



The Women's Print History Project

Bibliographical Education (feat. Reese Irwin), *The WPHP Monthly Mercury*

Produced by Kate Moffatt and Kandice Sharren

Mixed and mastered by Alexander Kennard

Transcribed by Hanieh Ghaderi and Sara Penn

Music by Ignatius Sancho, "Sweetest Bard," *A Collection of New Songs* (1769), played by Kandice Sharren

Project Director: Michelle Levy (Simon Fraser University)

Moffatt, Kate, and Kandice Sharren, hosts. "Bibliographical Education (feat. Reese Irwin)." *The WPHP Monthly Mercury*, Season 1, Episode 4, 16 September 2020, <https://womensprinthistoryproject.com/blog/post/35>.

PDF Edited: 22 April 2024

This podcast draws on research supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Digital Humanities Innovation Lab at Simon Fraser University.



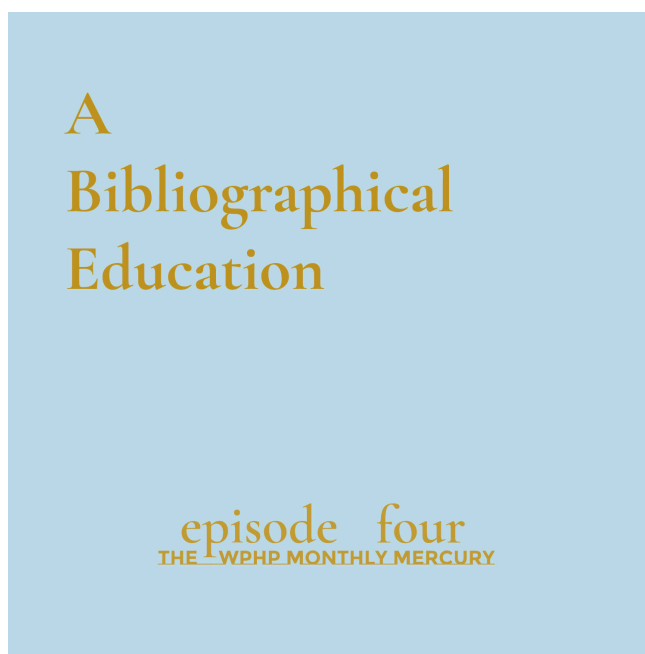
Social Sciences and Humanities
Research Council of Canada

Conseil de recherches en
sciences humaines du Canada



Bibliographical Education (feat. Reese Irwin)

Kate Moffatt and Kandice Sharren



Depending on where you are, back to school looks a little different this year—some of us are returning to classrooms with new restrictions, some of us are teaching from home, and some of us are educating our own children or supporting their education with whatever resources we can muster.

It was in thinking about how teaching has taken all kinds of forms this year that we were reminded of the various works that fall under the “Education” genre in the WPHP, including letters from aunts to nieces advising them of how to best live their lives (hello, [Hester Mulso Chapone](#)’s *Letters on the improvement of the mind!*), playful short works written to be read to and by children as young as three ([Anna Laetitia Barbauld](#)’s *Lessons for Children of Three Years Old* holds literary gems), and didactic poetry about the dangers of sexual promiscuity (we’re looking at you, [Hannah More](#) and the delightfully-titled *Sinful Sally!*).

In the fourth episode of *The WPHP Monthly Mercury*, “A Bibliographical Education”, hosts Kandice Sharren and Kate Moffatt wander through the “[Education](#)” genre of the WPHP, exploring its variety of formats and styles, as well as its many adjacent genres - not least of which is the considerable “[Juvenile Literature](#)” genre, which past RA Reese Irwin cheerfully (and almost single-handedly) entered into the database. In this episode, Reese joins us to speak about the process of entering the majority of our 3200+ Juvenile Literature titles, Kate and Kandice do suitably dramatic readings of excerpts from a handful of educational texts from notable eighteenth-century authors, and we speak to the ways in which the many forms teaching has taken this year during COVID-19 has echoes of eighteenth-century educational practices and challenges.

If you're interested in learning more about the genres included in the WPHP, [this list](#) includes every genre used by the WPHP along with a working definition. If you click any of the hyperlinked genres they will produce a list of all title records assigned that genre in the database.

Guest

Reese Irwin was a research assistant on the WPHP from 2016 to 2019; she was responsible for entering most of the children's literature in the database. She is the author of the forthcoming book chapter, "Elizabeth Newbery, Publisher and Bookseller in Her Own Right: A Case Study from *The Women's Print History Project, 1750–1836*," which will be published in Volume 1 of *Women in Print*, edited by Rose Roberto and Helen S. Williams. She has a Master's of English from Simon Fraser University, and has recently completed a Master's of Library Information Science at the University of British Columbia.

WPHP Sources Referenced

The Dartons

John Newbery and His Successors

Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books

WPHP Records Referenced

Letters on the improvement of the mind (title)

Chapone, Hester Mulso (person, author)

Wollstonecraft, Mary (person, author)

Thoughts on the Education of Daughters (title)

More, Hannah (person, author)

The story of Sinful Sally, told by herself (title)

A Vindication of the Rights of Woman (title)

Prince, Mary (person, author)

The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave (title)

Letters of the late Ignatius Sancho, an African (title)

West, Jane (person, author)

Letters to a Young Lady (title)

Taylor, Emily (person, author)

Letters to a child, on the subject of maritime discovery (title)

Edgeworth, Maria (person, author)

Letters for Literary Ladies (title)

Reeve, Clara (person, author)

Plans of Education (title)

Joseph Johnson (firm, publisher and bookseller)

Essays on Various Subjects (title)

Barbauld, Anna Laetitia (person, author)

Lessons for Children of Three Years Old (title)

Smith, Charlotte Turner (person, author)

Rural walks in dialogues intended for the use of young persons (title)

John Newbery (firm, publisher)

John Harris (firm, publisher)

Elizabeth Newbery (person, publisher and bookseller)

Newbery, Elizabeth (firm, publisher and bookseller)

Journal of Captain Cook's last voyage to the Pacific Ocean (title)

The Comic Adventures of Old Mother Hubbard and her Dog: Illustrated with fifteen elegant engravings on copper-Plate. (title)

Catherine, Sarah Martin (person, author)

Dorset, Catherine Ann Turner (person, author)

The Peacock "at home" (title)

John Wallis (firm, publisher)

The New Game of Human Life (title)

Frances Houlston and Son (firm, publisher)

Frances Houlston, (firm, printer, publisher, and bookseller)

Works Cited

Guest, Harriet. *Small Change: Women, Learning, Patriotism, 1750–1810*. Chicago UP, 2000.

Irwin, Reese. "Elizabeth Newbery, Publisher and Bookseller in Her Own Right: A Case Study from *The Women's Print History Project*, 1750–1836." *Women in Print: Design and (re)construction of personal histories*, edited by Rose Roberto and Helen S. Williams, vol. 1, Peter Lang Ltd, forthcoming.

Markel, Michelle. *Balderdash! John Newbery and the Boisterous Birth of Children's Books*. Chronicle Books, 2017.

