?" (Kilner, The Holyday Present 1781: 5) or "Why then do I make apologies for my infantine dialogues? Does it proceed from pride?" (Fenn, *Fables in Monosyllables*, 1783: xii). In all cases, the rhetorical questions are asked to lay emphasis on certain issues, to incite further reflection, to offer suggestions, and are used for style as a persuasive device.

In consequence of their use of rhetorical questions, the Marshall writers, at all times, come across as shrewd and skilful lawyers with well prepared arguments to represent themselves and defend their 'cases'. Their paratexts are similar to a lawyer's closing argument with a clear structure, unbiased and rational justifications, linked logically and sprinkled with poignant rhetorical questions, all aimed at convincing the jury, the judge and audience of the true intentions of the defendant (the writer) and the nature of the evidence provided (the work). Mary Ann Kilner in the preface to *Jemima Placid* starts her defence in the following manner: "It has been often said, that *infancy* is the happiest state of human life, as being exempted from those serious cares, and that anxiety which must ever, in some degree, be an attendant on a more advanced age: but the Author of the following little performance is of a different opinion" (Kilner, 1790: v). The choice of the impersonal construction with no referential subject creates a sense of detachment and lack of involvement; moreover, even the selection of the word 'performance' over 'text' or 'work' leads to the idea that the author views the paratext as a 'court' where she needs to convince her audience with solid arguments. Along the same lines, Peacock claims in the

"Advertisement" to *The Knight of the Rose* that "allegory is by many considered an unfavourable vehicle to convey instruction: To children, it undoubtedly is; but the following sheets are designed for the perusal of youth: and for that class of readers, the author cannot think that moral truths will make the less impression, for being addressed strongly to the imagination" (Peacock, 1793: n.p.). Dorothy Kilners argues in the preface to *The First Principles of Religion, and the Existence of a Deity* that "perhaps it will be said, I have taken two or three of the most ridiculous lessons I could find, by way of example. But by no means has this been the case. I wish it may prove so; for then the remainder might be less prejudicial to the rising generation; which, on the contrary, we shall find equally absurd; as in truth is every book I have yet met with dedicated children" (Kilner, 1780: xiv). Again, the choice of the impersonal constructions, of the word "prove" and the clear and logically exposed rationalisations enable the writers to come across as powerful, clear-cut and argumentative.

To sum up, the Marshall literary associates considered and exploited all the resources available to them. Through a wide range of paratextual material containing just as broad an array of commercial strategies, they succeeded in raising awareness of the urgency and relevance of educating the youth on the one hand, and manipulating the public into purchasing their books, on the other. As this last section aimed to show, the writers offered children an initial acquisition of language, and educators (whether parents or teachers) an ideal model of how they should write in order to achieve their ultimate goal, that is to persuade an audience of the validity and high quality of their work and (perhaps, above all) increase their sales.

5. Early Children's Magazines and Periodicals

5.1 Newbery's *Lilliputian Magazine*

I will start this chapter by giving a brief account of John Newbery's *Lilliputian Magazine*, followed by a discussion about its influence on John Marshall's subsequent projects, more specifically on the *Family Magazine* and the *Juvenile Magazine* and their readership. There are compelling reasons for including a chapter on the study of these periodicals; first, they were edited by two of the Marshall writers (Sarah Trimmer and Lucy Peacock, respectively) and second, there are obvious rhetorical and content-related correspondences with the paratextual elements of the works presented in the previous chapter. That is to say, the thesis statement is not only limited to fiction, rather it transgresses other fields, emphasising thus the complexity and originality of the present undertaking.

To my mind, the study of these periodicals is highly significant because they epitomise tendencies within their own time and reveal important information about the study of the child as consumer and about children's reading habits in the long eighteenth century. Moreover, "together with toys, these compound periodicals, with their mixture of reading matter and pictures, form some of the earliest examples of a commodity aimed specifically at the young. Historically speaking, the magazines[60] are among the most important ingredients in the creation of what can be called juvenile consumerism" (Drotner, 1988: 3) because they "existed in a tenuous balance between profits to the publishers and pleasure to the purchasers, whether these were

[60] As Janis Dawson argues, "although the term magazine was applied to a number of eighteenth-century publications, only a limited number were issued periodically and can therefore be called real periodicals. They were collections of prose, verse, and illustrations, hardly distinguishable from juvenile miscellanies published as single ventures except by the inclusion of a serial story or drama" (Dawson, 1998: 182). See also Darton, F. J. Harvey (273). This being said, in this thesis I will use both terms interchangeably.

the parents or, later, juveniles themselves" (Drotner, 1988: 4). That is, "the periodical was particularly sensitive to the new spirit of consumerism and the new attitudes toward children and education" (Dawson, 1998: 176). As Kirsten Drotner suggests, they "must be understood and interpreted as emotional interventions into the everyday lives of their readers" (Drotner, 1988: 4) since juvenile magazines "merged into the lives of the young as natural aspects of their personal horizon" (Drotner, 1988: 4). Additionally, "periodical literature was cheap, accessible, current, and responsive to developments in educational thought and practice" (Dawson, 1998: 176).

John Newbery "was not only in the forefront of publishing such children's books but the *Lilliputian Magazine* also made him an innovator of form" (Drotner, 1988: 19). In February 1751 he published the first issue of the *Lilliputian Magazine* and with it "the first real juvenile periodical had been born" (Drotner, 1988: 17). The authorship, however, is undetermined. Among its possible authors are: Oliver Goldsmith, Christopher Smart (Newbery's son-in-law), and John Newbery himself (Dawson, 1998: 182). The magazine contained "riddles and music, violence, giants, and a tagged-on moral […] in keeping with the contemporary trend to refashion traditional folktales, romances, and ballads into vehicles of edification" (Drotner, 1988: 18). Newbery wanted to provide children with their own periodical and "to capture the spirit of the current popular literature – that which excited the young and brought smiles to fond adults as they remembered their own youthful reading – but he was also interested in appealing to the taste of those 'newly arrived' middle-class parents who demanded some sophistication, civility, and propriety in children's literature" (Dawson, 1998: 181-2).

Nevertheless, the periodical was not long lasting, yet "longevity was not a characteristic of juvenile periodicals until the nineteenth century" (Dawson, 1998: 182-3). Only three issues were produced; however, the individual issues did not survive; but their re-issuing did, as a single volume in 1752, which ran to seven editions (Dawson, 1998: 183). The subtitle of the periodical is not in the least lilliputian, but it contains Newbery's vision of eighteenth-century children's literature: "an attempt to mend the world, to render the society of man more amiable, and to establish the plainness, simplicity, virtue and wisdom of the Golden Age, so much celebrated by the poets and historians". Nonetheless, the title (intentionally) alludes to Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*; moreover, as Janis Dawson informs, "shortly after *Lilliput* and its adjective *Lilliputian* were coined by Jonathan Swift in *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), *Lilliputian* had become a popular synonym for petty, diminutive, or what was appropriate to children" (Dawson, 1998: 184).

Newbery's endeavour led to other similar projects by his rival John Marshall: the *Juvenile Magazine; or, an Instructive and Entertaining Miscellany for Youth of Both Sexes* (1788), the *Family Magazine; or, a Repository of Religious Instruction, and Rational Amusement* (1788-9); the *Children's Magazine; or, Monthly Repository of Instruction & Delight* (1799-1800), and the *Picture Magazine; or, Monthly Exhibition for Young People* (1800-01). This chapter, however, focuses on the first two for the reasons above-mentioned; they followed Newbery's style and their contents were in agreement with the rest of the children's books of the period aimed at instructing children in a pleasing manner: instructive tales, dialogues, plays, fables, poetry and "equally educative samples of botany, metallurgy, astronomy, and geography and with an 'instructive puzzle' thrown in for good measure" (Drotner, 1988: 20).

One important question to address is who read these periodicals? Of course, their reading depended on parents' attitudes since, almost certainly, they were the ones buying them; it was their responsibility to buy copies or subscribe and they also had to nurture and encourage children to read them. Moreover, these parents "agreed with the publishers' maxims of juvenile prudence and good manners since the 'proper' upbringing of their offspring was an essential preoccupation" (Drotner, 1988: 22). In turn, children had to dedicate time reading the magazines and have a certain degree of literacy. The *Family Magazine* was "the first, and the last, popular domestic periodical published in England before the end of the eighteenth century. Designed principally for family reading, it was targeted towards a predominantly female audience previously without access to suitable reading matter" (Heath, 2010: 139). The *Family Magazine* was "a serialised textbook in moral and religious education expressly designed for the use of literate adults – often the product of the charity school – in the servants' hall or kitchen" (Heath, 2010: 136). It was created "with a view of counteracting, in some measure, the mischief which it was conceived would be done to the rising generation, as the art of reading became more general, by means of those profane and immoral books, which were, at that time, industriously dispersed among the lower classes of people" (Trimmer, 1812: v). In an advertisement for the periodical[61] Trimmer outlines her objectives:

> it is an undeniable fact, that those families in the middling and higher classes of life, who in their hours of recreation seek amusement *at home* in the perusal of *well chosen books*, are by far the happiest. The deplorable effects of *ignorance* among the common people of this country have been long felt, and it is time to try what *cultivation* will do. The success of this experiment, as far as it has been made, gives great encouragement to attempt the extension of it. The poorest children of the present day, are evidently the better for instruction bestowed on them in *Sunday Schools*; but a large proportion of the community, who are in equal want of improvement, are unavoidably excluded from the advantages which these Seminaries afford; and these, if not attended to, may, by their intercourse with the younger members, root out, or at least, plant weeds among, the good seed which is carefully sown (Trimmer, 1788: n.p.).

[61] British Library Catalogue Entry (stable shortened URL: <http://goo.gl/GCZKGl>), accessed 21 January 2016. All further citations refer to this advertisement.

The editor counteracts the common opinion that "an improvement in knowledge will set them too nearly on a level with their employers, and raise them above the laborious occupations" stating that these claims are "*illiberal*, and *ill founded*" (Trimmer, 1788: n.p.). Instead, she believes that "by furnishing the Poor with books peculiarly appropriated to their use" they will be "contented with their condition, and emulous to *fulfil the duties of it*" (Trimmer, 1788: n.p.). This unambiguously reveals her social didacticism; Trimmer is socially motivated and thus uses this paratextual feature to serve that motivation.

On the other hand, the *Juvenile Magazine*, "chiefly intended for young people from seven to fourteen years of age" (Peacock, January 1788: ii), "was a more sophisticated publication" aimed at "the upper end of the market" (Dawson, 1998: 189). This is visible from the choice of topics and style, as explained and exemplified in the following subchapter dedicated to the analysis of the commercial strategies employed by the Marshall writers in their two periodicals. As the advertisement for the periodical indicates, the work is dedicated to "those Ladies and Gentlemen who have possibly neither Time nor Inclination to complete Volumes, and yet would sometimes dedicate a leisure Hour to the Improvement of the Rising Generation" (Peacock, 1788: n.p.).

