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Youth's Poison?: The Creation and
Evolution of Children's Chapbooks in
Scotland, 1800-1870



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**Youth's Poison?: The Creation and Evolution of Children's Chapbooks in Scotland,
1800-1870**

Abstract

This thesis examines the production and development of chapbooks for children in Scotland during the period 1800-1870. By dividing these chapbooks into two categories, religious and instructive, this thesis will explore what connections these texts had to changing perceptions of childhood and the creation of children's literature during the nineteenth century in Scotland. Bearing in mind Douglas Gifford's claim that nineteenth century Scottish literature was affected by a national identity crisis, aggravated by the failure of Scottish institutions including the church and the education system, this thesis will also examine the erosion of Scottish content and language from these chapbooks and will look at the relationship these books had with Scottish childhood and the creation of a Scottish literature for children.

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Abbreviations

GU – Glasgow University, Special Collections

GUA – Glasgow University, Research Annexe

NLS – The National Library of Scotland

PCL – Paisley Central Library

Introduction

By the late nineteenth-century, children in Scotland could choose from a wide range of cheap texts, from the serialised sensational novels known as penny dreadfuls to juvenile periodicals including *The Boys Own Paper* and *Good Words for the Young*. But children's literature had once been of a religious and educational nature. These dry, stuffy tomes offered little in the way of amusement and under such circumstances children and their parents turned to chapbooks for amusing and affordable literature. Printers responded by producing chapbooks in enormous quantities – conservative estimates report 200,000 copies being printed a year¹ – some of which were produced exclusively for children. The main centres of chapbook production in Scotland were Glasgow, Edinburgh, Falkirk, Stirling and Paisley, with certain areas becoming associated with the production of popular literature, such as the Saltmarket in Glasgow and Niddry's Wynd and the Cowgate in Edinburgh. Broadly speaking, chapbooks are small, lightweight books, cheaply produced and of a low quality, containing whatever topics would sell at the time – from fairy tales to religious tracts, scaffold speeches to humorous tales. Despite their low quality these books were by no means unattractive and during an era when little else was on offer in the way of amusing literature, they formed the main source of reading matter for most of the population.

Despite the fact that Scotland had such a vibrant chapbook heritage, the subject has been

¹ William Harvey, *Scottish Chapbook Literature*, (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1903), p.137.

sorely neglected. Two notable studies were produced in 1873 and 1903 by John Fraser² and William Harvey³ respectively, but it took over a century before Edward J. Cowan and Mike Paterson attempted to provide a comprehensive overview of Scotland's chapbook heritage in *Folk in Print*.⁴ Notably the authors themselves admit that 'a much larger volume would be required to do this in any proper or satisfactory fashion.'⁵ However, no study has been undertaken on the production of children's chapbooks in Scotland. The production of such material in England has been the subject of notable studies by Victor E. Neuburg in 1968⁶ and the more recent work of M. O. Grenby in 2008.⁷ The reason for this neglect of children's chapbooks north of the border may be due to the predominance of non-Scottish material in these books. Many chapbooks produced for children in Scotland contained material from elsewhere – most notably England and France – which has led critics to dismiss these titles as being of little interest to the scholar of Scottish literature.⁸ In 1873 John Fraser wrote that it was impossible to understand the history of Scotland or the character of her people during the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries without studying these 'vulgar, but graphic and intensely Scottish productions.'⁹ A similar statement could be made for Scottish children's literature; that it is impossible to understand its development without studying the production of chapbooks in Scotland.

² John Fraser, *The Humorous Chap-books of Scotland*, (New York, 1873).

³ Harvey, 1903.

⁴ Edward J. Cowan and Mike Paterson, *Folk in Print: Scotland's Chapbook Heritage, 1750-1850*, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2007).

⁵ Cowan and Paterson, 2007, p.16.

⁶ Victor E. Neuburg, *The Penny Histories: a Study of Chapbooks for Young Readers Over Two Centuries*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1968).

⁷ M. O. Grenby, 'Before Children's Literature: Children, Chapbooks and Popular Culture in Early Modern Britain', in *Popular Children's Literature in Britain*, by Julia Briggs, Dennis Butts and M. O. Grenby (eds), (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

⁸ Harvey, 1903, p.106.

⁹ Fraser, 1873, p.12.

The Relationship of Chapbooks to the Rise of Children's Literature

The latter half of the nineteenth-century saw the dawn of the first 'Golden-Age' of children's literature, a movement traditionally dated from the publication of Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* in 1865 although there are notable precursors to this movement, including the publication of *Grimm's Fairy Tales* in 1823 and two significant Scottish contributions – Sir Walter Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather* series (1828-1831), and Catherine Sinclair's *Holiday House* (1829). Other Scottish writers – including R. M. Ballantyne, George MacDonald, R. L. Stevenson, and J. M. Barrie – contributed to or influenced this 'Golden-Age', and the work of these writers has since been absorbed into a canon of 'classic' children's literature, albeit one that is usually deemed 'English' rather than 'Scottish'. It is interesting to note that while these books can be read as Scottish literature, they lack a distinct sense of 'Scottishness' when it comes to childhood. Apart from the notable exception of David Balfour in Stevenson's *Kidnapped* (1886), the children created by these authors are English or the 'every child'. From Ballantyne's children of the British Empire in *The Coral Island* (1857) to Barrie's otherworldly Peter Pan in *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* (1906), these children rarely occupy a Scottish setting but often inhabit other worlds, both physical and fantasy. The fact that many of the chapbooks produced for children in Scotland during the nineteenth-century were reprints of English titles indicates that there was a failure to create a suitable

Scottish literature for children and hints at a complex relationship between Scottish identity and childhood.¹⁰

The sudden increase in chapbooks produced for a juvenile audience during the nineteenth-century indicates that children were an established part of the chapbook audience by 1800, and references to children reading popular literature can be found in contemporary reports and biographies centuries before. As early as 1644, Zachary Boyd (1585-1653)¹¹ complained to the General Assembly that ‘their schools and country were stained, yea pestered, with idle books, and their children fed on fables, love-songs, boudry ballads, heathen husks, youth’s poison.’¹² The Scottish historical novelist and poet Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) read chapbooks during his childhood and continued to collect chapbooks, broadsides, tracts, and pamphlets of a political, religious and supernatural nature into his adulthood. Scott claimed that by the age of ten he had bound six volumes of chapbooks:

I was in my early youth a great collector of these chapbooks, and have six small volumes of these bought before I was ten years old, comprehending most of the more rare and curious of our popular tracts.¹³

A catalogue of Scott’s childhood collection compiled by James C. Corson, the former honorary librarian at Abbotsford, lists 114 titles, outnumbering all other types of book in Scott’s childhood library.¹⁴ Religious texts can be found alongside vulgar tales – and this diversity of titles suggests that chapbooks were purchased by and for children with little concern for the nature of their content. Recent research undertaken as part of the

¹⁰ See Maureen Farrell, ‘Culture and Identity in Scottish Children’s Fiction’, (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 2009).

¹¹ Boyd was a preacher who was elected Rector of Glasgow University in 1634, 1635 and 1645.

¹² Quoted by Harvey, 1903, p.23.

¹³ Quoted by James C. Corson, *Sir Walter Scott’s Boyhood Collection of Chapbooks in Abbotsford Library* (Greenock: Thomas Rae Ltd, 1962) p.203.

¹⁴ Corson, 1962.

Abbotsford Library Research Project has identified that Scott's collection of popular literature of this nature runs to several thousand individual items (often several chapbooks were bound together but counted as only one item) and shows that popular culture was very much part of the context for his own writing.

The concept of childhood being a separate state from adulthood which should be protected and celebrated can be traced back to the Victorians, yet the nineteenth-century was marked by great inequalities in the treatment of children. Hugh Cunningham has observed, in *The Invention of Childhood*, that during this era 'we see children on the one hand protected by a formidable array of nannies and governesses, and on the other exploited to an extent previously unknown.'¹⁵ The Industrial Revolution of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century was the catalyst of social and economic changes and sparked the movement of people from rural to urban areas as well as a rapid increase in population that had never been seen before. Scotland's population swelled from 1.6 million in 1801 to 2.6 million in 1841, resulting in an altered demographic – by 1841, 37% of Scotland's population was aged fourteen or under.¹⁶ This thesis is therefore operating in a grey area in terms of a definition of childhood. Furthermore, this study is focusing on an era when children's literature was still establishing itself as a branch of the book trade and the creation of a secular literature for children was in its early days. While Peter Hunt has stated that childhood could be defined as a state characterised by a lack of responsibility,¹⁷ for the many children living in Scotland during the nineteenth-

¹⁵ Hugh Cunningham, *The Invention of Childhood*, (London: BBC Books, 2006), p.140.

¹⁶ R. A. Houston, 'The Demographic Regime' in *People and Society in Scotland, Volume 1, 1760-1830*, by T. M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison (eds), p.12-13.

¹⁷ Peter Hunt, *Children's Literature*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), p.6.

century this was not the case. There was a wide division between the children who had much and those who had little. Childhood, for the purposes of this thesis, must be defined not as a period of irresponsibility but as a specific period of time, and ‘children’s literature’ must also be defined broadly to mean not only texts which were created for a juvenile audience, but also those that enjoyed a dual audience.

Defining the Chapbook

In 1873 John Fraser observed that ‘chapbooks vary greatly in shape, price, and character’¹⁸ and over a century later Edward Cowan and Mike Paterson were forced to make the same conclusion, admitting that chapbooks have ‘defied definition and cataloguing conventions.’¹⁹ Chapbooks were not static forms, they were fluid and anarchic, refusing to conform to any set criteria. Their changing contents reflected the taste of their readers, and their physical form evolved with technological advances in the printing industry and it is this unsettled state that has led Barry McKay to wonder if the term ‘chapbook’ is little more than a ‘bibliographical conceit.’²⁰ When studying a literary form as unconventional as the chapbook, it is important to set some limitations by providing a definition of the term.

The word chapbook comes from the word ‘chapman’, a name for the itinerant pedlars who sold these ephemeral productions from town to town and door to door alongside

¹⁸ John Fraser, *The Humorous Chap-Books of Scotland* (New York: Henry L. Hinton, 1873), pg.2

¹⁹ Cowan and Paterson, 2007, p.16.

²⁰ Barry McKay, *An Introduction to Chapbooks*, (Oldham: Incline Press, 2003), p.5.

petty household goods, like ribbons, buttons, and string. The growth of towns and the improvement of transport links during the Industrial Revolution negatively affected the chapman's trade in the course of the nineteenth-century, and so although distribution by a chapman appears the clearest definition of a chapbook, it does not hold true in all cases. The physical characteristics of chapbooks provide a more stable method of definition. Chapbooks were sold at wholesale prices to chapmen who carried them into rural areas, so it was essential that they were light enough to be carried in a pack across long distances, and for that reason the chapbook evolved to be short and small. Chapbooks measured around six inches by four inches, and were sold unbound and usually with a woodcut illustration on the title page. Although chapbooks were short, definitions of their exact length vary from critic to critic and can depend upon both the nature of the material and the period in which the chapbook was printed. William Harvey has generously claimed chapbooks can be 'of any extent from eight pages to two hundred pages'²¹ whereas Cowan and Paterson have narrowed their definition to just eight pages, although they admit that 'a good many larger chapbooks were also produced, most often of 24 pages,'²² the latter length also being preferred by John Fraser.²³ The twenty-four page chapbook is most commonly used in the children's chapbooks examined in this thesis, although a good many more are between thirty-two and forty-eight pages.

Chapbooks are notoriously inferior productions, a factor that can be explained by the high costs involved in book production. Although the quality of paper varied, it was usually rough and discoloured, and when smoother paper was procured it was often so thin that

²¹ Harvey, 1903, p.26.

²² Cowan and Paterson, 2007, p.12.

²³ Fraser, 1873, p.3.

the ink bled through. Most chapbooks carried some sort of illustration, even if it had no relevance to the text, and these were usually in the form of crude woodcuts, although some children's chapbooks began using wood engravings during the nineteenth-century.²⁴ One picture would usually serve for several titles, and their high usage resulted in worn or faded prints that are often cracked or even show signs of woodworm. The price charged for these often 'rude and unfinished'²⁵ productions was usually a penny, although more expensive examples exist. William Harvey describes chapbooks as costing anything between a penny and a shilling²⁶ and John Fraser lists prices from a farthing to sixpence or even a shilling.²⁷ Yet even a penny could be out of the financial reaches of many people in Scotland during the early nineteenth-century, and it is important to remember that a chapbook was not always a cheap book. M. O. Grenby has argued that chapbooks could be defined by their plebeian association but, as the issue of price suggests, they were not read exclusively by the poor.²⁸ Chapbooks transgressed social boundaries and could be enjoyed not only by adults and children, but by upper and lower classes. In 1810 Sir Walter Scott recollected that his collection of chapbooks 'had such charms for the servants that it was repeatedly and with difficulty rescued from their clutches,' indicating that they were enjoyed not only by the young master of the house, but by the lower classes too.²⁹

²⁴ Both woodcuts and wood engravings use relief carvings in blocks of wood. Woodcuts are cut along the grain of wood, whereas wood engravings are carved into the end-grain. Wood engraving was a more sophisticated process and produced high-quality, detailed illustrations compared to the somewhat cruder results of woodcuts. Wood engraving used a harder wood than woodcuts, meaning that they were far more durable.

²⁵ Fraser, 1873, p.3.

²⁶ Harvey, 1903, p.26.

²⁷ Fraser, 1873, p.3.

²⁸ Grenby, 2008, p.31.

²⁹ Quoted by Corson, 1962, p.203.

From the issues addressed above, it is possible to compile some factors that could be used to define a chapbook – distribution, size, length, quality, literary associations, and price. Yet none of these definitions are ‘fixed’ and some, if not all, could be challenged, thus any combination of these characteristics might be employed to define a chapbook.³⁰

Scottish Cultural Identity in the Nineteenth-Century

Just as critics of children’s literature feel the need to justify the existence of a literature for children, critics of Scottish literature have provided a bewildering variety of definitions of ‘Scottish literature’ and the student of nineteenth-century Scotland is confronted with various perspectives on Scottish literature and culture. The Act of Union in 1707 effectively made Scotland a region within Britain, and although Scotland retained its own parliament and church, in due course these suffered from infighting, dissent and eventual disintegration, resulting in a sense of lost identity.³¹ Moreover, the Scottish Enlightenment has variously been blamed for allowing the Anglicisation of Scottish culture.³² The fact that so many of the chapbooks which will be discussed in this thesis are English or French in origin and yet were printed in Scotland by Scottish printers for the consumption of Scottish children indicates that this neurosis regarding Scottish identity impacted on the production of popular literature and hindered the creation of a Scottish literature for children.

³⁰ Grenby, in Briggs, Butts and Grenby (eds), 2008, p.32-33.

³¹ Douglas Gifford, in Introduction to *The History of Scottish Literature, Volume 3, Nineteenth Century*, by Cairns Craig and Douglas Gifford (eds), (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), p.6.

³² Cairns Craig, *Intending Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), p.79.

Aims of Thesis

This thesis will provide an overview of a previously neglected area of Scottish print culture by examining two distinct branches of children's chapbooks and placing these in the context of wider changes within children's literature – the movement from primer to pleasure – and the changed perceptions of childhood that accompanied this movement. The first chapter will explore the rise of the religious chapbook and will examine its dual relationship with religion – both as subject and prosecutor. As this thesis will follow a loosely chronological format, the first chapter will begin by examining the 'superstitious' chapbook – which reflected popular or traditional beliefs – and what links this had to religion and to the nineteenth-century Scottish child, before exploring the links between religion and the worlds of education and literature. The second chapter will look at the rise of the instructive chapbook for Scottish children – containing ABCs, moral tales and fairy tales – which sweetened their didactic message with amusement. This chapter will explore the access children had to literature in order to understand why they relied so heavily on chapbooks and will also examine the erosion of Scottish content from Scottish children's chapbooks, therefore illustrating how this erosion of Scottish identity also affected the Scottish educational system. Each of these two chapters will begin by examining the economic and social issues which affected the production of these chapbooks, including the Scottish education system and religion, before moving onto an examination of the people involved in producing these chapbooks. Although previous

studies by Peter Isaac,³³ Barry McKay,³⁴ John Morris³⁵ and Adam McNaughton³⁶ have placed human faces on the itinerant book trade and opened the doors for studies in this area, few attempts have been made to compile a comprehensive study of those involved solely in the children's book trade in Scotland. As this is the first study of this kind into Scottish children's chapbook literature it has been necessary to provide an account of the publishing context of this material. This means, due to the time and space limitations here, that there is only a brief section, the final part of each chapter, devoted to the detailed analysis of the content of the selected chapbooks themselves.

This thesis will focus on the period 1800-1870, an era that sees the chapbook at its peak and decline. This is the time during which the notion of a children's chapbook became notable, when the distribution of chapbooks changed, and when the content of many chapbooks was sanitised. This thesis will thus show a range of children's chapbooks, revealing a growing industry in Scotland for this material, while, at the same time, suggesting an erosion of a sense of 'Scottishness' in these chapbooks. Moreover, it will suggest how this area of popular literature in Scotland influenced those major Scottish writers of the later nineteenth-century. In order to illustrate the range of materials to be considered, and thus to help in further research into this area, there is also an expansive bibliography and appendices. As well as a biography detailing extensive archival

³³ Peter Isaac and Barry McKay (eds), *The Human Face of the Book Trade: Print Culture and its Creators*, (Winchester: Oak Knoll Press, 1999).

³⁴ McKay, 2003.

³⁵ John Morris, 'The Scottish Chapman', in *Fairs, Markets and the Itinerant Book Trade*, by Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (eds), (London: British Library, 2007).

³⁶ Adam McNaughton, 'A Century of Saltmarket Literature, 1790-1890', in *Six Centuries of the Provincial Book Trade in Britain* by Peter Isaac (ed), (London: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1990).

research, the appendices will provide catalogues of chapbooks and further information on the printers, publishers and booksellers involved in the Scottish children's book trade.

Chapter One: The Fourth ‘R’

Out of the Mouths of Babes and Sucklings

Thou hast perfected Praise.³⁷

Religion and the People

Any thesis that approaches the subject of religion has some complex issues to grapple with, particularly when dealing with an era of rapid social, cultural, intellectual and economic change such as those in nineteenth-century Scotland. Religious chapbooks formed a large part of the popular literature market, but in order to understand who was printing these chapbooks and what their motivations were, as well as gaining a sense of how Scottish children related to these chapbooks, it is necessary to begin by providing an overview of the role that religion played in the life of a nineteenth-century Scottish child.

The Scottish Reformation of 1560 marked Scotland’s break with the Roman Catholic Church and established the authority of Protestantism in Scotland. The Reformation, which forbade the celebration of Catholic Mass, led to the widespread opinion that superstition preserved the Catholic faith. An eighteenth-century chapbook, *The History of the Haverel Wives*, makes the same connection between Catholicism and superstition, with one character stating that: ‘most of the priests [...] are dead and rotten, and the rest of them gade awa’ to Italy, where the auld Pape their faither, the deil, the witches,

³⁷ Matthew, 21.16.

brownies and fairies dwal.’³⁸ The desire to purge Scotland of superstitious beliefs led to thousands of men and women being put on trial for the crime of witchcraft between the mid sixteenth- and early eighteenth-centuries. Although Scotland’s witch-hunts may be seen as an attack on Scottish folk belief and popular culture, Edward Cowan has argued that ‘if such was its purpose we can see it failing at a comparatively early stage in the scare’ as ‘the witchfinders could not oppose an entire society.’³⁹ The relationship between religious belief and folk belief was not always clear. In 1691 the Reverend Robert Kirk of Aberfoyle wrote a pamphlet upon the subject of fairies called *The Secret Common-Wealth*. This pamphlet, which was intended by Kirk to be a contribution to scientific and theological knowledge, outlines the belief that fairies were another race who inhabited a different sphere of the world, just as ‘some of us men do to fishes which are in another element.’⁴⁰ Kirk’s belief that the world was full of spirits, ‘as thick as atomes (sic) in the air,’⁴¹ demonstrates how deeply the lines between folk culture and religion could be blurred in pre-Industrial Scotland. By 1800 the Scottish Enlightenment had ushered in an age of reason characterised by scientific and intellectual accomplishments but folk beliefs were ingrained in everyday life for the people of Scotland and lingered on past the age of Enlightenment.⁴² Though often seen as such, these were not always the quaint rural customs of an idyllic age before industrialisation severed the bond between human and nature. Many lives were lost as a result of these

³⁸ Quoted by Lizanne Henderson and Edward J. Cowan, *Scottish Fairy Belief*, (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2001), p.207.

³⁹ Edward J. Cowan, ‘Witch Persecution and Folk Belief in Lowland Scotland: The Devil’s Decade’, in *Witchcraft and Belief in Early Modern Scotland*, by Julian Goodare, Lauren Martin and Joyce Miller (eds), (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p.92.

⁴⁰ Quoted by Henderson and Cowan, 2001, p.186.

⁴¹ Quoted by Henderson and Cowan, 2001, p.1.

⁴² See Henderson and Cowan, 2001. Superstition also lived on in the literature of James Hogg and Walter Scott, amongst others.

beliefs. In *Scottish Fairy Belief*, Lizanne Henderson and Edward Cowan recall the babies that were thrown into fires because it was believed that they were ‘changelings’⁴³ (fairy children left in the place of human babies), while the last woman to be executed for the crime of witchcraft was a highland woman named Janet Horne, who was sentenced to death in 1727 for turning her daughter into a pony and having her shod by the devil.

The lingering remnants of such beliefs meant that the ‘superstitious’ chapbook initially flourished in Scotland, and the large numbers of copies available in archive collections indicate that these chapbooks were well read. These chapbooks were often innately Scottish in content in comparison to the Anglicised chapbooks which became prominent in the course of the nineteenth-century. Popular topics included witchcraft, prophecies and dealings with the Devil, and although these chapbooks were originally written with a degree of sincerity, nineteenth-century editions handled superstitious themes in a less serious manner, indicating a shift in popular belief. In 1807 C. Randall of Stirling published a chapbook entitled *Satan’s Invisible World*, containing ‘the history of witches and warlocks; containing the wonderful relation of Major Weir and his sister,⁴⁴ the witches of Calder, Pittenweem, Borrowstounness, Bargarran and Culross; and a remarkable proclamation, which was heard at the Cross of Edinburgh at twelve o’clock at night, in the reign of King James the IV of Scotland.’⁴⁵ The original author of this text is George Sinclair (d. 1696); a Scottish mathematician, engineer and demonologist who was appointed Professor of Philosophy at the University of Glasgow in 1655 and was later

⁴³ See Henderson and Cowan, 2001, p.94-100.

⁴⁴ Major Weir, a member of the Town Guard, was rumoured to be in league with the Devil. He confessed during a trial in 1670 and was sentenced to death by burning.

⁴⁵ Quoted by Harvey, 1903, p.107.

made Professor of Mathematics and Experimental Philosophy in 1688. Sinclair wrote *Satan's Invisible World Discovered* in 1685 as a method of defending the popular belief in witchcraft as essential to religious belief. Harvey makes the claim that these stories were 'doubtless very real to the simple Scots of a by-gone day'⁴⁶ and while he is correct that it is difficult to gauge how seriously this chapbook would have been taken by Scots, even a cursory examination of it reveals that by the nineteenth-century these chapbooks were intended as forms of entertainment. *Satan's Invisible World Discovered* was one of 150 chapbooks printed by Francis Orr & Sons of Glasgow in 1840⁴⁷ and the full title of Orr's edition differs slightly from the copy printed by Randall in 1807: 'Satan's Invisible World Discovered: detailing the particulars of strange pranks played by the Devil, together with a particular account of several apparition's [sic], witches, and invisible spirits, to which is added, The marvellous history of Major Weir and his sister.'⁴⁸ That both Randall and Orr advertise these chapbooks as containing 'wonderful relations', 'strange pranks' and a 'marvellous history' indicates that these chapbooks were now intended as forms of amusement, intended to frighten or thrill in the same way that a horror movie does today. The existence of a title like *The History of the Wicked Life, and Horrid Death of Doctor John Faustus; Shewing How He Sold Himself to the Devil* in the catalogue of *Sir Walter Scott's Boyhood Collection of Chapbooks in Abbotsford Library* goes some way towards proving that children were part of their audience. Scott was heavily influenced by popular culture, and wove elements of chapbook literature in to his novels – the crescent mark that appears on the brown of Sir Robert Redgauntlet in

⁴⁶ Harvey, 1903, p.109.

⁴⁷ The stereotypes used to print this catalogue were passed onto James Lindsay in the 1850s, meaning that this title enjoyed a long print run, having originally been written by George Sinclair in the seventeenth-century.

⁴⁸ National Library of Scotland, RB.s.836 (12).

‘Wandering Willie’s Tale’ in *Redgauntlet* (1824) is in fact lifted from *Satan’s Invisible World Discovered*.

At the same time as these different belief systems adjusted to major cultural, social and intellectual developments, the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries in Scotland were marked by periods of religious upheaval and social change. These changes were repercussions of events in the wider world, including the Enlightenment, the American Revolution and the French Revolution, while domestic events, most notably the Industrial Revolution, resulted in ‘social division, heterogeneity and social tensions’ at home.⁴⁹ The church had played a central role in Scottish life, functioning not only as a gathering space but also as a court for minor civil and religious offences and the collector and distributor of poor relief while providing parish schools to educate the young. But industrialisation and urbanisation threatened to dissolve the bonds between the people and the church.⁵⁰ While many historians claim that this was a period of religious alienation, Callum G. Brown has argued that there is much evidence to prove that religion continued to have an important place in Scottish life, particularly among the working classes,⁵¹ and the large number of religious chapbooks printed during the nineteenth-century seems to support this claim. These processes of religious dissent make it difficult to define the religious landscape in Scotland during the nineteenth-century. In the highlands the interweaving of religious practices and traditions makes it difficult to assign the people to any one

⁴⁹ Brown, in Divine and Mitchison (eds), 1988, p.143.

⁵⁰ The percentage of the population living in towns rose from 21% in 1801 to 39% in 1861. (R.D Anderson, *Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland*, [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983], p.5).

⁵¹ Brown, in Divine and Mitchison (eds), 1988, p.144.

church,⁵² while in the lowlands the Presbyterian church had split, resulting in many Protestants joining dissenting churches; Catholicism was also growing due to the influx of immigrants from Ireland.⁵³ The Moderate party was favoured by the upper classes while the Evangelical movement was associated with the middle and working classes of both urban and rural society. The Evangelists were dominant throughout this period and used progressive methods of spreading their word, including distributing tracts and organising programmes of social improvement and moral reform for the poorer classes.

An overview of Scottish education during the nineteenth-century is essential to help us gain an idea of who the Scottish child was – what they were taught, how they were taught and what they were prescribed to read. While a complete account of the subject is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is crucially important to present a brief account of the major issues here. At the time of its publication in 1969, James Scotland's *The History of Scottish Education*⁵⁴ was considered to be a comprehensive overview of the history of Scottish education, but since then the subject has received revisionist treatment from historians including R. D. Anderson. In *Scots at School*,⁵⁵ David Northcroft observes that this revisionism has raised some uncomfortable issues for those who believed in the popular myth that nineteenth-century Scottish education was a flawless, universal system and the Scottish working classes were educated to a superior degree. Scottish education was Anglo-centric, exiling Scottish history, culture, literature and language from the classroom, and the system was prone to sexism, favouring boys over girls and could even

⁵² Brown, in Divine and Mitchison (eds), 1988, p.145.

⁵³ Brown, in Divine and Mitchison (eds), 1988, p.159.

⁵⁴ James Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education* (London: University of London Press, 1969).

⁵⁵ David Northcroft, *Scots at School*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd, 2003), p.12.

be seen as being anti-children due to the use of repetitive and dull teaching methods and the frequent use of corporal punishment.⁵⁶ Furthermore, it could be argued that education was as much about keeping the “lower orders” in check’ as it was ‘about high educational aspirations.’⁵⁷ These issues make providing a brief overview of the subject problematic particularly given the focus of this thesis – popular literature for children.

What we can be sure of is that by 1800 a system of schooling had been established in Scotland. Children were likely to attend a parish school if they lived in a rural area or a burgh school if they lived in a town or city. Parish schools were publicly funded schools established by seventeenth-century Education Acts, while burgh schools were entirely funded by town councils. Burgh schools dated back to the pre-Reformation era but were inaccessible to most children due to location, fees, and a lack of motivation to provide education to the poor. The widespread provision of education in Scotland was founded with the School Establishment Act of 1616, which aimed to open a school in every parish of Scotland. The 1696 Education Act of Scotland ordered the establishment of schools throughout Scotland:

In every parish of this kingdom, where convenient means may be had for entertaining a school, a school shall be established, and a fit person appointed to teach the same upon the expense of the parishioners, according to the quality and quantity of the parish.⁵⁸

This required the landowners to provide, by law, a schoolhouse and a salary for a schoolmaster. The 1696 Act made law John Knox’s intentions of over a century before, to set up a national system of schools which would assist the poor, and was a method of

⁵⁶ Northcroft, 2003, p.12.

⁵⁷ Northcroft, 2003, p.24.

⁵⁸ Quoted by Scotland, 1969, p.52.

asserting the victory of Presbyterianism in Scotland. The need to promote literacy in order to read the Bible and the church's catechism was one of the fundamental elements of Calvinism and consequently education was used to exercise religious authority, reflecting the church's 'determination to impose conformity and root out dissent.'⁵⁹ Religious instruction was therefore to become the principal aim and the backbone of the Scottish education system.

These Acts were swift to root out elements of Scottish identity from the education system; the 1696 Act made efforts to remove the Gaelic language, which was seen as the language of superstition and barbarity. The Act ordered that:

The vulgar English toung be universallie plantit and the Irish language which is one of the chief principall causes of the coninewance of barbaritie and incivilitie in the Highlands may be abolishit and removit.⁶⁰

R. D. Anderson has argued that in the history of European nationalism education has served as a tool to transmit or revive national languages and cultures but that the opposite seems to be the case for Scotland.⁶¹ The principal function of education was to teach basic literacy and religious instruction, therefore the curriculum of Scottish schooling consisted of the three 'R's; reading, 'riting, and 'rithmetic, but a fourth R could be added to this – religion. Religious instruction was a core element of the curriculum in both parish and burgh schools, a fact reflected in the large number of religious texts used in the classroom – including the New Testament, the Bible, Mother's Catechism and the Shorter Catechism.⁶² An educational chapbook for children in 1799 entitled *Easy Lessons*

⁵⁹ R. D. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People, 1750-1918*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995) p.3.

