VICTORIAN IDEOLOGY AND BRITISH CHILDREN'S LITERATURE, 1850-1914

DISSERTATION

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By

Ann Trugman Ackerman, M.A.

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This dissertation shows the ideas of Victorian England, 1850-1914, as reflected in Victorian children's literature. To establish the validity of studying children's literature as a guide to the Victorian age, it was necessary first to show that children's literature in those years reflected and promoted adult ideals.

Sources used include not only works by established authors but also children's periodicals and transient writings like "penny dreadfuls."

There are four background chapters: an introduction, a brief social history, a history of publishing for children, and an examination of Victorian children's authors. Six chapters examine Victorian children's literature in relation to specific historical themes: class structure; the social problems of poverty; temperance; morality, manners, religion, and science; patriotism; and natives, slavery, and missionaries in relation to imperialism.

Many findings support accepted historical theories. Attitudes on social class revealed definite class separations, mobility, and obligations. Stories on poverty and
child labor show Victorian concern, but suggest few solutions other than charity. Literary items on religion and morality reflect a dominance of evangelical values. There was a morality separate from religion, and it was not threatened by the new developing science; indeed, the materials examined reveal how Victorians tried to reconcile the new science with theology. Religious obligations helped to promote and justify English nationalism and imperialism. Victorian children's literature also shows clearly that English imperialism existed before the late Victorian era, a finding which supports the Robinson and Gallagher thesis. In a survey of selected periodicals from 1861 to 1886, the number of items concerning imperialism followed a continuous growth pattern. Social Darwinism became an element of imperialism later in the Victorian age. Items on religion as distinct from morality declined in number. This survey also showed that the number of literary items about social problems remained almost constant, a demonstration of the strength of the Victorian reform ethic.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation examines Victorian ideology through the medium of British children's literature published between 1850 and 1914. The literature of any given period mirrors the major ideas of that era; this dissertation contends that Victorian children's literature shows the ideas of that age in a pure form, without the dissimulation that Victorian adults might employ in other literature to mask their real beliefs.

Historians have shown that the sources for historical study can include much more than chronicles and state papers. Historians can use, and have used, literature, directly or indirectly, to illuminate the characteristics of an age. Literary history has long been recognized as a valid mode of historical study. The studies of literature and its relation to the history of the times presented by such scholars as A. C. Baugh, David Daiches, Gordon Gerould, Vernon Parrington, and Ernest Simmons show that it is possible to examine the history of an age through literary studies.¹

The spirit of an age appears in all forms of literature. As the reading matter that adults select reflects the age in which it was written, so too does reading matter intended for children. Children's literature, a seldom-explored source, may well be a useful guide to insights into an historical era. For the Victorian years, through characters like fierce lions and stately unicorns as well as in more realistic tales, the historian may well be able to discern and to describe the ideology of Victorian England in a new manner.

In the Victorian years, children's literature was seen as a didactic instrument. Adults generally believed that children's literature shaped youthful ideals and morals. Children, in the adult's view, required reinforcement for right behavior as well as instruction in morality and duty.

The Victorian parents and teachers who followed that line of argument were only restating a classic position. Plato claimed in his *Republic* that the creation of a

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society must begin with the education of the young. To Plato, early childhood was the stage of life in which character was molded, the period when "... the desired impression is more readily taken." Plato said that because literary education begins with tales told to infants, adults must select those tales with great care, for those stories helped to shape the character of the young child. As the child grows older, Plato said, he assumes that the ideas and beliefs expressed in those tales are right and proper. Thus, tales told to the young should show the triumph of virtue, bravery, and order. If the literature presented to children causes them to respect and appreciate those positive traits, the child will uphold them for life.

Two millennia after Plato, John Locke in his proto-behaviorist theories stressed how the external world guides children in forming ideas. It is the duty of parents, Locke asserted, to educate the child in proper modes of thought and behavior, "because the ignorance and infirmities of childhood stand in need of restraint and

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correction. ..." In a childhood that should be regimented, the youngster should receive only the ideas and beliefs adults have selected for him. 7

Thus, the philosopher Plato and the judicious Locke could reinforce the inclinations of Victorian parents. Those persons responsible for a child's education in Victorian England accepted the duty of selecting appropriate reading matter for their young charges. The form of the reading material did not matter. The careful and dutiful parent chose material that would reinforce adult ideals or show proper action, whether in the form of alphabet book, moral parable, adventure story, poem, or flight of imagination.

The authors of those works were, like almost all authors, the prisoners of the times in which they wrote. It can be argued that the very best authors somehow transcend the society that nurtures them. That judgment may be valid, although the authors in that category would comprise only a tiny proportion of all writers and a correspondingly minute proportion of those who wrote children's literature. That judgment, however, belongs properly to the realm of aesthetics, which is not a


7Locke, Human Understanding, 1.2.22.
subject under examination. This dissertation examines a substantial amount of all sorts of Victorian children's literature, however good or bad it may be aesthetically.

Much of children's literature, certainly the greater part of that written in Victorian England, reinforces existing society. The reinforcement may be unconscious on an author's part. Whatever his intentions, no author can entirely escape his environment and the ideas, manners, and emotions that comprise it. Inadvertently or intentionally, authors project their world into their writings.

In Victorian England, most children's literature was written with a didactic aim and portrayed individuals intended as role models and situations intended to direct the child to proper behavior. For example, when small children are portrayed playing agreeably with each other or making bouquets for their mothers or taking time from their play to help their elders that behavior shown in fiction reinforced general training. When the young hero of a children's story is portrayed as a sportsman and well-mannered and when possessing those traits he is shown as respected and liked by his peers, then an adult ideal was propagated. In those cases, children doing what children do--playing and participating in a group or family--became proper examples for the youthful reader. The description in positive terms of traits that Victorian
adults hoped to inculcate in the young conveyed the notions of acceptance and reward.

In mid-nineteenth century England, children's literature began to flourish as a genre separate from adult literature and as supplemental to the literature ostensibly written for adults which was read by children through the years.\(^8\) Certainly, a small proportion of English publishing had been directed at a young audience since the time of Caxton. Generally, it was intended for use in formal instruction. In the mid-nineteenth century, the genre of children's literature became a commercially significant part of publishers' lists for reasons that will be suggested in later chapters. Indeed, the last forty years of the nineteenth century have been referred to as the "Golden Age of Children's Literature."\(^9\)

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\(^8\) John Rowe Townsend, Written For Children: An Outline of English Children's Literature (New York, 1965), 11, 13-14. Townsend explained that the Puritans in the seventeenth century wrote books especially for children. They, however, were an exception. Before the printing press, books had to be copied by hand and even after the printing press, books for children were expensive; therefore, the only children's books were those intended for formal instruction. ". . . Classical literature has nothing that can be called a children's book in the sense of a book especially written to give pleasure to children," although John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress (1678), Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe (1719), and Jonathan Swift's Gulliver's Travels (1736) were read widely by children. Ibid., 11.

factor that led to the increased publication of moral literature was the growing quantity of "bloods" and "penny-dreadfuls" available to children if their supervision was lax. Fear that impressionable children might imitate the undesirable or immoral characters shown in the bloods and dreadfuls led parents to demand morally acceptable alternatives. This matter, too, will be discussed in later chapters.

One problem faced in the conception of this dissertation was how to treat what was known in Victorian England as "family literature." Family literature or writings that were intended to be read out loud in nightly installments to the entire family was a publishing staple. Many of the writings of Charles Dickens were intended to be used in that form of family activity, and later examples might well include some of the writings of Robert Louis Stevenson and Rudyard Kipling. Although those pieces may have been intended for general family consumption, they served many of the same aims as literature written directly for children. The decision reached in this dissertation, a compromise as unsatisfactory as most compromises, is to treat those works of family literature which were regarded at that time as directed mainly to a youthful audience as proper works to discuss. For example, Kipling's Jungle Books are discussed in this dissertation; his Plain Tales from the Hills are not.
This dissertation does not attempt to assess whether the didactic aim of Victorian children's literature was, in fact, achieved. Certainly, youthful readings remain important in the lives of many adults. For example, authors who became prominent after the turn of the century, persons who, in their childhoods, had read the materials discussed in this dissertation, claimed there was a continuing influence. C. S. Lewis was influenced by Beatrix Potter's *Squirrel Nunkin* and by George Macdonald's writings. The "discovery of George Macdonald" was as a "turning point" in C. S. Lewis' life according to his brother W. H. Lewis. Macdonald's *The Princess and the Goblin* impressed G. K. Chesterton, while J. M. Barrie, the creator of *Peter Pan*, a children's favorite for many generations, loved the Victorian periodical *Chatterbox*, which lured him away from the undesirable penny dreadfuls. Edward Lear said that his childhood reading stimulated his own creativity; in particular, he claimed that reading *Anecdotes and Adventures of Fifteen Gentlemen*, (1822) inspired the limericks he wrote later. For John Ruskin, it was *Dame Wiggins* (1823). He liked it so much

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that he added some of his own verses and some Greenaway drawings to an 1885 facsimile edition. Examples could be multiplied indefinitely. The etcher James McBey stated in his autobiography that he was greatly influenced and encouraged by the periodical Boy's Own Paper. It might well be a valuable study to explore the continuing influence of Victorian children's literature on adults in the years following World War I, but such a study lies outside the scope of this dissertation.

Histories of children's literature have examined Victorian England. Their focus, of course, lies in how the Victorian period is the literary ancestor or precursor of other writings for children, or in how the Victorian period influenced what was written, not what those writings show about Victorian England. Generally, they reason from conventional historical wisdom, listing Victorian traits uncritically and then comparing literary pieces to those traits. A few of those studies do comment that a particular item illustrates some Victorian social


or political issue.\textsuperscript{15} There are also several studies that examine Victorian children's tract literature and its relationship to Victorian history.\textsuperscript{16} There are no studies that examine the whole spectrum of Victorian children's books and periodical writings and their relationship to British social, political, and religious issues during the era.\textsuperscript{17}

Children's literature is a mirror of the times in which it was written. This is particularly true of Victorian England where children's literature, other than the disapproved penny dreadfuls and bloods, was intended to serve a didactic purpose. It is possible for the historian to use children's literature to examine the Victorian intellectual milieu. The prejudices and hopes

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\textsuperscript{15}Gillian Avery, "Children's Books and Social History" in Research About Nineteenth Century Children and Books, ed. Selma K. Richardson, Monograph No. 17 (Urbana, Ill., 1979); Darton, Children's Books, 3d rev. ed.; Ellis, History of Children's Reading, passim.


\textsuperscript{17}A modest first effort toward that study was Ann Trugman [Ackerman], "Victorian Ideology and British Children's Literature, 1870-1914," Masters Thesis, North Texas State University, August, 1969.
of Victorian adults are, this dissertation contends, more clearly seen through children's literature than through more customary sources. Children's stories are direct; their symbolism easy to decipher. Only when particular subjects were considered unseemly for children would this view be incorrect. For example, Victorian sexual attitudes, beyond formal sexual roles, are not seen in children's literature; to be sure, the absence of such material is a datum for the historian. The historian would also look in vain for any discussion of sexual abuse or incest. That some individual answers might be inferred from, for example, Lewis Carroll's or Oscar Wilde's lives would be an inappropriate extension of historical license.

It might be useful, also, to examine how myths are reshaped in Victorian times. A similar phenomenon, the story of how political and satiric rhymes lost their connection to specific persons and events and became associated in the popular mind only with children's jingles, has not lacked scholars. Myths, strictly speaking, are not children's literature at all, even

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18 For some discussion of this point, see Edwin D. Starbuck and others, A Guide to Literature for Character Training: Fairy Tale, Myth, and Legend (New York, 1928), 9; see also p. 7; Claude Levi-Strauss, The Savage Mind (Chicago, 1966), 207; Cornelia Meigs and others, A Critical History of Children's Literature (New York, 1959), 366. Tales of fantasy and myth are tools of reinforcement. Social anthropologists have found that "folk tales" are the "cement of society." May Hill Arbuthnot, Children and Books, 3d ed. (Chicago, 1964), 253.
though in the nineteenth century a number of them were
tamed and expurgated for children. The road from the
Grimm brothers to illustrated children's fairy stories
is one that merits detailed examination of both causes and
effects. The transformations of myths, particularly if
they are viewed from the Jungian perspective as echoes of
a collective unconscious or if they are seen as
projections of personal psychological phenomena, might be
revealing of the Victorian epoch. Such a study belongs
more in the hands of psychologists than in those of
historians, and, although the possibilities are
tantalizing, it is not attempted in this dissertation.

This dissertation, then, uses all sorts of British
children's literature, the bulk of it published between
1850 and 1914, to examine Victorian intellectual life. It
is hoped that the examination will yield results that will
enable a judgment on whether classic and conventional
generalizations of Victorian beliefs may be supported or
contradicted.
CHAPTER II

THE VICTORIAN AGE

Historians debate over when the "Victorian" Era began and over what it was. Queen Victoria became the English monarch in 1837, but some of the ideas attributed to the Victorian age had their birth long prior to her coming to the throne or continued after her death. "Victorian" in this dissertation will refer to the period 1850-1914. It thus includes the periods sometimes referred to as mid-Victorian, late-Victorian, and the Edwardian Age.¹

The nineteenth century saw England change from an agricultural society to an industrial civilization. The population in England more than doubled.² The agrarian


influence in English life and in the social structure became progressively less dominant, although the agrarian ideal remained. During the century, the suffrage was extended to an ever greater number of people. The Victorian Era was a prosperous period for England, and London was the world's financial center.

In 1851 the Great Exhibition had reflected a great and advancing England. Prosperity was visible in other ways. Between 1850 and 1900, as compulsory education began, the number of registered students increased eighteen-fold.

Economic advancement, especially that of the middle class, was displayed in other ways. Domestic servants became a status symbol for middle-class Victorians. In London in 1851, 1.8 servants were employed in the "average" middle-class household. There was an increase in the number of general servants in Victorian England;

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4 Bedarida, Social History, 24, 101; Petrie, Victorians, 18.

5 "Children and Teachers in Schools," in Brian R. Mitchell, European Historical Statistics, 1750-1970 (New York, 1976), item J1, pp. 752, see also 759. Many of these students were from the middle and lower classes. Bedarida, Social History, 153-158.
Between 1851 and 1871 the increase was thirty-five percent. The increase was even greater for servants concerned with child care; between 1851 and 1881 that percentage almost doubled.\(^6\)

Prosperity and poverty existed side by side. It was estimated that in London in 1851 one out of twenty-five Londoners was a member of the upper class and twenty out of twenty-five were members of the "lower classes." Many of those lived in desperate poverty. In 1878 a government report listed the number of registered paupers at 3.3 percent; however, a private report several years later was more revealing. Charles Booth with a small group of researchers surveyed London in 1889. In their report they divided the poor into three groups: the poor, the very poor, and the lowest. The groups were described. The poor had inadequate earnings while the very poor experienced a "hand-to-mouth existence, chronic want." This latter group had insufficient earnings and were "half-starved." The lowest were undesirables who included the lazy, the unemployed, and criminals. Booth's study figured that the lowest constituted 0.9 percent of London's population whereas the very poor numbered 7.5

\(^6\)Theresa McBride, "'As the Twig is Bent': The Victorian Nanny," in The Victorian Family, ed. Anthony S. Wohl (New York, 1978), 45, 53. "Middle class" has been used for families with an approximate income of £100 to £1,000 annually, ibid.; Bedarida, Social History, 49, 48.

\begin{table}
\centering
\caption{Paupers, England and Wales for Selected Years*}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
\hline
Year & Registered Paupers & Number of Parishes Reporting** \\
\hline
1850 & 920,543 & 606 \\
1860 & 851,020 & 646 \\
1870 & 1,079,391 & 649 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

*Sources: Bedarida, Social History, 104; U.K. Statistical Abstracts, 1854-1855, item no. 35, p. 38; ibid., 1856-1872, item no. 60, p. 126.

Booth's figures are larger than those of the socialists. The socialists estimated London's poverty at one-fourth of the population.\footnote{"Introduction," ibid., 538.} Other statistics revealed that 1,300,000 out of 4,200,000 people lived in poverty in London. Poverty and employment figures for England and Wales are available, also. (See Table II.)
TABLE II
UNEMPLOYMENT, ENGLAND AND WALES
FOR SELECTED YEARS*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percent Unemployed, Select Unions and Others Reporting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In the 1850s increasing emphasis was placed on work and labor. "With one voice everyone sang the praises of hard work and industrial success, and compliments for the workers were the order of the day." In the 1850s increasing emphasis was placed on work and labor. "With one voice everyone sang the praises of hard work and industrial success, and compliments for the workers were the order of the day." Instead of being called "the dangerous classes" the lower classes became known as "the labouring classes." City populations grew substantially. Residing in London in 1851 was 13.2 percent of the English population. Another 9.4 percent lived in cities of over 100,000, while 16.9 percent lived in cities of 10,000 to 100,000. Thus in 1851, 39.5 percent of the

9Bedarida, Social History, 5.
10Ibid.
English population lived in towns over 10,000 population. Four decades later 61.6 percent of England's people resided in towns over 10,000. Similarly the shift was from agricultural jobs to industrial work. (See Table III.)

**TABLE III**

**LABOR FORCE EMPLOYED IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>1851</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1911</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>16,464</td>
<td>22,399</td>
<td>29,081</td>
<td>36,071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military (males only)</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic/Personal Services</td>
<td>1,328</td>
<td>1,908</td>
<td>2,329</td>
<td>2,583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, Horticulture Forestry</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal Manufacturing Machines etc.</td>
<td>419</td>
<td>563</td>
<td>810</td>
<td>1,220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Administration</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In raw numbers, agricultural gained, but it was a very small increase. The rate of growth was far greater in industrial areas. These same figures indicate the growth of administration and in the number of domestic servants, Victorian prosperity.

During the last half of the nineteenth century when the shift of occupational base took place, wages were also changing. From 1850 to 1900, using 100 as the base figure, the average money wages (excluding an allowance for unemployed) increased +79 with the greatest advance between 1850 and 1870 and the least change from 1890 to 1900. Similarly, the average real wages increased. The figures show that by 1900 real wages had increased +83. In this category, the greatest change occurred between 1870 and 1890, while figures for the periods 1850 to 1870 and 1890 to 1900 show real wage levels hold steady. While wages increased, average retail prices went up and then down. During the period from 1850 to 1870, still using 100 as the base figure, prices went up +13 (a rate close to the increase in average real wages for that time). However, for the period from 1870 to 1890 prices dropped 22.\(^{12}\) Hence, wages were going up and prices going down which meant that buying power was growing for those who were employed.

\(^{12}\) Mitchell, British Historical Statistics, 343-345; see also Appendix A. An 1895 study lists the changes in
Prosperity did exist for some workers; however, as Booth indicated poverty was a reality. Using tables from Mitchell's *British Historical Statistics* again, the realities of personal economics are clearer. Wages went up and prices went down, but many people were unemployed. The "unoccupied" (those who could be given an occupation) increased. Mitchell noted that in 1871 and before, "unoccupied" included land proprietors, students, navy pensioners, wives, etc. Therefore, these figures are mentioned with caution. "Unoccupied" figures between 1851 and 1911 increased a little over 115 percent.¹³

Between the extremes of great wealth, on the one hand, and the workers and the paupers on the other, stood the middle class. Amorphous and nebulous, the middle class is difficult to define. The middle class included those with incomes of £100-4,000 annually, people who usually had some education, and those who were merchants, lesser government officials, and professionals. Moreover, individual occupational wages (with a base of 100) for agriculture for three years 1860, 1874, and 1891 as 100, 130, and 118 respectively. For the same years, the numbers for mining were 100, 150, and 150 while the figures for cotton mills were 100, 148, and 176. Bowley (1895) quoted in M. G. Mulhall, *The Dictionary of Statistics*, 4 rev. ed. (London, 1899), 817.

the middle class was more inclined than the other two classes to be members of the Low Church. They put great emphasis on the work-ethic, morality, and respectability.

Historian Francois Bedarida stated that the middle class comprised over one-sixth of England's population in 1851. The middle class increased in size and wealth according to studies used by Bedarida. In the periods 1848-1853 and 1868-1873, the English population rose 25 percent while middle-class membership increased 70 percent.\footnote{Bedarida, Social History, 48, 53, 48-56; see also Gerald B. Kauvar and Gerald C. Sorenson, eds., The Victorian Mind: An Anthology (New York, 1969), 175; Geoffery Best, Mid Victorian Britain, 1851-1875 (New York, 1972), 80-84. Still another study of 1885-89 lists by number of households: 700 for millionaires; 9,650 for very rich; 148,250 for rich; 730,500 for middle; 2,008,000 for struggling; 3,916,900 for poor. Mulhall, Dictionary of Statistics, 591; see also, 589-590. Historian G. D. H. Cole using a study by Baxter for 1867 shows that the upper class whose income was over £5,000 numbered 7,500 while the middle class whose income was under £100 to £5,000 numbered 2,045,500. The working classes assigned no income level numbered 7,785,000. G. D. H. Cole and Raymond Postgate, The British Common People, 1746-1946 (London, 1961), 350-356.}

The "new middle class" was "almost painfully moral, or at least determined to appear so."\footnote{James Laver, Victorian Vista (Boston, 1955), 21.} For this group of Victorians, respectability was important, and
wealth and respectability were interrelated. Money alone did not make an individual respectable. This change in perception was partially caused by the new middle-class people who controlled much of the new money. This contrasts with the earlier years when wealth was controlled by those who, the people thought, were more aristocratic. The idea of "gentleman" had always been associated with the aristocratic class, and it became a measure of acceptability and respectability as the middle class gained economically. "Gentleman" was both a state of behavior, like manners, and a state of mind, like refinement. The middle class adopted the concept of gentleman and then magnified its importance. The upper class had used manners, level of income, status by birth, and the psychological concept of gentleman to determine class. The first and last criteria, being less concrete, served to protect the upper class from the middle class. As the middle class became more affluent, they also made inroads in those less tangible areas. These people in turn employed upper-class methods in separating themselves from lower groups. The concept of gentleman under the middle class added moral and righteous connotations. Being a gentleman was a status symbol and a model of behavior. Thus "gentleman" was an upper-class concept spreading down to the middle
class and then experiencing modification and magnifica-
tion. To be respected and respectable, a person had to be
both well-off and a gentleman. Respectability and lip
service to it—money, religion, and human nature
interacting—formed some of the contrasts of the Victorian
Age.\(^\text{16}\)

Despite the claim to be the mother of parliaments,
England was not democratic in 1846. Only 845,000 people
out of 16,944,000 had the power to vote, and owing to
parliamentary districts having different numbers of people
in them, members of Parliament did not represent voters
proportionately. The nobility controlled, naturally, the
House of Lords, and more than half the members of the
House of Commons at mid-century were close relations of
peers of the realm and shared their social outlook and
financial concerns.\(^\text{17}\)

\(^\text{16}\)Petrie, Victorians, 27; Cyril Pearl, Girl With The
Swansdown Seat (New York, 1955), 10, 81, 234; Houghton,
Victorian Frame of Mind, 184.

\(^\text{17}\)Electoral numbers are recorded in numerous ways.
The percentage of electors in England went from 668,000 or
79.5 percent (1835) to 2,538,000 or 82.4 percent (1881) in
46 years. These same numbers when figured as a ratio per
100 inhabitants meant an increase in electors from 4.6
(1835) to 9.7 (1881). Mulhall, Dictionary of Statistics,
243-244. In 1860 the town of Bristol had 12,837
registered names but only 9,753 electors. Report from
Select Committee of the House of the Lords, 18 June 1860,
The maldistribution of representation is seen when
comparing the towns of Liverpool, Marylebone, and
Tiverton. Each had two Members of Parliament; however,
The period from 1850 to 1914 saw the collapse of old coalitions of the gentry and the growth of the modern party system. The decades from 1860 to the 1890s are dominated by Gladstone and Disraeli, or Disraeli's successors. In 1895 the conservative Unionist Party gained dominance that lasted until the Liberal Governments of Campbell-Bannerman and Asquith which began in 1905. The reform bills of 1867 and 1884 pushed England toward a more democratic society. The 1867 Reform Bill did away with many rotten boroughs, established the £10 household as a uniform standard for franchise, created new representative districts, and extended suffrage for males. It opened with "Every Man shall . . . be entitled to be registered as a voter. . . ." Man meant male not human and there were property and rental requirements. Even though the franchise was doubled, some Victorians believed that there was still a need for more change. And in 1884 this perception became a reality. In 1884, the franchise was further extended. The franchise, alone did not make England into a modern democratic country. The mechanics

Liverpool's population was 500,000, Marylebone's was 447,000, while Tiverton was 10,000. Derry, Short History, 198-199. Other figures list the electorate as a percentage of the adult population, i.e. in 1900 at 27 percent. David and Jennie Freedman, British Political Facts, 1900-1967, 2d ed. (London, 1968), 155.

18 The Representation of the People Act, 30 and 31 Vict., c. 102.
and practices surrounding those votes also influenced the reality of the franchise. In 1872, the Ballot Act provided for the secret ballot, while Corrupt and Illegal Practices Acts in 1854 and 1883 legally eliminated buying votes or candidates, bribery, and set financial limits on elections. It also set penalties for violators. These various reforms not only gave more people the right to vote but protected that vote and the process itself.

Through the bills passed by Gladstone's second government in 1884-1885, the workers received the right to vote and larger towns received the advantage over smaller towns with a new distribution of seats in Parliament. Male workers, urban or rural, owning or renting living quarters or with savings accounts of certain levels could now vote thanks to the 1884 Franchise Bill. This reform was enhanced by the 1885 Redistribution Bill which eliminated more rotten boroughs and representation was more uniformly established. The old voting districts of boroughs and counties were no longer the foundation for representation. The final piece of the change was the 1911 Parliament Act which made the House of Commons more powerful than the House of Lords. All this was moving England from

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19 Ballot Act, 35 and 36 Vict., c. 33; Public General Statutes, 7:193-96, 206-7; Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act (1854), 17 and 18 Vict., c. 102; Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act (1883), 46 and 47 Vict., c. 51; Representation of the People Act (1884) 48 Vict., c. 3.
"oligarchic to democratic representation." Rotten boroughs, poor apportionment, rule by a small elite, irregular elections, and property qualifications all diminished or disappeared during the Victorian age.

There was a brief flurry of republicanism during Gladstone's first ministry, which began in 1868 and lasted until 1874. Republicanism was a movement that was anti-royalist, pro-worker, and pro-Republic. The Republican movement peaked in 1870-71, only to die out in 1872, after an unsuccessful assassination attempt on Queen Victoria. According to historian G. D. H. Cole the movement died because in the mid-1870s the crown was no longer perceived as a "danger." 

By the 1860s and 1870s a small group of English women publically announced that they wanted rights, education, and men's jobs. This demand horrified the Queen; the general Victorian belief was that "the lawful scope of women's activities" included children and the sick. Women

20 Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883, 46 and 47 Vict., c. 51; Redistribution of Seats Act, 1885, Hansard Parliamentary Debates, 3d ser., vol. 294 (4 Dec. 1884), 659-87; Representation of the People Act, 48 Vict., c. 3; Parliament Act (1911), 1 and 2 Geo. 5, c. 13; Young, Victorian England, 149, see also 132, 139, 145; Thomson, England, 149, 190, 175, 186-187.

should exemplify "goodness." It is true that there were small advances in women's rights regarding divorce and property. Nevertheless, the dominant public perception of women's proper activities paralleled Queen Victoria's.

Still, the demand for women's rights continued with varying intensity during the whole period. Demands by women for the vote drew support from John Stuart Mill. He was a founder of the first women's franchise organizations. He also addressed the issue in his essay "On Liberty." It was not until 1903, however, that the Women's Social and Political Union was started to promote feminist rights. Breaking off from the mother party, the Women's Freedom League was established in 1908. Five years later the militant activities of these groups resulted in their loss in popularity and the rejuvenation of the milder National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies which was formed in 1897. Finally in 1918 women thirty years old or older were given the vote.

In the Victorian period, Englishmen were concerned with the "structure of Society," with education, the

22 Young and Clark, Portrait of An Age, Annotated, 99-100, 319-320; see also Laver, Victorian Vista, 41 and Bedarida, Social History, 121-123.

23 Ibid.


25 Thomson, England, 187-188, 175, 204-205.
poor, capitalism, and socialism. The stress on reform which these concerns required has received much comment from historians. It is not clear why so many people should come to the belief that major reforms were essential to the proper function of society. Historians like Gertrude Himmelfarb, Gerald Kauvar, Bernard Semmel, W. L. Burns, and Elie Halevy have presented a number of hypotheses. Himmelfarb asserted that middle-class values became Victorian social values through the evangelical movement. The evangelicals believed in good works. Kauvar and Sorenson have acknowledged that the desire for salvation influenced reforms. Semmell also saw reform as a means of achieving other goals. Semmell sees reform as a tradeoff for imperialism. His thesis asserts that powerful Victorians were willing to allow reforms in exchange for support of imperialist policies. Still other historians believe that reform resulted from compromise between the hypocritical and earnest Victorians or between the classes. A final notion, one derived from Elie Halevy and others, is that Evangelical theology permeated

English society and led to reform. Some Victorians were complacent; others, like members of the Evangelical movement, tried to improve social conditions.  

For some Victorians the concern for reform was very genuine whereas for others this commitment was only surface deep. For the latter reform was only an expression of the era's rhetoric. Himmelfarb recognized that some Victorians' commitment to reform was shallow. She said:

Nor does it detract from the significance of this ethic that some men did no more than pay lip service to it, preaching to others what they did not themselves observe, conducting family prayers rather as a public duty than out of private conviction, maintaining a facade of propriety behind which vice might be indulged. As scandals, in their very nature, testify to the power of the established code, so cant and hypocrisy also testify to its power. It is a considerable achievement to convert men to the extent that they feel obliged to mask their passions or inclinations. The reformer cannot inquire into the heart and soul of his converts; he must be satisfied with their public professions and behavior. Even if the inner lives of the upper classes, or the outer lives of the lower, fell far short of the ideal, it was a great accomplishment to have converted both to the ideal as such. In this sense, the moral reformation of the Victorians was as effective as such reformations are likely to be.

Evangelical theology dominated the Victorian Era and this theology helped establish morality. The English

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27 Wingfield-Stratford, British Civilization, 865.

28 Himmelfarb, Victorian Minds, 277-278.
people believed in "the Bible as the source of infallible truth," supported reform, and actively worked for the abolition of slavery. Social disapproval became "... a force which the boldest sinner might fear." Religion and its prescriptions for a good and correct life influenced English life; moreover, religion's encounter with newly developing scientific thought would also be felt.

In line with Liberal tenets, the reformers stressed the desirable effects of universal education. The only major European nation that strove for universal primary education was Prussia. Secular education was promoted there for greater monarchial and Protestant control. Liberals promoted education because of their strong belief in science and in "human progress" both of which would develop from a "wide diffusion of scientific knowledge." Education was a propaganda tool for nationalism. Secular education meant greater state control.

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29 Laver, Victorian Vista, 201; Young, Victorian England, 1-2, 4.
30 Young and Clark, Portrait of An Age, Annotated, 24.
31 Ibid., 201-203; Houghton, Victorian Frame of Mind, 204.
33 Ibid., 83.
A number of facts demonstrated the increased consuming interest in education. According to the 1851 census "over twenty-one thousand women" were employed as governesses in England and the demand for them was growing. The governesses educated the girls in the well-off family; hence the growth in the number of governesses illustrated the new and growing emphasis on girls' education as well as the spreading prosperity within English society.\textsuperscript{34
}

Part of this new emphasis on education was a result of the Victorian perception of children. The dominant Victorian belief was that children were worthy of substantial adult attention. Children were seen as innocent and pure human beings who must be cared for and directed. It was the parents' duty to see that their children's character was properly molded. The family—by which most Victorians meant the extended family—was of great importance. Several scholars have even described it as "the age of the family," where the family itself was "worshipped" and viewed as greater "than a social institution." It became a "creed" and even a "dogma."\textsuperscript{35

\textsuperscript{34}Petrie, Victorians, 202-203.

\textsuperscript{35}Meigs, A Critical History, rev. ed., 156; Anthony S. Wohl, ed., The Victorian Family: Structure and Stresses (New York, 1978), 10. Wohl further notes that the family was "the cornerstone of their civilization and that within the family were first learned the moral,
For the majority, during the early and mid-Victorian years, religion was a major influence on most English families, particularly the middle class. Many Victorian parents believed that home education must include Bible reading. Home education and home entertainment overlapped because family reading sessions of the Bible often went on to include literary selections as well.

Historian Lawrence Stone stated that the Evangelical beliefs and "piety" regarding the father's role within the family and their sense of duty greatly influenced the Victorian family. God was involved in all of the household's activities through his representative, the husband and father. What emerged was a father who ruled the family--Paterfamilias. This patriarchal control within the middle Victorian period lessened in the late Victorian years.36

Evangelicals thought that they had an obligation for the moral development of their children. Thus, education was a concern of the parents. Emphasized were duty, morality, and obedience. Respectability was also important.

The Victorian family portrayed in the autobiographies and biographies of some famous Victorians is revealing. From these autobiographies and biographies it appears that children were important, but with rare exception they were secondary to the relationship of the husband and wife. Parents were usually particular about choosing a school for a son's formal education, but the pattern for educating daughters was less consistent. Some like Kate Greenaway, Mary Kingsley, Margaret Gatty, and Juliana Ewing received academic lessons, either from a parent or tutor at home or from a school. The education of females like those mentioned was frequently sporadic. In other families like the Hills, who ran the Hilltop, Hazelwood, and Bruce Castle Schools, their daughters were given only domestic training.37

Schools exclusively for girls were just beginning during the Victorian Age and the curriculum was usually designed to prepare ladies and girls for motherhood and domestic life. The number of females receiving higher

education was very small compared to males. Post primary education for girls grew in the three decades prior to 1880.\(^3\)

Domestic servants to help with child care or not, the autobiographies and biographies reveal close and warm relationships among the family members. A study by Lawrence Stone found unique to "the Middle Class Victorian Family" was that "it was the first family type in history which was both long-lasting and intimate."\(^3\) When parents and families are portrayed in the sampled Victorian children's literature, they are seen in extremes, either as loving parents, usually from the middle classes, or as misguided and frequently abusive parents, usually from the lower classes.

In Victorian England itself, Stone noted that by the end of the nineteenth century family relations among the poor seemed more stable. Stone wrote that more families were together and there was less abuse of wives and

\(^3\)F. J. Harvey Darton, Children's Books In England, 3d rev. ed. by Brian Alderson (Cambridge, 1982), 304; Duncan Crow, The Victorian Woman (London, 1971), 151, see also 60, 150-143, 326, 329.

children. He credits this to the spread of middle-class values to the poor during the late Victorian period.  

One of Kenneth Grahame's biographer's, Kenneth Green, would disagree with the image of a warm and loving relationship between Victorian parents and children. He believes that the relationship was not one of nurturing or dutiful feelings but rather a "child cult" which was based on a

Selfish motive: relief of guilt, gratification of the ego. Children became the ideal symbol of their elders' gluttonous yearning for purity . . . the traffic of sentiment all went one way. Children were regarded as objects . . . which reflected nothing but the magnanimity and tenderness of their elders.

Green's statement of motive and one-way sentiment seems incorrect or at least overstated. Although he is not entirely contradictory to Grahame's biographer, Lawrence Stone offers a better clue to parental "magnanimity" and why some middle and upper class Victorian children were spoiled. Decreasing child mortality and more certain birth control were the reasons. Since child mortality declined "it was worth while to lavish profound affection upon them, to invest heavily in their education, while their numbers have necessarily to be restricted by

40 Stone, Family, 679.
41 Kenneth Green, Kenneth Grahame: A Biography (Cleveland, 1959), 161.
contraception.\textsuperscript{42} The family, believing that the child was important and thus deserving of guidance and of wholesome entertainment, was willing and eager to buy books and periodicals for the child.

Years of lobbying finally bore fruit in the great Education Act of 1870. This act, also known as the Foster Education Act, was the first of a series of education bills that would introduce numerous changes into the English system. With the Education Act of 1870, education was acknowledged as an important element for a community. This act included local provisions, supplies, school boards, and provision for some parliamentary funding. Voluntary schools were still the first choice; however, wherever there was a void, a publicly selected school board could be formed. The board was duly charged with the responsibility of establishing adequate education in a given geographical area. While this legislation did not mandate compulsory education, the boards were authorized that power if they chose to use it. Schools established by these boards were to be non-sectarian. "No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the schools."\textsuperscript{43} According to historian G. D. H. Cole,

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{42}Stone, \textit{Family}, 680-681, 684.
  \item \textsuperscript{43}Education Act (1870), 33 and 34 Vict., c. 75.
\end{itemize}
nondenominational education frightened churchmen, who rushed to establish more voluntary schools with a denominational curriculum.  

The 1870 act was followed by other education legislation: the Amended Act, 1873; Sandon Elementary Education Act, 1876; Education Act, 1890, and the Balfour Education Act, 1902. Through these bills, elementary education eventually became compulsory and free. In 1876 elementary education was compulsory, and in theory no children under ten could be employed, although exceptions were allowed. While education was not free, parents, including those who were not classified as paupers, could receive financial assistance or reduced rates. In 1890 elementary school fees were ended except for those maintaining education in upper grades. Twelve years later secondary education was provided for in the Balfour Education Act.  

Enrollment in schools increased because of these legislative developments, the growing prosperity, and the

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45 Elementary Education Act (1876), 39 and 40 Vict., c. 79. Over the years there were special attempts to provide for pauper education.

46 Educational management policies were changed in several ways, such as school staffing and financing. This legislation also modified provisions of the 1870 act: counties replaced school boards as the local school authority. Education Acts, 1870 to 1902, 2 Edw. 7, c. 42; Elementary Education Act, 1891, 54 and 55 Vict., c. 56; Cole, Common People, 363-364.
belief in the necessity of education. (See Table IV.) In England the number of primary students showed substantial increases between 1850 and 1910.

TABLE IV

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT 1850-1910*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1850 to 1870</td>
<td>250,000 to 1,231,000</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870-1890</td>
<td>to 3,750,000</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-1910</td>
<td>to 5,382,000</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Mitchell, European Historical Statistics, item J1, 752, 759.

A related development during the Victorian years was the rise in literacy. In 1840, literacy rates were about 66 percent for men and 50 percent for women, and in the next sixty years, it increased to almost 100 percent for men and women. Another study gives the rate of increase for adult from 1870 to 1900 as improving from 66 percent to 95 percent. Religious sects encouraged this growth with their emphasis on Bible reading. Thus religious needs, developments in education, the Reform Bill's

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48 Hayes, Materialism, 174.

The dominant literary forms changed because of increasing literacy rates and lower costs of publication. During the Victorian Age, newspapers became customary reading for almost all social groups. The increased literacy was appearing among the lower classes who did not have the same standards of literary taste expected of the upper and middle classes. Weeklies like Tit-Bits were born and flourished as people chose an intellectually less demanding manner with which to be entertained and receive news.\footnote{Wingfield-Stratford, British Civilization, 1170.} Fiction stories in these weeklies frequently touched on English social situations.

Social conditions which brought an outcry from the Victorian writers and people included the outcroppings of poverty—the workhouses, child labor, and liquor—and
social class differences. The social outcry took many forms. Papers like *Vanity Fair* protested that there were too many paupers in England, while novelists like Charles Dickens vividly portrayed the horrors of the workhouses. Benjamin Disraeli, in *Sybil*, attacked the old aristocracy. This novel was a parliamentary Blue Book in fiction. Authors like Charles Reade, George B. Shaw, George Meredith, and Oscar Wilde used their fictional works to protest social ills like the cruel prison systems, the maldistribution of wealth, the excess of religion, war, and the lack of women's rights.\(^5\)

The poor included, in effect, two groups: the less well-paid workers on the one hand and paupers on the other. Their problems differed. Reformers believed that the poorly paid workman should receive better working and living conditions and a higher salary, but he should also be innoculated with ideas on the virtues of diligence, thrift, and sobriety. It was in this frame of mind that Victorian reformers associated the perils of liquor with poverty, and the teetotalers hoped that by attacking drink they could ease poverty.

In 1861 licensed drinking places of different sorts numbered "one per 186 of the English and Welsh population" and "it was statistically demonstrable that the deeper the poverty, the denser the pubs." One of the arguments against shortening the hours of the working person was that many poor people used leisure badly. Workingmen, many of them, at least, drank their week's salary in the local pub. The Times (4 March 1867) stated that the old system of unrestricted freedom merely tempted men to indulge in alternate fits of idleness and excessive labour. They would be drunk for two days at the beginning of the week and would then endeavor to recover their lost wages, not only by overpowering themselves during the remainder of the week, but by compelling their wives and children to work unreasonable hours.

It was the working people who bought most of the beer and a lot of the "spirits." Statistics revealed that alcohol consumption rose to its greatest quantity in 1875, while in the next year beer consumption peaked. The official figures for the United Kingdom did not attempt to include illegal alcohol which was abundant in Ireland and Scotland. They did reveal that in 1875 "each national individual" consumed 1.3 gallons of alcohol, while in

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52 Best, Mid-Victorian Britain, 220, 219.