In conclusion, juvenile periodicals "stated reading habits of the young and their conscious attitudes toward fiction" (Drotner, 1988: 8) and are perfect "examples of how juveniles experienced their social conditions and literary choices" (Drotner, 1988: 12). Moreover, they help us trace and understand the existing relationship and active collaboration between the editors and readers or correspondents. And, most importantly, the periodicals and their paratexts, similar to the writers' works of fiction and their liminal devices, echo the authors' commercial ambitions.

5.2 Commercial Strategies in the *Family Magazine* and the *Juvenile Magazine*[62]

This section introduces two periodicals edited by Trimmer and Peacock, respectively, and the context of their emergence, as well as mirroring the structure of my 4.2 in that it studies the paratextual features available and the particular instrumental means by which the writers modulated reader response to their work with the intention of increasing their commercial appeal and success. However, as indicated in what follows, only a very few of the paratexts are missing from the selected periodicals because they do not meet the conventions of such genre.

The *Family Magazine*, a seventy-two-page monthly periodical, started in January 1788 and ended in June 1789 apparently due to Trimmer's exhaustion.[63] In the last issue's "To Correspondents" Trimmer gives an explanation of her decision to discontinue the project and expresses her gratitude to her dedicated contributors and followers:

> The Editor of the Family Magazine finding it very inconvenient to conduct a periodical work, hopes he friends of this publication, and particularly those, who have not pressed for a continuance of it, but most obligingly offered their assistance, will excuse her declining the task. She cannot, however, take leave, without returning sincere thanks to many respectable persons who have patronised the work, and to I.C. – A. G. – H. G. and several anonymous correspondents, for their vey acceptable communications. A Letter directed to an *unknown Friend*, in answer to one signed a *constant Reader*, (in which was inclosed [sic] *Thomas Freeman's* to his Brother) has lain some time at the Printers' (Trimmer, June 1789: 362).

Notwithstanding this, it appears that the real reason was because "the Work had not sufficient circulation to encourage the continuance of it beyond eighteenth months trial", despite being "honoured with the approbation of the patrons of those schools, and by other persons who interested themselves for the improvement of the poor" (Trimmer, 1812: v), as Trimmer writes in the "Advertisement" to *Instructive Tales by*

[62] To distinguish each commercial strategy more effectively, this section uses multiple subsections (from A to N).
[63] See Heath, Pauline (2010: 136- 141).

Mrs. Trimmer, collected from the Family Magazine. Moreover, “the three entire volumes would have been republished, had not some of the articles of which they are composed, been superseded by subsequent publications of a similar nature, and of easier purchase; and other become obsolete by the lapse of time” (Trimmer, 1812: v-vi). However, this does not mean that the periodical and its contents “sunk into oblivion; the *Family Magazine* is still frequently inquired for” (Trimmer, 1812: v), hence the publication of the *Instructive Tales* as a result of the increase in the class of readers as well as “the books they were designed to counteract, have also abundantly multiplied” (Trimmer, 1812: vi). Therefore, in spite of the fact that “a number of useful publications of the like tendency have been furnished from many respectable quarters”, the collection “may still be regarded as *seasonable*” (Trimmer, 1812: vi), showing thus the writer’s belief in the quality and universality of her own work. It contains twenty out of the twenty-five tales published in the *Family Magazine* and “a few miscellaneous articles, calculated to enforce the practice of those duties which are exemplified in the tales” (Trimmer, 1812: vi).

The *Family Magazine* was a short-lived yet innovative contribution to the education of the youth and it inspired the publication of similar subsequent projects. Trimmer’s second attempt was the *Guardian of Education* (1802-6) published by J. Hatchard and F.C. and J. Rivington. The author “aimed simultaneously to save consumers money by pointing out precisely which books would suit their present needs, and thus to bring some discipline, trustworthiness, and creditability to a formerly unruly market” (Grenby, 2005: 155). In the *Guardian of Education* Trimmer displayed her “strident Christianity, her anti-Jacobinism, her campaign for educational best practice, her attempt to instill a progressive understanding of children’s needs – but all her campaigns overlapped” (Grenby, 2005: 154). The

periodical thus revealed "Trimmer's determination to protect, to strengthen, and even to take control of educational theory and practice" (Grenby, 2005: 146) and it "had apparently become a bible for those parents and teachers who supervised children's reading" (Grenby, 2005:137).

Moving on, the *Juvenile Magazine*, "chiefly intended for young people from seven to fourteen years of age" (January 1788: ii), was a 60-page monthly periodical published between January and December 1788. Since "by 1788, the idea of a juvenile periodical was less of a novelty", Lucy Peacock, the editor of the *Juvenile Magazine*, had to look for "new material" that "differed significantly from the earlier periodical" (Dawson, 1998: 187). It "was a more sophisticated publication intended for the upper end of the market" (Dawson, 1998: 189) and among its contributors were the Kilner sisters and the editor herself.[64] Obviously, the commercial purpose of including such contributions was to advertise the importance of the periodical by associating it with household literary names, and, therefore, attract more subscribers.

Similarly to the *Lilliputian Magazine*, there is no single issue of the *Juvenile Magazine*, yet they must have circulated independently given the correspondence section (Darton, 1982: 273-4). Also, as the editor herself informs at the end of its last issue, "finding the returns not sufficient to compensate for the trouble attending a *Monthly* publication of this kind, their design is, if the work be called for, to publish it in volumes" (December 1788: 362). As customary, the periodical was short-lived;

[64] Some examples include: "The Riddles signed S.S.- John Crab's Letter- L'Enfant Attentif aux Devoirs Envers Ses Freres & Soeurs – are received" (Peacock, January 1788: ii); "Verses Addressed to a Young Lady, with a Nosegay" signed S.S. (Peacock, January 1788: 55-6); "An Anecdote" signed S.S." (Peacock, September 1788: 506-8); "The Indigent, Industrious Child" signed M.P." (Peacock, May 1788: 275-81; June 1788: 342-4; July 1788: 399-402; August 1788: 440-53 and October 1788: 547-60). As explained in 3.2 and my footnote 45, Mary Ann Kilner signed her books S.S. whereas Dorothy Kilner M.P. See also Peacock, Lucy. *Friendly Labours*. (a two-volume work containing material from the periodical).

nevertheless, Peacock, like Trimmer, published *Friendly Labours* in 1815, a two-volume work containing material from the periodical:

> The volumes now presented are chiefly selected from the Juvenile Magazine, a periodical work published in the year 1788. An interval of leisure from professional engagements, induced the Author to re-peruse these and other little pieces written about the same period, and thinking that a Selection from them might be made with advantage, she has dedicated herself to the task of transcribing and arranging what she thought adapted to her purpose. A few of the pieces from the above work, have, she believes, been published separately; but as those admitted into the present collection have been revised, and undergone alterations suggested by a mature judgment, she thinks they will not be considered by those who have the care of youth, either as useless or foreign to the object (Peacock, 1815, vol. I: v-vi).

This suggests that the editor believed in the potential and quality of her work and considered it still worthy for instruction even twenty-seven years after its first publication. The changes are minor and the stories continue to be highly moralistic in tone, praising the same values and punishing improper behaviour.

Therefore, the two periodicals existed simultaneously and, despite being aimed at different classes, they had a common goal: to instruct and entertain the youth. Additionally, they shared a similar format, moralistic content and paratextual devices aimed at emphasising and promoting their highly commercial intentions. The following subsections, following the same pattern as in my 4.2, will discuss the paratextual endorsements as available in the periodicals and will draw relevant parallels with the liminal devices previously identified and analysed in the works of fiction. The sections are considerably shorter since the corpus is significantly reduced and less dense. For emphasis purposes and when considered appropriate, I will also quote from the advertisement found at the British Library which shows the precision and accuracy with which the editors executed their plan. Nothing was left to chance; rather the writers had a clear vision of what their work was supposed to look like and act as from the very beginning.

A: Name of the Author

While with the second issue of the *Family Magazine* the editor's name was disclosed, "the editor of the *Juvenile Magazine* identified herself as female, but otherwise remained anonymous. However, according to advertisements, the editor was Lucy Peacock, an author of moral tales and a bookseller on Oxford Street" (Dawson, 1998: 187).[65] As shown in my 4.2 (section A: Name of the Author), this practice was not uncommon and was frequently adopted by Peacock, who preferred to maintain her anonymity and let her work speak for itself. Moreover, in the advertisement for the magazine the writer once again employs the "By the author of The Six Princesses of Babylon" formula, pointing to one of her most successful texts. The commercial purpose of doing so is to allow her readers to identify the writer without Peacock having to attribute the work to her name. She shows thus her trust in the potential and possible future success of the new publication.

B: Titles and Subtitles

The subtitles of the periodicals have the same functions as those of the works of fiction analysed previously; they designate, indicate, highlight and exploit the subject matter. They also convey the message of their texts in agreement with the period's slogan of instruction entwined with amusement and divide the market into further categories, in this case according to class, age and gender.

The *Family Magazine; or, a Repository of Religious Instruction, and Rational Amusement* was designed, as the highly didactic subtitle informs its readers, "to counteract the pernicious Tendency of immoral Books, &c. which have circulated of late Years among the inferior classes of people, to the Obstruction of their

[65] See also Carpenter, Humphrey; Prichard, Mari (1984: 285).

Improvement in Religion and Morality". Consequently, the periodical is meant for the inferior classes in need of moral and religious instruction; that is to say, Trimmer creates a link between education and social advancement, strongly believing that education is the key to class mobility. Trimmer, therefore, with her periodical, offers purchasers not only religious instruction, but also an improvement of their social status, which, again, is another selling point.

As to the J*uvenile Magazine*, its subtitle (*or An Instructive and Entertaining Miscellany for Youth of Both Sexes*) explicitly indicates that the periodical will benefit young boys and girls equally, which further testifies that the author has carefully selected appropriate material for both their age and gender and that parents could use the same material for all their children, thus saving them from extra expenses.

C: Epigraphs

I was able to identify this paratextual feature only in the *Family Magazine*. According to Trimmer's plan outlined in the advertisement for the periodical, "religion ought to be the principal concern with every one"; therefore, the writer decided to include at the beginning of each issue "an abridgement of a Sermon from the works of some approved Divine, in which regard will be paid to the capacities of the inferior kinds of people; and nothing inserted of an *abstruse* or *controversial* nature" with the purpose of "promot[ing] the *general interest* of Religion and Morality, and not to establish the opinions of any particular sect" (Trimmer, 1788: n.p.). The texts "will be very short and concise, in order to give time for reading a portion of the Scriptures" and "under the article of, *Sunday Evening Employment*, will be

comprised, extracts from Books of Morality, Prayers, and Religious Poems (Trimmer, 1788: n.p.).