⁶⁰ Scotland, 1969, p.52.

⁶¹ Anderson, 1983, p.1.

⁶² Scotland, 1969, p.203.

*for Children*⁶³ printed by James Duncan Jr., a bookseller in the Saltmarket of Glasgow, demonstrates the integration of religion into a basic curriculum. *Easy Lessons for Children* contains ABCs and spelling lessons as well as instruction, providing children with directions on how to carry themselves throughout the day. These incorporate both the divine:

When you rise out of your bed in the morn, first pray to God, to bless and keep you this day, and all the days of your life, from all things that may hurt you. Give him thanks for his great love to you; for your health rest and strength; for his care of you, and all that he gives you. Let your first thought be of him; to him lift up your heart.⁶⁴

And the practical:

Next, wash your hands and face clean; comb your hair; and then go to school. Walk in peace to and from school; let not your voice be heard in the street, nor give cause to those who see you, to say you are rude. Pull off your hat, or make a bow to those you meet, and know by the way, and to all your friends.⁶⁵

Although all pupils would have been taught to read, not all were taught to write. Here Northcroft's observation that education was used as a tool of social control rings true – by not being able to write, the voices of many were silenced as they were denied the opportunity to express their discontent by putting pen to paper. This calls into question some of the literacy statistics for Scotland. The introduction of compulsory registration in 1855 provided the first reliable statistics on literacy, and the figures suggested that 89% of men and 77% of women had the ability to write. However, these statistics are not entirely reliable, as they are compiled solely upon the ability of the individual to write one's own name, and not the ability to write anything further.⁶⁶

⁶³ Glasgow University Special Collections, Sp Coll Bh13-c.30, item 1.

⁶⁴ GU, Sp Coll Bh13-c.30, item 1, p.18.

⁶⁵ GU, Sp Coll Bh13-c.30, item 1, p.18.

⁶⁶ Anderson, 1995, p.3.

It is important to clarify that while the all-inclusive terms ‘children’ and ‘pupils’ are being used here, there was very little gender equality in Scottish schooling. David Northcroft has blamed this on the ‘social assumptions of the period, strengthened by a strong male-centred Presbyterian ethic and the basic facts of working-class domestic economy.’⁶⁷ Girls generally received an informal education, if they received any at all. Janet Hamilton (1795-1873), a working class female poet, received an informal education and picked up most of her reading material from the local subscription library.⁶⁸ The child diarist Marjory Fleming (1803-11) received home schooling from her cousin, Isa Keith, while Margaret Oliphant (1828-1897) was educated at home by her mother, using books borrowed from circulating libraries.

Since most working class children were expected to contribute in some way to their family’s income, it was common in rural areas for children to attend school in the winter when there was less work to do on the land. But the new factories in the cities demanded full time employment, and until education was made compulsory in 1872 many children had to work rather than attend school, a problem that persisted even after the Employment Acts limiting child labour came into force in 1830s and 1840s. Some enlightened factories provided schools for their young workers, known as ‘factory’ or ‘work’ schools. The most famous of these is the factory school of New Lanark, which, under the influence of Robert Owen, became ‘extraordinarily enlightened.’⁶⁹ No children under the age of ten were put to work, and those over the age of ten attended an evening school. The curriculum offered at Owen’s factory school included reading, writing,

⁶⁷ Northcroft, 2003, p.46.

⁶⁸ Northcroft, 2003, p.46.

⁶⁹ Smout, 1998, p.383.

arithmetic, music, dancing, geography, history, and natural sciences as well as sewing for the girls and military exercises for the boys.⁷⁰ Since town councils were not obliged to open more than one school, private adventure and charity schools were established in cities and larger towns where the supply of schools fell behind the needs of the population.⁷¹ Sunday Schools, or Sabbath Schools as they were also called in Scotland, emerged around the 1780s⁷² providing education for children who were in full time employment, and these schools received support from dissenting denominations, most notably the Evangelicals.⁷³ The importance of Sunday Schools cannot be overestimated – figures compiled in 1818 show that 1,448 out of 5,081 schools involved in elementary teaching in Scotland were Sunday Schools and that they were educating approximately 75,000 children, in comparison to the 54,000 who were attending publicly financed schools.⁷⁴ Sunday Schools were often organised through societies; the report of the Committee for Conducting the Anderston and Calton Sabbath-Day Schools⁷⁵ reported in 1812 that in the previous four years they had taught 10,000 pupils, and they stress the importance of such societies to ensure the provision of Sunday Schools as the ‘young persons who are placed, at an early age, in the public manufactories of this country’ are ‘excluded from the opportunities of instruction.’⁷⁶ While pupils at burgh or parish schools were offered an additional curriculum for an added fee, the time constraints imposed upon Sunday School teaching meant that instruction was limited to basic literacy and religious instruction. Attendance at Sunday Schools was irregular and few older

⁷⁰ Smout, 1998, p.383.

⁷¹ For example, the population of the burghs of Glasgow, Greenock and Paisley swelled from 42,000 in 1750, to 287,000 in 1831 (Smout, 1998, p.441).

⁷² Anderson, 1995, p.13.

⁷³ Anderson, 1995, p.34.

⁷⁴ Smout, 1998, p.423.

⁷⁵ Glasgow University Special Collections, Sp Coll Mu1-f.42, item 2.

⁷⁶ GU, Sp Coll Mu1-f.42, item 2, p.5.

children stayed on after they had learned basic literacy.⁷⁷ In addition to an informal network of Sunday Schools, the S.S.P.C.K, the Scottish Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge – a charitable institution whose efforts were focused on the Highlands – aimed to establish schools for the education of the young and old. While they succeeded in bringing literacy to the Highlands they did so at the expense of the Gaelic tongue, the use of which was forbidden until 1766.⁷⁸

As the church had such a grip on the education of children, it is unsurprising to find that religion also affected the creation of children's literature in Britain. At the beginning of the nineteenth-century, the books being written and produced for children were of a religious or didactic nature and this had been the case for centuries.⁷⁹ The earliest forms of literature available to children in Scotland would have been religious texts – including primers, catechisms and hornbooks. Hornbooks, made famous by Robert Burns' poem 'Death and Doctor Hornbook' (1785), consisted of a single sheet printed with the alphabet, numbers and prayers on one side which was then pasted on to wood and covered with a thin sheet of horn. The National Library of Scotland holds two unmounted sheets dated from the 1620s printed by Edward Raban, the first printer in Aberdeen, and also holds a small collection of early children's books printed in Scotland which were initially acquired by the Advocates Library. This collection includes *Parvus Catechismus*,⁸⁰ a catechism printed in St Andrews in 1573, and *Ioannis Despauterii*

⁷⁷ Anderson, 1995, p.93.

⁷⁸ See Scotland, 1969, p.97.

⁷⁹ M. F. Thwaite, *From Primer to Pleasure; an Introduction to the History of Children's Books in England, from the Invention of Printing to 1900*, (London: The Library Association, 1963), p.1.

⁸⁰ National Library of Scotland, H.31.e.42.

*Ninivite*⁸¹ a Latin grammar book which ran into seven editions in Scotland between 1579 and 1684.⁸² Although this is proof of a history of educational and religious books being produced for children in Scotland, these books would have been rare and expensive, and therefore only accessible to a small group of privileged children.

Puritan writers, who were among the first to write literature designed *for* children, believed in a Christian doctrine of original sin – that children were inherently sinful and needed to be guided towards salvation. In an effort to save children’s souls from eternal damnation the Puritans filled these early examples of children’s literature with terrifying images of early deaths and hell: James Janeway’s *A Token for Children: Being An Exact Account of the Conversion, Holy and Exemplary Lives, and Joyful Deaths of Several Young Children* (1672) is such an outstanding example that it is hardly necessary to quote further than the title. These books now seem unnecessarily didactic and morbid, but there are examples of Puritan texts which aim to entice, rather than frighten, their readers into godliness, such as John Bunyan’s *A Book for Boys and Girls* (1686) and Dr Isaac Watts’ *Divine Songs Attempted in Easy Language for the Use of Children* (1715).⁸³ Watts’ *Divine Songs* was printed as a chapbook until at least 1855 when James Lindsay, a chapbook printer situated in the Saltmarket of Glasgow, printed a copy as part of his ‘New and Improved’ series of chapbooks.⁸⁴

⁸¹ National Library of Scotland, H.1.d.26.

⁸² An overview of this collection can be found on the National Library of Scotland’s website <<http://www.nls.uk/collections/rarebooks/collections/childrens.html#a1>> [accessed September 2009].

⁸³ Humphrey Carpenter and Mari Prichard (eds), *The Oxford Companion to Children’s Literature*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), p.432.

⁸⁴ Glasgow University Special Collections, Sp Coll 2349, item 19.

Building on the work of the Puritans, the Evangelists seized the opportunity to use children's literature as a method of carrying their religious message and they dominated the market until the mid-nineteenth-century both in England and Scotland. When a friend asked Catherine Sinclair, the Scottish author of *Holiday House* (1839), to select some books for her children, she remarked that 'a large proportion of the volumes recommended had frontispieces to represent a death-bed surrounded by the clergyman, the physician, and the afflicted relatives of a dying Christian, the memoirs of children *especially*, which I examined, were almost invariably terminated by an early death.'⁸⁵ A popular motif of Puritan and Evangelical children's literature was that of the child as a redemptive figure whose goodness and purity converted sinful adults. As Sinclair observed, Puritan and Evangelical children's books are remarkable for their death toll alone, and many fictional children perished in a pious deathbed scene. The deathbed scene became characteristic of Scottish Kailyard fiction of the late nineteenth-century by writers including Ian McLaren, the pseudonym of the Reverend John Watson (1850-1907). The high proportion of deaths in children's literature prompted Maria Tatar to remark that 'the numbers of children who go up in flames in nineteenth-century story books is nothing short of extra-ordinary [...] Even those who survive the conflagrations they have set off must endure months of torment.'⁸⁶ This sado-sentimentalism was not true of all Evangelical children's literature and some managed to integrate amusement into their Evangelical message. Catherine Sinclair's *Holiday House* (1839) is regarded an important, but overlooked, turning point in children's literature for its depictions of 'real' children. The book's reputation as a landmark text in the development of children's

⁸⁵ Quoted by Maria Tatar, *Off With Their Heads: Fairy Tales and the Culture of Childhood*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), p.14.

⁸⁶ Tatar, 1992, p.94-5.

literature is based upon its first half – particularly in the chapters ‘The Grand Feast’, ‘The Great Fire’ and ‘Uncle David’s Nonsensical Story’ – while the second half, which culminates in a traditional death-bed scene, is far more typical of Evangelical children’s literature. Despite the turbulence of the religious landscape in Scotland during the nineteenth-century, religion was very present in the life of the Scottish child and influenced its education and literature. Chapbooks provided the main reading matter for the children of working class families in Scotland and although the contents of many chapbooks were religious in nature – including sermons, catechisms and hymns – paradoxically, religion was also the driving force behind the efforts made to remove chapbooks from the nursery.

Although many eighteenth-century writers and moralists picked up their pens to object to popular literature, it is Sarah Trimmer who has been elected as a spokesperson for the moralists by twentieth century critics. Trimmer was a best selling author of children’s books and was the founder and editor of *The Guardian of Education* (1802-1806), a periodical dedicated to reviewing children’s literature. It was from the pages of *The Guardian of Education* that Trimmer issued her warnings against forms of popular literature found in chapbooks, such as fairy tales. As well as objecting to such forms of ‘low’ literature, writers including Maria Edgeworth and Mary Wollstonecraft warned parents to keep their children away from nurses and maids, who might expose their

children to ghost and fairy tales.⁸⁷ One of Trimmer's contemporaries, Catherine

Macaulay (1778-1841), believed that fairy tales would:

Put a sudden period to their happiness, by telling them, that if they are very good and learn their book, &c. &c they shall have a very fine baby, a fine coach the horses [sic], or some other toy equally adapted to inflame their imagination; and by the help of comparison, to make them quite disgusted with what before had filled their minds with satisfaction.⁸⁸

Macaulay's belief that fairy tales would only lead to disappointment hints at broader issues of social control – it was feared that such literature, widely transmitted by chapbooks, would give children of the lower classes ideas above their station. However, it was not just fairy tales that made chapbooks unpopular with those concerned for the moral and spiritual wellbeing of children. George Miller, a printer working in Dunbar and Haddington in the early nineteenth-century condemned chapbook literature as 'pernicious trash,'⁸⁹ referring particularly to the bawdy and vulgar Scottish chapbooks of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries. One of the delinquent children in his 1821 moral tale, *The Affecting History of Tom Bragwell*, declares that 'John Cheap, Lothian Tom, an' Wise Willie, were the books for me'⁹⁰ leading the local Reverend to lament: 'I do not see what can be done, for the benefit of the rising generation in Scotland, and to make up for the deficiency experienced from careless and inconsiderate parents.'⁹¹ But concerns regarding children reading popular literature in Scotland had been raised long before. The complaint made to the General Assembly by Zachary Boyd in 1644, quoted in the

⁸⁷ See Andrew O'Malley in *The Coach and Six: Chapbook Residue in Late Eighteenth-Century Children's Literature*, *The Lion and The Unicorn*, 24 (2000), 2000, p.28,

<http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/lion_and_the_unicorn/v024/24.1omalley.html> [accessed February 2010].

⁸⁸ Quoted O'Malley, 2000, p.31,

<http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/lion_and_the_unicorn/v024/24.1omalley.html> [accessed February 2010]

⁸⁹ Glasgow University Research Annexe, U3-c.10, p.49.

⁹⁰ National Library of Scotland, L.C.2453, p.38. *John Cheap the Chapman, Lothian Tom, and Wise Willie* were popular Scottish chapbooks.

⁹¹ NLS, L.C.2453, p.158.

introduction to this thesis,⁹² provides evidence that chapbook-type literature – ‘fables’, ‘love-songs’, and ‘baudry ballads’ – were in general circulation in Scotland as early as the seventeenth-century and that children had long been consumers of this nature of popular literature.⁹³

The Right Material?

Not all chapbooks were of a coarse and vulgar nature, but they did appear cheek by jowl with those that were and were therefore tainted by an association with ‘low’ forms of literature. Sir Walter Scott’s childhood collection contains many chapbooks of a scurrilous nature, including *The History and Comical Transactions of Lothian Tom, In Six Parts*.⁹⁴ This title appears to have enjoyed a long print run; the National Library of Scotland holds twenty-eight copies printed between 1772 and 1850. In ‘The Scottish Chapman’, John Morris quotes an account of a meeting between a collector of chapbooks and an aged chapman, or ‘Flying Stationer’, which first appeared in an article in the *Dundee Advertiser* on 30 September 1913. In this article the collector is shown the chapman’s box where he holds his stock – buttons, tape, thread, cheap writing paper and envelopes – before lifting the tray out to reveal a hidden apartment:

⁹² See ‘Introduction’, p.v.

⁹³ Harvey, 1903, p.23.

⁹⁴ Dougal Graham, *The History and Comical Transactions of Lothian Tom, in Six Parts. Wherein is Contained a Collection of Roguish Exploits Done By Him, Both in Scotland and England*, (Edinburgh: Printed and Sold in Niddry’s Wynd, c1785)
<<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO?dd=0&locID=glasuni&d1=0091001100&srcht=b&c=1&SU=All&d2=1&docNum=CW3325451349&b0=lothian+tom&h2=1&vrsn=1.0&b1=KE&d6=1&ste=10&dc=tiPG&stp=Author&d4=0.33&n=10&d5=d6>> [accessed 19 June 2009].

He looked at me with a sidelong glance, his eye closing in a wink that was pawkily “knowing.” Instantly I was on my knees beside him. “I carry them for the sake o’ the chields that want them,” he explained as he brought forth “The Comical Adventures of Lothian Tom,” “but they are no’ much in demand. Man! And his eye glistened at the recollection. “I’ve seen the day when I could sell them by the dizzen.”⁹⁵

This article provides anecdotal evidence that children were reading these humorous chapbooks and that this title remained in print well into the nineteenth-century. A close reading of this text reveals several issues that are in conflict with the key beliefs of the eighteenth-century moralists, whose opinions greatly influenced the output of children’s literature for most of the nineteenth-century.

The History and Comical Transactions of Lothian Tom is attributed to Dougal Graham, a chapbook writer and ‘skellat bellman’ (town crier) of Glasgow, known for his humorous chapbooks, and follows the character of Tom from the age of ten into adulthood. Tom is a mischievous child who enjoys playing practical jokes on those he feels wronged by, and who refuses to listen to authority figures. The episodic nature of *Lothian Tom* heightens the immoral nature of Tom’s pranks, as he appears to leap from one exploit to another without remorse for his actions. These tricks are executed by Graham using his trademark dark and coarse humour – from Tom using a raw pudding filled with blood and water to play a gory trick on his Dominie, to conning an innocent young woman and her rich elderly mother out of ten guineas in a section which contains explicit references to the operations of the lower body. In the opening pages of the chapbook, our young anti-hero is just ten years old and unlike the characters of moral tales who are motivated by achieving piety and virtue, such as Marjory Meanwell in *The History of Little Goody Two*

⁹⁵ Quoted by Morris, in Myers, Harris and Mandelbrot (eds), 2007, p.183.

Shoes (1765), Tom is motivated by greed and vengeance. When his father's horse kicks him, Tom almost dies but rather than finding forgiveness for the horse, he uses violence to teach it a lesson:

To be even with the horse, he gets a clog, or piece of tree, which was full of wooden pins; a thing which the shoemakers used to tann their leather upon; and with a rope, he tied it to the cupple balk in the stable, directly opposite to the horses tail, got up on the balk, and gives it a swing back, so that the pikes in the end of it, came with a full drive against the horse's arse; which made him to fling, and the more he flung and struck at it, it rebounded back again and struck him; the battle lasted with great fury for a long time, which was good diversion for Tom.⁹⁶

By the time Tom's father returns home, the unfortunate creature has tanned its own hide and its legs are 'cut and bloody, with kicking against the pikes of the tanners stool'.⁹⁷

Cruelty to animals is a recurring theme in Tom's childhood exploits but was also a subject close to the heart of Sarah Trimmer, the writer of moral tales for children, and it is the subject of her most famous book for children, *Fabulous Histories, Designed for the Instruction of Children respecting their Treatment of Animals* (1786), an examination of which reveals conflicts between the moral literature being produced for children and the chapbooks being widely read by children in Scotland. In Trimmer's *Fabulous Histories* two families – one of robins and one of humans – learn to live together and to be virtuous.⁹⁸ Trimmer believed that 'it certainly comes within the compass of Christian

⁹⁶ Graham, c1785

<<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO?dd=0&locID=glasuni&d1=0091001100&srchtp=b&c=1&SU=All&df=f&d2=2&docNum=CW3325451350&b0=lothian+tom&h2=1&vrsn=1.0&b1=KE&d6=2&d3=2&ste=10&stp=Author&d4=0.33&n=10&d5=d6>> [accessed 19 June 2009].

⁹⁷ Graham, c1785,

<<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO?dd=0&locID=glasuni&d1=0091001100&srchtp=b&c=1&SU=All&d2=1&docNum=CW3325451349&b0=lothian+tom&h2=1&vrsn=1.0&b1=KE&d6=1&ste=10&dc=iPG&stp=Author&d4=0.33&n=10&d5=d6>> [accessed 19 June 2009].

⁹⁸ Trimmer felt it necessary to add to the second edition a disclaimer that this is not a work of fantasy but only a fable for instruction: 'a Family of Children, are *supposed* to be possessed by a *Nest of Redbreasts*; and others of the feathered race, are, by the force of imagination, endued with the same facilities' [...] they were taught to consider them, not as containing the real conversations of Birds, (for that it is impossible we could ever understand,) but as a series of fables, intended to convey moral instruction' Sarah Trimmer, *Fabulous Histories, Designed for the Instruction of Children respecting their Treatment of Animals*,

Benevolence, to shew compassion to the Animal Creation; and a good mind naturally inclines to do so. But as through an erroneous education, or bad example, many children contract habits of tormenting inferior creatures, before they are conscious of giving them pain.’⁹⁹ Learning to show kindness to animals in childhood would lead to ‘universal benevolence’ as an adult.¹⁰⁰ It would be interesting to know what Trimmer would have made of Tom’s lack of compassion for both human and animal life. After his Grandmother’s cat steals his fish, Tom uses cruelty as an automatic reaction to being wronged:

It happened one day that Tom went a fishing and brought home a few small fish, which his grand mother’s cat snapt up in the dark; so Tom to have justice of the cat for so doing, catches her, and put her in a little tub or cogboin, then sets her a drift into the mill dam, ordering her to go a fishing for herself; then sets two or three dogs upon her [...] The old woman being informed of the dangerous situation of her dearly beloved cat, came running with a long pole to beat off the dogs and haul her ashore; What now, says Tom, if you be going to take part with my enemies, you shall have part of their reward: then gives the old woman such a push that she tumbled into the dam, over head and ears beside her beloved cat, and would there undoubtedly have perished in the water, had not one of the people who were there looking at the diversion, com’d to her relief.¹⁰¹

Trimmer’s books were partly a reaction to the turbulent politics of the 1790s, particularly the French Revolution, and they promote Christianity and contain praise for hierarchical

London, 1786,

<<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO?dd=0&locID=glasuni&d1=0448600300&srchtp=b&c=1&SU=All&df=r&d2=11&docNum=CW3319954908&b0=fabulous+histories&h2=1&l0=1786&vrsn=1.0&b1=KE&d6=11&d3=11&ste=10&d4=0.33&stp=Author&n=10&d5=d6>> [accessed June 21 2009].

⁹⁹ Trimmer, 1786,

<<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO?dd=0&locID=glasuni&d1=0448600300&srchtp=b&c=1&SU=All&df=r&d2=8&docNum=CW3319954905&b0=fabulous+histories&h2=1&l0=1786&vrsn=1.0&b1=KE&d6=8&d3=8&ste=10&d4=0.33&stp=Author&n=10&d5=d6>> [accessed June 21 2009].

¹⁰⁰ Trimmer, 1786,

<<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO?dd=0&locID=glasuni&d1=0448600300&srchtp=b&c=1&SU=All&df=r&d2=12&docNum=CW3319954909&b0=fabulous+histories&h2=1&l0=1786&vrsn=1.0&b1=KE&d6=12&d3=12&ste=10&d4=0.33&stp=Author&n=10&d5=d6>> [accessed June 21 2009].

¹⁰¹ Graham, c1785,

<<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO?dd=0&locID=glasuni&d1=0091001100&srchtp=b&c=1&SU=All&d2=1&docNum=CW3325451349&b0=lothian+tom&h2=1&vrsn=1.0&b1=KE&d6=1&ste=10&dc=tIPG&stp=Author&d4=0.33&n=10&d5=d6>> [accessed 19 June 2009].

systems as a method of preventing the uprising of the lower classes. In *Fabulous Histories* these hierarchical structures are clear: adults rule over children and humans rule over animals. This is not the case for Tom who shows no respect for authority figures; he does not look up to his parents, believing he is ‘more wise and slyer than his father,’¹⁰² or those of a higher social standing, such as his schoolmaster. Tom is sent to school in the hope that this will keep him out of trouble, but he only finds more opportunities for anarchic behaviour. Graham employs his trademark vulgar humour when Tom plays a trick on his schoolmaster and his wife:

So it happened one day as Tom went into the masters house, the wife was stooping into a big meal barrel to bring out some meal; there he takes her by the feet and coups her up into the barrel with her head down, and her bare back side uppermost, then runs into the school crying “O! master, master! The de’ill’s looking out of your meal stand, wi’ a fat face and a black ill far’d mouth: Yon’s just auld nick, and he be living.”¹⁰³

One key difference between Graham’s Lothian Tom and the figures of moral tales for children is a sense of irreligion bordering on paganism. In Graham’s chapbooks religion, superstition and the Church are often the subject of jokes or derision – as seen when the unfortunate schoolmaster’s wife had her exposed rear end declared to be ‘auld nick’ himself. In terms of bawdy humour and irreligiousness, *Lothian Tom* harks back to earlier Scottish chapbooks, and Graham’s comparison of ‘the exposed rear end of the schoolmaster’s wife to ‘auld nick’ could be read as an analogy of a public disregard for the church’s superstitious beliefs. While most of the disobedient children of moral tales,

¹⁰² Graham, c1785,

<<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO?dd=0&locID=glasuni&d1=0091001100&srchtp=b&c=1&SU=All&df=f&d2=6&docNum=CW3325451354&b0=lothian+tom&h2=1&vrsn=1.0&b1=KE&d6=6&d3=6&ste=10&stp=Author&d4=0.33&n=10&d5=d6>> [accessed 19 June 2009].

¹⁰³ Graham, c1785,

<<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO?d4=0.5&dd=0&dd=0&locID=glasuni&srchtp=b&d1=0091001100&SU=All&c=1&df=f&docNum=CW3325451352&b0=lothian+tom&vrsn=1.0&b1=KE&d6=4&ste=10&stp=Author&d4=0.33&n=10&d5=d6&d2=4&d3=4>> [accessed 19 June 2009].

such as Maria Edgeworth's *Lazy Lawrence* (1796),¹⁰⁴ go on to see the error of their ways, the anarchic protagonist of *Lothian Tom* never reforms. Tom is a hedonistic figure, seeking only victories and thrills with no consideration for the consequences of his actions. His lack of maturation, growth or capacity for remorse recalls tricksters of traditional folktales, and this lack of sensitivity and joy in violent acts anticipates the portrayal of Pan in J. M. Barrie's *Peter Pan* (1911).

Religious Tract Societies

The most obvious solution to the problem of chapbooks was to replace them, and during the early nineteenth-century many societies were created in both England and Scotland for the purpose of distributing religious tracts to the poor in order to provide them with 'suitable' reading material. William Jones writes in the *The Jubilee Memorial of the Religious Tract Society* that the existence of tract societies in Scotland dates back to 1756 when societies were set up in Glasgow and Edinburgh with the intention of producing and distributing religious material but that these societies failed to exist for more than a few years.¹⁰⁵ The author of the *Report of the Committee of the Glasgow Religious Tract Society for the Year Ending June, 1815*¹⁰⁶ supports this claim by stating that 'it is now twelve years since a Society was instituted in this place for the distribution of small

¹⁰⁴ Edgeworth's *Lazy Lawrence* was written in reaction to a popular chapbook called *The History of Lawrence Lazy*, whose protagonist is so lazy he can barely 'open his mouth to be fed.' (National Library of Scotland, RB.m.201 [18], p.3).

¹⁰⁵ William Jones, *The Jubilee Memorial of the Religious Tract Society*, (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1850), p.7.

¹⁰⁶ Glasgow University Special Collections, Sp Coll Mul-f.42.

Religious Tracts’,¹⁰⁷ suggesting that there had been unsuccessful attempts at establishing societies up until the early nineteenth-century. This report makes a direct challenge to chapbooks by declaring that their purpose is to endeavour to replace the ‘profane and foolish ballads and story books,’ which ‘deluge and pollute both the town and country.’¹⁰⁸ *The Report and Address of the Edinburgh Religious Tract and Book Society for 1841*¹⁰⁹ addresses the dearth of appropriate literature being written for the poorer classes when they write that the upper classes ‘possess access to literature of every description, and they do not sufficiently realise the wants of the poorer classes in this respect.’¹¹⁰ This statement hints at a much larger issue of social control, that the upper classes were only concerned with keeping the lower orders in their place, so to speak, rather than provide programmes of moral improvement for them. It was not only Scottish Societies who were distributing tracts in Scotland: in 1820 the Committee of the Religious Tract Society in London sent representatives to Edinburgh, Glasgow and Haddington to raise awareness of the objects of their Society, where ‘they succeeded in establishing auxiliaries or depositories for the sale of publications in many important districts.’¹¹¹

Several efforts were made to replace chapbook literature for children with religious tracts that imitated the appearance of chapbooks. Between 1795 and 1797, Hannah More (1745-1833) began producing her *Cheap Repository Tracts*, a series of religious tracts in chapbook format, the most famous of which is *The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain*. These

¹⁰⁷ GU, Sp Coll Mul-f.42, p.5.

¹⁰⁸ GU, Sp Coll Mul-f.42, p.5.

¹⁰⁹ Glasgow University Special Collections, Sp Coll T.C.L.3900.

¹¹⁰ GU, Sp Coll T.C.L. 3900, p.2.

¹¹¹ Jones, 1850, p.104.

were popular in both England and Scotland; John Elder, a bookseller, bookbinder and stationer in Edinburgh was an agent for the Cheap Repository Tracts,¹¹² and the child diarist Marjory Fleming refers to these texts in her diary, writing in 1811 that ‘Tawny Rachel and the Cottage cook¹¹³ are all very good excellent (sic) books and so are all the cheap Repository books indeed.’¹¹⁴ The National Library of Scotland holds a copy of *The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain* printed as a chapbook in Edinburgh around 1820 with the imprint ‘for the booksellers.’¹¹⁵ The fact that this text was reprinted as an actual chapbook puts More’s work in good company: James Hogg, Robert Burns and Allan Ramsay are just three authors whose work was mercilessly pirated by enterprising chapbook printers, but it is ironic that a book intended to provide an alternative to chapbooks was itself printed as a chapbook, alongside the very type of material it was attempting to replace. While More only produced her *Cheap Repository Tracts* for two years, The Religious Tract Society in London made a more sustained attempt at supplanting chapbook literature. The Religious Tract Society was established in 1799 with the intention of supplying morally improving literature to the literate poor although they later branched out into publishing periodicals, with particular emphasis on those for children, the most famous of which is the *Boy’s Own Paper* published from 1879 till 1967.¹¹⁶ Despite the efforts of such agencies and philanthropic individuals, chapbooks remained in circulation past the mid nineteenth-century, some of which contained

¹¹² The Scottish Book Trade Index has pulled together this data to create a directory of those involved in the Scottish Book Trade up to 1850 and covers printers, publishers, booksellers, bookbinders, printmakers, stationers and papermakers.

< <http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/resources/sbti/index.html> > [accessed 19 July, 2009].

¹¹³ *Tawny Rachel, or the Fortune-Teller* and *The Cottage Cook, or Mrs Jones’s Cheap Dishes* were tales from More’s *Cheap Repository Tracts*.

¹¹⁴ Barbara McLean (ed), *Marjory’s Books: The Complete Journals, Letters and Poems of a Young Girl*, (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1999), p.48.

¹¹⁵ National Library of Scotland, L.C.2809 (24).