54 Untitled, The Times, 4 March 1867, 8-9.
1876 each individual consumed 34.4 gallons of beer. According to historian Geoffery Best "this statistical individual drinker" included people of all ages, both sexes, abstainers, and moderate drinkers as well as the "truly alcoholic."\textsuperscript{55}

For whatever the reason—cheap liquor, poverty, alcoholism, or moral turpitude—some Victorians drank while others objected. The protests were based on the idea that alcohol overconsumption was undesirable. In the early and mid-Victorian era intoxication was viewed as a "moral failing," while the late Victorians saw and treated it as "a disease."\textsuperscript{56} During the era numerous laws regarding consumption of alcohol were passed and teetotal and temperance groups formed.\textsuperscript{57}

It was not only the misuse of alcohol that concerned some Victorians. Many were worried about the availability of liquor to children. In 1872, the exclusion of children under sixteen years of age from public-houses was legislated. By 1886, the Metropolitan Police Act forbade the sale of beer to youths thirteen years and under. There

\textsuperscript{55}Best, \textit{Mid-Victorian Britain}, 218-219.

\textsuperscript{56}Harrison, \textit{Drink}, 20.

\textsuperscript{57}Fig. 8, "National Temperance Organizations, 1830-1873," ibid., 141.
were numerous other laws regarding alcohol, the establishments that served it, and the adults who drank it.\textsuperscript{58}

Many of these laws were a result of the efforts of the temperance movements. In the late 1820s, individuals advocating voluntary abstention from spirits began to organize. Soon there were unified groups of Victorians who wanted to stop all sales of alcohol or to moderate its consumption. When the United Kingdom Alliance was established in 1853 and set as its goal the prohibition of "all trading" in alcoholic beverages, the temperance movement was split. The opposing factions were those who voluntarily abstained because they understood the moral implications of drinking while the other faction included those who felt the only way to end the abuse of alcohol was to legislate prohibition. By the mid 1870s, the temperance movement was advocating local control over alcohol and "the treatment of drunkenness as a disease rather than as a moral failing."\textsuperscript{59}

\textsuperscript{58} Beerhouse Bills, nos. 248 and 285, 33 and 34 Vict., c. 111; Licensing Act, 1872, 35 and 36 Vict., c. 94, Public General Statutes, 7:681-93; Licensing Act, 1904, 4 Edw 7, c. 23; Harrison, Drink, 272, 326, 244-251, 259, 265-267, 271-278, 396; Burns, \textit{Age of Equipoise}, 282.

\textsuperscript{59} Harrison, \textit{Drink}, 20, 18-20. In 1856, the National Temperance League was formed out of a merger of the National Temperance Society and the London Temperance Society, their goal being total abstinence. Burns, \textit{Age of Equipoise}, 281-282.
Queen Victoria supported the temperance movement, when she became a patron to the Church of England's Temperance Society which was aimed more at uniting non-drinkers and moderate drinkers rather than rescuing the intoxicated drinkers. Another prominent Victorian who participated in the temperance movement was publisher John Cassell. In fact, he started a publishing business to promote temperance and educational literature. His firm was a publisher of numerous works for children.

The teetotal groups believed that individuals could be saved by other individuals. This fit in with the moral fervor of the Victorian Age. In the last decade of the nineteenth century "teetotal societies constituted the churches 'fishing-ground' for their more regular membership from all age and economic groups." Evangelicalism encouraged the temperance movement. Brian Harrison, who has studied Victorian drinking, noted that while there was a direct relationship between the evangelicalism and temperance, evangelicalism was not the "only force" driving the temperance movement. Economics also aided

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60 Harrison, Drink, 156-157.
those who supported temperance; it got support from employers, for example, who realized that sober employees were more profitable than drinking ones.63

The temperance movement supported educational programs as well as laws for children and adults; moreover, there were children's temperance groups. Temperance efforts with children began in the 1820s, but the Band of Hope Movement made it popular. In 1847 from the Leeds Temperance Society a group of committee women were given the task of visiting local schools. Soon they organized the Band of Hope, a children's temperance group. In less than eighteen months over four thousand boys and girls from six to sixteen joined the Band of Hope. They were to help "influence their parents."64

The Band of Hope movement grew, and in 1852 in London six thousand children attended one meeting. Harrison in his study of alcohol consumption stated that "the growth of the Band of Hope between 1847 and 1872 . . . represents the increased self-consciousness of temperance reformers

63 Harrison, Drink, 95, 94-95.

64 Ibid., 193; Leeds Temperance Society, MS Minute Book, 1845-51, entries 5, 6, 26 (Aug-Nov. 1847) cited in Harrison, Drink, 192; Rev. H. Marles, Jabez Tunnicliff, 243-6, cited in ibid.
as a community, as an elite whose children must be protected against the snares of a wider world."

Victorian reformers were concerned with other issues. How to help workingmen to better themselves and how to improve working conditions were two of these issues. Possibly by organizing into groups with the reformers' assistance, the workingman could both help himself and improve his working conditions. Victorian reformers were never truly clear in their views towards labor unions. The changes in society, the rise of industry and the decline of agriculture clearly caused hardships for the workingman. The London Working Men's Association (1866-1870) composed of labor groups and the Labour Representation League (1870-1880) made up of Radicals, Socialists, and trade unionists failed in their attempts to better the lot of the workingman and to win seats in Parliament for workers. The Trades Union Congress (established in 1869) achieved some of the goals of the other two groups. It advocated passage of Gladstone's Trade Union Act of 1871 which helped to legalize labor unions. The working man and his unions began to gain political power, not through seats in Parliament but through the strikes and direct negotiations with the major political parties. Trades union and their memberships

65 Ibid., 193-194.
increased in the late 1880s. Union membership went from 800,000 in 1888 to 1,500,000 in 1891. In response to the labor problems faced by the workingmen and unions, the Independent Labour Party was started in 1892.\(^6\)

In contrast to the trades unions movement, groups like the successors of the Chartists attempted to help the poor and the working man by having the middle and working classes join together.\(^6\) England, which had avoided revolts during the period, of revolutions on the continent, continued its reform tradition. Nevertheless, in February, 1886, London's West End experienced riots by the unemployed poor. Similar incidents took place in November, 1887, and in the early 1900s.\(^6\) Thus, concern for the plight of the poor was not always disinterested.

Indeed, the reformers whose aims were modest and who did not include changing the basic institutions of society began to be concerned about the attractions to the poor of socialism. Karl Marx had established the First International in 1864 at London. As the capitalists continued


to irritate and disappoint many Englishmen over Egypt, Ireland, and social reform, some workingmen came to believe that "they had as little to expect from the capitalists of the Liberal as from the squires of the Conservative Party, and that unless they could make better use of the vote than to present it to one or other of the rival caucuses, they might as well be without it altogether."  

It was the people of urban areas who began to give serious thought to Marx and to the American Henry George in the 1880s. The result was the formation of the Socialist Party.

Intellectuals attracted to socialism joined the Fabian Socialist Party, established in 1884. The industrial world was here to stay; the Fabians advocated the acceptance of this fact. Socialists should aim at

69 Wingfield-Stratford, British Civilization, 1216, 1215-1214.

70 In America when political and economic powers were joined through business, the political-economic writing grew and gained its peak under the pen of Henry George in Progress and Poverty (1879). Unhappy with the contemporary economy and the politics that aided it, George believed in a single tax and redistribution of land. Many of the populace considered the single tax theory seriously. Meanwhile, other writers were fearful of class conflict and struggle. For example, Wendell Phillips felt that capitalists exploited the other classes; realizing this, he advocated change through a Marxist program of economics. Parrington, Main Currents, 3:132, 135-136, 141-144.
controlling this new industrial world for the benefit of all the people.\footnote{Sidney Webb, "Socialism True and False," Fabian Tract No. 51, 3d rep., 1907 (Strand, England, 1894), 3, 4-19, cited in The Fabian Society, Fabian Tracts, Nos. 1 to 150, incomplete (London, 1884-1910). Page numbers refer to individual tract since the society after collecting the tracts did not renumber throughout the book. The Tract Index and Catalogue Raisonné that accompanies the collection is for tracts 1-139.}

The inequalities of society showed up in its class extremes, the Fabians believed. In explaining what socialism was, a 1890 leaflet elaborated on the different classes:

Poverty means disease and crime, ugliness and brutality, drink and violence, stunted bodies and unenlightened minds. Riches heaped up in idle hands mean flunkeyism and folly, insolence and servility, bad example, false standards of worth, and the destruction of all incentive to educate themselves for it.

Moreover, "nothing can help the poor except political change from bad social institutions to good ones."\footnote{Fabian Society, "What Socialism Is," Fabian Tracts No. 13, (Strand, 1890), 2, ibid.} The concept of "socialism is a plan for securing equal rights and opportunities for all" through the gradual socialization of industry and property.\footnote{Ibid.} "Socialism can be brought about in a perfectly constitutional manner."\footnote{Ibid., 3.}

Social, political, and economic issues were interrelated. A dominant theme of late Victorian England
which included all those elements was patriotism or nationalism.\textsuperscript{76} Patriotism to the Victorians was loyalty and pride in England, the English people, and their endeavors. "England" and "English" might be the crown, the flag, the land, industry, culture, as well as other things. It included intellectual-cultural elements, such as the concepts of "English" morality, manners, and lifestyles.

As the old order was breaking up, nationalism and the middle class were rising. There were both economic and psychological elements to this. Economic advancement meant greater upward mobility for the middle classes, and more financial power meant more social power. The middle classes came to believe that they could demand more of their nation and at the same time preserve those aspects of society to which they owed their own advancement. Nationalism was a means by which the middle classes could ennoble their image and channel their energies. Moreover, through patriotism's and nationalism's relative, imperialism, the middle classes were afforded new opportunities to be the ruling classes.

\textsuperscript{76}G. M. Young stated that "the patriotism of early Victorian England, not yet bloodied by the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, irritated by Napolean III, or exalted by the vision of empire, was at heart a pride in human capacity, which time had led to fruition in England..." Young and Clark, \textit{Portrait of an Age, Annotated}, 27.
To many Britishers, Disraeli was nationalism. If he did not personify nationalism, there is no doubt that he was closely linked with it. "Ardent patriotism" and a "high imperial spirit" controlled Lord Beaconsfield. Disraeli exemplified one form of nationalism and patriotism while Gladstone exemplified another. For many persons in the years after Gladstone's retirement, the great statesman's image symbolized not only the protector of British nationalism and patriotism but also that of other nations. Joseph Chamberlain, who became Colonial Secretary under Lord Salisbury in 1895, was an advocate of an expansive patriotism. Chamberlain was to become "a missionary of British imperialism." His was a


patriotism that included more than the island of England. He desired a union of all British people. Imperialism was an outgrowth of nationalism and patriotism and was sometimes used synonymously with them. In its simplest form imperialism is identified as expansionism. In the nineteenth century especially the late Victorian period imperialism was a form of extreme nationalism. A majority of Victorians believed it was their patriotic duty to follow an imperialistic policy.

Imperialism was present throughout the mid and late Victorian period, but it shows subtle changes in motive and emphasis. Certainly, it was expansionist and colonialistic throughout. In the mid-Victorian years imperialism was romantic travel, adventure, and the British flag traveling overseas. There was also emphasis on the opportunities for social and economic self-elevation as well as emphasis on helping other people in these foreign lands. In the late Victorian era all the same elements were present; but the emphasis was

different. The idea, perhaps the excuse, of helping other peoples and nations became more noticeable.

Before the 1860s while there was some public support for imperialism there was no great movement promoting it. Government policy for the most part was anti-imperialist until the 1860s. Disraeli came to personify the new imperialism through his very public gestures of making the queen the Empress of India and his purchase of the Suez Canal. Later Gladstone would speak out against imperialism, even as he added territory to the British map. There was even an anti-imperialist group known as the "Little Englanders." But the dominant theme of the late Victorian years was a sturdy imperialism carried on with greater or lesser emphasis by all Governments.

Imperialism during the mid-Victorian years reflected the British sense of self-confidence. In a sense, they were egotists, and yet, the dominant religious and moral beliefs required good deeds. This egoism and morality, meshed with an age of industrial progress and a sense of achievement, all encouraged imperialism. Mid-Victorian England was a complacent society which wanted to extend itself to other societies. Moreover, in continuing the progress exemplified by the Great Exhibition (1851),
England wanted to explore new areas and seek out new trade outlets. 80

Many mid-Victorians saw imperialism and empire as a means of expanding "their sympathies and interests" as well as a means of "moral self-elevation. . . . "81 Victorians advocated colonization as a means of handling overpopulation and poverty problems. 82

During the 1850s-1860s overseas gold discoveries, the Crimean War, conflicts in China and India, and a journalism and literature filled with exotic places and events encouraged patriotic Englishmen to settle around the world. English colonies meant ports and posts for the military and pockets of civilization for its people.

Englishmen believed that theirs was a higher civilization. Not only did they view themselves as superior to other civilizations culturally but also racially superior

80 Burns, Age of Equipoise, 82, 71. Robinson and Gallager contend that British imperialism was continuous since both the informal and formal empire protected British interests. Theirs is an economic-political study.


82 J. A. Hobson, Imperialism: A Study (Ann Arbor, 1965); also see Chapter IV.
to non-Europeans and non-Anglo-Saxon peoples. Imperialism was partially influenced by the work of the Racial Imperialists, as the new lands, colonized predominantly by British emigrants, moved towards federation and the attainment of Dominion status.

In these areas the Englishman dominated. As he solidified his political position as the ruling class, his definitions of social class also dominated. Most of these colonial areas were originally inhabited by non-whites, racially, and non-Westerners, culturally. Imperialism required that the English come into contact with the population of these areas. The British referred to the non-white populations of India, Africa, West-Indies, and China as natives or frequently as savages.

The British attitudes toward race were sometimes vague in the nineteenth century. Scientists had varying theories. Social Darwinism would make race less vague. Social Darwinism in imperialism became a part of late Victorian imperialism. These theories—polygenesis, social darwinism, and ethnology—influenced imperialism. Each encouraged a separation of the races. These theories became a part of the British sense of superiority. The

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darker the skin the more inferior a group was to the Victorian. 85

Englishmen wanted to impose their values and mores on Indian society and primitive groups. English abolitionists and those advocating humane treatment of natives still believed in the superiority of the British. 86

The change in society—the worker's desire to escape his own world, even if only in dreams—contributed to the support of imperialistic designs. Some historians believe that economics rather than escapism was the greater motive for imperialism. J. A. Hobson argued that the drive for imperialism was for outlets for capitalist overproduction. Because of the mal-distribution of wealth, businessmen and manufacturers had power, and they were the real beneficiaries of imperialism. Also noting the desire for new markets were Ronald Robinson and J. A. Gallagher. They view imperialism as continuous and not just a part of the late Victorian period. To support that point they note that England was protecting its overseas interests. 87


86 Ibid., 103, 168-70, 227, 210-215; Howard Temperley, British Anti-Slavery, 1833-1870 (London, 1972), 73; see also Winks, British Imperialism, passim.

87 Hobson, Imperialism; Robinson and Gallagher, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," 1-15. Disputing the role of economics, Rene Maunier, "The Imperial Race," The
Neither economic nor social factors may be overlooked as motives for imperialism. What is certain is that imperialism existed and by the 1880s it was more intense and carried a new label, the concept of the "White Man's Burden." This idea of the white man or "elect" having special responsibilities toward primitive peoples was popularized by the journalist and writer Rudyard Kipling. By 1890 imperialism was the "Mission of an Elect people or Exploitation by Superior Power." War and conquest were acceptable if that war or conquest were in pursuit of a good cause or for moral reasons.

Between 1895 and 1905 some of the imperialism was the result of the British feeling threatened. Overseas possessions for England served as known sources for raw materials and extra manpower. Moreover, locations around the world served as military harbors and forts. Imperialistic gains became protective buffers between England and foreign powers.

Sociology of Colonies: An Introduction to the Study of Race Contact, ed. and trans. E. O. Lorimer (London, 1949), excerpted in Winks, British Imperialism, 69, asserted that all imperialism was based on the idea of the "purity of peoples and races." This has elements of truth but overlooks actions based on competition for the sake of competition and others based on the lure and excitement of adventure. Expansion for the latter reasons were also much cheaper than that for settlement. Hence, it would be allowed for political reasons. Moreover, it was within the reach of more people.

88 Young, Victorian England, 176-177.
The abolitionist movement became involved with nineteenth century imperialism and the White Man’s Burden. By the mid 1850s there had been a decline in membership in abolitionist societies. They did attempt boycotts of slave produced items, and eventually they revived and focused on slave trade and slavery in other areas of the world such as the United States and Brazil. Historian Howard Temperley noted that the antislavery movement was predominately "an appeal by the middle-classes to the middle-classes," although they did make weak attempts to gain working-class support in the 1850s.\textsuperscript{89} These societies also drew support from the upper class. Prince Albert was a participant in the African Civilization Society.\textsuperscript{90}

While there were outcries to end the slave trade and the institution of slavery, there were also Englishmen who questioned emancipation procedures and the slave’s ability to handle freedom. Much of this was the result of the Victorian's varied perception of slaves and particularly non-whites. The missionary intent originally was not to colonize; however, when faced with "Africa’s pagan awfulness," the missionaries found that “they were generally

\textsuperscript{89}Temperley, \textit{British Anti-Slavery}, 73, 23, 165-66; Bolt, \textit{Victorian Attitudes}, xi.

\textsuperscript{90}Temperley, \textit{British Anti-Slavery}, 55.
for the expansion of British rule as the best available medium for the reclamation of savages." Anti-slavery and missionary groups were contradictory regarding imperialism. They disapproved of new land gains when done for political or military purposes, but they supported and encouraged territorial expansion for humanitarian goals. While these well-meaning Christians found themselves colonizing, their "true Christian zeal" still promoted anti-slavery activities. Thus, in the years following the legal abolition of the slave trade and the emancipation of the slaves, dilemmas remained. For the most part "customary" colonial laws prevailed unless they were extremely cruel.

Imperialism attracted the attention and the participation of Victorians for other reasons. The middle class reaped profits from imperialism through expanding their trade and governing power. The middle classes were the British rulers in conquered countries. During the second Disraeli ministry, Queen Victoria takes the title of Empress of India, the Suez Canal is bought, honorable peace is secured at the Berlin Congress, Cyprus is acquired, the Transvaal Republic is annexed, the Kaffir

91 Morris, Pax Britannica, 123.
92 Ibid.; Temperley, British Anti-Slavery, 266.
93 Morris, Pax Britannica, 191-192.
and Zulu Wars are won, and England entered another Afghan War. Moreover, Evangelical theology helped to vindicate the British "sense of being an Elect People . . . which . . . became a principle element in the Late Victorian Imperialism."  

In Great Britain the Victorian years saw a changing society because of industrialization and new discoveries. At first most early Victorians accepted the changes, and as the changes increased and new problems and pressures evolved, rather than fading away, the cry for reform became louder. In the 1870s, when "the breakdown of bourgeois Liberalism and the rise of proletarian democracy" began, the tensions of British social, economic, and political life multiplied. In the last years of the Victorian period some of the sense of certainty that had characterized earlier years diminished.

Evangelical theology and middle-class standards merged to form Victorian morality. No sooner was the Victorian moral synthesis created, than it began to be

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94 When Gladstone returned to office in 1880, he returned Cyprus to Greek control and the Transvaal to Boer control. Wingfield-Stratford, British Civilization, 1107-114, 1092-1093; Thomson, England, 207-211.

95 Young, Victorian England, 4.

undermined. Contributing to the erosion were the Higher Criticism and theological development. Religion remained but its position as the final authority diminished. New scientific theories and their wide exposure to the public helped to challenge existing theologies. The increasing materialism of the late Victorian years was reinforced by scientific discoveries, especially the controversy over evolution.

During the early Victorian era very few people had been disturbed by science, but Charles Lyell's and then Charles Darwin's scientific theories created a stir among the Victorians. Lyell's *Principles of Geology* (1830-1833) was an irritant; it was Darwin's *The Origin of the Species* (1859) that created a storm.  

Darwin in his *The Origin of The Species* shook the foundation of Victorian orthodoxy. Evolution challenged religion's theory of creation and some intellectuals' deism. Darwin's theory, adopted by Thomas Huxley and the Rationalists, was later used in a manner unlike any Darwin had ever considered. Rather than a biological theory, it became, as Social Darwinism, the answer to all questions in life.

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98 Wingfield-Stratford, *British Civilization*, 1071-1072. The Victorian reaction to Darwin's writing may have been motivated as much by the fear of the loss of
Herbert Spenser popularized and promoted his version of the theory of evolution. Spenser, considered the father of sociology, applied to society Darwin's theories on animals. Spenser believed that there was such a thing as social science, which included the relationship of humans and social institutions. To Spenser the theories of evolution also proved the economic practice of laissez-faire, which was related to all of man's activities. Spenser was a leader in the "intellectual revolution that was ultimately to wreck the edifice of Victorian complacency." The growing secularization of Victorian culture—reforms, education, and leadership—also contributed to the erosion of the Victorian moral synthesis.

While virtue and good deeds were still desired, there was faith and morality as by the changing emphasis on religion and by a real decline in faith. According to Morley, Recollections, quoted in Houghton, Victorian Frame of Mind, 59, in "... the reviews of the Descent of Man (1871) ... Darwin was severely censured for 'revealing his zoological [anti-Christian] conclusions to the general public at a moment when the sky of Paris was red with the incendiary flames of the Commune.'"


100 Wingfield-Stratford, British Civilization, 1073; see also Young, Victorian England, 165. Realism in literature, a result of middle-class industrialization, went through numerous alterations. One modification, an outgrowth of literary realism and the philosophies of Darwin, Marx, Comte, and Taine, was naturalism which was more pessimistic and negative. Parrington, Main Currents, 3:323-334, 237-242, 180-181, 261-262, 291-292.
also emphasis on material gain. For some Victorians material prosperity was perceived as being an appropriate reward for being one of the chosen or elect. Thus religious achievement was demonstrated not by doing good acts but by having done well economically.

Nearly all Victorian ideas and life showed up in the literature of the age. The children's literature generally presents the main line, the consensus. The dominant views of social organization and problems are seen there as were their changes and reforms. The shifting bases of political and economic power were also reflected in the children's literature. The dreams, adventures, and exploits of Englishmen at home and abroad was also a literary subject. Literature expresses attitudes and desires as well as reports on events and surroundings. Literature reflects society. All the prevalent themes of Victorian life appear in the children's literature.
CHAPTER III

VICTORIAN PUBLISHING BUSINESS
AND CHILDREN'S PUBLICATIONS

The Victorian Age was a special period in the development of children's literature. Progressively, children's literature appeared in greater volume and with a more varied selection than before. As publishing became less expensive, cheaper reading matter, especially periodicals, was more readily available. Moreover, both publishers and critics came to recognize juvenile literature as separate from adult literature. In its broadest sense, children's literature is reading matter created exclusively for children as well as those items selected from general literature and read by the young. In other words, children's literature belongs to children either by creation or selection.

This chapter will survey children's literature and its relation to Victorian publishing practices and forms. It will examine and concentrate on the publishers, editors, and periodicals of juvenile literature.

The great expansion of children's reading materials as both an accepted literary medium and as a business occurred during the Victorian Age. Books exclusively for
young people were published prior to the nineteenth century, but the number and variety of children's reading materials expanded in the Victorian Age. This growth was a result of numerous business and social factors. The Victorians view of their children and their family life was one of the social factors. Others included Victorian morality and religion.

At the same time, British literature was experiencing a change. The nineteenth century embraced imaginative literature whereas the eighteenth century had generally shunned it. Most of the Victorian Age was an era in which "Romanticism" and sentimentalism flourished, and both styles appealed to the imagination.

Technological, political, and social developments influenced the publishing business. Nineteenth century technological innovations affected and changed the publishing industry. Papermaking machines and powered presses were two major developments. After the 1820s, typesetting machines, especially the linotype in the 1880s also changed the printing process. These machines reduced processing costs and thus lowered book and magazine prices. This new machinery also made possible

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1Laver, Victorian Vista, 12.

relatively inexpensive illustrations in printed works. It also meant that more copies could be made. Hence, books could include more illustrations at a more reasonable cost and more copies could be offered from each printing run. Because it took less time to print and because a larger market was being created, the publisher's risk was reduced. There was more opportunity for more people of all ages to be reached quickly and inexpensively.

The business aspects of publishing aimed at book and periodical promotion. Publishers used varying page sizes and differing materials in an effort to create a number of editions of the same book and to appeal aesthetically and economically to the reading public. For example Chapman and Hall published a new edition of Henry Cole's *Home Treasury* as a "coloured" edition with three plates, at a cost of one shilling, and as a "plain" edition, at a cost of 6d.³

Besides marketplace attractions like the size of pages, varying types of print, different bindings, and varying numbers of plates and illustrations, publishing firms, in an effort to sell their literary products, publicized their books through newspaper releases, literary reviews, advertising bills, and book catalogs. Some publishers like the large firms of Cassell, Routledge and Ward Locke sought to create new styles of books like the "'stand-up,' 'cut-outs', 'moveables'" and toy books which were visually unique. These were especially used in children's books production.

The Victorian publishing business was varied. There were publishers who financed, edited, printed, and sold their own books. Others did only some of those tasks. Victorian publishers would advertise on extra pages of their own books and on those of another publisher's book. Likewise, they would sell each other's publications in

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4 Jones, "Disraeli", Essays, 170; Alderson, "Tracts", ibid., 257-258; see also Darton and Alderson, Children's Books, 3d rev. ed., 320-322. The toy books were a type of picture book created especially for children. According to authority Ruari McLean, these colorful picture books usually measured ten and one half inches by nine inches and six or eight pages of colored pictures preceded the pages of "plain text". "Brightly colored" covers of paper had large decorative lettering. There were cheap editions first at 6d then 1s and more expensive editions first at 1s and then at 2s. Ruari McLean, ed., "Introduction", The Noah's Ark A.B.C. And 8 Other Victorian Alphabet Books In Color (New York, 1976), 3.
their shops. The London publishing business in 1860 included "211 booksellers and publishers, 566 booksellers, 23 foreign booksellers and 12 law booksellers. . . ."\(^5\) As the Victorian era progressed, a greater separation of activities among publisher, printer, and bookseller developed. The book industry was an entrepreneurial business which produced profits from a large market, a fact to which circulation sizes attest.

The publishing business was expanding the scope and size of its offerings. Production figures for 1862 show that in London, alone, 5,000 new book titles were introduced.\(^6\) The influence of technological advances was evident in other literary markets, not just the book industry. According to one authority, the technological developments which made it easier to print periodicals and quicker to report on Victorian life also helped to popularize the reading of periodicals. It has been estimated that in the period 1824-1900 over 50,000 periodicals were published.\(^7\)


\(^6\)Sutherland, Victorian Novelists, 69-70.

Technological developments were not the only cause for change within the publishing industry. There were social and political factors. As mentioned in the previous chapter, literacy increased during the Victorian Age. As a result of a more literate population and in an effort to encourage additional education, public libraries were established. Until the last decade of the nineteenth century, however, private subscription and rental libraries were more important.  

Libraries Acts were passed in 1850-1855. The number of public and school libraries increased during the mid and late Victorian era; moreover, many of these public libraries were creating children’s collections. In 1870, fifty United Kingdom districts adopted the Public Libraries Act; twenty-eight years later there were three hundred and forty library districts, most of them in England or Wales.

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8Circulating and subscription libraries are discussed later in this chapter. It should be noted that in the Eighteenth Century there had been some parochial libraries, some circulating (rental) libraries, and a few individual city libraries. Elmer D. Johnson, A History of Libraries in the Western World (New York, 1965), 198-199.

9Libraries and Museums Acts, 1852-1855, 17 Vict., c. 103, 18 Vict., c. 207-221, 225; Hansard Parliamentary Debates, 3d ser., vol. 568 (1852-53) c. 915; vol. 570 (1854); vol. 571 (1854-1855); vol. 599 (1854-1855); vol. 132 (1854); vol. 137 (1855).

10Geoffrey Best, Mid-Victorian Britain: 1851-1875 (New York, 1972), 212-213; Alec Ellis, A History of
There were also circulating libraries which charged a yearly or monthly fee for the privilege of using their materials. Still another means of getting books to people was through subscription. Circulating libraries as well as individuals were subscribers.

Circulating and subscription libraries were important not only because they were able to convey books economically to more readers, but also because they were major purchasers of books. Publishing firms marketed books at a lower price to the circulating and subscription libraries. Approval of a new book by Charles Mudie, owner of the most famous chain of subscription libraries, and the proprietor of other circulating libraries, was considered important to the success of a book. Circulating libraries were important not only because they bought in volume, but also because they advertised the books within their collections. Circulating, subscription, and lending libraries were competing with each other, and the publisher received some benefits from the competition. Publishers received free advertising for their publications when the private libraries promoted their new acquisitions or their

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Children's Reading and Literature (Oxford, 1968), 108-109, 62-63, see also his chapters on public and school libraries. Johnson, History of Libraries, 200-201, gives the statistics for individual cities establishing public libraries rather than districts adopting the act for a similar period. Johnson states that in 1877 more than seventy five cities had established public libraries and by 1900 over three hundred had them.
collections. Sometimes in an effort to stifle the competition the circulating library proprietor would take options on a majority or even an entire run of an item. This usually stipulated that other printings or editions were to be delayed. Circulating libraries were so necessary to a publishing firm's marketing and financial success that managers of circulating libraries frequently were able to make the publisher promise to restrict cheap edition printings for a certain length of time, thus protecting circulation fees.  

Because of the circulating library's powers, a new style and marketing form for the novel was popularized and maintained. This was the three part novel. Proprietors also made money when they sold their stocks later as used books. It reduced inventory and brought a nice financial return.


12In 1856 Mrs. Charles Kingsley was told that used copies of Westward Ho! were sold for 15s while the second hand copies of Thackeray's Esmond went for 9s at Mudie's. Daniel Macmillan to Mrs. Charles Kingsley, 1856, cited in Griest, Mudie's, 28-29. The circulating library could push the publisher, but the publisher could not push back. For example, it was not in the publisher's best interest to have a large used book market distracting sales from their cheap editions. Literary historian Guinevere Griest asserted that used book sales were a substantial part of
Histories of Victorian book publishing and circulating libraries frequently mention Charles Mudie's as the most successful and as one of the largest of the circulating libraries. Mudie's, which began its ninety-five years of business in 1842, was so successful that by the early 1860s Charles Mudie had branches in other parts of England. Later Mudie's Select Circulating Library had approximately 25,000 subscribers and even offered home delivery services. Mudie aimed at the middle classes. His patrons could pay as little as one guinea a year, which carried the privilege of having one exchangeable volume at a time. Two guinea subscribers had a four volume limit, while ten guineas entitled the patron to thirty exchangeable volumes. In close to a decade (1853-1862) Mudie's collection increased by almost a

David Daiches, "Presenting Shakespeare", in Briggs, Essays, 91; Griest, Mudie's, 27; Alvar Ellegard, The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain, 63, Goteborg Universitets Arsskrift (Goteborg, 1957), 5; DNB, 1159. References are sometimes to Mudie's, to Mudie's Library, to Mudie's Select Library, and Mudie's Circulating Library.

Jones states that a 2 guinea subscriber had no limit to the number of exchangeable volumes. Jones, "Disraeli", Essays, 166-167, 170; Griest, Mudie's, 61-63, 46, 28, see also 39, 17-18; Johnson, History of Libraries states that Mudie had in London just over 25,000 subscribers. Jones gives a similar figure. Jones notes that a single volume book cost 12s 6d which was too high for most of the circulating library patrons.
million volumes; by the end of the nineteenth century the collection amounted to over seven and one half million books.\textsuperscript{15} Given the fact that each circulating library could own multiple copies of one title and that each volume could have a number of readers over the course of a year, the readership could reach awesome numbers.

Figures are available on the number of some individual titles that Mudie purchased. (See Table V.)

![Table V](image)

**TABLE V**

MULTIPLE COPIES OF TITLES PURCHASED BY MUDIE'S

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Copies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>Macaulay's <em>History of England</em> (Volumes 3 &amp; 4)</td>
<td>2,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>Livingston's <em>Missionary Tracts</em></td>
<td>3,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>Tennyson's <em>Idylls of the King</em></td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Eliott's <em>The Mill on-the Floss</em></td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Eliott's <em>Enoch Arden</em></td>
<td>2,500*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


These sample figures, along with the number of subscribers, explain why Mudie was such a power in the publishing

business. And when grouped with his competitors like Smith, Cawthon and Hutt, Day, Miles, and Governor Galley, it is understandable why the circulating libraries were such a formidable influence on the publishing and marketing of reading matter.\textsuperscript{16}

Publishers and library proprietors also had the power of censorship. Mudie was a protector and advocate of the Victorian sexual code, a part-time preacher, and the author of hymns. "It was no accident that the two greatest entrepreneurs of fiction in mid-Victorian England, C. E. Mudie and W. H. Smith, set themselves to impose middle-class decencies on the English novel. . . . "\textsuperscript{17} Mudie and competitor W. H. Smith were selective about what books were in their collection. Those books left out, not cataloged or bought in token amounts, sometimes brought outcries from authors.\textsuperscript{18} The ability to promote their own viewpoint and to operate as they pleased showed the circulating libraries' place within society as well as within the publishing industry.

The power of the lending library proprietors was also exhibited in the retention of the three part novel.


\textsuperscript{17}Sutherland, Victorian Novelists, 25.

\textsuperscript{18}Griest, Mudie's, 141-144, 33, 149, 153, 214.
Publishing practices that aided the business included the serialization of novels, special editions and collective issues. The more parts of an individual story, the more volumes sold for a complete story. For this reason, the publication of novels in two or three parts had been encouraged by the circulating libraries. Chapman and Hall brought out Dickens' Pickwick Papers, this way. Each month's installment cost one shilling. It is believed that "as many as 40,000 subscribers were provided with a 300,000 word, well printed, large paged, illustrated, original novel at £1, in easy payments."  Dickens and Thackeray used this format for most of their novels.

While the practice of printing in multiple parts was used for adult literature, it was occasionally used for children's books, too. The most frequent installment printing of children's books was serialization in a periodical before being printed in book form. This was true of Charles Dickens' The Magic Fishbone, which came out in periodical All The Year Round in 1868. Similarly, Robert Louis Stevenson's Treasure Island was serialized for four months in the magazine Young Folks.

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19 Ibid., 21. See also 12-13, 18.  20 Ibid., 21.

21 Ellis, History, 33-44; Alec Ellis, How To Find Out About Children's Literature, 3d. ed. (Oxford, 1973), 121.
beginning in October, 1881. *Treasure Island* was published in book form only in 1883.  

After 1880, the three decker novel began to decline. Sample publication figures show that 193 three volume novels were published in 1884 whereas in 1895 there were 52 and in 1897 only 4 three volume novels were published.

In the late 1850s and the 1860s one stimulus for lower book production costs and hence the lessened price

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23 Raymond Chapman, *The Victorian Debate: English Literature and Society, 1832-1901* (NY, 1968), 126; Pearl, *Girl*, 14; Jones, "Disraeli," *Essays*, 1162, 182; Joseph Shaylor, *The Fascination of Books* (London, 1912), 310-311 cited in Griest, *Mudie's*, 6-7. Griest believes that the 3ls 6d was a false price. While three deckers were listed at that price, Griest contends few paid it. Libraries and bookdealers bought at discounts. The three decker was popularized by the circulating libraries and because of their power were able to keep this format and its artificial price. The decline of the three decker was in part a response to publisher's and reader's demands regarding price and style. But it was Mudie and Smith who took the final action in 1894. Mudie's decline paralleled that of the three decker. Griest also makes this point noting that it meant the end of Mudie's as "a national institution," *Mudie's*, 6. See also 157-175, 220-223, 26.
of books was the cancellation of the advertising and paper taxes. In the twenty-five years from 1828 to 1853 the price of adult books went down over forty-five percent when "... the average price of complete adult books declined from 16s to 8s 4-1/2d, or in terms of single volumes from 12s 1d, to 7s 2-1/2d." In the 1880s, the majority of books were priced at two shillings and six pence while manuals cost a shilling. By the 1890s, a first edition novel might cost 6s. Prices were based on such factors as edition, paper grade, plates, color, and binding. By lowering prices it was hoped that reading matter would be more affordable and thus reach a wider market.

There were varying prices for an individual title as well as within the realm of children's literature. In 1875 George Routledge issued a Catalogue of a Thousand Juvenile Books. Prices ranged from 12s. 6d. down to a penny a title. As an example of the pricing of adult,

24 These taxes also affected periodicals. Magazines and newspapers costing under sixpence were also required to have a stamp tax until 1855. In 1858 the advertising tax was abolished and then in 1861 the paper tax was ended. Sutherland, Victorian Novelists, 228 n35; Chapman, Victorian Debates, 70-72.

25 Ellis, History, 35.

26 Sheila A. Egoff, Children's Periodicals of the Nineteenth Century, Library Association Pamphlet, no. 8 (London, 1951), 4; Sutherland, Victorian Novelists, 40.

family, and children's reading materials, see Table VI, different bindings and editions made the prices vary.

**TABLE VI**

**COSTS OF VICTORIAN BOOKS AND MAGAZINES, SELECTED TITLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Author and Title</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1840s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845-7</td>
<td>Mrs. Sherwood, <em>Fairchild Family</em></td>
<td>5s ea. (2 vols.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>C. Marryat, <em>The Children of the New Forest</em></td>
<td>12s (2 vols.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Montalba, <em>Fairy Tales of All Nations</em></td>
<td>9s (later 5s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td><em>Routledge's Railway Library Series</em></td>
<td>1s 6d per vol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td><em>Routledge's Popular Library - H. Martineau, The Hour and The Man</em></td>
<td>1s 6d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td><em>Household Words</em> (Weekly)*</td>
<td>2d ea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>J. Ruskin, <em>The King of the Golden River</em></td>
<td>6s (later 2s 6d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852-79</td>
<td>V. Beeton, <em>English Woman's Domestic Magazine</em></td>
<td>2d (later 6d) ea. issue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>G.W.M. Reynolds, <em>The Soldier's Wife</em></td>
<td>1d. ea. no.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>B. Disraeli, <em>Ixion In Heaven The Infernal Marriage</em></td>
<td>1s 6d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE VI—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Author and Title</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1850s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>G.W.M. Reynolds, <em>The Bronze Soldier</em></td>
<td>1/2d ea. no.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>London Journal (Weekly)</td>
<td>1d ea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>Mrs. Sherwood, <em>The Monk</em> (new ed.)</td>
<td>1s 6d and 2s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>Sir J. Carew, <em>His Life and Experiences</em></td>
<td>2s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>R. Ballantyne, <em>The Coral Island</em></td>
<td>6s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>G. Eliot, <em>Adam Bede</em> (3 vols.)</td>
<td>31s 6d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>C. Darwin, <em>Origin of Species</em></td>
<td>15s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td><em>Tales from Blackwood</em> (8 vol. monthly numbers) (1879-1881 1s each)</td>
<td>6d ea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>G.A. Sala, <em>Twice Round the Clock</em></td>
<td>1/2 crown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>S. Livingstone, <em>Travels</em></td>
<td>6s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>L. Wraxall, <em>Criminal Celebrities</em></td>
<td>2s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td><em>May Turpin</em></td>
<td>1p per pt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td><em>The Railway ABC</em></td>
<td>1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>A. Sketchley, <em>The Brown Papers</em></td>
<td>1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Author and Title</td>
<td>Price</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>Queen Victoria, Leaves from a Journal of Our Life in the Highlands</td>
<td>2s. 6d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>Boys of the World</td>
<td>1/2d ea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>After 1870</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Rev. H. W. Pullen, &quot;The Fight at Dame Europa's School&quot; a pamphlet</td>
<td>6d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871-2</td>
<td>G. Eliot, Middlemarch (8 bi-monthly issues)</td>
<td>5s ea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>K. Greenaway, Under the Window (1st ed.)</td>
<td>6s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880s</td>
<td>Popular classics series</td>
<td>6d ea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>H. R. Haggard, She</td>
<td>6s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Lady's World</td>
<td>1s ea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>L. Carroll, Alice and the Looking Glass</td>
<td>4s 6d and 6s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>O. Wilde, The Happy Prince and Other Tales</td>
<td>5s and 21s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>Mrs. H. Ward, Robert Elsmere</td>
<td>31s. 6d.; 6s; 2s. 6d. later 6d &amp; 7d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE VI-Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Author and Title</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>C. Kingsley, Westward Ho! rep.</td>
<td>6d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>R. D. Blackmore, Lorna Doone rep.</td>
<td>6d*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


There were many publishers, some of whom appealed to special interest groups and used the business to promote a cause or a philosophy. F. Houlston and Son aimed their offerings at the evangelicals, while Hatchard's published Chapham Evangelicals, and the firm of John W. Parker preferred the Society for Promotion of Christian Knowledge
(SPCK). The SPCK, established in 1699, was itself a publisher especially for materials used by the Sunday Schools and the Charity Schools.  

The Evangelical Movement emphasized personal religion and founded the Religious Tract Society (RTS). This society and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge were the two specialized publishers with the largest circulation. Other large publishing firms were the Catnatch Press, George Routledge and Sons, Warne, Murray's, and Darton.  