These discourses are always preceded by an opening epigraph whose rhetorical purpose is to comment and justify the title, anticipate and summarise the contents, give indirect support, instill religious views and encourage reflection before reading. Moreover, the epigraphs aim to be aligned with a particular way of thinking, in this case with religious and moralistic ideas. For instance, *A Discourse on the Goodness of God* begins with a quote from Psalm CXLV, Verse 9: “The Lord is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works” (Trimmer, January 1788: 7); *A Discourse on the Advantages of Religion* with “But godliness is profitable to all things, having the promise of the life that now is, and that which is to come” (Tim. Chap. iv, verse 8, Trimmer, March 1788: 147); or *A Discourse on the Folly of Hazarding Eternal Life for Temporal Enjoyments* with “For what is a man profited if he should gain the whole world and lose his own soul? Or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?” (Matt. Chap. xvi, verse 26, Trimmer, July 1788: 435).

This means that the first thing purchasers read was a short, yet meaningful, sentence, which sets the tone of each issue, and of the periodical as a whole. The buyers then know what to expect and, moreover, after perusing the magazine, they are left with the essence or the summary of the ideas presented.

D: Dedications

This feature is missing from both periodicals as is conventional; however, the magazines were obviously created with children and their needs in the writers' minds. In “To the Editor of the Juvenile Magazine” a schoolboy (and, later, a regular contributor) expresses his enthusiasm “at the thought of having a Magazine, which

we young folk might call our own. […] Mr. Shepherd then drew from his pocket the Proposal for your New Magazine, which he read aloud. – There, young gentlemen, said he, shall you not like to have a Magazine of your own? (Peacock, January 1788: 11). Certainly, the periodicals were primarily produced for the young and the editors encouraged such readers to contribute by submitting their stories. This, in effect, would stimulate children's interest and desire to buy the next issue in order to see whether their piece was included, and thus guarantying, in a way, the purchaser's (financial) commitment.

> I am desired, by our Society, to return their grateful thanks for your ready insertion of the letter, signed a Schoolboy; and for the encouragement that you give us to continue our correspondence; an encouragement of which we shall avail ourselves as often as possible. Those who remember having seen their writings in print for the first time, can judge how much pleased we young authors were, when we looked into the Magazine, and found our letter inserted: it was handed round and read over again and again; and every time with greater satisfaction (Peacock, March 1788: 127-8).

E: Addresses

In the June 1788 issue Trimmer included an "Address to Parents", in which she requests parents to "consider how necessary it is to set good examples at home", forsaking "all bad habits of swearing, and expressions of violent anger, which harden and corrupt the mind" (Trimmer, June 1788: 393). The editor also recommends against "reading vain and lewd songs, or other profane books" because they corrupt "the principles of the rising youth of both sexes" (Trimmer, June 1788: 393). She then carries on outlining the duties of a husband and wife:

> If Husbands would be sober and industrious, go regularly to public worship, and be servent [sic] and frequent in prayer, which may be effectually performed while their hands are employed in their labour, or on their way to and from their work, as well as at stated times with their families, and in the public congregations; if they would often read their bibles, and carefully mind what they read, if they would spend their evenings at home, and treat their wives and children with kindness and gentleness, it would very much increase their mutual happiness and general comfort. – Let any poor man make a fair trial in his house of his conduct, and then observe, whether he has not fully made amends for the pains which he has taken to correct himself, by the satisfaction that he feels in his own mind. If wives would strive to make their own fire-sides the most comfortable place for a husband to enjoy his

> evenings' leisure; if women would be careful to keep their houses clean, and their persons and dress neat, and take pains to teach their children, if they would govern both their temper and their tongues, and when the husband may be to blame, if they would endeavour to make him what they wish him to be by kindness and good-nature, many would be happy who are now otherwise. It is recommended to them at least to make a trial, it will be no great hardship, their situation cannot be made less comfortable by the attempt; but if they should carry their point, what satisfaction will be felt by all parties! (Trimmer, June 1788: 393-4).

This illustrates a traditional patriarchal family, belonging to the lower class, in which the man provides for the family and is allowed to "enjoy his evenings' leisure", whereas the woman must be silent, work around the house and teach their children. However, both of them should aim at "mutual happiness and general comfort". The human world is compared to the animal one which stands as an example:

> Look to the fowls of the air, or the beasts of the field, you will find amongst them no careless husbands, no indolent or cruel fathers, no idle, negligent, or sluttish mothers. – With what care and tenderness do they provide for their young, guarding them from every danger, and daily supplying all their wants. – Go then, ye thoughtless, to the birds and beasts, consider their ways, and be wise (Trimmer, June 1788: 394).[66]

Therefore, Trimmer in this "Address" highlights the importance of children having good examples in their household and of supervised maternal education. If parents follow these guidelines, which were carefully composed for their benefit by the editor, they and their children will live a harmonious and happy life.

In turn, the first issue of the *Juvenile Magazine* (January 1788) opens with "The Editor's Address to Her Young Readers", in which Peacock emphasises the educational value of the periodical and reiterates the slogan of the period: instruction fused with delight. She also shows her concern about children's future welfare and happiness and her interest in forming mature and "valuable members of society" (Peacock, January 1788: iii). The editor laments some children's family situation, who are "deprived of a tender parent, or friend" and takes upon the role of a surrogate mother, wanting "to correct their little foibles, and to guide them with propriety in the path of life they are destined to tread" (Peacock, January 1788: iv). Peacock not only

[66] This mirrors the theological content and the rhetorical tone and language of "The Parables of Jesus", "The Birds of Heaven and the Lilies of the Field".

promises an intimate relationship with her readers, but she also encourages the young to contact her:

> should you, my young friends, at ay time perceive an *unruly passion or habit* intruding, or a *situation* in which you are at a loss to conduct yourselves, by addressing a letter to the *Editor*, at *Mr. Marshall*'s, you will be furnished, in the next Magazine, with that advice which may enable you to overcome the one, and accommodate yourselves to the other. Those young persons who wish to contribute to the *Juvenile Magazine* by any literary production, will have that attention paid to their performances, which their abilities, and the goodness of their intentions may merit (Peacock, January 1788: iv).

Here the editor shows her readiness to assist children in the improvement of their conduct. She guarantees an immediate answer in the following issue (provided, of course, they or their parents purchase the next numbers) and takes this opportunity to remind them where to find her: "at *Mr. Marshall*'s". Additionally, the young are urged to exploit their literary skills and send their creations. However, it is uncertain if children indeed submitted their compositions for publication because of their more mature style, as explained later in the chapter. The editor, therefore, in her "Address" of the first issue of the periodical establishes a close rapport with her readers, puts forward the objectives of the project and motivates the youth to participate. And, at perhaps a more subtle level, she advances her own commercial agenda.

F: Advertisements

I was able to identify this paratextual feature only in the *Family Magazine*. In the March 1789 issue Trimmer inserts an advertisement or "Exhortation to Parents", in which, once again, it is stressed the importance of educating children and the steps to follow because "if good things are not carefully instilled, it will occupy itself in trifles. And when a child is permitted to furnish its mind with things of little moment, or, what is worse, with evil habits, it will be no easy task to root them out" (Trimmer, March 1789: 158). Echoing Locke, the editor warns parents that "whatsoever takes

first possession of the unfurnished and unjudging [sic] mind, is most commonly the foundation of its future conduct" (Trimmer, March 1789: 158).

The periodical was written for "the lower classes of people" (Trimmer, 1812: v) and Trimmer uses vocabulary calculated to ensure the reception of her message, adapting her vocabulary in order to appeal to the target public (whose expose to biblical passages was probably a given): "when the seeds of piety and virtue are early sown, when the infant mind is seasonably and properly cultivated, there is good reason to hope it will produce plenty of good fruit" (Trimmer, March 1789: 158-9). Piety and virtue are two indispensable pillars for the "welfare of the children themselves" and for their evolution into "worthy members of society", which will "render them real blessings to their fond parents" (Trimmer, March 1789: 159). This, of course, will "prepare themselves for the enjoyment of a happy eternity" (Trimmer, March 1789: 159). As a responsible educator, Trimmer pledges herself to "add such a collection of maxims as I [she] may venture to affirm, will, if duly enforced, answer your [parent's] best wishes" (Trimmer, March 1789: 159).

In conclusion, the writer uses this paratextual element to reiterate the overall message of the period, which is to carefully educate children with the purpose of creating useful members of society. Trimmer, 'the guardian of education', commits herself to an industrious undertaking and provides parents with the practical means and material in installments in order to obtain the desired results.

G: Prefaces

Once again, I was able to identify this paratextual feature only in the *Family Magazine*. In the "Preface" Trimmer admits that educating children implies "an inconvenient expence [sic]" for parents and "those who have not ability to pay for it,

have the opportunity of getting instruction for them in Charity and Sunday Schools" (Trimmer, 1788: iii).

Leaving children's education in the hands of servants is not an option as they waste "their leisure hours over immoral books and ballads, instead of employing them in studying the Holy Scriptures" (Trimmer, 1788: iv) and would, therefore, make unsuitable educators. Having improper reading material leads to "many temptations" and children "are betrayed into vice" (Trimmer, 1788: iv). The involution is gradual: "at first they read these infamous publications under the notion of amusement, and by degrees lose all sense of virtue, till they can take pleasure in nothing but riot, intemperance, obscenity, and profaneness" (Trimmer, 1788: v). Trimmer warns parents that if they do not take any measure it will all "end in an ignominious death!" (Trimmer, 1788: v). Hence, fear is another strategy used by the writer in order to make parents aware of the high priority education should have and the catastrophic consequences of the lack of proper choice of books. This is why

> it will be the business of the Editors of this work to make a selection for them from approved authors, of such particulars, as are likely to afford useful instruction, and harmless amusement, and to convey to them a variety of hints for their conduct I life, with a view of promoting their welfare and happiness, and pointing out to them how they may obtain the blessing of God, and the favour and assistance of their superiors (Trimmer, 1788: vi).

Trimmer seems like an altruistic benefactress who is willing to assist parents in the task of instructing their children and offers to spare them from having to search for proper texts. With the publication of the periodical, the editor supplies parents with an "educational pack" of material from "approved authors" intended to be successful in inculcating the desired values. It is as if Trimmer is suggesting which parent would not want to purchase such a periodical?

H: Postscripts

This feature is missing from both periodicals.

I: List of Subscribers

This feature is missing from both periodicals.

J: Table of Contents or Indexes[67]

Each issue of both periodicals features a table of contents. By examining such a paratextual instrument one cannot help but notice that most titles contain a moralistic message. I include here the following highly representative examples: “Rules for Leading a Wise Life” (Trimmer, January 1788); “Thoughts on the Vice of Lying” (Trimmer, September 1788); “Maxims to Promote Virtue and Piety in Children” (Trimmer, March 1789); “An Essay on the Duty of Obedience to Parents” (Trimmer, April 1789); “Enfant Docile” (Peacock, January 1788); “Three Good Boys” (Peacock, March 1788); “The Indigent, Industrious Child” (Peacock, May 1788). The table of contents thus offers a global view of the nature of the issue, and of the periodical as a whole, assuring purchasers of the suitability of the material for the moral instruction of the youth.