¹¹⁶ Among its list of famous contributors is R. M. Ballantyne, author of *The Coral Island* (1857).

religious material. From this point, this chapter will deal with two different branches of religious popular literature – religious tracts and religious chapbooks. Religious tracts aimed to provide the literate lower orders with morally improving reading material, and were produced not only by societies established to fund their production, such as the Glasgow and Edinburgh Religious Tract Societies mentioned on pp.22-23, but also as a private venture by philanthropic individuals, operating without the help of committees and charitable donations. On the other hand, religious chapbooks contained religious material such as hymns and prayers, but were produced only because they were commercially successful. These formed a large proportion of chapbooks printed in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries, strengthening Brown's argument that although the church was losing its hold on communities, religion continued to play a significant role in the life of the working classes.¹¹⁷ In order to retain clarity, the former shall be referred to as 'tracts' and the latter as 'chapbooks'. The attempts of individuals to produce their own religious tracts were limited to the early nineteenth-century, but religious tract societies continued to produce tracts throughout the early nineteenth-century – although their purpose eventually shifted from the impossible task of supplanting chapbooks. It could be argued that the individuals producing religious tracts as a private venture were cashing in on the success of chapbooks and a closer examination of three figures involved in the production of religious tracts – George Miller, John Ritchie and the Reverend Henry Duncan – could shed some light on their motivations.

Widespread as the chapbook trade was, the lives of many chapbook printers are virtually unknown. Some publishers and booksellers produced chapbooks in the early days of their

¹¹⁷ Brown, in Divine and Mitchison (eds), 1988, p.144.

businesses, and both James Lumsden Jr. and Andrew Orr went on to become Lord Provosts of Glasgow, but the trade still had low associations and therefore even its biggest names have now slipped into obscurity. George Miller, a country bookseller from Dunbar, wrote his autobiography in 1833, providing the reader with a rare and valuable insight into the Scottish book trade. Miller printed some traditional chapbook titles for a while but he was concerned about their lack of moral fibre and in 1802 he set about creating his 'Cheap Tracts', religious and moral texts printed in chapbook format. In 1914 W. J. Couper wrote *The Millers of Haddington, Dunbar and Dunfermline*,¹¹⁸ a biography of Miller and his sons, but a closer examination of Miller's autobiography exposes the character of this 'country bookseller', revealing him to be a man of contradictions as he swings from self pity, romantic impulses, humble piety and thinly veiled pride.

Miller was born in Dunbar in East Lothian in 1771, the son of James Miller, a general merchant who had for a while stocked some 'catechisms and the Proverbs of Solomon, children's books in all the glory of richly ornamented covers and children's pictures,'¹¹⁹ although this seems to have been the extent of his involvement in the book trade. Miller attributed his passion for books to his happy days at the parish school, and although he had once aspired to a life at sea he writes, rather touchingly, that he realised that his 'taste for voyages, travels and discoveries might be gratified and indulged at the fireside,'¹²⁰ although it is more likely that he abandoned his dreams under the influence of his father.

¹¹⁸ W. J. Couper, *The Millers of Haddington, Dunbar and Dunfermline: a Record of Scottish bookselling* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1914).

¹¹⁹ Couper, 1914, p.22.

¹²⁰ Couper, 1914, p.36.

Miller left school in 1785 and begin his working life as an apprentice to a bookseller in Dunbar by the name of Alexander Smart. Couper notes that Smart was not a man of ‘capacity nor of capital’¹²¹ and after three years the arrangement had come to an end. Miller left the position with as many tools as he could lay his hands on to set himself up as a bookbinder, and an arrangement was reached with his father for Miller to enter into a business partnership with his brother, James. This was to be another volatile working relationship for Miller, and after an argument with his brother he tore down the shop sign and left for London to fulfil his dream of going to sea.¹²² He did not make it further than Newcastle, where he had a brief reunion with Smart and began another apprenticeship in printing, but he returned to Dunbar six weeks later upon hearing news of his father’s ill health. James Miller Sr. died on 27 June 1789, and it was agreed that his sons should take over the family business. Miller was just 18 years old. It was an unconventional setup – his brother took charge of the grocery side of the business while George established and worked in the bookselling department. An early description of Miller’s stocks describes it as consisting of ‘small histories, sermons, catechisms, ballads, children’s books and pictures.’¹²³

In 1795, Miller bought a printing press for £23 from John Taylor, a printer from Berwick upon Tweed, and established himself as the ‘East Lothian Press’. In the late eighteenth-century East Lothian was made up of agricultural labourers – not a promising market for

¹²¹ Couper, 1914, p.36.

¹²² For a man who prided himself on his piety and moral conduct, Miller was prone to such impulsive behaviour. He eloped with his first wife, although the union was consented to, and was subsequently punished by the Kirk. His second wife was a native of Stenton, a village not five miles from Dunbar. He happened to run into her on a business trip to London and a proposal was made during a curious exchange: “‘The people will be saying we are away to be married. Suppose we go and get the business settled, and give them room to talk when we go home.’” (Couper, 1914, p.98).

¹²³ Couper, 1914, p.61.

a bookseller, or as Couper puts it, ‘there were few towns in Scotland at the close of the eighteenth-century that seemed less fitted than Dunbar for carrying on an extensive trade in books.’¹²⁴ To appeal to this market, Miller initially printed chapbooks, yet his first forays into chapbook printing were unremarkable; he initially stuck to popular Scottish titles, including *Cherry and the Slae* and *The Laird of Cool’s Ghost*, staples of the chapman’s pack, and in 1800 he added ballads to his repertoire. Miller claims to have printed 48,000 – or 25 reams – of halfpenny chapbooks between 8 February and 18 March of 1801, plus a further 12,000 chapbooks at a penny.¹²⁵ In his autobiography, Miller claims not to have compromised his position on the moral high ground by producing ‘low’ literature, claiming that his ballads were ‘characterised by their purity from anything offensive to propriety and delicacy, and some of them, I believe, for their moral tendency, a thing not very common among their predecessors.’¹²⁶ Nevertheless he remained uneasy about the effect these chapbooks would have on their readers, and so, between 1802 and 1804, he embarked on a project of printing a series of religious chapbooks under the title of ‘Cheap Tracts, calculated to promote the interests of Religion, Virtue, and Humanity.’¹²⁷ In his autobiography Miller writes that his motivation for producing his Cheap Tracts was to supplant chapbooks, or the ‘pernicious trash’ that he shall not ‘pollute his pages’¹²⁸ by mentioning, and boasts that his efforts had rid the countryside of *The Laird of Cool’s Ghost* – ‘one time a great favourite in this neighbourhood.’¹²⁹ In 1888 a ‘patterer’¹³⁰ called William Cameron, known as ‘Hawkie’,

¹²⁴ Couper, 1914, p.17.

¹²⁵ Couper, 1914, p.80.

¹²⁶ Quoted by Couper, 1914, p.80.

¹²⁷ See Appendix 1, p.116.

¹²⁸ GUA, U3-c.10, p.49.

¹²⁹ GUA, U3-c.10, p.50.

published his autobiography, *Hawkie: the Autobiography of a Gangrel*. In this he recalls applying to ‘a bookseller’s named Miller, for ballads or histories, but he had nothing but tracts. These were a *bad fit*.’¹³¹ The Miller Hawkie refers to is John Miller, son of George, who established a branch of the family business in Dunfermline around 1815,¹³² leading the reader to doubt that Miller’s tracts were as successful as he believed.

Providing children with morally improving literature was one of Miller’s concerns, and several of the twenty titles in the Cheap Tracts series were printed especially for children – including *The Little Fabulist, or Select Fables from Dodsley* and *Short Stories for Little Folks*. Following the success of his Cheap Tracts, Miller displayed some foresight by experimenting with the publication of periodicals with his ‘Cheap Magazine’, the first issue of which was printed in 1813. The magazine recycled much of the content from the Cheap Tract series but at forty-eight pages provided a more substantial read. Miller states on the title page of the Cheap Magazine that its purpose was to give ‘young and thoughtful minds “a taste for reading subjects of real utility”’¹³³ and the first issue proclaims that ‘A man who gives his children a habit of industry and frugality, provides for them better than by giving them a stack of money.’¹³⁴ Couper has described the tone of the ‘Cheap Magazine’ as ‘severe’ and that ‘there was little or no brightness in the writing’ which was set out in ‘in such plain language that no mistake could be made.’¹³⁵

Yet Miller was confident that his scheme ‘must have afforded for furnishing the children

¹³⁰ A ‘patterer’ would buy chapbooks at wholesale prices and sell them by telling the story, or ‘calling’. See Morris, in Myers, Harris and Mandelbrote (eds), 2007, p.176.

¹³¹ Quoted by Morris, in Myers, Harris and Mandelbrote (eds), 2007, p.180.

¹³² Morris, in Myers, Harris and Mandelbrote (eds), 2007, p.181.

¹³³ Quoted by Couper, 1914, p.120.

¹³⁴ National Library of Scotland, L.C.2909 (1), p.1.

¹³⁵ Couper, 1914, p.122-124.

of the cotter, with a more wholesome, and very different kind of food from what they had previously been accustomed to,'¹³⁶ indicating some conflict between Miller's perceived success of his publications and their actual reception. In *Folk in Print* Edward Cowan argues that while it is possible that Miller seriously believed that his Cheap Tracts would improve the moral wellbeing of his readers, he could also be accused of cashing in on the popularity of chapbooks.¹³⁷ Nevertheless, the upbringing of children was a recurring theme of Miller's Cheap Tracts and Cheap Magazine, indicating a genuine concern for the moral improvement of his juvenile readers.¹³⁸

Not long after Miller began producing his Cheap Tracts in East Lothian, John Ritchie, a printer and bookseller in Edinburgh, began producing a series of religious tracts under the title of 'Scotch Cheap Repository, Moral & Religious Tales Chiefly Intended for The Instruction and Amusement of the Young.' In comparison to the wealth of information we have on Miller, little is known about Ritchie. The Scottish Booktrade Index has gleaned titbits of bibliographical data from the NLS Imprint Index, a directory for Edinburgh entitled *Williamson's Directory for the City of Edinburgh, Canongate, Leith and Suburbs*, and the NLS's Index of Chapbook Printers compiled by John Morris,¹³⁹ but information on Ritchie is still scarce. It is known that he was the son of a merchant, William M'Lean, that he was printing from several addresses around the Cowgate area of Edinburgh and that issue No.4 of the Scotch Cheap Repository Series was printed in

¹³⁶ GUA, U3-c.10, p.49-50.

¹³⁷ Cowan and Paterson, 2007, p.34.

¹³⁸ Miller's *The Affecting History of Tom Bragwell* is a cautionary tale, which is both influenced by and is a reaction to chapbook and broadside literature. The tale stressed the importance of keeping good company, observing the Sabbath and purchasing Miller's own Cheap Magazine (the tale was originally serialised as part of Miller's Cheap Magazine series). National Library of Scotland, L.C.2453.

¹³⁹ The Scottish Book Trade Index, <<http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/resources/sbti/index.html>> [accessed 17 August 2009].

1808, when he was situated at the head of Blackfriars Wynd, now Blackfriars Street, located off the Cowgate, an area noted for its slums. Although little is known of Ritchie, the author of these tracts may have been the Reverend Henry Duncan, a Church of Scotland Minister, savings bank founder, author and artist. Duncan was commissioned to write the Scotch Cheap Repository tracts by Henry Broughman, who went on to found the 'Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge', but Duncan also invited some of his friends to contribute to the series.¹⁴⁰ The Scotch Cheap Repository was not Duncan's first experience of creating popular literature – the low standard of reading material available to his parishioners was a concern of his and prompted him to found a local paper, the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier*. Duncan was a believer in programmes of self-improvement and gave lectures on astronomy and physics to his parishioners, believing that knowledge of the natural world would teach the lower orders 'their place in the divinely ordered scheme of things.'¹⁴¹

The fact that Miller and Ritchie were printing their religious tracts around the same time that the Glasgow and Edinburgh Religious Tract Societies were in operation indicates a trend for tract production in Scotland during the early nineteenth-century. The French Revolution, which is often cited as the catalyst for increased tract production at this time, had demonstrated the power of the mob and had created fear among the upper classes that a similar revolution may take place on British soil. The efforts made to provide programmes of moral and religious improvement to the poor could be seen as an attempt

¹⁴⁰ I am grateful to Mhairi Hastings from The Savings Bank Museum in Ruthwell for providing information on Duncan and the Scotch Cheap Repository series.

¹⁴¹ Rosemary Mitchell, 'Duncan, Henry (1774–1846)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8217>> [accessed 23 Aug 2009].

to impose social control on the lower classes by promoting religion as an opiate of the people, as well as endorsing social hierarchies and patriotism. The shepherd in More's *The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain* is contented with his meagre lot since Jesus was also poor, even though rain pours through his roof. But was there any real reason to believe that Scotland could experience a Revolution like that of France? The end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 resulted in a period of depression in Britain, and the implementation of the Corn Laws led to an increase in the price of bread while the repeal of Income Tax, which had been implemented to fund the Napoleonic Wars, meant that the war debt had to be settled by raising taxes elsewhere. England saw several riots in the first few decades of the nineteenth-century, including the Spa Field riots in London in 1816, the Pentridge Revolution of 1817 and an attack on peaceful demonstrators by an armed yeomanry in Manchester in 1819.¹⁴² England had the Luddites, a social movement of artisans who destroyed machinery, but there were no occurrences of Luddism or machine breaking in Scotland and, with the exception of some street demonstrations, there was little violence.¹⁴³ That is not to say that there were no radical movements in Scotland, and some violent riots did occur in the west of Scotland, culminating in the Radical War of 1820, but violent disturbances in which lives were lost occurred less often than in England.¹⁴⁴ Contemporaries claimed that this contrast between Scotland and England was due to the superior education of the Scottish worker, but it could be argued that there are greater issues of social control at work here. T. C. Smout has suggested that the Scots may have been less violent as they had learned through the Jacobite Rebellion

¹⁴² Smout, 1998, p.211.

¹⁴³ Smout, 1998, p.211.

¹⁴⁴ Smout, 1998, p.211.

to exercise caution in ‘resisting the powers of a well-armed and ruthless state’¹⁴⁵ and that the degree of control which the British Government had imposed on Scotland after the Union of 1707 may also explain this lack of violent rebellion north of the border.¹⁴⁶

It was against these complex social problems that the religious tract flourished in Britain. In *The Impact of Victorian Children’s Fiction*, J. S. Bratton describes how the Religious Tract Society of London aimed to supplant the ‘feculent dregs of the “popular literature” of former days,’¹⁴⁷ a sentiment which echoes Miller’s outrage at the ‘pernicious trash’ of the chapman’s pack.¹⁴⁸ Most tracts made themselves indistinguishable from common chapbooks by using the same low quality paper, imitating the layout of the type, and using crudely rendered woodcuts. They also mimicked the titles of chapbooks – an unobservant or barely literate customer may not realise that ‘The Fortune-teller’s Conjuring Cap’ or ‘The Wonderful Cure of General Naaman’ were religious texts until they had paid their penny.¹⁴⁹ Miller chose to distribute his tracts by a traditional network of booksellers and hawkers (or chapmen); in 1812 he wrote that ‘having been mostly disposed of to wholesale booksellers, and resold by them to shopkeepers and hawkers, they must have long ere now obtained a wide circulation.’¹⁵⁰ Some tract societies, including the Glasgow Religious Tract Society, chose to sell their tracts to their members who would then distribute them for free among the poor – ‘so a Tract, embracing some of

¹⁴⁵ Smout, 1998, p.206.

¹⁴⁶ Smout, 1998, p.212.

¹⁴⁷ J. S. Bratton, *The Impact of Victorian Children’s Fiction*, (London: Croom Helm, 1981), p.33.

¹⁴⁸ GUA, U3-c.10, p.49.

¹⁴⁹ Aileen Fyfe ‘A Short History of the Religious Tract Society’, in *From the Dairyman’s Daughter to Worrals of the WAAF: The Religious Tract Society, Lutterworth Press and Children’s Literature*, by Dennis Butts and Pat Garrett (eds), (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2006), p.19.

¹⁵⁰ Couper, 1914, p.87.

the leading doctrines and precepts of Christianity, is given to a vagrant, or a stranger'¹⁵¹ – although their report of 1815 discusses other methods of publicity, including issuing tickets for sixpence which would entitle the bearer to a tract worth one shilling. It is unsurprising to find them reporting in the same year that they are £70 in debt. The Glasgow Religious Tract Society claimed to have circulated 116,000 tracts between 1814 and 1815 while The Edinburgh Religious Tract and Book Society claimed in their 1841 report to have sold in the last year some 218,836 tracts and 16,939 books as well as giving away 6745 tracts to the inmates of undisclosed 'institutions' and distributed another 19,685 for free across the country.¹⁵² Estimating literacy rates for this period is difficult, as reliable literacy statistics for Scotland did not emerge until 1855 when the compulsory registration of marriages was introduced. R. D. Anderson has estimated that as most people got married in their mid-twenties, the figures can be used to estimate that state of education fifteen years before. A steady rise in literacy rates in 1865 could be reflective of an increase in state aid to schools in the 1840s¹⁵³ – when the Edinburgh Tract and Book Society were claiming to have circulated so many tracts. Adult statistics are harder to define for this era, an 1818 report that Scotland had 176,525 pupils on a school roll¹⁵⁴ might indicate that literacy levels were low among adults in their mid-twenties during the 1830s and 1840s, but these figures could be obscuring the number of children who only held partial attendance at school due to employment commitments.

¹⁵¹ GU, Sp Coll Mu1-f.42, p.6.

¹⁵² GU, Sp Coll T.C.L. 3900, p.7.

¹⁵³ Anderson, 1995, p.102.

¹⁵⁴ Anderson, 1995, p.104.

The Scotch Cheap Repository

The 'Scotch Cheap Repository' series printed by John Ritchie in Edinburgh at the beginning of the nineteenth-century contained 'moral and religious' tales for 'the Instruction and Amusement of the Young.'¹⁵⁵ As mentioned on p.30, little is known of Ritchie or his reasons for printing this series, but the author of these tracts may have been Rev. Henry Duncan, the minister of Ruthwell in Dumfriesshire, or one of his friends who contributed to the series. Whereas most tracts and religious chapbooks of the nineteenth-century reprinted English material, No.4 of this series, *The Apprentice*, is set in 'the border of Scotland' where William Armstrong, a humble farmer of 'pity and sound morals, strongly attached to our holy religion' invests his energies in educating his three sons (not, it is to be noted, his two daughters) by sending them to the local parish school and supplementing their religious instruction at home. Every Sunday afternoon he gathers 'his little family around him, and makes them read the sacred Scriptures, and repeat the catechism approved of by the church.'¹⁵⁶ The focus of this cautionary tale is Armstrong's youngest son, Charles, who leaves home to become an apprentice to a joiner in a neighbouring village but soon falls in with bad company, leading 'the unwary youth to neglect both the principles and the institutions of religion' thus paving a way 'for the commission of evil.'¹⁵⁷ *The Apprentice* emphasises the importance of keeping good company, adherence to religion and observing the Sabbath, and these themes are set out in a plain and unobstructed manner. Charles' downfall begins when he severs his bonds with the church by desecrating the Sabbath day in 'wanton frolics' with his new friends,

¹⁵⁵ National Library of Scotland, L.C.2909.C (2).

¹⁵⁶ NLS, L.C.2909.C (2), p.2.

¹⁵⁷ NLS, L.C.2909.C (2), p.1.

who tempt him away with soothing words – ‘We labour hard for six days, and surely it is allowable that we have one to recreate and amuse ourselves. Surely this can be no sin.’¹⁵⁸

The protagonist sinks swiftly and helplessly into a lifestyle of vice and sin, and before long he has turned to alcohol and theft. *The Apprentice* reveals anxieties about the corrupting influence of large towns and the fear that children may be led astray when they are removed from their parent’s corrective influence. Charles is first led astray when he moves to a ‘neighbouring town’,¹⁵⁹ and when he visits a ‘large town’¹⁶⁰ in England he falls in with a set of criminals. Here the narrator makes no effort to obscure the moral of the tale, informing the reader that ‘it would require a volume, and astonish us to seem to what a pitch of wickedness a young man may soon arrive who has cast behind him the principles of religion.’¹⁶¹

Religious tracts are overly didactic by necessity, as they had to provide clear moral and religious instruction to children and the lower orders who may only have a basic grasp of literacy, therefore their language is often plain and their tone severe. The style of writing employed in *The Apprentice* may not merit comment or praise outside the world of religious tracts, but in comparison to some of the dry, moralistic tracts in circulation at this time, the writing is engaging and imaginative, making use of expressive language and symbolism. Following a bungled robbery in a market place, Charles becomes separated from his companions and wanders the moors in a storm in a passage crafted by the author to reflect his protagonist’s mental anguish:

¹⁵⁸ NLS, L.C.2909.C (2), p.4.

¹⁵⁹ NLS, L.C.2909.C (2), p.3.

¹⁶⁰ NLS, L.C.2909.C (2), p.7.

¹⁶¹ NLS, L.C.2909.C (2), p.7.

Late in the afternoon, he entered a dusk brown heath, and moved heavily along, with no other companions than his own dreary reflections. Night soon began to come on, and what was worse, by the look of the clouds, a storm seemed to be at no great distance. In a very short time after, the lightning flashed around him. The thunder gave some tremendous peals, and the rain began to descend in torrents.¹⁶²

Charles believes he sees a cottage but, symbolically, it turns out to be a shed for cattle, and he spends the night there in fits of mental anguish, plagued by delusions and praying for salvation. The tale ends in the traditional style of Evangelical tales – with a religious conversion and premature death. Charles is captured and put on trial, but is shown mercy and condemned to be transported to Botany Bay. It is on the boat that he meets another passenger and during the ten-month journey they talk about their sins and the possibility of salvation. His companion relays his own unfortunate circumstances, describing how he was beginning business with his father when he became ‘acquainted with the writings of Tom Paine’ and, like Charles, ‘I neglected my business, drunk with the licentious, plotted with the seditious, and scoffed at religion with the profane.’¹⁶³ Thomas Paine’s works, particularly *The Rights of Man* (1791), helped to ignite the French Revolution, and by condemning Paine the author reveals his own anxieties regarding the French and revolutionary ideas by attempting to dissuade impressionable readers from following such paths.¹⁶⁴ Charles and his companion find solace in religion: ‘Where then, exclaimed Charles, shall we fly for relief? Where find one ray to cheer (sic) our gloom? While the tears began to gather in his eyes. I know no where, replied Robert, but to the mercy of God in Christ Jesus the Saviour.’¹⁶⁵ Upon arriving in Australia Charles is sent to work on

¹⁶² NLS, L.C.2909.C (2), p.8.

¹⁶³ NLS, L.C.2909.C (2), p.12.

¹⁶⁴ This suspicion of the French could indicate that Duncan did write this tale. In 1799, when a French invasion seemed like a reality, Duncan formed a troupe of volunteers, of which he was the captain, to fight should the occasion arise. See Rosemary Mitchell, Oxford DNB (online edition) entry for Henry Duncan, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8217?docPos=1>> [accessed August 2009].

¹⁶⁵ NLS, L.C.2909.C (2), p.13.

a plantation and it here that he dies, 'lamenting with his last breath his first deviations from the paths of religion and virtue.'¹⁶⁶ The author concludes the story with the

following warning to the young:

'Let the young read the above, and be on their guard. Let them guard against the company of the wicked and profane. Let their companions be the virtuous and good, such as fear God and keep his commandments. Let them also guard against profaning the Lord's day by idleness, recreation, or any other way; for the profanation of it leads to a train of consequences of the most ruinous nature. Let that day, sacred to redeeming mercy, be spent in the public and private worship of God, and in acquiring a proper knowledge of the principles of religion. Thus shall they find favour with God and man. Their lives shall be amiable and useful, and their death happy.'¹⁶⁷

Watts' Divine Songs

While religious tracts actively promoted conversion and social control, religious chapbooks were merely reprinting material that was already successful with the people, such as hymns, sermons and catechisms. By 1800 religious chapbooks made up a significant proportion of chapbooks printed in Scotland, and by the mid nineteenth-century these were still being produced in great numbers. The efforts of religious tract societies and philanthropic individuals such as Miller began to wane within the first few decades of the nineteenth-century, and Miller's own business was badly affected by the depression following the Napoleonic Wars. Some religious chapbooks had a dual audience, but a great number were produced for children, particularly Puritan texts such as Isaac Watt's *Divine Songs for Children* and abridged versions of John Bunyan's *The*

¹⁶⁶ NLS, L.C.2909.C (2), p.14.

¹⁶⁷ NLS, L.C.2909.C (2), p.14-15.

Pilgrim's Progress, the latter of which was not written exclusively for children but was widely regarded as being suitable for their use.

When Isaac Watts (1674-1748) penned his *Divine Songs for Children* in 1715, he could not have imagined that by the end of the century his hymns would have been reprinted for children in chapbook format. Watts had condemned chapbook-type literature, declaring: 'Let not Nurses or Servants be suffered to fill [children's] minds with silly tales and with senseless rhimes [...] Let not any persons that are near them terrify their tender minds with dismal stories of witches and ghosts, of Devils and evil spirits, of fairies and bugbears in the dark. This hath had a most mischievous effect on some children.'¹⁶⁸ Yet Watts saw around twenty editions of *Divine Songs* printed during his lifetime, and it has been estimated that the book ran into at least 650 editions and had a print run of over eight million copies.¹⁶⁹ These figures would not have included chapbook editions, but the fact that Watts' *Divine Songs* made it into chapbook format says much about its popularity, and the fact that it was printed throughout the nineteenth-century, over a hundred years after it was first published, is notable. J & M Robertson of Saltmarket in Glasgow printed a copy in 1793,¹⁷⁰ and it was still being produced in chapbook format in the 1850s, when James Lindsay included a copy in his 'New and Improved' chapbook series in 1855.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ Quoted by Cunningham, 2006, p.126.

¹⁶⁹ Quoted by Hunt, 2001, p.163.

¹⁷⁰ Glasgow University Special Collections, Sp Coll BG56-h.14, item 6.

¹⁷¹ Glasgow University Special Collections, Sp Coll 2349, item 19.

The initial popularity of *Divine Songs* is easily understood. Although Puritan writing was filled with alarming images of eternal damnation and dreadful punishments for sin, Watts differed from his predecessors by using engaging lyrics to soften the Puritan message.

Watts' preface to *Divine Songs* is not reproduced in chapbook versions, but it is worthwhile quoting here:

There is a greater Delight in the very learning of Truths and Duties this way.
There is something so amusing and entertaining in Rhymes and Metre, that will
incline children to make this part of their Business a Diversion.¹⁷²

Watts' desire to provide religious instruction that was also 'amusing and entertaining' moved literature for children away from the fire and brimstone of the Puritans and towards a more enlightened view of childhood. Watts' choice of Biblical quotation, 'Out of the Mouth of Babes thou has perfected Praise,'¹⁷³ is ostensibly similar to a quotation used by James Janeway: 'Out of the mouths of Babes and Sucklings Thou has ordained Strength,'¹⁷⁴ but the transition from 'ordaining strength' to 'perfecting praise' is a significant one and it accounts for the clear differences between Watts' lyrics and the traditional work of Puritan writers such as James Janeway.¹⁷⁵ This is not to say that Watts' *Divine Songs* were completely free of Puritan imagery, and to a modern reader some of his lyrics may seem morbid or even violent, like the warning 'Against Scoffing and Calling Ill Names' in Song XVIII:

But lips that dare be so profane,
To mock, and jeer, and scoff
At holy things, or holy men,
The Lord shall cut them off.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷² Quoted by Hunt, 2001, p.163-4.

¹⁷³ Matt: 21.16.

¹⁷⁴ Psalm, 8:2.

¹⁷⁵ Patricia Demers, *From Instruction to Delight: an Anthology of Children's Literature to 1850*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p.62.

¹⁷⁶ Glasgow University Special Collections, Sp Coll 2349, item 19, p.14.

Nor was Watts adverse to heavy-handed didacticism, and although he aimed to divert, amuse and entertain in his lyrics for British children,¹⁷⁷ Peter Hunt has noted that he still attempts to exert control over the children reader and that ‘there is no question that the child is anything but subordinate, nor that the doctrine is anything but divine.’¹⁷⁸ It is possible to understand the popularity of *Divine Songs* upon their publication in 1715 when children’s literature was of a religious or educational nature, but the reason for its continued popularity, particularly in chapbook format, is not as obvious. However, Watts’ emphasis on cleanliness, industry and obedience as essential to Christian conduct were well received by late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century audiences. Watts used the titles of his songs to announce his lessons, and these reveal some sage advice that would still benefit children today, such as: ‘Against Lying’, ‘Against Quarrelling and Fighting’, ‘Love Between Brothers and Sisters’, and ‘Against Scoffing and Calling Names’. Although the Puritan message may seem morbid or cruel, most of the songs do still have a lightness of touch and a charm that could account for the book’s enduring appeal. Song XX, ‘Against Idleness and Mischief’ is one of the most famous of Watts’ *Divine Songs* and is a good example of his efforts to amuse and entertain his readers:

How doth the little busy bee
Improve each shining hour,
And gather honey all the day
From every opening flower!

How skilfully she builds her cell!
How neat she spreads the wax!
And labours hard to store it well
With the sweet food she makes.

In works of labour, or of skill,

¹⁷⁷ Demers, 1982, p.62.

¹⁷⁸ Hunt, 2001, p.163.

I would be busy too;
For Satan finds some mischief still
For idle hands to do.

In books, or works, or healthful play,
Let my first years be past,
That I may give for every day
Some good account at last.¹⁷⁹

The rhyming verses, use of undemanding language and the simplicity of Watts' analogy make this rhyme easy for a child to understand and memorise and demonstrates how Watts' *Divine Songs* had a critical part to play in leading children's literature away from hellfire and damnation and towards a sympathy and understanding for the nature of the child. Watts' point of sympathetic identification with the child is strengthened by his use of the first person narrative throughout. *Divine Songs* was being printed as a chapbook in Scotland by the late eighteenth-century; Glasgow University Special Collections holds a copy from Edinburgh printed in 1798 by J. Ruthven and Sons.¹⁸⁰ The Scottish Book Trade Index indicates that this is James Ruthven who had something in common with the Millers of Dunbar, as he was both a printer and a grocer. Ruthven's edition of *Divine Songs* is relatively plain, the thirty-six pages are covered with a blue wrapper, proclaiming the title in a simple, unadorned manner: 'Twenty-Eight Divine Songs and A Catechism on the Principles of Religion for Children from Seven to Twelve Years Old, and Upwards.' In addition to the twenty-eight songs by Watts, the chapbook also contains various Graces and prayers and a catechism in the form of in the form of a Socratic debate. This catechism consists of some sixty-eight questions and answers, designed to help children memorise religious instruction and seems influenced by a belief in original sin:

¹⁷⁹ GU, Sp Coll 2349, item 19, p.16.