Moon, Marjorie. *John Harris's Books for Youth 1801-1843: Being a Check-list of Books for Children and Young People Published for Their Amusement and Instruction by John Harris and His Son, Successors to Elizabeth Newbery, Including a List of Games and Teaching Toys*. A. Spilman, 1976.

Rovee, Christopher. "The New Game of Human Life, 1790." *BRANCH: Britain, Representation and Nineteenth-Century History*, edited by Dino Franco Felluga, http://www.branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=christopher-rovee-the-new-game-of-human-life-1790.

Shefrin, Jill. "Newbery, Elizabeth (1745/6–1821), bookseller and publisher." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford UP, 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/63579>. Accessed 16 August, 2020.

Further Reading

Ahmed, Sara. *Willful Subjects*. Duke UP, 2014.

Clark, Norma. "The cursed Barbauld Crew: Women Writers and Writing for Children in the Late Eighteenth Century." In *Opening the Nursery Door: Reading, Writing, and Childhood, 1600–1900*, edited by Mary Hilton, Morag Styles, and Victor Watson, Routledge, 1997, pp. 91–103.

Davies, Rebecca. *Written Maternal Authority and Eighteenth-Century Education in Britain: Educating by the Book*. Routledge, 2016.

Dolan, Elizabeth A. *Seeing Suffering in Women's Literature of the Romantic Era*. Ashgate 2008.

Elliott, Dorice Williams. "The Care of the Poor Is Her Profession: Hannah More and Women's Philanthropic Work." *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, no. 19, vol. 2, 1995, pp. 179–204.

Fauske, Chris and Heidi Kaufman, eds. *An Uncomfortable Authority: Maria Edgeworth and her Contexts*. U of Delaware P, 2004.

Gilmartin, Kevin. "'Study to be Quiet': Hannah More and the Invention of Conservative Culture in Britain." *ELH*, no. 70, Summer 2003, pp. 493–540.

Grathwol, Kathleen B. "Maria Edgeworth and the 'True Use of Books' for Eighteenth-Century Girls." *New Essays on Maria Edgeworth*, edited by Julie Nash, Ashgate, 2006.

Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, translated by Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence, MIT Press, 1991.

Hilton, Mary. *Women and the Shaping of the Nation's Young: Education and Public Doctrine in Britain, 1750–1850*. Ashgate, 2007.

Levy, Michelle. *Family Authorship and Romantic Print Culture*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Myers, Mitzi. "Romancing the Moral Tale: Maria Edgeworth and the Problematics of Pedagogy." *Romanticism and Children's Literature in Nineteenth-Century England*, edited by James Holt McGavran. U of Georgia P, 1991.

Narain, Mona. "Not the Angel in the House: Intersections of the Public and Private in Maria Edgeworth's Moral Tales and Practical Education." *New Essays on Maria Edgeworth*, edited by Julie Nash. Ashgate, 2006.

Richardson, Alan. "Mary Wollstonecraft on Education." *The Cambridge Companion to Mary Wollstonecraft*. Cambridge UP, 2002, pp. 24–41.


Robbins, Sarah. "Lessons for Children and Teaching Mothers: Mrs. Barbauld's Primer for the Textual Construction of a Middle-Class Domestic Pedagogy." *The Lion and the Wardrobe*, no. 17. vol. 2, December 1993, pp. 135–51.

Stott, Anne. *Hannah More: The First Victorian*. Oxford UP, 2003.

Wharton, Joanna. *Material Enlightenment: Women Writers and the Science of Mind, 1770–1830*. Boydell, 2018.

00:00:00		[music playing]
00:00:08	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	<p>“<i>Letters on the improvement of the mind</i> by Hester Mulso Chapone, Letter one:</p> <p>My dearest niece,</p> <p>Though you are so happy as to have parents, who are both capable and desirous of giving you all proper instruction, yet I, who love you so tenderly, cannot help fondly wishing to contribute something, if possible, to your improvement and welfare: and, as I am so far separated from you, that it is only by pen and ink I can offer you my sentiments, I will hope that your attention may be engaged, by seeing on paper, from the hand of one of your warmest friends, Truths of the highest importance, which, though you may not find new, can never be too deeply engraven on your mind. Some of them perhaps may make no great impression at present, and yet may so far gain a place in your memory as readily to return to your thoughts when occasion recalls them.</p>
00:01:06	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	<p>And, if you pay me the compliment of preserving my letters, you may possibly re-peruse them at some future period, when concurring circumstances may give them additional weight: and thus they may prove more effectual than the same things spoken in conversation. But, however this may prove, I cannot resist the desire of trying to be in some degree useful [trying in some degree to be useful] to you on your setting out in a life of trial and difficulty; your success in which must determine your fate for ever.”</p>
00:01:43		[music playing]
00:01:54	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	<p>Hello and welcome to <i>The WPHP Monthly Mercury</i>, the podcast for <i>The Women’s Print History Project</i>. The WPHP is a bibliographic database that collects information about women and book production during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. My name is Kate Moffatt—</p>
00:02:09	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	<p>and I’m Kandice Sharren—</p>
00:02:11	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	<p>and we are long-time editors of the WPHP, and the hosts of this podcast. On the third Wednesday of every month, we’ll introduce you to anecdotes, puzzles, and problems related to recovering evidence of women’s involvement in print.</p>
00:02:24		[music playing]
00:02:32	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	<p>It’s September—already! We can’t believe it—and September means back-to-school. With the various forms education is taking this year, we were reminded of the wide</p>

range of educational works in the WPHP—which includes everything from grammar books and dictionaries to “addresses to young ladies —and the important role of education literature in women’s print history during the Romantic period.


- 00:02:54 Kate Moffatt (co-host) In this month’s episode of *The WPHP Monthly Mercury*, we are going to take a little gander through the education literature of the WPHP to explore the diversity of the genres related to education and its various formats, and to take a little peek at the role of the “genre” field in the database. We also speak to one of our past Research Assistants, Reese Irwin, about the process of entering children’s literature into the database—a task unto itself!
- 00:03:18 Kate Moffatt (co-host) We’ll be sharing a couple of short readings from a selection of educational works, including an excerpt from Mary Wollstonecraft’s *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* and Hannah More’s delightfully-titled *Sinful Sally*, to illustrate the wide variety of formats, styles, and content— and because we just couldn’t resist—they’re variably dramatic, serious, hilarious, and fun.
- 00:03:39  [music playing]
- 00:03:46 Kandice Sharren (co-host) As the reading from Hester Mulso Chapone’s *Letters on the improvement of the mind* that opens this episode suggests, education had high stakes. For middle- and upper-class young women in the period we focus on, education was often slapdash—there was no curriculum, standardized testing, or opportunity for formal education—and it was often overseen by their parents at home. Those schools for girls that did exist often focused on accomplishments over intellectual development—something that many women writers from different political and religious affiliations in the period decried.
- 00:04:19 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Likewise, while many boys of the same classes did attend school, much of their early education would take place in the home, also overseen by their mothers. On the one hand, this approach to education often reinforced barriers related to class and wealth—as we saw this spring when many schools shifted to remote learning because of COVID-19, families with more resources had access to a wider array of options for educating their children. On the other hand, the frequently informal nature of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century education provided women of the middle- and upper classes with the opportunity to claim a unique kind of cultural authority.
- 00:04:58 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Because mothers were entrusted with educating the next generation, they were able to stake a claim for women’s education as an issue of national importance. As a

result, writing about education, as well as writing for children, often gestures towards political and philosophical debates of the period. As we're going to look at today, it also took a number of different forms, from didactic writing aimed at children and adolescents of all ages, to radical political tracts like Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, to books aimed at parents about how to educate their children.