The Religious Tract Society (RTS) was a large publisher of children's reading matter as well as adult literature. In 1803 the Religious Tract Society commissioned "literature specifically for young readers," and by 1850 the Religious Tract Society catalogue  

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29 Woodward, Age of Reform, 485-486; Vicinus, Industrial Muse, 14. George Routledge and Frederick Warne were brothers-in-law who had worked together before Warne opened his own firm. Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection, 1:403. See ibid., 463-504, for more information on numerous Victorian publishers; see also Darton, Children's Books, 3rd rev. ed., x-xi, and Appendix II, 332-335.
contained more than five hundred publications of varying
types for young people. The Religious Tract Society's
objective was to provide wholesome reading matter for the
developing minds and souls of young people. This aim was
explained in the 64th Annual Report of the Religious Tract
Society (1863). Stories were to be "healthful fiction."
Criteria for stories included three important qualities:

1. Moral - no vice being invested interest;

2. Natural - true both to nature and to fact, free from false representations of life and exaggerations of character;

3. Unexciting - leaving the spirit calm and the passions not unduly moved.

The Religious Tract Society believed that literature
influenced young people; hence, they participated in the
publishing business. They worked toward their goals by
publishing a particular type of literature.

While groups like the Religious Tract Society
published books in an attempt to influence young people,
others published children's literature because it

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represented too great a market to be ignored. Thus children's literature acquired an importance akin to adult literature. The same or at least similar marketing practices of advertising, serialization, and availability were used.

Defining children's literature has been the subject of discussions and debates. Dividing literature into neat and compact categories of adult, family, and children's literature is frequently difficult to do, and occasionally those groupings are artificial. There are books, stories, and verses written specifically for adults or exclusively for children, and there are also literary items which were created for both, for the family, but the classifications are not clear cut. Many materials become popular with age groups other than the ones for which they were written.

While children's literature was a part of Victorian literature as a whole it also became a recognized separate body of literature. Authors frequently acknowledged that they were writing for young people. Publishers referred to "children's" books, magazines and literature. Frequently, publishers and libraries had separate departments or collections for children. The amount of literature specifically for children grew, and it developed some forms of its own, like the toy books. Publisher's and

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bookseller's catalogues and advertisements began to include specific works for young people.

The activities of Victorian libraries and publishers prove that adults and businessmen believed that there was literature for children. Libraries set aside in special collections books and periodicals produced specially for children and other literature acceptable for children. Publishers encouraged authors to create literature that the young could read and enjoy as well as that which directed or taught.\textsuperscript{33}

Children's literature in the early and mid-Victorian era frequently had religious and moral themes. Stories directed against such evils as the slave trade and abuse were also common. There were also natural history materials and travel books.\textsuperscript{34} The themes shifted as society changed.

Family economic status helped to determine the proportion of a theme that the children received. Mid-Victorian England's poorer children read, in general, instructional and religious materials while wealthier

\textsuperscript{33}See Ellis, History, several chapters on the organization, content, and activities of libraries and their special juvenile collections; see also the preface to F. J. Harvey Darton's Children's Books In England regarding his definition of children's literature.

\textsuperscript{34}St. John, "Publishing," Book Selling, 24; see dissertation chapters IV and V.
children's reading was less didactic and more entertaining. The poorer children usually read the tracts, the Bible, and periodicals. The tracts were intended as a simple and "dramatic introduction to religious knowledge," while the periodicals read were "filled with similar pious proselytising and fervent matter." These tracts were distributed by members of the Evangelical movement. As time went on, the difference between the themes for wealthy and poor children narrowed.

In the mid-Victorian years publishers provided imaginative and adventure stories and fairy tales. Politics, nationalism, and imperialism were more evident


36 Cruse, Victorians, 21.

37 Egoff, Children's Periodicals, 15; Burns, Age of Equipoise, 79-30; Frank Eyre in Twentieth Century, 11 states that there is "a cyclical pattern in British children's books" between didactic, pious stories and entertaining tales. This may be true for periods before 1865; however, from the mid-1860s on there was more co-existence and if anything the didactic had become more creative and entertaining. Literary historian Alec Ellis views the shift somewhat differently. Acknowledging that in most juvenile literature there is a moral which most children want, he states that "in the early moral tales, however, the moral predominated, whereas in modern literature it is usually subsidiary to the plot." Ellis, How To Find, 120. Ellis sees the transition point around 1839 with Sinclair's Holiday House and other similar works rather than the 1860s with Lewis Carroll and Edward Lear etc., Ibid.
in the children's literature, as the society became concerned with more secular matters. Religion and morality were still important, but they did not dominate literary themes. By 1890, while helping the poor was still a public concern, fulfilling the growing fever of patriotism was also a demand. Adventure, romance, national pride, and knowledge characterized this new secular and patriotic juvenile literature. It was during this late Victorian period that the didacticism in juvenile literature was "softened and sentimentalized."\textsuperscript{38} A survey of some mid to late Victorian children's periodicals (1861-1886) reveals that social, moral, and political themes totaled over fifty percent of the contents and entertainment (puzzles, games, contests, non didactic, and miscellaneous) consistently averaged forty-four percent. See Appendix C for the complete results of this survey.

Readership size is unclear. Publishers' figures on various kinds of literature are available; however, because of circulation through the various libraries, pooled funds used to purchase one book or magazine, book serialization in periodicals, and multiple editions of one title, readership figures can only be an approximation. Estimates might be made on the press runs and sales --

\textsuperscript{38}DeVries, \textit{Little Wide-Awake}, 8, 9.
total copies printed and sold. In the case of most titles, readership would be higher than those figures. Therefore, print and sales figures are reliable, but probably low.

Periodicals were another form in which children's literature followed adult's and yet one in which children's reading materials was clearly separated. With shilling prices for picture books, when the average workman's wage was quite a bit less than one pound per week, Victorian children's books were "essentially a middle-class product."39

In the 1840s and 1850s publisher Joseph Cundall had concentrated on quality books for juveniles. He, like many of the Victorian publishers, issued children's periodicals as well as books.40 George Routledge published Every boy's magazine as well as Walter Crane and

39 Alderson, "Tracts," Essays, 265; see Appendix A for a table of select occupations and their wages.

40 Egoff, Children's Periodicals, 7; Exclusively for the young were the toy books which were produced in the 1860s. These unusual picture books first sold for 6d or 1s and later were priced at 1s and 2s in large or special editions. Routledge once said that for him to realize a profit on the toy books he had to sell a minimum of 50,000 copies. McLean, Noah's Ark A.B.C. and 8, 2; see also Ellis, How To Find, 123-124.

41 Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection Catalog, 1:471. C. E. Mudie was a bookseller whose circulating library was quite popular. He "had a 'Juvenile Department' larger than many of his predecessor's total stocks." Sutherland, Victorian Novelists, 25.
Kate Greenaway books while Cassell put out *Little Folks* and *Chums* as well as R. L. Stevenson books.

The dominant literary forms of books and the three part novels changed because of increasing literacy rates and lower costs of publication. The increased literacy was appearing primarily among the lower classes who did not have the same standards of literary taste expected of the upper and middle classes. At the same time British society was undergoing a transition towards greater participation by more men of lower social status in the life of the state. To meet the intellectual abilities and tastes as well as the financial capabilities of the people, weeklies for adults began to flourish.

Before the penny dreadfuls became the "cheap fiction" of the 1820s and 1830s, half to one penny broadsides had been the most prevalent inexpensive literature for the urban poor.42 Broadsides or broadsheets were large oversized printed sheets. A broadside was usually a single sheet on which a ballad, song, poem, or news item was printed. They were usually sold by street hawkers, although they were frequently published by the big firms.

42Vicinus, *Industrial Muse*, 9; Dalziel, *Popular Fiction*, 22; dreadfuls were cheap literature that featured adventure, school, and similar stories. They came out at intervals and each was a complete story. See n.46 infra, interview with Dana Tenny in this chapter.
Since penny literature was within the means of the poor it, too, became popular with the working class. This form of literature was a direct response to the tastes and purchasing power of the lower classes. These periodicals reached a great portion of the Victorian public. See Table II with sample circulation figures for select adult periodicals.

Cheap fiction, like the weeklies, was profitable. In the 1840s three penny-weeklies like Family Herald, The London Journal, and Reynolds' Weekly Miscellany were quite popular. Their birth has been considered the commencement of a "new era in the publication of cheap fiction" by one literary authority. Certainly a greater portion of the

43Ellis, History, 35-36; Vicinus, Industrial Muse, 193; Dalziel, Popular Fiction, 5.

44Dalziel, Popular Fiction, 22-23; several sources cite the sizes of the press in England during the Victorian Age. According to G. F. Barwick, "The Magazines of the Nineteenth Century." Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, II, 9 (London, 1909), 237-249 cited in Ellegard, Readership, 4, between 1830 and 1880, 100 to 170 new magazines began each decade with the peak being in 1860s and 1870s. Whereas The Times Tercentenary Handlist of English and Welsh Newspapers, Magazines and Reviews (1920) cited in North, "Why Read Victorian Periodicals," Victorian Periodicals, 5, lists the number of new periodicals starting in 1844 as 105, in 1864 as 126, and in 1884 as 276. Finally The Newspaper Press Directory for 1865 lists 1271 newspapers and 554 periodicals in the United Kingdom. Ellegard, Readership, 4. See also Tables VI and VII.
population could buy them even if it meant several individuals combining their resources to meet the price.\textsuperscript{45}

Separating children's and adult's periodicals is easier than the division of books; however, there was still an entwined relationship. There were periodicals like Punch which was created for adults but was extremely popular with children. Punch was not the only periodical or installment reading children adopted from the adults. Adult "mysteries" of the early-mid 1800s were popular with young people and "'influenced the boy's 'bloods'" in the last decades of the Nineteenth Century.\textsuperscript{46}


\textsuperscript{46} Roe, Victorian Child, 101; Egoff, Children's Periodicals, 5. The literature often referred to as "bloods and dreadfuls" may or may not be classified as a periodical depending on the reviewer. That they were part of the cheap literature movement of the 1800s and like a magazine in printing style makes them seem like periodicals. Dana Tenny, Osborne Collection librarian and children's periodicals expert, enumerated the differences. Periodicals came out regularly on set dates whereas the dreadfuls did not necessarily come out on set dates or at regular intervals. The dreadfuls were complete stories that were part of a series. Another key difference is that the dreadfuls did not include or carry the puzzles, things to do, advice columns, and so forth that were a part of the periodicals. Interview Dana Tenny, Librarian, Osborne Room, Toronto, Canada, 28 June 1979. The bloods' and dreadfuls' content featured mystery, adventure, rough and tumble, blood and death by force. The periodicals had a much broader range of content and frequently admonished behavior and language found in the bloods and dreadfuls. Many Victorians and reviewers of that age felt the dreadfuls were an inferior quality of literature.
Sponsorship of periodicals for both age groups was often the same. Of the inexpensive periodicals established in the decade between 1846 and 1856 approximately fifty percent were either "sponsored by religious organizations, or reflected positive religious opinions." Many periodical titles indicated their sponsorship or at least their slant.

The size of periodical readership is impressive. Writer-publisher Charles Knight, using stamp office figures, gave 1853s yearly circulation in England and Wales at seventy-two million while he figured that in 1854 only three publications had 950,000. The Family Herald had a circulation of 300,000, the London Journal's 450,000 and Reynold's Miscellany 200,000. Four years later, author and editor Wilkie Collins believed that the circulation of the most popular weekly, probably the London Journal, was half a million. And that was just one periodical.

47 Dalziel, Popular Fiction, 55.

48 Charles Knight, Passages from the Life of Charles Knight (New York, 1874), 454; Alice Clowes, Charles Knight (1892), 226 cited in Dalziel, Popular Fiction, 23. Dalziel refers to Reynolds Weekly Miscellany and Reynolds Miscellany interchangeably. Concerning variables in stamp application see Vann, Victorian Periodicals, 149-165. Concerning readership variables see Ellegard, Readership Periodical Press, 4n.

49 Household Words, 18 (21 August, 1858): 221, reprinted in My Miscellanies (1863) cited in Dalziel, Popular Fiction, 23.
In 1859 in London, alone, there were at least 115 periodicals and by 1864 the Publishers' Circular (16 May 1864) noted circulations of 2,203,000 for weekly newspapers, 2,404,000 for other weeklies, and 2,490,000 for monthlies.50

Even small select subject magazines had noticeable circulation numbers. In 1851 the Working Man's Friend which favored temperance and cost one penny sold 50,000 copies. In 1860, 6 monthly adult teetotal periodicals had a combined circulation of over 20,000 per number.51 When figures for the Reverend W. Carus Wilson's magazines for adults The Friendly Visitor and The Christian Guardian as well as his Sunday School periodical for young people, The Children's Friend, are combined over 50,000 were sold each month.52 See Table VII with sample circulation figures for select adult periodicals.

50 Walter Graham, English Literary Periodicals (New York, 1930), 301. (It is assumed that 115 figure refers to adult publications, since there is scant mention of children's); Publishers' Circular cited in Geoffrey Best, Mid-Victorian Britain: 1851-1875 (New York, 1972), 226. See also Knight, Passages, 452-453.

51 Harrison, Drink, 37; Altick, English Common Reader, 303. One Liverpool bookdealer recorded monthly sales in 1862 of the temperance publications Band of Hope (children) and British Workman (adult) at 1,300 and 1,500 respectively. Cited in Table 5, Ellegard, Readership Periodical Press, 13.

52 Egoff, Children's Periodicals, 9. The Children's Friend which sold for 1d was published from 1826 to 1860, 9-10.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Circulation*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>Household Words (1st No)</td>
<td>100,000 sold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>Working Man’s Friend</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>London Journal</td>
<td>450,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>Reynold’s Miscellany</td>
<td>200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>Illustrated London News</td>
<td>130,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>The Family Herald</td>
<td>300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>Nonconformist</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>Alliance Weekly News</td>
<td>14,000 to 15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Nonconformist</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Guardian</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Family Herald</td>
<td>200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>The London Journal</td>
<td>300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>English Churchman</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Cornhill Magazine (1st no)</td>
<td>120,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860-</td>
<td>Cornhill Magazine</td>
<td>84,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Reynold’s Weekly</td>
<td>200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Leisure Hour (RTS)</td>
<td>80,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>Reynold’s Weekly</td>
<td>300,000**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Date applies to sample year.

**Sources: Harrison, Drink, 56; Knight cited in Dalziel, Popular Fiction, 23; Priestly, Heyday, 163-164; Graham, English Periodicals, 311-315; Jones, "Disraeli", Essays, 174; Ellegard, Readership, 20, 25-26, 35-37; Altick, English Common Reader, 300, 303, 395.
Periodicals for children were not an invention of the Victorian Age. There had been several in the Eighteenth Century with the first dating back to 1751 and John Newberry's *The Lilliputian Magazine*. But it was during the Victorian Era that children's periodicals flourished and multiplied. From 1850 through the 1890s approximately three hundred and five new juvenile periodicals began which meant that around sixty one new magazines began each decade. These figures are a result of an analysis of Shelia Egoff's research.

Shelia A. Egoff, author and children's literary expert, examined children's periodicals 1800-1900. Her publication *Children's Periodicals of the Nineteenth Century* is the only comprehensive bibliography of that era. It contains an excellent narrative history of periodicals and a list of close to nine hundred titles. Egoff's figures reveal just how many children's periodicals existed. The volume of juvenile periodicals reveals that many publishers viewed the children's literary market as a fruitful commercial field.

Egoff, *Children's Periodicals*, 8-9. Numerous other reviewers of children's literature or Victorian bibliography refer to Egoff's study as an authority. It is the only one of its kind. Compare the figures of her list with those given earlier in the chapter which state that in the 50 years between 1830 and 1880 approximately 100 to 170 new periodicals began each decade. Using 50 years from Egoff's, which are a little later (1850-1900), reveals an average of 61 new periodicals.
Egoff's study reveals that three hundred and five publications began between 1850 and the end of the Nineteenth Century. (See Table VIII.) Not all of those three hundred and fifty periodicals survived long. Sometimes one would merely cease publication, and at other times periodicals would merge with or be absorbed by another publication.

**TABLE VIII**

**SURVIVAL OF NEWLY-FOUNDED JUVENILE PERIODICALS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>New Periodicals</th>
<th># Continued Through</th>
<th>End of Decade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1850s</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>50s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>60s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>70s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>80s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>90s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>into 1900s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860s</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>60s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>70s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>80s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>90s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>into 1900s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870s</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>70s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>80s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>90s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>into 1900s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880s</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>80s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>90s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>into 1900s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890s</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>90s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>into 1900s*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Egoff, Children's Periodicals, 32-43.*
The impressive growth rate of youth periodicals was similar to the growth of other juvenile reading material. Magazines were cheaper; and thus had greater circulation than books. Also periodicals were in vogue for adults who in turn wanted their children to enjoy transitory reading as well as the more permanent story—a book.

The large and growing body of children's literature indicated the strength of the Victorian publisher's and interest group's perception of a juvenile market potential and of the desire to communicate with children. It also indicated a shift in the position of children within society and the Victorian home. Egoff noted that these periodicals:

Mirrored . . . the whole of the Victorian age [and] were of the period in their style and content and their tone. . . . They indicated the progress in education, the great commercial development in adult books, newspapers and periodicals as well as heralding the growth in children's literature...from the sixties to the eighties.  

These periodicals reflected the Victorian period in their content and style, but were diverse in form. Charlotte M. Yonge, known for her family stories and as one of the first to write girls' stories, edited The Magazine for the Young (1842-1875), which was for working class youth. It

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Egoff, Children's Periodicals, 4; Darton expressed similar sentiments; Darton and Alderson, English Children's Books, 3d. rev. ed., 266.
was in this magazine that Yonge's book *Langley School* first appeared. She later established *The Monthly Packet* (1851-1899), a magazine for girls, which was the idea of Yonge's friends Marion Dyson and the Rev. Charles Dyson. It was to be a voice for the Church of England and present religious reading and entertainment. Yonge edited this magazine for forty-eight years, and many of her books first appeared there in serial form, among them *The Daisy Chain* and *The Little Duke*.\(^55\)

Margaret Scott Gatty, mother of eight and wife of a minister, was also a writer, editor, and publisher. She established a magazine for both boys and girls in 1866 which lasted until 1885. Mrs. Gatty's *Aunt Judy's Magazine* commissioned Lewis Carroll to write "Bruno's Revenge" especially for it in 1867. Carroll's *Sylvia and Bruno* was an extension of "Bruno's Revenge." Still other contributors were Hans Christian Andersen, Gatty's daughter Juliana Horatia Ewing, George Cruikshank, and Randolph Caldecott. *Aunt Judy's* was a magazine of quality in its contributors and in its sense of humor. This magazine emphasized family life, particularly Victorian modes of living which was a popular theme with middle-class

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children. Themes that appealed along with well written and illustrated stories that captured the mind were only part of the features that made Aunt Judy's stand out. There were game and puzzle columns, a letter bag feature, and even book reviews. Probably the most famous was her review of Alice's Adventure in Wonderland which appeared in June, 1866. Both Carroll's text and Tenniel's drawings received many complimentary comments.

Other periodicals besides Aunt Judy's included Good Words for the Young. It was established in 1868 and was to last nine and one-half years. Good Words for the Young's first editor was Dr. Norman MacLeod, chaplain to the Queen, who was also the editor of Good Words, a family periodical. MacLeod was succeeded by George Macdonald, a writer, editor, and publisher. A religiously oriented magazine that was "open-minded", Good Words for the Young tried to present entertaining and instructive reading for children.


57 "Reviews," Aunt Judy's Magazine, vol. 1, no. 2 (June, 1866), 123.

58 Egoff, Children's Periodicals, 21-22; Meigs, Critical History, rev. ed., 251; Altick, English Common Reader, 125-126.
Another type of periodical started in the mid-sixties. The Boys of England: A Magazine of Sport, Sensation, Fun and Instruction (1866-1899) was one of these sensational "bloods," also called "dreadfuls" or "comics," which were objectionable to some Victorian adults. The Boys of England, whose quality was poor, was inexpensive literature that usually emphasized adventure, violence and blood. It was very popular. Another editor, the Rev. J. Erskine Clark, Vicar of Derby, founded two children's magazines as a reaction against periodicals such as The Boys of England: A Magazine of Sport, Sensation, Fun and Instruction. The Children's Prize in 1863 and The Chatterbox in 1866 were part of his "crusade." Clarke wrote for both magazines which were popular for several years. Apparently he had some success in achieving his goal. J. M. Barrie said that he was lured away from the evil-influence of the dreadfuls by Chatterbox.

59 Meigs, Critical History, rev. ed., 250; Egoff, Children's Periodicals, 16, see also 17-18, 25. Dalziel, Popular Fiction, 15-16 notes that many of the early dreadfuls were romances. For more regarding bloods and dreadfuls see Roe, Victorian Child, 100-101; E. S. Turner, Boys Will Be Boys (London, 1948), 22, 71; Duane, "Boy's Own Paper," Private Library, 125-126.

Later, in 1880, George Newnes founded *Tit-Bits for Tiny Wits* in an effort to capture the "new popularly educated classes" while several of Routledge's mid and late Victorian children's magazines, *Every Boy's Magazine* and *The Boy's Journal*, were "catering to the 'classes'."  

Some groups also published children's periodicals. They, too, aimed their publications toward specific goals or factions of society. Sponsored by special interest groups and thus appealing for a particular behavior were magazines such as the teetotal periodicals, *Scottish Advisor* (1860) and the *Band of Hope Review* (1860); the East End Juvenile Mission's *Children's Treasury* (1860s); and the Religious Tract Society's *Boy's Own Paper* (1879). The latter was possibly the most successful of the boys' magazines. In its lifetime (1879-1946) it was probably rivaled for quality only by *Aunt Judy's Magazine* and by the American-British *St. Nicholas Magazine* (1873-1939). The *Boy's Own Paper* also absorbed or incorporated

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numerous other children's periodicals particularly boys' magazines.\textsuperscript{63}

The announcement of the Boy's Own Paper's beginning and objectives was really an invitation from the Religious Tract Society for "the public to join them in a moral crusade"; however, the periodical did not carry the Religious Tract Society's colophon. Religious Tract Society directors thought that an imprint by the Leisure Hour editor would have greater public appeal than Religious Tract Society's.\textsuperscript{64} One of the Religious Tract Society members, Dr. James Maculaey, was the first Boy's Own Paper editor, but, it was his successor, George Hutchinson, who made the periodical a success.\textsuperscript{65}

\textsuperscript{63} St Nicholas published many British writers as well as American. It also had a British edition which was published monthly from 1872-1917. This British edition was identical in content and arrangement to the American. Letter from Dana Tenny, Librarian, Osborne Collection, 17 December 1982. See Meigs, Critical History, rev. ed., 255-261; Egoff's list of periodicals in Children's Periodicals, 31-43; and Duane, "BOP," Private Library, 149-151. By 1878, The Religious Tract Society, was a staid organization with varied interests, an organization that "closely resembled a large business corporation." Politically, many of its members were Liberals and some like John MacGregor (pen name "Rob Roy") contributed to Religious Tract Society publications. Duane, "BOP", Private Library, 126.


\textsuperscript{65} During part of his tenure as Boy's Own Paper editor, Hutchinson served in the same capacity for the Religious Tract Society Monograph series Boy's Own
Hutchinson was described by his minister and friend John MacBeath as a person whose religion and occupation were the same. This was seen in *Boy's Own Paper* where religious concepts and values were "diffused through all its bright and healthy pages" without saying religion. Hutchinson believed sports and adventure tales featuring the "Christian gentleman" were better "than reprinted evangelical tracts." This approach did appeal to young Victorian boys. In 1879 and again in 1880, circulation of *The Boy's Own Paper* was approximately 600,000, and even at the end of that decade the number was over 500,000 copies per week. Even in the Edwardian years it was still at 400,000. These figures are impressive, yet they understate the readership. Each issue was probably read by two or three youngsters. Readership, therefore, was close to one and one quarter million.

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67 Patric Duane who researched these figures out of remaining RTS records has also put forth the argument that
This success translated into a profitable business venture for many years. According to Religious Tract Society records, the Boy's Own Paper sold instantly. It was so successful that for many years it helped to finance Religious Tract Society's missionary efforts abroad. This success also enabled the Boy's Own Paper to undertake several philanthropic projects. Through one of these, for example, readers contributed to the purchase of two lifeboats for coastline service near Cornwall and Devon.68

Boy's Own Paper included a wide variety of reading selections. There were fictional stories of adventure, school, and war. There were also travel, game, craft, advice, and other items.

Victorian girls were not forgotten during this period of children's periodical growth. There were magazines exclusively for girls; however, they were far fewer than those for boys, again reflecting the Victorian concept that boys were more important than girls. Using the Egoff

the circulation was probably larger because "production returns later placed the number of weekly copies close to 665,000." Duane, "BOP," Private Library, 134, 151; Minutes of the Finance Sub-Committee, 2, 14 March 1888, ibid., 133-134. "Correspondence - H. Farbrother," Boy's Own Paper, vol. 12, no. 576 (25 January 1890), 256.

list, a survey of original titles for sexual preference revealed that by far the greater number of periodicals were oriented toward boys. (See Table IX.)

TABLE IX

NUMBER OF PERIODICALS BY SEXUAL CLASSIFICATION OF TITLE*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th># For Girls</th>
<th># For Boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1800 through 1849</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850 through 1859</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860 through 1869</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870 through 1879</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880 through 1889</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890 through 1900</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Original titles were used since title changes often took place in other decades. Incorporations were omitted because it would be a duplication. There were more magazines exclusively for girls or for boys but their titles did not indicate sexual orientation. Those magazines for boys and girls were obviously omitted, too.

**Egoff, Children's Periodicals, 28-43.

Mary Cadogan noted that girls' periodicals really began in the last two thirds of the nineteenth century and were primarily produced by men. Cadogan's figures as well as Egoff's show that many of the girl's magazines lasted a number of years. Both studies also show that some of the same men like Hutchinson and Alfred Harmsworth involved in
the publication of periodicals for boys were also associated with those for girls.69

The Amalgamated Press published magazines such as *Girls' Friend* (1899-1931), *Girls' Reader* (1908-1915), and *Girls' Home* (1910-1915) designed primarily for young working class female readers. Most cost one penny per issue.70

The best known, a spin off from *Boy's Own Paper*, was the Religious Tract Society's *Girl's Own Paper* (1880), which was immediately successful. Its quality was similar to that of *Boy's Own Paper*. *Girl's Own Paper* historian, Wendy Forrester, stated that *Girl's Own Paper* was more than a female version of *Boy's Own Paper* because there were no adventure tales and few school stories.71 *Girl's Own Paper* did have other fiction, and health, dress, home, and needlework as its focus. In 1885 *Girl's Own Paper* carried a selection of stories like the story "When We Were Girls Together" and Sarah Doudney's "Story of


70 Cadogan, *Brick*, 127.

71 Forrester, *Great Grndmama's Weekly*, 13; Darton believes there was a difference between the two publications. GOP did not "become an institution" as was BOP. Darton and Alderson, *Children's Books*, 3d rev. ed., 304.
School-Girl Life" (a serial); news-informational items like "How To Paint a Mantel" by Fred Miller, "'Varieties' Religion, Marriage, Little Blurbs from Famous People," and "Useful Hints"; and games like "Double Acrostic." There were also poems and contests.  

The contents paralleled the Victorian vision of the female role as well as the reality of a young female's life in that era, just as the Boy's Own Paper did for boys and young men. A female's first place was in the home with her family. While domestic life dominated psychologically, more and more people began to recognize that many young girls had to work; consequently, there began to be more stories about working girls, working conditions, and proper jobs.

Even as this acknowledgement of reality increased some aspects of Victorian life for females were still obscured. A Girl's Own Paper story in 1896 subtly hints at one subject that was almost totally absent in Victorian children's literature. Sexual abuse of females was a topic for veiled comment in Victorian newspapers; it was understandably left out of the children's reading matter. In this one story, in 1896, concerning the difficult life

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72 Girl's Own Paper, vol. 6, no. 299 (19 September 1885).
of barmaids and waitresses, the author hints at possible sexual harassment or at least non-respectable behavior.73

While Girl's Own Paper was for "girls of all classes" Forrester believes that most of the readers were of a privileged economic group such as those who attended "private schools."74 The Girl's Own Paper was a quick success. The Religious Tract Society was pleased with its magazine which was designed to be a "'guardian, instructor, companion, and friend'" while preparing young females for "'Womanhood and for a heavenly home.'"75 The statue portrayed in the Girl's Own Paper mast head was called "'The Spirit of Truth and Love'" and the editor wrote that this was "a good motto for our paper."76

The original editor of Girl's Own Paper was Charles Peters who remained as the editor for twenty-eight years. On his death Flora Klickman became the editor for the next twenty-three years. She paid tribute to Peters for the


fine qualities and goals of Girl's Own Paper. In this same article Klickman stated that "now" any female can afford the magazine. She also indicated that the magazine was started for girls and that contemporary readers included women as well. Contributors included women authors and notables such as Mrs. Morse, Miss Kingsley, and Miss G. M. Gollock. 77 The Girl's Own Paper also attracted contributors like the Queen of Rumania, W. B. Yeats, and Ruth Lamb. Circulation in the 1880s exceeded 250,000 and would eventually surpass that of the Boy's Own Paper. 78

The Girl's Own Paper, like the Boy's Own Paper, promoted philanthropic projects. In 1887 the editor appealed to the readers to help establish a "Girls Own Convalescent Home" by contributing one penny each. He anticipated 250,000 readers participating. Reader response was so successful that they were able to surpass their goal, and by 1899, had in fact played a role in financing two girl's homes, contributed needed items to the sick and poor, and "shown a good sisterly interest in those less happily circumstanced than themselves." 79


79Ibid.; "Our 1000th Number", Girl's Own Paper, vol. 21 (25 February 1899), 345-346; Forrester Great Grandmama's Weekly, 14, 18; Cadogen, Brick, 75.
Readers were attracted to the selections within Girl's Own Paper. The many and varied contests in 1899 received from 1,000-5,000 entries. Competition correspondence was so great the post office had to use special vans.  

The aims of education and entertainment were not restricted to just Religious Tract Society publications. Even lesser known publications had those aims. In the preface to the Young People's Paper the publisher announced that the magazine intended to be a reasonably priced periodical "within reach of all" which will have "refined taste -- without . . . ignoring the inherent love of the thrilling and marvelous. . . ." Moreover, it was for both girls and boys since the former "exert a softening influence on a boy's character" and still lets him be manly; conversely, boys give girls "energy and decision." In this publication there's a column for boys and one for girls. The boys' column contained jokes, reminders, trivia, anger, and dignity; whereas, the girls' gave advice, caution, and home and health hints.

80 "Our 100th Number," Girl's Own Paper, vol. 21 (25 February 1899), 345; see also Forrester, Great Grandmama's Weekly, 141, 144, 145.


82 Ibid.

83 Ibid., 13.
The Victorian Age was an era of many developments in literature for children. Children's literature was recognized as a worthy endeavor and profitable market. Moreover, the sales practices used for adult literature were also found to work for juvenile literature. Both groups shared other similarities. Many publishers were involved in materials for both children and adults, age groups and cheap literary forms were popular with young and old alike. Technology, as well as other socio-political factors affected literature as a whole. Literature, adult and juvenile, had a large readership; children's books and periodicals were a part of the body of "Victorian Literature".
CHAPTER IV

THE CREATORS OF STORIES AND IMAGINATIVE TALES: THE AUTHORS OF CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

The adult who writes literature for children may be writing because he enjoys entertaining and delighting young people. He may engage in that work to do nothing more than earn money. Or his goal may to propagandize for some idea or issue.

In many cases it is difficult to determine the author of a given children's story. During the Victorian Age it was quite common for periodicals to print articles by anonymous and pseudonymous authors.\(^1\) These authors included both house authors and well-known writers. Mary R. Hiller estimates that in the seventy-five years before 1900 about seventy-five percent of all periodical articles and stories were by anonymous writers.\(^2\) Children's periodicals like all periodicals carried many unsigned items.

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\(^1\)William H. Scheuerle, "Biographical Resources" in Vann, Victorian Periodicals, 65.

\(^2\)Mary Ruth Hiller, "Identification of Authors: The Great Victorian Enigma" ibid., 124-125. Authorship of those unsigned articles sometimes leaked out. Over the years authorship of numerous articles has been traced. See the Thackeray and Dickens memoirs regarding their unsigned articles; see also The Wellesley Index to
Many publishers and authors were involved in literature for both adults and children. Some of these individuals were involved in several levels of literary pursuits—writing, editing, and publishing. Mrs. Margaret Scott Gatty (1809-1873) wrote because she needed to supplement the family income, and her books were a creative expression of an inquiring mind. The author of numerous adult books as well as children's literature, Gatty is best known as Aunt Judy of Aunt Judy's Magazine. According to the Osborne Catalog biographical note, she started the periodical to provide a "suitable outlet" for her daughter Juliana's writings. Besides editing the magazine, Gatty also wrote for it. Among Gatty's other publications are Parables from Nature (1855-1871), Legendary Tales (1858), and The Fairy Godmothers and Other Tales (1851).³

Juliana Gatty Ewing (1841-1885), the daughter of "Aunt Judy," was one of eight children. As one of the older children, telling stories and writing came naturally to her, and she had a ready audience. She married

³She wrote biographies and scientific books. One of the most famous was British Seaweeds (1863 and 1872). Toronto Public Library, Osborne Catalog, 1:347-349; Marcia Dalphin, "Mrs. Gatty And Mrs. Ewing," Horn Book Magazine, 26(May, 1950): 175-186.
Alexander Ewing who was in the military and they lived overseas for many years which let her write of army life and foreign settings. Her writings include Six to Sixteen (1876), The Brownies and Other Tales (1870), Jackanapes (1883), and Mary's Meadow and Letters from a Little Garden [1886]. Many of these were serialized in periodicals before their publication in book form. She was not only a writer, but for many years was assistant editor and then editor for Aunt Judy's Magazine. The earnings from her publications helped to support her family.⁴

William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-1863) reveals Victorian manners, class structure, and some social concerns in his writings. He was predominately an author for adults; however, his children's book The Rose And The Ring (1854-1855) was popular with youthful audiences. Since Thackeray was a widower, his children lived with their maternal grandmother in France; yet, despite their distance their correspondence reveals a close and warm relationship. It was their request for him to create some Twelfth Night characters that resulted in the The Rose And

The Ring, which was finished in November, 1854, as a Christmas book. 

Like Thackeray's works the majority of Charles Dickens's novels were written for adults or as family novels—where they would be read out loud to the entire family as entertainment. Charles Dickens (1812-1870) was one of the best-known Victorian authors. He was a prolific writer and was considered the spokesman of "middle-class England." His 1843 Christmas Carol is one of the latter. Many of his novels were popular with children as well as adults, and, in many Victorian homes, Dickens's novels were read to children.

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6 Mrs. Oliphant, Victorian Age, 1:248-261; Pearl, Swansdown Seat, 20. Dickens was also the original editor of Bentley's Magazine (1837-1839) which was published until 1869. He also edited Daily News (1840), Household Words (1850), and All the Year Around (1850-1860). The latter were 2 pence publications. Grahame, English Literary Periodicals, 294-298.

7 Gottlieb, Early Children's Books, 226; Woodward, Age of Reform, 536; Egoff, Children's Periodicals, 21; Cruse, Victorians and Books, 153; Nicholas Tucker, editor, Suitable for Children: Controversies in Children's
Dickens had great empathy for the poor since he personally knew the cruelties of being poor. The poor loved Dickens because of his writings; moreover, his writings reflected the contradictions that Victorian England itself experienced toward social problems. His adult-family novels, while still containing some idealization or hope, were more realistic (as appropriate for the reader's age) than his stories exclusively for children.

Besides those Dickens novels which children adopted for themselves, he wrote four or five books specially for children. Two of the most popular of these were Holiday Romances and A Child's History of England (3 volumes). Holiday Romances is composed of four stories, each of which was published individually. The Magic Fishbone is one of them.

Edward Lear (1812-1888) in some of his limericks expressed outrage at some aspects of Victorian society. Lear, an epileptic whose other health problems contributed to his frail health, was an artist, writer, and poet. He was a frequent traveler, visiting other parts of Europe and the Empire. These travels are reflected in both his

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Literature (Berkeley, Calif., 1976), 22; William Targ, Bibliophile in the Nursery (Cleveland, 1957), 154.

adult and his children's literature. Lear's *A Book Of Nonsense* (1846) contains limericks written especially for children. By 1888 it had gone through thirty editions. Some of the limericks from that volume were repeated in his second volume *Nonsense Songs, Stories, Botany and Alphabets* (1871). Numerous other volumes of limericks and stories followed. Each contained his drawings as well.

Another writer whose travels influenced his writings was Thomas Mayne Reid (1818-1883). He was a prolific writer of adventure stories set in the Empire. Reid was born in Ireland, where his father was a Presbyterian Minister. T. Mayne Reid studied to be a clergyman but decided he preferred adventure. He went to North America, where he experienced life as a frontiersman. He was interested in American Indians and studied their lifestyle and language while living amongst them. After Reid left the frontier, he lived in Philadelphia, where he earned a living as a writer for periodicals. After joining the American Army and fighting in the Mexican War, Reid returned to England in 1850. There he began publishing his books, on the title pages of which he used the rank of captain. His stories are filled with adventure, heroes, and natural

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10 Ibid., 46-49, 60-64.
history. A memoir to Reid that accompanied an American edition of his *The Boy Slaves* (1864) refers to Reid as an expert on Indians and storytelling and said that Reid's books were so acceptable for school boys that even mothers and sisters could read them.\(^1\)

John Ruskin (1819-1900) was a well known Victorian artist, historian, writer, and concerned citizen. His childhood was dominated by loving and possessive parents. As an adult, he was active in several reform causes. Described by a critic of his day as "the greatest phenomenal teacher of the age," Ruskin wanted children to read those books that had given him pleasure. Some of these were *Harry and Lucy, Grimm's Fairy Tales,* and *Dame Wiggins of Lee.*\(^2\) Certainly in his own *The King Of The Golden River* (1851) there is a touch of the Grimms. It also reflects the Victorian concern for alcohol abuse, duty and poverty. His other literary endeavor for children was as editor and supplemental contributor to an 1885 edition of *Dame Wiggins Of Lee* (1823). He added some new verses, and

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Kate Greenaway, his friend and correspondent, did new illustrations.\(^{13}\)

Charles Kingsley's books like those of Dickens were also well received by children. Like Dickens, Kingsley (1819-1875) wrote for both adults and children. He was concerned with social conditions, so much so, that he was active in numerous causes, among them Christian Socialism. One of his most famous works for children was *Waterbabies* (1863). Kingsley saw in the writer and his writings and opportunity to do good. His pen was the "sword" that would help achieve his "Knightly hopes."\(^{14}\) Described as the "archetypal Victorian", Kingsley was active in numerous political and social groups. While concerned for, and sympathetic with the life of the economic downtrodden, he did not consider these individuals, nor the ethnic minorities such as the Jamaican blacks, as able to rule and govern themselves. When a native rebellion took place in Jamaica in the 1850s, Kingsley aligned himself with the supporters of Governor Eyre who harshly stopped the rebels.\(^{15}\)

\(^{13}\)Toronto Public Library, *Osborne Catalog*, 1:60.


\(^{15}\)Bernard Semmel, *Jamaican Blood and Victorian Conscience: The Governor Eyre Controversy* (Boston, 1963),
With an opposing view of the Jamaican crisis was Thomas Hughes (1822-1896), the creator of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857). The antics and adventures of Tom Brown and friends delighted many Victorian youths, although some adults objected to Tom Brown's exploits. In his preface to the sixth edition Hughes said: "my whole object in writing at all was to get the chance of preaching!"¹⁶ He felt that as someone older he could not write books that only entertained the reader.¹⁷

Thomas Hughes was not just a writer of children's stories. He was a member of the Jamaica Committee, which supported the native cause and opposed Governor Eyre for his violence and abuse of power. Moreover, Hughes, elected to Parliament in 1865, was a strong advocate of democracy and Christian Socialism.¹⁸

Other writers who reflected Victorian ideas and life in their literature are less well known. For example, Anna Sewell, (1826-1878), author of *Black Beauty*, was not a prolific writer; in fact *Black Beauty* was her only work.

Crippled at an early age Sewell came from a Quaker family
and her mother was an author of juvenile literature. The
family experienced several stages of poverty, which may
have increased her sensitivities. During the last seven
years of her life she was an invalid. It was during this
time that she wrote *Black Beauty*.$^{19}$ Her love and compas-
sion for animals and their treatment is found throughout
her popular novel. Sewell's diary is reported to have
said of *Black Beauty* (1877): "its special aim . . . [is]
to induce kindness, sympathy, and an understanding treat-
ment of horses."$^{20}$ She also expressed horror at poverty
and mistreatment of human beings.

Some Victorian writers were less concerned about the
socio-economic problems than with developing the character
of the individual. Both Charlotte Yonge's and Mrs.
Sherwood's writings reflected their strong religious
beliefs and moral standards. In Yonge's books the reader
is able to view the life of middle class Victorian

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$^{19}$ Kunitz, British Authors: Nineteenth Century, 
551-552. From 1877 to 1894, 180,000 copies of *Black
Beauty* were sold. *Publishers' Circular*, 27 January 1894,

$^{20}$ Brian Doyle, comp. and ed., The Who's Who of
Children's Literature (New York, 1970), 244.
families and homes. Yonge (1823-1901) was not only a popular author but also an editor of children's periodicals.\(^{21}\)

George MacDonald's *At The Back Of The North Wind* (1871) shows young people struggling to handle poverty, alcohol, and physical abuse. George MacDonald (1824-1903) was a Scotch clergyman who wrote poetry, sermons, novels, and children's stories. As a youth he was active in the Huntly Juvenile Temperance Society. As an adult he was a friend of Lewis Carroll. MacDonald's stories are allegorical.\(^{22}\)

Edwin J. Brett (1828-1895) was an author for and publisher of juvenile periodicals, twenty-one of them.\(^{23}\) Brett was a frequent contributor to his own publications. Foreign settings and schools were the characteristic settings of his adventurous tales.