¹⁸⁰ Glasgow University Special Collections, Sp Coll Bh13-c.30, item 3.

Q. 21. *Have you never broke the commands of God, and sinned against him?*

A. My own heart and conscience tell me, that I have broke God's holy commandments, and sinned against him both in thought, word, and deed.

Q. 22. *How do you know that you have sinned in thought, word and deed, against the blessed God?*

A. I have let evil thoughts run too much in my mind, and spoken too many evil words; I have too often done such deeds as are evil, and neglected what is good.

Q. 23. *Whence comes it to pass that you have been such a sinner?*

A. I was born into the world with inclinations to that which is evil, and I have too much followed these inclinations all my life

Q. 24. *How came you to be born with such inclinations to evil?*

A. All mankind are born in sin, because they came from Adam, the first man who sinned against God.

Q. 25. *But why did you follow these evil inclinations? Was it not your duty to resist them, when you knew they were evil?*

A. I ought to resist every sinful inclination, and therefore I have no sufficient excuse for myself before the great God.

Q.26. *What do you deserve because of your sins?*

A. My sins have deserved the wrath and curse of the almighty God who made me.¹⁸¹

Although Ruthven's edition explicitly advertises itself for 'children from seven to twelve years old', the book does little to endear itself to a child audience. Neither the wrapper nor the text contain illustrations, which were common even in poor quality chapbooks where they often bore no relevance to the text, and Ruthven's unembellished wrapper has a stark, almost utilitarian, quality. This could suggest that Ruthven was unfamiliar with producing for the children's market, since he was clearly not making an effort to create a visually appealing chapbook, or it is possible that Ruthven himself took quite a dim view towards childhood frivolity. Another copy of *Divine Songs*, printed in 1855, just over half a century after Ruthven's copy, is more successful in appealing to its target audience.

This chapbook uses the imprint 'Glasgow: Printed for the Booksellers' but also carries

¹⁸¹ GU, Sp Coll Bh13-c.30, item 3, p.28-29.

the heading 'New and Improved Series', indicating that this edition was printed by James Lindsay, a rag merchant who entered the chapbook trade in the 1850s. Lindsay inherited the stereotypes¹⁸² for this catalogue from another Glasgow firm, Francis Orr & Sons, and he added to their catalogue of 150 titles with a series of 'New and Improved' titles. Lindsay was not printing religious chapbooks for anything other than commercial gain; his catalogue contains a variety of material, and many of his 'New and Improved' additions are created for and marketed at children, suggesting that Lindsay was aware of the lucrative market for children's literature. The title page for his edition of *Divine Songs* is decorated with an elaborate border and illustrated using a woodcut of Jesus with children kneeling at his feet. The Biblical quotation used by Watts has been replaced with another: 'Suffer little children to come unto me,' which dilutes the Puritan message further. This chapbook contains eighteen wood engravings, each of which corresponds to the text. These attractive illustrations depict both Biblical scenes and images of well dressed and obedient children in respectable middle class surroundings, as well as some images which fit the songs, such as the beehive used alongside Song XX, 'Against Idleness and Mischief', see Appendix 8, p.134. While Ruthven's edition contained twenty-eight songs plus prayers and catechisms, Lindsay's edition contains only abridged version of the songs. Whereas some editors might choose to abridge these lyrics to remove some of the more alarming Puritan sentiments from the text, it seems unlikely that this was the motivation for abridging this edition. If the text was edited to suit the tastes of a modern Victorian audience, then it seems strange that passages such as those in Song XI, 'Heaven and Hell' would have been retained:

¹⁸² Stereotyping is a printing process that involved making a cast of a block of moveable type to produce a singular block of text.

There is beyond the sky
A heaven of joy and love;
And holy children, when they die,
Go to that world above.

There is a dreadful hell,
And everlasting pains;
Where sinners must with devils dwell
In darkness, fire and chains.

Can such a wretch as I
Escape this cursed end?
And may I hope, whene'er I die,
I shall to heaven ascend?

Then will I read and pray,
While I have life and breath;
Lest I should be cut off to-day,
And sent t' eternal death.¹⁸³

Ruthven used thirty-six pages to create his edition of *Divine Songs*, twenty-four of which are taken up with the songs themselves and the remaining twelve contain the catechism, prayers and graces. With some eighteen illustrations to accommodate, it is more likely that the abridgment for the 'New and Improved' edition of 1855 was simply to ensure that all twenty-eight songs could fit into a slender volume of just twenty-four pages.

¹⁸³ GU, Sp Coll 2349, item 19, p.10.

The Juvenile Prayer Book

Another religious title from Lindsay's series of 'New and Improved' chapbooks is a prayer book for children, *The Juvenile Prayer Book, Containing a Selection of Prayers for Children, From Two to Twelve Years of Age*.¹⁸⁴ The quality and visual style of this chapbook is similar to others in the 'New and Improved' series – it is printed on clean, smooth paper with stereotyped plates, which give the text a neat, somewhat prim, appearance. Once again, the title page is calculated to catch the customer's eye with a decorative border and a wood engraved illustration depicting a young girl kneeling in prayer. The inside page creates an impression of respectability with a contents page, an uncommon feature in chapbooks, where using a page simply to announce the contents would not only have been wasting valuable printing space but also unnecessary given the meagre length of the publication. By advertising these chapbooks as 'New and Improved', Lindsay was making an effort to set his publications apart from other chapbooks and by using a contents page and an attractive title page Lindsay embraces technological advances in printing to create cheap and accessible chapbooks which would appeal to a wider market. Unlike George Miller, who produced his Cheap Tracts because he believed chapbooks to be morally corruptive, Lindsay's motivations were more likely to be purely commercial. Lindsay would certainly have been aware that children made up a large part of his audience and that chapbooks had a bad reputation. Therefore his decision to create a 'New and Improved' series of chapbooks may have been an attempt to reach a middle-class market by issuing assurances that his publications were an improvement on traditional chapbook literature.

¹⁸⁴ Glasgow University Special Collections, Sp Coll 2349, item 9.

The contents of *The Juvenile Prayer Book* are split into ‘Prayers for children from 2 to 5 years’, ‘Prayers for Young People from 5 to 8 years’, ‘Prayers for Young People from 8 to 12 years’ as well as ‘Occasional Prayers’ and ‘Graces Before and after Meat.’ There are fourteen prayers for each age group, seven for the morning and seven for the evening, ensuring that the reader has an adequate supply of prayers for each day of the week and setting a daily pattern of praying. The prayers grow in length and complexity for each age group, thus a morning prayer for two to five year olds is simple and uncomplicated:

O Lord, I thank thee for the sleep I have had during the past night. Keep me from all evil this day. Bless my papa and mamma, and all my friends, and make me a good and obedient child, for Christ’s sake. Amen.¹⁸⁵

Yet a prayer for eight to twelve year olds could be as long as thirty-eight lines and employ a complex and sophisticated style, as demonstrated by the following segment from a prayer for this age group:

Blessed God, thou hast made the sun and the light, and the beautiful world which day reveals. The sun is glorious, but thou art more glorious than the sun; the light is pure, but thou art purer than the light; evil cannot dwell with thee; thou cast not look upon sin. All things around thy throne in heaven are holy; well, therefore, may a sinful child fear to speak to thee. I am very sinful; yet Jesus, thy Son, who gave himself for me, is holy; and, for his sake, I beseech thee to hear my prayer. Sin has made my heart darker than night; oh, may thy Holy Spirit make it light, that I may see thy glory, and the beauty of Jesus Christ; and that, knowing thee, I may love thee.¹⁸⁶

The prayers are dominated by themes of death and sin and a common component of an evening prayer in *The Juvenile Prayer Book* is asking God for protection at night, while the morning prayers thank God for sparing the child’s life for another night: ‘O Lord, I thank thee for all thy mercies to me through the past night, and for raising me up in health

¹⁸⁵ GU, Sp Coll 2349, item 9, p.3.

¹⁸⁶ GU, Sp Coll 2349, item 9, p.18.

to see the light of a new day.’¹⁸⁷ These prayers serve to remind us that during a time of high child mortality rates the fear of being taken away in the night was very real to children and to their parents. Moreover, this chapbook reveals another aspect of the role of religion in the life of a Scottish child in the nineteenth-century. Religion was the backbone of the Scottish curriculum and had permeated the pages of literature written for children for centuries – but it can be argued that religion had another role to play in the nursery. By 1855 an eighth of babies died before they reached their first birthday,¹⁸⁸ and life did not get easier for those who reached childhood. Poor hygiene standards meant that one of the principal causes of deaths among children was infection, and although smallpox was in decline thanks to the introduction of vaccinations in the late eighteenth-century, measles was still dangerous and accounted for 10% of deaths during 1807-12.¹⁸⁹ Overcrowding in the cities of the lowlands provided the perfect conditions for outbreaks of cholera and infections transmitted through air, insects, animals and water – such as influenza, scarlet fever, whooping cough, dysentery and typhoid. The spread of such diseases was combated to some extent through programmes of civic improvement in cities during the second half of the nineteenth-century, including slum clearances and the improvement of water supplies. It is unsurprising then that death should be a central component in these prayers for children, because death was always close and very real. The nineteenth-century was a period in which most children would have known another child who had died – a friend, a classmate or a sibling – and perhaps prayer could be a comfort for both children and adults.

¹⁸⁷ GU, Sp Coll 2349, item 9, p.11.

¹⁸⁸ Houston, in Devine and Mitchison (eds), 1988, p.14.

¹⁸⁹ The Scottish child diarist Marjory Fleming died from meningitis, contracted through measles, just a few weeks before her ninth birthday in 1811.

Conclusion

A complaint made in the *Report and Address of the Edinburgh Religious Tract and Book Society for 1841* that ‘the importance of tracts is scarcely recognised’¹⁹⁰ suggests that by the 1840s religious tract societies in Scotland were battling against public apathy towards their endeavours. In the same report they also state that their purpose is the ‘diffusing of truth in Roman Catholic and heathen countries,’¹⁹¹ confirming that their focus had shifted from replacing chapbook literature to promoting religious conversion. After the initial flurry of tract production during the early nineteenth-century, religious tracts waned in prominence while the religious chapbook retained its popularity. Although George Miller was certain that he had supplanted chapbooks in East Lothian with his Cheap Tract series, the continued success of the chapbook tells a different story.

The religious chapbook appears to have won this particular battle, but by the mid-nineteenth-century their popularity was also beginning to wane. Watts’ *Divine Songs* had endured for almost a century and a half, but within a further decade it was about to fall spectacularly out of fashion when Lewis Carroll mocked the text in *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* (1865), transforming the industrious bee of ‘Against Idleness and Mischief’ from *Divine Songs* (1715) – ‘How doth the little busy bee/Improve each shining hour’ – into an absurdly vain crocodile – ‘How doth the little crocodile/Improve his shining tail.’¹⁹² This decline in popularity began before Carroll’s attack on the text – a copy of Lindsay’s ‘New and Improved’ edition of *Divine Songs* held in the Special Collections of

¹⁹⁰ GU, Sp Coll T.C.L. 3900, p.2.

¹⁹¹ GU, Sp Coll T.C.L. 3900, p.7.

¹⁹² Hunt, 2001, p.48.

Glasgow University has some uncut pages, so clearly this particular copy has never been read by or to a child.

Religion continued to play a huge role in the production of children's literature, but by the beginning of the nineteenth-century writers of children's literature had shifted their focus from religious salvation to moral conduct and were sweetening their didacticism with amusement. The decline in the popularity of the religious chapbook was paralleled by the rise of the instructive chapbook which used amusement as a method of instruction. This movement 'from primer to pleasure' did not go unnoticed by chapbook printers, who were aware that children made up a large part of their audience. Therefore the nineteenth-century chapbook market was flooded with chapbooks which gave an air of middle class respectability by using attractive illustrations and colourful paper wrappers. The next chapter will chart the movement in chapbooks for Scottish children away from instruction for religious ends and towards instruction with amusement.

Chapter Two: From Primer to Pleasure

Train up a child in the way he should go,
and when he is old he will not depart from it.¹⁹³

Reading for Pleasure?

The flowering of the ‘Golden-Age’ of children’s literature in the late nineteenth-century introduced children to a realm of secular literature created solely for their amusement, but this change did not happen overnight. Instead it was the culmination of gradual changes in perceptions of childhood that had been set in motion during the early eighteenth-century by writers such as Isaac Watts who introduced an element of entertainment to religious instruction. The late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century saw a rise in the production of books being produced for children that would amuse as well as instruct, and this branch of print culture was dominated by productions that were English both contextually and linguistically. While much has been written on this element of children’s literature in England, little work has been undertaken on the Scottish context for this material; however it appears to be very similar in the North. In her preface to *Holiday House* (1839) Catherine Sinclair complained that ‘the very mind of youth seems in danger of becoming a machine; and while every effort is used to stuff the memory, like a cricket-ball, with well known facts and ready-made opinions.’¹⁹⁴ The commercial potential in the production of these books did not go unnoticed by enterprising chapbook printers in Scotland who would have been aware that children formed a large part of their

¹⁹³ Proverbs, 22.6.

¹⁹⁴ Catherine Sinclair, *Holiday House: a Book for the Young*, (Edinburgh: James Wood, c.1874 [1839]), p.iv.

audience. M. O. Grenby has claimed that the biggest change in chapbook production in the nineteenth-century was one of audience,¹⁹⁵ as the nineteenth-century saw an increase in chapbooks being produced *for* children and made suitable for their use with the inclusion of ornate ABCs, sophisticated wood engraved illustrations and pirated or abridged versions of moral tales. This was a period of evolution for the chapbook, not only in intended audience but also in terms of physical quality and length as advances in printing technology enabled longer and better quality chapbooks to be produced quickly and cheaply. The widespread adaptation of chapbooks for children indicates a dearth of suitable material for juvenile readers, in terms of both price and content, outside of the world of popular literature. A closer examination of the accessibility of literature outside of the realm of chapbooks may reveal the reasons for children's dependency upon popular literature for amusement.

Chapter One provided an overview of the education system in Scotland, paying particular attention to the relationship between religion and education, but in order to understand why children were so dependent on popular literature it is necessary to briefly revisit the subject of education to discuss the limitations of the Scottish curriculum. As discussed on p.8, the primary purpose of education was to instruct in basic literacy and religious instruction in order to learn how to read the Bible and the church's shorter catechism. The importance of religion to the Scottish curriculum is evident from the books used in the classroom – James Scotland has described the schoolbag of a typical Parish school student as containing copies of the New Testament, the Bible, Gray's arithmetic and

¹⁹⁵ Grenby, in Briggs, Butts and Grenby (eds), 2008, p.40-44.

copybooks,¹⁹⁶ while older children may have read the Mother's Catechism, the Shorter Catechism and Alexander Barrie's *A Collection of English Prose and Verse*.¹⁹⁷ In addition to the core curriculum of literacy and religion, pupils at parish schools could be taught a range of subjects including grammar, geography, and languages such as Latin and Greek. However, the availability of this additional curriculum depended not only upon the competence of the teacher but the ability of the parents to meet the additional school fees. For the child of a labouring family who was not expected to progress to a burgh school or University, a foothold in basic literacy would have sufficed as an education.

For children who were expected to progress further in their education it was common to learn the basics of literacy at a parish school before moving on to a burgh school which offered a more advanced curriculum. The Scottish writer J. M. Barrie (1860-1937), who was born twelve years before the implementation of compulsory education in Scotland, was taught in this manner, beginning his education in a small school in Kirriemuir – where the children had to bring a clean handkerchief every day on which they knelt to pray – before moving to the more advanced South Free Church School and attending further schools in Glasgow, Forfar and Dumfries.¹⁹⁸ The teaching of classics formed a large part of the burgh school curriculum, and most children attending a burgh school would be familiar with the works of Horace¹⁹⁹ and Virgil,²⁰⁰ whose epic poem the

¹⁹⁶ Exercise books which contained examples of writing and room for the pupil to make copies.

¹⁹⁷ Scotland, 1969, p.203.

¹⁹⁸ Lisa Chaney, *Hide-and-Seek with Angels; A Life of J. M. Barrie*, (New York: St Martin's Press, 2005), p.16.

¹⁹⁹ Quintus Horatius Flaccus, (65-8 B.C.), or Horace, a Roman poet.

²⁰⁰ Publius Vergilius Maro (70-19 B.C.), or Virgil, a classical Roman poet.

*Aeneid*²⁰¹ was taught in nearly all Burgh schools²⁰² and it was also common for pupils to be familiar with the works of Shakespeare. However, these lessons were open only to those who could afford them, and for many children their days in the classroom ended with the ability to read their Bible.

The Glasgow Circulating Library, which was affiliated with the booksellers John Smith & Son, issued a catalogue around 1804 containing a list of ‘the most approved books for schools.’²⁰³ This ‘approved’ reading list consists of Latin, French, and English dictionaries, books on grammar, arithmetic, and geography as well as Bibles, rudiments and a book on land surveying. The prices listed for these books reinforce the financial barriers to advanced education – a Latin dictionary from this catalogue would set the purchaser back some thirteen shillings. However, it was possible to purchase chapbook versions of school texts for a basic education, covering the basics of literacy and religious instruction. *Mother’s Catechism*, *Shorter Catechism* and *The Child’s Assistant*, three of the titles cited above by Scotland to be of standard issue in Parish schools, are included in a catalogue of penny chapbooks printed by Francis Orr & Sons of Glasgow.²⁰⁴ An earlier edition of *The Child’s Assistant*²⁰⁵ printed by Francis Orr & Sons is similar in content to *Easy Lessons for Children* printed by James Duncan Jr. in 1799,²⁰⁶ containing ABCs, spelling lessons and some short fables. Spelling lessons and religion instruction are interwoven and therefore the reader will find the instructions: ‘Do not an ill act, though

²⁰¹ A Latin epic poem written by Virgil, a classical Roman poet.

²⁰² Scotland, 1969, p.212.

²⁰³ Glasgow University Special Collections, Sp Coll BG34-h.16, item 13.

²⁰⁴ See Appendix 3, p.118.

²⁰⁵ National Library of Scotland, L.C.2850.D (3).

²⁰⁶ See p.9.

one bid you do it. To do an ill act, is to go out of the way of God. Sit not by an ill boy, to see him do ill, but go far out of his way’ slotted in between the short and long sounds of ‘E’ and the short sound of ‘I’,²⁰⁷ and the chapbook concludes with a passage ‘On Reading the Holy Scriptures.’ In 1848 the Scottish journalist Alex Somerville recollected that he began school with a ‘twopenny spelling book’,²⁰⁸ which suggests that it was common for parents to furnish their children’s schoolbags with these cheap editions.

The curriculum outlined above suggests that the Scottish classroom provided little in the way of amusement or recreation, particularly for children who only received the basic curriculum of literacy and religious instruction. As David Northcroft has argued,²⁰⁹ the Scottish education system could be hostile towards children and the frequent use of corporal punishment in Scottish classrooms hardly encouraged a liberal atmosphere of ‘amusement and instruction.’ It is clear that if Scottish children wished to read for pleasure, they had to look outside the classroom. If children were being taught to read at school but were not being supplied with recreational reading within the classroom, then this raises the question of where they could they turn for amusing literature other than chapbooks. One possible answer lies in the provision of circulation or subscription libraries in Scotland.

Before the Public Libraries Act of 1850 established free libraries throughout Britain, privately run circulation libraries charged fees for membership and lending facilities. It is difficult to tell if ‘adult’ circulating libraries catered for children because, generally

²⁰⁷ NLS, L.C.2850.D (3), p.8.

²⁰⁸ Quoted by Northcroft, 2003, p.34.

²⁰⁹ Northcroft, 2003, p.12.

speaking, they did not always keep ‘children’s sections’ in the same way that modern public libraries do. Writing on the subject of British circulating libraries, M. O. Grenby has highlighted the difficulties facing a researcher in this area; principally that spotting children’s titles in catalogues containing tens of thousands of books would require knowledge of every children’s book published during this time.²¹⁰ ‘Crossover texts,’ books that were read by adults and children, pose an additional problem, and so the presence of *Gulliver’s Travels*, *Robinson Crusoe* or *Arabian Nights* in a library catalogue does not necessarily mean that the library was providing books for the child reader.²¹¹ Grenby has highlighted several areas of incompatibility between children and circulating libraries, which he uses to clarify whether or not they were widely used by children. One key area of incompatibility is a financial one; membership to a circulating library did not come cheap. An advert for the Glasgow Circulating Library printed in 1805 advertises their subscription rates as ranging from 2s 6d for a month’s ‘single subscription’ to £1,10s for a years ‘full subscription.’²¹² These prices would have been out of reach for most families, especially when damaging or defacing a book would have incurred a substantial fine. Although Grenby’s arguments represent both Scottish and English circulating libraries, he acknowledges that in Scotland ‘a different attitude to children’s reading had long appertained.’²¹³ In the nineteenth-century several ‘Juvenile’ circulating libraries were established in Scotland, including the Paisley Juvenile Library in 1814, the ‘Youth’s Library’ in Rothesay in 1818, and by the 1830s further Juvenile Libraries had

²¹⁰ M. O. Grenby, ‘Adults Only? Children and Children’s Books in British Circulating Libraries, 1748-1848’, *Book History*, 5 (2002), p.20,

<http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/book_history/v005/5.1grenby.html> [accessed 17 May 2009].

²¹¹ Grenby, 2002, p.20,

<http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/book_history/v005/5.1grenby.html> [accessed 17 May 2009].

²¹² Glasgow University Special Collections, Sp Coll BG34-h.16, item 1.

²¹³ Grenby, 2002, p.32,

<http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/book_history/v005/5.1grenby.html> [accessed 17 May 2009].

opened in Banff, Benholme and Wick.²¹⁴ An undated catalogue for the Glasgow Circulating Library, estimated to have been printed in the early nineteenth-century, contains a children's section 'For the Amusement and Instruction of Youth; Neatly Bound.'²¹⁵ The books listed under this heading are mainly moral tales and fairy tales, including *The Parent's Assistant* (1796) by Maria Edgeworth and *Barbauld's Lessons in Four Parts* (1778-79) by Anna Laetitia Barbauld. The Glasgow Circulating Library implemented a tiered pricing system for these books, ranging from as much as twelve shillings down to 'a great variety' of unlisted titles at sixpence 'and under.'²¹⁶ Circulating libraries dedicated to the provision of religious books were also established but while their motivations are clear, what were the motivations for setting up a Juvenile Library? A catalogue for the Paisley Juvenile Library declared that '[t]he formation of habits of reading ... is of vast importance to the young ... and is favourable both to their secular and religious improvement.'²¹⁷ The emphasis placed on both 'secular' and 'religious' improvement is interesting as it indicates that while religious instruction was still important, there was a growing concern with the 'secular' improvement of children. The Wick and Pultneytown Juvenile Subscription Library echo these sentiments with their belief that 'nothing can be more desirable than easy access to a well selected library.'²¹⁸ Initially this statement seems to be one of liberation – that children should have free access to libraries – but the term 'well selected' implies that children were subordinate creatures who needed their tastes dictated to them and whose reading material should be

²¹⁴ Robin Alston, *Libraries in Scotland to 1850*, <<http://www.r-alston.co.uk/scotland.htm>> [accessed 10 August 2009].

²¹⁵ Glasgow University Special Collections, Sp Coll BG34-h.16, item 13.

²¹⁶ GU, Sp Coll BG34-h.16, item 13.

²¹⁷ Paisley Central Library, 080 PC266.

²¹⁸ Quoted by Grenby, 2002, p.32, <http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/book_history/v005/5.1grenby.html> [accessed 17 May 2009].

‘selected’, or in other words, censored. A statement made in the catalogue of the Paisley Juvenile Library that ‘it is obvious’ that the ‘ability to read is a blessing, only when it receives a proper direction, or is conducted into a proper channel’²¹⁹ seems to support this argument. This element of social control was born out of the moral debates occurring in the late eighteenth-century regarding the suitability of children’s literature and the dangers of granting children unsupervised access to books which may be morally corrupting. Sarah Trimmer had attacked circulating libraries for providing ‘free access to books of all descriptions’²²⁰ while Robert Wodrow complained that ‘young boyes’ were frequenting Allan Ramsay’s library to read ‘villainous profane and obscene books and playes.’²²¹ George Miller, the printer of the Cheap Tracts series discussed in Chapter One, opened a circulating library in 1792. The first catalogue of his library was printed in the same year and lists some 1001 titles alongside the assurances that ‘everything of an indelicate or immoral tendency’ was removed.²²²

The Rise of Morality

These concerns regarding the moral content of children’s literature can be traced back to the late seventeenth-century when John Locke (1632-1704) published his treatise on the subject of education, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693). This work was to

²¹⁹ PCL, 080 PC266.

²²⁰ Quoted by Grenby, 2002, p.28,

<http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/book_history/v005/5.1grenby.html> [accessed 17 May 2009].

²²¹ Quoted by Grenby, 2002, p.19-20,

<http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/book_history/v005/5.1grenby.html> [accessed 17 May 2009].

²²² Couper, 1914, p.63.

have a profound effect not only upon the perception of childhood but also upon the production of children's literature in Britain during the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries. Believing that the child's mind was like 'white paper devoid of all characters,'²²³ Locke advised against children being exposed to corrupting influences, such as 'Sprites and Goblins,'²²⁴ but encouraged amusement and diversion as tools of education. The Lockeian concept of 'amusement and instruction' acted as a catalyst for the explosion of moral tales for children which began appearing around the middle of the eighteenth-century and continued to dominate the market into the nineteenth-century. One of the most famous examples of this new type of literature was John Newbery's *A Little Pretty Pocket Book* (1744), which advertised itself for the 'Instruction and Amusement of Master Tommy and Pretty Miss Polly', leading critics and historians of children's literature to declare it to be the first modern children's book. The Newbery catalogue also included *Giles Gingerbread* (1764) and *Goody Two Shoes* (1765), publications that laid the foundations of the moral tale. This genre had reached its zenith by the beginning of the nineteenth-century in the hands of English moralists such as Anna Laetitia Barbauld (1743-1825), Maria Edgeworth (1744-1817) and Sarah Trimmer (1741-1810), and this literary movement was part of a moral panic regarding the perceived corrupting influence of fairy tales and chapbooks.²²⁵

The popularity of Newbery's children's books can be judged by the number of impersonators and pirated versions that appeared in both England and Scotland. The

²²³ Nicholas Tucker, 'Fairy Tales and their Early Opponents' in *Opening the Nursery Door: Reading, Writing, and Childhood, 1600-1900*, by Mary Hilton, Morag Styles and Victor Watson (eds), (London: New York: Routledge, 1997), p.106.

²²⁴ Carpenter and Prichard (eds), 1984, p.323.

²²⁵ Carpenter and Prichard (eds), 1984, p.358.

Glasgow printers J & J Robertson (later J & M Robertson) issued a catalogue in 1798 advertising a series of ‘Books for the Instruction and Amusement of Children, bound in Gilt Paper, and adorned with Cuts.’²²⁶ Robertsons’ catalogue reveals a preference for English titles, including some by Newbery, and the National Library of Scotland holds a copy of *Goody Two Shoes* (1765) printed by J & M Robertson in 1786.²²⁷ With its decorative floral cover, copious illustrations, and price tag of sixpence, the book is clearly targeted at a middle class audience. The Robertsons’ catalogue is significant as it demonstrates that although Scotland possessed higher literacy rates than England and, in the words of M. O. Grenby, had established ‘a different attitude to children’s reading’,²²⁸ there was little effort made to create similar Scottish titles. While Scotland had emerged from the Enlightenment seemingly at the forefront of cultural and literary developments, there appear to have been some insecurities regarding Scottish identity – particularly when it came to childhood and education. The Education Acts discussed in Chapter One effectively rooted out Scottish identity from the education system by suppressing the Gaelic language, seen as a language of superstition and barbarity, and offering a highly Anglicised school curriculum, which often ignored Scottish history and literature.²²⁹ It is useful here to recall the comments made by R. D. Anderson that few efforts were made in Scotland to transmit or revive the national language or culture.²³⁰ Given the Anglicisation of the national education system, it is perhaps unsurprising that the majority of children’s

²²⁶ See Appendix 2, p.117.

²²⁷ National Library of Scotland, RB.s.1477.

²²⁸ Grenby, 2002, p.32,

<http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/book_history/v005/5.1grenby.html> [accessed 17 May 2009].

²²⁹ See p.8.

²³⁰ Anderson, 1983, p.1.

books available in Scotland during this time were not contextually or linguistically Scottish.

Objections to Chapbooks

Moralists condemned chapbooks not only for their low literary associations, but also because their price and widespread availability granted children unsupervised access to literature. Although issues of chapbook distribution have been touched upon already in this thesis, in order to fully understand these objections it is important to discuss how children gained access to chapbooks. Traditionally, chapbooks were sold by chapmen and street hawkers who travelled through rural areas selling their goods from door to door or peddled their wares on street corners and at markets. While there was some chapmen who were well known to their regular clients, these were the minority; most chapmen were not so well regarded and were looked upon as a necessary evil. The trade was something of a ‘stop gap’ position, a fact which John MacTaggart (1791-1830), author of *The Scottish Gallovidian Encyclopedia* (1824), acknowledged when he wrote that the trade was often ‘a stepping stone for young men of common talents, that they may leap on to from a humble situation, and from thence to something better.’²³¹ The chapman’s trade was attractive to those who did not wish to enter an apprenticeship or join the army, either through a desire to gain some independence, an inclination to laziness or a more legitimate disability, like the ‘flying stationer’ Sandersy Riach in J. M. Barrie’s *Auld Licht Idylls* (1888) who ‘who was stricken from head to foot with the palsy, and could

²³¹ Quoted by Cowan and Paterson, 2007, p.41.

only speak with a quaver in consequence.’²³² Chapmen operating in rural areas generally expected food and board at a house, and the accommodation granted to them reflects their social standing. Alexander Wilson, the poet and ornithologist who worked for a while as a chapman and wrote a popular humorous chapbook entitled *Watty and Meg*, portrayed the chapman’s experience in a poem entitled *The Loss of the Pack*:

I wha stand here, in this bare scoury coat,
Was ance a packman, wordy mony a groat:
I’ve carried packs as big’s your meikle table;
I’ve scarted pats, and sleepit in a stable.²³³

A chapman would rarely be allowed to sleep in the house; it was common for them to be shown to the barn or the pigsty, or sent out to find a ditch. The chapbook *John Cheap the Chapman*, attributed to Dougal Graham, details the adventures of a chapman and his friend, Drouthy Tam, across lowland Scotland – taking in Old Kilpatrick, Carluke, Tinto Hill, Soutra Hill (south east of Edinburgh), Haddington, Dalkeith, Slamannan (south-south-west of Falkirk), Linlithgow, Torryburn and Culross.²³⁴ The chapbook is of a coarse nature, containing references to drunkenness – one episode involves a drinking competition that lasts for two days and two nights – and to lower body movements. Although the chapbook is a humorous portrayal of a chapman’s experiences and is not representative of all chapmen, it reflects the commonly held assumption that chapmen were ‘undesirables’ – drunks, tinkers, conmen and rogues.²³⁵ In larger houses chapmen

²³² J. M. Barrie, *Auld Licht Idylls*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, c.1921 [1888]), p.231. This was also the case for Dougal Graham, author of chapbooks and skellat bellman (town crier) of Glasgow, who worked for a while as a chapman. Graham was inflicted with a hunchback, and, possibly, a lame leg. None of this affected his famous wit – when some officers of the Black Watch, newly returned from defeat in revolutionary America, taunted him by shouting ‘What’s that you’ve got on your back’ they received the cutting reply, ‘It’s Bunker’s Hill; do you choose to mount?’ (Cowan and Paterson, 2007, p.27).