- 00:05:33 Kate Moffatt (co-host) With such a variety of forms, it's unsurprising that assigning a genre to an educational work in the WPHP is actually really complicated. Genre can be a particularly fraught element of data entry across the board—it is, perhaps more than any other field in the WPHP, subjective—and education texts often fit within multiple genres. We have 29 genres that we use in the WPHP. We'll include a link to the full genre list, which includes working definitions, in our blog post for this episode.
- 00:06:00 Kate Moffatt (co-host) But as a rule, we assign title records with whatever genre the work declares itself as in its title—novels will occasionally declare themselves “a novel” in their full titles, for example, making that a very easy assignment—and often so do “romances”, “tales”, and “stories.” Assigning broader genres, however, such as education, religion, and political writing, can be a more subjective process, particularly when texts serve or speak to a multitude of purposes or audiences—we have occasionally, for example, assigned genre based on research.
- 00:06:31 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Our RA Sara Penn mentioned in our last episode that we have Mary Prince's slave narrative in the database as “political writing”—a genre choice made to reflect the scholarship of James Olney. Our data model attaches only one genre to each title record, but, as Kandice has just pointed out, many of these works could reasonably fit within multiple: books relating to education could fall under “education,” but they could also just as easily fit into “juvenile literature,” “domestic,” “religion/spiritual,” or “essays,” depending on their scope, approach, and intended audience. Some even count as “novels.”
- 00:07:04 Kate Moffatt (co-host) The wide variety of genres that could be attached to these texts makes an important point: that educational literature took many formats, and that it was directed to a number of audiences. We're going to address some of the various forms that fall under the “education” umbrella, and use a couple of terrifically fun excerpts to demonstrate the genre's variety.


00:07:21	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Hester Mulso Chapone’s letter, which we read at the beginning of this episode, is indicative of one format, which was letters to female relations, but letters were a popular format more generally—they found their way into various educational works and topics, and, this is also, of course, yet another potential genre for this work—letters! We do however tend to use the “letters” genre in the WPHP for published compilations of actual letters such as those of Ignatius Sancho discussed in a few of our previous episodes, or collections of letters that don’t easily fit into other categories, but we don’t typically include fictional letters.
00:07:54	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	<p>The “letters” format lends itself to a number of uses—it’s a flexible form, and we can see it in a couple of other titles in the WPHP that fall into the education genre, or those close to it. This includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jane West’s <i>Letters to a Young Lady</i>, which is under the education genre. • Emily Taylor’s <i>Letters to a child on the subject of maritime discovery</i>, which we have in the juvenile literature genre. • We also have: Maria Edgeworth’s <i>Letters for Literary Ladies</i>, which is in the essays genre. • And, Clara Reeves’ <i>Plans for Education with remarks on the systems of other writers. In a series of letters between Mrs. Darnford and her friends</i>, which is in the education genre as well.
00:08:35	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Another possible format was something like Mary Wollstonecraft’s <i>Thoughts on the Education of Daughters</i> , which is essay-like in structure and instructional to both parents and daughters. This work was based on Wollstonecraft’s own experience working as a governess and running a school with her sisters and their close friend, Fanny Blood, which closed shortly before she chose to publish these letters.
00:08:59	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	During this period, working as an educator, especially as a governess, was exhausting and not particularly well paid work, and the women who undertook it often occupied an uncomfortable middle space between the wealthy family that employed them and the lower class servants in the household. If you’ve ever read <i>Jane Eyre</i> , <i>Jane Eyre</i> ’s position is a perfect example of, kind of, the trials of a governess, in this period.
00:09:26	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	So, in an attempt to support herself and her family, doing work other than teaching, Wollstonecraft turned to writing; <i>Thoughts on the Education of Daughters</i> was published by Joseph Johnson in 1786, and it’s full title, <i>Thoughts on the education of daughters: with reflections on female conduct, in the more important duties of life</i> , is indicative of its contents. It is in many ways a conduct manual, which is a work

essentially for young women in the eighteenth century that tells them how to behave in different social situations, but it also starts to lay the groundwork for the protofeminist arguments that Wollstonecraft would make a few years later, in *A vindication of the rights of woman*.

- 00:10:07 Kandice Sharren (co-host) In her later, and more overtly political and radical works, Wollstonecraft picks up the thread of this discussion, to argue that women's education is essential for creating rational and more just society, not just because women should be educated for their own sakes, but because they will pass their own education on to a subsequent generation; however, *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* focuses more on the practical element of education rather than its philosophical underpinnings. So this work includes advice on how to approach love, marriage, and "accomplishments"—the reading we've chosen from it, is the selection from the "exterior accomplishments" section.
- 00:10:50  [music playing]
- 00:10:58 Kate Moffatt (co-host) *Thoughts on the education of daughters: with reflections on female conduct, in the more important duties of life*, by Mary Wollstonecraft:
"Exterior Accomplishments
- Under this head may be ranked all those accomplishments which merely render the person attractive; and those half-learnt ones which do not improve the mind. A little learning of any kind is a dangerous thing; and so far from making a person pleasing, it has the contrary effect.
- 00:11:26 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Parents have mostly some weighty business in hand, which they make a pretext to themselves for neglecting the arduous task of educating their children; they are therefore sent to school, and the allowance for them is so low, that the person who undertakes the charge must have more than she can possibly attend to; of course, the mechanical parts of education can only be observed. I have known children who could repeat things in the order they learnt them, that were quite at a loss when put out of the beaten track. If the understanding is not exercised, the memory will be employed to little purpose.
- 00:11:58 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Girls learn something of music, drawing, and geography; but they do not know enough to engage their attention, and render it an employment of the mind. If they can play over a few tunes to their acquaintance, and have a drawing or two (half done by the master) to hang up in their rooms, they imagine themselves artists for

the rest of their lives. It is not the being able to execute a trifling landscape, or any thing of the kind, that is of consequence—these are at best but trifles, and the foolish, indiscriminate praises which are bestowed on them only produce vanity.

