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Little Goody Two-Shoes and Other Stories

originally published by ***john newbery***

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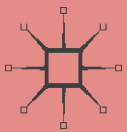
edited by **m. o. grenby**



Little Goody Two-Shoes and Other Stories

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Little Goody Two-Shoes and Other Stories: Originally Published by John Newbery

Edited with an Introduction by

M. O. Grenby

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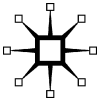

First published 2013 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

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Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

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ISBN 978-1-137-27427-4 ISBN 978-1-137-27429-8 (eBook)

DOI 10.1007/978-1-137-27429-8

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

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Acknowledgments

This book would not have made its way into print were it not for the assistance of: Helen Stark, who undertook much of the preliminary research and read a draft; Gen Larose, who photographed the illustrations; Lynne Vallone, who read and commented on parts of the manuscript; and Brian Alderson, who, as well as offering wise advice, has been overwhelmingly generous with his time and his collection.

I would also like to thank staff at Palgrave Macmillan, past and present, who have encouraged this venture and shepherded the book into print, particularly Francis Arnold, Kate Haines, Felicity Noble and Jenna Steventon.

Introduction

This volume collects together three children's books published by John Newbery in the mid-eighteenth century. Who wrote them is uncertain; so too are the precise dates of their first publication. What is beyond doubt is the significance of Newbery's contribution to the history of children's literature. Children did read before Newbery began to publish for them in about 1744. And other publishers had already produced a handful of books designed to make children's reading 'a Diversion Instead of a Task' (as the sub-title of Mary Cooper's 1743 *Child's New Play-Thing* put it). But Newbery's achievement was to make children's literature *work*. That is to say that Newbery made children's literature work for him, so that it became a profitable part of his business and, once his descendants and his competitors had followed his lead, a thriving and secure sector of print culture. But it is also to say that his books worked for their readers in ways that we still think children's literature should. They have strong characters, amusing antics, and an engaging address. They look attractive, with decorative bindings and appealing illustrations that synchronise with the text. They entice children to read, and unobtrusively induct them into the prevailing social value system. They successfully fuse their fun with their educative content.

This introduction looks first at Newbery himself and at his career as perhaps the most important of all pioneers of children's publishing. Then it explains the selection of the three titles included here and (presenting new evidence) considers the complicated questions of who wrote them, and when. The third section examines in more detail the texts themselves, placing them in their eighteenth-century cultural contexts. And the fourth section explores their economy and politics: something not always associated with children's literature. Indeed, it is clear that the boundaries of what was 'proper' for children's literature were still being negotiated in the mid-eighteenth century. Newbery and his authors, having few models to follow, were experimenting.

Sometimes the results can seem rather unruly and unsuitable. But even if these books can appear rather odd and old-fashioned today, it is no surprise to find that Newbery's contemporaries spoke of his books with huge affection, nor that the best of his publications became literary classics, remaining in print, and in children's hands, for more than a century after their first appearance. The final section of this introduction examines their readership and this remarkable legacy.

Newbery's children's books are worth our attention for a number of reasons then. They are one of the foundation-stones of the whole children's literature canon. They provide a unique insight into the society and culture, and even the politics and economy, of the mid-eighteenth century. But third, and surely no less importantly, they remain a joy to read.

John Newbery

Newbery himself is an intriguing and rather enigmatic figure. Born in 1713, the son of a farmer, in Waltham St. Lawrence in Berkshire, he was employed by a newspaper proprietor, William Carnan, in the nearby town of Reading. Carnan died in 1737 leaving some of his property to Newbery. Two years later Newbery married Carnan's widow. He was thus able to set himself up as a printer in Reading, and entries in his 'Private Memorandum Book' show that he was casting about for books to publish.[1] In late 1743, he relocated to London, moving to the address at which he was to become famous, 65 St. Paul's Church-Yard, in 1745. From then until 1767, when he died, Newbery published around 500 titles.[2] The majority of these were primarily intended for adults, includ-

[1] Some entries from this 'Private Memorandum Book' are recorded in Charles Welsh's Newbery biography and bibliography, *A Bookseller of the Last Century* (London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden and Welsh, 1885), pp.14–18. Welsh evidently had access to a large cache of papers relating to Newbery's business, but the whereabouts of this archive are now unknown: see Terry Belanger, 'Where Are the Newbery Papers?', *Bibliography Newsletter* (*BiN*), 3, vii (1975), 2.

[2] This figure includes new editions and reprints and is derived from S. Roscoe's authoritative bibliography, *John Newbery and His Successors* (Wormley, Herts.: Five Owls Press, 1973).

ing poetry, periodicals, pocket-books and many other miscellaneous kinds of publication. But a substantial proportion were for the juvenile market.