Furthermore, the table of contents also reveals the wide array of genres and topics of the periodicals. In the *Family Magazine* are included tales (e.g. “The Unkind Daughter”, January 1788), poetry (e.g. “A Poem on the Power of God”, May 1788), songs (e.g. “Songs”, February-Aril 1788), hymns (e.g. “A Hymn on Providence”, April 1788), odes (e.g. “An April Ode”, March 1789), elegies (e.g. “An Elegy on the Death of a Supposed Mad Dog”, June 1788), pastorals (e.g. “The Disputing Shepherds”, September 1788), reflections and maxims (e.g. “Maxims, extracted from the works of Dr Benjamin Franklin”, July 1788), meditations (e.g. “Meditations”, January-May 1789), dialogues (e.g. “The Village Dialogues”,

[67] This section will also provide some further information on specific content of the periodical, which is not covered in this chapter, but is, in my view, fundamental to its understanding as a whole.

January-April 1789), letters (e.g. “The Cook-Maid Letter”, October 1788), fables (e.g. “The Shepherd and the Philosopher”, January 1788), essays (e.g. “An Essay on the Duty of Obedience to Parents”, April 1789), prayers (e.g. “A Morning Prayer for a Family”, January 1788), lessons in history and geography (e.g. “Of the Constitution of Great Britain”, January-May and August 1788, and “A Comparative View of Foreign Countries”, almost in each issue except for March and June 1789), and recipes (e.g. “To Make Saline Drink”, March 1789: 193).

Similarly, in accordance with its subtitle (*The Juvenile Magazine; or An Instructive and Entertaining Miscellany for Youth of Both Sexes*), the magazine offers just that – a miscellany collection of lessons in geography (e.g. “Easy Introduction to Geography”), natural history (e.g. “Mineral World Delineated”, May-June 1788; “Vegetable World Delineated”, July-December 1788), puzzles and riddles with their solutions (e.g. “Instructive puzzles”; “Riddle, Sent with a Present”, February 1788), news (“Monthly Occurrences”), letters (e.g. “Familiar Letters on Various Subjects”), stories (e.g. “Three Good Boys”, March 1788; “The Fortunate Distress”, April-May 1788), poetry (e.g. “Enigmatical Verses”, April 1788), plays (e.g. “The Little Foreigner”, January 1788; “The Sailor’s Visit”, February-March 1788; “The Little Hermit”, April-June 1788), and French texts (e.g. “Enfant Attentif”, February 1788; “Enfant Obeissant”, March 1788), among others.

From this wide range of genres and topics it is clear that the editors’ intention was to provide readers with knowledge from different fields and become thinking children.[68] Some of the lessons in the *Juvenile Magazine* are quite technical, they contain very specific vocabulary and are highly illustrated (signs, symbols, foldable maps, plates). Readers are introduced to the mineral and vegetable world (e.g. gold,

[68] See also my 2.3 and 4.2 (section C: Epigraphs).

iron, tin, ruby, emerald, magnet, mercury, snow-drop, cypress, cotton, lily, cocoa, clove tree, etc.), strange creatures and pieces of machineries such as the camel depard (Peacock, June 1788: 360) or the aetherodes (Peacock, April 1788: 239-240) and are entertained by French plays, instructive puzzles, enigmas and riddles. According to the advertisement for the periodical, Peacock's plan was to instruct and please, to broaden children's minds, to inspire "a Fondness for those Branches of Education" (Peacock, 1788: n.p.) and to encourage them to read further: "The Editor, does not, it is true, imagine that a competent Knowledge of the Sciences will be obtained from the Perusal of this Work only, but is at the same Time sensible that Instruction conveyed through the Medium of Pleasure, will readily find Entrance into youthful Minds" (Peacock, 1788: n.p.).

On the other hand, the less sophisticated readership of the *Family Magazine* are taught about horses, oxen, sheep, cats and dogs. They are also given "The Garden's Kalendar", in which Trimmer writes about every aspect of cultivation, the kind of flowers, trees, fruits and vegetables one can plant in different months with instructions for soil digging, seeds, depth of the holes and how to take care of their crops. The aim of the section entitled "Constitution and Laws of the Land" was, according to the advertisement for the magazine, to correct the understanding of the lower classes of the word "liberty": "It is a very usual thing in this country, to hear the most ignorant of the people exclaiming for Liberty, without knowing the true meaning of the word; which, properly speaking, signifies no more, than *A power of doing what the laws of the land permit*" (Trimmer, 1788: n.p.). Consequently, Trimmer "proposes to devote an article to the instruction of the Readers, in the *Constitution and Laws of the Land*, as far as they relate to *Britons in general*; with the hope, that this information may excite in their hearts a desire of *supporting*, rather

than of *disturbing* the happy government they live under, and prove a check to licentiousness, both in a *moral* and *political* sense" (Trimmer, 1788: n.p.). These highly illustrative examples emphasise the authors' ability to modulate their writing according to their audience and determination to offer readers lessons about topics they would be interested in perusing, which would, therefore, make them sell more copies.

Both periodicals focus on teaching children lessons on geography. Given the target public (the lower classes), the aim of the serial section of the *Family Magazine* entitled "A Comparative View of Foreign Countries" is "to make people bear with patience the evils that fall to their lot", taking comfort in "knowing that there are others in the world who endure still greater" (Trimmer, January 1788: 38). The ultimate purpose is "convince Englishmen, even of the lowest ranks, that they have reason to value their native land, and to be thankful to Providence that they were born on British ground" (Trimmer, January 1788: 38) since "it is easy to perceive […] that neither Spain nor Portugal can be so comfortable to live in as Great Britain, especially for the lower orders of people" (Trimmer, March 1788: 189). Throughout the issues Trimmer describes the history, customs, people, food and religion of many countries from different continents (Greenland, Lapland, the Russian Empire, Hungary, Turkey, China, India, Egypt, Guinea etc.). On the other hand, "An Easy Introduction to Geography", present in all issues of the *Juvenile Magazine*, contains very specific vocabulary, signs and symbols, which indicates that the target public should have the interest and capacity to follow such lessons. Peacock argues that

> as all education is considered more or less complete, according to the *knowledge* or *ignorance* of this useful science, I [she] earnestly recommend[s] it to the attention of my [her] young readers, who, far from finding it a dry, or *disagreeable* study, will, I am [she is] certain, in a short time have recourse to it, as an amusement rather than an irksome task; for little more is required to attain Geography, than to *read*, and to *remember* what we read (Peacock, January 1788: 5-6).

Another common section is the one entitled "Monthly Occurrences", in which home and foreign news about various subjects is presented: deaths, drownings, accidents, crimes (murders, thefts, muggings, robberies, kidnappings), trials, executions, public hangings, natural disasters (earthquakes, volcano eruptions, violent gales, fires) and animal mistreatment. The news is usually followed by the writers' moralistic comments. For instance, "the following circumstance should be a lesson of caution to young women, not to accept of a sweetheart before they know the real character of the man" (Trimmer, March 1788: 216). The editors through their column warn children of potential dangers and recommend them to pay attention, acting thus as their guarding angels:

> Mr. Bullock accidentally fell into the brook near the church at Hackney, and was drowned.' If persons arrived at maturity cannot guard against such melancholy (59) disasters, think, me dear little friends, to how much more danger you are exposed; be cautious, therefore, to avoid it, by ever keeping at a due distance from the river and the pond (Peacock, January 1788: 60).

Or

> You see by this accident [a boy burnt himself with fire], my young friends, the danger there is in going too nigh a fire, much more in playing with it, which I am informed some children are so naughty as to do, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of their friends; but this, among many instances of the same kind, will, I hope, convince such of the danger to which they must, on all occasions, expose themselves, in rejecting the advice of their parents and friends (Peacock, April 1788: 239).

Moreover, in the February 1788 issue in "Answers and Acknowledgements to Correspondents" Peacock denies accusations "that the Monthly Occurrences inserted in this publication are not facts; but that they are fabricated merely to suit the Magazine" (Peacock, February 1788: 62). To this the editor "begs to assure the Public, that the occurrences are taken from those Newspapers which are deemed the most authentic: the accompanying reflections only being the Editor's" (Peacock, February 1788: 62). This statement of clarification illustrates Peacock's desire to protect her work and avoid its denigration, which is, in fact, another strategy. Trimmer reinforces this message in the advertisement for the periodical, stating that

"Monthly Occurrences" contains "authentic extracts from *News-Papers*" (Trimmer, 1788: n.p.).

And finally, there are some serial stories, spreading across two or more issues of the magazines; for instance, "The Little Haymakers" (May-July 1788), "The Sailor's Visit" (February-March 1788) and "The Little Hermit" (April-June 1788) in the *Juvenile Magazine* and "On the Pernicious Effects of Dram Drinking" (January-February 1788) and "On the Management of Children (January-April 1788) in the *Family Magazine*. This means that the issues, at least initially, were published separately, the commercial implication being that committed subscribers had to wait for the following numbers to continue their reading. Later, the *Family Magazine* was published in three volumes[69] and at the end of the second and third volumes there is an index where are indicated the titles, in alphabetical order, and the corresponding page numbers. The serial stories as well as the texts belonging to the same genre are neatly grouped together, which enables the reader's 'navigation' around the volumes. Additionally, the indexes also contain "Directions to the binder for placing the plates", showing thus the editor's (or perhaps the publisher's) attention to detail and care put into managing her work.

Therefore, the table of contents unveils highly relevant information about the nature of the periodical, target public and the type of texts available. All this helps (or, better yet, manipulate) the reader to make an informed decision about subscribing to the magazines.

[69] See the "Advertisement" to *Instructive Tales by Mrs. Trimmer* (v-vi).

K: Footnotes

Both magazines contain this paratextual element which is employed for different functions. First, they give full reference of the quotations used; for instance, "Watch and pray that ye enter not into temptation, /The spirit indeed is willing but the flesh is weak" was taken from "Matthew xxvi, 42" (Trimmer, February 1788: 83) or "The foregoing account of the Negroes is chiefly extracted from Antony Benezet's Historical Account of Guinea, and from the Rev. J. Ramsay's Account of the Treatment and Conversion of the African Slaves" (Trimmer, November 1788: 781).

Second, they make reference to sections from another issue that would complement the understanding of a particular matter; for example, "See No. II page 103" (Trimmer, April 1788: 248), "For the rest of the Song see page 495 (Trimmer, December 1788: 834) or "See page 66" (Peacock, February 1788: 97). This kind of footnotes make reference not only to the authors' own periodicals, but also to other works that deal with the same topic: "See Thoughts on Parochial Music, by the Rev. Dr. Vicent, Sub Almoner to his Majesty, &c. (Trimmer, July 1788: 445).

Third, some footnotes advertise the subsequent numbers of the magazines; for example, "Directions for pruning will be given in a future number" (Trimmer, March 1788: 201) or "Particular direction for the cultivation of carrots will be given in a future number" (Trimmer, March 1788: 203). Both editors also advertise other texts and where their subscribers can obtain a copy: "Sold by Messrs. Rivington, St Paul's Church Yard (Trimmer, October 1788: 673), "Need it be said, that the Microcosm (an excellent publication, lately written by young gentlemen of Eton School) is here alluded to?" (Peacock, January 1788: 12), or "The children of all people of fashion are supposed to have read the lessons which Mrs. Barbauld condescended to write for

little folk. To abridge this little elegant Fable were injustice; to insert it might be deemed impertinence" (Peacock, March 1788: 135).