- 00:12:29 Kate Moffatt (co-host) But what is really of no importance, when considered in this light, becomes of the utmost, when a girl has a fondness for the art, and a desire of excellence. Whatever tends to make a person in some measure independent of the senses, is a prop to virtue. Amusing employments must first occupy the mind; and as an attention to moral duties leads to piety, so whoever weighs one subject will turn to others, and new ideas will rush into the mind. The faculties will be exercised, and not suffered to sleep, which will give a variety to the character.”
- 00:13:01  [music playing]
- 00:13:12 Kandice Sharren (co-host) While Mary Wollstonecraft became a major radical thinker in the 1790s, her thoughts about female education informed her arguments in *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* among other texts, similar arguments about the importance of women’s education and the role of women in society were also made by female writers on the opposite end of the political spectrum, which is something that Harriet Guest explores in her book *Small Change*.
- 00:13:34 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Hannah More was a deeply conservative writer, who, in addition to plays, poetry, and one of the bestselling novels of the early 1800s, wrote educational essays addressed explicitly to or for the improvement of young women. For example, *Essays on various subjects, principally designed for young ladies*. However, her educational project was not just aimed at middle- and upper-class women. She also wrote works, usually religious in their emphasis, for the lower classes, and many of these were printed in a series called the *Cheap Repository Tracts*, which were short, usually somewhere around 16–32 page pamphlets. They were priced cheaply, which meant they could be widely distributed.
- 00:14:32 Kandice Sharren (co-host) And this also means, as I believe I reference in my RA interview on the WPHP site, that they are a pain to find and date and add to the database, because there were so many different editions with small differences. During her lifetime, Hannah More became one of the most influential women writers in England, in large part because of the success and wide distribution of her *Cheap Repository Tracts*, which aimed to inculcate Christian values in the lower classes. These works generally intended to focus on obedience and acceptance of the status quo, rather than teaching people to question social structures.

- 00:14:55 Kandice Sharren (co-host) And Anne Stott has described her strategies as “unashamed . . . social engineering.” In this case, she is referring to More’s involvement in the charity schools that she promoted in order to help educate lower-class women, but her writing for the poor, I think, also fits this category. This is why, interestingly, even though her writing is heavily didactic, it is also often enjoyable, as is the case with her poem, *Sinful Sally*, which was published, again, as one of the *Cheap Repository Tracts*.
- 00:15:24 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So, the full title of *Sinful Sally* is, like Wollstonecraft’s *Thoughts*, indicative of its contents, and it points specifically towards one of More’s most significant concerns: the desire to manage women’s sexuality. So the full title of this poem is *The story of sinful Sally, told by herself. Shewing how from being Sally of the Green she was first led to become Sinful Sally, and afterwards Drunken Sal, and how at last she came to a most melancholy and almost hopeless end; being therein a warning to all young women both in town and country*.
It’s as melodramatic as it sounds, and we’re going to read it to you in its entirety [both laugh], because we couldn’t bear to choose just a selection.
- 00:16:14  [music playing]
- 00:16:21 Kandice Sharren (co-host) “Come each maiden lend an ear,
Country Lass and London Belle!
Come and drop a mournful tear
O’er the tale that I shall tell!
I that ask your tender pity,
Ruin’d now and all forlorn,
Once, like you, was young and pretty,
And as cheerful as the morn.
In yon distant Cottage sitting,
Far away from London town,
Once you might have seen me knitting
In my simple Kersey Gown.
- 00:16:48 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Where the little lambkins leap,
Where the meadow looks so gay,
Where the drooping willows weep,
Simple Sally used to stray,
Then I tasted many a Blessing,
Then I had an honest fame;

Father Mother me caressing,
 Smil'd and thought me free from blame.
 Then, amid my friends so dear,
 Life it speeded fast away,
 O, it moves a tender tear,
 To bethink me of the day!

00:17:17 Kandice Sharren
 (co-host)

From the villages surrounding,
 Ere I well had reach'd Eighteen.
 Came the modest youths abounding,
 All to Sally of the Green.
 Courting days were thus beginning,
 And I soon had prov'd a wife;
 O! if I had kept from sinning,
 Now how blest had been my life.
 Come each maiden lend an ear,
 Country Lass and London Belle!
 Come ye now and deign to hear
 How poor sinful Sally fell.

00:17:45 Kate Moffatt
 (co-host)

Where the Hill begins inclining,
 Half a furlong from the Road,
 O'er the village white and shining
 Stands Sir William's great abode.
 Near his meadow I was tripping,
 Vainly wishing to be seen,
 When Sir William met me skipping,
 And he spoke me on the Green.
 Bid me quit my cloak of scarlet,
 Blam'd my simple Kersey Gown;
 Ey'd me then, so like a Varlet,
 Such as live in London town.

00:18:14 Kandice Sharren
 (co-host)

With his presents I was loaded,
 And bedeck'd in ribbons gay;
 Thus my ruin was foreboded,
 O, how crafty was his way!

Vanish'd now from Cottage lowly,
My poor Parents' hearts I break;
Enter on a state unholy,
Turn a Mistress to a Rake.
Now no more by morning light
Up to God my voice I raise;
Now no shadows of the night
Call my thoughts to prayer and praise.

00:18:42 Kate Moffatt
(co-host)

Hark! A well-known sound I hear!
'Tis the Church's Sunday Bell;
No; I dread to venture near:
No; I'm now the Child of Hell.
Now I lay my Bible by,
Chuse that impious book so new,
Love the bold blaspheming lie,
And that filthy novel too.
Next to London town I pass
(Sinful Sally is my name)
There to gain a front of brass,
And to glory in my Shame.

00:19:11 Kandice Sharren
(co-host)

Powder'd well, and puff'd, and painted,
Rivals all I there out shine;
With [my] skin so white and heart so tainted,
Rolling in my Chariot fine.
In the Park I glitter daily,
Then I dress me for the play,
Then to masquerade so gaily,
See me, see me tear away.
When I meet some meaner Lass
Then I toss with proud disdain;
Laugh and giggle as I pass,
Seeming not to know a pain.

00:19:39	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	<p>Still at every hour of leisure Something whispers me within, O! I hate this life of pleasure, For it is a Life of Sin. Thus amidst my peals of laughter Horror seizes oft my frame: Pleasure now, Damnation after, And a never-dying flame. Save me, Save me, Lord, I cry, Save my soul from Satan's chain! Now I see Salvation nigh, Now I turn to Sin again.</p>
00:20:09	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	<p>Is it then some true Repentance That I feel for evil done? No; 'tis horror of my sentence, 'Tis the pangs of Hell begun. But a thousand ills o'ertaken See me now quite sinking down; Till so lost and so forsaken, Sal is cast upon the town. At the dusk of evening grey Forth I step from secret cell; Roaming like a beast of prey, Or some hateful Imp of Hell.</p>
00:20:37	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	<p>Ah! How many youths so blooming By my wanton looks I've won; Then by vices all consuming Left them ruin'd and undone! This the cruel spider stretches Wide his web for every fly; Then each victim that he catches Strait he poisons till he die. Now no more by conscience troubles, Deep I plunge in every Sin:</p>


True; my sorrows are redoubled,
But I drown them all in Gin.

00:21:05 Kandice Sharren
 (co-host)

See me next with front so daring
Band of ruffian Rogues among;
Fighting, cheating, drinking, swearing,
And the vilest of the throng.
Mark the youngest of the thieves;
Taught by Sal he ventures further;
What he filches Sal receives,
'Tis for Sal he does the murder.
See me then attend my victim
To the fatal Gallows Tree;
Pleas'd to think how I have nick'd him,
Made him swing while I am free.

00:21:33 Kate Moffatt
 (co-host)

Jack I laughing see depart,
While with Dick I drink and sing;
Soon again I'll fill the cart,
Make this present Lover swing.
But while thus with guilt surprising,
Sal pursues her bold career,
See God's dreadful wrath arising,
And the day of vengeance near!
Fierce disease my body seizes,
Racking pain afflicts my bones;
Dread of Death my spirit freezes,
Deep and doleful are my groans.