Another boys' author who also filled numerous writing related jobs was James Allingham [pseud. Ralph Rollington] (1867-1935). He was predominately a juvenile writer. He wrote many stories for young boys and published four boy's journals, the best known of which was Boy's World.  

Diversity of a different type was practiced by Charles Henry St. John Cooper (1869-1926). He wrote for boys' periodicals under that name. As Mabel St. John, Henry St. John Cooper wrote for girls' periodicals.  

Dr. Thomas J. Barnardo (1845-1905), one of "the religious humanitarians" of the 1860s and 1870s, established the East End Juvenile Mission (1867) as well as numerous homes and schools, first for destitute boys, then for girls. Later, he established cottage homes for poor and orphaned children. Dr. Barnardo also tried to find a better life for pauper and destitute children by organizing an emigration service. In twelve years, beginning in 1870, he placed a thousand children overseas. By 1914, he had sent out 24,346.  

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24 Vann, Victorian Periodicals, 95; see also Ralph Rollington, A Brief History of Boys' Journals (Leicester, 1913).  
25 Cadagon, You're A Brick, 130-131.  
Dr. Barnardo also tried to achieve his reform goals by writing and editing stories and a periodical for children. His publishing goal was to "gain friends and fellow-workers," to help the poor, and to "spread Christian teaching." He was the editor of The Children's Treasury which in 1881 became Our Darlings. Stories in it frequently dealt with poverty, the abuse of alcohol, and faith in God.

George Manville Fenn (1831-1909) used foreign settings for many of his adventure stories. During his lifetime he was a teacher, printer, periodical editor, publisher, drama critic, poet and writer. Fenn wrote over one hundred and seventy books. Married and the father of eight, he is best known for his boy's books which were popular and filled with natural history. They included Brownsmith's Boy (1886), Mother Carey's Chicken (1888), and Nat The Naturalist (1899). George A. Henty (1832-1902) was still another late Victorian writer whose adventure tales reinforced British pride and romanticized the nation's activities in far off lands. Henty, a sickly youngster, became an avid reader. His own adult life was colorful. As a young adult he was

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27 DeVries, Little Wide-Awake, 9, 131.

28 Kunitz, British Authors: Nineteenth Century, 219; Toronto Public Library, Osborne Catalog, 1:344.
a volunteer in the Crimean War (1853-1855). Later, in 1859, during the Italian-Austrian conflict, Henty as part of his military duty organized hospitals in Italy. After resigning his commission, Henty traveled throughout the world. During those years, he also became a reporter for the Standard. Later he was the editor of the children's periodicals, including The Union Jack (1880-1883) and Breeton's Boy's Own Magazine (1888-1890). Henty's various travels and jobs were the basis for his many novels.

Henty's adult novels were not very popular, whereas his boys' novels were a huge success. Henty's first juvenile novel was the 1868 Out of the Pampas, and he wrote approximately 80 more adventure stories for young boys. Counting all types of writing, Henty wrote approximately 100 books. In 1952, his publisher estimated the number of 25,000,000 copies as a possible figure for total sales of Henty novels. Certainly, when


30 Kunitz, British Authors: Nineteenth Century, 293-294; Dartt, Henty, xii-xiii; see also Lofts, Men Behind Boy's Fiction, 182-183.

biographers and critics refer to Henty as one of the most popular English authors, it is no exaggeration.  

Adventure, Empire, a courageous military, and a strict code of behavior are features of most Henty stories. Moreover, there were frequently maps and illustrations of soldiers, natives, and adventuresome people. (See Figure 1.) Henty believed that his books were the best way of teaching boys history. . . . Many men have written to thank me for getting boys into the Civil Service through my historical stories. My object has been to teach history and still more to encourage manly and straight living and feeling amongst boys. Officers have repeatedly told me that many had offered themselves for service simply after reading these little stories of mine.  

Henty's stories were often serialized in juvenile periodicals. Interestingly, his last serial tale, "A Soldier's Daughter," appeared not in a boy's but in a girl's periodical, the 1901 annual edition of The Girls Realm.  

Victorian children's authors had varied goals when writing for youthful audiences. Some wanted to entertain

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34. Dartt, Henty, 65; Lofts, Men Behind Boys Fiction, 183.
and others hoped to educate or propagandize. Lewis Carroll (1832-1898) did not set out to write with any particular purpose in mind other than to entertain in his *Alice’s Adventures Underground* (1865) and *Through The Looking-Glass and What Alice Found There* (1867). Charles L. Dodgson, better known as Lewis Carroll, was an unusual man, a gifted mathematician at Christ Church, Oxford, who enjoyed children and delighted in composing puzzles and conundrums. Described as a "mid-Victorian eccentric," Carroll with the Alice stories introduced a new creative period in children’s literature. Many of Carroll’s characters, places, attitudes, and events are in fact fictionalized versions of real Victorians, many of which must have been beyond a child’s comprehension.


36 Critic G. K. Chesterton stated that Dodgson exemplifies the English and their writing.

His nonsense is a part of the peculiar genius of the English; but a part also of the elusive paradox of the English. None but they could have produced such nonsense; but none but they,
Another popular children's literary figure was Kate Greenaway (1846-1901), an artist-writer. Best known for her illustrations, she also wrote for children. Daughter of artist John Greenaway, she came from a comfortable home and a close-knit family. Kate Greenaway knew many prominent Victorians and maintained a sizeable correspondence with friends.37

Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1894) and Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) like George Henty expressed the Victorian sense of adventure in his writing. Robert Louis Stevenson's adventure tales helped romanticize far off lands. Ill health made writing difficult for Stevenson. There were times when he was so sick that he could not hold a pen to write. When this happened, he dictated to his stepdaughter. He actually did a portion of his writing out of England in warmer climates such as the United States and on Pacific islands. He was also a poet. having produced such nonsense would ever have attempted to take it seriously.

G. K. Chesterton, A Handful of Authors: Essays On Books and Writers, ed. Dorothy Collins (New York, 1953), 113. Dodgson's adult writings were primarily scholarly works regarding mathematics. He was also a photographer.

His *A Child's Garden of Verse* was first commercially printed in 1885 and contains over sixty poems.\(^{38}\)

Serialization was the publication form for the Sexton Blake stories, the first of which appeared in number six of *The Halfpenny Marvel*. Creator of the Blake stories in 1893 was Harry Blyth (1852-1898), a periodical editor and writer under several pseudonyms. Since that time almost two hundred authors have written Sexton Blake stories, of which more than four thousand have been published.\(^{39}\)

Oscar Wilde (1854-1900) was concerned with social ills like poverty. Predominately an author for adults, Wilde wrote several volumes of collected short stories for children. Wilde planned for his writings to achieve particular purposes. He may have loved England, but he was also disgusted with it. The son of a doctor and a poet, Wilde was a socialist and this is reflected in his writings. In addition to his essays and short stories, Oscar Wilde also wrote a novel, and was the editor of a magazine.\(^{40}\)


\(^{40}\)Kunitz, *British Authors: Nineteenth Century*, 657-659.
His concern over poverty, abuse, and other social problems is expressed in "The Happy Prince." He wrote The Happy Prince and Other Tales (1888) for children. Of that story, Wilde said it was

an attempt to treat a tragic modern problem in a form that aims at delicacy and imaginative treatment: it is a reaction against the purely imitative character of modern art—and now that literature has taken to blowing loud trumpets I cannot but be pleased that some ear has cared to listen to the low music of a little reed.41

An author whose main objective was to entertain was Kenneth Grahame (1859-1938). The author of three books for children, his social consciousness is obvious in his The Reluctant Dragon (1898) and The Wind In The Willows (1908). Grahame viewed children as the bright spot in an "over-weary world." He acknowledged, that in penning stories "about" children, he was trying to show that a child's "simple acceptance of the mood of wonderment ... is a thing more precious than any of the laboured acquisition of adult mankind. ..."42 Grahame intended The Wind In The Willows as a children's book; in fact, it was written specifically for his son. His purpose in using animals was an attempt to break away from "weary sex-problems;"


42 Peter Green, Kenneth Grahame: A Biography (Cleveland, 1959), 302.
moreover, Grahame even described the book as "clean of the clash of sex." 43

Grahame did volunteer work with the poor in London at Toynbee Hall, and his personal experiences as the son of an alcoholic father were also reflected in his writing. 44 The Wind In The Willows shows an England after the turn of the century, and Grahame introduces such diverse elements as motor cars and the problems of the working man. The friction between classes is reflected in Toad's adventures, and the adventurous feeling war generates is seen when Mole, Rat, Badger, and Toad recapture Toad Hall.

There were numerous tales promoting patriotism and Empire for both boys and girls. Helen Watson Bannerman (1862-1946) drew on her personal knowledge of the Empire in her writing. She was Scotch by birth, but her father was an army chaplain, and she lived overseas as a child. Helen Bannerman was educated with home tutors, at a private school, and at St. Andrew's University. She married a surgeon who practiced in India and she spent thirty years in India. She returned to England when she

43 Grahame to Lucy Gullett, 20 May 1913, cited in ibid., 197, see also 366, 258.

44 Ibid., 239-240, 92-93, 29-30, 244; Wilson, Twentieth Century Authors (1942), 561; see also Roger Sale, Fairy Tales and After: from Snow White to E. B. White (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), 156.
left India. Her most famous work is *Little Black Sambo* (1899), which was written for her daughters. Indian natives in a simplified setting and exotic tigers were mixed with more common features to create a popular child's tale. She later wrote a sequel *Sambo and The Twins* (1937).

Only a few adventure stories were written exclusively for girls. Bessie Marchant (1862-1941) was a female writer whose adventure tales earned her the title of "the girls' Henty." She wrote over one hundred and fifty books as well as numerous periodical articles and stories. Most of her books like Henty's were set overseas. Some of the titles are *In The Cradle of The North Wind* (1896), *The Girl Captive* (1899), *Rajah's Daughter* (1899), *Winning His Way* (1899), *Three Girls in Morocco* (1909), and *A Countess from Canada* (1910).

Probably the best-known writer of tales about imperialism and Empire was Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936).

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He, like many writers, used the social and political life of England and the Empire as material for his books. As a young boy Kipling lived in India, to which he returned as a young adult. After he left India the first time and spent a horrid six years as a paid boarder in an English home, Kipling was sent to the United Services College at Westward Ho! This school, its policies, and Kipling's school chums are found in Kipling's novel Stalkey and Co. 48 In his autobiography, Something of Myself, Kipling noted that an 1870s edition of Aunt Judy's Magazine, with Mrs. Ewing's tale Six to Sixteen in it was treasured by him as an adult. He said, "I owe more in circuitous ways to that tale than I can tell." 49 In addition to books by Gatty, Wilkie Collins and Bret Harte, Kipling read Dickens as a child, and like Dickens, he would become an author for readers of all ages. As a journalist, Kipling worked for adult newspapers; however, as a storyteller he was a children's favorite. 50 In regard to one


of his popular children's stories *Rewards and Fairies* (1910), Kipling said in his autobiography:

Yet, since the tales had to be read by children, before people realized that they were meant for grown-ups... I worked the materials in three or four overlaid tints and textures, which might or might not reveal themselves according to the shifting light of sex, youth and experience.

Throughout all of Kipling's works there is the idea of duty, a love of country, and of empire. In his *Puck of Pook's Hill* he uses legendary and early British history to invoke pride and love for England and the Empire. He not only put forth the phrase "White Man's Burden," but also a philosophy. He saw the white man as powerful, civilized, and noble and as a member of a group with a duty. He said that each white man is obligated to

follow the teachings of his creed and conscience, as a 'debtor to the whole law,' it seems to me cruel that white men, whose governments are armed with the most murderous weapons known to science, should amaze and confound their fellow creatures with a doctrine of salvation imperfectly understood by themselves and a code of ethics foreign to the climate and instincts of those races whose most cherished customs they outrage and whose gods they insult. 52

Many of the Victorian authors mentioned in this chapter were good writers and their works were frequently

51 Kipling, *Something of Myself*, 205, see also 93.

read by both adults and children. They took adult ideas, practices, and emotions and put them on paper, ostensibly for young people. These particular writers are not precisely representative of the total body of children's literature of this period; many of these authors wrote too well. But, for that very reason their ideas had the most enduring impact on contemporary and successive generations of young persons and their attitudes found their way into the minds of children.
CHAPTER V

VICTORIAN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE
AND ENGLISH CLASS STRUCTURE

In Victorian England there was a definite class structure. From the beginning of the Victorian period until the era ended, the stratification of the classes diminished slightly, the changes coming from the increased opportunity for education and the expansion of the middle classes. Psychologically, very real social differences divided and stratified the British populace, despite those changes. These class differences and their stereotyped images resulted in an image of the "haves" and the "have nots." The "haves" were obligated to help the "have nots," a reflection of both the more democratized industrial society of the Victorian years and evangelical morality. The upper and middle classes wanted to keep their positions separated from the lower classes, but at the same time the more affluent people felt some responsibility for helping the poor.

There were four social classes, albeit with subdivisions and with occasional blurred edges. The upper class and middle class were as much self-identified as distinguished by outward signs. Despite the number of peers who
figure in stories, there were in Victorian England fewer than one thousand hereditary peerages. The gentry or squirearchy was much more numerous and intermarried with rich merchants and industrialists as were the peers. Beneath them were the lower classes, who ranged from artisans and yeomen farmers through the working poor to paupers. Servants figured prominently in children's stories, as they did in Victorian life, and although they are certainly members of the lower class, servants would be ambiguous in signs and symbols, owing to required standards of dress and behavior, and more important, their involvement in the everyday life of their employers. Understandably enough, Victorian domestic servants in large establishments mimicked society's class distinctions in their own hierarchial organization.¹

The great majority of the children's stories support the status quo. They identify Victorian class structure through the jobs, attitudes, and dress of the story characters. Class consciousness and importance pervaded all types of stories. There was no substantive body of children's literature advocating reform of the social class structure. Beginning in the 1880s there were

¹Avery, Victorian People, 71; Wingfield-Stratford, History of British Civilization, 865; Priestly, Heyday, 14; Houghton, Victorian Frame of Mind, 4-5.
stories doing this, but their number was not large and their authors were usually socialists.

Many of the stories about other specific social reforms display attitudes about social classes because of the relationship between noblesse oblige and social reform. For example, in John Ruskin's *The King of the Golden River* (1851) a basic difference between servants and their employers is evident. The servants are portrayed as inferiors. This is dramatized by the ability and power of the employers to mistreat their servants.¹

In another children's story, *The Magic Fishbone* (1868) by Charles Dickens, Angelica, the King's sweet daughter, thinks of the little beggar maid as a toy and not a human.³ This difference between servant and employer is displayed in yet another way. In one of the *Blue Dwarf* stories [ca. 1880] there is a winding staircase which is for the servants only.⁴


Domestics served two purposes for their employers in Victorian England. They did the chores, and they were a symbol of their employer's position within society. Servants were expected to be subservient to their masters. That servants were people, had feelings and families of their own was often overlooked by Victorian employers. Domestic help was there to serve. As one Victorian servant Hannah Cullwich noted, servants' work was dirty. She said, "My dirt was all got wi making things clean for them."  

Class differences were visible physically and psychologically. Clothes helped to distinguish the various groups. Cleanliness and fine dress as descriptions in literature were means of separating economic classes. The rich are usually portrayed as being dressed fashionably and properly. Their clothes are often new and seasonably correct. Others who are not rich but still part of the

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5 Joseph Jacobs, "Master of All Masters," (1892) in A Comparative Anthology of Children's Literature (New York, 1972), 403, has this theme. The relationship between master and servant has its contradictions just like many other aspects of Victorian life. See Burn, Age of Equipoise, 32-33.

"have" groups are seen as warmly and properly dressed also. Their clothes might be a little more worn, not as fashionable, and somewhat older. Pictures of the poor usually depict them in old, dirty, worn, and ragged clothes. Additionally the poor are often depicted as shoeless. This state of dress might elicit expressions of sympathy or disdain from other story characters. Both reactions emphasize English class divisions.

Sarah Smith [pseud Hesba Stretton] was an extremely popular tract writer. Her story *Jessica's First Prayer* (1867) uses cleanliness and clothing to set apart the social classes. (See Figure 2.) Jessica, a poor, unclean, and shabbily dressed child, wanders into a church. She is ignorant of theology, organized religion, prayer and God. The caretaker, Daniel, tells Jessica that a ragged child should not be in a fine church, since it is for ladies and gentlemen. The caretaker says, "'We couldn't do with such a little heathen, with no shoes or bonnet on.'"\(^7\)

Jessica later returns, but hides and listens to the service. Finally she is discovered by the minister's children. One very generously wants Jessica to join them in their pew but another is reluctant because of Jessica's ragged appearance. "The little outcast was plainly too

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Fig. 2--Jessica, the Minister and his children from an illustration by A. W. B. [Alfred Walter Bayes] for Hesba Stretton [Sarah Smith], *Jessica's First Prayer* (London, [1867]), facing page titled "Chapter VI": Barefooted Jessica is shown as a contrast to the well-dressed minister's children.
dirty and neglected for them to invite her to sit side by side with them in their crimson-lined pew, and no poor people attended the chapel with whom she could have a seat." They remember their Bible teachings and Jessica sits with them each week usually wearing their cast off clothing.

Another example of class in this story is the caretaker's other job. Daniel does not want the church people to know that he runs a coffee stall because they "might think it low and mean" to ply such a trade.

This particular story was serialized in Sunday At Home in July, 1866, and then published in book form in 1867. It was a best seller. Sources have placed sales at two million between 1867 and 1911.

Servants are always shown working, never playing. Middle and upper class individuals are pictured both at work and play. In Maja's Alphabet [ca. 1850] cook is shown working while little Sarah chats with her. Other children pictured in this alphabet are predominantly of the affluent classes and are seen at play. These young

8 Ibid., 36, 30-36. 9 Ibid., 48, 36-37.


people are well dressed. There are five children shown working—mainly agricultural chores. This group is well dressed, although some outfits are simpler.12

In Thackeray's *The Rose And The Ring* (1855) uniformed servants serve while well dressed royalty play and eat. Nobles are also playing, dancing, and feasting in *Grandmama Easy's Merry Multiplication* [ca. 1840; reprint ca. 1882].13

Other affluent people, in this case children, are shown buying themselves toys in the *Wonders of a Toy-Shop* (n.d.). Again, these young people are stylishly dressed.14

In stories like *A Welcome Guest From Robin's Nest* (1880), Henty's *With Clive In India* (1884) and *With Moore in Corunna* (1897) as well as DeBurgh's *Drummer Dick* (1901) servants are always shown working while their masters are playing or working.15 Similarly in Stevenson's


Treasure Island (1883) servants tend to the needs of the businessman, the doctor-magistrate, and the squire. The young boy Jim Hawkins, whose father was an innkeeper, is surprisingly allowed to eat with the squire. On several occasions Jim has shared a meal or drink with the doctor-magistrate. When the sea voyage is planned and underway the squire is viewed as the economic power while the doctor-magistrate is portrayed as the voice of practicality and knowledge. In all these stories class attitudes and divisions are revealed. In the last example, Treasure Island, more class groups are shown and the new position of respect for the middle class is implied.

It has been argued that Victorian social concerns were derived from upper class notions of noblesse oblige. As the middle class grew and prospered, their social concerns tended to imitate the concerns of the aristocracy. That members of the middle class were


17 All historians do not agree that the middle class and its values dominated. W. L. Burn is one. He believes that it was the landed gentry and "magnates" who had the power and hence the influence. "But however ingeniously and decorously, even, differentially, they aligned themselves with the spirit of the age, they possessed power to an extent which all of the fl0 householders put together did not." Burns, Age of Equipoise, 8-9.
motivated to mimic aristocratic noblesse oblige seems less important than the influence the evangelical movement and the development of social ethic exerted on them. In any event Victorian society divided into a hierarchic class structure, and at the same time a strong reform ethic sprang up, and was interwoven with, class consciousness. For this study the key point is that there was a reform spirit that functioned within a society which was organized on strong class lines.

During the Victorian era there was a growing sense of responsibility, both for oneself and for other people; responsibility became an accepted concept. In Thackeray's The Rose And The Ring (1855), the King of Paflagonia exhibited little concern for his subjects. "As long as he had his sport, this monarch cared little how his people paid for it..." Clearly, he was a bad monarch.

Although a great distance existed between the aristocracy and the poorer citizens, a few stories stressed that the rich ought to be grateful to the poor. In an 1866 story by C. M. Tucker, the fairy "Know-a-Bit" reminds

18Thackeray, The Rose And The Ring, 11. The king was not the only one who disregarded the people. The rich nobility of Paflagonia cared only for themselves and their own pleasures. They did not concern themselves with the King's treasonous usurpation of the throne nor for the plight of the people, ibid., 12-14. Thirty years later this was also a criticism found in Oscar Wilde's The Happy Prince story (1888). The Complete Fairy Tales of Oscar Wilde (New York, 1960).
little Philibet that "many of the comforts—the very
necessaries of life, the rich owe to the labours of the
poor."\(^{19}\)

This is not a true example of the ideal Tolstoyan
person. The Tolstoyan thesis asserts that there is a
simplicity and genuineness of the poor and that all truth
and strength come from the noble peasant who is close to
the soil. While "Fairy Know-a-Bit" recognizes the results
of the working-man's labors industrially and agricultur-
ally the story does not claim that virtue resides exclu-
sively in the peasants' hearts. In stories like *The Rose
And The Ring*, *Black Beauty* and *Puck of Pook's Hill* people
who are not wealthy are valued, but they tend to be lower
middle class and domestics rather than Tolstoyan agricul-
tural peasants.\(^{20}\)

\(^{19}\) A.L.O.E. [C. M. Tucker], *Fairy Know-a-Bit* (London,
1866), 14; see also Thackeray, *The Rose And The Ring*,
11-12. Tucker (1822-1893) used the pen name A.L.O.E. and
was a popular author. Toronto Public Library, *Osborne
Collection Catalogue*, 2:393.

\(^{20}\) Social reform activist Beatrice Webb viewed the
poor as "helpless and ignorant." She felt that since the
clergy were "worked out" some "secular" group should
replace the clergy. Like some privileged Victorians,
Webb believed that they could benefit from contact with
the poor. She said:

It is distinctly advantageous to us to go
amongst the poor. We can get from them an
experience of life which is novel and
interesting; the study of their lives and
surroundings gives us the facts wherewith
we can attempt to solve the social problems;
Helping the less fortunate and gaining from the experience was often a theme of children's stories. This theme required the more affluent child to set the proper example for the needy child. In the mid-1850s, Maria Louisa Charlesworth's Ministering Children: A Tale Dedicated to Childhood (1854) was a best seller for young people. The heroes and heroines of this book devote much of their "leisure" time to helping the poor.21

contact with them develops on the whole our finer qualities, disgusting us with our false and worldly application of men and things and educating us a thoughtful benevolence.


Setting the proper example started at home for many Victorians. Margaret Nancy Cutt in her study of Victorian tract literature stated that it was "intended to instruct, warn, and amuse servants. . . ." Cutt cited as literature for servants, Maria Charlesworth's A Book for the Cottage (1848), The Old Looking Glass (1878) and The Broken Looking Glass (1879). Class distinctions are frequent in Charlesworth's stories of poverty. Cutt, Ministering Angels (London, 1979), 59, 65. Cutt noted that Charlesworth's Ministering Children by 1881 had sold 170,000 copies in England. Another Charlesworth story with the same theme was The Female Visitor to the Poor (1846) which was reissued in 1856 as The Cottage And Its Visitor. Most of these were bought for servants by their employers. ibid., 54, 65.
An unknown house author for the Religious Tract Society used a variation of this theme in "The Poor Widow" (1865) wherein a "kind lady" and her son visit a "poor widow, who is in great trouble." The lady helps the widow by reading the Bible. The mother took her son so that he will learn concern for the poor. In this fashion he had actual contact with a poor person and the assumption is that others would gain from a similar contact.

Appreciating one's better status also comes from contact with, or observation of, the poor. In the brief "Little Ann and Her Mama" (1880) from the Tit-Bits for Tiny Wits periodical, another child learns from a different contact with the poor. In the poem, "Little Ann and Her Mama," Ann and her mother see stately women in carriages along side beggars. When little Ann complains that she and her mother must walk in the cold while others are able to ride, her mother reminds her to look at a nearby beggar. Moreover, the mother, reflecting the religious temperment and rhetoric of the age, reminds little Ann how lucky she is and that her great fortune is a gift of God.


The economic differences between the classes and the responsibilities of the have-nots are reflected in the stories of the 1850s and 1860s such as Thackeray's *The Rose And The Ring* and Dickens' *The Magic Fishbone*. They are also reflected in the 1880s in the writings of Oscar Wilde. Here the criticism of society is sharper than it had been in the writings of earlier authors, and this is an implied criticism of the distribution of wealth.

Wilde's "The Happy Prince" (1888) is a complex though well written children's story. The statue of the Happy Prince stands in the town square and all the people can see the smile on his face. The story tells of the trials and sorrows of some of the townspeople and how they compare their situation to the statue in the square.

A swallow who had stayed behind when the other swallows headed for a warmer climate stops at the Happy Prince's feet for the night. He feels a drop of water and discovers that the Happy Prince is crying because he can see all the misery in the town. Before death the Happy Prince had been a pleasure-loving prince who never cried because sorrow had not been permitted in the Palace of Sans-Souci and during his lifetime the prince had never looked over the high wall to witness the problems in the world. Now as a statue with a lead heart, he can see...
everything in the town, and he is very unhappy for the unfortunate people. With the aid of the swallow the Happy Prince is able to help some of the poor people. As the swallow travels over the city he is able to observe the sharp differences between the lives of the wealthy and the poor. Wilde criticizes "the rich making merry in their beautiful houses, while the beggars were sitting at the gates" and the others were starving and freezing in the pauper section of town. 24

Another children's writer who was also a socialist was Edith Nesbit Bland. She and her husband, Hubert Bland, were active in the Fabian Society. 25 In "The Plush Usurper" (1896) some of her socialist ideas are present. The White King's housekeeper does the laundry for the whole community. Everyone dresses alike in white. There are restrictions on commodities that concern the whole community, not any one class. As a matter of fact, there seems to be only one class and then the White King. He dresses like the people and works just as hard, but his house is finer. 26 Socialism was growing in popularity and

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24 Wilde, The Complete Fairy Tales of Oscar Wilde (New York, 1960), 17, 9-18; see also his story "The Young King" and chapter VI of this dissertation.

25 Townsend, Written for Children, 80.

more people were advocating it and its plans for society. Not only were there literary pieces describing the poor and their problems, but numerous children's periodicals made public appeals for their readers to undertake direct and indirect action to help the poor. It was a noble action, and it was also what had come to be expected of the luckier and more affluent classes. The examples ask for both charitable and reform acts. Here there is no plan to restructure the social classes, but rather the intent is to change specific undesirable conditions like poverty or unacceptable personal features like laziness or excessive drinking. Examples asking for church charity or individual acts of charity and nothing more are reflecting the Victorian High Church positions which did not include a social gospel. They believed that the world was imperfect by God's own plan. The post-Elenic experience was necessarily full of trials. They did advocate charitable actions as a way of demonstrating their own Christianity and thus working toward heavenly rewards. The evangelicals, on the other hand, believed in a social gospel which required acts of good deeds through which they might clean-up society, perhaps even perfect it. They emphasized benevolence and responsibility toward others. These actions enabled the evangelicals to acquire both earthly and heavenly rewards. Both the High Church and the
evangelical position are even in children's stories throughout the period. The evangelical position emphasizing greater personal involvement and seeking major societal changes comes to dominate the last decades.

Class attitudes are very much present in the reform literature because class might determine obligation. In the children's literature there was not generally a trend toward modifying Victorian class structure. In the literature, the children and their parents may have acted out of humanitarian concern, or because it was appropriate to do so, or because they feared that their social class structure was threatened if they did otherwise.\(^\text{27}\) During the Victorian age, a sense of position in life was ever present, and the Victorian was conscious of class structure in all aspects of his life. The Victorians had definite ideas about the importance of class distinctions and proper behavior within the class structure. Anna Sewell's book *Black Beauty: The Autobiography of a Horse*

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(1877) should really be titled the Autobiography of a Horse. Black Beauty's mother, Duchess, said to Black Beauty, "You have been well-bred and well-born; your father has a great name in these parts, and your grandfather won the cup. . . ." From the beginning, the mother's name and the family history give the impression of aristocracy. One of Black Beauty's owners is a squire, while still another is an earl. Black Beauty tells of witnessing men in the full-dress hunting regalia chasing a poor little animal.

Just as one's social class could change drastically in the Victorian age, so does Black Beauty's in Sewell's book. Black Beauty, an aristocrat, goes from a comfortable home to lesser homes. At the first home there were numerous colts, plenty of food, good stables, and a kind master who believed in good treatment for animals. From the horse farm, Black Beauty went to live at Squire Gordon's where the accommodations were good. When Squire Gordon moved from England, Black Beauty was sold to a wealthy Lord whose treatment of horses was not as good as Squire Gordon's. Black Beauty's friend and stable companion Ginger once worked for a gentleman whose only interest was to have a "stylish turnout."  

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28 Sewell, Black Beauty, 15.  
29 Ibid., 51-52, 15-16.
After Black Beauty's accident, the Lord sells Black Beauty to a livery stable which was not as nice as the Lord's and the work was frequently difficult. Beauty was later sold to Mr. Barry who was kind but not very knowledgeable regarding horses. Beauty was housed in a rented stall and cared for by first a groom who switched the horse's food for an inferior feed and then by one who did not take care of Black Beauty. Barry sold the horse to kind Jerry Baker and Beauty became a cab horse. The next brief owner was a corn dealer and baker whose Carter Jakes overworked Beauty. Skinner, the next owner, rented out horses and cabs to drivers. Lodgings, food, and work were inferior and difficult. Beauty's next home, farmer Thoroughgood's, was good, clean, and refreshing. Beauty's last home was with three maiden ladies who provided a nice home for Black Beauty.  

Socially the homes have lessened; however, some of the people in the working class and middle class homes are portrayed as good, conscientious, and desirable. This image possibly, again, shows the existence of and the increasing respect of the middle class in Victorian England.

Reflecting the contemporary times in what appears to be a less critical manner was Kenneth Grahame's *The Wind*  

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in the Willows (1908). The four main characters are the Mole, the Water Rat, the Toad, and the Badger. Except for their names, they are humans and speak and act as humans. (See Figure 3.) The Water Rat is the voice of experience and ingenuity; the Mole is a young character just discovering life; the Toad is the owner of property and is always following a fad; and the Badger is wise and shy.\(^{31}\) When Mole and the Water Rat go on a picnic in a boat, the Mole states that he has never known a river before. The Water Rat tells him about life beside the river. "The bank is so crowded nowadays that many people are moving away altogether. . . ."\(^{32}\) After various adventures involving Toad, Badger, and Water Rat, the Mole returns briefly to his old home, "Mole End", where "plaster statuary—Garibaldi, and the infant Samuel, and Queen Victoria, and other heroes of modern Italy"—added to the decor.\(^{33}\)

In the meantime, Toad, overwhelmed by his desire for an automobile, steals (or "borrows") one and is arrested. When he returns after staying in jail, he finds that the Stoats and Weasels have taken over his family home, Toad Hall. When Toad "borrowed" the car and was accused of stealing it, the animals took sides. The Wild Wood

\(^{31}\)Kenneth Grahame, The Wind In The Willows (Cleveland, 1966), 29.

\(^{32}\)Ibid., 25. \(^{33}\)Ibid., 100.
The Return of Ulysses

Fig. 3--Wind In The Willows illustrations by Ernest H. Shepard for Kenneth Grahame, The Wind In The Willows (New York, 1933), 174, 305, 283: The characters in The Wind In The Willows are described and pictured in human activities and dress.
animals believed that Toad should be punished and that he should not return to Toad Hall. They used history to support their argument. They encircled the hall and slowly crept up and took it while Mole and Badger unsuccessfully tried to defend it. Toad tried to retake his home but was fired upon. Finally, with the help of the Mole, the Water Rat, and the Badger, Toad recaptures his home and evicts the intruders. Rat, the go-getter, Mole, middle-class respectability, and Badger, old and respected wisdom, united to evict the Wild Wood animals and restore the worthless and lovable Toad to his property.34

The England of the Victorian Era had a class structure. It is evident that manners, clothes, interpersonal relationships, activities, and responsibilities separated the classes. The classes separated themselves and imposed that separation on others. With privileges, a more comfortable lifestyle, and traditions, many Englishmen expressed their sense of superiority by adhering to their class structured society.

34 Good versus evil and simple class change are possible interpretations of this story. Toad was a class snob as portrayed in his conversations with the barge-lady, the gypsy woman, and others. He is immature and rude. He does mature and is more polite to all people at the end. The cause of this metamorphosis—loss of Toad Hall, his friends' lectures, humbling experiences, or what—is unclear.
CHAPTER VI

VICTORIAN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF

POVERTY AND CHILD LABOR

In the Victorian Age, there was growing concern over social problems such as poverty and child labor. The treatment of children was a concern to Victorians and is testified to by the establishment of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC) between 1884 and 1889.¹ This concern was a result of the growth of middle-class values.

One of the greatest social problems in Victorian England was poverty. Popular stories in the nineteenth century often featured characters and their struggles and responses to poverty with its horrid living conditions,

¹One of its founders was Sarah Smith [pseudonym Hesba Stretton]. Pearl, Girl With Swansdown Seat, 145; Webb, Diary of Beatrice Webb, I:244; A. S. Wohl, "Sex and the Single Room: Incest Among The Victorian Working Class," in Wohl, Victorian Families, 209; Cadagon, You're A Brick, 47; Alderson, "Tracts, Rewards and Fairies," in Briggs, Essays, 269. Kauvar, Victorian Minds, 94-95, notes that the reforms of Victorian England are paradoxical. Victorian England advocated laissez-faire doctrine; however, to achieve the reforms, the government must become more involved. "The great Victorian paradox" with a laissez-faire doctrine and government taking "an ever greater role in the social life and organizations of the time" was done in "fulfillment" of middle-class desires.
workhouses, and cruelties. Some of these tales were the 
Jack Sheppard stories (1840s and after), Charley Wag: The 
Boy Burglar (1860s), and The Poor Boys of London and New 
York (post 1850s). Single stories with this theme include 
The Adventures of Oliver Twist (1843) and Waterbabies 
(1862).²

Adult authors like Charles Dickens wrote about this 
poverty. Dickens was no stranger to these problems since 
his childhood had been dominated by poverty. During his 
childhood, he even experienced life in a debtors' prison. 
His experiences with poverty and society's reactions to 
poverty were evident in some of his novels like Oliver 
Twist which were also widely read by children.³ He also 
wrote several books or stories specifically for children. 
In The Magic Fishbone (1868), poverty and its human 
responses are present. In this story the royal family

²Sheppard was a real person who lived in the 
eighteenth century. Stories of him were published in that 
century. It is with W. H. Ainsworth and cheap 
publications that the Jack Sheppard stories became 
popular. Victorians were concerned with the immoral 
behavior of Jack Sheppard. Stories of this boy of poverty 
were written by numerous authors and continued into the 
twentieth century. Turner, Boys Will Be Boys, 59, 65-68, 
71; Dickens, The Adventures of Oliver Twist; Kingsley, 
Waterbabies; Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection 
Catalogue, 1:416

³E. R. Montgomery, The Story Behind Great Stories 
(New York, 1947), 161. Contemporary children's 
collections usually include Oliver Twist and A Christmas 
Carol.
experiences a series of crises. King Watkins is "dreadfully poor." His daughter Alicia thought that he could acquire some money somehow; but he said no. Moreover, he acknowledges that he had "tried very hard, and I have tried all ways." Alicia had in her possession a magic fishbone. Since all other resources had been tried, she used the magic fishbone and as a result got money and other necessities.

The author through his heroine says that the moral to this story is "When we have done our very, very best, papa, and that is not enough, then I think the right time must have come for asking help of others." Reflected in this tale were the hardships of poverty as well as the pride of many poor people and the middle-class concept of hard work.

This work ethic was a carry-over of the Protestant work ethic, a reflection of middle-class influence and of the growth of materialism. Many Englishmen held to the idea that hard work was a virtue and that it would be rewarded. This reward might be on earth or in heaven. On earth the reward would be material. Work built character, and, as better people, they earned the material reward.

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\(^5\) Ibid.

\(^6\) Ibid., 174-176.

\(^7\) Ibid., 175.
Historian David Thomson associates the rising materialism with industrialization. Of great importance were "industriousness, business efficiency, and private enterprise" to those advocating material gain as a sign of a virtuous person. In 1859, Samuel Smiles wrote a best-seller called Self-Help, which sold 20,000 copies in its first year and 130,000 copies by 1889, and there were numerous other books with a similar theme. Virtuous people acquired material things. After all, middle-class position was partially determined by one's possessions. This work ethic appears in numerous children's stories throughout the period. In some of those stories, this ethic is both theme and moral of the tale.

There were several images of poverty. Victorians felt that to be poor was "wrong." The poor, the parentless, the mentally ill, debtors, and even some criminals were often housed in the same workhouse. They were not particularly nice places. These institutions were not to feed the pauper inmates better than the average working man because the inmates might want to remain. Every resident received the same food. They were not allowed to talk at meals nor, after 1842, with some minor exceptions

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9 Roe, Victorian Child, 25.
were they allowed the freedom to go outside the workhouse.\textsuperscript{10}

These institutions were a result of the new reform legislation (1834) promoted by the Radicals. In the eighteenth century and until the Poor Law of 1834, the Speenhamland System of supplemental wage and outdoor relief was used. Speenhamland prevented starvation, but its critics said it created inequities as well as "demoralization and pauperization of the working classes."\textsuperscript{11} The New Poor Law changed much of this when it centralized the control of poor relief. It did not, however, carry over this centralization to include the financing of poor relief. Thus total uniformity for aiding the poor did not exist.\textsuperscript{12}

Bad, ragged, and desperate are just a few of the descriptions of poverty that show up in the children's literature. In the Jack Sheppard tales and in \textit{Oliver Twist} the central characters are forced into crime and association with undesirables because of their poverty. These stories each illustrate in fiction the real life

\textsuperscript{10}Thomson, \textit{England}, 70; Woodward, \textit{Age of Reform}, 435-436.

\textsuperscript{11}Thomson, \textit{England}, 15-16, 68.

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid., 68-73.
horror of the workhouses. In the literature, poverty goes from being bad to being sad.

In "The Afflicted Poor" (1850), a poem by George Crabbe, poverty is like a disease, and there appears to be no way out. The speaker says:

How would ye bear in real pain to lie.  
Despised, neglected, left alone to die?  
How would ye bear to draw your latest breath  
Where all that's wretched paves the way for death.  

Other poor people are pictured as attempting to survive by handouts through their efforts as street entertainers and beggars. In Jessica's First Prayer (1867) little Jessica, cold, hungry, shoeless, and locked out of her home all night, takes refuge from the rain near a coffee stall. Its owner, Daniel, gave her some food, saying that, "I never give to beggars; and if you'd begged, I'd have called the police." Begging was wrong
to Daniel. It was an inappropriate response to poverty. Thus the state of poverty is bad and at the same time poverty creates badness. This was not the only negative aspect of poverty to appear in the children's literature. The wrongfulness of the state of poverty appeared in both Kate Greenaway's and in Percy B. St. John's writings. In the former's *Under The Window* (1878) appears the line "If it's bad to have money, it's worse to have none."\(^{17}\)

In St. John's *The Blue Dwarf* (1880) one of the characters, Brian Seymour is described as living a decadent life. It is noted that "of one crime he was notoriously guilty—he was to a certain extent poor."\(^{18}\)

Poverty was associated with bad and evil. Possibly, poverty was a punishment for an immoral character. For whatever reason, poverty was viewed by Victorians negatively, and their view is in the literature. The poor in the children's literature must pay penalties and suffer for their economic state. For the Jack Sheppards and Oliver Twists it was prison-like institutions such as workhouses, and the Jessicas must suffer the lack of necessities, emotional despair, or the resentment of more privileged Victorians.


\(^{18}\)St. John, *The Blue Dwarf*, 1:3.
During the mid and late Victorian years other responses to the problem of poverty as an alternative to the workhouses found support. Alternative responses were ragged schools, emigration, hard work, education, and training ships. There had always been some assistance by religious groups for the poor and this continued.