²³³ Quoted by Morris, in Myers, Harris and Mandelbrote (eds), 2007, p.165.

²³⁴ Cowan and Paterson, 2007, p.46.

²³⁵ It has to be noted that not all chapmen limited their talents to binge drinking and dishonesty. It was common for chapmen to have some musical ability as they relied so heavily on the charity of others. John

sold their goods to the servants, and moralists were therefore concerned that a ‘John Cheap’ could be introducing morally corrosive literature into a household quite literally by the back door, which might then fall into the hands of children without first being screened by their parents. In his article ‘Fairy Tales and their Early Opponents’, Nicholas Tucker unintentionally touches upon a clear class distinction by stating that chapbooks might ‘come to the attention of well-born children without the master or mistress ever being the wiser,’²³⁶ suggesting that these concerns were primarily regarding ‘well-born’ children, rather than children of poorer families.

The Changing Chapbook

It is ironic that although moralists objected so strongly to cheap literature, the nineteenth-century saw an increase in chapbooks containing moral tales – a phenomenon similar to the Hannah More’s Cheap Repository Tracts series, which was intended to supplant chapbook literature, actually appearing in chapbook format.²³⁷ On one hand the rise of the printing press in the nineteenth-century allowed the publication of cheap literature to trickle into smaller towns and villages across Scotland but, on the other hand, the growth of towns during industrialisation meant that the rural population were not as isolated as they had once been and were therefore less dependent on chapmen for the distribution of

Morris provides details on the lives of several known chapmen and reflects that ‘it is interesting to note that Alexander Wilson had a pleasing singing voice, William Nicholson played the bagpipes, and William Magee had that rare accomplishment, the ability to play two jews-harps at the same time.’ (Morris, in Myers, Harris and Mandelbrote [eds], 2007, p.168). Even the fictional John Cheap bought and sold hair for wig making and had some skill as a barber.

²³⁶ Tucker, in Hilton, Styles and Watson (eds), 1997, p.107.

²³⁷ See pp.23-24.

cheap literature, petty household goods and news of the wider world. In 1837, The Fraternity of Chapmen in the Three Lothians, considered to be the oldest society of chapmen in Scotland, complained that:

Owing to the late practice of opening so many retail shops in cities, towns and villages, it might almost be said, and even in the hamlets, the number of respectable Travelling Chapmen is become small, and the old Members of the Fraternity of the Three Lothians fast dropping into the grave, which endangers the Society of soon sinking into oblivion in this part of the country, and their ancient and valuable Cross at Preston²³⁸ to stand, like the Pyramids of Egypt, weathering the storm, but unable to tell the wondering and anxiously inquiring traveller to whom it owes its origin.²³⁹

This quotation provides a first hand account of the effect that the growth of towns had upon the chapman's trade, and is a lament for the end of the chapman's days. As public perceptions of chapbooks were so severely affected by their association with chapmen, it is possible that a change in distribution from the pedlar's pack to a bookshop may have brought about a change in reputation for the chapbook.

While the days of the chapman were numbered, the printing press was going from strength to strength. Technological advances in the printing industry rendered simple forms of popular literature, such as the broadsheet, obsolete but enabled the creation of new forms of cheap popular literature, including newspapers and periodicals. The nineteenth-century chapbook evolved with these changes, becoming longer and of a better quality than its eighteenth-century precursor, and the development of chapbooks produced for children was part of this evolution. By 1800 the children's book market was saturated with moral and instructive tales, a commercial opportunity that did not go

²³⁸ The Salt Preston Cross was the site for an annual fair held by The Fraternity of Chapmen in the Three Lothians.

²³⁹ Quoted by Morris, in Myers, Harris and Mandelbrote (eds), 2007, p.162.

unnoticed by enterprising printers and publishers who attempted to bridge a gap in the market by producing affordable chapbook versions of these titles. Bibliographers and archivists have often classified these books as chapbooks, but as they differ from traditional chapbooks in terms of tone, physical quality, length and sometimes price, it could also be argued that these are *not* chapbooks. The introduction to this thesis set out several factors by which chapbooks can be defined – distribution, size, length, physical appearance, low literacy associations and price.²⁴⁰ While these books conform to definitions of chapbooks in terms of physical appearance, size, and, in some cases, price, they also differ from chapbooks in several ways. These books were not distributed by chapmen, but were sold through bookshops and toyshops. The imprint for a copy of *Blue Beard and Little Red Riding Hood* printed in Edinburgh by Caw & Elder states that their productions were sold ‘at all the Book and Toy Shops’²⁴¹ and it could therefore be argued that as they were not sold by chapmen, they are not chapbooks. However, the first hand account of The Fraternity of Chapmen in the Three Lothians cited on p.64 proves that chapbooks were being sold by methods other than the chapman’s pack, and so the fact that these books were not sold by chapmen does not necessarily disqualify them from being chapbooks. The issue of price also hinders the classification of these books, as they have a reputation for being more expensive than traditional ‘penny chapbooks’, and yet their prices were more varied than is commonly held to be true. Oliver & Boyd, the Edinburgh printers and booksellers, produced children’s chapbooks in a variety of prices between half a penny up to a crown, and James Lumsden & Son of Glasgow produced twopenny children’s chapbooks alongside sixpenny editions. In *James Lumsden & Son of*

²⁴⁰ See p.ix.

²⁴¹ National Library of Scotland, NG.1177.d.15 (1).

Glasgow, S. Roscoe and R. A. Brimmell observe that many of the children's chapbooks published by James Lumsden & Son of Glasgow turn up at auction in perfect condition. This could suggest two things; either these copies are unsold stock, which would suggest that these titles were not popular, or they are in good condition because they were well looked after, which would suggest that they were sold to families who could afford to employ a nanny who would handle these books more carefully than a child.²⁴² The number of people printing these new children's chapbooks over several decades certainly seems to contradict the idea that these books were commercially unsuccessful, but if these books were handled by a nanny or governess, then a further issue of intended audience is raised. Chapbook format children's books costing sixpence are unlikely to have been purchased across social classes, and it could be argued that as chapbooks are synonymous with the plebian culture then they should also be synonymous with accessibility. Although the well-born children could dabble in the literature of the lower classes by purchasing a penny chapbook, the opposite was not possible. The problematic classification of these books raises the question of why they should be included in this thesis, but these books are important in the field of popular literature for children because they represent an evolutionary stage of the chapbook. What these children's chapbooks do is bridge a gap between traditional chapbooks and later forms of cheap literature, such as the penny dreadful. For the purposes of this thesis, children's chapbooks that cost twopence or under are included in a definition of chapbooks.

²⁴² S. Roscoe and R. A. Brimmell, *James Lumsden and Son of Glasgow: Their Juvenile Books and Chapbooks*, (Pinner: Private Libraries Association, 1981), p.xiii-xiv.

The fashion for the type of morally improving literature found in these new chapbooks came from a desire to provide children with books that were both entertaining and instructive but, like religious chapbooks, these chapbooks were reprinted from their original sources because they were a lucrative branch of the book trade with a rapidly expanding audience. It is therefore a combination of commercialism and lingering didactic aims that led to their production. While an exposé of the motivations of these chapbook printers might be fruitless, an overview of some of the biggest producers of Scottish children's chapbooks during the nineteenth-century will provide a greater understanding of the inner-workings of this branch of the children's book trade.

The Production of Children's Chapbooks in Glasgow and Edinburgh

Although the nineteenth-century saw the production of chapbooks filter down into smaller towns and villages across Scotland, the main centres of chapbook production remained Glasgow, Edinburgh, Stirling, Falkirk and Paisley – with Glasgow and Edinburgh dominating the market, particularly in the field of children's chapbooks. By the turn of the nineteenth-century, the Saltmarket was the hub of chapbook production in Glasgow. A Trade Directory for Glasgow compiled in 1790 lists sixteen booksellers, eight printing houses, and one pocket book maker - eleven of whom were situated in the Saltmarket.²⁴³ The Saltmarket was a busy trade centre situated close to Glasgow Cross, the centre of the city before its expansion westwards. When Acts were passed through Parliament in 1866 ordering the destruction of Glasgow's slums, the Saltmarket was

²⁴³ McNaughton, in Isaac (ed), 1990, p.165.

marked for demolition. In 1868 the photographer Thomas Annan was commissioned by the Glasgow City Improvement Trust to document the slums around the High Street before their destruction, including those in the Saltmarket, and the resulting series of photographs produced between 1868 and 1877 depict poverty, overcrowding, and squalor.²⁴⁴ Poor ventilation and the lack of natural light and adequate space in these ramshackle tenement buildings made working conditions not only unpleasant but also dangerous. Thomas Duncan, who published broadsides and song garlands from the Saltmarket, suffered the inconvenience of having to change address due to his premises collapsing – not once but twice, in 1814 and 1823²⁴⁵ – and yet it was from such squalid, unsanitary conditions that many children’s books and chapbooks were printed and sold.

One such firm was J & J Robertson, who set up business in the Saltmarket in the 1770s and whose catalogue included attractive reprints of Newbery titles priced at sixpence and aimed at an affluent market.²⁴⁶ Yet the Saltmarket was also the home of far less respectable productions, and the eighteenth-century child who could not afford one of the Robertson’s sixpenny books could turn their attention to the vast number of chapbooks being produced by the Robertsons’ neighbours. The sheer number of chapbook printers who tried their hand at producing child-friendly titles supports the argument that nineteenth-century chapbook printers were aware of the commercial potential in the morally improving children’s literature being printed by the Robertsons. Even printers who had a strong preference for Scottish material were known to dabble in producing

²⁴⁴ Glasgow University Special Collections, SP Coll Dougan 64. See <<http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/month/Mar2006.html>> [accessed 1 August 2009].

²⁴⁵ McNaughton, in Isaac (ed), 1990, p.168.

²⁴⁶ See Appendix 2, p.117.

non-Scottish children's titles, such as Robert Hutchison,²⁴⁷ a printer and bookseller situated in the Saltmarket from the 1790s until the 1830s, who printed collections of French fairy tales alongside Scottish ballads.

The pocket book maker referred to in the 1790 trade directory was Francis Orr, who operated from Gibson's Wynd in the Saltmarket (later named Princess Street) until he moved to Brunswick Street in 1824 and became a 'wholesale stationer'. Francis Orr & Sons are best known for producing a numbered series of chapbooks identifiable by the imprint 'Glasgow: Printed for the Booksellers', as well as their use of stereotyped plates, a printing process which involved making a cast of moveable type to produce a singular block of text. A catalogue of this series, described by the firm as 'twenty-four page penny histories', issued around 1840 contains a full list of the titles in this series.²⁴⁸ This catalogue is particularly notable as it contains examples of virtually every genre of chapbook in print towards the middle of the nineteenth-century. The fact that Orr's chapbooks are bountiful in archive collections suggests that these chapbooks were popular and that the Orr catalogue can be used as an indicator of public tastes at the time they were first printed. In addition to Scottish material – such as humorous chapbooks by Dougal Graham, abridged works by James Hogg and Robert Burns, and histories of Scottish figures including Robert the Bruce, William Wallace and John Knox – the catalogue also contains a substantial amount of material from outside of Scotland. This non-native material came not only from England – such as *Jack the Giant-Killer* – but also from France, in the form of fairy tales and romances. An example of these French

²⁴⁷ McNaughton, in Isaac (ed), 1990, p.169.

²⁴⁸ See Appendix 3, p.118.

romances is the *History of Valentine and Orson*, a tale of chivalry which was first printed in England by Wynken de Word around 1505²⁴⁹ and tells the tale of twin princes separated at birth. While Valentine is brought up by the King of France, his brother Orson is raised by a bear. When the two princes meet they are ignorant of the others identity. They fight, but Orson is tamed by Valentine's kindness and the reunited brothers share many fantastical adventures together.²⁵⁰ Since its first translation into English during the sixteenth century, *Valentine and Orson* had been given to children as reading material and was a popular chapbook title in both England and Scotland, as were other romances including *Guy of Warwick*, *Fortunatus* and *The Seven Champions of Christendom*.²⁵¹ Francis Orr & Sons gave up the 'Glasgow: Printed for the Booksellers' imprint when they moved from Brunswick Street to Union Street in the 1850s, although they did continue to produce some chapbooks using the imprint 'Francis Orr and Sons, Union Corner.' The stereotypes for this catalogue fell into the hands of James Lindsay, a rag merchant who moved into the chapbook trade in the 1850s when he acquired the stereotypes for the catalogue of 150 chapbooks produced by Francis Orr & Sons of Glasgow. A catalogue printed by Lindsay around 1856 lists 152 titles, indicating a slight addition to Orr's catalogue of 150²⁵² and in addition to the religious titles discussed in Chapter One, his New and Improved series also contained educational texts, fairy tales and moral tales which advertised themselves for amusement and instruction, such as *Reading for Winter Evenings: a Selection of Amusing and Instructive Stories*.²⁵³

²⁴⁹ Thwaite, 1963, p.11.

²⁵⁰ Humphrey and Pritchard (eds), 1984, p.556.

²⁵¹ Thwaite, 1963, p.37-38.

²⁵² McNaughton, in Isaac (ed), 1990, p.170.

²⁵³ National Library of Scotland, L.C.2852.G (10).

One of the most notable publishers of the new types of children's chapbooks discussed on pp.65-66 was James Lumsden & Son of Glasgow. The Lumsdens were primarily manufacturers of stationery but their output also included traditional chapbooks and children's chapbooks as well as a range of ephemera including dabbities²⁵⁴ and drawing books.²⁵⁵ The Lumsden brand was held in high regard; in *Bibliography, Its Scope and Methods*, David Murray quotes Andrew Bell's memories of Lumsden's books:

[His] name was associated in the youthful mind, with sources of enjoyment. "New'r gifts", holiday presents, small prints and *picter byukes* of every description. What a goodly array he had! [...] What great ideas we had, as we used to peep through that iron grille, of the "Paradise of Dainty Devices" within [...] Oh: *what* a treasury, thought we.²⁵⁶

Lumsden & Son were publishing their children's chapbooks from the beginning of the nineteenth-century.²⁵⁷ Describing their physical quality, Roscoe and Brimmell have noted 'a certain trimness [...] in the covers, the quality of the paper used, the excellent type-face, the occasional use of coloured inks for text and illustrations [and] hand coloured illustrations,'²⁵⁸ as well as the use of coloured wrappers – features which became common in the Juvenile Library children's chapbooks that were so prominent in the early nineteenth-century. The firm printed two Juvenile Libraries in chapbook format – one as 'Lumsden and Son's Juvenile Library' and another as 'Ross's Juvenile Library.' The Ross's Juvenile Library series was printed between 1814 and 1815 in partnership with the Edinburgh printers George and James Ross and this series later passed into the hands of

²⁵⁴ A dabbity was a sheet of small woodcuts, which was used as a kind of lottery book hawked on the streets of Glasgow. Passers by would be enticed to 'dab' at the book with a pin for a prize.

²⁵⁵ *Lumsden & Son's Juvenile Drawing Book, Containing Easy Lessons. Price One Penny*. These small oblong books contain four pages of etchings, of a sophisticated quality. The front cover contains an attractive border and the number of the book in a circle. The National Library of Scotland holds numbers 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12 and 13 (number 4 is a photocopy). National Library of Scotland, RB.s.1377 (1-9).

²⁵⁶ David Murray, *Bibliography, its Scope and Methods: With a View of the Work of a Local Bibliographical Society* (Glasgow: MacLehose, 1917), p.87.

²⁵⁷ Roscoe and Brimmell, 1981, p.xi.

²⁵⁸ Roscoe and Brimmell, 1981, p.xi.

Caw & Elder, printers and booksellers from Edinburgh. Therefore James Lindsay's New and Improved series of chapbooks follows trends which had been set in Scotland by the upmarket children's chapbooks of publishers including James Lumsden & Son. Lindsay was not the only printer with such an agenda; John Davidson, a wholesale stationer situated in St Enoch's Square in the 1860s, was operating at the same time as Lindsay and produced a series of children's chapbooks priced at a penny, which he also proclaimed to be a 'New and Improved' series. While the catalogue itself is unremarkable²⁵⁹ – consisting of the usual combination of fairy tales, romances and histories – Davidson's chapbooks are notable for containing coloured illustrations, which were made using a cheap method of stencilling. While this was a crude process, it serves to highlight the advances made in the production of cheap literature during the nineteenth-century and the consequential competition between printers and publishers.

While in Glasgow the traditional chapbook form remained popular throughout the nineteenth-century, a search of the Scottish Book Trade Index²⁶⁰ for those involved in the production of children's literature in Scotland reveals that the new forms of children's chapbook being produced by the Lumsdens of Glasgow was more popular in Edinburgh than it was in Glasgow, suggesting that the Edinburgh children's chapbook was different to its Glaswegian counterpart. The popularity of these new forms of children's chapbooks could be attributed to the social changes that had occurred in Edinburgh during the eighteenth-century. Unlike other towns in Scotland, Edinburgh did not become a manufacturing city during the Industrial Revolution, and whereas Glasgow had been

²⁵⁹ See Appendix 4, p.122.

²⁶⁰ The Scottish Book Trade Index, <<http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/resources/sbti/>> [accessed June 2009].

established as a world centre for shipping and shipbuilding, Edinburgh's main trades were brewing and printing. Like other cities in Scotland, Edinburgh's 'Old Town', the area surrounding the castle, experienced problems with overcrowding and unsanitary slums. But unlike other cities, whose overcrowding was not tackled until the nineteenth-century, Edinburgh attempted to solve these problems during the eighteenth-century with the creation of a 'New Town' in the area north of the Nor Loch, a body of water once used for dunking (or 'douking') witches,²⁶¹ although these changes would have had a greater impact on the comfort of the city's more illustrious residents. In 1752 proposals were drawn up outlining the vision of a New Town 'to enlarge and beautify the town, by opening new streets to the north and south.'²⁶² As A. J. Youngson writes, the New Town of Edinburgh was a 'visible expression' of the Enlightenment, 'separated from the old town of Mary Queen of Scots, Mary of Guise, John Knox and the Covenanters.'²⁶³ This New Town would embody the spirit of the Enlightenment in its wide streets and symmetrical layout, a 'visible symbol of a new sense of social order,'²⁶⁴ and in its handsome Georgian buildings, which would provide 'a new privacy for the family, removed from the workplace.'²⁶⁵ The development of 'New Towns' in Edinburgh and elsewhere was of great importance to the growth of the urban middle classes during the nineteenth-century by acting as an 'incubator' for middle-class morality.²⁶⁶ The prominence of these 'respectable' versions of chapbooks in Edinburgh may also have

²⁶¹ By the mid eighteenth-century the Nor Loch had become little more than an open sewer, a problem that was solved by the draining of the Loch in 1759 to create the ornamental Princes Street Gardens.

²⁶² Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History*, (London: Pimlico, 1991), p.350.

²⁶³ A. J. Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh*, (Edinburgh: University Press, 1975), p.v.

²⁶⁴ Lynch, 1991, p.351.

²⁶⁵ Lynch, 1991, p.351.

²⁶⁶ Lynch, 1991, p.251.

been ‘incubated’ by the city’s New Town where the growth of the middle-class family created a ready market for this type of chapbook literature.²⁶⁷

Although the chapbook trade was as ephemeral as its flimsy productions, several successful publishing firms produced chapbooks in the early years of their business. One such firm is Oliver & Boyd, founded by Thomas Oliver and George Boyd around 1807,²⁶⁸ a firm who specialised in educational textbooks but also produced a great number of children’s books, including children’s chapbooks. Catalogues reveal that between 1811 and 1841 they were printing children’s chapbooks at various prices: halfpenny, penny, twopence, threepence, fourpence, sixpence and up to half a crown. The firm unfortunately didn’t list anything under sixpence on their wholesale catalogues until 1827, from which date the twopenny series is listed. The firm discontinued the threepenny series in 1818, the fourpenny in 1835 and stopped producing all of them after 1841.²⁶⁹

The prominence of twopenny children’s chapbooks published in Edinburgh suggests that this was a popular format in this city. The printer George Caw began his career in Kelso and Hawick in the Scottish Borders before moving to Edinburgh in 1788 and going into business with a bookseller by the name of Henry Elder in 1817. In this year Caw & Elder took over the production of the Ross’s Juvenile Library for George and James Ross, who

²⁶⁷ For an extensive overview of the development of Edinburgh’s New Town, see A. J. Youngson, 1975.

²⁶⁸ After passing through the hands of several owners, beginning with George and James Thin and John Grant in 1896, the firm eventually closed their doors in 1990.

²⁶⁹ The file-copies of the collection of the publications of Oliver & Boyd are held in the National Library of Scotland but are yet to be catalogued, but there is a typescript inventory of the manuscripts. As the archive contains some 2000 titles, working with this archive would be beyond the limits of this thesis.

had previously printed the series in partnership with James Lumsden & Son of Glasgow between 1814 and 1815. Writing on Lumsden's edition of Ross's Juvenile Library, Roscoe and Brimmell have expressed some confusion over the relationship between James Lumsden & Son and George and James Ross, which suggests that they were not aware of the existence of Caw & Elder's edition of this series. Roscoe and Brimmell observe that there are conflicting imprints used on the Lumsden editions of Ross's Juvenile Library, which could suggest that the George and James Ross were the publishers and James Lumsden & Son the printers, or conversely that the Lumsdens published these books and commissioned George and James Ross to print them. However, the fact that a few years later Caw & Elder were producing Ross's Juvenile Library suggests that the series was a venture by George and James Ross into publishing and that both James Lumsden & Son and Caw & Elder were printers, rather than publishers, of this series. In 1819, Caw & Elder began printing another series of children's chapbooks under the name 'The Edinburgh Juvenile Library.' The imprints for this series make no mention of a second party being involved in its production, and so it can be assumed that they were both printers and publishers of this series. The Edinburgh Juvenile Library not only duplicates the titles of Ross's Juvenile Library, but copies the format in its entirety, down to the illustrations and the use of coloured wrappers, suggesting that Caw and Elder purchased, or acquired in some other way, this series from Ross, see Appendix 9, p.135. This duplication serves to highlight the repetition of material between chapbook printers. Chapbook printers had always openly pirated material from their competitors, but by the middle of the nineteenth-century this shared pool of material had become stagnant. This was due in large part to a dearth in the

production of new Scottish chapbooks during the nineteenth-century and as more and more chapbook printers added non-Scottish texts to their repertoire, the traditional Scottish chapbook was nudged to the side. It could therefore be argued that the popularity of non-Scottish chapbooks and the decline in the production of new Scottish titles led to an erosion of Scottish material during the nineteenth-century.

The children's chapbooks printed by the Lumsdens of Glasgow and Caw & Elder and Oliver & Boyd of Edinburgh made use of colourful wrappers, attractive illustrations and child-friendly material to endear themselves to a juvenile audience and their parents. These chapbooks were established as a branch of chapbook production or juvenile ephemera during the early nineteenth-century and James Clarke & Co, printers and publishers operating in Edinburgh between 1823 and 1844, also produced a series of twopenny children's chapbooks which betrayed their debt to the twopenny productions of James Lumsden & Son and Caw & Elder in their use of colour paper wrappers with elegant frontispieces embellishing the inside pages. A catalogue of titles available in the series can be found on the back page of Clarke's children's chapbooks. An examination reveals four versions of his catalogue, with the number of titles varying from twenty-four to twenty-eight.²⁷⁰ The production of children's chapbooks was not limited to Glasgow and Edinburgh, and their popularity eventually reached smaller towns in Scotland. John Nicholson from Kirkcudbright operated as a bookseller, printer, bookbinder and circulating library, as well as dealing in music, instruments, and tea. The Scottish Book Trade Index reports that he published a numbered series of penny children's chapbooks series under the title *A Selection of Amusing and Instructive Reading*, while James Watt,

²⁷⁰ See Appendix 5, p.123.

a printer from Montrose who was operating between the 1820s and 1850s, also printed a numbered series of penny children's chapbooks.

A full list of printers and publishers who produced children's chapbooks would be beyond the scope of this thesis, but what the above discussion proves is that the children's chapbook was firmly established as a legitimate branch of the popular press during the early nineteenth-century. This indicates not only a great demand for children's literature, but also an increasing dearth in Scottish content in children's literature. The preferred genre for these 'Juvenile Library' series were texts that would amuse and instruct, including moral tales, fables, riddle books and ABCs. Fairy tales, on the other hand, were popular in both Juvenile Library series and in traditional chapbooks. A close reading of both traditional chapbooks and Juvenile Library series will explore this shared pool of material as well as well as addressing the question of what these apparently instructive books were teaching Scottish children.

ABCs and Fables

ABCs were a key ingredient of popular children's literature of an educational or instructive nature, and two such chapbooks have previously been mentioned in this thesis; *The Child's Assistant*²⁷¹ printed by Francis Orr & Sons and *Easy Lessons for Children*²⁷² printed by James Duncan Jr. These chapbooks featured ABCs alongside

²⁷¹ National Library of Scotland, L.C.2850.D (3).

²⁷² GU, Sp Coll Bh13-c.30 (1)

lessons on spelling and religious instruction, therefore complimenting the Scottish curriculum, which focused on religion and taught basic literacy as a method of promoting religious salvation. ABCs were also key components of instructional books, which focused upon improving the child's moral conduct in this world rather than preparing it for a world yet to come. These ABCs were often ornamental – surrounded by attractive borders and embellished with illustrations – and were accompanied by rhymes, short stories, and fables. Given the incompatibility of the concept of ‘amusement and instruction’ and the Scottish education system, these books were more suited to the nursery than they were to the classroom.

An example of this new type of ABC chapbook is *The Rise of Learning, or, Ground-Work of Science, Shewing how Good Boys and Girls, by Attending to the Rules Contained in this Book and Obeying their Parents and Guardians, may acquire Wisdoms, Riches and Honour, By Mrs Winlove*,²⁷³ published by George Caw and Henry Elder as part of their Edinburgh Juvenile Library series in 1819. At forty-eight pages this title stretches the traditional definition of a chapbook, but its inclusion in Caw & Elder's twopenny series of children's chapbooks makes it worthy of study, particularly as it contrasts with *The Child's Assistant* and *Easy Lessons for Children* which promoted religious instruction in a heavy handed way. An examination of the visual differences between *The Child's Assistant* and *The Rise of Learning* reveal critical differences in the aims of these books and their methods of interacting with the child. *The Child's Assistant* adopts a utilitarian approach to instruction, consisting of twenty-four pages of text with no visual stimulants to hold the attention of a child. *The Rise of Learning*, in comparison, is

²⁷³ National Library of Scotland, Hall.197.b.5 (3).

interspersed with copious illustrations, including two illustrated ABCs. The wood engraved frontispiece depicts a female character surrounded by well dressed – and well behaved – children, and is accompanied by the following passage setting out the aims of the book:

Come, little folks, this little book
Is worthy you should in it look;
As here you may your letters learn,
Which should be your first great concern.
These six and twenty easy letters
Will introduce you to your betters;
And ev'ry picture here will shew
Some little thing you ought to know.²⁷⁴

This passage explicitly acknowledges the importance of illustrations to instruction, yet also implies an element of social control by insinuating that children should be aware of social hierarchies, or their 'betters'. Caw & Elder's edition of *The Rise of Learning* contains alphabets and reading lessons, as well as fables and illustrated ABCs accompanied by short verses. *The Rise of Learning* emphasises the benefits of education without attaching religious messages to these sentiments and although its lessons are not completely free of didacticism or moral lessons, the message is delivered in a considerably softer tone than in *The Child's Assistant*. In one of two illustrated ABCs the letter K is represented by a key and is accompanied by a short verse, extolling the benefits of learning:

Learning's the Key without whose aid, in vain
We wisdom's sacred treasure hope to gain.
This key unlocks the stores of ages past,
And gives us pleasures which will ever last.²⁷⁵

²⁷⁴ NLS, Hall.197.b.5 (3), p.2.

²⁷⁵ NLS, Hall.197.b.5 (3), p.30.

In 'Y is for Youth' the narrative blends didacticism with advice on appropriate conduct for children:

Let Youth be careful ay to shun
Temptation's fatal snare;
For many one has been undone
By those that wicked are.²⁷⁶

By associating bad behaviour with sinful deeds, the narrative echoes the didactic hymns in Isaac Watts' *Divine Songs*, which combined religious and moral instruction.

As well as ABCs and reading exercises, *The Rise of Learning* also uses fables as a method of instruction. The animals that inhabit these short fictional narratives may possess human characteristics but, unlike the world of fairy tales where animals and humans interact, the animals in fables rarely encounter humans.²⁷⁷ Like fairy tales, fables were not originally written for children but were adapted for their use over time, and in the western world Aesop has become synonymous with the genre. The primary appeal of fables was their ability to combine instruction with the pleasure of a short narrative²⁷⁸ and John Locke deemed only two books to be suitable for children – *Reynard the Fox*²⁷⁹ and *Aesop's Fables* – ensuring their inclusion in children's books during the eighteenth-century, despite the expectation that moralists might dismiss fables as fantasy. The contextual and linguistic simplicity of these short narratives made them particularly suitable for the use of children, and their intertwining of amusement and instruction made them popular with eighteenth-century publishers of children's literature, where they became key elements of 'compendium' children's books such as ABCs. The adaptation

²⁷⁶ NLS, Hall.197.b.5 (3), p.44.

²⁷⁷ M. O. Grenby, *Children's Literature*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), p.10.

²⁷⁸ Grenby, 2008, p.13.