00:22:01	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	<p>Here with face so shrunk and spotted On the clay-cold ground I lie; See how all my flesh is rotted, Stop, O Stranger, see me die! Conscience, as my breath's departing, Plunges too his arrow deep, With redoubled fury starting Like some Giant from his sleep. In this Pit of Ruin lying, Once again before I die, Fainting, trembling, weeping, sighing, Lord to thee I'll lift mine eye.</p>
00:22:29	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	<p>Is it then some true Repentance That I feel for evil done? No; 'tis horror of my sentence, 'Tis the pangs of Hell begun. But a thousand ills o'ertaken See me now quite sinking down; Till so lost and so forsaken, Sal is cast upon the town. At the dusk of evening grey Forth I step from secret cell; Roaming like a beast of prey, Or some hateful Imp of Hell.</p>
00:22:58	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	<p>Savior! hear me or I perish! None who lives is quite undone; Still a Ray of Hope I'll cherish 'Till Eternity's begun.</p>
00:23:08		[music playing]
00:23:17	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	<p>Sinful Sally is, clearly, a marvelous read—we had such a fantastic time reading it—but its form of publication indicates an important point about how the intended audience of a work can not only impact its content, but also shape its production and dissemination. Its message was, as Kandice said, directed towards</p>

young women of the lower classes; its contents—which include murder! And drama! seductions!—hook the reader while also offering a moral: do not give in to vice! And do not allow yourself to be seduced by the lord who lives down the road.

- 00:23:48 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Its publication format, however—*Cheap Repository Tracts*—made the work accessible to those without the resources to spend on books, which were, during this period, prohibitively expensive and far beyond the means of anyone below the upper classes.
Cheap Repository Tracts were so cheap that they were often purchased in bulk by persons or institutions, such as the church, that wanted to distribute them to a particular group. It's worth noting, however, that *Cheap Repository Tracts* such as *Sinful Sally* were also republished in more expensive forms as well, suggesting their popularity went beyond the intended audience of the lower classes.
- 00:24:23 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Book production was also an increasingly important element of books directed at children, a market that exploded in our period. This market includes books for very young children. So, Anna Letitia Barbauld's *Lessons for Children of Three Years Old* is one of those. And it begins with a preface that notes how the design of the book itself should match its function and its audience.
- 00:23:48 Kandice Sharren (co-host) She writes that books for children must use “good paper, a clear and large type, and large spaces” because “the eyes of a child and of a learner cannot catch, as ours can, a small, obscure, ill-formed word, amidst a number of others all equally unknown to him.” *Lessons for Children of Three Years Old* is clearly meant to meet these specifications, and to be read *to* and *with* a young child. And this is signaled both by the language of the book, its contents, and its design.
- 00:25:24 Kandice Sharren (co-host) The first story, as you'll hear in a moment, is both educational and playful—clearly designed to be narrated to a child—and looking at the publication also shows that the letters are large, and there is plenty of white space on the page. So, not only is it meant to be read *to* a child, but also potentially read *by* a child. Please enjoy Kate reading to a fictional three-year-old Charles with much gusto.
- 00:25:52  [music playing]
- 00:25:59 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Charles, what a clever thing it is to read! A little while ago, you know, you could only read little words; and you were forced to spell them- C- A- T- cat; D- O - G- dog. Now you can read pretty stories, and I am going to write you some. Do you know why you are better than puss? Puss can play as well as you; and puss can drink milk, and lie upon the carpet; and she can run as fast as you, and faster too, a great

deal; and she can climb trees better, and she can catch mice, which you cannot do. But can puss talk? No. Can puss read? No. Then that is the reason why you are better than puss—because you can talk and read.


- 00:26:47 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Can Pierrot your dog, read? No. Will you teach him? Take the pin and point to the words. No, he will not learn. I never saw a little dog or cat learn to read. But little boys can learn. If you do not learn, Charles, you are not good for half as much as a puss. You had better be drowned.
- 00:27:09  [music playing]
- 00:27:19 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Reading to and with children is a fun and interactive teaching activity [both laugh]]; the next work we are going to look at, by Charlotte Smith similarly suggests a form of interactive learning in the form of a dialogue. So, dialogues are another format that often gets used in educational texts. They synthesize writing aimed at children and writing aimed at educators together in one work. So, Charlotte Smith's *Rural Walks*, for example, offers a model for how learning can be an active process in which the educator speaks to the children being educated, but always in response to the children's questions about the world.
- 00:28:01 Kandice Sharren (co-host) This represents a particularly capital-R Romantic understanding of the self and education, in which learning is experiential and rooted in going out into the world and encountering new situations and people who raise larger questions. This is something that's also in this work linked to the natural world. So, here we see the scene of education as something rural, linked to both nature and the agricultural landscape, which is so important to many other Romantic writers such as, for example, William Wordsworth. Charlotte Smith, who had suffered at the hands of a profligate husband, was well acquainted with the consequences of an insufficient education on the lives of men, and her opinions about the education of boys as well as girls are on full display in the following and rather depressing excerpt.
- 00:28:55  [music playing]
- 00:29:01 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Who is it, mamma?
- 00:29:03 Kandice Sharren (co-host) It is Mr. Somerville, my dear, of whom you have often heard me speak. I think you were once with me when he dined at Brightwell house with a large party. He is a man who possesses a princely fortune, and whose whole life passes in a series of generous and obliging actions. His neighbours almost adore him. There is not a

peasant within ten miles of him, who would not, to use their own rustic phrase, “go through fire and water to serve him, by night or by day.” Though he lives in splendour proportioned to his fortune, it is without ostentation and without extravagance; and, never yet did he see anguish impressed on the countenance even of a common acquaintance, without attempting to relieve it.

- 00:29:48 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Is a farmer distressed by bad seasons, or accidental losses, Mr. Somerville will assist him with his purse, or his credit. Is a labourer sinking under sickness or poverty, it is by Mr. Somerville he is ordered medical advice, and from his kitchen,= comfortable nourishment. And all this, and much more is without ostentation. He thinks, that it is so far from being a matter of boast, that he merely does his duty.
- 00:30:15 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Oh, mamma! what an [*sic*] happy woman his wife must be!
- 00:30:20 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Alas? my dear Elizabeth, he has no wife; she has been dead many years, and left him two sons and a daughter.
- 00:30:26 Kate Moffatt (co-host) They must be happy then, mamma.
- 00:30:27 Kandice Sharren (co-host) I wish they were, my love, for the sake of their excellent father; but it is, unfortunately quite otherwise.
- 00:30:25 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Yet I have often heard, aunt, that good parents make good children, and, of course happy ones.
- 00:30:40 Kandice Sharren (co-host) It is a melancholy reflection that this rule is by no means without exception. The eldest of Mr. Somerville’s sons learned very early that he was heir to a very great fortune. At school, he was idle, dissipated, and expensive; these vices gathered strength at college. He spent so much money there, that, notwithstanding his father’s liberal allowance, he left it some thousand in debt, at a very early age; not being able to bear even the little restraint that merely belonging to society laid upon his actions.
- 00:31:14 Kandice Sharren (co-host) His father not knowing what to do without him, consented to his going abroad, when he made exactly the sort of tour by Lord Chesterfield and returned what is now called “a fine man about town.” He plays very deep, runs into a thousand absurd excesses, and seldom never sees his father, with whom he has no ideas in common, and who cannot help reflecting with regret, that his fortune will fall into the hands of the man who will disgrace his name.