Victorians believed that one means to combat poverty was education. Charity schools were an eighteenth century creation. They were supported by different religious bodies. They were free and predominately urban. Charity schools provided religious and elementary education. Children frequently received clothes or meals as well as an education at the charity schools. These schools began declining in the mid-Victorian era.¹⁹

One peculiarly British response was the ragged school which began in the 1840s. It was organized by various groups and volunteers who also served as staff. This school was privately supported and situated in the "lowest slums." Children attending this school paid no fees and received meals as well as an education. This type of school provided some elementary education, vocational training, and maybe religious instruction. In 1844, the

Ragged School Union of London was established to help coordinate activities. In 1852, there were 202 ragged schools in 43 towns including London and over 26,000 children attended those schools. In 1870, there were 350 ragged schools in London and the provinces; however, after that year those schools died out. The new education legislation was responsible for that change. The Education Act of 1870 which provided for an almost universal system of primary schools and The Education Act of 1876 which provided that juveniles under ten could no longer work in agriculture helped to promote education.

With these acts the state assumed most of the responsibility for educating poor children. Before the 1870 Education Act approximately thirty-nine percent of children between three and twelve years were not attending a school. In the 1870s and 1880s, 2000 new school boards were formed to oversee the establishment of nonsectarian schools. Illiteracy dropped from an 1871 level of 20-27 percent to an 1897 rate of 3 percent.


21 Sanderson, Education, 12, 21.

22 Ibid., 21-23; Pinchbeck and Hewitt, Children, 2:394.

23 Bedarida, Social History, 157; Sanderson, Education, 21-23.
The charity schools and ragged schools were an attempt to help poor children as well as educate them. These schools were in England and overseas. Some poor children in Victorian England were not put in workhouses, but sent to ragged schools throughout Britain's Empire. In an 1851 children's periodical, The Children's Friend (1842-1901), one of these schools and its occupants were the subject of an article, "The Dublin Ragged School." In this story, the inmates were described as "uncivilized inhabitants."24 The attitude of the speaker and the recitation of the history of the Dublin school indicate a sense of benevolence or righteousness in establishing such alternatives.

Victorians like Dr. T. J. Barnardo were genuinely concerned. Many of the men and women who were concerned worked through churches and other groups in establishing and funding these schools. Staffs at these schools were usually made up of volunteers.

Some of the same people also tried to send pauper children overseas to families who received child labor in exchange for child care. In some cases this exchange worked; in others the families took advantage of the children.

24 "The Dublin Ragged School," The Children's Friend vol. 28, no. 331 (July, 1851), 165.
Some poor children were luckier, or at least should feel so as a story "The Emigrants" (1851) implies. In this story a portion of the poor children in the ragged schools were sent to Australia where they found jobs as shepherd boys and other suitable work. The story says that they were happy, implying that they were fortunate to be employed in such nice jobs. The poor emigrant children probably were happier; however, it was achieved by taking them away from their native England. This same solution, emigration, is still present in children's literature like Ballantyne's Dusty Diamonds (1883) over twenty years later.

Happy endings were not uncommon in stories regarding ragged school and training ships. At least many of the story narrators interpreted outcomes as positive. Sarah Smith, known by the pen name of Hesba Stretton, had worked among the poor. In her children's stories like Pilgrim Street (1866) charity schools, training schools and ships always produce "happy endings." Other authors

also felt the training ships were positive. In "The First Boys' Training Ship" (1879) there is a plea for readers to help contribute towards the training ships. Noting that sixteen pounds will feed and clothe a boy for twelve months, the author cites the training ship as a worthy cause. He tells the story how poor "wretched boys," some of Portsmouth's so-called "street Arabs," were given a great opportunity when a judge sent them to serve on a ship. The boys were fed, clothed, and trained first in the home of a benevolent seaman then on the ship. The author also conveys a little history. He comments that the Marine Society was established in 1786. Then in 1860 naval training ships were established for homeless and poor boys. The boys received food, clothing, education, training, and prayers.\(^\text{28}\)

The training ships and the British military provided many opportunities for poor boys. In The British Boy Sailor (1870s or 1880) a young boy from a background of poverty is on a British man-of-war. An advertisement of the story promotes it as "showing what a British boy's

\(^{28}\) S. Witchurch Sadler, "The First Boys' Training-Ship," The Young People's Favourite: Instructive, Entertaining and Amusing, vol. 1, no. 6 (7 June 1879), 91. Some of these alternatives to poverty may be seen as an encouragement to imperialism. This will be discussed in a later chapter.
pluck can do to raise himself to Superior circumstances."\textsuperscript{29}

Echoing the middle class and the evangelical work ethic, young boys could raise themselves through hard work. This work ethic also becomes a means of combating poverty. Hogarth House published a series of stories in 1870s and in 1880 which include the work ethic as a solution to poverty. A poor boy, Joe, through hard work, honesty, and steadfastness rises to government office in \textit{Charity Joe; or from Street Boy to Lord Mayor}. Hogarth House publicized this as reading for "every lad who wishes to know what an English boy can do no matter how humble his first start in life or how great his temptations."\textsuperscript{30}

By the turn of the century, however, the work ethic has declined—or at least other elements, new ones, are present. The Bastable children are the central characters in Edith Nesbit Bland's \textit{The Treasure Seekers} (1899). They describe their lessened economic state as characterized by no new things, furnishings beginning to show wear, a

\textsuperscript{29} An advertisement for \textit{The British Boy Sailor}, in St. John, \textit{The Blue Dwarf}, vol. 2, inside cover.

\textsuperscript{30} An advertisement for \textit{Charity Joe}, ibid. See also the advertisement for \textit{Rags and Riches: A Story of Three Poor Boys}, ibid. DeBurgh, \textit{Drummer Dick's Discharge}, (18-22, 5-12), has Dick the former abandoned baby and workhouse resident develop from child laborer and street arab to soldier and hero. There are other comments on the life of the poor and poverty assistance.
changing lifestyle, silver sold, no more school, and all but one servant dismissed. To change the situation the children decide that they will successively look for treasure, become Dick Turpins, become heroes and collect rewards, become detectives, marry a princess, write poetry, write and publish their own newspaper, sell wine, or maybe invent a medicine. Through their hilarious and often touching endeavors to aid their family economically, they learn that "the fortunes of your house cannot be restored" or at least not always through ingenuity and work. Bland was a Fabian socialist and this perception of work seems to be a reflection of her political concepts. Since work could not restore their fortunes, the question is implied "What will?" It might be a change in the structure of government or society.

Through the Bastables' adventures, portraits of the multiple views of English class and poverty are presented. They meet a real princess, Pauline, who is nice, but they are not allowed to play with her. Pauline's governess says that the Bastables are "only common children" and

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threatens to call the police if the Bastables do not leave.\textsuperscript{32} The children in another part of the story reflect on the state of poverty. They express the thoughts that "poor people are very proud" and that "honourable poverty is no disgrace."\textsuperscript{33}

While many stories, particularly the tract and religious literature, reflect the work-ethic as a solution, there were other stories expressing the difficulties and despair of many of the workers. The characters find that hard and often difficult work only eked out the barest of livings. The later themes appeared in stories by well-known reformers as well as in the tract literature.

Child labor and abuse were very real problems in Victorian England. In the fictional literature, promoting passage of specific reforming bills was less evident than encouraging an awareness of the problems. This was especially true in the children's literature in which the stories encouraged outcries against child labor and abuse, empathy for those suffering, examples of kindness to those mistreated individuals, and some alternatives.

There were numerous problems related to poverty. If life in the workhouse was not easy, neither was that of the worker outside it. In many factories children

\textsuperscript{32}\textit{Ibid.}, 64. \textsuperscript{33}\textit{Ibid.}, 174, 176.
in 1832 worked twelve hours a day. Various protest groups were able to get some partial reforms through the Factory Acts of 1833 and 1842 through 1867. The 1833 act provided that a child must be at least nine years old to work in a factory; set a maximum hourly work week; and children between nine and twelve years old had to attend school for a minimum of two hours a day. Unfortunately, this law applied only to textile factories. Thus, there were many other factories and hazardous trades in which children worked unprotected by the law. There were approximately eight factory acts between the years 1842 and 1867, each of which progressively improved the ordinances or legislation covering child labor laws in the factories. They did not really extend to many of the non-factory trades. Progressively, England moved from individuals solving the child labor problem to government as the control. In the literature this cannot be demonstrated.

"Boys At The Post of Duty" was a regular column in Chums Magazine in 1900. In one edition that column's story titled "Half-Timers In The Factory", many young boys go to work in factories as soon as they can. The author notes that neither the boys nor their parents think twice


35 Woodward, Age of Reform, 145-149, 588-590.
whether the youths will suffer from the work. Apparently factory work conditions have improved from the mid-Victorian years, because the author says that it is not hard or abusive work. He also notes that the desire to work is so great that the boys do not always pass the physical exams honestly. It is a practiced art to pass despite infirmities. Some youths use an older boy's birth certificate. Moreover, some boys illegally work overtime.

Maybe the working conditions were better, but control of abuses are hard when the worker is willing. In this story the author states that "... any factory lad will go out of his way to prevent an inspection catching his employer at this little game, or, indeed, any other breach of the law."³⁶

In 1867 the Children's Employment Commission issued a report regarding girls and field work. Again the Victorian sense of class and reform through work is felt. The commission reported that young female laborers were often the girls who had been unruly in school and "refractory." "They are for the most part self-willed, headstrong, and idle, and these bad qualities are not eradicated but rather encouraged by their employment in field

labour. . . . " 37 The work posed health hazards to females, and provided neither religious nor moral influence. 38

Whether urban or rural, work was frequently oppressive to children during the Victorian age. It was still an era when a child worked naturally because he ate, but it was also a time when the notion that childhood is a time for education was developing. Moreover, there was a growing sense that the causes for child abuse and cruelty were poverty, types of jobs, and the poor's struggles to survive.

Young boys not working in a factory were often used as chimney sweeps since they were smaller and thus more able to climb in the chimney. A parliamentary law of 1840 was supposed to end the use of young children as "climbing boys"; however, it did not end the practice, and it was a hazardous occupation. 39 Twenty-seven years later it was estimated that there were at least 2,000 climbing boys. 40

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38 Ibid., 360-365.

39 Bentley, Victorian Scene, 209.

40 Best, Mid-Victorian Britain, 115.
In English literature itself, the chimney sweep became the image of all struggles and "suffering" of children and of the "social inequities of child labour."\(^{41}\) One author objecting to children as chimney sweeps was Charles Kingsley, who was active in the social reform movements. His book *The Waterbabies* (1862) is the story of Tom, a young chimney sweep, who barely ekes out a living at this physically injurious trade. Each day Tom scrapes his knees and elbows on the chimney walls and irritates his eyes with the soot from the chimney. Tom's life, like many of the young chimney sweeps of the age, is not easy. "His master beat him" daily and "he had not enough to eat, which happened every day in the week likewise."\(^{42}\) Before Kingsley began the fantasy part of the story, he presented an indictment against the exploitation of young boys by adults like Tom's master and the physical abuse of children through beatings, starvation, and the condition of labor.

\(^{41}\) Hurlimann, *Three Centuries*, 176.

The difficulties of earning the smallest of incomes during the Victorian era is seen in Anna Sewell's *Black Beauty: The Autobiography of A Horse* (1877). For many poor people neither workhouses, private homes, nor employment seemed exempt from the cruelties of poverty. Someone was always taking advantage of the workingman, it seemed. In *Black Beauty* (1877), the poorer cabmen who could not buy their own horses and cabs had to rent them from the owners who take advantage of the situation and charge high rates. These cabmen who rent still have to buy their licenses. Thus, some days these cabmen are lucky to come out even, much less make money. Seedy Sam is one of these men. He had to work seven days a week, hoping to make enough to feed his family of eight. Sam is bitter about his situation. The government would arrest him for pushing his horse too hard but not arrest the men who charge the high rental rates.

. . . Tis a mockery to tell a man that he must not overwork his horse, for when a beast is downright tired there's nothing but the whip that will keep his legs a-going; you can't help yourself—you must put your wife and children before the horse; the master must look to that, we can't.  

Sewell was no politician nor was she active in reform groups; however, her statements through Seedy Sam

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certainly are an appeal for government change. In this story there are more views of the difficult life of the poor working person. Seedy Sam misses his Sundays with his family, but he must try to earn the money to live. Sam says "I often feel like an old man, though I'm only forty-five." Life seems so unfair to the poor working-man, that it is no wonder "a man sometimes does what is wrong...." Two days later Seedy Sam dies. His last words curse Skinner who rented him the cab, and he screams for the missed Sundays off.

Beauty tells his story about his short and miserable service as a carter's horse. When his owner Jerry quit the cab business, Black Beauty was sold to a carter. Often his cart was overloaded, and it was a taxing life. Black Beauty did not do this long. He was sold to another cabman who turned out to be Seedy Sam's Skinner. Life becomes even harder and more cruel, so much so that Black Beauty often wished for death. One day he collapsed under the strain of an overloaded cab. To be sold, he had to be fattened up, which he was. A nice man, Mr. Thoroughgood, bought Black Beauty. He cared for the horse well, and after months in a good home, Beauty was sold to two kind

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44 Sewell's family had experienced poverty partially as a result of someone cheating her father. See chapter IV.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid., 250.
sisters who had good grooms. Few Victorian people were as lucky as Black Beauty. Most could not escape the day-to-day drudgery in which they toiled for almost nothing and lived in squalor. Sometimes this is compounded by the age of the worker.

Cruelty to humans was viewed as a poverty-related problem in Victorian England. Children in Victorian England were not only the victims of hazardous and unsuitable employment but also were the victims of abuse. There was considerable mistreatment of children in Victorian England. In a five year period, 1855-1860, in London "inquests were held on the bodies of 1,130 children under two years of age, all of whom had been murdered--an average of 226 a year."\(^{47}\) This distressful situation was portrayed in children's books such as *Jessica's First Prayer* (1867), *Waterbabies* (1862), *At the Back of the North Wind* (1871), *The Storm of Life* (1876), *A Peep Behind The Scenes* (1877), *In Prison And Out* (1878), *Purse Bearers*, and *Nuttie's Father* (1885).\(^{48}\)

A disregard for life--cruelty to humans or animals often meant punishment for the perpetrator of the abominable act. "The Charmed Fawn," an 1851 tale, illustrates

\(^{47}\)Pearl, *The Girl With The Swansdown Seat*, 73.

that point. The stepmother who is secretly a witch is cruel to the children. The children, a brother and a sister, run away. The story continues with their adventuresome attempt to flee the stepmother's efforts to murder them. The stepmother at the end is defeated. 49

Ruskin's King Of The Golden River (1851) also has child abuse and the perpetrators of it being punished. There are poor people, servants, the Esquire, and the youngest Black brother, Gluck, who are all mistreated by the two older Black brothers. For their mistreatment of humans and their disregard for nature, the Treasure Valley is temporarily ruined. Finally, the two older Black brothers are turned into stones. 50

In Kingsley's 1862 story Waterbabies little Tom is abused by his master as well as employed in a hazardous job and ill-fed. 51 Stretton's Little Jessica (Jessica's First Prayer, 1867) is also ill-fed and abused. Little Jessica says that her mother and her mother's friends "think nothing of giving me smacks and kicks and pinches." 52 She then shows the stall keeper, Daniel,

49 [Joseph Cundall], A Treasury of Pleasure Books for Young and Old (London, 1851), n.p.
51 Kingsley, Waterbabies, 4-9.
52 Stretton, Jessica's First Prayer, 11.
her arms which are discolored. He was not sure if it was from the abuse of beatings or from the cold. Little Jessica is described as "cuffed and beaten by her Mother, and overworked and ill-used by her numerous employers, her life was a hard one."  

In George Macdonald's *At The Back of the North Wind* (1871) the hero is a poor little boy without good shoes, but luckier than most poor children—he had loving parents who try to provide for him. Little Diamond, the hero, sees a poor little girl on the street one bitterly cold night. He wants the North Wind to help her, but the North Wind will not aid the little sweeper girl. The girl is poorly dressed and extremely thin. She is attempting to make her way home, but is not sure she will be let in when she reaches her destination. She has no parents, saying "Old Sal's all I've got" and begins to cry. Sal may not be good to her and often does not let the girl in, but "you must go somewheres" and that is her only place.  

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54 Macdonald, *At the Back of the North Wind*, 33. Animal abuse is also protested in Kenneth Grahame, *The Reluctant Dragon* (New York, 1953), [30-38]. This was first a story in *Dream Days* (1898) and was published in book form in 1938.
Like so many poor Victorian children, this girl worked. It was not an easy job for so young a person, nor were the late night hours good. She had no real security at home, but Dickens' novels had screamed that the public homes offered little better.

Victorians were also concerned with cruelty to animals. Whether it is a carryover of the Romantic's value of nature and its creations or a part of the religious emphasis on the value of all life, Victorian children's literature had numerous examples of tales of ill-treated animals. Like many of the stories regarding child abuse, these tales had a moral. Usually the abuser is punished somehow.

There is some possibility that the mistreated animal was supposed to be a mistreated child. In other words, in stories of child abuse, it is usually a child abused by an adult, and in the animal stories it is usually an animal abused by a child. Hence, there is a slight possibility that by scaling down the characters the child might draw similarities.

Whatever the motivation, within the body of children's reading there were tales opposing unkind treatment of animals. To promote less cruelty by children was in fact helping to develop a virtue.
The 1850 story "On Cruelty to Inferior Animals" is a criticism of the treatment of work animals and the methods of killing "meat" animals. The story tells that many men have little sympathy and awareness for the treatment of animals, which is wrong because all are God's creations.55

In another 1850 story "The Nest," Toby's cruelty to animals resulted in his being punished.56 Similar protests are present and like fates happen to other Tobys in stories like The Rambles of A Rat (1857), Black Beauty (1877), "A Welcome Guest From Robin's Nest" (1880), and "Our Merciful Brigade" (1886). "A Welcome Guest From Robin's Nest" is a series of brief tales and illustrations. In one, young Jenkins is about to mistreat the dog and cat; however, he is stopped by Harriet. The accompanying illustration labels young Jenkins as "A Cruel Boy." Similarly, the story and illustration of two bad boys who disturb a bird's nest is subtitled "The Wicked World." Also in this collection is the tale "Cruelty Punished" in which Jenkins is punished for "inhumanly


56 "The Nest" from The Misfortunes of Toby Ticklepitcher (London, [ca. 1850]), in DeVries, Little Wide-Awake, 13; see also DeBurgh, Drummer Dick, 28-30.
flogging his horse." His horse throws him, and Jenkins is killed from the fall.  

An invitation for the readers to join together and prevent such cruelties is contained in "'Our Merciful Brigade'; or The Children's Humane Society" (1886). It is an invitation to join a society and it briefly discusses what they might achieve. Included is a copy of the membership card on which is the membership pledge, ". . . TO PROTECT ANIMALS FROM CRUEL USAGE. . . ." It is a call for personal kindness and protection of animals. It also advocates recruiting other children to the cause. Membership costs two pence in stamps. 

Adults were using these stories to develop awareness and encourage virtue. Most of the stories in this group were thinly veiled didacticism.

Contained in children's reading matter were the notions of good deeds done both by individuals and by groups and an emphasis on the need for community change. The pattern is not unlike Victorian England itself. In


59Ibid.
the early and mid Victorian eras church and religious groups took the lead. They asked for individuals to help either on their own or through the religious groups. (See Figure 4.) By the late Victorian era, there were also secular groups working for reform. Also heard during the mid and late Victorian eras are those advocating political reform, reflecting some of the shifts in education and proposed changes in economics.

Education and hard work were just two means of reform. There were others and they are reflective of the reform impulse. Another means of helping the poverty and poverty-related situations were acts of good deeds. This was frequently found in the juvenile reading.

In "Toys For Poor Children" children from wealthy families are asked to remember the "thousands of poor children in our hospitals and workhouses" by sending those unfortunate people their old toys. They are reminded, again promoting a virtue—selflessness, that it is good to share and not be like "some selfish children. . . ."60

Even the youngest child was reminded that sharing with others was important. In "The Alphabet of Peace"

60"Toys for Poor Children," from My Pet's Album (London, n.d.), 272, in DeVries, Little Wide-Awake, 184; see also C. F. A. Caulfield, "Good Breeding As Shown In Visiting The Poor," Girl's Own Paper, vol. 6, no. 271 (March 7, 1885), 357-359.
Kindness to the poor.

Fig. 4—Good children help the poor as in this periodical illustration in Leonard DeVries, Little Wide-Awake, An Anthology from Victorian Children’s Books and Periodicals, In the Collection of Ann and Fernand G. Renier, British Library (Cleveland, 1967), 79.
(1856) it was war orphans and widows who were helped and "C" stood for charity. 61

Assistance continues throughout the period. Aunt Judy's Magazine (1866-1885) by the 1880s had organized what was known as Aunt Judy's Work Society. Members of this society did kind deeds for the poor and for the ill. In 1880 there were 191 members. This group continued to add new members. There were 575 members in July, 1882, 871 members in January, 1884, and 950 members in June, 1885. By 1885 there were branches of Aunt Judy's Work Society in Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Birmingham, and in June, 1885, their membership numbered 251. 62 Other periodicals like The Monthly Packet, Boy's Own Paper, and Girl's Own Paper also had assistance groups or projects. Some of these were larger than Aunt Judy's and were mentioned in Chapter III.

In the 1884 story "Drive to Bethnal Green," the help comes from an individual rather than a group. A Duchess

61"C," The Alphabet of Peace (London, [ca. 1856])
helps a beggar girl and her poor family who are starving and sick. The duchess feels good about her actions.63

So can readers of Girl's Own Paper (1899). The Girl's Own Paper encouraged social concern and work. And the readers responded by helping to establish a home for working girls in London, helped financially with another home, and contributed money, clothing and toys for the poor and the sick. The Girl's Own Paper's editor remarked on these achievements in the 1000th number (1899) and noted that the magazine's readership was "many millions."64 Girl's Own Paper over the years carried stories of the problems of poverty, slum housing, working girls, and child labor as well as lighter items.

Stories extolled the virtues of individuals and of groups who helped others less fortunate. Articles on founders of hospitals and homes were found in the juvenile literature. In The Children's London (1901) was a history of a foundling hospital and of its founder and her noble work for the poor.65

63 "Drive to Bethnal Green," from Lent Jewels, and Other Tales (London, [ca. 1884]), 77-149, in DeVries, Little Wide-Awake, 116-117.


Through the mid and late Victorian Age, the various political parties advocated social reform, although the degree of reform they proposed varied and often it was only a token gesture. The people and the politicians became more aware of poverty and its hardships during the Victorian years. In children's literature a greater recognition of poverty and related conditions grew. Many people initially saw those conditions as immoral. Poverty was viewed as punishment for a sin and appropriate responses included workhouses, charity, and prayers. Later, poverty was viewed as horrible and as creating suffering among people often too helpless or ignorant to aid themselves. To meet this new view required reform of, both people and conditions, and reform became the responsibility not only of people and churches, but of government. In the children's stories being poor went from being bad to sad.

Many Victorian workingmen felt that they were the victims of other men's greed, power, and money. It was a hard life and often there appeared to be no chance of change. In children's literature this is seen in stories such as *Black Beauty* and "The Happy Prince" as well as others.

Oscar Wilde, a Fabian socialist, was thoroughly disgusted with the sordid conditions in which many English
people lived, particularly since some in the court and the aristocracy had so much. The Happy Prince despite two good eyes, was blind when he inhabited the palace. Although royal, he did not fulfill his responsibilities to the people in life. This is an echo of some of the social issues of the Victorian age, the idea that with wealth and position went responsibility.

In death the Happy Prince was placed in the square and there as a statue he saw life as it actually was. As a statue, even after his sapphire eyes were removed, the Happy Prince saw more and did more than when alive. Wilde is saying that physical hardships will not prevent understanding when there is sensitivity and concern for others.

Another of his children's tales, "The Young King" (1891) raises many complex issues when it tells of common people, starving children, class differences, and snobbery. Poverty was one of the stark realities of life where workers do not own themselves. The poor must earn their bread; yet, they are paid so little they die. Besides his portrait of the state of the poor, Wilde also reflected some of the socio-economic class differences of the Victorian era. Upon being told that he was not a slave, the weaver states that in war "the strong make
slaves of the weak and in peace the rich make slaves of the poor."^66

In his three dreams the King has seen some of the naked realities of life. Moreover, many of the sad conditions are his responsibility. People work in horrible conditions and their children do not live as well as nature's animals. This was true in Victorian England.

The weaver in this tale is the representative of the unhappy late Victorian worker and is the spokesman for Socialism. The weaver says that his master is no different except for his dress. This was the contention of many attempting reform during the Victorian age, particularly the Socialists. The diver symbolizes the many people who die for silly and selfish reasons. The King dresses like a common man for his coronation since he does not desire to wear a stained costume; yet, rich and poor alike criticize him. But, following his convictions, the King is aligned with Christ and in the end he is respected and triumphant. The child may not have been able to see all these political statements in the story.

Wilde's stories like those of many Victorian authors illustrated the idea that economics separated a population into groups both physically and psychologically. While Wilde and the Socialists contended that all men were the

^Wilde, Complete Fairy Tales, 81.
same except for the clothes they wore, his stories more closely reflected Victorian life—clothes were symbols for ideas, manners, and real position in life.

The Victorian Age was a period of awakening to social problems. Some Victorians were attempting to meet those problems. They objected to the assorted social evils of the age: child abuse, child labor, poverty, indifference by the more fortunate, and all varieties of cruelty. Some just protested; others visited the blighted homes and neighborhoods, advocated political reforms, wrote tracts and novels, and set an example of a benevolent person for their children. Just as the adult literature decried the social ills, so did the children's literature. Just as the adult reading matter showed people helping others, so did the young people's reading matter. Victorian children's literature both mirrored the social problems of the age and advocated change by dramatizing the harshness, showing the punishments, and calling on the social conscience of its precocious readers.

Parents, particularly middle-class and upper-class parents bought these stories. Yet, they are the ones who in part created and perpetuated the poverty described. It is a contradiction that they bought the literature for their children and it is a very human action. Some of these parents did not see themselves as "guilty" persons.
It was an age of diversity, ie: poverty—luck or blessing? Thus, different parents might buy the same book for different content emphasis. Books, like types of education and number of servants, were a symbol of status; therefore, content had a secondary importance for some adults. A common parental action was (is) do as I say not do as I do. Thus, the story characters become the good and bad character models. Still another reason for parental purchases of these stories is out of a realization that change does not happen overnight and as the older generation, there is a responsibility to instruct the younger generation to continue the change. Children are more flexible and willing to accept new ideas—thus the change begins with the younger people's acceptance. A last possible reason for the purchase of these stories was because it was fashionable to do so. For whatever reason, these stories were bought frequently in sizeable numbers.
CHAPTER VII

VICTORIAN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE AND THE EVILS OF DRINK, OR THE VICTORIAN TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

Concern for the regulation of alcoholic consumption had begun before Victoria's ascendancy to the throne.¹ In the eighteenth century distilled liquors, especially gin, became popular. In the next century through the development of new processing, methods cut wine-makers' and brewers' costs, and wine and beer became less expensive.²

Some Victorians viewed the "evil of drink" as an extension of poverty, either cause or effect. In Victorian England many of the poor drank their wages in the local pub.³

During the mid and late Victorian years regulation of alcohol sales and consumption was attempted through

¹Harrison, Drink, 140-142.
³Best, Mid-Victorian Britain, 221; William J. Reader, Life in Victorian England (London, 1964), 84. Brian Harrison, Drink, 21, observed that "The Victorians often failed to distinguish between alcoholism, drinking, and drunkenness."
government legislation. These laws were promoted by various temperance movements. There was no single unified temperance movement because some of these people wanted voluntary abstention from spirits, other people wanted to end all sales of alcohol, and still others wanted to rescue the alcohol abuser or provide an atmosphere of sobriety for young people.  

Temperance groups included organizations for children as well as adults. The most famous children's temperance group was the Band of Hope Movement which organized meetings and rallies. There were also numerous temperance periodicals for children.

Famous persons like Queen Victoria and publisher John Cassell sponsored or participated in temperance societies. Groups like the tract societies supported temperance activities.  

Drinking and alcohol as well as their relationship to Victorian poverty and violence appear in the children's literature. Alcohol abuse frequently produced cruelty to others and wasted human talents as well as squandered material resources. Some of the stories issue warnings against spirits. Other stories use examples of the actions of intoxicated persons as a means of warnings.

4See Chapter II.

5Cutt, Ministering Angels, 42; see also Chapter II.
Many stories directly or indirectly ask for the reader to act himself either through abstention or by assisting others to avoid this evil.

Historian Brian Harrison observed that in the 1850s there was a shift in emphasis from drink as threatening morality to promoting a sober atmosphere for children and finally around 1872 to recognizing alcohol abuse as a disease. However, the children's literature does not show such a sharp a cleavage nor did it happen quickly. Well into the mid-Victorian era the presentation of alcohol and drinking as sins still occurred. In the late Victorian years alcohol and drinking were still undesirable sometimes because it was a sin and other times because it was negative and, produced sad situations.

A.L.O.E. (Charlotte Tucker) in Little Henry's Holiday at the Great Exhibit (1853) advocated industrial development and temperance while Thackeray in The Rose And The Ring (1855), Brett in Young People's Favorite Paper (1879), and Henty in With Moore at Corunna (1897) promote tea or raisins and water as alternatives to alcoholic drinks. When suggesting alternatives, if it was not stated clearly, it was implied that spirits were undesirable.

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Numerous stories said alcohol was negative, and there were simple and direct warnings against spirits. Again the stories continue throughout the mid and late Victorian era. Thackeray's (1855) *The Rose And The Ring*, Cruikshank's *Cinderella* (1865), Tucker's *Fairy Know-a-Bit* (1866), "Sold Into Slavery" (1878), Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883) and Henty's *With Clive in India* (1884) as well as *With Moore at Corunna* (1897) all are examples of that. Little Philibert (*Fairy Know-a-Bit*) quotes his father as having said that being "tipsy" is not the worst effect of alcohol consumption; rather, spirits "'causes more misery in the world than all the sickness, and all the fighting.'" Thus, the warning against alcohol also makes the beverage synonymous with evil.

In Henty's *With Clive in India* (1884) the warning is more direct. Charlie's uncle warns Charlie against mixing with "loose company" and drinking. Both of these


8 [Tucker], *Fairy Know-a-Bit*, 25.

are undesirable. A similar statement is found in Henty's *With Moore at Corunna* (1897) in which Terence, an abstainer, tells some other soldiers that after his years of experience in the military, he had learned that "the best thing to do with whisky is to leave it alone." Henty implies that alcohol is unnecessary and that people are better off without spirits.

Some stories not only tell the young impressionable reader that spirits are undesirable but that there is help for those who drink and for those wishing to avoid that evil. The help is usually of a religious or spiritual nature. In *Poor Jack, A True Account* (1850) religion helps the son of an alcoholic and the wayward father. Jack, the son, becomes a Christian and a virtuous person. He helps others in their struggle with evil drink. Religion is again the redeemer of misdirected drinkers in "The Prison Cell" (1861) and in "Mercy's House" (1882). The speaker in "The Prison Cell" (1861) said that alcohol

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11 *Poor Jack: A True Account* (Birmingham, 1861), 1-8. It was first published in 1850 by J. Groom. It is similar to "Poor Jack, The Sailor Boy" (Bristol: Wright and Albright, 1840). According to the Osborne Collection card catalog "Poor Caleb" is also similar.

ruined him. The story implies that there was hope once he realized that alcohol and his disregard of religious and moral obligations led him astray.\textsuperscript{13} And, according to still other stories, if people were non-believers it explained their sinful behavior.

Many of the children's tales not only indicated that alcohol was evil but said that if the drinker found God and religion he would be helped. Faith, of course, would help the nondrinker to continue to follow the right path. A mission house before it was too late might help those who harmed themselves or others. These establishments were portrayed in the story titled "Mercy's House," where those persons who are luckier than others, establish "The Medical Mission "house" in the midst of a very poor and squalid part of East London." These people and missions aid the alcohol abuser physically and spiritually. They believe that spiritual medicine will help to heal the body as well as the soul. On the wall of the main meeting room are signs which give spiritual direction. One of these signs reads:

\begin{verbatim}
IF ANY MAN THIRST
LET THEM
COMETH UNTO ME AND DRINK\textsuperscript{14}
\end{verbatim}


\textsuperscript{14}Barnardo, "Mercy's House", 392, in DeVries, \textit{Little Wide-Awake}, 132. In "Sold into Slavery" (1878) liquor is compared with still another Victorian social problem.
Thus it advocates drinking the spirit of God and not the alcohol which will lead them astray.

Many stories use examples of intoxicated individuals and their actions while under the influence of alcohol to convey temperance messages. In many of these stories, murder or violent acts are committed by the drunken person. In some of these stories the drunks just do not have self-control and their behavior is ungentlemanly.

Violence was part of the theme of the brief story Poor Jack: A True Account (1850). This story features Jack the symbol of innocence and his father the symbol of a man corrupted by liquor. Poor little Jack's father was "in a state of intoxication" when his son came to get him. In this uncontrollable state he "kicks" Jack off the pier into the sea and then goes to a "public-house" thinking that Jack has drowned. Because of a miracle and some good seamen, Jack is saved and will spend his next years on a ship. These good seamen help to make Jack a religious and virtuous person, and he in turn helps an old sailor years later. This old sailor turns out to be Jack's father whom Jack forgives.15

This story protests against whisky and wine because alcoholic spirits were as bad as those materialistic spirits that led to slavery of the spirit. "Sold into Slavery," Chatterbox, 4(1878): 412, in ibid., 148.

15 Poor Jack, 1-2, 3, 4-8.
All drunkards do not redeem themselves and therefore must suffer the consequences. John Ruskin's *The King of the Golden River* (1851) is a creative moral tale in which good and evil struggle. Throughout the story there are numerous incidents where the two evil Black brothers—Schwartz and Hans—are extremely cruel and violent when intoxicated. They beat their younger brother Gluck. They spent their money on alcohol, and then there was no money for other needs. Gluck works and cares for his brothers. He puts them first and is an example of a virtuous person. Alcohol emphasizes the depth of Schwartz's and Hans's evil characters. In the end the two evil brothers will be turned to stone for their numerous misdeeds, many of which were done while drunk.

Characters like Bulbo and Gigilo in *The Rose And The Ring* (1855) only make fools of themselves while drunk. Others are even worse than the Black brothers. Human life is wasted and murder is committed by intoxicated individuals. For example, in "Received, or Rejected" (1877) a man kills himself. The periodical story "The Prison Cell" (1861) has the central character so negatively influenced

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by alcohol that he loses his control and murders another human being. Through religion he will realize that it was those evil habits of "Drinking and Gambling" as well as rejection of parental control, God, and Sabbath laws that led to his wrongful action. 17

In Jessica's First Prayer (1866) and in Black Beauty (1877) drinking people physically abuse both humans and animals. Little Jessica's drunken mother beats her frequently. 18 Anna Sewell's Black Beauty combined examples of the evils of drink and warnings against alcohol use. In the story, Jerry Barker and the mare Black Beauty take a regular customer, Mr. Wright, to visit a friend. Black Beauty has had a series of owners. The latest is Jerry Barker, a cab driver, and Beauty is the horse he has bought to pull the cab. As the gentleman got out of the cab, he sees a carter mistreat his horses "with whip and rein"; moreover, the carter "punished them brutally, even. . .about the head." 19 Mr. Wright protested the action of the carter who "had clearly been drinking. . . ." The drunkard's first response was an overflow of "some abusive

17 Thackeray, The Rose And The Ring, 55-56; "The Prison Cell," The Children's Friend, 39; George Brealey, Received or Rejected?, no. 11 of Arrows Shot At A Venture series (London, 1877).
18 Stretton, Jessica's First Prayer, 22-23.
19 Sewell, Black Beauty, 243, 249-245.
language. . . .” Drunk has released the carter's self-control, stimulating cruelty to animals and insults to humans.

Anna Sewell in Black Beauty continuously drove home her point that excessive drinking was immoral. It put the devil in a man. One day when Jerry was returning from a job with Captain, a drunken man in a brewer's empty dray came speeding down the road out of control. A little girl was run over before the runaway vehicle rammed Jerry's cab. Jerry was not badly hurt, but the cab was damaged and Captain was injured severely. Captain could no longer be a cab horse; he would have to work for a carter, which was not an easy life. "The drayman... was fined, and the brewer had to pay damages to our master; but there was no one to pay damages to poor Captain.” Jerry was furious. Drunks did not just hurt themselves but other persons also. Drunkards, Jerry believed, should be put in a "lunatic asylum." Jerry once drank but mended his ways before it was too late. He suggests that the "governor" do the same because, says Jerry, "You are too good a man to be the slave of such a thing."

In still another incident in Black Beauty both the alcohol abuser and other innocent persons and animals become victims. Reuben Smith while intoxicated could not

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20 Ibid.  
21 Ibid., 273.  
22 Ibid., 274.
do his job right. He caused the accident that permanently injured Black Beauty and which took Smith's own life. Beauty was sold and suffered many hardships. Smith's wife and six children suffered numerous hardships including the loss of their living quarters. Alcohol created sad situations.

Another type of children's literature, the novel-ettes, carried stories with warnings against intoxicants. In "At Boothby Hall" (1880) and in "Gonza, the Horse Thief" (1880) abusive language, lack of self control, unkindness, and being at the mercy of others are characteristic of people influenced by alcohol.

In the book Treasure Island (1883), Stevenson has several similar examples of the effects of overindulgence of alcohol. Rum makes Captain Bill more obnoxious than he is usually and even threatens his life. Chronic intoxication disgraced and finally took the life of Mr. Arrow who

... began to appear on deck with hazy eye, red cheeks, stuttering tongue, and other marks of drunkenness. ... Sometimes he fell and cut himself. ... He was ...

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23 Ibid., 152-168.

useless . . . and a bad influence. One dark night . . . he disappeared. . . .

In the short story "Bob The Cabin Boy" (n.d.) the alcohol abuser is the captain who is drunk, cruel, blasphemous, and disliked. He becomes very sick. No one but Bob the cabin boy will try to help the captain. Bob, kind and sympathetic, suggests Jesus and the Bible could help the captain. The captain, before Bob, believed "there is no God," but he changes his mind. The captain dies while kneeling in prayer. It is implied that he had peace of mind and heart. The story does not say directly that the captain achieved salvation but the captain's position and last lines show that the man had risen in the eyes of the narrator.

Alcohol may either accentuate the negative in a character or force to the surface a character's darker side. In "Beware of Bad Companions", an 1886 Chatterbox story, a few young men who were frequently drunk are cruel and cause the death of a "poor half witted man" named Henry. The victim had been "deprived of reason and of life" by the three young men.

25 Stevenson, Treasure Island, 88-89.


27 "Beware of Bad Companions," Chatterbox Annual, no. 37 (1886), 323-325.
The victims are sometimes family members. In The New Temperance Primer (c1890) very young children are told that the letter "V" is for a "vulture" who spends money on drink and not his family, while "W" is for workhouse where the drunkard's wife is forced to live. Also, in this primer the letter "R"

Stands for Rags, which the drunkard is in, when he finds he's no money for Brandy or Gin; he's just like a madman without self control, he is bought by the Devil, body and soul.  

Alcohol continues to be bad - an evil - in the children's literature. At the same time it creates sad situations and is considered an illness.

Again negative habits produce unhappy lives in "Barmaids and Waitresses in Restaurants, Their Work And Temptations" (1896). Many young girls who were barmaids and waitresses received a portion of their salary in the form of drink. Young readers were told "the allowance of tenpence a day in drink... holds out a premium to drunkenness, and ruins many a life."  

It advocates stopping this practice which is "alcoholic poisoning."  

28 The New Temperance Primer (ca. 1890) excerpted in Cutt, Ministering Angels, fig. 9.  


30 Ibid., 330.
In both Henty's *With Moore* (1897) and Nesbit's *Treasure Seekers* (1899) readers are given the message that spirits affect lives negatively. In *With Moore* it is whole groups of people like nations and regiments. The reader learns that the ability to handle different amounts of liquor varies with the country, which is a patronizing expression of British superiority. Moreover, liquor lessens the ability to do numerous tasks. Therefore, the colonel believes that "the men could not be trusted where liquor was plentiful. . . ."\(^{31}\) Supporting his position, the colonel compares his group with another regiment which is drunk, disorderly, and suicidal. Many of those drunk soldiers were killed by enemy troops, the French.\(^{32}\) Hence, sobriety is equated with proper conduct and with physical safety, suggesting that security needs temperance no less than individuals.

Smaller groups, like the family, are also threatened by alcohol. The Bastable children in *The Treasure Seekers* are told by a clergyman that spirits are responsible for creating an England where half the homes are "full of wretched children, and degraded, Miserable parents. . . ."\(^{33}\) Alcohol is a "curse" and a national one at that.\(^{34}\)


\(^{32}\) Ibid., 167-168.

\(^{33}\) Nesbit, *Treasure Seekers*, 124.

\(^{34}\) Ibid.
Warnings against intoxicants were found in still another highly imaginative and well written children's book. In Kenneth Grahame's *The Wind In The Willows* (1908), the four friends plan to recapture Toad Hall when the weasels are drinking and celebrating; their plan succeeds, which provides a clear lesson to the young that drink means disadvantage and sobriety means victory.\(^{35}\) *Wind In The Willows* echoes the warnings in *With Moore* and implies some of the messages in the *Treasure Seekers*.

The children's literature of mid and late Victorian England reiterated the concerns of many British adults with the use and abuse of alcohol, primarily at a personal level. Discussion of the laws appeared only rarely, perhaps because laws are made by adults, not the children who were reading this material.