²⁷⁹ A beast-epic dating back to medieval Europe.

of fables for the use of children reflects changing perceptions of childhood and shifts in the aims of children's literature. George Miller printed a book of fables as part of his Cheap Tracts series, entitled *The Little Fabulist: or Select Fables*,²⁸⁰ declaring on its title page 'Tis the very essence of a Fable to convey some Moral or Useful Truth beneath the Shadow of an Allegory.'²⁸¹ Whereas *The Rise of Learning* aims to attract children and hold their attention with fables, ABCs, and illustrations, *The Little Fabulist* contains no such adornments, featuring only dense, uninterrupted blocks of text. James Clarke & Co. of Edinburgh printed an edition of fables, entitled *The Juvenile Fabulist*,²⁸² which markets itself to the juvenile market through the use of a colourful paper wrapper and copious illustrations, one for each of the nineteen fables. The morals attached to these fables are suitable for a child audience, extolling the virtues of honesty, industry, kindness and obedience – the moral of 'The Wolf and the Kid,' for example, is 'Many misfortunes are occasioned by carelessness – Children should pay implicit obedience to the advice of their parents, and those who have charge of them.'²⁸³ While Miller and Clarke use lengthy fables, *The Rise of Learning* has abridged its fables and has adapted them to consist of words of one syllable. This modification not only makes them suitable for the use of young children, but the promotion of this feature in the heading of this section might also make it appealing to parents or governesses purchasing this book for educational purposes. Like Clarke's *The Juvenile Fabulist*, the fables selected are particularly suitable for child readers. The moral given for the fable 'The Fox and the Grapes' in *The Rise of Learning* is 'If we should not get what we wish for, it is as well to

²⁸⁰ National Library of Scotland, L.C.2796 (17).

²⁸¹ NLS, L.C.2796 (17), p.1.

²⁸² National Library of Scotland, 5.6368 (5).

²⁸³ NLS, 5.6368 (5), p.6.

put it off with a jest,²⁸⁴ although the traditional moral for this fable is that it is easy to despise what you cannot have, a conclusion suggested by the fable itself:

Once on a time, when a Fox would have gone as far for a bunch of grapes as for a good fat sheep, a Fox of those days saw a rich vine on his way home, on which were some good ripe grapes. He leap'd a long time, but could not get at them. Hang them, says he, they are as sour as crabs, and so went his way.²⁸⁵

The moral provided by *The Rise of Learning* encourages the reader to have a good nature about something they cannot have by dismissing it with a 'jest', rather than being bitter about it, as the fable itself suggests. Just as the fox is praised for not reaching into a world which is beyond him, the reader is instructed in their place in a social hierarchy – a moral which echoes the tales of writers such as Hannah More and Sarah Trimmer. Despite their light-hearted overtones, the fables and ABCs in *The Rise of Learning* promote social hierarchies and religious obedience. Nevertheless, their simple language and attractive illustrations show an understanding of a child's nature. Miller's *The Little Fabulist* makes no such compensations, treating the child reader like a miniature adult who requires heavy-handed instruction. The moral to 'The Cameleon (sic),' a fable that covers some thirty-eight lines of text, characterises Miller's approach to the instruction of children: 'The different lights in which things appear to different judgements, recommend candour to the opinions of others, even at the time that we retain our own.'²⁸⁶

²⁸⁴ NLS, Hall.197.b.5 (3), p.19.

²⁸⁵ NLS, Hall.197.b.5 (3), p.19.

²⁸⁶ NLS, L.C.2796 (17), p.4.

The Moral Tale – *Mary and her Cat*

The use of short narratives and illustrations would have made *The Rise of Learning* appealing to children and it is unlikely that a parent would object to this sort of chapbook entering their household, unlike traditional Scottish chapbooks such as *Lothian Tom* or *John Cheap*. Titles produced under Juvenile Library series made themselves appealing to both children and their parents through a combination of entertainment and didacticism. An example is *The Story of Mary and her Cat; a Tale for Good Children*,²⁸⁷ which blends an engaging animal narrative and likeable child character with gentle moral instruction. Caw & Elder produced two editions of *Mary and her Cat*, one under their 1817 Ross's Juvenile Library series and another in 1819 as part of The Edinburgh Juvenile Library²⁸⁸ and these two editions are almost identical – the only difference being the typography used on the title page, see Appendix 10, p.136. The author of *Mary and her Cat* is Eliza Fenwick (c1766-1840), who wrote the tale for the London publishers Tabart and Co. Fenwick was born in Cornwall and suffered a disastrous marriage to John Fenwick, a radical author and translator. Unable to cope with his alcohol abuse, Fenwick left her husband in 1800 and took up a series of short lived jobs – including running a school, working as a governess, colouring prints and working for William Godwin's Juvenile Library²⁸⁹ – in an effort to provide for her children. By this time she had already established herself as a writer with the publication of the epistolary novel *Secresy (sic), or, The Ruin on the Rock* (1795), a radical-novel that used images of confinement and

²⁸⁷ National Library of Scotland, RB.m.201 (9).

²⁸⁸ National Library of Scotland, NG.1177.d.15 (2). An edition of *Mary and her Cat* was also produced by the Lumsdens as part of Ross's Juvenile Library. National Library of Scotland, RB.m.201 (9).

²⁸⁹ William Godwin (1756-1836), philosopher, novelist and journalist, was married to the feminist writer Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1897), who was a friend of Eliza Fenwick.

liberty to explore feminist issues, including education. Despite the critical acclaim that *Secresy* received, Fenwick did not return to the genre, choosing instead to focus on writing books for children, a decision that was doubtlessly affected by the pressure to provide a steady income for to support herself and her children.

Early editions of *Mary and her Cat* contain the sub-heading ‘chiefly in words of two syllables’ and hyphens are used throughout the narrative of these early editions to separate words of more than one syllable, indicating that Fenwick wrote *Mary and her Cat* with the education of children in mind.²⁹⁰ The character of Mary would have been particularly appealing to young girls, and parents or governesses may have purchased this book for children who did not receive a formal education. However, by the time Caw & Elder produced their 1817 edition, the use of hyphens and the sub-heading has been abandoned in favour of focusing upon the engaging narrative. *Mary and her Cat* tells the tale of a young girl of an affluent family who develops a close bond with the elderly woman who lives in a cottage at the end of her father’s garden. This old woman, Nurse Brown, embodies the virtues of hard work, honesty, simplicity, and goodness. Nurse Brown acts as the moral centre of the narrative, and one of the key themes of the text – obedience to parents – is conveyed by her in a speech to Mary:

Nurse Brown used very often to say, you have a good mamma, my sweet Mary, and you say you love her. It is very easy for any little girl to say these words, but my Mary must shew that she loves her mamma by minding all that her mamma says, and never doing those things which her mamma tells her it is wrong to do. If a little girl will tell a lie, or do anything thing which she is bid not to do, she gives her mamma great pain. Yes, when little girls are naughty, mamas have more pain

²⁹⁰ See Eliza Fenwick, *Mary and her Cat; a Tale for Good Children, Chiefly in Words of Two Syllables* (London: Printed for Tabart and Co., 1808).
<<http://www.cts.dmu.ac.uk/AnaServer?hockcliffe+46482+imageset.anv>> [accessed 9 September 2009].

in their hearts that all the little girls in the world ever felt with the toothache or headache, or sore fingers.²⁹¹

Nurse Brown dies with nothing to give to Mary but her cat, Muff, and the warning that ‘if you happen at any time to do wrong, when you look at Muff, you will think of me, and be sorry for your fault.’²⁹² Fenwick uses the character of Muff to embody Nurse Brown’s warning – it is therefore Muff who persuades Mary to take her medicine when her mother cannot convince her to do so by reminding Mary that Nurse Brown took her medicine without complaint, and when Muff goes missing it is because Mary did not listen to her mother’s instructions to remove an expensive locket from around Muff’s neck. Mary’s mother scolds her: ‘You see what mischiefs (sic) happen, when little girls will not obey their mammas or those who are wiser than themselves.’²⁹³ Yet Mary sets a good example to her child readers by admitting her fault, exclaiming ‘Oh, that I had minded what my mamma said to me! Then poor Muff would have been sitting on this stool beside me, and I should have been good and happy.’²⁹⁴

A poor boy from the village named Robert finds Muff and returns him to Mary. When Mary and her mother learn that Robert sacrificed his only meal to feed the starving cat, they compensate him in an exaggerated manner, not only by sending him to school so ‘that he might learn to read and to write’ and by giving him ‘new, and warm clothes’ but also by being ‘kind to his father, mother, brothers and sisters, for his sake’ and lending Robert all Mary’s books and dividing her money with him, ‘that he might buy other

²⁹¹ NLS, RB.m.201 (9), p.6.

²⁹² NLS, RB.m.201 (9), p.9-10.

²⁹³ NLS, RB.m.201 (9), p.24.

²⁹⁴ NLS, RB.m.201 (9), p.26.

books, and other playthings for his little sisters.’²⁹⁵ Mary’s kindnesses to animals and her benevolence towards to the poor are generic motifs of children’s literature of this time, particularly those of an Evangelical nature. However, while the narrative is consistently didactic, Fenwick avoids the religious didacticism found in *Divine Songs* and in parts of *The Rise of Learning* and the result is a softer tone and lively narrative. Such an absence of religious zeal suggests that Fenwick was not writing children’s literature to improve the moral wellbeing of her readers in the same way as some of her contemporaries were, but may have been employing these generic motifs in a bid to create a commercially successful book.

The narrative of *Mary and her Cat* is calculated to appeal to a child audience through the attractive characters of Mary and Muff and their good-natured relationship. Unlike the sickeningly good children of didactic fiction, such as Margery Meanwell from *The History of Little Goody Two Shoes*, Mary is a far closer to a ‘real’ child as she is capable of throwing tantrums and making mistakes but she sets a good example to her readers by admitting her faults and rectifies them with good behaviour. Although Caw & Elder’s 1817 and 1819 editions have removed the hyphens from the text, thereby shifting the focus from education to amusement, the simplicity of the narrative and the use of attractive child and animals characters would appeal to a child audience, while the use of attractive wood engraved illustrations, copied from the 1804 first edition, make this chapbook visually stimulating.²⁹⁶ At the same time, the gentle didacticism of *Mary and her Cat* would appeal to parents and teachers who would have approved of its message

²⁹⁵ NLS, RB.m.201 (9), p.30-31.

²⁹⁶ A digital scan of this text is available at <<http://www.cts.dmu.ac.uk/AnaServer?hockliffe+46482+imageset.anv>> [accessed September 2009].

that children ought to be obedient to parents. It is impossible, however, to ignore the commercial aspects of the narrative. Fenwick has embedded advertisements for her publishers, the firm Tabart & Co of London, into her text; indiscreetly mentioning that ‘Nurse Brown would tell stories to [Mary], or sing old songs, such as she had learned from the books that are sold by the Publishers of this, and where all other kinds of little books, that can amuse or instruct children, are to be bought.’²⁹⁷ This transparent publicity strengthens the theory that Fenwick turned to writing stories for children as a dependable method of providing an income for her family, and it may have appealed to George and James Ross when they included *Mary and her Cat* in their Ross’s Juvenile Library series. The decision of Caw & Elder to include *Mary and her Cat* in their Edinburgh Juvenile Library series indicates that this was a popular title for the firm. This is not to belittle Fenwick’s belief in the importance of education, however. The simplicity of the language and the inclusion of copious illustrations show an awareness of how to appeal to children, and Alan Richardson has praised Fenwick’s novels for emphasising the importance of literacy as the route to happiness and the foundation of a moral character.²⁹⁸

From the Sun King to the Saltmarket - The Fairy Tale Chapbook

Moral tales like *Mary and her Cat* were popular in twopenny chapbooks, such as those printed by Caw & Elder and James Lumsden & Son, but they did not filter through to ‘traditional’ chapbooks until much later in the century, when printers such as James

²⁹⁷ NLS, RBS.m.201 (9), p.4-5.

²⁹⁸ Alan Richardson, *Literature, Education and Romanticism: Reading as Social Practice 1780-1832*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.135.

Lindsay of Glasgow began printing 'New and Improved' series of chapbooks. Fairy tales appear to have had a wider appeal and were printed in both traditional chapbooks and twopenny chapbooks. In fact, fairy tales made up such a large part of chapbooks printed during the nineteenth-century that a thesis on the subject of children's chapbooks would not be complete without a mention of this genre. Sadly, previous studies of Scottish chapbooks have overlooked this area. William Harvey swept these titles to the side, declaring that 'beyond the fact that they were extremely popular with readers north of Tweed, these are in no sense Scottish.'²⁹⁹ Harvey's dismissal of these titles ignores a vast number of chapbooks which can tell us much about the tastes of the public, particularly of children, in Scotland and these chapbooks are also important to the development of the fairy tale and fantasy genre in Scotland during the mid and late nineteenth-century. Harvey has observed that 'Scotland's contribution to this section of our chapbook literature is remarkable for its poverty' as 'few of the romantic chapbooks were of native growth'³⁰⁰ which raises some interesting questions regarding the development of the literary fairy tale in Scotland. A study of fairy tale chapbooks printed in Scotland reveals that despite Scotland's rich folk heritage, French literary fairy tales dominated the market. During the seventeenth-century the literary fairy tale became a prominent genre in France, adapting motifs found in oral folk tales for an aristocratic and bourgeois audience. These tales were incubated in the fashionable Parisian salons frequented by writers, artists and intellectuals, and in the decadent royal court of Louis XIV. When these literary fairy tales were printed in French chapbooks – known as 'Bibliothèque Bleue' – they had gone full circle, from an oral tradition to a literary one and then back

²⁹⁹ Harvey, 1903, p.106.

³⁰⁰ Harvey, 1903, p.103.

into the hands of the poor, where they were read aloud to children and illiterates in simplified, abridged versions.³⁰¹ When tales by Charles Perrault (1628-1703), Madame d'Aulnoy (1650-1705), and Madame de Beaumont (1711-1780) were translated into English during the eighteenth-century, they were likewise adapted for British chapbooks.

It might be asked why, with such a rich history of folk tales, which were doubtlessly transmitted orally to children, there was no similar development of the literary fairy tale in Scotland until the mid nineteenth-century. Jack Zipes has claimed that the enforcement of Puritanism and the domination of Calvinism after the Revolution of 1688 created an atmosphere of hostility towards the whimsical and the fantastical, such as fairy tales.

However, Lizanne Henderson and Edward Cowan have demonstrated that although the reformation took its toll on Scotland's folk culture, it did not completely eradicate it.³⁰²

Instead, writers including Sir Walter Scott and James Hogg absorbed folk culture into late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century literature.³⁰³ Scott, however, revealed his altered feelings on the genre when he reviewed John Galt's novel *The Omen* in 1826, declaring that gentlemen could no longer hold on to 'any belief in the superstition of the olden time, which believed in spectres, fairies, and other supernatural apparitions. These airy squadrons have long been routed, and are banished to the cottage and the nursery.'³⁰⁴

While it is true that folk culture lived on in Scottish literature, this was literature for adults and *not* for children. Here Zipes' argument that Puritanism affected the development of the literary fairy tale can be applied to the development of children's

³⁰¹ Jack Zipes, *When Dreams Came True; Classical Fairy Tales and their Tradition*, (London: Routledge, 1999), p.15.

³⁰² See Henderson and Cowan, 2001

³⁰³ The poet William Nicholson, author of 'The Brownie of Blednoch' (1825), was once a chapman

³⁰⁴ Quoted by Henderson and Cowan, p.198.

literature in Scotland. In the hands of the Puritans the children's book became a tool of didacticism, a method through which they could mould and control juvenile minds and children's literature henceforth developed down a route of shaping young minds and encouraging the development of moral character. It was the Romantics who ushered in a new perception of childhood as an innocent state, rather than a sinful one, and the imagination as divine. Under the nourishment of the Romantics, the British fairy tale eventually experienced something of a renaissance. Thirteen years after Scott declared that fairy tales had been relegated to the nursery, Catherine Sinclair included a moral fairy tale – 'Uncle David's Nonsensical Story about Giants and Fairies' – in her children's book *Holiday House* (1839). The Scottish writer George MacDonald (1824-1905) wrote several fairy tales including *The Light Princess* (1864), a *Sleeping Beauty*-type tale about a young princess who is cursed at her christening to have no gravity. Andrew Lang (1844-1912), whose *The Blue Fairy Book* (1889) contains many fairy tales that had been published as chapbooks in Scotland, including *Cinderella*, *Little Red Riding Hood* and *The Yellow Dwarf*, admitted that he read Scottish history in chapbooks and 'every fairy tale I could lay my hands on.'³⁰⁵

French literary fairy tales were widely circulated as chapbooks in Scotland long before the genre was developed for the consumption of children in the middle of the nineteenth-century. The sheer volume of fairy tale chapbooks in archive collections indicates that the public had a voracious appetite for this type of literature. Charles Perrault's versions of fairy tales, including *Cinderella* and *Sleeping Beauty*, have become part of our modern canon of fairy tales, alongside Madame de Beaumont's version of *Beauty and the*

³⁰⁵ Carpenter and Prichard (eds), 1984, p.302.

Beast.³⁰⁶ Perrault's most famous fairy tales came from a collection published in 1697, *Histoires ou Contes du Temps Passé avec des Moralité* (*Stories or Tales of Past Times, with Morals*).³⁰⁷ This collection contained versions of *Sleeping Beauty*, *Little Red Riding Hood*, *Blue Beard*, *Cinderella*, *Tom Thumb*, *Riquet with the Tuft*, *Puss in Boots* and *The Fairies* and the earliest known English translations of these tales is a 1729 edition of *Histories, or Tales of Past Times* published in 1729, by J. Pote and R. Montagu of London.³⁰⁸ Perrault was born into a prominent bourgeois family in Paris and he moved amongst the cultural elite, frequenting the literary salons where artists, writers and intellectuals gathered. It was in these salons that he rubbed shoulders with writers such as Madame d'Aulnoy who was experimenting with rewriting traditional fairy tales for a refined audience. Humphrey Carpenter and Mari Prichard have claimed, in *The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature*, that Perrault's fairy tales were probably written 'with children chiefly in mind, though with the expectation that adults would enjoy them too',³⁰⁹ but *The Oxford Companion to Fairy Tales*, edited by Jack Zipes, offers conflicting views on this matter. Mary Louise Ennis writes under the entry for *Histoires ou Contes du Temps Passé avec des Moralité* that Perrault censored his original folk sources for the protection of children by removing 'gore, obscenity, and paganism',³¹⁰ from his narratives. On the other hand Zipes argues that critics who claim that Perrault's tales were written for children 'overlook the fact that there was no children's literature *per se*

³⁰⁶ Yet despite being widely circulated as chapbooks, d'Aulnoy's tales, such as *The Yellow Dwarf* and *The White Cat*, have slipped from common knowledge.

³⁰⁷ The authorship of this book has been debated, with some critics claiming that Perrault's son wrote these tales. For a full discussion of these issues, see Zipes (ed), 2000.

³⁰⁸ Carpenter and Prichard, 1984, p.250.

³⁰⁹ Carpenter and Prichard, 1984, p.128.

³¹⁰ Jack Zipes (ed), *The Oxford Companion to Fairy Tales*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.237.

at that time.’³¹¹ Furthermore, Perrault intended his fairy tales to make a final point in the ‘Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns’³¹² a literary debate that Perrault ignited in 1687. The quarrel lasted until 1697 when Louis XIV intervened to end the feud. Perrault had sided with the ‘moderns’, believing that France could only progress through modernism, and he used the transformation of folklore and superstition into civilised, literary fairy tales to express this belief. Zipes therefore argues that as Perrault intended to use his fairy tales to have his final say in the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns, he must have been working with an adult audience in mind. These literary fairy tales were originally read aloud at literary salons to sophisticated audiences who would appreciate the many subtleties of the texts, including social and political satire and references to the ‘ancien régime’ of Versailles.³¹³

Although they were excluded from the school curriculum, fairy tales were widely published in English translations during the eighteenth-century, and bilingual versions of these books began to appear, intended for the use of children learning French. It was in this way that these tales began to be widely adapted and advertised for the use of children. By the beginning of the nineteenth-century, French fairy tales had made their way from the court of the Sun King³¹⁴ in Versailles to the tenements of the Saltmarket in Glasgow. In 1817 Robert Hutchison, a bookseller and printer operating from the Saltmarket, published a copy of *Mother Gooses Fairy Tales*,³¹⁵ which contained five of

³¹¹ Zipes (ed), 2000, p.380.

³¹² ‘Quarrel des Anciens et des Modernes.’

³¹³ Zipes, 1999, p.13.

³¹⁴ The popular name of Louis XIV, who chose the image of the sun, associated with the God Apollo, as his personal emblem.

³¹⁵ National Library of Scotland, L.C.2843 (4). Mother Goose is a female character who is associated with fairy tales and nursery rhymes and indicates the female origin of these tales. The character originates from

Perrault's tales from *Histoires ou Contes du Temps Passé – Little Red Riding Hood, Blue Beard, Cinderilla (sic), Master Cat; or, Puss in Boots and The Fairy*. The title page of Hutchison's 1817 version of *Mother Gooses Fairy Tales* declares: 'Here Mother Goose in winter nights/The old and young she both delights', which explicitly advertises its contents for the 'delight' of children as well as adults. An earlier version of Perrault's tales printed in 1814 by James Lumsden & Son as *Fairy Tales of Past Times*, part of the Ross's Juvenile Library series, has specifically adapted their edition for the use of children – the inscription beneath their wood engraved frontispiece reads: 'Old Mother Goose in Winter nights/Good Boys and Girls she here delights.'³¹⁶ The frontispiece depicts an elderly woman telling tales to children and is evocative of the original illustration used in Perrault's edition and suggests the exchange of knowledge between old and young.³¹⁷ The fact that a printer such as Hutchison who was known for his preference of Scottish material was willing to add fairy tales to his repertoire proves that these were immensely popular, and were therefore lucrative to chapbook printers. Hutchison's chapbooks were of a low quality, his edition of *Mother Gooses Fairy Tales* uses coarse paper and his 1817 edition of *Sleeping Beauty*³¹⁸ has a cracked woodcut adorning the title page. By the time Hutchison printed his version of *Mother Gooses Fairy Tales*, the text had been in circulation in Scotland as a chapbook for some time –

France where 'Conte de la Mère Oye' – 'Mother Goose tale' – was a popular expression for an old wives tale. She became associated with Perrault's tales when early editions of his *Histoires ou Contes du Temps Passé* were published with a frontispiece depicting an old woman telling stories to children, with a plaque in the background reading 'Contes de Ma Mère Oye.' When these tales were printed in English the plaque was translated to read 'Mother Goose's Tales.' (See Carpenter and Prichard, 1984, p.362).

³¹⁶ National Library of Scotland, APS.1.78.156.

³¹⁷ See Marina Warner, *From the Beast to the Blonde: on Fairy Tales and their Tellers*, (London: Vintage, 1995)

³¹⁸ Glasgow University Special Collections, Sp Coll Bh13-d.35, item 16.

the Paisley printers J. Neilson printed a version of *Mother Gooses Fairy Tales*³¹⁹ in 1811, which differs from the Hutchison version only in formatting. James Lumsden & Son's 1814 edition, printed as part of the Ross's Juvenile Library series of twopenny chapbooks, differs from the editions printed by Neilson and Hutchison in both appearance and content. The most notable feature of this edition is its diminutive size, at just two and a half by four inches this edition is smaller than standard chapbooks, and its colourful paper wrapper and the attractive wood engraved illustrations contrast with Hutchison and Neilson's drab paper cover with worn woodcuts.

Fairy tales were criticised by moralists such as Sarah Trimmer, who condemned them for 'inflaming the imagination and the passions of youth.'³²⁰ Yet Trimmer's objections are rooted in her own distrust of all things French – these literary fairy tales were civilised versions of folk tales, rewritten to contain their own moral messages and social codes. The characters of Perrault's male-led fairy tales, such as *Puss-in-Boots*, contain active heroes who overcome obstacles, such as their low birth, to achieve success. The impoverished son in *Puss-in-Boots* allows his cunning (male) cat to deceive the King, and learns that it is possible to progress socially by learning how to present himself correctly. It is this aspect of fairy tales that many moralists found fault with, as they promoted the social elevation of the lower classes and therefore might be giving the literate poor ideas above their station. In comparison to these dominant and active male characters, the female protagonists of Perrault's *Cinderilla* (sic) and *The Fairy* are passive characters

³¹⁹ National Library of Scotland, L.C.2860 (9).

³²⁰ Carpenter and Prichard (eds), 1984, p.231.

who promote the merits of patience, refinement, and virtue, while the wife of *Blue Beard* demonstrates the importance of obedience to a spouse.

Madame Jeanne-Marie Leprince de Beaumont (1711-80) issued conventional advice for young girls in her fairy tales. De Beaumont was born in Rouen in France but, like Eliza Fenwick, she fled from an unhappy marriage and lived in London between 1745 and 1762 where she worked as a governess and established a writing career for herself.³²¹ De Beaumont's version of *Beauty and the Beast* originally appeared in *Le Magasin des Enfants (The Young Misses' Magazine)* (1756), a four volume work inspired by Sarah Fielding's *The Governess* (1749) and the contemporary trend for combining instruction with amusement. *The Young Misses' Magazine*, which was first published in English in 1757, contained conversations between a governess, 'Mrs Affable', and her pupils, aged between five and thirteen. This narrative provided the framework for history lessons and moral anecdotes to be introduced to the text, as well as fairy stories with a didactic purpose, the most famous of which is *Beauty and the Beast*. Through its distribution in Scottish chapbooks, her advice on the proper conduct for young females also reached the nineteenth-century Scottish child. De Beaumont's principle aim was to instruct young ladies in the correct social behaviour and etiquette and her model of perfect behaviour, whose very name is Beauty, is described as a 'charming sweet-tempered creature' who 'spoke so kindly to poor people, and was of such an affable obliging disposition.'³²²

³²¹ Zipes, 2000, p.294.

³²² Glasgow University Special Collections, Sp Coll 2349, item 2, p.6.

Francis Orr & Sons of Glasgow printed an edition of *The History of Beauty and the Beast* using the imprint 'Published by Francis Orr & Sons, Union Corner.'³²³ Francis Orr & Sons moved from Brunswick Street to Union Street in 1852, and they operated from these premises until 1878, which leaves a window of twenty-six years in which this chapbook could have been printed. Unlike Perrault's fairy tales, which were written with an adult audience in mind, *Beauty and the Beast* was written for young females of a marriageable age and had therefore been intended for the instruction of youth from its first edition. It is useful to bear in mind that definitions of 'youth' and 'childhood' during the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries are shifting and unstable, and *Beauty and the Beast*'s intended audience changed as it evolved from a conduct book for young females to a chapbook read by a broader age range. Despite the opportunity to follow the example set by publishers and printers such as James Lumsden & Son and Caw & Elder, and create a visually appealing book through the most basic methods of simple woodcuts or attractive fonts, Orr's edition is remarkably plain. Although the general quality of paper is above average, and the text has a neat appearance, suggesting that Orr used stereotypes for this collection as he did with his previous 'Printed for the Booksellers' series, this edition is lacking any visual qualities that would make it attractive to children. A copy held in Glasgow University's Special Collections declares on its title page that the chapbook is 'embellished with coloured engravings'³²⁴ although there are no illustrations in the chapbook. This must have been a careless error on Orr's part, as a further copy in

³²³ GU, Sp Coll 2349, item 2.

³²⁴ GU, Sp Coll 2349, item 2, p.1.

the National Library of Scotland, which also uses the ‘Union Corner’ imprint, makes no mention of any illustrations.³²⁵

The story of the beautiful protagonist and cursed Prince of *Beauty and the Beast* is one of the best known fairy tales today – when a rich merchant falls on hard times, he moves to a house in the country with his children but after straying into an enchanted palace, he picks a rose for his youngest daughter, Beauty, and in doing so incurs the wrath of his host – a Prince who has been transformed into a hideous Beast by a spell. In revenge for taking something that is precious to him, the Beast tells the merchant that he must sacrifice one of his daughters. Beauty willingly sacrifices herself to this fate, declaring bravely: ‘I will deliver myself up to all his fury, and I am very happy in thinking that my death will save my father’s life, and be a proof of my tender love for him.’³²⁶ In a style common to moral tales, Beauty’s exemplary behaviour is contrasted with the bad behaviour of another character; in this case her two sisters. While Beauty handles the family’s poverty with ‘humility, industry, and patience,’³²⁷ by rising early every morning to cook and clean their country cottage and filling her free time with reading, playing the harpsichord and singing, her sisters ‘got up at ten, and did nothing but saunter about the whole day.’³²⁸ When she arrives at the castle Beauty expects to be killed by the Beast, but she finds that she is treated well and is provided with luxurious apartments and fine clothes – material possessions which her sisters longed for but which the humble Beauty

³²⁵ National Library of Scotland, L.C.2850.D (12). The page numbering in both editions is inconsistent. The Glasgow University edition will be used in this section and the following quotations will use Orr’s own numbering.

³²⁶ GU Sp Colls 2349, item 2, p.17.

³²⁷ GU Sp Colls 2349, item 2, p.9.

³²⁸ GU Sp Colls 2349, item 2, p.9.

shunned. The Beast proposes to Beauty every night, but she refuses him, lamenting to herself that ‘tis a thousand pities any thing so good natured should be so ugly!’³²⁹ But during her stay in the castle, Beauty learns to see past the Beast’s appearance. When she is homesick the Beast displays compassion by allowing her to go home, but gives her an enchanted ring with which to return to the castle within a week. Haunted by visions of the Beast dying, she returns to him by placing the enchanted ring upon her finger and wakes in the castle where she finds him dying of a broken heart. In a highly moralised ending, Beauty swears to marry the Beast, and her ability to fall in love with him despite his appearance breaks the spell. De Beaumont cannot resist closing the tale with a thinly veiled message to her impressionable young female readers that ‘their happiness, as it was founded on virtue, was complete.’³³⁰ This emphasis on the union of Beauty and the Beast as ‘founded on virtue’ sanitises the erotic themes of traditional Beast fables, where the quest undertaken by the ‘Beauty’ figure is to recover the object of her lust.³³¹

Oliver & Boyd also printed an edition of *Beauty and the Beast*, a copy of which is held in the National Library of Scotland. While this copy is undated, it could have been printed up until 1841, when the firm appear to have ceased production of their children’s chapbook series.³³² In comparison to the plain, unadorned style of Orr’s *Beauty and the Beast*, Oliver & Boyd’s edition has a colour paper wrapper and is illustrated throughout with ‘neat wood-engravings.’³³³ These high quality wood engravings make the narrative of this edition more appealing and intense – when the Beast catches the unfortunate

³²⁹ GU, Sp Colls 2349, item 2, p.25.