And finally, footnotes are also an opportunity for the writers to help readers with the kind of vocabulary they consider to be above children's capacities. For instance, Trimmer explains in a footnote that "a quadrupede [sic] is a creature with four legs" (Trimmer, May 1789: 355). Likewise, Peacock clarifies what an absolute or arbitrary Government is: "where the supreme power is wholly lodged in the hands of the Monarch" (Peacock, May 1788: 246), the meaning of crucible: "a pot used for melting of metals and minerals; it is made of earth, and tempered so as to endure the strongest fire" (Peacock, June 1788: 315) or a lengthier footnote regarding the Earth and its composition:

> It may not in this place be out of time to inform my Readers, that the Earth is, for several miles above its surface, on all sides surrounded with a fine invisible fluid, called *Air*; a small quantity of this fluid, it is found by experiments, may, by *heat*, be expanded so as to fill a large space; or by *cold* compressed so as to occupy a much smaller space than it did before. Hence it is, that if the air receive a greater degree of *heat* or *cold* than usual, its parts will be put in motion, and we then call it *wind*, a breeze, gale, or storm, according to the rapidity of that motion. To exemplify this more fully, it is found by observation made at sea, that from thirty degree South, there is constant East wind blowing on the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, called the *Trade Wind*. This is occasioned by the motion of the Earth, which in moving from West to East, causes the Sun to *heat*, and consequently to *expand* the air immediately under it; by which mean a tide of air constantly attends the Sun in its apparent course from East to West (Peacock, April 1788: 186).

All these examples show how the editors made use of this simple, yet multifunctional, paratextual feature in order to further promote themselves, fellow writers and their texts, appearing thus as a network of skilful educators with a common agenda: to educate and delight children. This facilitates their educational role (as *virtual* teachers), thereby increasing their value for their potential clients. The footnotes also subtly reveal the careful and thoughtful nature of the authors who anticipated children's problems or difficulties and looked for possible solutions to include in what could be considered micro units of the macro text itself.

L: List of Approved/Recommended Books; Catalogues

This feature is missing from both periodicals.

M: Additional Rhetorical Devices

In this section I will analyse the rhetorical and stylistic devices of persuasion employed by the women writers in their addresses, advertisements and prefaces since these paratextual features are the only sustained articulated interventions (in contrast to discrete elements such as table of contents, for example) used with the purpose of inducing the purchasers to subscribe to the periodical.

At a linguistic level, Trimmer makes use of conditionals and the subjunctive mood in order to confine and discuss the terms of the family's future happiness and wellbeing. For instance, in the June 1788 issue in the "Address" Trimmer provides an ampler set of rules to be respected by the husband and wife:

> If Husbands would be sober and industrious, go regularly to public worship, and be servent [sic] and frequent in prayer, which may be effectually performed while their hands are employed in their labour, or on their way to and from their work, as well as at stated times with their families, and in the public congregations; if they would often read their bibles, and carefully mind what they read, if they would spend their evenings at home, and treat their wives and children with kindness and gentleness, it would very much increase their mutual happiness and general comfort. […] If wives would strive to make their own fire-sides the most comfortable place for a husband to enjoy his evenings' leisure; if women would be careful to keep their houses clean, and their persons and dress neat, and take pains to teach their children, if they would govern both their temper and their tongues, and when the husband may be to blame, if they would endeavour to make him what they wish him to be by kindness and good-nature, many would be happy who are now otherwise. (Trimmer, June 1788: 393-4).

The implication here is that if parents follow Trimmer's advice, their family life will improve and their children will live in a harmonious environment: "if they [parents] should carry their point, what satisfaction will be felt by all parties!" (Trimmer, June 1788: 394). Parents also need to be careful with whom they leave their children and to supervise their education. As Trimmer puts it in "An Exhortation to Parents", "if good things are not carefully instilled, it [the mind] will occupy itself in trifles"

(Trimmer, March 1789: 158). That is to say, the *Family Magazine* is meant to improve family life and to ensure that parents are well equipped in order to educate their children. The success of this is made conditional to their alignment with the *Family Magazine*.

The Marshall writers also exploit the uses of the modal verbs (expressing likelihood, ability, permission and obligation). In the first issue of the *Juvenile Magazine*, in "The Editor's Address to Her Young Readers", Peacock shows her trust in the periodical:

> The very great partiality I entertain for youth, has induced me to engage in a plan, which I flatter myself will be productive not only of your *present* amusement, but of your *future* welfare. To you, my young friends, who are fond of instruction, *this* Magazine will be particularly advantageous; you will peruse it with delight, and glean from it that useful knowledge which will endear you to your friends, and render you, at mature years, valuable members of society (Peacock, January 1788: iii).

It is worth observing here that Peacock's confidence is reinforced by the use of the strongly indicative 'will', which indicates the editor's belief in her skills, on the one hand, and her strong intention or assertion about the future benefits of her project, on the other. Throughout the paratexts, parents are given advice on various subjects and this is illustrated with the use of the modal verbs 'should' and 'ought to', pragmatically insisting on the suitability of the advice given. For example, "there is hardly any thing of greater importance than the bringing up of children in the way they should go" and, therefore, parents "ought to be particularly careful to train up your [their] children in the paths of piety and virtue" (Trimmer, March 1789: 158-9). Less common is the employment of the stronger modal verb 'must'; for instance, "the minds of children must be engaged. As soon as reason begins to dawn, the mind begins to expands, and cannot remain unemployed" (Trimmer, March 1789: 158). Moreover, when used together with conditionals and rhetorical questions the message becomes stronger, more effective and intended to inculcate a sense of guilt:

> You brought them into life, and consequently must take the best provision you are able to conduct them safely through the dangers thereof. If you neglect the due discharge of this parental duty, perhaps you will have the greatest reason to repent of such negligence. Would you then consult your own and your children's welfare? (Trimmer, March 1789: 159-60).

Or: "But even supposing that persons who have poisoned their minds by improper books enter into wedlock, are they happy? Alas, no!" (Trimmer, January 1788: v). Moreover, the following rhetorical questions are clearly reminiscent of today's advertising discourse, in which the agents cleverly advertise their products as the answer to all problems:

> Do you desire to have comfort and satisfaction in them when they come to years of discretion? […] Do you wish they may be useful, beloved, and respected in the world? All depends upon the care you bestow upon them at present (Trimmer, March 1789: 160).

Therefore, through their carefully modulated use of the modal verbs and rhetorical questions, the editors control their writing style intensifying their speeches and modifying them in agreement with their commercial purposes.

Furthermore, moral instruction is also expressed with the help of imperatives. By means of this, the writers give parents clear instructions and authoritative commands with the objective of helping them in the process of educating their children:

> Look to the fowls of the air, or the beasts of the field, you will find amongst them no careless husbands, no indolent or cruel fathers, no idle, negligent, or sluttish mothers. – With what care and tenderness do they provide for their young, guarding them from every danger, and daily supplying all their wants. – Go then, ye thoughtless, to the birds and beasts, consider their ways, and be wise (Trimmer, June 1788: 394).

Or:

> Spare no pains. Seize every favourable opportunity of instilling into them some just sentiments, and let it be the business and pleasure of your vacant hours, to assist the dawn of reason, and instruct them in the rules of prudence and virtue (Trimmer, March 1789: 160).

The direct aim and rhetorical relevance of using imperatives is that it allows the editors to make appeals or give instructions in a very direct way, which confirms the writers' determination and assertiveness, but it also establishes their own authority over the subject and extends this to the quality of their 'product'.

The direct address is also reinforced by the use of the second person personal pronoun 'you' and first person possessive pronoun 'my', a rhetorical device of proximity, intimacy and contact. Whilst Trimmer addresses parents employing impersonal structures such as "It is earnestly required" or "It is particularly recommended" (Trimmer, June 1788: 394), Peacock addresses children in a friendlier manner:

> To you, my young friends, who are fond of instruction, *this* Magazine will be particularly advantageous; you will peruse it with delight, and glean from it that useful knowledge which will endear you to your friends, and render you, at mature years, valuable members of society. […] Should you, my young friends, at ay time perceive an *unruly passion or habit* intruding, or a *situation* in which you are at a loss to conduct yourselves, by addressing a letter to the *Editor*, at *Mr. Marshall*'s, you will be furnished, in the next Magazine, with that advice which may enable you to overcome the one, and accommodate yourselves to the other (Peacock, January 1788: iii-iv).

That is, the editors modulate their style and register according to their audience – serious and impersonal when addressing parents to look professional, friendly and intimate when writing to young readers to establish a close relationship.

The authors also advance their commercial purposes at a semantic level, employing words reminiscent of the popular expressions of the period – instruction merged with amusement. Moreover, some of these terms are used contrastingly (as binary opposites) to illustrate and highlight the restrains and conflicts of the late eighteenth-century society: moral-corrupt, useful knowledge-profane books, piety and virtue-unruly passions and evil habits, kindness-cruelty, and duty-negligence. Interestingly, this is also marked graphically in the writers' (or publisher's) choice of italicised words. For example, "*Exhort them daily, while it is called to-day, to piety and good works, lest any of them should be hardened through deceitfulness of sin"* (Trimmer, March 1789: 160). Thus by reiterating and italicising such key words, the editors succeeded in emphasising and constantly reminding their purchasers of the essence of their texts.

In short, the editors of the two periodicals exploited all the linguistic resources available to them; through a wide variety of paratexts containing an equally broad array of commercial tactics, these women writers offered parents a comprehensive guide on how to educate their children while carrying out, in effect, their own advertising campaign.

N: Correspondence/ Answers and Acknowledgements to Correspondents

The rationale behind including letters in the discussion of paratextual features is that, in my view, the correspondence between the editors and readers is an additional and insightful component to the periodicals and, on that account, it can be considered to be a paratextual element. Of course, we cannot verify the identity of the authors of the letters; they might have been real, or they may, quite plausibly, have been the writers' invention. Even though this testimony is subjective and questionable, it is no less an intentional and convincing discourse whose rhetoric is replete with the writers' strategic intentions to produce an effect on the target public, to further advertise their work and increase the numbers of their subscribers.

The editor of the *Family Magazine* encourages her readers to write to her enquiring about topics they would be interested in knowing more about as well as to send their compositions. In turn, Trimmer in the section entitled "To Correspondents" addresses these questions, which I will group in four categories.