The concepts of morality and salvation in relation to drinking are in many of the stories throughout a major portion of the period. Alcohol as an evil continued to be emphasized in the literature after 1872 when historian Harrison said the emphasis declined.

The literature contained warnings, alcohol alternatives, assistance for intoxicated individuals, and examples of alcohol's negative influence. In most of the examples of abuse, the concern seems to be primarily for

\(^{35}\) Grahame, *Wind in the Willows*, 291-300.
individual victims portrayed, include not only individuals but also small groups and whole nations. Hence, the literature is again reflecting English trends. And like so many English social problems the concern with alcohol is not isolated; it is a part of other Victorian problems and attitudes.
CHAPTER VIII

PROPER AND WORTHY VICTORIANS: CHILDREN'S LITERATURE AND VICTORIAN MORALITY, MANNERS, RELIGION, AND SCIENCE

This chapter explores the values and images of Victorian morality, secular and religious, and examines children's literature regarding the compatibility of Victorian religion and science. Examples of Victorian manners are also discussed. They are prominent among several images of Victorian morality.

In Victorian England, in which religion was important, a moral concept was part of theological thought and of religious institutions' acts. At the same time, ideas for moral and proper behavior were part of Victorian social thought and actions. These were two separate yet similar moralities. The social morality may have been an outgrowth of religion or the expression of middle-class standards.¹ For the middle class some of the standards

¹See Chapters II and IV; Himmelfarb, Victorian Minds, 272-278, 290; Priestly, Heyday, 28, states that in the 1850s, views on religion divided the middle class. This may be another possible explanation for the existence of the similar though different moralities. Elie Halevy, Nineteenth Century (1962), 4:409, 335, 375, stated that by 1852 Anglicanism, Protestantism, and Liberalism were synonymous. Liberalism was a form of government which included political and human reforms. The success of
became synonymous with virtues. In Victorian children's literature, the two moralities and their similarities are evident, but the social ethic's origin is not.

Historian Gertrude Himmelfarb has suggested that morality, manners, and religion might be "only euphemisms for order." Standards for accepted behavior do help to give order. In the children's literature, this point is obvious. There are patterns for behavior, and good children are expected to conduct themselves accordingly. The code of behavior provides organization, groups who follow it and those who do not. This order moves into the world outside the home. Order frequently means security.

Religiously, Evangelicalism dominated, and the middle class, shaped by Evangelicalism, was the most influential class. This meant a confluence of values. Both Evangelicals and the middle class wanted to improve the human situation.

Victorian scientific developments required religion to reconcile new ideas with its own or be in conflict and thus risk doubt. The new science did not impose the same challenge on the Victorian social ethic because the

Liberalism (Methodism) prevented in 1848 a revolt in England. Religion had evolved into a social ethic.

2Himmelfarb, Victorian Minds, 8.
3Ibid., 291, 283, 297; Wingfield-Stratford, British Civilization, 865.
origin of humanity was irrelevant to the Victorian social ethic.  

Manners, a means of displaying one's morality, were required for respectability. Middle-class Victorians believed respectability was necessary for social position. To be a "gentleman" or a "lady" required manners and suggested respectability. Thus manners and respectability were desired "virtues." This sentiment, too, was expressed within the children's literature.

There was one category of children's literature in which morality dominated—the tract and evangelical story. These stories reached a wide group of children. Both the child in the drawing-room and the child in the cottage read these tales. In these stories, a main character is always a child, "always exceptional," and usually suffers

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4See Burns, Age of Equipoise, 277 (religion too strong to be shaken by a few protests); Andrew D. White, A History of the Warfare of Science With Theology: In Christendom, 2 vols. (New York, 1896), 1:xii, 1-2, 66-68, 43, 17 (science and religion are compatible); Halevy, Nineteenth Century (1962), 4:437; Julian Huxley, Memoirs (New York, 1970), 13-14 (Victorian T. H. Huxley, develops "agnostic" as an antidogmatic view of origin and rejects "atheist" because of the lack of scientific evidence); Charles Darwin to John Murray, March, 1859, and Charles Darwin to Sir C. Lyell, March 28, 1859, in Paston, At John Murray's, 168-169 (Darwin expresses surprise in the nonscientist's and "semi-scientist's" interest in his writing which discussed neither the origin of man" nor "about Genesis").

5Best, Mid-Victorian Britain, 263; Priestly, Heyday, 30,4; see also Avery, Victorian People, 129.
difficult situations. This scheme remained standard; however, other characteristics of evangelical tract stories did not. Early nineteenth century stories did not give physical descriptions, reflecting the belief that vanity was undesirable. By the late Victorian era this changed. Still another difference that emerged as the century evolved was that up to 1870 writers were concerned only with the souls of youths and paupers, whereas, after 1870, writers' concerns also included physical and economic well-being. After 1880, according to authority Margaret Cutt, this changed. Around this time the more religious-moral tales (not all evangelical or tracts) declined, although, morals, of course, continued to be upheld in stories for books, tracts, and periodicals as well as in poems, and rhymes.

Materials with the themes of morality, manners, religion, and science are arranged in six groups. These groups include those displaying religious references and practices; those reflecting the "good Christian" through

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6Cutt, Ministering Angels, 41, 185; Gillian Avery, "Children's Books and Social History," in Research About Nineteenth Century Children And Books, Monograph no. 17, ed. Selma K. Richardson (Urbana, 1979), 28-29. Death and tragic events were a common element in evangelical stories. Virginia Woolf and her sister are reported to have read Charlotte Yonge's stories aloud and "kept score of the number of deaths. . . ." Quentin Bell, Virginia Woolf: A Biography (New York, 1972), 1:29.

7Cutt, Ministering Angels, 155.
specific behavior, good deeds, and responsibility; those expressing fear of Catholicism; those expressing the Victorian secular ethic; those reflecting manners and respectability; and those mirroring the view of science.

Religious references are numerous and varied in the juvenile reading materials. Some of the references are only Victorian rhetoric, but most were sincere and part of the literary item's didactic or moral purpose. There is an abundance of examples for the period 1850-1879; however, after 1879 the volume lessens.

Throughout these stories, Victorian children were told that God, the Bible, and Biblical figures were to be revered. In "Value of the Bible" (1850), it was also noted that average citizens, theologians, and monarchs believe that the Bible is important. Thus, young Victorians of all social classes should value the Bible and religion since the Bible was closely linked to religion and the word of God.

Concepts of Christianity like faith, hope, trust, salvation, and hell were mentioned in literary items from 1850 to 1880. In Gatty's *Parables* (1855) using the conversations of a butterfly, caterpillar, and lark, faith

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8 "Value of the Bible," from "Buck's Anecdotes," in *Illustrated London*, 16; see also Dr. Hall, "Don't Neglect Your Bible, BOYS," *Boy's Own Paper*, vol. 11, no. 517 (8 December 1888), 156; Anelay, Mother's *Picture Alphabet*, items "B," "D," "A," "G," "J," "R."
in God's powers is advocated. Similarly, the Boy's Sunday Reader (1879), shows how faith and hope help during a perilous situation. Numerous alphabet books (1856-1865) targeted for the very young used their letters to support religion. Letters make reference to commandments, holidays, Biblical passages, and God. So even the youngest child was exposed to literature accepting religion and religious symbols. (See Figure 5.) Religion was reassuring as in E. V. Boyle's "Guardian Angels" (1863), where the child imagines

Four corners to my bed,
Four Angels round my head;
One to watch,
Two to pray,
One to bear my soul away.

Death was featured in many of the stories. Death was a mixed image. On the one hand, it frequently meant a union with God and Jesus. On the other, to die in a

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10 "Faith and Hope; Or Saved from the Wreck," Boy's Sunday Reader, vol. 1, no. 1 (1879), 9-12.
11 The Alphabet of Peace, item "X"; The Pretty Alphabet, item "E"; Anelay, Mother's Picture Alphabet, intro., items "C," "B," "G," "P," "X."
12 [E. V. Boyle], Child's Play (London, 1863), n.p. The Victorian child might have found death less frightening than hell. Today's child might be frightened by suggestions of death.
13 See Emma Leslie, Maggie's Message: A Story for Girls (Boston, 1872), 68, 28-31; see also George Brealey, "Life Belt," no. 3 in The Bridge of Love and Other Stories, the Arrow Shot at a Venture series (London, 1877), 6; St. John, Blue Dwarf, 1:3; Alphabet of Trades,
begins Bible, the book we so prize;
That teaches us all to be holy and wise.

Fig. 5--The Bible by Henry Anelay, illus.; The Mother's Picture Alphabet (London, 1862), n.p.: The Bible was a frequently used religious symbol.
state of sin was frightening. Thus, life and death struggles meant good versus evil or the struggle for salvation. The literary examples of religion, death, and good deeds reflect a dominance of evangelicalism. Even those morality stories of good deeds without religious symbols and rhetoric reflect the close association of evangelicalism and the Victorian morality.

Faith applied meant good deeds, and faith and good deeds were the ways in which salvation was achieved. Faith, good deeds, and responsibility characterized the "good Christian." Victorian children received a steady flow of reading materials encouraging them to emulate those individuals who were good Christians rather than those who were not. Good Christians held their tempers, valued their good names, studied, worked, honored duty, read the Bible, helped the less fortunate, and believed in God. Because of these values and actions, God, Jesus, and other people will love and respect that person.


14See "Frank and John" and "Eyes To The Blind," in My Own Book: Picture Books for Little Children, no. 12 (London, [ca. 1865]), 1, 9; Leslie, Maggie's Message; George Brealey "Law and Mercy," no. 6 in Bridge of Love, 8-9; Chapter X.
The image of the good Christian was seen in literary items throughout the period, especially the 1860s-1880s. In the periodical item "Richard Martin: Or, The Benefit Of A Good Character" (1861), the children are warned that a good name is worth more than money. Another warning in the Mother's Picture Alphabet (1862) uses Noah whose bad will is punished, while in The Royal Primer (ca. 1865) and "Law and Mercy" (1877) bad children are punished by incurring God's displeasure or legal fines. Thus, young children are told to do as they should and be good Christians or suffer punishment. The threat of punishment may serve as a means to salvation according to "Law and Mercy" (1877). In this story, there are two boyhood friends. One turns out to be good while the other is labeled bad because he has forsaken God and God's ways. As adults, the good one becomes a judge whereas the bad one becomes a criminal. When the two former friends meet again in the courtroom, the judge gives the criminal the


16 Anelay, Mother's Picture Alphabet, n.p.; The Royal Primer, 11; Brealey, "Law and Mercy," Bridge of Love, 8-9; see also The Boy's of England Novelettes, no. 20 (1880), 16-17.
harshest penalty, a heavy fine; but as a good deed, he pays it for his old friend. The judge helps his friend find God and salvation. The judge is a good Christian. His compassion and good deeds help others and himself.

Good deeds, varied and often rendered despite difficult situations, include helping blind persons; teaching religion, "mercy," and kindness to animals; and dutifully helping parents as in "Eyes To The Blind" (ca. 1865) and "Amelia Opie: An Only Daughter" (1877). Some good deeds require the ultimate sacrifice as in Brealey's "The Bridge of Love" (1877). In this story, three children are trapped in their blazing home. The father, William, saves his children but loses his own life. The narrative describes William as a "truly Christian man" who was "ready" to meet God. Since his wife died, William had tried to live his life so that he would have earned a place in heaven. Moreover, he was a good father who taught "the ways of God" to his children. The conclusion enjoins young readers to learn from this story: "us sinners . . .

17 Brealey, "Law and Mercy," Bridge of Love, 8-9; see also "Frank and John," in My Own Book, 1.

in our lost state we were in greater peril than those children in the burning house."\(^{19}\)

The good Christian has standard behaviors and beliefs. Social class may also be a factor in being a good Christian and in the expectation of good deeds. Amelia Opie in "Amelia Opie: An Only Daughter" (1877) is proper, dutiful, humble, and a "devout Christian," whose father is of a "superior position." Therefore, she has more responsibilities, particularly outside the home. She helps with "every good cause," as a good Christian ought to.\(^{20}\)

In an 1885 *Girl's Own Paper* story, the affluent little girl is expected to visit the poor, be sympathetic, and to be a Christian lady. Visiting the poor is an obligation which, upon completion, is a good deed. Good Christians speak and teach of God to less fortunate people. The story "Good Breeding As Shown In Visiting The Poor" was written for the "young and inexperienced" who needed education and awareness. The more affluent and well-bred have a responsibility to set examples and to live according to the Golden Rule, especially in their relations with the poor. The latter are divided into two groups:

first there are the poor amongst the untitled gentry, professionals, and tradesmen; and

\(^{19}\) Brealey, "The Bridge of Love," no. 1 in *Bridge of Love*, 10, 11.

secondly, the poor amongst the so-called 'working classes,' who have inherited that condition of life from their ancestors for generations back, and never knew any other and better circumstances.

After all, it was part of the Victorian religious morality to do good deeds and to show kindness, but only to worthy persons. Children were to be noble people who aided others, as Harriett in "Relieving The Poor," the little girl who goes "Visiting The Poor," and the poor little girl who gives to "The Blind Sailor." In "Mrs. Hilton's Creche," "Our Merciful Brigade," "How The Children Helped," and "Seaside Dangers," people helped others. In one case, in "Mrs. Hilton's Creche," older children and women care for the underprivileged children of working parents. In another case, "Seaside Dangers,

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21S. F. A. Caulfield, "Good Breeding As Shown In Visiting The Poor," Girl's Own Paper, vol. 6, no. 271 (7 March 1885), 358, 357-359. Also in this story, the author distinguishes between those born to society and those who are "nouveau riche." Ibid., 358.


concern and assistance to others are stressed when a little girl cut off from land by a rising tide is rescued.

For a few writers, being a good Christian was extended only to Protestants. These authors were expressing the anti-Catholicism present during the mid-Victorian year. Anti-Catholic emotions had existed in England since the Tudor years. The limited number of such published selections suggests that while there were anti-Catholic feelings in England, the new anti-Catholic expressions during the Victorian era reflected only a small portion of the English people. It is probable that many Victorians saw the Catholic Church as a danger, but one so remote that persistent warnings were unnecessary.

Four selections from The Children's Friend, January - April, 1851, clearly express anti-Catholic emotions. The titles alone, "The Pope's Aggression on England," "'Popery'--The Pope's Supremacy," "'Popery'--forbidden The Scriptures," and "'Popery'--Image Worship" might frighten English Protestants. In these stories, the young reader is told that the Pope intends to "convert all England" to Catholicism and thus make England into a series of Catholic dioceses. These acts are an "insult"

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Historian E. Halevy has stated that in the 1850s British citizens were "alarmed" at what they viewed as "Papal Aggression" overseas. Moreover Halevy asserts that Catholicism came out of the 1848 revolts "Victorious." Halevy, History of English People, (1962) 4:375-376.
to Queen Victoria since she is sovereign; furthermore, "no foreign prince" may rule. Moreover, many practices of the "papists" are contradictory to the beliefs of the Church of England and thus a further insult.\(^{25}\)

The Catholic Church was protested in a later work. In Henty's *With Moore at Corunna*, (1897), there is objection to the abuses laid at the door of the Catholic Church. These abuses include the murder of individuals by the Bishop's orders, the confinement in a convent of a kidnapped girl against her wishes, and the forced acceptance of the veil against an individual's wishes in order that the church may acquire her property. The victim is a cousin of the story's hero and one of his heroic acts is to rescue her.\(^{26}\)

Tales representing a broader portion of the English populace were the stories about Victorian morality. In the literature, as in Victorian religion, values and an image of a moral person were projected. Moral and religious people had responsibilities: good deeds were expected. There was also a work ethic.


Desirable characteristics of the moral person included humbleness, good manners, selflessness, honesty, hard work, duty, sincerity, and truthfulness. These characteristics are portrayed in Thackeray, *The Rose And The Ring* (1855), *The Alphabet of Londoners* (1865), *The Pretty Alphabet* (1857), *The Alphabet of Trades* (1865), "The Three Beggars" (1865), Ewing, *Mary's Meadow* (1886), and Belloc, *Moral Alphabet* (1899).²⁷ (See Figure 6.) These characteristics or their absence are sometimes associated with socio-economic status. In *Cassell's Popular Educator* (1852), a picture and its narrative caption compare a professional man with one from a lower social class. The second man's "moral failings have assigned him a lower social position."²⁸ Thus, being a moral person affects


Fig. 6—Manners and proper Victorians from illustrations by Gordon Browne for Juliana H. Ewing, *Mary's Meadow* (London, n.d.), 15, 24: Characters conduct themselves correctly or are punished. Proper dress is also important.
the person in his life on earth. The reader should pay attention!

Like the tales including religious morality, the absence or disregard of Victorian moral conduct may mean punishment. This is found in _The Alphabet of Londoners_ (1856), _Mother's Picture Alphabet_ (1862); and _Jack Harkaway's Schooldays_ (1891).²⁹ Virtuous children are raised to maintain certain standards. They do as they are told and never violate others' privacy. When they do not obey, they are punished mentally or physically. Little Jane in "Do As You Are Bid" (1880) disobeyed her mother, and as a consequence she "scalded her little brothers and sisters" with boiling water.³⁰ "The Listener" (1880) taught that "Listeners never hear any good of themselves," and young Michael also pays a dear price for not observing this moral injunction. Michael "hears that he is disliked by everyone on account of his prying habit."³¹

Before punishment or the loss of one's image as a "good person," there may be a struggle between morality and evil. Similar to the religious stories, failure to


³¹ "The Listener," ibid.
meet expected standards was discouraged as in items in *Aunt Judy's Magazine* (1867) and *Boy's Own Paper* (1888-1889). In these stories, sincerity, honesty, hard work, scholarship, and avoidance of temptations are promoted. Thus, there were many facets to being a moral person.

To be a moral person in the Victorian Age was as important as to be conscientious and stoical. As one anonymous author illustrated, it is not always easy to achieve things, but to try and then to give up is more disgraceful than to try repeatedly and fail. In "Try Again" this unknown author says

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\begin{align*}
\text{Tis a lesson you should heed,} \\
\text{Try, try, try again;} \\
\text{If at first you don't succeed,} \\
\text{Try, try, try again . . .}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{If we strive, 'tis no disgrace} \\
\text{Though we may not win the race . . .}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{If you find your task is hard,} \\
\text{Try again;} \\
\text{Time will bring you your reward,} \\
\text{Try again . . .}
\end{align*}
\]

Perserverance and conscientiousness about one's duties is what is important.

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33 Hamilton Wright Mabie and Edward Everett Hale, eds., *Young Folks' Treasury*, 12 vols. (New York, 1909), 1:106. Among the list of contributors and advisory board
When people are not conscientious and do not expend the effort to help themselves and others, they will be unlucky in life. "Old Sarah" (1880) is the tale of a woman who is poor, but she is not "pitied as she goes," since "people do not like to give/Relief to those who idle lie,/And work not when they might." Three poor Beggar-men came to town, And they begg'd all day from door to door; But they didn't get a bite from morn to night, So they said they would be no more, no/more. When they mend their ways and make an effort, then they might get help later. If they should need it, they will have earned it. This work ethic was also evident in Grahame's The Reluctant Dragon (1898). The Dragon describes himself as a "lazy beggar," but in this story, reform is possible and acceptable.

members are such names as Joseph Jacobs and Former President Theodore Roosevelt.


36Ibid.

37Kenneth Grahame, The Reluctant Dragon (London, 1953), [10]. This story was originally part of Grahame's Dream Days (1898); forty years later in 1938 it was published as a separate book. Other attitudes and actions
Deviation from accepted standards of behavior were rare. One example was Joseph Jacobs' version of "Jack and the Beanstalk." In 1892 when Joseph Jacobs rewrote the old tale "Jack and the Beanstalk," he, like so many children's writers, presented a message, but he was not moralizing as strongly as Mrs. Yonge and other writers. His is the story of a boy who must go out to sell the family cow since their financial situation had worsened. Jack trades the cow for magic beans which makes his mother mad. She throws them out the window, where they implant themselves in the ground. A huge beanstalk grows overnight, and Jack decides to climb it. When he reaches the top, he finds himself near the house of a giant ogre who smells and eats Englishmen. Jack is hidden by the ogre's wife. From his hiding place on this and later trips, Jack discovers the many things of gold which the mean giant possesses. On each trip, Jack steals from the giant. Stealing was not usually considered right, but it was perceived negatively in this story are false accusations, the desire to fight, and animal mistreatment [25-28, 30-35]. The "victory" of St. George's battle with the dragon will require the dragon to reform [35]. See also M. S. Gatty, "If Everyone Swept Before His Door, All the Streets Would Be Clean," Aunt Judy's (May-Day, 1867), 186-187; Chapter X.

proper for Jack because the giant was a mean person who plunders others and eats Englishmen. Jack must make his stand against those who take advantage of persons like himself. He must find some means to get money needed to live. If he cannot overpower the giant, then he must find clever ways to circumvent him. It is not just Jack versus the Giant; it is Jack, an Englishman, against the Giant. Finally, on the last trip, the giant nearly catches Jack, however, Jack is quick enough to chop down the beanstalk and the giant is killed. The ending is a happy-ever-after type because Jack is now wealthy and marries royalty. Literary authority May H. Arbuthnot said that ogres and giants "are ruthless and unscrupulous and must be dealt with on their own terms--deceit and trickery."\(^{39}\) Usually deception was not encouraged in the children's literature but sometimes circumstances necessitated its use.

Morality, manners, and respectability are interrelated. Good people have manners and work only in respectable jobs. People who are respectable have manners and are moral individuals. Respectable ladies and gentlemen are usually of the middle and upper classes. People who have manners are polite, respectful, considerate, generous, neat, kind, abstain from vulgar language, and dress properly. These characteristics are evident in many

Victorian children's stories. Cundall in his dedication to *A Treasury of Pleasure* (1851), which was a Christmas gift to his children, wrote that conduct was important. Noting the conduct of several characters, Cundall encouraged his children to emulate specific story characters.  

In *A Child's First Lesson* (1854), kindness to a friend is emphasized. Little Ann's friend makes a new bag because Ann is sad when her bag was ruined by water. And kindness is a form of both politeness and Godliness according to "True Politeness" (1861).  

It is impolite to be rude. Rudeness is punished or frowned upon as in Thackeray's *The Rose And The Ring* (1855), where the rude doorman becomes a brass door knocker, and in "The Rude Girl" (1865) where the impolite girl is warned of unacceptable behavior. Rudeness may also include improper table manners and social graces, as in items like "Table Manners" (1861), "Little Ned" (1865),


Tom Brown's Schooldays (1867), and "Good Breeding" (1885). Tom Brown was rude in numerous places as well as wild. At school, he learns to be polite and considerate. The Victorians wanted to use their schools to uphold standards of manners and morality. Tom Brown's Schooldays, still widely read in the late Victorian era, showed the idealized school. It is a documentary of Victorian manners and morality. Team sports and spirit are in this book. Fair play, honesty, "straightness," and unabashed patriotism are all portrayed in Tom Brown's Schooldays. Moreover, Hughes—a Christian Socialist—inserted some of his political beliefs in the story. Team spirit was in keeping with his ideas of Socialism and a united Empire. Both emphasize the cooperation and protection for the community of men, rather than man as a single entity.

Schools in literature over four decades later still taught politeness and proper conduct to other boys like


44 Hughes, Tom Brown's Schooldays. One literary authority Gillian Avery notes that Tom becomes a principled young man and that Hughes in the story upholds Thomas Arnold's principles. Avery, Victorian People, 118.
Jack Harkaway. He was part of Oxford House. The boys from this house, stating Oxford House "only played with gentlemen," refused to play cricket with Romona House boys whom they saw as "cads" and "snobs."

Other stories involving social graces such as not just dropping in on strangers or acquaintances and using proper table manners and greetings, are "Good Breeding" (1885), The Treasure Seekers (1899), "Good Nature" (1880), and "The Vulgar Little Lady" (1880). It is virtuous and polite when young people associate with each other amiably as adults say they ought to do. In "Good Nature," little Mary and Ann exemplify the way two friends should behave toward each other. They are "two good little children" who "are never heard to dispute" and who are willing to compromise rather than disagree.

45 [Hemyng], Jack Harkaway's School Days, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 3, vol. 1, no. 7, p. 29. In this story, Jack says that he was supposed to be indebted to his adopted family the Scratchley's for their kindness. But in an act of defiance he says he is not grateful since they gave no affection, little education, and little kindness. vol. 1, no. 1, p. 4.


48 Ibid.
Snobbery was the improper trait exhibited by little Charlotte in "The Vulgar Little Lady" (1880). Charlotte considered herself better than her nurse because she had nicer clothes. Charlotte's mother replied "Gentility, Charlotte . . . / Belongs not to station or place; / And nothing's so vulgar as folly and pride, / Though dress'd in red slippers and lace." In "Do Not Be Vain" (1880) little Florinda's mother did not caution her (or Florinda did not listen) as did Charlotte's. For little Florinda was so vain that it "spoilt her pleasure" when she went to parties. All her thoughts were of herself. Proper young ladies and gentlemen were to be humble with just the right amount of pride for dignity.

As it became more acceptable for females to work outside the home, children's literature began to include stories describing the proper types of jobs and dress as well as pointing out pitfalls for the working girl. These stories are found during the late Victorian period when the working classes and the women's movements were gaining more power and/or momentum. It is also during the period when more girls' periodicals were available. Girl's Own

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49 "Vulgar Little Lady," in DeVries, Little Wide-Awake, 68.

50 "Do Not Be Vain," in Furze and Heather for Rainy Weather, ibid., 165.
Paper, in 1885, had a regular column which alternated giving advice to working girls and to female invalids. This column titled "Common Sense Advice for Working Girls by Medicus" in February, 1885 advises working girls to guard their health, get enough rest, not to overwork, work while young, eat properly for their type of work, eat slowly, and to schedule their work hours "properly." The article also lists symptoms of overwork and a few remedies.  

Another Girl's Own Paper article (1891) addresses the issue of acceptable jobs. In "Young Women As Journalists," the author who views girls as the "weaker vessel" believes that females may compete with males in a "useful and honourable calling" so long as the "conditions of the work are becoming their sex." Not all aspects of journalism, however, are suitable for girls and the "development of feminine graces." A job as a reporter would be dangerous because an "unprotected girl" might be forced to travel to the city in the late evening hours. 

51 Medicus, "Common Sense Advice for Working Girls," Girl's Own Paper, vol. 6, no. 267 (7 February 1885), 295-296. Why the column was for these two groups of females is unexplained. Maybe these two groups were considered the most vulnerable and thus the most needy.


53 Ibid., 396.
There are more suitable areas in journalism in which girls may work. They include writing and "departments" other than reporting. In sum, "most effective work on . . . newspapers has been done by women. . . ." The article also warns that the field of journalism is "overcrowded." 54

There are also problems for girls who work as barmaids and waitresses because they are exposed to the undesirable language of male patrons. These ill-mannered males use language which "would be a disgrace in the mouths of savages." 55 This is even more intolerable because it takes place in a Christian country. There are other aspects of the work that are undesirable. 56

There are numerous articles on how females should dress. In two months of 1900, Girl's Own Paper printed three articles on proper dress. They included comments on

54 Ibid. Forrester in her study of GOP has noted that in other articles, 1890-1891, domestic work is encouraged. An 1894 item listed statistics regarding working women. In that year, there are sounds of the English feminist in GOP. Yet from 1890 to 1898 there are few political items--more legal matters for married women. During the late Victorian year, many of the fictional characters have jobs outside the home. Forrester, Great Grandmama, 33-34, 41, 65.


56 Ibid.
style as well as proper dress for the occasion—home, church, work, visiting—and the season. Clothing not only reflected class status but also one's respectability and morality.

Another Victorian concern was religion, morality, and their relationship to scientific developments. The new science affected religious and moral ideas. The ambiguity with which Victorian civilization faced the new science is reflected in their children's literature. Some persons saw no problems in assimilating the new science to old beliefs, and others thought the new faith of science should replace old beliefs. The orthodox were distressed at either of those answers and saw many of the new discoveries as an attack on the edifice of their beliefs. The result was an increase in both pro-science and anti-science literature for both adults and children. The new science is mentioned in the fictional literature. Sometimes it is shown as compatible with Victorian religion and at other times a challenge.

Mrs. Gatty in Parables of Nature (1855) believed that the response to the possible conflict of creation versus

the new science was that nature was a "revelation of God."\textsuperscript{58} A similar view was expressed by Charles Kingsley in \textit{Glaucus} (1855). He also states that science reaffirms God.\textsuperscript{59} The eminent F. J. H. Darton in \textit{Children's Books in England} stated that Charles Kingsley's \textit{Glaucus or the Wonders of the Shore} (1855) was a "written guide to the knowledge then visibly expanding before intelligent and marvelling eyes under the demonstration of Hugh Miller, Philip Gosse, and the not yet evolutionary Darwin. . . .\textquotedblright\textsuperscript{60} Kingsley, unlike many Victorians, could easily reconcile the "new science with the old Creation cosmogony, and at that stage—for he had \textit{Coral Reefs} (1842) to support him, and the \textit{Origins of the Species} was not published until 1859—did not fear that thinkers whom he respected held subversive views."\textsuperscript{61} When \textit{Waterbabies} was published in 1863, however, things changed. Apprehension is evident in the "Fairy Bedonebyasyoudid's account of the History of the Doasyoulikes," which blended "science and economics, and its faintly derisive dislike of those who


\textsuperscript{59}Cutt, \textit{Ministering Angels}, 78-79.

\textsuperscript{60}Darton, \textit{Children's Books}, 2nd. ed., 259-260.

\textsuperscript{61}Ibid.
were easily tempted into infidelity (through God's pre-
science, according to Philip Gosse) by otherwise inex-
plicable fossils." 62 Without all of his moralizing, "his
generous enthusiasm for a real knowledge of science would
have made the children for whom he wrote a little apter to
comprehend the new doctrine which he accepted as evidence
for, not against, the Faith." 63

An 1865 publication expresses the idea that there was
a difference between science and ethics. In Alice In
Wonderland's "Pig and Pepper" chapter, the Cat's answer to
Alice's question for directions as to which way she should
go is that he cannot tell her until her destination is
known. When Alice says she does not care, "Then it
doesn't matter which way you go," said the Cat. 64

Carroll critic Martin Gardner said that John Kemany's A
Philosopher Looks At Science (1959) states that "the Cat's
answer expresses very precisely the eternal cleavage
between science and ethics." 65 While science may not help

62 Ibid. 63 Ibid.
64 Lewis Carroll [Charles L. Dodgson], Alice's
Adventures In Wonderland And Through The Looking-Glass
65 Martin Gardner, annotator, The Annotated Alice
(Cleveland, 1963), 89.
us in deciding "where to go . . . it can tell us the best way to get there."66

During the Victorian age, the new science—in particular the bastardization of Darwin's Theory—told that man had evolved from an animal and that those who exist are the strongest. The fittest were the ones who survive. Yet, as religion challenged science, it seemed that neither science nor religion had all the answers. Possibly religion had an advantage in that there was more dependence on "faith" than on "proof." Possibly in Alice's Adventures In Wonderland, technical skill and even earlier science were being questioned at the Mad Hatter's Tea Party. The March Hare's clock does not tell the hour, just the "day of the month," but then Time is a person to the March Hare. He seems to distrust Time or rather distrust Time's accuracy.67

Negative aspects of science and the conflict of religion and science are also in the literature, including mystery and adventure stories. The science fiction adventure stories of H. G. Wells were widely read by children, often surreptitiously. Wells wrote numerous books, among

66 Ibid.
them was The Island of Dr. Moreau (1885). In that novel, Edward Prendick is one of four survivors of a shipwreck. The others die before a rescuer arrives. Thus Prendick drifts for an unknown length of time in a boat alone. He is rescued by a mysterious man named Montgomery, whose servants and animals are strange and frightening to Prendick. They seem to have mixed human and animal qualities. Prendick goes with Montgomery to an island where Prendick meets Montgomery's chief, Dr. Moreau. With Montgomery's assistance Dr. Moreau has been conducting some unknown experiments on that island. Prendick had done biological research under Huxley at the Royal College of Science in England. Consequently, Moreau and Montgomery put him to work, but not in their laboratory, and he is kept ignorant of their experiments.

As the days pass Prendick notices the strange servants and animals of the island more closely. He starts to speculate when he remembers that a Dr. Moreau had been run out of England years before for conducting inhuman experiments. Prendick thinks that Moreau and Montgomery are turning men into animals, and he protests. Moreau says that they are not men nor were they ever men, rather

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68 H. G. Wells, Seven Science Fiction Novels, 12th pr. (New York, 1934).
they are "humanized animals--triumphs of vivisection." Prendick protests that it is ridiculous to subject animals or persons to so much pain. Moreau denies the pain, nor does he feel that his experiments are immoral. Moreau says that "I never yet heard of a useless thing that was not ground out of existence by evolution sooner or later . . . And pain gets needless." In view of this Moreau, believes that he is a

religious man . . . as every sane man must be. It may be I fancy I have seen more of the ways of this world's Maker than you--for I have sought his laws, in my way, all my life, while you, I understand, have been collecting butterflies. And I tell you, pleasure and pain have nothing to do with heaven and hell. Pleasure and pain--Bah! What is your theologian's ecstasy but Mahomet's hour in the dark? The store men and women set on pleasure and pain . . . is the mark of the beast upon them, the mark of the beast from which they came . . . Pain and pleasure--they are for us only so long as we wriggle in the dust . . .

The underlying story reveals itself: the conflict of science versus old ideas. Those creatures who survive, like those advocating the new science, Moreau believes, are the "fittest"; pleasure and pain, good and evil, do not matter, but strength and endurance do.

Moreau and then Montgomery finally are killed in an attempt to recapture an escaped animal. Prendick, through his own cleverness and the loyalty of a dog-man stays

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69 Ibid., 130.  70 Ibid., 133.  71 Ibid.
alive for many months more. During this time the human-ized animals without Moreau become confused. Increasing-ly, each day they slip more and more back into their old forms.

That brilliant detective Sherlock Holmes in "The Adventure of The Creeping Man" met the uglier side of the new science. A distinguished British scientist Professor Presbury, a middle-aged man, was in love with a woman his daughter's age. He went on a tour of Europe, and there he met another scientist who was experimenting with drugs to restore youth. The professor takes this serum every nine days and turns into an ape-like thing who crawls down the halls and climbs the ivy walls outside. Each time he takes the drug he becomes very highstrung, irritable, and "more sinister."

Holmes, of course, penetrated the mystery and then told Watson:

When one tries to rise above Nature one is liable to fall below it. The highest type of man may revert to the animal if he leaves the straight road of destiny . . . When I have written to this man and told him that I hold him criminally responsible for the poisons which he circulates, we will have no more trouble . . . . There is danger . . . a very real danger to humanity. Consider . . . that the material, the sensual, the worldly would all prolong their worthless lives. The spiritual would not avoid the call to something higher. It would be the survival of the least fit.


73 Ibid., 1082-1083.
In Edith Nesbit's writings are examples of the struggle of good and evil. In the "Plush Usurper" (1896) that struggle exists; moreover, science is equated with magic. "The Plush Usurper" tells about the struggle of a good king with his brother who is attempting to usurp the throne.74 Always dressed in white, Good King Alban is a man who worked only for his people. The people are satisfied with King Alban's laws until his brother Negretti, a magician, come back to Albanatolia from "the Golden Indies."75 Unlike the King who dressed in white symbolizing purity, Negretti dressed in varying colors of plush which were gaudily decorated with jewels, and he rode elephants. Through magic, he turns the White King into stone.

When the people adopt the greed introduced by Negretti's scientific magic, they bring on hard times. The White King had been good and pure—he upheld the old traditions of good over evil. On the contrary, Negretti was experimenting with science; he was symbolic of science, which was new to the people. The inventions of science brought greed and discontent. Science, the people


75 Ibid., 95.
of Albanatolia found, could not solve all problems and, in fact, created new ones.

Good conquers evil, and the White King, saved by his fiancee, the Princess of the Sun, Perihelia, comes back and wipes out Negretti and his evil men. Negretti becomes a wooden pump from which bitter water comes. This water was given to the children when they were bad. It was also used to wash the municipal omnibuses although the buses turned many different colors from the water.

Through theories like the new science, men who try to change the whole order may have it turn on them. During this time, Darwin developed his theories. It was not his precise theories that were popularly promoted but interpretations of them which he, in fact, rejected. The Victorians held the view that Science can be beneficial, but as it has progressed in trying to achieve things out of its realm it, like the "Creeping Man," becomes "more sinister." Psychologically, the Professor became a danger to his family, just as the new science was to society.

Science was entrenched in society, yet a division between science and popular thought existed. In "The Plush Usurper," science brings evil and disruption. In the colored buses, the science of the story left its mark. The new science left its mark on Victorian England, too. Old traditional ideas were questioned, if not displaced.
Many Victorians, as the Hare at the Mad Hatter's Tea Party, were distrustful of science and its inventions. Many persons feared that science would go too far, as in the experiments of Dr. Moreau. Yet, there were also men like Dr. Moreau who found a form of faith in their scientific endeavors. They felt that through their studies and explorations, they were finding the real bases of life. Sometimes the honest endeavors were disastrous to the researchers themselves, as in "The Adventure of the Creeping Man."

The physical advances that science was bringing to the Victorian Age were undeniable. The children's literature of the time revealed attempts to reconcile the new ideas of science with the older ideas of religion. However the attitude that dominated was a deep-seated distrust of this new world. Mad magicians of children's tales became mad scientists (or perhaps were both as in "The Plush Usurper"). Seldom, even in stories by the mathematician Dodgson or the socialist Wells, was science seen as an unalloyed benefit.

Religion, manners, and morality were still evident in children's literature despite a decline in volume. According to "Survey of Selected Children's Periodicals, 1861-1886" (Appendix C) those topical areas began to decline in the 1870s. As the examples in this chapter
illustrate, religion in children's literature did not die in the late Victorian era; however, the Victorian secular ethic became more evident. This may be the result of the challenge of science. According to the juvenile literature, the doubt seems as great regarding science as religion and possibly the secular ethic was a compromise—a safer ground. The growth of the Victorian morality could also be a response to socio-economic changes within England.

Victorian morality required consciousness of the plight of others, conscientiousness, good works, and benevolence. There was no avoiding the realities of life, nor did the expected morality bypass children's literature. Anna Sewell, Thomas Hughes, Edith Nesbit, Charlotte M. Yonge, and Joseph Jacobs each reflected a different aspect of Victorian morality. **Black Beauty** was an aristocrat and was to take pride in his heritage, while the pride and snobbery of little Chrlotte and Florinda were discouraged.

The morality proposed in late Victorian children's literature was highly conventional with the possible exception of Jacob's version of "Jack and the Beanstalk" where improper behavior becomes allowable under exceptional circumstances. Pride but not arrogance, helpfulness,
generosity but not prolificacy, respect for others, honesty, and above all a consciousness of one's own duty were exhorted.
CHAPTER IX

VICTORIAN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE AND PATRIOTISM, NATIONALISM, AND IMPERIALISM

During the years from 1852 to 1914 politics domestically and internationally were changing. In Great Britain the prime minister's mantle was worn by only eleven different men during those sixty-two years. To propose reform became the nation's duty and each individual's patriotic responsibility. Seeking a better way of life for Englishmen became associated with patriotism and nationalism. Later, the better life for Englishmen and foreign "natives" became part of the imperialistic motto. The ideas and attitudes of patriotism, nationalism, and imperialism are used interchangeably in much of the children's literature of the late Victorian period. Young people were quick to pick up the spirit and excitement of these political attitudes. Nationalism and patriotism may be briefly defined as common traits, pride, protection of people, a fighting spirit, and a desire to extend "self".¹

¹See Chapter II for more detailed definitions. See also Chapter X for more on imperialism.
In Victorian children's literature, Englishmen and women revealed themselves as proud, frequently to the point of smugness, of their nation and its culture and of their own national origin. In the stories for the younger generation, English writers sang the praises of their country both past and present. Through examples and direct requests children were told to love their country, its culture and rulers, and to help promote patriotism.

Patriotism and nationalism are examples of beliefs and actions that literature and society reinforced in children's literature during the Victorian age. By copying literary examples the child does what he believes to be his duty and what he believes is right. The character may be a lion who salutes the Union Jack each day and always obeys the law, or it may be a boy from Bobbyland who lends his water pistol to another boy of Bobbylander descent living in far away India. Moreover, few children do not admire or are not told to admire a father who is a member of the House of Commons or a big brother who is a famous soldier.

This chapter will examine the ideas of patriotism, nationalism, and imperialism in British children's literature from 1850 to 1914. The materials are divided into three groups: those which present portraits of England and the general attitudes of nationalism and patriotism;
those which use historical examples; and lastly those
which extol soldiers, heroics, and war.

Pride in England and her people characterizes a
majority of the selections. In The New Cries of London
(1850) the young reader is presented with many views of
British life; moreover, several of the portraits of
Londoners encourage national pride.2 Also promoting this
pride are numerous alphabet books published between
1857-1874. In these the letter "U" stands for "uphold,"
"unite," "Union-jack," and "unicorn."3 All refer to
patriotism and the latter two are symbols of the British
nation, itself. In one of these books the tiny child is
told that "U for the Unicorn, Keeping/his eye on/the
coveted crown, and/ its counsel the Lion."4 Still other
letters represent King and Throne which are good,


3 The Pretty Alphabet with very easy spelling; for
good children, Papa please you well series (London,
[1857]), n.p.; Henry Anelay, illus., The Mother's Picture
Alphabet (1862; reprint, New York, 1974), intro. Peter
Stockham, n.p.; Walter Crane, Noah's Ark A.B.C. (1872;
reprint, New York, 1976), in The Noah's Ark A.B.C. And 8
Other Victorian Alphabet Books In Color, ed. Ruari McLean,
51; Aunt Louisa's Alphabet (1877; reprint, 1976), in The
Noah's Ark A.B.C. And 8 Other Victorian Alphabet Books,
63.