³³⁰ GU, Sp Colls 2349, item 2, p.34.

³³¹ Warner, 1995, p.275.

³³² See p.74.

³³³ NLS, APS.1.91.46, p.1.

merchant in the act of stealing his roses, the drama of the text is heightened by the use of an illustration depicting the Beast and his prey, see Appendix 11, p.137. The Beauty of Oliver & Boyd's edition is just as docile and obedient as that in Francis Orr & Son's, but the narrative has been substantially rewritten in order to emphasise her attributes to child readers. When Beauty and her family move to their cottage, Beauty still rises to cook and clean the house while her lazy sisters ridicule her efforts, but Beauty has some direct speech returned to her in order to articulate her misery and communicate clearly the moral messages of the tale: 'All the crying in the world will do me no good, so I will even try to be happy without a fortune.'³³⁴ When Beauty is haunted by visions of the Beast near to death, she reproaches herself for her selfishness:

"Am I not a very wicked," said she, "to act so unkindly to a Beast who has treated me with so much kindness? Why do I refuse to marry him? I should certainly be happier with him than my sisters with their husbands. To be sure, I do not love him, but I feel for him the sincerest friendship, esteem, and gratitude, I am resolved he shall not be unhappy on my account; for I should reproach myself all the rest of my days."³³⁵

The moral here certainly seems to be a practical one for its time – to accept a husband if you are lucky enough to be as much as fond of him. Beauty is as much a passive character as Perrault's Sleeping Beauty or Cinderella, for she sacrifices herself for a male character twice – first for her father and then for the Beast. Yet when Beauty returns to the Beast's side, she is suddenly quite certain of her own feelings: 'Alas! I thought I felt only friendship for you; but now I am certain I cannot live without you.'³³⁶ This swift change of heart provides the basis for a scene quite different from that of Orr's text: 'Scarcely had Beauty said this, before the palace was suddenly illuminated, and music,

³³⁴ NLS, APS.1.91.46, p.5.

³³⁵ NLS, APS.1.91.46, p.20-21.

³³⁶ NLS, APS.1.91.46, p.22.

fireworks, and all kinds of amusements, announced the most splendid rejoicings.’³³⁷

Beauty and her Prince enter the palace ‘when her astonishment was very great, to find there her father and all her family who had been conveyed thither by the beautiful lady she saw in her dream.’³³⁸ This text is accompanied by an illustration, depicting a somewhat astonished looking Beauty on a throne surrounded by her family and flanked by her transformed Beast. The lady to whom the text refers is a fairy, who tells Beauty:

You have preferred goodness of heart to sense and beauty; you therefore deserve to find these qualities united in the same person. You are going to be made a queen: I hope a crown will not destroy your virtue.³³⁹

And the text ends with a similar moral to Nicholson and Hutchison’s edition: ‘He married Beauty, and passed with her a long and happy life, because their actions were founded upon virtue.’³⁴⁰

Mary Queen of Scots

The ideal of the female as a passive and self-sacrificial creature was not limited to French fairy tales. Around 1820, James Clarke & Co published an edition of *The Life and History of Mary Queen of Scots*³⁴¹ adorned with a purple paper wrapper and high quality wood engraved illustrations.³⁴² Histories of figures such as Mary Queen of Scots and John Knox were popular chapbooks, and although they were likely to have enjoyed a

³³⁷ NLS, APS.1.91.46, p.22.

³³⁸ NLS, APS.1.91.46, p.23.

³³⁹ NLS, APS.1.91.46, p.23-34.

³⁴⁰ NLS, APS.1.91.46, p.24.

³⁴¹ National Library of Scotland, NG.1177.d.13 (2).

³⁴² These illustrations have been coloured in a crude manner.

dual audience, this edition is clearly targeted at children, making it one of the few sources of Scottish material being adapted for children in chapbooks during the nineteenth-century. The timing of the publication of *The Life and History of Mary Queen of Scots* is significant. In 1820 the private affairs of another monarch – Caroline of Brunswick, wife and Queen Consort of George IV – were put on public trial. Caroline’s adultery trial was held in 1820, over two decades after the death of Mary Queen of Scots, yet her predicament has led historians to draw parallels between her own life and Mary’s:

Mary in her time, like Caroline in hers, had brought a sexualised woman’s desire to be queen into contact with a people’s consequently divided desire for her. In the eyes of Caroline’s contemporaries, the trials of both women seemed to raise the question of how far a kingdom which wishes to be united can tolerate the authority – cultural in Caroline’s day, political in Mary’s – of a woman who wants something for herself, and who arouses a mixed and often untoward measure of longing in return.’³⁴³

Public support for Caroline was overwhelming (mainly due to the strength of ill feeling towards George IV), and it is noteworthy that a new interest in the life of Mary Queen of Scots emerged around the time of Caroline’s trial.³⁴⁴ Mary was often portrayed as a sentimental heroine by the Georgians, and to the Victorians – whose obsession with Mary was something of a cult – Mary was a beautiful but unfortunate queen, occupied with needlework and prone to episodes of melodrama and distress.³⁴⁵ This fascination with the life of Mary owed much to the cult of Scottish romanticism that grew from Sir Walter Scott’s popularity during the early nineteenth-century. Scott’s novel *The Abbot* (1820) – set during Mary’s imprisonment at Loch Leven Castle – was published not only in the same year as Caroline of Brunswick’s trial, which Scott himself had attended, but around the same time as Clarke’s chapbook edition of Mary’s life.

³⁴³ Jayne Elizabeth Lewis, *Mary Queen of Scots: Romance and Nation*, (London: Routledge, 1998), p.148.

³⁴⁴ Lewis, 1998, p.148.

³⁴⁵ Lewis, 1998, p.173.

The Life and History of Mary Queen of Scots reflects the late Georgian and early-Victorian sympathy with Mary, but also reflects some anxieties about the prospect of a female monarch. In this chapbook, Mary, like Beauty in *Beauty and the Beast*, is valued for her ‘charming sweet-tempered’ nature as well as her ‘humility, industry, and patience.’³⁴⁶ As a young lady of fifteen, Mary is described as possessing ‘all the accomplishments which were in fashion at that period, and she was also, without exception, the most beautiful woman of her time. Her countenance was lovely; she was tall, well formed, graceful in all her actions, and her amiable and condescending manners won all hearts.’³⁴⁷ It is Mary’s physical and feminine qualities which are praised in this book, rather than her accomplishments as a monarch. This emphasis on Mary’s education and upbringing allows the author to take creative liberties in describing Mary’s life, preferring to gloss over the dramatic events surrounding Mary’s departure for France for a more fashionable explanation that she was ‘sent to France, to receive an education befitting the high station to which she was destined.’³⁴⁸ However, while her personality and personal qualities are similar to that of the princesses of French fairy tales or well-to-do children of moral tales, her life runs contrary to a fairy tale narrative. Beasts are not transformed into princes but conspire to bring about her downfall, abduct her and imprison her. In a reversal of the Beast in *Beauty and the Beast*, Darnley is ‘tall and handsome, and perfect in external and showy accomplishments’ but his true character is ‘destitute of character, and very loose and immoral in his habits.’³⁴⁹ When it comes to Mary’s ill-fated marriages, her husbands are described as corrupt, petty, jealous, abusive

³⁴⁶ GU, Sp Colls 2349, item 2, p.9.

³⁴⁷ NLS, NG.1177.d.13 (2), p.6.

³⁴⁸ NLS, NG.1177.d.13 (2), p.5.

³⁴⁹ NLS, NG.1177.d.13 (2), p.9.

and ‘destitute of prudence or steadiness of character’³⁵⁰ while Mary is portrayed as a tragic but passive victim in this abuse. While most of the male figures in Mary’s life are painted as violent and self-serving pantomime villains, it is only John Knox who is depicted in a positive light, representing something of a stern but well-meaning father figure. He scolds Mary for favouring the Earl of Bothwell, foreshadowing the events to come, and is depicted attempting to reason with Mary in a wood engraving titled ‘Mary Admonished by John Knox’, accompanied by the caption ‘John Knox, the distinguished reformer, accused her of being too fond of him, he being a married man, and she a married woman.’³⁵¹ It could be argued that there is a Calvinist agenda to this retelling of Mary’s life. Her inability to select a suitable husband and her willingness to be led astray by the Earl of Bothwell gives the impression that Mary ruled with her heart over her head, and that these personal failings are linked to her gender and religion. The author of this chapbook notes that ‘Mary, unfortunately for her happiness, had been bred a rigid Catholic’³⁵² – suggesting that Mary’s happiness and her ability to rule were connected to her religious principles. Even until her death, Mary is praised for her ‘accomplishments’ and ‘goodness of heart,’ rather than her ability to rule:

Thus died Mary, aged a little above forty-four years. She was eminent for beauty, for talents, and accomplishments, nor is there reason to doubt her natural goodness of heart, and courageous manliness of disposition. Yet she was, in every sense, one of the most unhappy Princesses that ever lived, from the moment when she came into the world, in an hour of defeat and danger, to that in which a bloody and violent death closed a weary captivity of eighteen years.³⁵³

³⁵⁰ NLS, NG.1177.d.13 (2), p.9.

³⁵¹ NLS, NG.1177.d.13 (2), p.13.

³⁵² NLS, NG.1177.d.13 (2), p.7.

³⁵³ NLS, NG.11.77.d.13 (2), p.30-32.

Conclusion

Dr James Currie, the first editor of Robert Burns' works, made the following observations upon the education of the Scottish working classes:

A slight acquaintance with the peasantry of Scotland, will serve to convince an unprejudiced observer that they possess a degree of intelligence not generally found among the same class of men in the other countries of Europe. In the very humblest conditions of the Scottish peasants every one can read, and most persons are more or less skilled in writing and arithmetic; and under the guise of their uncouth appearance and their peculiar manners and dialect, a stranger will discover that they possess a curiosity, and have obtained a degree of information corresponding to these acquirements.³⁵⁴

This was the commonly held opinion of Scottish education towards the end of the nineteenth-century, when Scotland's poor were regarded as highly literate and therefore liberated. Yet recent revisionism by historians including R. D. Anderson³⁵⁵ has dispelled these myths, revealing the Scottish education system to be flawed by sexism and prejudiced against Scottish language, history and literature, and it could be argued that the system was linked to social control. The work of philosophers including John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau shaped opinions on the education of children, but their schools of thought had little impact on the education system north of the border, where amusement and diversion were not used as tools of instruction in the classroom. It is possible that entrenched perceptions of childhood, particularly a Scottish childhood, hindered the creation of a Scottish literature for children, and it is of little surprise that so many children turned to chapbooks for entertainment. But in England a separate literature for children was being developed, with moral tales which aimed to amuse and instruct reaching their peak by the beginning of the nineteenth-century. These children's tales

³⁵⁴ David Daiches, *Robert Burns*, (London: Deutsch, 1966), p. 39-40.

³⁵⁵ See Anderson, 1995

were eagerly received in Scotland, where chapbook printers began pirating popular morality tales published by the likes of Newbery in London – and these sanitised children’s chapbooks found a ready market in the growing urban middle classes.

The religious chapbook was a prominent form of popular literature, but in the provision of popular literature for children it was dwarfed by the rise of children’s chapbooks that contained amusing and instructive literature, such as ABCs, fables, moral tales, and fairy tales. Both forms of chapbook set out patterns of conduct for their juvenile readers, but whereas the religious chapbook established these within a framework of prayers and hymns, instructive chapbooks issued advice on social conduct and emphasised the importance of secular instruction. This movement ‘from primer to pleasure’ mirrors movements in the development of children’s literature, where the focus of instruction had shifted away from religious purposes by the end of the eighteenth-century. This movement can be traced back to the writings of John Locke in the late seventeenth-century, and although this movement had little impact on the Scottish education system, its impact can be felt in the provision of juvenile circulating libraries, such as the Paisley Juvenile library who declared that the foundation of good reading habits was ‘favourable both to their secular and religious improvement.’³⁵⁶ This sentiment is reflected in the children’s chapbooks produced during the nineteenth-century. Although written after the moral tale had reached its peak, *The Story of Mary and her Cat* reflects many of the key concerns of the genre. The narrative is constructed from words of no more than two syllables, making it particularly suitable for the education of young readers and Fenwick’s use of an attractive child character and animal narrative appeals to a child

³⁵⁶ PCL, 080 PC266.

audience, while the moral of the tale – that children should always obey their parents – would have made it particularly appealing to parents. Compendium chapbooks, such as *The Rise of Learning*, employed similar devices by providing a stimulating mixture of ABCs, fables, and illustrations while encouraging learning over idleness. Whereas didactic tales fell out of favour by the mid-nineteenth-century, fairy tales continued to dominate the chapbook market and, after centuries of neglect, the genre underwent something of a renaissance in British literature. Although associated with the fantastical, these fairy tales were embedded with moral advice which was over a century old by the time these chapbooks reached the hands of Scottish children. Female obedience and self-sacrifice played a large role in these fairy tale narratives, particularly in *The History of Beauty and the Beast*, which was written by de Beaumont with the education of young females in mind. Living in London during the eighteenth-century, de Beaumont would have been familiar with the concept of ‘amusement and instruction’ so it is unsurprising to find her opinions on female domesticity and marriage woven into an entertaining fairy tale narrative.

Although the chapbook was still at the peak of its popularity at the beginning of the nineteenth-century, William Harvey has written that ‘with the later twenties of the nineteenth-century [...] the literature showed signs of decay.’³⁵⁷ Harvey was addressing ‘traditional’ Scottish chapbook literature, but the evolution of children’s chapbooks during the nineteenth-century demonstrates how far the popular press had developed. However, the technological advances in the printing industry which made this evolution possible could also be accused of being part of the decline of the traditional chapbook. At

³⁵⁷ Harvey, 1903, p.25.

the beginning of the nineteenth-century a penny would have purchased a chapbook printed on coarse discoloured paper, illustrated with a crudely rendered woodcut and filled with vulgar, humorous or superstitious tales – but by the mid-nineteenth-century just twopence could purchase a forty-eight page chapbook printed using better quality paper, sherbet coloured paper wrappers and illustrated throughout with wood engravings. The children’s chapbooks of John Davidson, mentioned on p.72, demonstrate that by the middle of the nineteenth-century it was possible to produce aesthetically appealing children’s chapbooks for just a penny, but with these developments in printing technology came the decline of Scottish material in chapbooks and a sanitisation of existing Scottish content. As Edward Cowan and Mike Paterson have observed, ‘some publishers preferred Scots usage, others corrected for English, or avowedly more polite, readers’³⁵⁸ and although this preference of English over Scots is critical in children’s chapbooks, other Scottish titles, such as *The History of Lothian Tom*, show a notable decline in the use of the Scots tongue. Despite the predominance of English texts in Scottish children’s chapbooks, these chapbooks are important in the context of nineteenth-century Scottish literature because chapbooks and other forms of cheap popular literature not only influenced the minds and imaginations of Scottish writers of children’s literature during the nineteenth-century – from Sir Walter Scott, who collected chapbooks in his youth, to J. M. Barrie, who was a voracious reader of penny dreadfuls – but also contributed to literary movements such as the flowering of the fairy tale and fantasy genre in Scottish literature.

³⁵⁸ Cowan and Paterson, 2007, p.17.

Conclusion

Chapbooks disseminated popular literature to the masses, but they also mirrored popular tastes, beliefs and anxieties. An examination of the production of a wide selection of children's chapbooks in Scotland during the period 1800 to 1870 therefore raises several critical issues regarding the relationship between childhood and identity in nineteenth-century Scotland. Critics of Scottish literature have claimed that the creation of a national literature during the nineteenth-century was affected by a national identity crisis, aggravated by the failure of Scottish institutions including the church and the education system.³⁵⁹ Although the recent work of Cairns Craig demonstrates that nineteenth-century Scotland was not the cultural wasteland that the twentieth-century 'Scottish Renaissance' would have us believe,³⁶⁰ the examination of Scottish children's chapbooks in this thesis might well support the critical narrative of sanitisation and Anglicisation of Scottish literature during the nineteenth-century. At the same time, it also illustrates the growth of Scotland's publishing industry and the rise of the publishing entrepreneur as a positive development for Scottish trade. This perceived 'neurosis' regarding Scottish identity is particularly significant given that the focus of this thesis is the production of popular literature for children. The education system failed children by neglecting Scottish history, language and literature and favouring a highly Anglicised curriculum that rooted out elements of Scottish identity. In England children's literature was a growing branch of print culture and the book market was saturated with children's books that aimed to amuse and instruct. These titles also flooded the Scottish market, finding an

³⁵⁹ Gifford, in Craig and Gifford (eds), 1988, p.6.

³⁶⁰ Craig, 2009.

eager audience of children starved of amusing literature, and it was not long before chapbook printers, willing to cash in on this lucrative corner of the market, mimicked and pirated these texts. This might suggest not only a failure to produce a suitable Scottish children's literature during the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century, but also a desire for parents to supply their children with Anglicising stories that would teach them how to be obedient and industrious – and, it could be argued, how to be English.

The prominence of religious chapbooks in nineteenth-century Scotland goes some way towards disproving critics who have claimed that the nineteenth-century was marked by processes of religious alienation. The abundance of religious chapbooks printed during the nineteenth-century supports Callum G. Brown's claim that religion had an important place in Scottish life, particularly among the working classes.³⁶¹ Although the Scottish church was undergoing a process of religious dissent, contributing, as Douglas Gifford has claimed, towards a lost sense of Scottish identity,³⁶² religion continued to dominate the life of children through literature and the education system. Although Evangelical societies continued to produce tracts throughout the nineteenth-century, the efforts made to replace chapbooks with religious material were at their most fervent during the early decades of the nineteenth-century when concerns regarding the moral improvement of the lower classes were at their peak following the revolutions in France and America. The Cheap Tracts printed by George Miller of Dunbar illustrate the power of the printing press during the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century – allowing Miller, operating in a largely agricultural town in East Lothian, to purchase a printing press and

³⁶¹ Brown, 1988, p.144.

³⁶² Gifford, in Craig and Gifford (eds), 1988, p.217.

produce 48,000 tracts and 12,000 chapbooks between 8 February and 18 March of 1801.³⁶³ Chapbooks had a dual relationship with religion – on one hand the church was a persecutor of these ‘idle books,’³⁶⁴ yet on the other hand, religious material such as hymns, prayers and catechisms made up a large part of their content. The chapbook was under constant threat, not only from the church but also from moralists who believed that the chapbook’s plebeian associations had the potential to corrupt vulnerable young minds. Nevertheless, the chapbook refused to die and simply evolved to incorporate enough of their concerns to ensure its longevity.

Nowhere is this evolution more significant than in the development of children’s chapbooks. The establishment of juvenile circulating libraries in Scotland during the early nineteenth-century highlights changing attitudes towards the provision of literature for children, and displays an ongoing concern with the ‘improvement’ of children and the moral content of their books. These libraries were furnished with ‘suitable’ children’s literature, but large subscription fees restricted their use to a privileged few. Nevertheless, the type of literature they contained – including moral tales and fairy tales – were picked up by Scottish chapbook printers and consequently enjoyed a wide distribution in chapbook format. Whereas religious chapbooks were closer in physical appearance to their ‘traditional’ eighteenth-century counterparts, these new children’s chapbooks took advantage of the advances in printing technology to create visually appealing chapbooks containing a range of amusing and instructive literature and they would have provided many children with their first taste of a literature which spoke to them and catered to their

³⁶³ Couper, 1914, p.80.

³⁶⁴ Quoted by Harvey, 1903, p.23.

tastes. These books used amusing stories, colourful paper wrappers, and attractive illustrations to appeal to children, but parents would also have approved of their endorsement of good behaviour, obedience and learning. Alongside these amusing and instructive chapbooks were abridged versions of literary fairy tales. These originated in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France where they were written for an aristocratic and bourgeois audience, and yet their dissemination into Scottish chapbooks brought them a long way from home, from the gilded halls of Versailles to the tenements of the Saltmarket and the Cowgate. Despite the opposition they faced from moralists, the narratives of these fairy tales contained advice on social and moral conduct. By the mid-nineteenth-century, these tales were widely printed in chapbook format, and although they contained strong moral undertones their enduring appeal is likely to have been in their use of fantasy narratives rather than the suitability of their didactic messages. The instructive and moral tales so fashionable in the early decades of the nineteenth-century were falling out of favour by the mid nineteenth-century, and the winds of change were blowing in not only penny dreadfuls and periodicals but also a new wave of amusing books that were written for children but made no attempt to force didactic messages upon them.

Penny dreadfuls, serialised magazines that contained sensational literature for a penny, were produced in Britain from the 1830s onwards and can be viewed as the descendants of chapbooks. Like chapbooks, they were not originally written for children but were read by them – including R. L. Stevenson and J. M. Barrie – and just as chapbooks attracted suspicion from Evangelists who attempted to supplant them with appropriate

material, periodicals such as the *Boy's Own Magazine* (1855) were established to wean children off penny dreadfuls. Therefore it could be argued that the Evangelical change in focus from chapbooks to periodicals signified that chapbooks were either coming to the end of their popularity, and were therefore seen as less of a risk, or had been sanitised beyond the need for reproach. Like the broadsheet before it, the advancements in the printing press during the Industrial Revolution rendered the traditional chapbook not only obsolete but an impossible concept – few would pay a penny for such a ‘rude and unfinished’³⁶⁵ production when penny dreadfuls, periodicals and newspapers were on offer for similarly low prices

Just as J. R. R. Tolkien has lamented that fairy tales were relegated to the nursery when adults no longer had any need for them,³⁶⁶ it could be said that chapbooks passed into the hands of children as new forms of popular literature, such as the newspaper and the periodical, replaced the traditional chapbook. Although the chapbook once dominated the popular literature market, by the end of the nineteenth-century it was little more than an antiquity. In 1873 John Fraser published his study of chapbooks entitled *The Humorous Chap-books of Scotland*,³⁶⁷ and in 1878 a collection of facsimile editions of chapbooks was published under the name *John Cheap the Chapman's Library*,³⁶⁸ which used the stereotyped plates from Francis Orr & Son and James Lindsay. It could be argued that these books signify the end of the age of the chapbook, marking them out as antiquated curiosities rather than as a vibrant, living tradition. J. M. Barrie wrote *Auld Licht Idylls*

³⁶⁵ Fraser, 1873, p.3.

³⁶⁶ J. R. R. Tolkien, in ‘On Fairy Stories’, *The Monsters and the Critic and Other Essays*, (London: Harper Collins, 1983), p.130. Originally an Andrew Lang lecture given at the University of St Andrews in 1939.

³⁶⁷ Fraser, 1873.

³⁶⁸ *John Cheap, the Chapman's Library* (Glasgow: R. Lindsay, 1877-1878).

from a contemporary standpoint yet the factors which shape the community are permeated with a sense of belonging to the past. It is therefore fitting that his novel features a chapman, or 'flying stationer', by the name of Sandersy Riach, signifying that the chapman, along with the Auld Licht Presbyterianism and the handloom industry, is a figure of the past.³⁶⁹ Archive collections show that the chapbook was still widely distributed past the mid nineteenth-century, but it was certainly drawing its last breath. As stereotyping replaced the use of moveable type, there was a greater repetition of chapbooks rather than the production of new titles, indicating that chapbook literature had reached a state of stagnancy during the later nineteenth-century. In 1888 when Barrie described Sandersy Riach's pack as containing 'Thrummy Cap,' 'the Fishwives of Buckhaven,' and 'the Brownie of Badenock,' he was alluding to part of a traditional canon of humorous and superstitious chapbooks that had been in circulation since the eighteenth-century.³⁷⁰ Barrie's selection of eighteenth-century chapbook favourites is significant, as he not only laments the passing of the age of the chapbook and the chapman, but also pays homage to a lost tradition of Scottish chapbooks, a tradition that had become stagnant and repetitive by the time Barrie wrote *Auld Licht Idylls*. The development of new printing processes and the onslaught of morally improving chapbooks replaced, or pushed to the side, traditional chapbook material which was more Scottish and which had made the chapbook popular during the eighteenth-century. As shown in Chapter Two, the role of the chapman, with his personal calls to the family, was replaced by the small printer and publisher who was able to sell his books more centrally and who was able to take advantage of the growth of juvenile circulating libraries to

³⁶⁹ See Andrew Nash, *Kailyard and Scottish Literature*, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), p.53.

³⁷⁰ Barrie, 1888 (c.1921), p.231.

market his work more widely. As illustrated here, the nature of this material was increasingly to do with amusement or reading for leisure and these chapbooks bridged a gap between the accessibility of popular literature and the perceived respectability of the new forms of children's literature originating from England.

The importance of chapbooks upon Scotland's literary heritage is undeniable. These books formed the main source of reading material for the greater part of the population, and this is particularly true for children, whose options were limited to educational and religious texts. The legacy of chapbooks lives on in the literature of the period – from Sir Walter Scott and James Hogg in the early nineteenth-century to Andrew Lang, R. L. Stevenson and J. M. Barrie in the closing decades of the century. Chapbooks not only influenced individual works of literature, but also aided the revival of the literary fairy tale in Scotland by disseminating fantasy literature to the masses when so much of Scotland's own fairy heritage had been driven underground by Puritan and Calvinist doctrines. The later fantasy literature written for children by Stevenson and Barrie achieved global popularity and is considered as classic children's literature, a fact which serves to highlight the importance of the chapbook's role.

Despite the recent renewal of interest in the subject of popular literature, particularly chapbooks, there is a vast amount of research yet to be completed in this field and the time and length limitations set upon this thesis have meant that only a small amount of the existing literature available in archive collections has been examined. A great deal of

further work is required on this subject. Yet it is hoped that this thesis will aid future studies of these clearly influential, yet scarcely studied, productions.

Appendix 1, George Miller's *Cheap Tracts, Calculated to Promote the Interests of Religion, Virtue, and Humanity*³⁷¹

1. The Magdalen, or the History of a Reformed Prostitute
2. Maria; or the Wanderer Reclaimed, and the Fatal Effects of Guilty Love
3. The Slave Trade
4. The Generous Libertine, &c.
5. Counsels to Young Men
6. Serious Thoughts for the Living
7. Reflections Among the Monuments
8. Moral Tales
9. The Drunken Husband; or the Fatal Effects of Drunkenness, and the Magnanimous Englishman
10. True Humanity Usefully Exerted, &c.
11. The Death-bed, and the Murmurer Corrected
12. Tales of Instruction, in Verse and Prose
13. An Affecting History of an Innkeeper in Normandy
14. The Honest Debtor, or the Virtuous Man Struggling with, Rising Superior to, and Overcoming Misfortune
15. Short Stories for Little Folks
16. The Power of Affection Illustrated by Examples
17. The Little Fabulist, or Select Fables from Dodsley
18. The Instructor, Containing Reflections and Maxims, for the Conduct of Life, &c.
19. An Antidote to Superstition; or a Cure for those Weak Mind which are troubled with the fear of Ghosts, Witches, &c.
20. An Evening Walk, with Suitable Reflections, Motives of Piety, and Virtue, &c. &c.

³⁷¹ GUA, U3-c.10, p.49.

Appendix 2, The catalogue of J & M Robertson, *Books for the Instruction and Amusement of Children, Bound in Gilt Paper, and Adorned with Cuts*³⁷²

- 1) Tom Thumb's Playbook
- 2) London Cries
- 3) Entertaining Fables for Children
- 4) Nurse True Love's Christmas Box
- 5) Tom Thumb's Folio
- 6) The Puzzling Cap
- 7) Jack Dandy's Delight
- 8) Death and Burial of Cock Robin
- 9) The Father's Gift
- 10) Polly Cherry
- 11) History of Mr Jackey and Miss Harriet
- 12) Abridgement of the History of the Bible
- 13) House that Jack Built
- 14) Lilliputian Auction
- 15) Child's Guide to his Letters, or Horn Book Improved
- 16) New England Primer
- 17) Gulliver's Voyage to Lilliput
- 18) Lilliputian Masquerade
- 19) History of Little King Pippin
- 20) Tommy Thumb's Song Book Fairy Tales
- 21) A Little Lottery-Book
- 22) Tom Thumb's Exhibition
- 23) Food for the Mind
- 24) The Young Scholar's Pocket Companion; Being an Early Introduction to the Art of Reading
- 25) The Fairing, or Golden Toy
- 26) A Bag of Nuts Ready Cracked
- 27) The Royal Primer
- 28) The Sugar Plumb, or Sweet Amusement
- 29) The Picture Exhibition
- 30) The History of the Bible
- 31) The History of England
- 32) A New History of Scotland
- 33) History of Four-Footed Beasts
- 34) Christmas Tales
- 35) Mother Bunch's Fairy Tales
- 36) Goody Two Shoes
- 37) A Compendious English Grammar
- 38) History of the Heathen Gods

³⁷² McNaughton, in Isaac (ed), 1990, p.177.

Appendix 3, Francis Orr & Sons' *Twenty-four-page Penny History Books*³⁷³

1. Battles of Drumclog and Bothwell
2. Life of Rob Roy
3. Ali Baba, or the Forty Thieves
4. Toast-Master's Companion
5. Aladdin, or the Wonderful Lamp
6. Comical Tricks of Lothian Tom
7. Prince Lupin, Yellow Dwarf, &c
8. Jane Shore, Allan Barclay, &c
9. Cinderella, and Babes in the Wood
10. Duncan Campbell
11. The Seraphim
12. The New Minstrel
13. The Comic Minstrel
14. Wild Huntsman, Conscience, &c
15. The Reciter
16. Thrummy Cap and the Ghaist, &c
17. The Golden Dreamer
18. George Buchanan
19. The Bitter Wedding
20. Blue Beard
21. Paddy from Cork
22. Saunders Watson, Bill Jones, &c
23. Life of Robin Hood
24. The Long Pack
25. The Ghost of My Uncle, &c
26. Historical Catechism
27. Cookery Book, and Butler's Guide
28. Bewitched Fiddler, &c
29. Young Robber, and Puss in Boots
30. The Little White Mouse
31. Three Beggars, Soldier's Wife, &c
32. The New Valentine Writer
33. The New Scrap Book
34. Leper the Tailor
35. Prayer Book
36. Will and Jean
37. The Scotch Haggis
38. The Two Drovers
39. Vermin Killer
40. Pictorial Bible
41. Joseph and his Brethren
42. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob

³⁷³ McNaughton, in Isaac (ed), 1990, p.178-180.