First, and most commonly, the editor acknowledges the arrival of material and promises to insert the texts in future issues of the magazine. I include here the following representative examples: "Another printed paper has been received: it accords with the plan of the present work, but must be postponed for want of room"

(Trimmer, February 1788: 74); "Directions for the Management of the Sick, received from a Lady, are particularly acceptable; and will be inserted in a future number. Rules for Servants sent by a Correspondent, whose signature is Y, are received" (Trimmer, March 1788: 146); "Ophelia's obliging letter has been communicated to the Editor, who returns thanks for the hint, and will avail herself of it the first opportunity" (Trimmer, April 1788: 218); "S.W.'s letter was received, and will be answered very shortly; immediate attention would have been paid to it, but that it required a degree if consideration, which the Editor has not yet had leisure to give to it. […] An Address to Parents, received from a *respected Friend*, will be inserted next month" (Trimmer, May 1788: 290). This is yet another commercial strategy as Trimmer keeps her readers waiting and, to an extent, manipulates them into purchasing the following numbers. By not always specifying the exact issue in which she intends to publish some of the readers' texts, she ensures, in a way, the senders' future financial commitment.

Second, Trimmer establishes a close rapport with her readers and encourages further correspondence outside the confines of the periodical. Here are some illustrative examples: "A Letter sent sometime ago to the Editor, signed *A Female*, was received, and would have been answered agreeably to the writer's request, but that a private discussion of the subject is preferred" (Trimmer, February 1788: 74); "The Editor requests the writer of a letter signed, a *Constant Reader*, to send to the Publishers' for an answer to it, directed to an *Unknown Friend*" (Trimmer, April 1789: 218); "A.G.'s letter was received, to which a private answer would have been returned, if the writer of it had favoured the Editor with her address. […] A.G.'s packet was received, and an answer will be sent by post as desired " (Trimmer, November 1788: 726). The editor is thus promoting herself – authoritatively – as

someone who is willing to help the youth not only for the benefit of the magazine, but because she is genuinely interested in promoting education even in her leisure time, which can, in effect, be considered another commercial tactic.

Third, Trimmer also exhibits her editorial skills and makes decisions about the inclusion or exclusion of the material received from her subscribers. For instance:

> M.C's letter also came to hand. The extracts communicated by this correspondent are too sublime a stile for the *Family Magazine*; but the Editor will endeavour to convey the substance of them in a more familiar dress at some future opportunity. The Advices for Servants in this number, were received with little variations from three correspondents. The copies here given was preferred, on account of its bearing the sanction of Scripture Proofs" (Trimmer, May 1788: 290).

This shows that Trimmer carefully reviews all the letters and texts and that, acting with 'editorial responsibility', she only grants the publication of those in accordance with the style and content of the periodical and which might benefit other readers too.

And finally, the writer takes advantage of correspondence in order to further clarify and explain certain issues. For example, "In answer to the question of a Correspondent, concerning my Comment on Dr Watt's Divine Songs for Children, lately published, I take this opportunity of informing him, that it was written to correspond with the Doctor's genuine work, as published by Messrs. Buckland, Rivington, Longman, Field, and Dilly" (Trimmer, May 1789: 290); "In answer to inquiries that have been made concerning the *Address to Parents*, inserted in this *Magazine* for June, all the information I am able to give is, that I understand it was first published at *Gloucester*, but has since been printed at *Barr*, in *Staffordshire*, and other places, with variation" (Trimmer, September 1788: 578). Trimmer, once again, comes across as a reliable editor, responsible for providing the readers with complete information about the published material.

Furthermore, apart from this section, which appears at the beginning of almost all numbers of the periodical, there is another, within the magazine itself, entitled

"Letters to Editor". In this part different readers recommend or request specific material; for instance, Benevolus wants to read an "account of the sufferings of the African slaves" (Trimmer, February 1788: 123-4), a wish Trimmer grants by publishing "Anecdotes of Negroes". Or, Clericus recommends for "Good Friday" a tract called "An Exhortation to the Religious Observance of Good Friday" (Trimmer, February 1788: 122). Trimmer rarely comments on the content of these letters; rather she lets the letters and the addressers voice and reiterate the moral message, which, indirectly, is another strategic move. However, I include here an example of the writer's comments:

> The festival alluded to in the foregoing letter, is the *Feast of the Rose*, celebrated every year at *Salency* in *Piccardy*, one of the Provinces of *France*, for the purpose of rewarding the most virtuous Maiden. […] I entirely agree with my correspondent that annual festivals, dedicated t the reward of virtue, might have an excellent effect on the manners of villagers. If they were less pompous than that at *Salency*, they would suit better with the genius of this country, where processions are not so common as in *France*, and the timidity of our virtuous females considerably greater; a national feature which we should be very careful not to destroy (Trimmer, June 1789: 419).

Trimmer not only supplies additional information, but, by agreeing with the addresser, she also reinforces the didactic lesson.

On other occasions, the subscribers act as 'guardians of education':

> Madam, as I walked up Holborn-Hill the other day, I picked up an unsealed, and undirected letter, over which having slightly run my eye, and thinking it might possibly be useful to some of your readers, I could not resist the temptation of altering the names, (for though I knew none of them, their being printed might hurt their owners,) and sending it to you, with a hope that Mrs Patty's disappointment may be a warning to others in her station of life, who hasten after the fashions, I might add the follies, of their superiors, with a rapidity which ought to be a satire on the present rage for dress. You may make what use you please of the enclosed, sent you by a Constant Reader (Trimmer, April 1789: 280).

Or:

> Madam, I take the freedom of sending you an extract from *Madame De Genlis' Theatre de Education*, to insert in your *Magazine*, not without hopes that some good Mrs. *Andrews* will set foot on an institution of a similar nature, for the encouragement of *Virtue* and *Simplicity* of *Manners*, which by this means might be invited back to Villages. […] There seems at present to be an emulation among many ladies of this country, to contrive ingenious schemes of dispensing charity in the most acceptable and engaging manner, and I flatter myself some of them will honour this hint with attention. How delightful a country retreat appears, to the rich and powerful, when they find amusement for themselves, in contributing to the comfort and pleasure of their poor neighbours, as many in these days can testify. But I recollect that the narrow limits of your *Magazine* allows but little room for correspondencies [sic], I will

> therefore take my leave of a subject on which I could expatiate with delight. I am Madam, your humble Servant, Philanthropos (June 1789: 418-9).

Of course, one cannot help but notice the similarity in style, the readers echoing the same principles and morals as the editor's, which may well indicate that Trimmer herself fabricated the letters. Even if that were the case, this does not diminish the importance of such a literary artefact; rather it points to the editor's ingenuity and shrewd skills to make use of all the means available to her in order to meet her commercial goals. (Whether hers or not, the selection, tone and content of the letter are elements reinforcing the nature of the publication, and therefore have a strategic value.) Very specially, the editor's response establishes and conveys a note of *personal* involvement, care and interest, bringing the reader and the text closer and subliminally identifying the magazine as a product that genuinely caters to and takes custody over readers' concerns, thus making it an advisable purchase.

As to the *Juvenile Magazine*, it follows the same pattern, with a section dedicated to "Answers and Acknowledgements to Correspondents" and another one with letters from the subscribers. In the former, Peacock usually acknowledges the fact that she has received the texts sent such as "The Riddles signed S.S.- John Crab's Letter- L'Enfant Attentif aux Devoirs Envers Ses Freres & Soeurs.- are received (Peacock, January 1788: ii) or the intention of publishing some of them: "Emilia's Favour shall, if possible, appear next month" (Peacock, February 1788: 62). Just like Trimmer, Peacock takes editorial decisions such as rejecting a poem written by one of the regular contributors about a lock of hair:

> It is not usual to return Manuscripts which have been inserted; but that inquired for by Emilia is found, and will be forwarded to her on the 6h of June, according to her former directions; as also her last favour, Verses on a Lock of Hair, which, the Editor, with reluctance, informs Emilia, are not admissible in this work (Peacock, May 1788: 242).

Peacock later explains that "neither the *thoughts* nor *expressions* were *sufficiently correct* to render the lines interesting to any but the author, or the party to whom they

were addressed" and thinks that Emilia "is far more successful in *Prose* than in *Verse*" (Peacock, July 1788: 362). Therefore, once again, not only does the editor come across as a responsible writer sure of what would appeal to her readers, but she also knows the style of her subscribers and is aware of their strengths, which she recommends that they develop. She functions, in effect, as a teacher by correspondence.

There is also some evidence that the periodical benefitted from previous advertising because even from the very first number the column "Answers and Acknowledgements to Correspondents" existed. This is supported by the following: "the Song, which Mr. Battishill so obligingly set to Music for this Magazine, could not, for particular reasons, be included in the First Number – It shall appear as soon as possible" (Peacock, January 1788: ii) and "the next evening we drew up the foregoing account, as a first essay, and shall wait in hope that you will so far favour us young authors as to admit it into your *very First Number*" (Peacock, January 1788: 13). Also, Peacock takes advantage of the first entry to the column to present the objectives of the magazine and for whom it was aimed:

> To the Lady who inquires 'whether this Magazine is designed for different ages?' – The Editor answers, that it is chiefly intended for young people of seven to fourteen years of age; and, consequently, that tales of Gallantry, Love, Courtship, or Marriage cannot be admitted: nor any in which the conduct or foibles of a parent are treated disrespectfully, or set in a ridiculous point of view (Peacock, January 1788: ii).

Additionally,

> the Publishers beg leave to say, that they hoped by publishing this Magazine to unite the talents of those friends who had kindly furnished them with little tracts for the Instruction and Entertainment of Young Minds, and to invite contributions for those who, though possess abilities, have not leisure not inclination to write a volume.- A few have assisted in this Month's Magazine; but as others withhold their assistance till a future number, the publishers trust that the Work will improve; and that their first number will be the worst (Peacock, January 1788: ii).

Hence, with the first entry to "Answers and Acknowledgements to Correspondents" of the first issue of the periodical, Peacock (re)connects with her readers, puts

forward the aims of the undertaking, assuring parents at the same time that the editor's endeavours are morally acceptable and beneficial for the instruction of the youth. Moreover, she stresses the collaborative effort that was put into it, which guarantees that the quality will improve with the next numbers.

Moreover, one cannot overlook the vast number of letters included in the periodical: "Familiar Letters on Various Subjects" (lessons of arithmetic, visits to relatives, descriptions of different people they know or stories they heard), "Letter from Emilia" (on pride, curiosity and passions, March 1788: 147-9), "Letter from John Crab" (about the management of children, May 1788: 262-4), "Letter from Dr Johnson" (August 1788: 432-3; October 1788: 583-4), "Letter from Belindus" (December 1788: 702-5), "The School Boy" (on boarding-school life, January 1788: 13-14; March 1788: 127- 30; April 1788: 187-92; June 1788: 324-8; November 1788: 617-23) and "The Schoolgirl" (on the importance of charity, June 1788: 328-34).