4 Walter Crane, Walter Crane's Absurd A.B.C. (1874;
reprint New York, 1976), in Noah's Ark A.B.C. And 8 Other
Victorian Alphabet Books, 43.
Fig. 7--Patriotism and morality from illustrations by Walter Crane, Absurd Alphabet, Baby's Own Alphabet, and Noah's Ark Alphabet (London, [ca. 1890]), items "T," "U,": Alphabet books creatively promoted Victorian ideas visually and in rhyme.
powerful, and noble. In alphabet books, pre-readers and beginning readers are frequently exposed to national symbols and images in positive terms.

Rather than monarchs and institutions the scenes of English life in *The Railway A.B.C.* (1865) show people traveling or working in railways or on boats. Most of these people seem fairly affluent or are gainfully employed.

Other stories reveal emotions and ideas of people rather than their occupations and dress. This is true of *Stalky and Co.* (1897). It shows the toughness and often severity of school life and Kipling's love and admiration for England, the Empire, and its many powers. In the chapter "The Flag of Their Country" it appears that Kipling is denouncing patriotism; in fact, he was criticizing maudlin sentimentality, not the spirit of patriotism. This chapter begins with the gym master punishing tardy boys by making them drill. When they complain of the drill, he says "'If you're lucky, most of you will 'ave to take drills 'arf your life.'" A member of the

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7 *Rudyard Kipling, Stalky and Co.*, (Garden City, New York, 1899), 174.
school's board, General Collinson, watches the boys drill. He is pleased, and believes that a volunteer cadet corps should be started. He makes the suggestion and it is followed. The central character, Stalky believed that the corps was a way to combine "education with wholesome amusement." Macturk, Stalky's friend, said

'I knew you'd make a sort of extra tu. of it, you cold-blooded brute . . . Don't you want to die for your giddy country?

'Not if I can jolly well avoid it. So you mustn't rot the corps,' said Stalky.

The corps was started and numerous boys volunteered. A patriotic "do-gooder" and supposedly a friend of General Collinson asks to make a speech to the boys. Mr. Raymond Martin, M. P., the friend, chooses a Saturday night which is the usual evening of fun for the boys. He does not know the boys or their background nor does he try to find out. A large number are sons of military men and were born abroad. Mr. Martin begins his speech "'Well boys'" which irritates the young men. He continues his speech reminding them that

they must remember that . . . the boys of to-day made the men of to-morrow, and upon the men of to-morrow the fair fame of their glorious native land depended . . . so they ought to think of the duties and responsibilities of the life that

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8 Ibid., 184. 9 Ibid. 10 Ibid., 193.
was opening before them . . . Some of them . . . expected in a few years to have the honour of a commission from the Queen. . . .

He then pompously tells of his own military experience.

In a raucous voice he cried aloud little matters, like the hope of Honour and the dream of Glory . . . cheerfully assuming that till he spoke, they had never considered these possibilities . . . He profaned the most secret places of their souls with outcries and gesticulations . . . They felt savagely that they were being outraged by a fat man. . . .

He brings out a Union Jack, saying "Let no boy look on this flag who does not purpose to worthily add to its imperishable lustre." He assumes he knows so much, particularly about how to approach young people—boys whose fathers guarded the nations. The boys think that "he was . . . a Flopshus Cad, an Outrageous Stinker, a Jelly-bellied Flag-flapper. . . ." When the corps was disbanded, Stalky weeps. Through this colorful story the young reader is exposed to varying levels of patriotism.

There is also more than one level of patriotism in "The Band of The Red, White And Blue" (1891). It is patriotic to love country, to provide rights for all citizens, and to fight at home and abroad against enemy nations and undesirable domestic conditions. "The Band of

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11 Ibid., 193-194  12 Ibid., 194-195.
13 Ibid., 195.  14 Ibid., 197.
The Red, White And Blue" calls for all the people, both male and female, to march "On to the field of battle,/To conquer not to slay." It tells the drummer to continue its call to the cause. Moreover, it calls for women like Sargeant Maggie to come forward and declare themselves, to stand up for their rights just as many women in the feminist movement were doing during the late 1800s and early 1900s. Women are just as capable of meeting their adversaries as men are. The poem also relates that British soldiers in the military tradition are brave and strong. The causes for which the poem is fighting are not just those of England's but those of the British Empire. And the last lines of the poem are a plea to help the underprivileged children who have no money, food, clothes, or homes. It suggests giving in the true British spirit. Like many Victorians ideas and movements, patriotism and nationalism were independent and yet they were interwoven with each other and with ideas and attitudes.

15"The Band of the Red, White and Blue" from The Infants' Magazine 24 (London, 1891), 188,

THE BAND OF THE RED,
WHITE AND BLUE

There waves the Flag of England,
The old ‘Red, White and Blue’!
Play up, my gallant Drummer,
A loud, rat-tat-a-too.
As we go marching onward
In all our brave array,
On to the field of battle,
To conquer, not to slay.
Look at our Sergeant Maggie,
How boldly she steps out!
Were she to meet a foe
She’d send him ‘right about.’
And as for Private Johnnie,
Our noble Grenadier,
He’s every inch a soldier—
Don’t talk to him of fear.
Play up again, brave Drummer!
My noble Army, whistle!
We’re fighting for the Shamrock,
The Roses and the Thistle.
We’re fighting for the children
Who pine in rags for bread;
We’re fighting for the pennies
To get them clothed and fed.
We’re fighting for the children
Who have no homes like ours,
Who never see the sunshine,
And never smell the flowers.
‘Rat-tat-a-too, rat-tat-a-too.’
All who have pennies, give them, do!

Fig. 8--Patriotism, an illustration, from The
All stories did not use this approach. In numerous stories famous English citizens and events are used to promote patriotism and nationalism. Stories about royalty occupy many pages in children's books. Eleanor Farjeon, a British children's writer, said that in her youth there were two queens; one was Queen Victoria while the other was the queen of fairy tales. "The real and ideal kingdoms" over which they reigned "extended their boundaries" in her mind, "... as Victoria's realm spread backward into History and the Fairy Queen's flowed onward into Poetry."\(^{17}\) Poetry and history aided each other's development. The former's practice was "to enlarge by revelation, while History increased itself by association."\(^{18}\) Queen Victoria's "presence possessed the English throne with a sort of immorality that made it hard to believe queens ever died."\(^{19}\)

William the Conqueror was a popular figure in Victorian children's literature. He was usually considered a hero and he is respected because he is strong, mighty, and brave, and he has conquered lands, just as his name implies. Praising an earlier conqueror and for William to be popular during an age when conquest

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\(^{17}\) Eleanor Farjeon and William Mayne, eds. A Cavalcade of Queens (New York, 1965), viii.

\(^{18}\) Ibid.

\(^{19}\) Ibid.
was not uncommon (although it was sometimes given other names in an effort to justify it) seems natural.

Story, informational, and alphabet books between 1850 and 1901 informed the young readers about Francis Bacon, Florence Nightingale, the Prince of Wales, King Alfred, Queens (particularly Victoria), and other British heroes as well as their achievements.\(^{20}\) Dickens' *A Child's History* (1868) praises many British monarchs. After mentioning good Queen Victoria, Dickens' wrote "God Save the Queen!" a common English motto.\(^{21}\)

In other materials the child meets historic English times rather than famous British citizens. R. D. Blackmore's *Lorna Doone* (1869) is an adventurous and romantic tale which takes place during the era of Charles II and James II. It portrays the period as exciting. According to a Publishers' Circular, 100,000 copies of *Lorna Doone* were sold in twenty-eight years.\(^{22}\)


Rudyard Kipling also uses historical eras and famous people along with imaginary persons in *Puck of Pook's Hill* (1905). Two young people, Una and Dan, unknowingly call out one of the little people while play-acting. There was only one left in the hills, and he said "I'm Puck, the oldest Old Thing in England." 23 With the magical help of Puck, the children make several journeys back in time to the early history of England—even before the Conquest. Una and Dan meet early leaders, warriors, gods, heroes, and rulers. The story of England's early years develops a feeling of patriotism.

Puck's stories of the early gods shows another type of victory, one for the emerging English Christian tradition. The people of the hills were "foreigners" who "began as Gods" but who through the centuries "flitted" away. Early traders and settlers brought these gods. They did not "get on with the English" and thus became people of the hills and later disappeared. Christianity came to young England. The primitive gods were not necessarily bad, just not right for this country. Puck indicates that it was a natural process for Christianity to dominate. 24 Puck, one who adapted, survived over the

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centuries whereas those who did not accept the new emerging culture disappeared.

Puck talks of the conquest and establishment of England. In the "Tree Song", the reader is told that "Greater are none beneath the Sun" that the trees of England. For the trees of England, as Puck has said, reflect the English heritage of Greek, Roman, and Trojan. Her inheritance from these three will enable England to survive "till Judgement Tide." As the book continues Dan and Una meet other famous English people from the past. Pride in England and its national heritage is the theme throughout these fictional encounters.

Historical, fictional or contemporary-soldiers are seen as the protectors and standard bearers of the nation. Victorian children's literature is filled with stories of soldiers, their heroics and wars. Children were given models to copy in action and thinking through stories and poems. The call for patriotism even came in four-line poems such as "Playing At Soldiers" (1850):

Play up Tom Green, 'God Save the Queen!'
And 'Rule Britannia' too;
With colors gay we'll march away,
And rival Waterloo!

25 Kipling, _Puck of Pook's Hill_, 27. 26 Ibid., 28.
This poem was typical of those written in the mid-Victorian Age and read in the following years; new glories are encouraged by praising past glory. In its few short lines, the poem has an excitement in it similar to that which captured the spirit of Victorian England.

Storybooks and alphabet books as well as poems praised past victories and remembered the military men who won those battles. Soldiers fight for the crown and their country in Thackeray's *The Rose And The Ring* (1855), while the young reader learns the price of victory in *The Alphabet of Peace* (1856). War victories mean deaths and family losses. This book, published at the end of the Crimean War and dedicated to peace, salutes the English veteran. What better way to serve one's country than in its military, even if it means death? Certainly it is a noble and patriotic act.

*The Boy Slaves* (1864) by Captain Mayne Reid also refers to the contributions and dangers for soldiers. Described in patriotic terms, the soldier exhibits English bravery and honor. And, of course, military duty

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requires commitment. Stories and poems frequently spoke of that and of possible benefits such as excitement, adventure, and economic advancement.

The poem "Help! Help! Somebody!" (1879) centers on patriotic and personal commitment while Henty's story With Clive in India (1884) points out the excitement, adventure, and economic advantages for soldiers. The poem refers to "A freeman born in a glorious land!" who should be proud to serve.30 Upright, dutiful, and self-reliant are traits that build individual character and country.31

Charlie and several friends in Henty's With Clive In India (1884) found that serving their country was fun, dangerous, and a means of self advancement. Charlie's Uncle, an example of class snobbery, objected to Charlie joining the military because it was physically dangerous and because the nephew "can't rise far" in that occupation. Charlie returns to England a decade later as a mature man who was financially secure and filled with adventuresome tales. Through military life Charlie and a


31 Ibid.
friend gained a depth of character that prompted them to serve in parliament.32

This story, like so many of Henty's, conveys numerous Victorian attitudes and ideas. Also in this patriotic adventure story is a criticism of English political and military policy. One of the natives, Hossein, went to England. He expresses surprise to Charlie that the English population was so big. Hossein could not understand why, if there were so many white men in England, that more had not been sent to India. When Hossein states England "sent so few soldiers to fight for her in India" even though "mighty interests were at stake...", the response he gets is that "somehow England always seemed to make war in driblets."33 Henty, through his story, expressed unrestrained Victorian imperialism.

Clive, Charlie, and other characters in Henty's story are heroes. Many other Victorian stories and poems included examples of English patriotic and military heroes. These include Richard Tregellas (1891) "For Queen And Country" (1900), and "British Volunteers for South Africa" (1900).34

32Henty, With Clive, 17, 41, 142, 152-154, 376, 379.
33Ibid., 377; see also Henty, With Moore.
34David L. Johnstone, Richard Tregellas: A Memoir of His Adventure in the West Indies in the Year of Grace 1781 (Edinburgh, 1891) cited in Ragatz, Caribbean Literature,
Heroes and noble soldiers could be young boys as well as grown men. This is found in the column "Boys At The Post of Duty" and the story "Their Work, Their Play, Their Perils" (1900). The young boys are buglers and drummers and like the older soldiers they are brave, hard working, and an example to other English boys. These young members of the military help the entire British cause by fulfilling their patriotic duty despite its dangers. It is a call to serve England and like so many patriotic stories includes imperialist sentiments.

Love of country, excitement, bravery, and self-sacrifice are all part of serving and fighting for one's nation. In times of military conflict there were more stories with patriotic themes than in peacetime. This was especially true of the boys periodicals. While there are few selections in the girl's periodicals with this theme a 1900 edition of The Girl's Own Paper has a touching item.

369; "For Queen And Country," Chums, vol. 8, no. 383 (10 January 1900), 342; "British Volunteers For South Africa," Chums, vol. 8, no. 391 (7 March 1900), 454-455. Chums, vol. 8, no. 391, also included numerous other stories and games on soldiers, the Army, and the Boer War. One competition titled "Which British Leaders, now fighting the Boers in South Africa, do you most admire?" provided a list of names. See 449, 463, 464.

There is little mention of the African war in the October, 1900, issues; however, there is a full page colored illustration in which a lady is kissing a soldier farewell. She says "good bye" and the caption reads "The 3rd Battalion Grenadier Guards leaving Waterloo Station, October 21st 1899. . . ." 36

There appeared to be no anti-patriotic literary items for children. That is natural. There were selected criticisms of political and military policies, but there are few selections that are anti-war. One is Napoleon Bonaparte: Sketches from his History [ca. 1850]. In this story an uncle tells his nephew the story of Napoleon. During this conversation the Uncle, a former soldier, advocates peace not war. He discusses the negative and silly aspects of war. 37

Patriotic themes are among the most natural in youthful reading. Promoting love of country was popular and expected, just as love of family and God was expected. Each contained elements that made up a part of the ideal Englishman's identity. Thus, to fill many pages of reading for the developing child with themes of

36 The Girl's Own Paper, vol. 22, no. 1085 (13 October 1900), between pp. 32-33. Besides kissing each other, the lady and soldier are also shaking hands.

patriotism and nationalism was natural and necessary to Victorians. As the era progressed, the patriotism intensified. It is seen in stories and poems expressing intense English superiority and sentiments of Empire. Loyalty to country, monarch, customs, and empire as well as fighting for those elements were all expressions of Victorian patriotism, nationalism, and imperialism.

Famous British citizens and English historical events were another frequent feature in children's literature. The young reader became acquainted with famous people who contributed to English life either through notable acts or prominent positions. These people like historical events, were held up for praise to the young readers. Those people and events became models.

Other models were soldiers and those who followed and defended the English flag. Extolling the virtues of soldiers and war was the third common area. The difference in these examples from the other two groups was that there are more sentiments of imperialism in the writings concerning soldiers and war. Children's literature did reflect the dominant Victorian sentiments toward the country and the ideal of duty to it.
During the Victorian Era, British imperialism was reflected in children's literature. Imperialism had many causes, including expansionism, adventurism, romanticism, patriotism, humanitarianism, religious evangelicalism, and economic gains; and all but the economic factors are reflected in the children's literature. There are stories describing the establishment of colonies and the first efforts of missionaries in newly opened territory, but the bulk of the writing concerns life in well-established colonial areas. One major theme is that of the relationship between colonial adventuring and good deeds and Christian duty.

The British viewed their society as superior to other civilizations, particularly those non-European ones inhabited by "primitive" peoples. They often termed their superiority in words of color. This racism seen in terms of color, not culture, became more prevalent in the later Victorian years. In earlier stories the Englishman is
superior by virtue of his culture and his social class. For example, in Thackeray's *The Rose And The Ring* (1855) the Englishman is superior by social class. There are both black and white servants shown, although there is an implied racial superiority in that three of the servants are pointed out as blacks.¹

The English also viewed their civilization and their ruler as superior. In *Through The Looking Glass And What Alice Found There* (1872) Alice, a fresh little girl of seven years and six months is restless and curious. Very early in her adventure in the looking-glass world, Alice meets the White Queen. The Queen's child is Lily, an "imperial kitten," possibly suggesting that the imperialism was the playful and ungovernable child of England.² The White Queen is more powerful than the White King, just as in the game of chess, but also perhaps suggesting comparisons between Victoria and other monarchs. During the second half of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century, Great Britain expanded until "the sun never sets on the British Empire," and Queen Victoria's domain was greater than that of any of the European kings or rulers.

¹Thackeray, *The Rose And The Ring*, 49, 95.
Numerous Henty books express superiority in several ways. The English were the superior fighters, civilization, and race. In *With Clive in India* (1884) there are numerous references to the superiority of the English military. Moreover, native troops trained by English are better fighters than those without this influence.\(^3\)

In other literary examples, the comparison may not be with other existing nations but with biblical societies. A correspondent with Juliana H. Ewing expressed the belief that England had the best turf of all places in the world; even better than the Garden of Eden. This "correspondence" is a part of Ewing's *Letters From A Little Garden* (1885).\(^4\) The comparison is a powerful one whether it is English soil over Eden's or the European nation over the biblical one.

Expressions of superiority appear in the writings of Rudyard Kipling, Hilaire Belloc, Edith Nesbit, and other authors. In Kipling's school books and particularly the *Jungle Books* (1893-95), there exists an inferior society. It is a lesser society based on cultural characteristics.


\(^4\)J. H. Ewing, *Mary's Meadow and Letters from A Little Garden* (London, [1886]), 82. The preface states that *Mary's Meadow* was serialized from November, 1883 to March, 1884 in *Aunt Judy's Magazine* while *Letters* was serialized in the same periodical from November, 1884 to February 1885.
and racial factors. The Jungle Book (1893) is composed of seven stories most of which are set in India and have elements of fantasy. The Second Jungle Book (1894-95) has eight stories of which seven are set in India. Again there are illusions to fanciful and mythological thought; however, in The Second Jungle Book as opposed to The Jungle Book presentation of events dominates over the presentation of ideas and emotions. In many of the tales, especially the Mowgli stories, there are higher and lower societies both within the villages inhabited by humans and the jungle inhabited by animals. Within the first there is a caste system—accepted by most of the people. Mowgli, the boy-cub, and his animal friends frown upon it. They do accept man as superior to animals, and Englishmen as better than the Indian natives. In the Mowgli and other Jungle Book stories, references to different native groups illustrate this. For example, the Aleuts are referred to as unclean people and undesirable because of their uncleanliness and brutality. There are also references to "dirty Assamese jungle folk," "native children have no nerves—worth speaking of . . ." and "native fashion." But the Assamese were considered of a lower class

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than the boy Toomai who in turn regarded Petersen Sahib as his better. Petersen was English and had money as well as education.  

Still another example of cultural and racial differences used to differentiate class appeared in "The Miracle of Purun Bhagat" where Purun Dass (Bhagat) was the prime minister of a small Indian State. Dass was an example of Indian tradition in his dress and habits. He realized that the "ancient order" was changing and his society must change also. He believed that a key to this was good relations with England which could be achieved by imitating the English. Dass was able to lead the way because he had had an English education. For his work in moulding a progressive state, Dass was honored by the English in India and in England. Dass later resigns and becomes a holy beggar seeking spiritual peace. Now described as being "of the plains--but pale coloured--a Brahmin of the Brahmins," Dass utilizes the best of both cultures during an emergency. His inner peace allows him to befriend animals who warn him of imminent danger. His English training for command and leadership aids in warning and directing a whole village during a crisis.  

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6 Kipling, Jungle Book, 189-192.
7 Kipling, Second Jungle Book, 34, 27-34.
Within the animal society the monkeys (called "Monkey Folk") are the lesser group because they have no laws, leadership, or humility. They play too much and do not finish tasks that they start. The monkeys lived in a deserted city where "no self-respecting animal would come . . . except in times of drought. . . ." The monkeys try to look and act civilized, but they could not. They are lazy and fight too much. Another indication that the monkeys are inferior is that the abandoned Indian City where they live is considered a relic of the past with its stone idols. An English child reading this story would equate idols with primitive or heathen groups.

Still another example of heathenism is in "Letting In The Jungle" in which the villagers believe in witches. It is noted that the "mad" English do not believe in witches and, therefore, will not allow "honest farmers to kill witches in peace." Again the superiority of the British and Christianity is expressed.

In many Jungle Book stories there are negative reactions to fighting and killing when survival is not

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9 Ibid., 62-64, 72.
10 Kipling, Second Jungle Book, 56.
dependent on those acts. It does not appear to be anti-war but rather to be a criticism of human life as opposed to animal life, particularly the better groups of animals. Throughout many of these Kiplings' stories manners are important to animals and human alike. According to one critic, Kipling's aim in much of his writing was "disciplined obedience" which shows up in the
Jungle Books.

An anonymous author in the "penny dreadful" The Traveling Schoolboys also used cultural attributes as well as morality to show the elevation of the English over foreigners. One of the characters, Headmaster Primrose, says that the Englishman's "sterling virtues" are admired by others. Being a virtuous person is a characteristic that makes an Englishman superior.

Being superior means having strength and responsibility as well as being morally and racially superior.

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11 Ibid., 132, 137; Kipling, Jungle Book, 118, 62-64.
12 Kipling, Jungle Book, 57, 24, 86, 120.
14 The Traveling Schoolboys: An Interesting Story (London, [ca. 1895]), 4. The classification of this dreadful is from the Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection, 1:416.
England's strength is a key point in Norman Cale's "East-West" (1896) and in Hilaire Belloc's "The Lion" (1896). Both portray a mighty and strong England. In Cale's poem, the magnitude of England's power is emphasized by comparing the strong and advanced European country to weak and primitive India. There are also expressions of responsibility in this poem. The East will not fight because the West is so much stronger; moreover, the Indians should know that the West only wants to help them.15

Strength, superiority, criticism and imperialism are all part of Belloc's poem "The Lion." Belloc hints at sordid realities while praising the British Empire satirically. "The Lion" at first appears to be a nonsense poem, but the satirist Belloc is ever present.

The Lion, the Lion, he dwells in waste,
He has a big head and a very small waist;
But his shoulders are stark, and his jaws are grim,
And a good little child will not play with him.16

The lion lives in the refuge of society's neglect.

England's stupidity is a result of "a big head." Despite errors and undesirable conditions in England, the nation is determined to continue its present ways. There is no

15Norman Cale, "East-West" from Songs for Little People (London, 1896), 110, in DeVries, Little Wide-Awake, 229; see also Nesbit, Treasure Seekers, 79.

real camouflage of missions or duties—rather like the lion, "shoulders . . . stark" and "jaws . . . grim."

Belloc's last line appears to say that playing with antagonizing fierce and determined Great Britain might have dire consequences. Belloc recognized the Empire's power and disliked it. 17

Children's adventure and romance stories generally have foreign elements with exotic settings, such as the jungles of Africa, plantations in South America, South Sea islands, and the Indian hills. Often these romantic and hazardous areas bring out the best in the Englishman. (See Figure 9.)

Bolstering the English sense of superiority and her adventurous and romantic desires were national events like the Crystal Palace Exhibition in 1851. This exhibition allowed England to display her achievements to Englishmen and foreigners alike. The exhibition at the Crystal Palace was a magnificent display. It was viewed as a symbol of England's industrial success, as a statement of her leadership among nations, and as an opportunity to bring together international leaders and peoples. In the periodical The Children's Friend, an 1851 feature "The Crystal Palace; or Grand Industrial Exhibition of 1851" describes these same three characteristics. The story mentions that the prince-consort had wanted to promote international

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17 Ibid.
Fig. 9--The challenges of colonial life from an illustration in Mayne Reid, *The Bush Boys; Or History and Adventures of a Cape Farmer and His Family in the Wild Karoos of Southern Africa*, illustrator unknown (Boston, 1858), 73: Exotic places frequently required the Englishman to adapt and to become a leader.
trade and brotherhood through the exhibit. It was a
display of inventions of progress and development and of
cultural exhibits. Among the many displays was the
British and Foreign Bible Society's show of translations
of the Bible.  

In far off lands the Englishman would reproduce much
of his own culture. This culture, however, was not always
a duplicate of what was at home because the Englishman
frequently had to modify his culture to his new surround-
ings. For many people residing in South Africa, "bread
was a luxury" according to Captain Mayne Reid's The Young
Yaegers (1857). Bread was not a food of the "tribes of
the native people." It was important to make such
distinctions. Comparison with the English and their
standards was a method of separating the two societies.
Adaption and challenge in the far reaches of the Empire
were not unusual according to this story.

Ballantyne's The Coral Island (1858), a story for
older children, is set in an exotic South Seas Island.

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18 "The Crystal Palace; or Grand Industrial Exhibition
of 1851," The Children's Friend, 28 (May, 185), E
[97]-100; see also Tallis History and Description of the
Crystal Palace (London, 1951) quoted in Francois Bedarida,
Forster (Methuen, 1979), 3.

19 Mayne Reid, The Young Yaegers (Boston, 1857), 148.

20 Ibid.
Three young English boys are the central characters. Individually and collectively they meet the challenge of their exotic and uncivilized settings as well as their encounters with primitive peoples.21

Stories for younger children also promoted empire.

In The Mother's Picture Alphabet (1862) the letter "E" stands for "Empire, a Kingdom; and Ensign, a flag" while in the next decade in the Globe Alphabet several letters like "C" and "N" are for persons in foreign countries such as "Chinaman" and "Nabob, a lord of the East."22

The promises and images of foreign adventure and riches varied. They included fathers who were sailors bringing home beautiful things from exotic places (When I Was A Little Girl), soldiers who become rich through overseas assignment (With Clive In India) and pirates and danger in foreign lands (Mother Carey's Chickens and Nat The Naturalist).23


22 Mother's Picture Alphabet, n.d.; The Globe Alphabet, in Noah's Ark A.B.C. And 8 Other Victorian Alphabet Books. The volume of examples of expansion, romance, and adventure increases in the 1870s.

23 Eliza (Tabor) Stephenson, When I Was A Little Girl, Stories for Children (London, 1871), 9-11; Henty, With Clive, 12, 377-381; George M. Fenn, Mother Carey's
Promoting empire may not be for adventuresome expansion but a necessity. There are numerous passages in *Alice Through The Looking Glass* that portray English expansion. In the portion called "Looking-Glass Insects," Alice is asked for her ticket on a strange train. She says that a ticket cannot be produced because where she comes from there was not a place to buy them. Everything seems pressured and rushed. The chorus of people say that "'there wasn't room for one where she came from'" since the "'land there is worth a thousand pounds an inch!'" \(^{24}\) The population of England was growing in the late Victorian period.

Expansion overseas meant that the traveling Englishman had to meet and deal with foreigners. Since much of the expansion was in areas that were inhabited by non-Europeans, areas that were predominately non-industrial, the English regarded the people in these areas as primitives. The British views of the colonial natives and their relationship with each other was also a part of the children's literature. The 1850s witnessed not only a

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shift in the English perception of the natives as noble savages but also a change in abolitionist societies. Through the 1860s there was an "aggressive assertion of white superiority." This use of physical color and a "racial interpretation of history" became common and by 1890 there was a clear hierarchic classification of natives on the basis of their color. Higher cultural levels were generally associated with natives of lighter colors.\(^{25}\)

In 1850, within children's literature the natives were perceived as noble savages who were childlike, loyal, and harmless. Approximately a decade later, this image gave way to a stereotype of ruthless savages who were decidedly inferior, often violent and unreliable. Emerging around 1880 was a third portrayal in which natives might be either good or bad.

In three 1850s stories "The Emigrants" (1851), The Rose And The Ring (1855), and Young Yaegers (1857), the natives are dark or black, harmless inferiors who frequently have strange habits. Even civilized ones are not the Englishman's equal. In Reid's The Young Yaegers, Kaffirs, though warriors, were often employed by Europeans in Cape Colony for simple jobs such as wagon drivers. One Kaffir, Congo, despite being civilized still has a

\(^{25}\)Bolt, Victorian Attitudes, xi, 21.
"lingering regard for ancient habits" and is described as a "handsome savage."²⁶ He and other Kaffir savages in this story are viewed as strange and as the possessors of great knowledge about animals and nature.²⁷ This story reinforces the image of savages as humans who are close to nature and uncivilized.

This perspective changes and a new one, more negative, begins to dominate. During the 1850s and 1860s several volatile events influenced the English view of colonial natives. The various native rebellions such as the Indian Mutiny (1857) and the Jamaican Crisis (1865) helped to change the view that English people held. They came to regard the natives not as innocent naive natives, but as "bloodthirsty savages."²⁸ Many English citizens were

²⁶ Reid, Young Yaegers, 12, 11-12; "The Emigrants," The Children's Friend, vol. 28, no. 325 (January, 1851), 17; Thackeray, The Rose And The Ring; see also Bolt, Victorian Attitudes, 193-194. Note the settings: Australia, fictionalized countries, and Africa.

²⁷ Reid, Young Yaegers, 12, 17-25, 119.

²⁸ Bernard Semmel, Jamaican Blood and Victorian Conscience: The Governor Eyre Controversy (Boston, 1963), 21. The Indian Mutiny (1857) or Sepoy Rebellion occurred when various local chiefs attempted to regain their lost powers from the East India Company. The immediate cause that started the rebellion was the greasing of bullets with animal fat and an order for the Indian Troops to bite off the end of the bullet. The Jamaican Crisis (1865) developed because there was a power struggle between white planters and "free" blacks. When violent physical action erupted, the British colonial governor, Edward Eyre, stopped the revolt employing harsh methods. This counter attack attracted as much attention as the rebellion. Eyre was later tried in England.
indignant over the Indian Mutiny and Jamaican Crisis. To these Victorians those native rebellions were "gross ingratitude" on the part of uncivilized peoples.\(^{29}\) Prominent Victorians felt that they had to take a position regarding these events.\(^{30}\)

The negative image starts in the late 1850s for all ages of children. The Alphabet of Nations (1857) has the letter "K" represent Kaffirland whose natives are "cruel and fierce" and armed with poisoned spears.\(^{31}\) Ballantyne's The Coral Island (1858) presents a more negative image than The Alphabet of Nations. This story set in the southern islands has "naked savages," "bloodthirsty savages," "fierce cannibals," uncivilized and warring tribes, and other violent natives. These island natives have little concern for other humans, particularly

\(^{29}\) Bolt, Victorian Attitudes, 157-158. Bolt noted that some religious people saw the mutiny as a sign to change Indian Theology.

\(^{30}\) Semmel, Jamaican Blood, 18-21, 99-118. According to historian Gertrude Himmelfarb, Charles Darwin hated slavery and was pro-North in the American Civil War and pro-Jamaican negroes in their revolt. Darwin separated his scientific theories from his political thoughts. Unlike some of his colleagues he did not use his scientific research to substantiate his political beliefs. Himmelfarb, Victorian Minds, 1st ed. (New York, 1968), 321.

strangers. The natives paint and tatoo their bodies, burn and eat people alive, kill babies, commit human sacrifices, and have not been reformed by Christianity. In this story, the three English boys assert influence and stop some of the cannibalism. Ballantyne's natives, mostly black and frequently big, are presented as negative images; however, there is a possibility of help for them from contact with Englishmen, missionaries, and Christianity.  

This negative image was not restricted to natives in Africa or some remote island. Indians, people of a country which was the beneficiary of English influence, power, money, and good works began to be portrayed negatively. In the late Victorian story Drummer Dick's Discharge the Indians are "strange, dark-skinned people" with a "funny language." Dick's regiment goes into the hills of northwest India which was "full of hidden enemies of the white men." Throughout the story these negative

32Ballantyne, The Coral Island, 251, 5, 141-145, 174, 189. In this story there is a hint of the difference of perception over those who are non-white but not black and those who are blacks. One woman saved by the three boys is a native and a non-white but not black. She seems to be above the black savages. Others are differentiated from each other as natives and as savages by their contact with Christianity.

33DeBurgh Drummer Dick's Discharge, 38.

34Ibid.
and often racial images of the Indians are presented to the young reader. The youth will see the Indian as untrustworthy servants, "niggers," rebels, "black devils," traitors, and murderers of white men. There is one decent Indian, the ayah who tries to persuade Miss Aileen from embarking on her journey, but she does not explain that an uprising is imminent. Within this story are expressions of Indian anger and anti-imperialism, but it is spoken by the most traitorous of the native servants. He says that he is no longer controlled by anyone. "The only slaves in Bhalpure now are the white dogs!" The Indian mutiny was a racial war in that the Indian—just being an Indian—was seen as the enemy by many English people.

During the 1880s stories depicted the natives as both good and bad. In the late Victorian Era negative images of foreign natives continue in stories such as "Zulu-Land And The Zulus," (1879), "Off To The Wilds" (1881) which showed the natives as warlike, unclean, stupid, or small. On the other hand, in "Gonza" (1880) some

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35 Ibid., 58, 46, 59, 61.

36 Bernard Porter, The Lion's Share: A Short History of British Imperialism, 1850-1970 (London, 1975), 29-34. Porter observed there was a distance between Englishmen and Indians which created a stereotyped image of the Indian. He was seen as untrustworthy, inferior, and dishonest. p. 46.

37 "Zulu-Land And The Zulus" The Young People's Favourite, vol. 1, no. 1 (3 May 1879), 9-11;
natives are seen as noble, others as inferior and violent, while in With Clive (1884) some are innocent and obedient while others are untrustworthy. In the latter story these views are expressed both in the character dialogue and in the background descriptions. Charlie's mother fears that her son will "be stabbed by one of those horrid natives!" while one of Charlie's men says "that black hathen of a cook is going to pison ye." Yet, other natives were viewed as loyal and obedient. There is also compassion for natives in this story. It is noted that Indians lived in poverty and squalor around the English factories.

A non-white or a black was inferior. In one of the Jack Harkaway stories (1891), Jack is interviewed for admission to Pomona House, and is subjected to a lengthy questioning. Jack decides to play a prank on the interviewer. Jack switches a cleaning cloth for a handkerchief. The interviewer's face becomes blackened. When

George M. Fenn, "Off To The Wilds: Being The Adventure of Two Brothers," The Union Jack: Every Boy's Paper, vol. 3, no. 93 (6 October 1881), 4-8. The Union Jack editors included W. H. G. Kingston and G. A. Henty who were also authors of imperialist literature for children.

38 Henty, With Clive, 11, 80, 70, see also 81, 103, 107-109, 116.

Jack's foster mother asks the interviewer if he is of "'negro extraction'"; he replies "'Of what ... I did not come here to be insulted.'"\(^40\)  Inferiority is still a part of the native's image in *The Treasure Seekers* (1899); however, it is expressed with compassion. In this case the native is an Indian.\(^41\)

In stories of the South Pacific islands the natives are Papuans, Ke islanders, New Guineans, and Malaysians. Some of them are good and some are bad. The Malaysians are civilized. The Papuans who are "blacker" than the Papuans are also good though more primitive than the first group. Most Ke islanders were good, also. However the natives of New Guinea are fierce and bad. In one story the central characters, Nat and his uncle, find "black ways strange." Moreover, different natives are seen as having different characteristics. They are described as childlike, and peaceful or savage; as fearful of whites or as unfriendly, or as loyal.\(^42\)

The key to this dual and possibly conflicting third image of natives is the continuing English influence.

\(^{40}\) [Samuel Bracebridge Hemyng], *Jack Harkaway's Schooldays*, vol. 1, no. 2 (ca. 1891), 8.

\(^{41}\) Nesbit, *Treasure Seekers*, 173, 176.

\(^{42}\) Fenn, *Nat*, *The Naturalist*, 133, 133-137, 139-141, 312-315. In several Kipling tales there are also good and bad images of natives.
Natives become better people because of the influence of the English. In the magazine *Chums* there was a regular feature, "Under the Queen's Flag". In one issue, the featured story was "Black Soldiers Of The Empire" (1900) in which the author notes that many natives are in the British army, and it is good for them.43

Because of the influence of humanitarians and missionaries, also, natives became less primitive and more acceptable. Queen Victoria believed that the duty of imperialism was "'to protect the poor natives and advance civilization.'"44 Those without this positive influence were still perceived as "bad". At no time were natives equal to Englishmen.

Many of the humanitarians were abolitionists. English abolitionist activities slowed down around 1850, but by the end of the decade they had become international in their goals. The abolitionists expressed concern and outrage with slavery, the slave trade, and mistreatment of native peoples. The abolitionists saw childlike and primitive people who were abused. Natives are childlike, thus easily misled and exploited. Abolitionists and

43 "Black Soldiers Of The Empire," in "Under the Queen's Flag; Out-of-the Way Scenes in Naval And Military Life," *Chums*, vol. 8, no. 387 (7 February 1900), 396-397.

44 Morris, *Pax Britannica*, 123.
missionaries sought to end slavery and its near relations, like indentured labor, and they proposed programs to make those uncivilized people less primitive.

Within the children's literature during the mid-Victorian Era and until approximately 1880, there are numerous examples of the humanitarian loathing of slavery and general opposition to cruelty to natives. Because the agony and abuse were continuing, numerous authors, particularly groups like the Religious Tract Society, kept publishing stories exposing the cruelty of slavery.

The settings in the stories were international. In "The Hindoo Girl Seeking Jesus" (n.d.) the forces of good and evil struggle. In this story

A Hindoo girl was playing before the door of her father's house. Some wicked men came that way and, taking her in their arms, ran away with her to a distant place, where they sold her as a slave. This tale while brief and more subtle than many other tales is a piece of propaganda. The young reader

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45 In the period 1800-1834 there are numerous examples of humanitarian and abolitionist fictional literature for all ages. From 1834 (date of emancipation) to 1840 the volume lessens drastically. During the 1840s there is almost none. In the 1850s this literature begins again and increases over the 1840s volume. In the 1850s the American Uncle Tom's Cabin was very popular in England. There was no (English) adult counterpart. For the children's story similar to Uncle Tom's Cabin see discussion on Reid's The Quadroon later in this chapter.

envisions a girl in a very natural setting, forced into bondage by evil slave traders. Hence, children were told at an early age that slaves were to be pitied and that the slavers were not acceptable people nor was their trade. In an 1851 story "The Young Negro Fugitive" the setting is the United States rather than India, and slavery itself is the main evil. In this tale, the child reader sees that a poor fugitive slave jumps at every sound. Fear and fatigue characterize this poor man. They are his mental scars. The cruelties of slavery are severe. The story has another message. The fugitive has interrupted a Bible meeting, indicating that the people assembled there are good God-fearing individuals. Yet, they are shocked at the fugitive slave's condition and at their own ignorance of the times, implying that people, like the readers, should be better informed.  

A striking story regarding human reactions and slavery is Reid's The Quadroon (1856). The preface says that it is only a romantic story but that it was based on "actual experience." The author claims that the story was written as a romance, not to be pro-abolitionist or pro-planter, but the tale does protest slavery. The


48 Capt. Mayne Reid, The Quadroon; or, A Lover's Adventures in Louisiana (New York, 1856), v-vi.
Quadroon was written as a first person narration of a young white man and the central character's name is not revealed. His adventures in North America not only pit him against nature and rogues but also against a long standing social taboo—interracial marriage. The narrator falls in love with a quadroon, Auora. Interracial marriage is against the law, besides which Auora is a slave. The young adventurer knows that when he declares his love and intent to marry a slave, he will be scorned and put in jail. When the lovers try to escape the area, they are pursued by dogs and men. When he is caught, the narrator knows that he will be found guilty of "nigger stealing."

Throughout The Quadroon numerous humanitarian sentiments and dilemmas are presented.49

The Quadroon has numerous similarities to the American story Uncle Tom's Cabin (1852) which was one of the best selling books in nineteenth century England.50

49 The tensions of the United States' north-south's approaching rift are also mentioned. Ibid., 370-372, 38-40, 143-146, 119, 160-161.

50 According to R. D. Altick, The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900 (Chicago, 1957), 301, 384, in October, 1852, during two weeks, ten different editions of it were brought out and sold in England. In its first six months of publication, Uncle Tom's Cabin had sold 150,000 copies and at the end of twelve months in Great Britain sales were at a million and a half. During that one year period there were forty editions.
In his preface to *The Quadroon*, Reid stated that the story was written years before it was actually published; however, he delayed its publication because of the interference of a well known work, which treated of similar scenes and subjects. That work appeared just as the *QUADROON* was about to be put to press; and the author of the latter, not willing to risk the chances of being considered an imitator, had determined on keeping the *QUADROON* from the public. But unidentified "circumstances" demanded *The Quadroon*’s publication and the author, did publish it after some revision.  

There are other briefer literary items which describe the cruelties of the slave trade and slavery. In "The African Girl and Her Enemy" (1861) a man cuts off a girl's fingers, while the *Mother's Picture Alphabet* (1862) has the letter "S" refer to a poor mistreated slave. In the latter case the slave is pictured praying with chained arms. The noble savage abused? The text says "... Who can look, without pain/on that agonized face, and that

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51 Reid, *The Quadroon*, v.