00:31:43	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	But his other son—
00:31:45	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Turns out equally unworthy such a father. This young man who was educated at home, in consequence of the ill-success of a public education with his elder brother, most unhappily took, by the neglect of his tutor, a turn for low company; he was unhappy and under visible restraint when he was not either insatiable or in the servants hall. In the hope of breaking through these habits, his father sent him to Geneva; but they were already become inveterate. He married there an English woman, whose obscure birth his father would have overlooked, if she had been a person of good character; as it was this generous and tender pairing forgave him, and, on his return to England, gave him a very handsome establishment; but his wife was so bad an economist, so extravagant, and so dissipated, that he soon became embarrassed. Mutual reproaches and recrimination ensued; they quarreled, and parted.
32:38	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Thus deprived of all the prospects of future comfort in regard to his sons, Mr. Somerville turned towards his daughter, as his sole consolation. Alas! the promise of happiness, with which she had three years before been married, was already blighted. Her husband, a man of fashion, who, at the beginning of their union, appeared to be extremely attached to her, had no longer any affection for her, nor did he take the trouble to wear even its semblance. His family, of which he was the only male heir, were displeased that she had brought him no children, and treated her with coldness and neglect. She lost her health and now passes almost all of her time with her father who endeavours by tenderness and attention, to heal the wounds of a broken heart, which are, I fear, slowly but certainly condemning her to an early grave.
00:33:29		[music playing]
00:33:38	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	As these excerpts demonstrate, writing related to education was diverse and could take a number of different formats— there were even educational games! Children’s literature and educational literature have some unique challenges, however, when it comes to bibliography and entering these works into the database. Kandice interviewed Reese Irwin for this episode, one of our past Research Assistants who worked on the project from 2016 until 2019, and (almost single-handedly!) entered the majority of our juvenile literature into the database.
00:34:07	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	She is the author of the forthcoming book chapter, “Elizabeth Newbery, Publisher and Bookseller in Her Own Right: A Case Study from <i>The Women’s Print History</i>

Project, 1750–1836,” which will be published in volume 1 of *Women in Print*, edited by Rose Roberto and Helen S. Williams. She has a Master’s in English from Simon Fraser University, and has recently completed a Master’s of Library Information Science at the University of British Columbia.

00:34:29 

[music playing]

00:34:37 Kandice Sharren
(co-host)

Reese, when you joined the WPHP, your first job was entering a lot of the children’s literature that we now have in the database. Do you want to describe that process and tell us a bit about what kinds of resources you used?

00:34:51 Reese Irwin
(guest)

Yeah, I definitely can. Actually, when I began on this project, I never dreamed I would be the one working through children’s literature, because anyone who knows me, they know I prefer Austen novels, and similar giant tomes to picture books. However, after this entire process and going through a few thousand records of children’s literature in the database, it’s given me this new kind of nerdy passion, if you will. [Kandice laughs].

00:35:14 Reese Irwin
(guest)

It got to the point where there was a brand new children’s picture book about the father of children’s literature, publisher John Newbery, came to me at the bookstore I worked at, and I had to buy it, three years ago, so [both laugh], I went from one end to the other. But yeah! So, to describe how I got from just my toe in the water knowing nothing about this, to being entirely submerged, I have to start back in 2016.

00:35:40 Reese Irwin
(guest)

In truth, the summer of 2016, it was a bit of a blur of learning how to enter titles in the database, and thinking about entering grad school in the fall, so I was a little bit preoccupied. But I’m going to try and recount to the best of my ability. So, you actually showed me how to enter titles in the database and how to conduct a data merge, which was taking data from one online source and overseeing the process of entering it into the WPHP.

00:36:06 Reese Irwin
(guest)

This merge was kind of my first pass at entering children’s literature in a systematic way. And I remember entering about 1400 titles during this process, though a couple might have been thrown out because they were no good. The books, as I’m sure people listening know, they had to have a woman’s involvement in some way, so this initial data came from the *Osborne Collection of Early Children’s Books*, a catalogue from the Toronto public library featuring more than 80,000 children’s titles.

- 00:36:34 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Oh, wow!
- 00:36:35 Reese Irwin (guest) Yeah! I read that today and I was, like, “holy crap”[both laugh]. Once I had entered these titles, I worked my way through print bibliographies to kind of check the data that had been entered. So, I used *The Darntons*, which was a bibliography of children’s books published by Samuel Harvey, William Darnton, and William Darnton Sr., a book called *John Newbery and His Successors*, a bibliography of the publisher known as the father of children’s lit I mentioned before, and his relations that succeeded him, and *John Harris’s Books for Youth*, a short bibliography focused on publisher John Harris, who was a successor of a successor of John Newbery, which I’ll dive into in a minute, as there’s a person I’m deliberately not naming here in the lineage.
- 00:37:15 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So a lot of those print bibliographies were publisher specific, rather than general children’s literature. Do you have any idea why that might be?
- 00:37:23 Reese Irwin (guest) I think that one of the reasons is children’s literature is actually very hard to find—it’s kind of ephemeral, its nature is not really considered super scholarly, so people have tended to focus on the publishers themselves because there is more evidence that they were there and that they were doing work.
- 00:37:43 Reese Irwin (guest) And some of the actual bibliographic entries are a little bit, like, “well, we have this one record because the publisher wrote a letter to the author but we don’t actually have a copy of the book”, so, it could’ve been published, it might have been published, it was advertised in this catalogue, so it likely was published, but just due to the nature of children’s literature, it was very hard to kind of take that book approach I think, so, having to do it through publishers was, I think, kind of the best way in.
- 00:38:15 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Yeah, so it has to do with publishers’ records surviving better than the books themselves, which is a little unusual, but really interesting.
- 00:38:22 Reese Irwin (guest) Yeah, that is a little bit unusual, and I actually really liked the publisher-focused angle; I think that was a good way for me to kind of get into children’s literature. And then I found more crazy things through that. So I used these bibliographies to verify the titles that I already had, or that you and Michelle had already added before I was on the project, and I also added more titles from the print bibliographies that weren’t in the database yet.

00:38:54 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So, what was the process of going through those bibliographies? What did you look for?

00:39:00 Reese Irwin (guest) So I began with the shortest bibliography, which was *John Harris's Books for Youth*, which I think, looking back, was probably just a matter of "oh, this looks easy!"

00:39:08 Kandice Sharren (co-host) [laughs], gotta start somewhere!

00:39:10 Reese Irwin (guest) It had about, yeah, it had about 300 entries that I had to read through, and I looked for the presence of a woman in all 300 entries, and I used more sources as well as this first print bibliography to help verify in the case of pseudonyms, first initial only, which happened a couple times. But I had to kind of comb through the print entries to look for evidence of a woman's involvement, which wasn't always as simple as just looking and seeing that she was the author, or sometimes kind of a little bit buried.