The letters were published "to show how much I [Peacock] am [is] inclined to encourage the correspondence of my [her] *little Friends*" (Peacock, January 1788: 13-4). Supposedly, these letters were written by young adults or concerned mothers, yet, once again, there is no further evidence that indeed that was the case. For instance, "The Schoolboy" was allegedly written by a boarding-school student about boarding-school life; however, the style is quite mature, very similar to the writer's, with the same ideas about spending their leisure time usefully, instruction being blended with amusement, and humility praised as a virtue:

> Madam, Since you have been so obliging as to honour my first essays of writing for the amusement of young people, with so early an appearance in your entertaining Magazine, I cannot employ the leisure hours this afternoon affords me, in a way more pleasing to myself, or likely to be attended with better effects among my equals in age, than by an attempt to describe to them the mode in which our worthy instructor, Mr. *Shepherd*, acts towards us; by which he effectually gain, what is seldom attained by Masters, the *love* as well as *fear* of all his scholars" (April 1788: 187-8) "I will proceed to relate the anecdote which I have chosen for this letter, as a proof of the wisdom and goodness of our happy establishment (Peacock, June 1788: 325).

Or Emilia's letter, a supposedly sixteen-year-old contributor:

> Your benevolent and very useful intentions of guiding and assisting the youth and unwary in their search after virtue and happiness; and your kind and liberal offer of advice and assistance to those who shall communicate to you their faults and errors, have determined me to address you, in hope that by exposing the follies of my childhood, I may induce others to avoid those of a similar nature (Peacock, March 1788: 147).

Nonetheless, Peacock "granted them some ownership of the publication through the installation of the confidential female editor who promised to be a friend and a guide" (Dawson, 1998: 193) called the "Female Adviser". This section spread across four issues (February 1788: 86-93; March 1788: 150-5; August 1788: 429-32 and September 1788: 512-9) and the Agony Aunt was concerned with female behaviour, promoting a certain standard of what was considered a proper woman:

> with your permission, therefore, I shall avail myself of the *Juvenile Magazine* to convey some hints to your young Readers, particularly the female part, under the title of *The Female Adviser*, which may not prove unworthy their attention; as the experience of fifty years, together with an extensive acquaintance, may enable me to illustrate my observations with some anecdotes that will probably both instruct and entertain them (Peacock, February 1788: 87).

Here the adviser assures readers of her experience and in later publications she exposes the qualities a woman should look to have: timidity ("Madam, Can there be any thing more disgusting in a young female than an unbecoming forwardness of behaviour, which we must always attribute to the high opinion she entertains of herself?", March 1788: 150), silence ("a young lady certainly ought to be silent" March 1788: 152), humility and diffidence (which "add lustre to the most brilliant accomplishments; and where knowledge is wanting, will, in a great measure, atone for the defect", March 1788: 154). Consequently, with this column the author hopes that "the perusal of it might caution other to avoid a conduct so truly amicable" (Peacock, March 1788: 155).

To conclude, both writers display their editorial credentials, making sure that the final content of their periodicals is in agreement with their educational plan and,

moreover, with their own commercial agenda. To this end, they appropriate and use to their advantage yet another paratextual apparatus.

6. Conclusions

I began this study with the following thesis enquiry: to what extent were the paratexts employed with the purpose of generating interest and how did they enable the Marshall writers to forward their commercially-minded agenda? The purpose of this thesis has been to provide an answer to that question. Having reviewed my writers and their texts and paratextual features of concern, I would like to draw attention to what I see as the following principal conclusions.

The framework of this thesis is the relation between the Marshall writers and the paratexts of their works, which mediates the interaction between the texts themselves and their readers. As explained in my second chapter, these authors' careers coincided with the debate on approaching child rearing (from Locke to Rousseau and the writers who strongly responded to their theories) and with the advancement in the production of children's literature, which was "always the scene of a battle between instruction and amusement, between restraint and freedom, between hesitant morality and spontaneous happiness" (Darton, 1932: v-vi). It was a blossoming market intended for domestic and maternal use and surveillance; didacticism, morality, religion and class awareness were pervasive in this period defined by binary concepts such as instruction/morality-delight/amusement and didacticism-fantasy.

Moreover, as pointed in the second chapter, "if popular literature, plays and novels were regarded as inappropriate alternatives to children's literature, and often

criticised as such, instructional material was regarded and treated as a valuable addition" (Grenby, 2011: 128). The stories with moral content met the market's needs in the conservative social environment because, although aimed at the young, these books were to be read under parental control. Consequently "as prosperity enlarged the middle classes in the eighteenth century, parents, nurtured on Locke's ideas, envisioned both secular and religious futures for children. As a result, books which fostered moral and worldly success became popular while godly books lost much of their appeal" (Pickering, 1993: 1).

The conclusion of this section is that education became chiefly a domestic affair with lessons being held in the intimacy of the home as it "attained a renewed ideological status as a sanctuary in an otherwise turbulent world" (Drotner, 1988: 43). Most importantly, "the child was unanimously perceived as an individual", yet they were expected to show "unquestioned obedience of parental demands" (Drotner, 1988: 38-9).

The third chapter focused on three writers of great influence for the Marshall associates (Sarah Fielding, Anna Laetitia Barbauld and Maria Edgeworth) and how together they formed a network of skilful writers with a shared identity. Additionally, as indicated in the chapter, this can be further seen as "a collaboration between the author who produced the text and the adult supervising its use. Many producers and consumers of children's literature understood that supervision was not merely a monitoring process but was an act of co-authorship" (Grenby, 2011: 244). According to Sarah Trimmer, "children should not be permitted to make their own choice, or to read books that may accidentally be thrown in their way"; instead they " should be taught to consider it as a *duty*, to consult their parents in this momentous concern" (Trimmer, *Guardian of Education* vol. II, 1803: 407). This suggests that "parents

were forcefully instructed to select, scrutinise, superintend and even censor children's reading. […] The supervising adult was widely understood as vital in mediating the text to the child, becoming in effect its co-creator" (Grenby, 2011: 252). Nevertheless,

> The history of education is not only a story of new pedagogic programmes imposed upon children and now available to us through texts which were published to propagate or enact them. But nor is it only the story of how children were in reality educated. It is the relationship between the theory and the practice, the interaction between them, that is perhaps most significant. They exist, after all, in dialogue with one another, practice reflecting the perception of theory just as the theory reflected the perceived failures of practice. This conversation between producers and consumers, between theorists, practitioners and end-users, can only be explored by juxtaposing as many different sources of evidence as possible (Grenby [2], 2009: 197-8).

Following the popular expressions such as "In making amusement the vehicle of instruction, consists the grand secret of early education" (Fenn, *The Rational Dame*, 1786: iv), knowledge became a commodity in the eighteenth century and the texts were intended to please and instruct the reader, meeting the 'utile dulce' requirement of the period. The further implication and conclusion of the third chapter is that the Marshall authors redefined the maternal status and role, raising the status of children's literature, on the one hand, and made it socially acceptable for middle-class women to establish a public role for themselves, on the other.

The fourth and fifth chapters drew attention to the fact that the late eighteenth century saw not only moral and educational benefits, but also commercial, which could be reaped from the field of children's literature as "childhood, youth and juvenile consumerism are historical constructs whose developments are closely connected" (Drotner, 1988: 3). The expansion of such books and magazines indicates how the trade developed under the weight of commercial competition between publishers who had to constantly adjust to the needs and tastes of their new emerging targeted readership. Considering that "children's literature was a genre mostly created by publishers" (Alderson and Oyens, 2006: 62), then consumerism is a general aspect

of children's literature and commercial possibilities are hidden in a young audience. Needless to say, we cannot know for sure how eighteenth-century children reacted to these texts; however, the writers' agenda, as explained throughout my thesis, is unambiguous and overt.

The immediate implication and conclusion of these two chapters is that the commercial exploration of this new readership led to bold literary experiments, which saw the progressive pedagogies of women writers, who became their own agents and a market presence. Looking at their works with a more commercial eye, the Marshall writers re-wrote their texts through the means of another text. They strategically linked the paratexts with the texts themselves with the purpose of impacting the reader, who was never let to disconnect from the commercial aspect. The authors transformed their talents into a means of their support and their works into objects of aesthetic consumption. Moreover, they enlarged and diversified the public, who became just involved in the making of the books and periodicals as the authors themselves.

Strongly relying on the paratextual endorsements to help the distribution of their books, the Marshall writers succeeded in meeting the public and publisher's expectations. These devices, seen as an "artful disruption" (Genette, 1997: xii), enhance and enrich rather than distract the public from their reading experience. Regarded as prime engines of promoting their works with a compelling effect on the purchasers, the liminal devices have, therefore, not only an ornamental role, but also ideological. These new market-oriented type of authors and their paratexts act as commercial assets; they are subliminal reminders that serve as a sales device, which adds significance to the texts which otherwise would have been lost.

By promoting a close tailoring of education for children based on educative

entertainment, by effective means of self-promotion, defensive and offensive strategies, and through the lens of commerce, Marshall's literary associates succeeded in flagging and promoting their own commercial agenda. This double blind (artistic value and financial venture) together with their collaborative and successful efforts resulted in a wise investment not only in their own careers, but also in children's future.

In light of these conclusions, and bearing in mind, once again, the thesis statement from which this study develops, my final conclusion is that these women writers do, in fact, use a series of paratextual features to reinforce the commercial validity of their 'products'.[70] In my assessment, the principal consequence of this conclusion is that it forces us to recalibrate the perception of these writers as lightweight amateurs, second-hand writers, maybe morally over-obsessed and a bit old-fashioned. They were, in actuality, hard-working professionals in control of their 'products', aware of the market and competent to appeal to their readership.

My literary analysis is not quantitatively exhaustive but qualitatively selective in that it traces key commercial strategies employed by the writers to promote their works. I hope that my study on paratexts in late eighteenth-century children's books and periodicals will contribute to further explorations in yet uncharted research fields, and, more importantly, to relocate children's literature and to be recognised "not as a peripheral field annexed to an established canon, but as a 'radiant central core'" (Knoepflmacher and Myers, 1997: xvi), to use Knoepflmacher's and Myers's words. And perhaps more importantly, is the obvious applicability of these results; whilst

[70] As indicated in my footnote 1, the purpose of my thesis has not been to determine whether these commercial strategies were indeed successful. The Marshall writers aimed at increasing their salability through their paratexts, but whether that was indeed the case is a separate issue that lies beyond the scope of the present research. Notwithstanding this, I include an annex with information regarding the number of editions of some of my texts, the frequency of which points to the market success.

they are linked to particular writers, it is reasonable to assume that this paratextual study is plausible for any literary creation and that these specific outcomes could be attributed to very distinct authors in very distinct genres, and even distinct periods.

7. Further Research

As I have tried to show throughout the thesis, the topic of paratextuality intertwined with commercial strategies is complex and, inevitably, this thesis is not a comprehensive study; rather it opens up new opportunities for further innovative contributions to the field.

First and foremost, it would be interesting and relevant to this research to examine whether the paratextual elements change in subsequent editions (either published by Marshall or by other publishers) and, moreover, the nature and cause of those changes. This could perhaps indicate the writers' more mature and sophisticated style, on the one hand, or a discourse adapted to the publisher's demands or policies or to the trends within their own time, on the other.