52 Ibid., v-vi. Another of Reid's boy's novels that touches on slavery is *The Boy Slaves* (New York: Worthington, 1889) which was originally published around 1864. Set in Ethopie some young Englishmen are forced into slavery. There are slaves of color, also. The Englishmen are later freed (by the English Government) and the boys in turn buy the freedom of several native slaves.
begins Slave. Who can
look, without pain,
On that agonised face, and that whip,
and that chain?

Fig. 10--Cruel slavery from Henry Anelay, illus., The
Mother's Picture Alphabet (London, 1862), n.p.
Bad institutions produce cruel situations. This is conveyed in terms that a child would understand—a story with characters for whom the young reader will express compassion.

Empathy with the victim and respect for those who help the poor natives were common companions in the children's literature. "Amelia Opie: An Only Daughter" (1877) is the story of a real woman who was a humanitarian. She is a model of virtue: a dutiful daughter, a writer, responsible person, and a good Christian. She worked for "every good cause," especially the Anti-Slavery Society.54

Writers were also willing to remind readers of the noble deeds of nameless individuals to stop slavery. In the story, "A Middy Amongst the Slaves" (1889), the speaker refers to the slave trade with "all its attendant horrors" as both a "hateful" and as an "inhuman


Moreover, the reader is reminded that both English missionaries and naval officers were working toward abolishing slavery and the slave trade in Africa and in Central America.  

Because of political and economic factors, the slave trade and state of slavery did not stop when legislation was passed. These factors, unlike the humanitarian concerns, were rarely a part of the children's literature. An exception was Tucker's *Fairy Know-a-Bit* (1866). For the central character, Philibert, ending the slave trade but not emancipating slaves seemed "hard." The financial hardships of emancipating the slaves is discussed in this story where slaves are called "blackies." Tucker's book was the exception. Most stories dealt only with the "human" level of the issue, because young children might not understand complicated economic questions.

Frequently the anti-slavery and anti-cruelty stories have religious overtones. The tract story "The African Monitor Girl" (n.d.) is about a British sailing vessel


56 Ibid., 802-803; see also Everett, *The Slaves*, 145; Porter, *Lion's Share*, 11.

near the African coast. The crew spots a suspicious boat. This boat did not carry regular cargo but "black men, women, and children, who had been stolen from their homes, and were now being carried to a distant land, there to be sold as slaves." Slavers were not treating these people with human kindness; instead they "were cruelly used; they were bound with chains to the decks, and very little food was given them to eat." These slaves were more fortunate than many others because the British vessel captured the slave ship. The British removed the chains, the physical sign of bondage, and returned the former slaves to Free Town in West Africa. Here they were given the opportunity to remove the mental signs of bondage when missionaries undertook to educate them and introduce them to Christianity. The white man could remove the physical chains of bondage and provide methods to remove those of mental slavery, but only through his own inward efforts could the black man, himself, successfully achieve mental and spiritual freedom. There was great concern by humanitarians and evangelicals for the native's spiritual life and for his salvation.


59 Ibid. 60 Ibid., 61-62.
Englishmen, particularly the evangelicals, were interested in the native's salvation and his conversion to Christianity. Many of these well meaning Englishmen believed those goals could be achieved through education, especially religious instruction. These Englishmen were so confident of the superiority of English civilization that it seemed quite natural to model other societies after the English. Even English newspapers discussed the positive aspects of educating the natives.61

Another aspect of humanitarianism and imperialism is the white person's duty to the negro. The British citizen must meet the responsibilities of the White Man's Burden. Foodstuffs like bread not harmful things like alcohol should be given to the less privileged. For these gifts of bread, the black person will be humble and grateful to the Empire. After all, the Empire was fulfilling the Evangelical "Mission of An Elect People".62 This sense of obligation and responsibility is more pronounced after 1870 and would be dubbed the White Man's Burden by Kipling. By the 1890s, British people and their


children's literature experienced a new intensive patriotic feeling. Ewing had the beginnings of it, but Kipling was the popularizer of it. Kipling popularized the "ideal of a common imperial patriotism, transcending every diversity of birth and circumstance, enabled by an ideal of selfless service." Thus, as a select people, the British must become missionaries to govern and educate those inferior races. They were the White Man's Burden. Jingoist or imperialist, Kipling loved the Empire and its great power.

Churches and other religious groups organized, funded, and promoted missionaries. In 1854, the British and Foreign Bible Society had more than 3,300 different local and subgroups helping in its mission. There was a definite commitment by a portion of the English population to export English civilization and religion to the backward natives in other parts of the world. In the children's literature there are numerous stories of the interaction between missionaries and foreign natives.

The Slave and the Preacher; a History of Rev. John Newman, Written For Children (1851), the story of a real

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63 Thomson, Nineteenth Century England, 204; DeVries, Little Wide-Awake, 9.

64 G. K. Chesterton, The Victorian Age In Literature (New York, 1913), 243.

65 Altick, English Common Reader, 102.
person, has a popular humanist-imperialist theme—slavers giving up their evil ways and helping their former victims. In this story a slave trader becomes a minister. 66

There was a strong belief that the English could expand, take their Bible and do good. These were sentiments found in The Tallis History and Description of The Crystal Palace (1851) and in Ballantyne’s The Coral Island (1858). 67 In the latter there are natives who have converted to Christianity under the guidance of English missionaries. The native missionaries respect their teachers so much that they attempt to be like the Europeans physically as well as spiritually. The native missionaries dress in English clothes while their students are in native clothes. Moreover, the natives are better people because of the efforts of the missionaries. The narrator says:

The South Seas islanders are such incarnate fiends that they are the better of being tamed, and the missionaries are the only men who can do it. 68


67 Tallis History, quoted in Bedarida, Social History; Ballantyne, Coral Island.

68 Ballantyne, Coral Island, 174, 176.
These good men and women do wonders. The missionaries stop human sacrifices, educate, Christianize, and civilize the savages. Interestingly, one of the native chiefs refuses to accept the new customs. He sees all white men as a threat to native existence; therefore, the chief punishes natives converting to Christianity.69

The positive effects of the missionary effort and portrayals of the natives being educated are seen in Mrs. Lynch's, Rose and Her Mission (1860), Mrs. Sherwood's The Story of Little Henry (1867), A.L.O.E.'s [Charlotte Tucker] Little Bullets from Batala (1869), "The Hindoo Girl Seeking Jesus" and "The African Monitor Girl."

In Rose and Her Mission (1860), Rose, daughter of a sectarian minister, educates both white and black children on a West Indies island on Sunday afternoons.70 In Sherwood's story an English boy explains the Bible to Boosey, an Indian.71 Thus the little reader is told that he, though young, may be a part of the missionary effort.

69Ibid., 176, 234-237, 245-246, 278-279.

70Mrs. Henry Lynch, Rose and her mission. A Tale of the West Indies (London, [ca. 1860]), cited in Ragatz, Caribbean Literature, 369. According to the DNB, 12:336-337 Mrs. Lynch nee Foulks lived in both England and the Caribbean. Her father was a Jamaican sugar-planter. Rose and her Mission is listed as 1863.

71Ill. and caption from Mrs. Sherwood, The Story of Little Henry (1867) in Margaret Nancy Cutt, Ministering Angels: A Study of 19th Century Evangelical Writing for Children (London, 1979), fig. 8, see also p. 95.
In "The Hindoo Girl" the superiority of Christianity over Hinduism (i.e.: England over India) is reinforced when the little girl through the help of a missionary accepts Jesus. Now, the girl will not "die in [her] sins" and is at peace spiritually.72

Similarly, others like the little girl will be saved and find peace if missionaries are able to go abroad. This is a part of the concluding message of "The African Monitor Girl." The young readers are requested to "help those who carry the gospel to other lands."73 Promoting and financing the Christian mission overseas was also a promotion of British imperialism. Publicizing missionary work will continue in late Victorian writings such as "Queen Victoria and The Bible" (1881) and in R. L. Stevenson's prayers and poems.

My Pet's Album contained a story "Queen Victoria and The Bible" (1881) in which a princely ambassador of an African nation comes to pay homage to the English Queen. He brings her many fine gifts for which he hopes she will share the "secret of England's greatness." Rather than bragging on the Empire's achievements and greatness, she gave him "a well-bound copy of the Bible," and said "This

72"The Hindoo Girl", in DeVries, Little Wide-Awake, 43.
Fig. 11—Queen Victoria and the Bible an illustration by Henry Anelay for My Pet's Album (London, n.d.); reprint in Leonard DeVries, Little Wide-Awake, An Anthology from Victorian Children's Books and Periodicals, In the Collection of Ann and Fernand G. Renier, British Library (Cleveland, 1967), 79.
is the secret of England's greatness.'

Moreover, stated the narrator, it was the proper answer for "the Queen of Bible-loving England."

The collected prayers of Stevenson were purposely written for young children so that there would be no difficulty in understanding, particularly for the "native converts to Christianity."

Victorian attitudes and activities toward expansion and natives in foreign lands was very much a part of British children's literature. Expansion was proper, adventuresome, and at first romantic. A sense of superiority allowed the English to expand and encased their efforts in noble terms. Superiority meant responsibility. As English expansion continued, this sense of obligation grew. Since the natives in these exotic countries were primitive in their ways, the more civilized Englishman must change and reform the native. This reform was done through contact with English traders and travelers, as well as through the work of missionaries.

74"Queen Victoria and The Bible" from My Pet's Album (London, 1881), 272, ibid., 78-79.
75Ibid.
Protecting the native from evil white men and institutions and bringing about the savage's reformation were obligations of the Englishman. All of this drew more English persons and resources overseas. These humanitarian ideas gave shape and motivation to Victorian imperialist policies. Including these ideas and attitudes in children's literature was not only recording an aspect of Victorian life but also the recruitment of potential supporters of British imperialism.

It should be noted that while England had a small anti-imperialist movement, there are no anti-imperialist stories for children. There are a few criticisms of some aspects of imperialism but they are scant in number.77 Once again British children's literature captured the dominant Victorian attitudes and events.

77See also chapter IX. Anti-war stories might be considered imperialistic; in that, governments in order to preserve their colonial empires had to also avoid war. In 1884-85 the Berlin Conference and then the Berlin Treaty provided for the carving up of Africa. The conference and the dividing up of territory was called for in order to avoid war. Hence, anti-war in this case was for the promotion of colonialism. War is like a two-headed coin. There could be war for conquest and expansion on one hand and on the other no war could also promote the same things. There are probably a few more anti-war stories than mentioned in this paper. There is definitely no existing large volume of this type of literature and whether it fits the historical example of 1884-1885 is unknown.
CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

Scholars have studied the relationship of literature to social history, and their work has proved the validity of studying society through its literature. The study of children's literature is a valid form of literary history. In it the ideology of an age appears. In the Victorian years, the adults consciously provided children with tales and stories. Through the examination of literature written for, and read by, British children from 1850 to 1914, the ideology and mores that adults supported are made evident. As Max Weber noted, it is the "major, undefined premises" that hold society together, and these appear in children's literature.

These major, undefined premises, abstract for adults, frequently are presented clearly in literature for children. The ideas adults hold most dear, the ideals they cherish, their standards of morality, all these they try to impart to their children. As a consequence of this clear presentation, children come to believe that they have inherited set standards for all aspects of living.
This dissertation has presented a glimpse of the history of the Victorian Age, the publishing industry, and a brief introduction to selected authors. Tables and graphs have presented surveys of comparative figures for costs, the size of publication runs, and literary thematic changes. In the study, certain themes of mid and late Victorian children's literature have been examined: class structure, social problems; standards of morality; attitudes toward science; and nationalism, patriotism, and imperialism; and racism. This examination has illustrated most of the ideas and ideals held by the Victorians, even though it is impossible to absolutely compartmentalize attitudes and ideas because they are interrelated.

The dissertation has shown that there is a body of reading matter called children's literature. These materials, either written for, chosen for, or selected by children, were extensive. The discussion and tables indicate that during the Victorian age there was a considerable volume of children's literature and that it reached many Victorians. There was reading matter for all social groups. Because of their prices books were primarily for upper and middle class children. Periodicals were read by all groups. Even the more expensive ones were affordable by the lower classes, although their purchase might require the pooling of funds. Tracts, pamphlets, and
reward books might be distributed at a competitive price, at a nominal fee, or freely. Generally the tracts were created for the working classes, but frequently they were read by children of other economic groups.

Businessmen and special-interest groups were involved both in the publishing and promotion of children's literature. Many were also involved in similar endeavors for adults. Many Victorian authors, too, wrote for all age groups and their varied objectives included financial gain, the pleasure of entertaining, and sometimes the promotion of specific philosophical or propagandistic goals.

Children's literature naturally reflected the class structure of Victorian England. Some of the stories that portrayed English class structure were written for servants or others considered in need of the right literature. Literature continued to make distinctions between the social classes until 1914, but after 1890 the emphasis lessens which may be a reflection of the economic progress of the lower class and the growing democratization of English society.

Stories focused on social problems. The earlier stories were content to expose the problems, although a small percentage attempted to propose solutions. The later stories still denounce social ills, but a larger proportion affix blame or put forth solutions.
The concern for social ills extended from the mid to late Victorian period. A topical survey of selected Victorian children's periodicals, 1861-1886, (Appendix C) reveals that the proportion of items centering on social problems (poverty, alcohol, child and animal abuse) remained almost the same when that twenty five year period began and ended.

In children's literature, the evangelical-stimulated current of reform was clearly reflected, and areas that needed reform were suggested. Social criticism or reform is suggested in Black Beauty, At the Back of the North Wind, Tom Brown's Schooldays, Through The Looking-Glass, "The Band of The Red, White and Blue," "The Lion," "The Happy Prince," "The Plush Usurper," and "Jack and The Beanstalk."

Cruelty, poverty, and alcohol-abuse, problems became focal points of young person's literature. Dickens said that his purpose in writing Oliver Twist was to show the squalor that existed and to show that those persons of questionable character were often the result of the ills of society. This was also found in Dickens' The Magic Fishbone. On the other hand, the idea that being poor was associated with "wrongfulness" or "sinfulness" is found in "The Afflicted Poor," The Blue Dwarf, and many other stories and poems.
Solutions to poverty proposed in the literature included charity schools, emigration, hard work, change in character, or a change of society. Education and emigration were promoted in stories in numerous periodicals, especially in The Children's Friend. The work ethic is found in "Charity Joe" and The Treasure Seekers while the theme of modifying society is found in "The Happy Prince." In these stories, the poor are of all ages and sexes, although there seem to be more poor or destitute children and women than adult males.

Associated with poverty was child abuse. Many young people were mistreated in Victorian England. Dickens in Oliver Twist, Kingsley in Waterbabies, Smith in Jessica's First Prayer and Macdonald in At the Back of the North Wind reflected the cruelty and hardships many Victorian children experienced. The children's periodical Tit-Bits for Tiny Wits illustrated the problem in many poems and stories. The descriptions of children's abuse usually were vivid and detailed rather than delicate and vague.

Selections about animal abuse also appeared in the literature. In these stories, animals are mistreated by both adults and children. Selections about both child and animal abuse usually refer to the perpetrator of the abuse as bad or evil. Frequently, these people are punished for...
their misdeeds, reflecting some of the Victorian religious and moral concepts.

The solutions offered or implied for child and animal abuse are similar to those regarding poverty. They include self control, good deeds, warnings, and punishment.

Alcohol and its abuse was another problem in Victorian England. It was seen as interrelated with poverty. In these stories the person who is labeled as misguided or evil because of alcohol overindulgence is usually an adult. Frequently these adults commit cruel and evil acts while under the influence of alcohol as in Ruskin's *King of the Golden River* (1851), the anonymous "Beware of Bad Companions" (1886), Henty's *With Moore* (1897), and Nesbit's *The Treasure Seekers* (1899). In "Sold into Slavery", it is implied that there are several forms of slavery, among them slavery to alcohol. In *Black Beauty* (1877) there are several incidents in which drink leads to disastrous results. Man is enslaved, he becomes wild, careless, and rude because alcohol destroys his self-control. When the weasels in *The Wind in the Willows* (1908) are drunk, the four friends capture Toad Hall.

Adults and their "failings" are denounced in the stories. The most frequent solutions suggested to alcohol-abuse are abstension and religion. Christianity helps in "Poor Jack" (1850) and "Mercy's House" (1882. In
the latter, religion and belief in God is suggested as a thirst quencher to replace alcohol. In stories that warn against drink, other alternatives are sometimes suggested. Tucker's *Little Henry* (1853), Henty's *With Corunna* (1897), and others suggest water and raisins to help quench the thirst for alcohol.

The inclusion of alcohol and its negative influence, whether as the central focus or as a small event in a story, seems to be deliberate. Unlike other issues that appear cursarily in stories most mention of alcohol appear to be deliberately didactic. This treatment paralleled a shift in social trends from the drunken and unregulated Eighteenth Century. By 1900, a substantial body of legislation regulated the sale and consumption of spirits.

Drinking and cruelty were often aggravated if not spawned by poverty. In Victorian England, poverty was prevalent, and many stories directly and indirectly dealt with the problem. *At the Back of the North Wind*, *Black Beauty* and numerous tracts show the various unhappy states of poverty, hunger, homeless people, child labor, ill-clothed individuals, and society's scorn. Often those impoverished people had no way to overcome their circumstances. It seemed that someone was always taking advantage of the poor worker as in *Black Beauty* and "The Young King."
When religious morality as a category is separated from general morality, the relative proportions of the two vary in time. The bulk of the examples that mention religion and religious morality fall between 1850 and the early 1880s, while stories that focus on general morality but which exclude religion, fall in the period 1860 to the 1890s. These observations raise questions. It is possible that those changing proportions support the theory advanced by historians that the scientific developments from the late 1850s through the mid 1870s, created doubt and lessened the position of religion. Those changing proportions also tend to support the theory that after Victorian morality was nurtured and propagated by the Evangelical movement, it became the property of the middle class but lost its religious foundation. This dissertation does show that there was an accepted morality separate from religious morality, and that it grew as religious morality declined.

The literary selections that mention or focus on manners, morality, or religion do tell of some Victorian characteristics and attitudes. *Black Beauty* by Anna Sewell is a treatise on Victorian morality. It concerns itself with Victorian manners and actions, through either Black Beauty of his acquaintances. Black Beauty has an aristocratic heritage and is told to take pride in it.
Children were not sheltered from social problems of their day. Children's reading described social problems in both imaginative and blunt terms. Most writers stated that religious faith and proper behavior would cure these ills.

The Victorians had clear standards for behavior, more definite perhaps for their children than for themselves. The number of periodical writings concerned with manners, proper behavior, and correct dress declined from 1861 to 1886. While it started out and ended more highly ranked than social problems, "manners" in 1886 was not as prevalent as it had been. It did peak in 1876, probably as a last thrust from those who saw it as a higher priority than imperialism and politics which were beginning to dominate the late Victorian period.

Even religion and morality which were closely associated with "manners" declined during the twenty-five year period surveyed. "Religion" items in the study experienced a steady decline starting in the early 1870s. Both topics -- "manners" and "religion" -- declined ten percentage points. In the sample period, characters in stories that discussed "manners", were predominately children, although there were some adults, whereas the characters in stories that focused on "religion" were more often adults.
Black Beauty does not approve of hunting, drinking, and smoking for they are immoral and destructive. Moreover, everyone—or at least virtuous people—should show respect for human and animal life and courtesy for others. Black Beauty believes that it is not only unfair for a man to work seven days a week but it is immoral to work on the Sabbath. All men and beasts should have their day to rest, to pay homage to their Creator, and to partake of the joys of family life. Charlotte Yonge and several lesser writers charted "the proper life" in their writing. They praised those elements of virtue, kindness, conscientiousness, good works, and humility that achieved the proper life.

Some Victorians believed that England's social policies were immoral; they believed that by the adoption of socialism, fairness to all would triumph and daily immorality would disappear. Many of these socialists wrote for both adults and children. Oscar Wilde, Edith Nesbit, and Thomas Hughes all advocated the adoption of socialism.

Victorian religion is reinforced in "Little Ann and Her Mama," "The Plush Usurper," "Sold into Slavery," and "Queen Victoria and the Bible." Robert Louis Stevenson wanted to share the religious ideas he and other Victorians practiced, with the natives for whom he wrote
the prayers on a child's level, and, of course, with children themselves. The strong evangelical belief that existed in England is seen in children's literature and the numerous writings intended for children that the Religious Tract Society and other similar groups produced.

Between evangelical theology and the new science a deepening schism developed. With the publication of Darwin's *Origin of the Species* traditional thinking was challenged. Just as a split in the thinking existed in society, it appeared in the children's literature. Initially in works such as Gatty's *Parables* (1855) and Kingsley's *Glaucus* (1855) science was an example of God's powers and therefore compatible with religion not threatening to it. On the other hand "The Plush Usurper", "The Adventure of the Creeping Man," and *The Island of Dr. Moreau* each represent the conflict in children's literature. In "The Plush Usurper" through its imaginative characters, children are entertainingly fed the idea that the new science, Negretti and his magic, split the community. The acceptance of Negretti, the new science, is bad, Negretti's greed and dishonesty will scar society, and the buses are no longer white. Prendick's story from *The Island of Dr. Moreau* shows that scientific experiment is neither kind nor safe. The doctor and Prendick are the conflicting sides of Victorian thought. Again, in "The
Adventure of the Creeping Man" Doyle shows a deep distrust of science that late Victorian children's literature reflected. Rather than accepting the advantages of material prosperity uncritically, writers for children showed a deep distrust of the new world, if not hostility toward it. The mad scientist was replacing the evil magician as the children's villain.

Capturing the people were the emotions of nationalism, patriotism, and imperialism which increased in strength as time passed. Appendix C demonstrates that materials reflecting these concepts and attitudes had an almost continuous growth rate between 1861 and 1886. The total rate of change was greatest for this category of the four areas surveyed. Selections reflecting patriotism, nationalism, and imperialism between 1850 and 1914, reveal English attitudes and ideas of superiority, smugness, national and cultural pride, romance, adventure, aggression, and humanitarianism.

From the beginning of the new Empire early in the century when few people were aware of or interested in it, imperialism came to mean the responsibility of a selected people with an evangelical mission. Teaching the greatness of the Empire through entertaining tales were Juliana Ewing, George Henty, and Rudyard Kipling who praised the British army and sang the glories of the nation and the

Characters in stories that show patriotic, romantic and adventuresome elements were of both sexes and included adults as well as children. There were more boys, particularly adolescent ones, in adventure tales. These demographics realistically fit the era. Girls and women went overseas and experienced hardships and adventures usually as the daughters or wives of someone.

The selections examined for Chapter X give support to the Gallagher and Robinson thesis. That thesis has three key points: there was both an informal and a formal empire, which were interrelated and protected British interests; there was a continuous empire; and the expansion of political influence was as important as economic
expansion.¹ The children's materials examined show that there were ideas and attitudes of expansion during the mid-Victorian years as well as the late period. In the 1850s and 1860s it was The Young Yaegers, The Coral Island, and The Mother's Picture Alphabet; in the 1870s and 1880s it was Alice Through The Looking Glass, With Clive in India, and Treasure Island; and 1890s to 1914 it was Nat the Naturalist as well as numerous articles and periodical tales. Thus, the children's stories indicate that imperialism began before 1863 and that it was continuous.

The materials examined also provided some support to the concept that there was an informal as well as a formal empire. Gallagher and Robinson said that the difference between the two empires was "not one of fundamental nature but degree."² In The Coral Island (1858), Rose And Her


²Gallagher and Robinson, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," Economic History Review, 7. D. C. M. Platt in "The Imperialism of Free Trade: Some Reservations,", Ibid., 21 (August, 1968): 296-306 and in "Further Objections to an 'Imperialism of Free Trade', 1830-60", Ibid., 26 (February, 1973): 77-90, disagrees with the Gallagher and Robinson economic thesis. Platt states that the trade simply was not there and that no new ground was broken. He denies that the government was helping to support ventures. Supporting the Gallagher and Robinson thesis is Peter Harnetty in "Imperialism of Free Trade:
Mission (1862), and The Story of Little Henry (1867) there is involvement overseas by individuals or groups of English citizens; in With Clive in India (1884), which is set in an earlier decade, the India East Company is in control and some British Government Officials are present. Cale's "East-West" (1896) implies governmental rather than business involvement, while it is clearly governmental in Drummer Dick's Discharge (1901). Throughout the whole period, there are stories about missionaries and humanitarians involved in imperialism. 3

Gallagher and Robinson's last point, a comparison of political and economic influence cannot be examined using children's literature since juvenile literature approaches economic matters only in the simplest terms. There are many examples of English political influence in the Empire. A few examples mention trade and trading rights,

Lancashire, India, and the Cotton Supply Question, 1861-1865" The Journal of British Studies, 6 (November 1966): 70-96. Harnetty stated that an examination of the cotton supply to India supports the idea of "Imperialism of Free Trade". Like Gallagher and Robinson, Harnetty utilizes economics as well as politics to prove his point. One of his key examples is British financial assistance in building railroads and improving transportation means. Moreover doing this and other tasks such as opening more of the interior were means of assisting the cotton trade i.e. British interests. The government's involvement may have only been indirect, but it was involved.

3 See Bennett, "Myths", in Winks, Imperialism, 75-76. He asserts that the Evangelicals were responsible for the shift from indirect (East India Co.) to direct rule (British Government).
but the greater number of individuals gaining economically through patriotic and imperialist endeavors.

This dissertation does support one amendment to Robinson and Gallagher. They state that imperialism added no new elements during the Victorian era. On the contrary, this dissertation shows that there was a difference in how intensively imperialism was sold to the public. In the 1850s, through the literature there were attempts to sell imperialism which increases with the years. The later period demonstrates a greater urgency justifying its imperialism. Humanitarian involvement with imperialism was present during the mid-Victorian years. This increased with each later decade. There was a sense of responsibility coupled with an attitude of superiority. In the later Victorian years, Kipling coined the phrase "White Man's Burden", but the concept was present before Kipling named it, and the children's literature affords numerous examples such as The Coral Island (1858), The African Monitor Girl (n.d.), and Treasure Island (1883).4

Another perception that seems to change during the Victorian era is the nature of natives. In this study, many of the literary examples during the 1860s and 1870s, portray the native as evil and dangerous. By the 1880s

4Maunier, Sociology of Colonies, in Winks, Imperialism, 69.
the image of the native can be either good or bad. According to historian Bernard Porter, imperialism and its policies were influenced in the 1860s-1870s by the English feeling of a threat from the natives. In the 1880s and 1890s rather than natives, it was fear of European rivals not of the natives that exercised greater influence on English imperialism. These insights are confirmed by the material examined in this dissertation. Porter also asserts that there was no real anti-imperialism, just varying types of imperialism. No anti-imperialist sentiments are found in the children's literature.

This dissertation also supports the theory that there is a close relationship between racial attitudes and imperialism. Rene Maunier stated that whatever imperialism is called, it is based on the idea the "purity of people and races." If "race" is defined for culturally as well as biologically, then the literature does show strong ties between imperialism and race.

These ideas and attitudes regarding English imperialism, social problems, conduct, and morality were beliefs that Victorian society held before 1914. A nineteenth century French writer wrote that "the threshold of

5Porter, *Lion's Share*, 73-75.  
6Ibid., 130.  
our century is paved with tombstones." The end of that
century, 1914-1918, is paved with a far greater number,
and they are the tombstones not merely of men who fell in
the Great War, but of ideas that died in the trenches of
the Western Front. For some, the first weeks of World War
I were romantic, exciting, and adventuresome, but when the
war proved to be more than a glamorous game, people began
to lose track of the original cause of the war.

Edward Thomas' "Never Look A Gift Horse In The Mouth"
reflects cynicism and anti-war sentiments that began to
appear in the second year of the war. Thomas uses the
legend of the Trojan Horse. Events take place in "Troy
Town in Dorset" where seven kings are fighting the inhabi-
tants.8 Not all of the seven kings can participate
because some of them are wearing their good clothes.
Those who are not able to soil themselves in a cause for
which they sent their men to fight had to watch. The
first years of the war are exciting, but "the siege lasted
so long that the Trojans grew tired... Both the
besiegers and besieged forgot what it was they were
fighting for, and no historian has since been able to
discover it."9 The kings, particularly those who did not

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8 Edward Thomas, "Never Look A Gift Horse In The
Mouth," from Four and Twenty Blackbirds (London, 1915),
cited in Farjon and Mayne, Kings, 171.

9 Ibid.
fight in the war, represented the greedy statesmen who were seeking mastery over Europe or those countries who sat out wars whose causes were silly and shallow. The seven allied kings finally defeat the Trojan town but power is not everything. The seven allied kings win not through sheer force but through trickery combined with force.

In Elinor Mordaunt's "The Prince and The Goose Girl" (1915), the Prince, a physically powerful man who is arrogant and often cruel, uses his power wrongly. Each man or nation has some weakness. If this vulnerable spot is found, the man or nation may collapse; if the shortcomings are recognized and attempts made to correct them, he or it will probably remain powerful. Arrogance, power, and pride are not for men or nations of men. This story also points out an aspect of the magnified nationalism which became imperialism in Britain. When some causes are associated with official policy, the emotions of the populace are more likely to be captured and intensified, and imperialism becomes the duty of an Elect People.

The hero of E. F. Benson's David Blaize and the Blue Door (1918) denounces the stupidity of adults over important matters which Wendy also expressed in Peter Pan and

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Wendy by J. M. Barrie (1912). In Peter Pan, the children believe that when they grow up, which they must, they will be just like the adults -- stupid. Adults have the responsibility of making important decisions, yet they often blunder and make silly errors that can have grave results.

Children's literature with its adult ideas was similar to the adult literature of the period. As David Blaize and Peter Pan feared the stupidity of adults, so did George Bernard Shaw, representative of a small group of socialists who protested Great Britain's involvement in World War I. Far more typical of children's literature during the war were the juvenile periodicals Gem and Magnet from whose pages patriotism trumpeted. During World War I, "almost every week the boys caught a spy or pushed a conchy into the army" in these magazines.

"During the rationing period Eat Less Bread was printed in large type on every page." As the young boys and girls

12 Ibid.
13 This phase of his writing was ill-received by the public. Chew, Nineteenth Century, 1523-1525, 1556.
14 George Orwell, "Boys' Weeklies" in A Collection of Essays (Garden City, New York, 1954), 298.
15 Ibid.
proved during the war, patriotism starts at an early age. But Gem and Magnet were attempting to support a dying world.

This Victorian world which died with the Great War was a world where morality, duty, and religion were absolutes, even if the changes in society and new science were presenting challenges. And the Victorian world was a didactic one. Their didacticism was not restricted to politics and religion; books, poems, and essays for children and adults alike contain instructive and educational messages. The mere mention of some attitudes as triumphant strengthened that idea. If it can be done in an entertaining manner, all the better for it will meet less hostility. The more enjoyable the book, the more positive will be the reaction. Young people are more likely to accept uncritically heros, ideals, and friends.

Much of a person's ideology is acquired in his earlier years. Recognizing this in the 1820s, the American Tract Society, counterpart of the British one, issued the following statement:

Books of mere fiction and fancy are generally bad in their character and influence. . . . Beware of the foul and exciting romance . . . Beware of books of

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war, piracy, and murder. The first thought of crime has been suggested by such books. . . . The state-prisons are filled with criminals who were incited to crime by similar means. . . .

Periodicals and dreadfuls, particularly the cheaper ones, may have been bought without parental knowledge, but adults bought the great majority of items. To influence their children's thinking was one reason why parents selected and bought books for their young. To reinforce one's own accepted ideas is understandable although it is unclear why parents purchased books that might indict themselves. Those who bought reading matter which was critical of themselves did not realize it. Many parents were caught up in the Victorian Age's rhetoric and gave lip service to various ideas. Thus, some parents might have bought literature for their children which they believed totally exemplified themselves.

Another reason for such purchases might be because it was the popular thing to do. The upper classes could and did buy literature for their children. When book and magazine costs declined, middle and lower class parents were able to purchase reading materials for their children also. The decline in price alone does not explain their purchases. They wanted their children to read, and they

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wanted to emulate the upper class. In some cases, they wanted to show their support of their religious organiza-
tion's publications and reform ideas.

Alice was not wrong when she said that words are valuable. Words are tools; moreover, words express thoughts. Ideas stimulate minds and emotions and thus the actions of people. The printing press and the lowering of the prices of printed books, added to increasing literacy, enlarged the importance of the pen. The ideals of a society are best seen in the instruction given its youth. Education aims at supplying tools with which to live. To teach ideas, the adult community takes both a
direct and indirect path. In a manner which is direct, formal education will say "right" or "wrong" and "do" or "do not." Less direct and perhaps more successful are the examples of ideas entertainingly seen in literature. It is not surprising that the ideology of an age -- the creation of adults -- is found in the literature designed for children.
APPENDIX A

SAMPLE WAGE FIGURES 1850-1914

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Wage-Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>Dickens, Magazine Editor</td>
<td>£10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>Experienced clerk</td>
<td>£1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>New Domestic Servant</td>
<td>2-3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>Experienced Cook</td>
<td>7s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>Cutler</td>
<td>24s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Skilled plaiter</td>
<td>5s-7s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>NEEDLEWOMAN</td>
<td>(7d-gross) 17d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>Day labour</td>
<td>13s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Dyer</td>
<td>8-9s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>Farm labourers</td>
<td>9-10s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Day Labourer</td>
<td>15s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Female Labourer</td>
<td>3-4s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Printer</td>
<td>2-3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>25s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Military Col.</td>
<td>£19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Military Capt.</td>
<td>£4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Military Ensign</td>
<td>£2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Military Sgt.</td>
<td>14s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Military Pvt.</td>
<td>7s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>Shirt Machinist-home</td>
<td>10s-15s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Cotton Mills (Adults)</td>
<td>15-25s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Wage-Rate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Maidservants</td>
<td>2-7s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Factory (female)</td>
<td>8-13s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Assistant teacher (female)</td>
<td>19s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Trained Bookkeeper (female)</td>
<td>25-31s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>2nd Lt. Infantry</td>
<td>f2c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Sewing-Home carding (female)</td>
<td>5s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Guardsman</td>
<td>7s c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>2nd Lt. Infantry</td>
<td>f2-3c d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( ^a \) Figures converted to a weekly (6 days) rate.
Domestics, soldiers, and some similar jobs the monetary amount is in addition to room and board.

\( ^b \) After expenses for supplies, breakage, etc.

\( ^c \) Before expenses for supplies, uniforms, etc.

## APPENDIX B

### PRINTING FIGURES FOR SELECTED CHILDREN'S BOOKS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Author - Title</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>Rev. J. G. Wood - The Common Objects of Sea Shore</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857-1861</td>
<td>Hughes - Tom Brown's Schooldays sold</td>
<td>28,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>Rev. J. G. Wood - Common Objects of The Country</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st wk. - sold</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>Alphabet of Trades, 1st ed.</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>Carroll - Alice's Adventure in Wonderland, 1st pr.</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>Carroll - Alice's Adventures in Wonderland</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>Alphabet of Trades, 2nd ed.</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Carroll - Alice Through The Looking Glass, 1st ed.</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>Carroll - Alice Through The Looking Glass, (end of 2 mos.) sold</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>Alphabet of Trades, 3rd ed.</td>
<td>9,950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>Crane - Noah's Ark, 1st ed.</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>Crane - Noah's Ark, 2nd ed.</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872-1876</td>
<td>Crane - Noah's Ark, 3rd-5th ed.</td>
<td>13,000 total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Crane - Absurd ABC, 1st ed.</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Author - Title</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>Greenaway - <em>Under The Window</em>, 1st ed.</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>Caldecott - first two toy books, 1st ed.</td>
<td>10,000 ea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Greenaway - <em>Birthday Book</em></td>
<td>128,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Greenaway - <em>Almanack</em> sold</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Greenaway - <em>Language of Flowers</em></td>
<td>19,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Haggard - <em>King Soloman's Mines</em></td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Potter - <em>The Tale of Peter Rabbit</em>, 1st trade pr.</td>
<td>6,000 e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) (June, 1865) many of the first printing were withdrawn for corrections. Of those withdrawn many were given to children in hospitals.

\(^b\) Issued December, 1871 but dated 1872.

\(^c\) The first edition was to sell for 6s but some book dealers were able to market it at 10s. Other printings continued to a total of 70,000.

\(^d\) According to Edmund Evans these toybooks were so popular that soon first editions numbered 100,000.

APPENDIX C

TOPICAL SURVEY OF SELECTED CHILDREN'S PERIODICALS, 1861-1886

Data in Appendix C were derived from magazines that were representative and available in long runs in the Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto, Canada. All issues for a year were examined. Since the same magazines did not publish throughout these years, the number of periodicals examined varied.

In Appendix C miscellaneous items of which games, puzzles, letters, and pure entertainment were a part averaged 40.6 percent for the sample years. Miscellaneous is not shown by a graph line; however, it plus the four "topical" areas total one hundred percent.

In all figures included in the heading of "Social Problems" were such topics as poverty, abuse, and alcohol. The heading of "History" included items featuring patriotism, nationalism, and imperialism. "Religion" is the heading representing those items that include discussions or comments on God, theology, religion, and morality. Proper conduct, manners, and dress are part of the heading "Manners."
The author appreciates the assistance of Osborne librarian Dana Tenny for her assistance in selection of periodicals.

Periodicals used:


1876 - Aunt Judy's, Chatterbox, The Children's Friend, Little Folks, and The Peter Parley Annual.

1881 - Aunt Judy's, Boy's Own Paper, Chatterbox, The Children's Friend, and The Peter Parley Annual.

Legend:

- - - - - Manners
- - - - - Social Problems
- - - - - History (NPI)
- - - - - Religion

Fig. 12—Comparison of topical survey's results
Fig. 13—Manners declined in the periodical survey.

Fig. 14—Social problems in the periodical survey were almost the same in 1861 and 1881.
Fig. 15—History increased in the periodical survey.

Fig. 16—Religion declined in the periodical survey.
## APPENDIX D

### CIRCULATION OF SELECTED CHILDREN'S PERIODICALS

Monthlies unless otherwise noted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Average Circulation*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Scottish Advisor</td>
<td>50,000+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Band of Hope Review</td>
<td>250,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>Every Boy's Magazine #1-5</td>
<td>9,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>Every Boy's Magazine #13-16</td>
<td>9,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>Boy's Own Magazine</td>
<td>40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864 or 65</td>
<td>Every Boy's Magazine #35</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>Boys of England (weekly)</td>
<td>150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>The Boy's World (no. 1; weekly)</td>
<td>70,000+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Boy's Own Paper</td>
<td>600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Birdie's Book</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Boy's Own Paper</td>
<td>600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Girl's Own Paper</td>
<td>250,000+**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Date refers to sample year. Name is the title of the magazine during the sample year. Some periodicals changed names over the years. Average circulation is per issue. Most of the periodicals in this sample table are exclusively for boys. There are a few for all children and one exclusively for girls; however, the circulation data is not available. See discussion of girls periodicals in Chapter III.

**Sources:** Harrison, Drink, 317; Publication Books of George Routledge and Co., items #8 and 9 cited in letter from G. M. Furlong, Archivist, D. M. S. Watson Library, September 13, 1982; Meigs, Critical History, rev. ed., 249, 250; Ellis, History, 78; Egoff, Children's Periodicals, 18-19; Rollington [Jame Allingham], A Brief History, 5; Minutes of the Finance Sub-Committee, 2 (14 March 1888); Boy's Own Paper, 7 (18 January 1890): 256 cited in Duane "BOP", 133; "The Editor of Girl's Own Paper Has a Proposition to Make", Girl's Own Paper, vol. 9, no. 410 (November 5, 1887), 88.
APPENDIX E
COST OF SELECTED CHILDREN'S PERIODICALS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boys of the World</td>
<td>1/2d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys of England</td>
<td>1d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys of England Novelettes</td>
<td>1d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Boy's Own Magazine</td>
<td>2d later 6d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boy's Own Paper</td>
<td>1d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Boy's Journal</td>
<td>6d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chatterbox</td>
<td>1/2d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chums</td>
<td>1d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Child's Companion</td>
<td>1d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child's Friend</td>
<td>1/2d &amp; 1d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Child's Own Magazine</td>
<td>1/2d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Every Boy's Magazine</td>
<td>1d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl's Own Paper</td>
<td>1d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Parley's Annual</td>
<td>5s later 2s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Union Jack</td>
<td>1 &amp; 6d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Boys of England Novelettes, nos. 1-26 (1880); Chatterbox, 4 (1878); Girl's Own Paper, vol. 1, no. 1 (1880); The Children's Friend, Vol. 28, no. 325 (January, 1851); Chums, vol. 8, no. 383 (January 10, 1900); Boy's Own Paper, (1880); The Union Jack, (1883); Egoff, Children's Periodicals, 18-19; Meigs, Critical History, rev. ed., 249; Roe, The Victorian Child, 102; Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection Catalogue, 1:399-401.
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Chatterbox. 1866-1871, 1876, 1881, 1886.

Child's Companion; or Sunday Scholar's Reward. 1861.

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St. Nicholas: An Illustrated Magazine for Young Folks.  

The Times (London). March, 1867; March, 1896 - December, 1897.

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