00:39:42 Reese Irwin (guest) So, children's books often went through several editions, as I was kind of speaking about earlier, they're a bit ephemeral, some titles could go up into the 30s of editions—it just got a little bit bananas.

00:39:51 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Oh, wow!

00:39:54 Reese Irwin (guest) Yeah! So the other print bibliographies, I followed that same process, and I used a pencil to circle each entry with a woman's involvement or possible involvement to keep myself going straight, and, so I didn't get confused, because oftentimes it was buried in the entry. Actually the SFU copy of *John Newbery and His Successors*, it's now quite heavily marked up and the spine has completely cracked...from my consultations [both laugh].

00:40:20 Kandice Sharren (co-host) It's funny, I found this with the bibliographies I've worked with, it's like they don't expect people to actually read them, because as soon as you go through page by page, the book just falls to pieces!

00:40:32 Reese Irwin (guest) Yes! Yes.

00:40:33 Kandice Sharren (co-host) It's like a weird bibliography feature [laughs].

- 00:40:36 Reese Irwin (guest) I encountered that with *The Darntons* as well! It's also starting to crack quite severely. And I still have that book, lurking around somewhere.
- 00:40:44 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Let's hope nobody at the SFU library is listening to us! [laughs].
- 00:40:47 Reese Irwin (guest) Right [laughs]. It's not on my account, I don't know! [both laugh]. Anyway, so, speaking of Newbery and that crazy now broken book, that bibliography, actually it gave me simultaneously a gem and a thorny problem. For that I'm Speaking of John Newbery's niece in law, Elizabeth Newbery, she was a publisher in her own right for 32 years. She published both children's and adult literature. So, once I discovered, big air quotes used there, that she was responsible for publishing several of the books in that bibliography, I had to circle each entry with E.N listed as a publisher, bibliography is often use abbreviations to denote basic information like publisher, so it was just E.N.
- 00:41:33 Reese Irwin (guest) As I entered data from the bibliography that had to do with her alongside entering data where women were authors but the publisher was another male John Newbery relation, I realized, as I check this data against the *English Short Title Catalogue*, *WorldCat* and a variety of others, that not much was known about Elizabeth Newbery. This to be a bit cheesy, shook me to my core [Kandice laughs], here she was, a woman with several hundred bibliographical entries to her name that she had published, and not even a *Wikipedia* page for her. And sometimes mistaken as Edward Newbery, who doesn't exist.
- 00:42:08 Kandice Sharren (co-host) [laughs] Do you want to say a bit more about the Edward Newbery problem?
- 00:42:11 Reese Irwin (guest) Yes, so Michelle found—I think it was the second edition of James Cook's *Voyage* to the something ocean [laughs], many voyages!—and it was listed as being published by Edward Newbery. Because of course, on the title page, it says E. Newbery. Michelle tried to find an actual Edward Newbery, couldn't, asked me to look in the John Newbery bibliography, had nothing about an Edward, so she concluded that someone just made up an Edward Newbery, because who else could E. Newbery be? [Kandice laughs]. A woman couldn't publish such a title.
- 00:42:50 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Of course not!

- 00:42:51 Reese Irwin (guest) Right? So, just some crazy things, insertion fantasies, [both laugh], so, Elizabeth story is kind of a perfect example of why the WPHP works so tirelessly to remedy, which is women hiding in plain sight, or pushed to the margins in favor of a neater, male-centric story of lineage and economic prowess.
- 00:43:15 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So, you found this female publisher of children's literature and other types of literature. How did you go about making sure all of her titles were entered in the database?
- 00:43:26 Reese Irwin (guest) Yeah, that actually was really interesting. It's still not complete, and I know that because the way that the John Newbery bibliography is structured, it's the author, Samuel Roscoe, structured it with a part a, that was children's literature, and a part b, that was all other titles. So, [laughs].
- 00:43:47 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So helpful!
- 00:43:48 Reese Irwin (guest) Yes! I worked my way through the children's literature section, and then when Michelle kind of alerted me that Elizabeth had published Cook's *Voyage*, I was like "oh no!", [Kandice laughs], there is this whole other section that I haven't gone through. So, I did go through it a little bit, but it's not finished. She is in there for sure, she did publish adult titles. Actually, I think the split was pretty equal in terms of her publishing children's versus adults, so that was really interesting.
- 00:44:17 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Yeah, I remember you saying that.
- 00:44:20 Reese Irwin (guest) Yeah, and—
- 00:44:21 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Well, the children's literature alone was a huge job.
- 00:44:23 Reese Irwin (guest) Yes, it was a task, but there is definitely still work to be done with Elizabeth Newbery. Which is pretty cool.
- 00:44:29 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So, you worked through a *massive* number of titles, but are there any in particular that stood out? Or any subgenres, anything like that? Anything that was unique or unusual that caught your attention? That you still remember, years later?

00:44:43 Reese Irwin (guest) Yeah, I was like “What am I going to remember?” So, there are a couple things that initially stuck out to me, and I’m sure if you ask me this a week from now, I’d say something different. But, for now, the things that came to mind were men, they used women’s names as pseudonyms to publish children’s literature.

00:45:01 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Oh! Interesting!

00:45:03 Reese Irwin (guest) Yeah! So when I was doing the merge, it was really interesting because a couple of times a woman’s name would come up, but then there would be a note saying this was actually a man, and I had to kind of get rid of those titles because there was no other instance of a woman on that title so I was like, “oh, this was a dude!”

00:45:20 Reese Irwin (guest) It was really interesting to me because often we hear about women writing under *men’s* names, to be more credible, etc., or for whatever reason, but for this, it was kind of men wanting to look more maternal, more approachable, and kind of have a marketing thing going where the whole book was kind of this nice, nurturing, moral thing that your child could have and you could trust it was coming from someone maternal—it was really, really, interesting. Yeah, so that was definitely one thing that stood out.

00:45:52 Kandice Sharren (co-host) As it does [laughs].

00:45:53 Reese Irwin (guest) Yeah, stood out during the merge. Something that I always tell just random people who would ask me about what I was doing for work, one of the first things I’d say was did you know “Old Mother Hubbard” was written by a woman? And they would go: “no!” [Kandice laughs]. It’s just one of those ubiquitous titles that nobody really thinks about, and they are, like, “oooh!” Her name is Sarah Catherine Martin. And, yeah, definitely a cool thing I found out.

00:46:19 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Interesting!


00:46:22 Reese Irwin (guest) One of the cutest things was that the books, they are so tiny. When we were in the British library, just the physical size of a lot of these children’s books, they would fit in the palm of my hand. I took a lot of pictures of books sitting on my hand. So, it’s interesting because, I mentioned before, I worked in a bookstore, and I’ve studied publishing, so, modernly, I’m aware of what a children’s picture book is supposed to

look like in terms of size, and this really surprised me. They are really like pocket books. Literally.