The thesis raises the question of possible advertising that these literary works benefitted from. However, this lies beyond the scope of my research, yet it leads to another opportunity to look into whether there is some evidence that the commercial strategies employed in the paratexts are mirrored in advertisements, and, if that were the case, what influence they had on the purchasers' decision to buy their 'products'. To my mind, this line of research would undoubtedly complement and reinforce the present one. Closely related to this, there is the issue of internal advertising. In my 4.2 section G: Prefaces I included a few examples in which the Marshall writers made use of their narratives in order to advertise each other or Marshall himself. Obviously, there are more examples to illustrate how these women writers not only

exploited their paratexts, but also the texts themselves for the same commercial purposes. This would further reinforce my thesis statement in that the authors aimed at self-representing and promoting themselves through a series of texts and two periodicals in order to advance their commercial agenda.

Another possible research path could be to investigate more fully the collaboration between Marshall and his literary associates, and, particularly, the authority the publisher granted his writers as it is not always clear whether it was Marshall or the authors who included some of the paratextual elements. The downside is that perhaps it would be difficult to find sufficient and reliable evidence. However, in case there is such evidence, this would give us insightful information about the nature of publisher-writer collaboration in the late eighteenth century and the kind of decisions that belonged to each one.

And finally, the thesis is relevant to other fields, not only strictly literary, but also textual productions such as letters and advertisements, and literary-linguistic ambits such as stylistics and pragmatics. For instance, the rhetorical structures used by these women, and exemplified in my 4.2 section M: Additional Rhetorical Devices, could be scientifically approached by means of the study of language following the corpus linguistics and stylistics method. The analysis of such linguistic samples would accurately map the words pertaining to the field of literary commerce, for example, used by the writers in their commercial interests.

No thesis can answer *all* questions; but every thesis should open up a series of new enquiries, in this case closely related and equally relevant to the study of commercial strategies in paratextual features of late eighteenth-century children's books.

8. Annex: Publication Frequency[71]

Ellenor Fenn

A Short History of Quadrupeds, 1790 [published between 1790-6]
WorldCat: 1792, 1796; BL: 1798; ESTC: 1796.

A Spelling Book, 1787
WorldCat: 1787; BL: 1787; ESTC: -.

Cobwebs to Catch Flies, 1783 [published between 1783-94]
WorldCat: 1783, 1790, 1794; BL: 1783; ESTC: 1789, 1794.

Fables, 1783 [published between 1783-90]
WorldCat: 1783; BL: 1783; ESTC: 1783, 1790.

Fables in Monosyllables, 1783.
WorldCat: -; BL: 1783; ESTC: 1783.

Juvenile Correspondence, 1783 [published between 1783-91]
WorldCat: 1783, 1785, 1790; BL: 1783, 1785; ESTC: 1791.

Rational Sports, 1783 [published between 1783-94]
WorldCat: 1783, 1785, 1790, 1794; BL: 1783, 1785, 1790; ESTC: 1783, 1785, 1790, 1794.

School Dialogues for Boys, 1783
WorldCat: 1783; BL: 1783; ESTC: 1783.

School Occurrences, 1783 [published between 1783-90]
WorldCat: 1784, 1785, 1790; BL: 1783, 1786, 1790; ESTC: 1783, 1790.

The Art of Teaching in Sport, 1785 [published between 1785-96]
WorldCat: 1790, 1796; BL: 1785, 1796; ESTC: 1785.

The Child's Grammar, 1797 [published between 1797-1801]
WorldCat: 1799, 1800, 1801; BL: 1799, 1800; ESTC: 1799.

The Fairy Spectator, 1789 [published between 1789-1800]
WorldCat: 1789, 1790, 1800; BL: 1789; ESTC: 1789, 1790.

The Female Guardian, 1784 [published between 1784-7]
WorldCat: 1784, 1787; BL: 1787; ESTC: 1784, 1787.

[71] Data taken from WorldCat <https://www.worldcat.org>, the British Library <http://explore.bl.uk> and the English Short Title Catalogue <http://estc.bl.uk>. The following information is to emphasise those works republished within approximately ten years of the original publication (which sometimes did not survive, hence the lack of coincidence between year of publication and first year on record) since later publications are reprints unlikely to correspond to any continuing commercial demands.

The Juvenile Tatler, 1789 [published between 1789-90]
WorldCat: 1789, 1790; BL: 1789, 1790; ESTC: 1789, 1790.

The Lilliputian Spectacle de la Nature, 1786 [published between 1786-90]
WorldCat: 1790; BL: 1790; ESTC: 1790.

The Mother's Grammar, 1798 [published between 1798-1805]
WorldCat: 1798, 1800, 1801, 1804; BL: 1805; ESTC: 1800.

The Rational Dame, 1786 [published between 1786-95]
WorldCat: 1786; BL: 1790, 1793, 1795; ESTC: 1786, 1795.

Dorothy Kilner

A Clear and Concise Account of the Origin and Design of Christianity, 1781
WorldCat: 1781; BL: 1781, 1816; ESTC: 1781.

Anecdotes of a Boarding School, 1790 [published between 1790-1802]
WorldCat: 1790, 1796, 1802; BL: 1790, 1800; ESTC: 1790.

Dialogues and Letters on Morality, Oeconomy and Politeness, 1780 [published between 1780-7]
WorldCat: 1780, 1785, 1787; BL: 1780, 1787; ESTC: 1787.

Letters from A Mother to Her Children, 1780 [published between 1780-7]
WorldCat: 1780, 1787; BL: 1780; ESTC: 1787.

Little Stories for Little Folks, 1785 [published between 1785-93]
WorldCat: 1785, 1789, 1793; BL: 1785; ESTC: 1785, 1789.

Miscellaneous Thoughts in Essays, Dialogues, Epistles, 1785.
WorldCat: 1785; BL: 1785; ESTC: 1785.

Short Conversations, 1785 [published between 1785-94]
WorldCat: 1790; BL: -; ESTC: 1794.

The First Principles of Religion, and the Existence of a Deity, 1780 [published between 1780-7]
WorldCat: 1780, 1787; BL: -; ESTC: 1780.

The Good Child's Delight, 1785 [published between 1785-97]
WorldCat: 1785, 1787, 1790, 1787, 1790, 1797; BL: 1790; ESTC: 1785, 1790.

The History of a Great Many Little Boys and Girls, 1780 [published between 1780-94]
WorldCat: -; BL: -; ESTC: 1790, 1794.

The Histories of More Children than One, 1795 [published between 1790-1800]
WorldCat: 1795, 1800; BL: 1795; ESTC: 1795.

The Holyday Present, 1781 [published between 1781-95]
WorldCat: 1788, 1789; BL: 1788, 1789; ESTC: 1789, 1795.

The Life and Perambulation of a Mouse, 1783/4 [published between 1783-91]
WorldCat: 1784, 1790, 1791; BL: 1790; ESTC: 1783, 1784, 1790.

The Rotchfords, or the Friendly Counsellor, 1786 [published between 1786-1800]
WorldCat: 1786, 1800; BL: 1786, 1800; ESTC: 1786.

The Village School, 1795
WorldCat: 1795; BL: 1795; ESTC: 1795.

Mary Ann Kilner

A Course of Lectures, for Sunday Evenings, 1783 [published between 1783-96]
WorldCat: 1790, 1796; BL: 1790; ESTC: 1783, 1786.

Familiar Dialogues for the Instruction and Amusement of children of Four and Five Years Old, 1790 [published between 1790-1804]
WorldCat: 1792, 1795, 1804; BL: 1795; ESTC: 1790.

Jemima Placid, 1783 [published between 1783-95]
WorldCat: 1786, 1789, 1790, 1794, 1795; BL: 1785, 1789, 1790; ESTC: 1789, 1790, 1795.

Memoirs of a Peg Top, 1785 [published between 1785-97]
WorldCat: 1785; BL: 1790, 1797; ESTC: 1785, 1790, 1797.

The Adventures of a Pincushion, 1780 [published between 1780-90]
WorldCat: 1782; BL: 1785, 1788, 1790; ESTC: 1785, 1788, 1790.

The Adventures of a Whipping Top, 1783 [published between 1783-90]
WorldCat: 1787, 1790; BL: 1780; ESTC: 1790.

William Sedley; or, the Evil Day Deferred, 1783
WorldCat: 1783; BL: 1783; ESTC: -.

Lucy Peacock

Emily, or the Test of Sincerity, 1816.
WorldCat: 1816, 1817; BL: 1816; ESTC: -.

The Knight of the Rose, 1793 [published between 1793-1807]
WorldCat: 1793, 1807; BL: 1793, 1807; ESTC: 1793.

The Life of a Bee, 1800.
WorldCat: 1800; BL: -; ESTC: 1800.

Sarah Trimmer

A Description of a Series of Prints of Ancient History, 1786 [published between 1786-95]
WorldCat: 1795; BL: 1795; ESTC: 1787, 1795.

A Description of a Set of Prints of English History, 1789 [published between 1789-92]
WorldCat: 1790; BL: 1790; ESTC: 1790, 1792.

A Description of a Series of Prints of Roman History, 1789 [published between 1789-98]
WorldCat: 1796, 1798; BL: 1798; ESTC: 1789, 1795, 1796, 1798.

A Description of a Set of Prints of Scripture History, 1786 [published between 1786-98]
WorldCat: 1796, 1798; BL: 1798; ESTC: 1789, 1795, 1796, 1798.

A Description of a Set of Prints Taken from the New Testament, 1790 [published between 1790-1800]
WorldCat: 1796, 1798; BL: 1790, 1796; ESTC: 1790, 1795, 1796, 1800.

A Series of Prints of Ancient History, 1786 [published between 1786-1790]
WorldCat: -; BL: 1790; ESTC: 1788, 1790.

A Series of Prints of English History, 1789 [published between 1789-1801]
WorldCat: 1795, 1796, 1801; BL: 1792, 1801; ESTC: 1790, 1792, 1796, 1800, 1801.

A Series of Prints from the Old Testament, 1797.
WorldCat: -; BL: -; ESTC: 1797.

A Series of Prints of Roman History, 1789 [published between 1789-1798]
WorldCat: 1789, 1790, 1795, 1796, 1798; BL: 1800; ESTC: 1789, 1796.

A Series of Prints of Scripture History, 1786 [published between 1786-1800]
WorldCat: 1790, 1800; BL: 1786; ESTC: 1786, 1790.

A Series of Prints Taken From The New Testament, 1790 [published between 1790-1801]
WorldCat: 1790, 1801; BL: 1790; ESTC: 1790.

Scripture Lessons, 1797.
WorldCat: 1797; BL: 1797; ESTC: 1797.

Sunday School Dialogues, 1790.
WorldCat: 1790; BL: 1790; ESTC: 1790.

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-----. *A Spelling Book*. London: printed and sold by John Marshall and Co., 1787.

-----. *Cobwebs to Catch Flies*. London: printed and sold by John Marshall and Co., 1783.

-----. *Fables*. London: printed and sold by John Marshall and Co., 1783.

-----. *Fables in Monosyllables*. London: printed and sold by John Marshall and Co., 1783.

-----. *Juvenile Correspondence.* Second edition, London: printed and sold by John Marshall and Co., ?1790 [1783].

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