43. Pilgrim's Progress
44. Life of David Haggart
45. Charles Jones the Footman
46. Robinson Crusoe
47. Vocalist Song Book
48. Laird of Cool's Ghost
49. Wife of Beith
50. Wise Willie and Witty Eppie
51. Daniel O'Rourke
52. Sleeping Beauty
53. Simple John's Twelve Misfortunes
54. Scots Proverbs
55. The Complete Letter Writer
56. King and the Cobbler
57. The Village Curate
58. John Cheap the Chapman
59. John Falkirk's Carritches
60. Life of Robert Burns
61. Life of John Knox
62. Jack the Giant-Killer
63. A Wedding-Ring Fit for the Finger
64. Life of the Rev John Welch
65. History of Hero and Leander
66. Madrid Shaver
67. British Humourist
68. Art of Money-Catching
69. Blind Allan
70. Elocutionist
71. History of Jane Arnold
72. George Barnwell
73. Robin Hood (in verse)
74. Grinning Made Easy
75. Thomas Hickathrift
76. Spaewife
77. Irish Assassin
78. Fortune-Teller
79. Mansie Wauch
80. Story-Teller
81. Art of Swimming Rendered Easy
82. Select Miscellany
83. Life of Peter Williamson
84. Hocus Pocus
85. World of Spirits
86. Song Book, No 1
87. Song Book, No 2
88. Song Book, No 3

89. Song Book, No 4
90. Song Book, No 5
91. Price Charlie's Song Book
92. History of Fair Rosamond
93. Adventures of Redmond O'Hanlon
94. Mother Bunch's Fortune-Teller
95. Jemmy and Nancy of Yarmouth
96. Honey from the Rock of Christ
97. Shepherdess of the Alps
98. Four Interesting Tales
99. Sins and Sorrows Spread before God
100. Watt's Divine Songs
101. History of Paul Jones the Pirate
102. Sir Robert Bewick and Graham
103. Adventures of 16 British Seamen
104. Napoleon's Book of Fate
105. Spouter's Companion
106. A Groat's Worth of Wit
107. Life of Sir William Wallace
108. Life of King Robert Bruce
109. The Pleasure's of Matrimony
110. Wise Men of Gotham
111. Adam Bell, Clym of the Clough, &c
112. A Token for Mourners
113. Jocky and Maggy's Courtship
114. Thomas the Rhymer
115. Peden's Life and Prophecies
116. Satan's Invisible World discovered
117. Life of Richard Turpin
118. A Tale of the Rebellion in 1745
119. History of Dr Faustus
120. History of Prince Charles
121. History of the Negro Robber
122. Lithgow's Travels in Europe
123. Life of Donald Cargill
124. Female Policy Detected
125. Adventures of Moore Carew
126. Life of Mahomet
127. Allan the Northumberland Piper
128. History of Valentine and Orson
129. Life and Death of Judas Iscariot
130. Watty and Meg, &c
131. Coalman's Courtship
132. Conjuror's Guide
133. Kings of England
134. Kings of Scotland

135. Plant of Renown, a Sermon
136. Economical Housekeeper's Guide
137. Aesop's Fables
138. Burns' Songs
139. Sea Songster
140. Black Bird Songster
141. The Dominie Deposed
142. Laird of Lag's Elegy
143. Way to Wealth
144. Jachin and Boaz
145. Barrie's Assistant, 18mo
146. Mother's Catechism, do
147. Shorter Catechism, do
148. Small Preceptor, do
149. Iron Shroud, or Italian Revenge
150. The Sentimental Songster

Appendix 4, John Davidson's 'New and Improved' Series (coloured with stencils)³⁷⁴

1. Jack the Giant Killer
2. Voyages of Sinbad the Sailor
3. The History of Blue Beard
4. The Babes in the wood
5. Cinderella, or the Little Glass Slipper
6. The Seven Champions of Christendom
7. The History of Goody Twoshoes
8. Little Red Riding Hood and Mother Hubbard
9. Life and Death of Cock Robin
10. Life of Lord Nelson
11. The Pictorial Alphabet
12. The History of Whittington and his Cat
13. The Sleeping Beauty in the Wood
14. The History of Robin Hood
15. The Yellow Dwarf
16. The Little Deserter
17. Ali Baba, or The Forty Thieves
18. Alladdin (sic), or The Wonderful Lamp
19. The History of Little Jack
20. Gulliver's Travels
21. Jack and the Bean Stalk
22. Sir William Wallace
23. Rob Roy McGregor
24. Daniel O'Rourke
25. Robert the Bruce
26. Puss and Boots

³⁷⁴ I am grateful to Eoin Shaloo of the National Library of Scotland for providing information on this catalogue.

Appendix 5, The Catalogues of James Clarke & Co.

Catalogue One:³⁷⁵

1. History of Sir William Wallace
2. History of King William Wallace
3. History of Mary Queen of Scots
4. The Babes in the Wood
5. Jack and the Bean-Stalk
6. Jack the Giant Killer
7. The History of Fortunio
8. Puss in Boots
9. Sinbad the Sailor
10. History of Robin Hood
11. The Forty Thieves, or Ali Baba &c.
12. Robinson Crusoe
13. Whittington and his Cat
14. Story of Blue Beard
15. Juvenile Fabulist
16. Gulliver's Travels
17. History of Rob Roy MacGregor
18. New Picture Exhibition
19. New Riddle Book
20. Nursery Rhymes
21. Cinderella, or the Little Glass Slipper
22. Beauty and the Beast
23. Prince Lupin and the White Cat
24. The History of Fortunatus
25. History of the Black Douglas

Catalogue Two:³⁷⁶

1. History of Sir William Wallace
2. History of King William Wallace
3. History of Mary Queen of Scots
4. The Babes in the Wood
5. Jack and the Bean-Stalk
6. Jack the Giant Killer
7. The History of Fortunio
8. Puss in Boots
9. Sinbad the Sailor
10. History of Robin Hood
11. The Forty Thieves, or Ali Baba &c.

³⁷⁵ National Library of Scotland, NG.1177.d.13 (5).

³⁷⁶ National Library of Scotland, NG.1177.d.13 (1).

12. Robinson Crusoe
13. Whittington and his Cat
14. Story of Blue Beard
15. Juvenile Fabulist
16. Gulliver's Travels
17. History of Rob Roy MacGregor
18. New Picture Exhibition
19. New Riddle Book
20. Cinderella, or the Little Glass Slipper
21. Beauty and the Beast
22. The History of King Pippin
23. The Edinburgh Preceptor
24. Adventures of Philip Quarle

Catalogue Three:³⁷⁷

1. History of Sir William Wallace
2. History of King Robert Bruce
3. History of the Black Douglas
4. History of Mary Queen of Scots
5. History of Rob Roy Macgregor
6. History of Robin Hood
7. History of Napoleon Bonaparte
8. Jack and the Bean-Stalk
9. Jack the Giant Killer
10. Sinbad the Sailor
11. The Forty Thieves, or Ali Baba, &c.
12. Wonderful Adventures of Daniel O'Rourke
13. Robinson Crusoe
14. Whittington and his Cat
15. Juvenile Fabulist
16. Gulliver's Travels
17. Story of Blue Beard with Puss in Boots
18. New Picture Exhibition
19. New Riddle Book
20. Cinderella, or the Little Glass Slipper
21. Aladdin, or the Wonderful Lamp
22. Beauty and the Beast
23. Babes in the Wood, and King Pippin
24. The Edinburgh Preceptor
25. Adventures of Philip Quarle
26. The Serpent of Ceylon
27. Melodist: a Collection of Choice Songs

³⁷⁷ National Library of Scotland, 5.2958 (12).

Catalogue Four:³⁷⁸

1. History of Sir William Wallace
2. History of King Robert Bruce
3. History of the Black Douglas
4. History of Mary Queen of Scots
5. History of Rob Roy Macgregor
6. History of Robin Hood
7. History of Napoleon Bonaparte
8. Jack and the Bean-Stalk
9. Jack the Giant Killer
10. Sinbad the Sailor
11. The Forty Thieves, or Ali Baba, &c.
12. Wonderful Adventures of Daniel O'Rourke
13. Robinson Crusoe
14. Whittington and his Cat
15. Juvenile Fabulist
16. Gulliver's Travels
17. Story of Blue Beard with Puss in Boots
18. New Picture Exhibition
19. New Riddle Book
20. Cinderella, or the Little Glass Slipper
21. Aladdin, or the Wonderful Lamp
22. Beauty and the Beast
23. Babes in the Wood, and King Pippin
24. The Edinburgh Preceptor
25. Adventures of Philip Quarle
26. The Serpent of Ceylon
27. Mother Hubbard
28. The Melodist: a Collection of Choice Songs Nos I-IV

³⁷⁸ I am grateful to Eoin Shaloo of the National Library of Scotland for providing information on this catalogue.

Appendix 6, Catalogue of Twopenny Children's Chapbooks Published by Oliver & Boyd³⁷⁹

1. The Edinburgh Primer; or, Child's First Guide to Learning, 24th Edition
2. A Collection of Nursery Rhymes for Good Children
3. The Royal Menagerie; or a Concise History of Beasts
4. The Aviary: or, a Concise History of Birds
5. The History of Beauty and the Beast; to which is added, Almerine and Shelimah
6. The History of Ivanhoe and Rebecca the Jewess
7. The Histories of Whittington and his Cat; and Little King Pippin
8. The Popular Stories of Blue Beard; and Riquet with the Tuft
9. Kenilworth Castle; or, The Trials of Amy Robsart
10. Cinderella; or, The Little Glass Slipper; and The Pigeon and Dove
11. The Little Story-Teller
The Histories of Prince Lupin and the White Cat, The Yellow Dwarf, Red Riding-Hood, and Little George
12. The Amazing Puzzle Book

³⁷⁹ NLS, APS.1.91.46.

Appendix 7, Publishers, Printers and Booksellers of Children's Books and Chapbooks in Scotland during the Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century³⁸⁰

BERRY, Walter

Bookseller, circulating library and wholesale stationer

Edinburgh, 1792-1820

The proprietor of 'Walter Berry's Juvenile Library.'

BROWN, Robert

Printer

Edinburgh, 1713-33

Published a number of children's books. An hundred godly lessons 1718 and Early soliloquies 1719 are in the National Library of Scotland.

BRYDONE, James

Printer, publisher and bookseller

Edinburgh, 1836-1893

Published a children's book entitled *History of Beasts*, a coloured copy of which is held in the National Library of Scotland, as well as a series of 'New Juvenile Keepsakes or Nursery Panoramas', priced at sixpence. He also printed a numbered series of chapbooks sometime between 1839 and 1858.

BUTTERWORTH, Edmund

Writing master

Dumfries and Edinburgh, 1778-1814

Published a series of educational children's books, including *New Set of Copies in Alphabetical Order* 1778, *Butterworth's Universal Penman* (1784), *The Young Arithmetician's Instructor* (1815) and *The Young Writer's Instructor*, 1816.

CAMPBELL, A

Bookseller

Paisley, 1805

John Neilson printed a copy of *Easy Lessons for Children* for Campbell in 1805.

³⁸⁰ This Appendix has been compiled using information from the National Library of Scotland's Scottish Book Trade Index and additional information supplied from Eoin Shalloo of the National Library of Scotland. This Appendix lists some of the biggest names in the production of children's books and children's chapbooks and the printers and publishers covered in this thesis, but this is by no means an exhaustive survey of the topic. Some notable chapbook printers are included, but to include every chapbook printer who published what we would now consider as children's tales, such as fairy tales, would be beyond the scope of this thesis.

CAW, George

Printer

Kelso, Hawick and Edinburgh, 1782-1922

With ELDER, Henry

Bookseller

Edinburgh, 1817-1828

Published a series of twopenny children's chapbooks, 'Ross's Juvenile Library' and 'The Edinburgh Juvenile Library.'

CLARK, William

Bookseller

Stirling, 1795

A copy of *Children's Catechism* was printed for him in 1795.

CLARKE [CLARK], James & Co

Printers and publishers

Edinburgh, 1823-1844

Published a series of children's chapbooks at twopence.

DAVIDSON, John

Wholesale stationer

Glasgow, 1859-1864

Published a numbered series of 'New and Improved' children's chapbooks at a penny, some of which contain coloured illustrations.

DEAS, William and James

Bookseller and stationer

Edinburgh, 1804, 1810

Published a collection of illustrated children's chapbooks at sixpence in 1809. The books could be bought separately or bound into six volumes.

DUNCAN, James

Bookseller

Glasgow, 1769-82

James Duncan sold children's books printed by J & J (later J & M) Robertson.

ELDER, Henry

See Caw

ELDER, John

Bookseller and bookbinder

Edinburgh, 1786-1805

The Agent for Hannah More's *Cheap Repository Tracts*.

FLEMING, Andrew and KERR, Malcolm

Stationer

Glasgow, 1819-1828

Published the 'Glasgow Juvenile Library', a numbered series of children's chapbooks.

GIBB, James & Co.

Wholesale stationers and publishers

Glasgow, 1865-1869

Publishers of 'Gibb's Good Child's Picture Library,' a series of cheap children's books.

GORDON, James

Educational publisher

Edinburgh, 1860-63

Published children's books and educational books.

GRIFFIN, Richard & Co

Booksellers and circulating library

Glasgow, 1819-61

Publisher of children's books.

HUTCHESON (HUTCHISON, HUTCHINSON), Robert

Bookseller and printer

Glasgow, 1796-1846

A prolific publisher of chapbooks containing Scottish material and children's titles.

KAY, James & Sons

Publishers

Glasgow, 1858-78

Published 'Kay's Good Child's Picture Library', a series of children's chapbooks. The firm acquired the stereotypes for this series from James Gibb & Co of Glasgow who published them as 'Gibb's Good Child's Picture Library.'

LAING, Mrs.

Perfumer, mapseller, seller of children's books

Aberdeen 1820-27

Sold children's books and Christmas Annuals.

LAMB, Robert

Merchant

Aberdeen, 1797-98

Sold *An Affectionate Address Intended to Promote the Piety of Young Christians*.

LINDSAY, James

Printer and wholesale stationer

Glasgow, 1847-1909

Acquired the stereotypes for a numbered series of chapbooks from Francis Orr & Sons, which contained some children's titles such as fairy tales. Lindsay also produced a series of 'New and Improved' chapbooks containing children's titles and instruction books.

LUMSDEN, James

Engraver and wholesale stationer

Glasgow, 1783-1892

Published children's chapbooks and a wide range of juvenile ephemera.

MACARTER, David & Co

Printer and bookseller

Ayr, 1817-1825

Published alongside a number of chapbooks a children's periodical 'The Juvenile and Literary Miscellany.'

MACNIE, William

Printer and bookseller

Stirling, 1820-1830

One of the largest producers of chapbooks in Scotland, some with the imprint 'Edinburgh: Printed for the Booksellers', MacNie also sold a large assortment of children's books.

MEIN, John

Bookseller

Edinburgh, 1760-1764

In 1761 Mein advertised 'a great variety of pretty little entertaining books for children.'

MIDDLETON, William

Bookseller, stationer, bookbinder and account book manufacturer

Dundee, 1837-1852

Published an edition of *The Torch Bearers: A New Years Gift for the Young* in 1849

MILLER, George

Bookseller

Dunbar and Haddington, 1789-1811

Produced a number of traditional Scottish chapbooks before producing his 'Cheap Tracts', a series of improving tracts many of which were targeted at the young, and later a periodical, 'The Cheap Magazine'.

MONCUR, John

Printer

Edinburgh, 1707-26

Printed an edition of the children's primer, *A Guide for the Child and Youth*.

NICHOLSON, John

Bookseller, printer, bookbinder, and circulating library, dealer in music, instruments and tea

Kirkcudbright, 1820-1886

Published a series of chapbooks with the title 'A Selection of Amusing and Instructive Reading.'

OLIVER, Thomas, and BOYD, George

Publisher, bookseller and printer

Edinburgh, 1799-20th Century

Sold a series of juvenile chapbooks at various prices.

ORR, Francis

Wholesale stationer

Glasgow, 1790-1935

Printed a series of chapbooks including some children's titles such as fairy titles.

PATERSON, Archibald

Engraver and copperplate printer

Glasgow, 1818-1849

Published a series of small children's books with engraved illustrations.

RANDALL, Charles and Mary

Printer, Bookseller and Circulating Library

Charles Randall was one of the largest producers of chapbooks in Scotland. After his death, his wife Mary took over the business and appears to have published some children's titles, such as *Short Stories for Little Folks, or, Little Tales, Calculated to Excite Juvenile Minds to the Love and Practice of Virtue.*

RITCHIE, John

Printer and bookseller

Edinburgh, 1796-1840

Printed 'The Scotch Cheap Repository', a series of moral and religious tracts written for a juvenile audience.

ROBERTSON, John and James (later James and Matthew)

Printer and bookseller

Glasgow, 1774-1809

One of the largest producers of chapbooks in Scotland, the firm also published a series of children's books from 1782 onwards.

ROSS, George & James

Printers

Edinburgh, 1804-1817

Published 'Ross's Juvenile Library', a series of children's chapbooks, in partnership with James Lumsden of Glasgow and Caw & Elder of Edinburgh.

RUTHVEN, James

Printer and Grocer

Edinburgh, 1775-1837

Printed a copy of *Twenty-Eight Divine Songs, for the Use of Children*, Edinburgh: Printed by James Ruthven & Sons in 1798.

SCOTT, Lockhart

Bookseller and stationer

Edinburgh, 1803

In 1803 Scott published a children's chapbooks, *Cries of Edinburgh Characteristically Represented*.

SCOTT, William

Printer and bookseller

Greenock, 1820-1825

Sold children's books and an assortment of children's publications from London.

SMITH, William

Teacher, wright, and publisher

Edinburgh, 1822-1833

Published educational books for children and an assortment of juvenile ephemera including large woodcuts for children and toy fortune telling cards.

TANSH, Johanna

Circulating library

Edinburgh, 1814-1870

Maintained a circulating library and sold a selection of children's books.

THORNTON, George and BRYDONE, James

Printers and booksellers

Edinburgh, 1836-1851

Published children's books including a copy of *History of Beasts*.

TROUP, William

Merchant and bookseller

Aberdeen, 1819-29

Sold copies of *An Affectionate Address Intended to Promote the Piety of Young Christians*.

TURNBULL, Andrew & Co

Printers

Edinburgh, 1838-1848

Published a series of twopenny children's books.

TURNBULL, Thomas

Printer

Edinburgh, 1798-1837

Printed a copy of *The Mother's Catechism for the Young Child*.

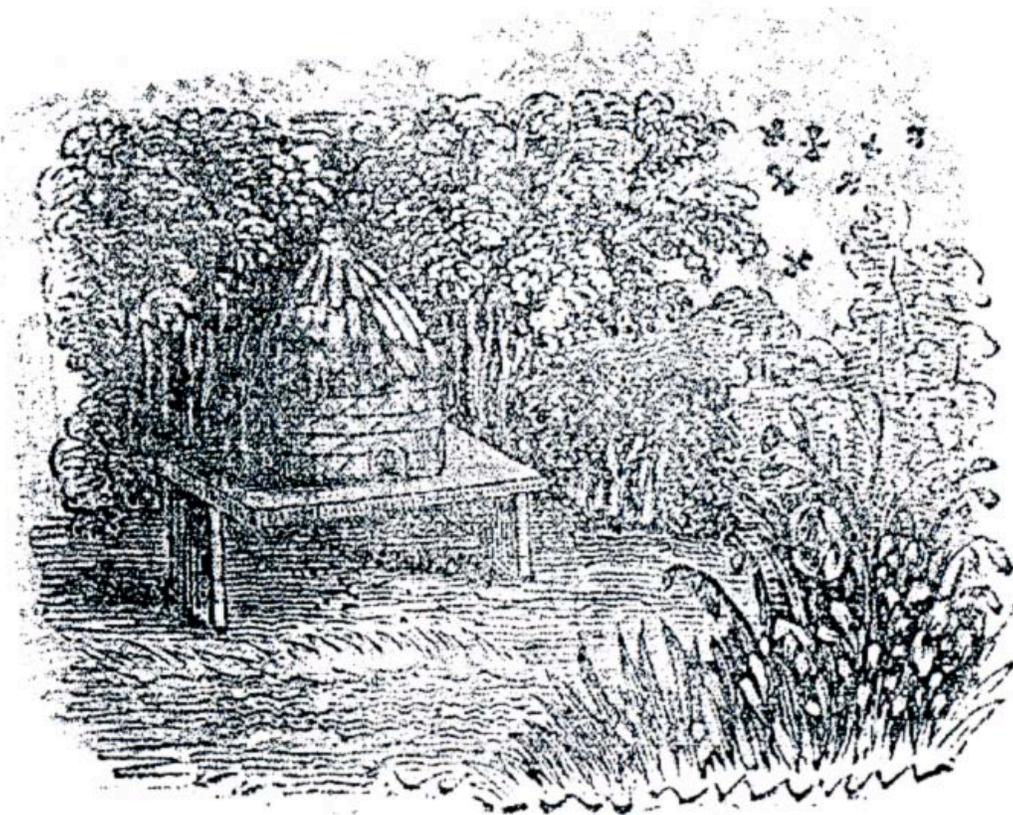
WATT, James

Printer

Montrose, 1820-1852

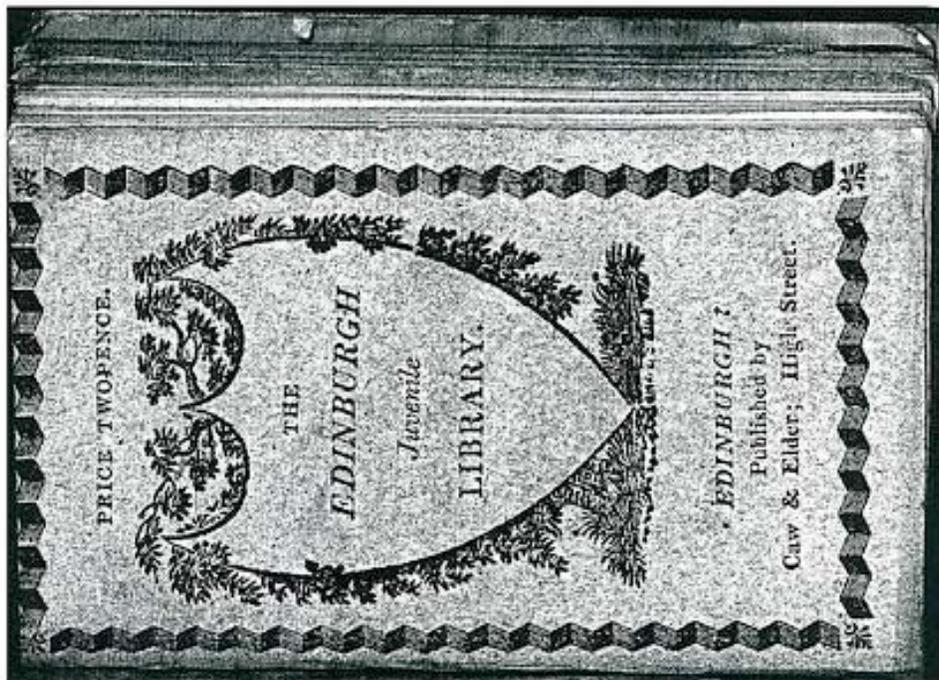
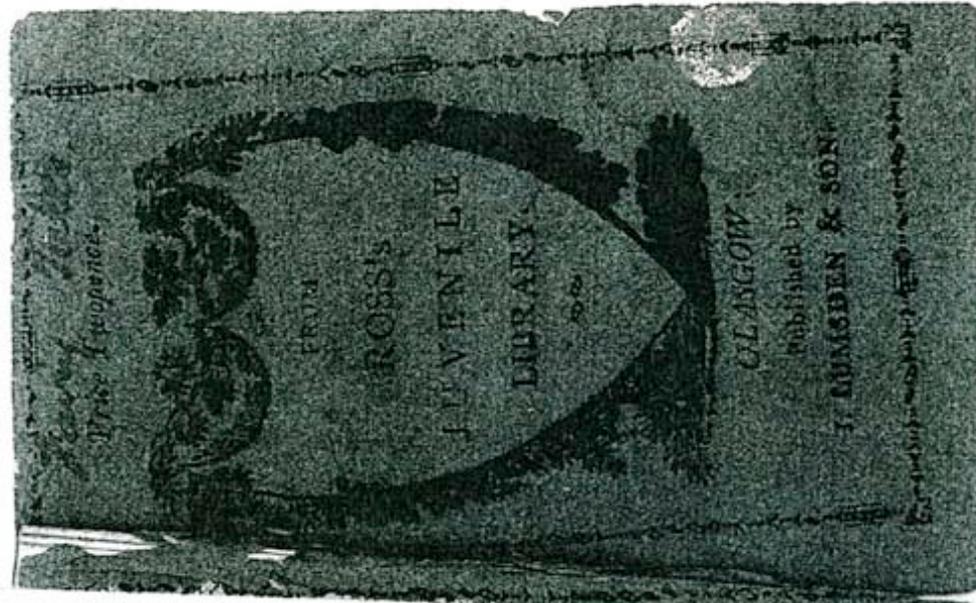
Printed a series of children's chapbooks at a penny.

Appendix 8, Wood engraved illustration from James Lindsay's Edition of Watts' *Divine Songs*, Song XX, 'Against Idleness and Mischief'³⁸¹



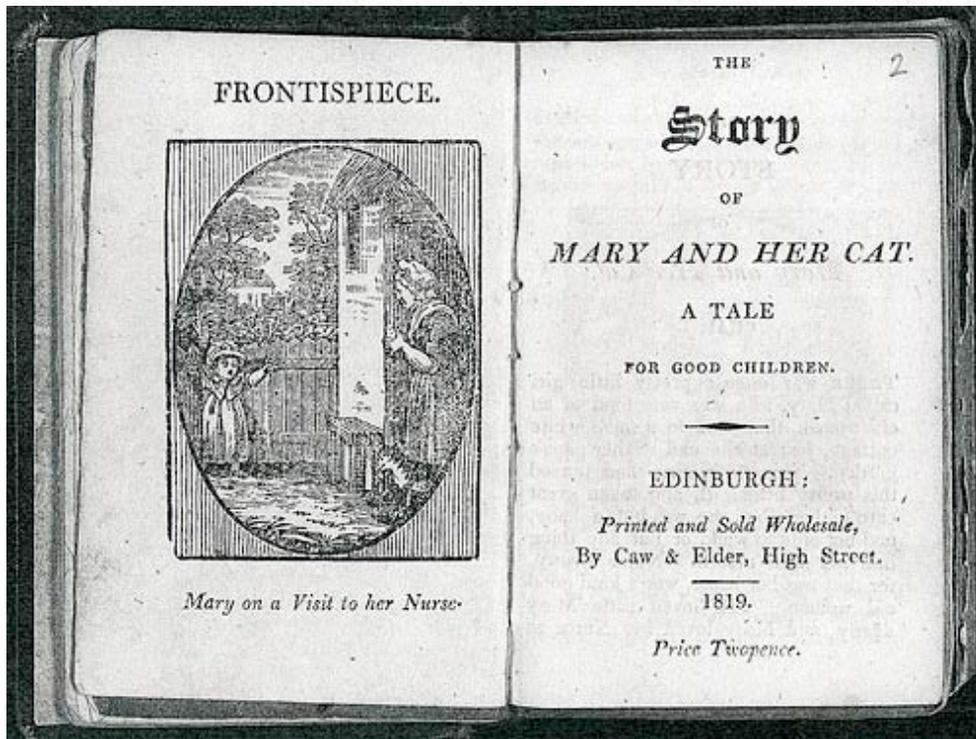
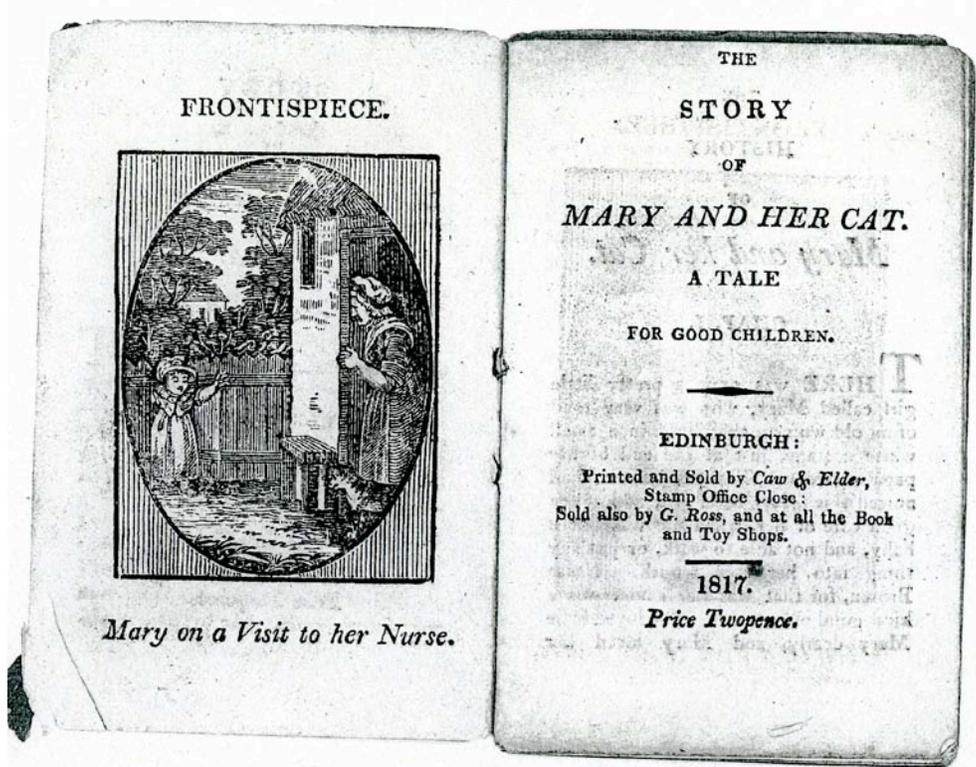
³⁸¹ Image reproduced with permission of Glasgow University's Special Collections. Image has been enlarged for clarity.

Appendix 9, A Comparison of James Lumsden & Son's 'Ross's Juvenile Library' and Caw & Elder's 'The Edinburgh Juvenile Library',³⁸²



³⁸² Images reproduced with permission of the National Library of Scotland

Appendix 10, A Comparison of Caw & Elder's 1817 and 1819 editions of *The Story of Mary and her Cat*. The decline in quality of the wood engraving between 1817 and 1819 is notable.³⁸³



³⁸³ Images reproduced with permission of the National Library of Scotland

Appendix 11, Illustration from Oliver & Boyd's *The History of Beauty and the Beast*³⁸⁴



³⁸⁴ Image reproduced with permission of the National Library of Scotland. Image has been enlarged for clarity.

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