- 00:47:52 Reese Irwin (guest) I've even seen some Victorian editions of children's books that fit in a miniature box, really going with the child-sized theme. And I guess the last thing is kind of like an umbrella thing, we mentioned it earlier, just the vast amount of editions that had, the children's literature had, just because the genre, it really gain ground in the latter half of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries as ideas about children and childhood really began to solidify, I saw some titles with higher than 30 editions, more than a few cases for the title page of a certain edition—
- 00:47:31 Reese Irwin (guest) so let's say the sixth edition was used over and over again in subsequent print runs. So just a sheer amount of recycling and the rapid production that went on. Not even to mention the marketing. So the crazy things that publishers would do—Elizabeth Newbery did this too—she would insert advertisements in the text of the book for other books. This was called “puffing” [Kandice laughs]. It's kind of like product placement, but, yeah, so it really was just this marketing feat, just the way that children's literature really grew as a genre and as a publishing stream, I guess you could say.
- 00:48:14 Kandice Sharren (co-host) And I guess it kind of contributes to thinking about how small they were, because larger books were really expensive during the period, so if you had these little tiny books, people might conceivably be able to buy more of them, so you'd want to make sure that people were aware of all the options.
- 00:48:28 Reese Irwin (guest) Yeah that's very true. And quite often too, what publishers would do, they would release an illustrated book that was not coloured, it would be far cheaper than the coloured version. And they'd be the same physical size, but, it was interesting because, on the one hand, it was super, almost ephemeral I would say, and how cheap and mass produced it was, but then a couple would be like: “these are really special!”, “these are really nice.”
- 00:48:58 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Yeah, and I remember you talking about finding some books that were actually games. Do you want to talk about those a little bit? Because that's really interesting.
- 00:49:06 Reese Irwin (guest) Yeah, definitely! So, actually a lot of the games I found were adaptations of either poems or books.
- 00:49:15 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Oh, interesting!

- 00:49:16 Reese Irwin (guest) So I'm not sure if it was the authors themselves thinking about it this way or the publishers, again, just wanting to market more and trying to think of more ways that they could get children involved, it's an adaptation of Catherine Ann Turner Dorset's poem, "The Peacock At Home", [Kandice laughs], which is one of the most successful imitations of William Roscoe's "The Butterfly's Ball", so this game actually has a lot of things involved. It's got ivory counters, ten invitation cards, four instructional cards, twenty four hand-coloured picture cards, which each have a bird on them [Kandice laughs], and a hand-colored decorative sheet.
- 00:49:54 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Wow!
- 00:49:55 Reese Irwin (guest) Yeah, it's very involved. So, the game is won by the first player who has all their guests, which are the cards in their hand, invited to the party, so, that's, "The Peacock At Home", the story is that the peacock is throwing a party [Kandice laughs]. Yeah, and then the cards that are dealt by the dealer have to match to the cards in the players' hands, and so once a player gets rid of all their cards, they win, because all of their guests have been invited. Yeah, I was reading about this game, and it's apparently an early example of a game with no clear moral or educational intent.
- 00:50:32 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Oh, interesting!
- 00:50:33 Reese Irwin (guest) It's primarily just for fun, although you could make the case that a matching game is definitely educational in some way, just not as overt, as a lot of children's publications could be [Kandice laughs]. My favorite game I encountered, which I thought was just crazy, also has to do with Elizabeth Newbery.
- 00:50:56 Kandice Sharren (co-host) She keeps coming back!
- 00:50:57 Reese Irwin (guest) Yes! So, alongside John Wallis, who was also a publisher, aa, she co-published a game called "The new game of human life" in 1790 [Kandice laughs], yes, so, the game—
- 00:51:13 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Sounds very modern!
- 00:51:15 Reese Irwin (guest) Very modern! It was actually based on a similar French game that had been previously published, and it involves working one's way around an illustrated gameboard, moving through the phases of life. The game was morally and

educationally instructive [Kandice laughs], beautifully illustrated, it was an innovation of the time for the English market, and Wallis and Newbery, they did very well with it. Yes, as you said, it is very modern, if the name rings a bell, that's because you are right, [Kandice laughs], this is the original version of what we now know simply as Life, which is actually produced by Milton Bradley, the man, Milton Bradley, who was a publisher, he came across the old English game in 1860, and he made his own version, calling it "the checkered game of life", which then evolved.

- 00:52:01 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Huh! Very cool!
- 00:52:02 Reese Irwin (guest) Yes! He actually said that it paralleled his own life, and he was a little amazed [both laugh]. Yeah, so, you can imagine, I was simultaneously shocked, and really excited, that Elizabeth Newbery was co-publisher of the game Life! [Kandice laughs]. Yet, she was still unknown. I just...I had a moment with that.
- 00:52:28 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Well, thanks so much, Reese! So nice to have you back, we missed you on the project.
- 00:52:33 Reese Irwin (guest) Yeah, I miss you guys, too! It's always been so much fun. I started in 2016, it's been four years, it's been great to be a part of it.
- 00:52:43 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Glad to have you back in this small capacity, very briefly.
- 00:52:47 Reese Irwin (guest) Yeah, I know, it's great. Thank you so much.
- 00:52:49  [music playing]
- 00:52:58 Kate Moffatt (co-host) As Reese indicates so well in her interview—another big shoutout to Reese for coming on the podcast to chat about this!—educational literature contains a wide range of formats and subgenres, even just among the books actually written for children. Yet despite that diversity, the publication practices surrounding works about education and juvenile literature also demonstrate how publishers specialized in specific areas. So many of the resources Reese used were published and/or genre-specific, whether based on collections held in libraries like the Osborne Collection of Children's Literature, which is held at the University of Toronto Library, or bibliographic lists like Samuel Roscoe's *John Newbery and His Successors*.

- 00:53:37 Kandice Sharren (co-host) As we've talked about in past episodes, scholarly interest in specific genres has an impact on which titles end up being entered into the WPHP. Certain genres, such as the novel and poetry, have long been the subject of literary scholarship, and have often been included in their own bibliographies, which means they are easy for us to find and add as records. Children's literature is another such category, although because it was produced for and handled by children, and it was often cheaper than other books, there is, physically, a lot more of it, especially more editions, and less of it survives, which makes it harder for us to be totally comprehensive.
- 00:54:20 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So, while there is a bibliography for well known publishers of children's literature like the Newbery family, or the Darnton family, which means we can be relatively thorough for something like Elizabeth Newbery's publications, there is not a bibliography for a less well known children's literature publisher, like Frances Houlston, who, along with her son, published an array of children's books in the early 1800s.
- 00:54:48 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Accounting for educational writing directed at parents presents another set of problems—while it sometimes appears in a work solely dedicated to theorizing and outlining principles for educational practice, as Wollstonecraft's *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* does, other titles weave discussions of how to educate children into essays on other topics, or include representations of good parenting in the books written for children. In this episode, we've tried to provide an entertaining and enlightening sample of some of those possibilities—we hope you enjoyed them!
- 00:55:15  [music playing]
- 00:55:26 Kandice Sharren (co-host) This has been the fourth episode of *The WPHP Monthly Mercury*. We will be releasing an episode every third Wednesday of the month. If you're interested in learning more about what we discussed today, we've compiled a list of suggestions for further reading and links to some relevant entries in the WPHP in a blog post that you can find at womensprinthistoryproject.com.
- 00:55:48  [music playing]