Browsing through a chronological list of his publications makes it clear that Newbery was feeling his way in this unprecedented venture. After *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book* (advertised and apparently available for sale in summer 1744, though no copy earlier than 1760 survives), he seems to have concentrated for several years on a series of instructional books on grammar, rhetoric, geography, logic and so on, co-published with the Salisbury publisher Benjamin Collins and marketed under the title *The Circle of the Sciences* (1745–8).[3] In the 1750s, other individual volumes of stories, fables, pictures and poems sporadically followed, along with some rather sober dictionaries, scriptural adaptations and histories. Some were lastingly successful but Newbery still seems to have been trying out different kinds of products. It was only by the early 1760s that children's books began to form a consistent and sizeable proportion of the business, though even then Newbery's interests in various newspapers and journals, and his books for adults, probably took up most of his attention. Indeed, Newbery's growing prosperity, which allowed him to experiment with different kinds of literature, was not derived from publishing at all, but from a retail and wholesale trade in patent medicines (they are touted in *Goody Two-Shoes* and advertised at its close: pp. 93 and 157). Almost certainly the largest part of his income came from the 'Fever Powder' invented by Robert James, immensely popular as a cure-all in the mid-eighteenth century and available into the twentieth, for which Newbery had been appointed sole vending agent in 1746.[4]

[3] See Christine Ferdinand, *Benjamin Collins and the Provincial Newspaper Trade in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp.40–1.

[4] The logic of the link between the trades in books and patent medicines, because 'both dealt in products which were centrally produced and nationally distributed' which 'called for national advertising', is clearly set out by John Feather in his *History of British Publishing* (London: Routledge, 1988), pp.114–15. See p.229, note 9 for more on the composition and sale of Dr. James's Powder.

At Newbery's death in 1767, his son Francis, working in partnership with Newbery's stepson Thomas Carnan, took over the business, though Francis broke from the partnership in 1779 to concentrate on selling the patent medicines. John Newbery had already established his nephew, also called Francis, in the book trade, and a rancorous rivalry developed between the two publishing operations (as is amply demonstrated by the angry preface to *The Fairing*: p.161). It was in fact the nephew's business that survived longer, his wife Elizabeth taking it over on his death in 1780, and her manager, John Harris, continuing it, under his own name from 1801.[5] By the 1780s, children's books were probably dominating the list, an indication of the increasing specialism of the Newbery firm but also of the extent to which children's books had become established as a vibrant, and commercially viable, section of the print trade.

Choice of texts and questions of authorship and date

The three titles reprinted here – *The Lilliputian Magazine; The Fairing: or, a Golden Toy for Children;* and *The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes* – have been chosen chiefly to demonstrate John Newbery's astonishing capacity for innovation. *The Lilliputian Magazine* has the distinction of being the first known periodical for children.[6] *The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes*, probably Newbery's most famous work, has often been called the first children's novel (although it is a claim open to question). And *The Fairing* is perhaps the single title among John Newbery's productions that aims most obviously to amuse and delight its readers, subordinating its didacticism until it is only dimly visible in the background. These three titles, it should be stressed, are not representative of Newbery's entire children's list: the majority of his publications were more earnest and educational. Most were also pretty ephemeral. In contrast, the three titles reprinted here endured. Although only three issues of the *Lilliputian Magazine*

[5] See Marjorie Moon, *John Harris's Books for Youth, 1801–1843*, revised edition (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1987).

[6] See Kirsten Drotner, *English Children and Their Magazines, 1751–1945* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988).

were ever produced, it was quickly repackaged in a single volume in 1752 (as was Newbery's custom with his periodicals) and published as such through until the late 1780s.[7] Newbery and his successors likewise published new editions of *The Fairing* from its first publication in the mid-1760s into the 1780s, at which point other printers, in England, Scotland, Ireland and America, began to produce their own editions, probably pirated (although, according to the usual interpretation, the law at that time granted copyright only for 14 years). As for *Goody Two-Shoes*, its success meant that, by the end of the eighteenth century, it formed a staple of dozens of British and American publishers' children's lists. Indeed, abridged, revised and re-illustrated versions were still being published for children in the second half of the nineteenth century.[8]

What is by no means clear is who wrote these books nor, except in the case of *The Lilliputian Magazine*, precisely when they were first published. Until the last quarter of the eighteenth century it was unusual for authors to take credit for children's books: this reflects their lowly status but may also indicate that children's books could be the work of several authors and sometimes perhaps the publisher. It is certainly possible that John Newbery wrote all or part of these three titles. His 'Private Memorandum Book' from his days in Reading indicates that he planned to compile books himself, and Charles Welsh (writing in the 1880s, but not the most reliable authority) quoted Francis Newbery saying that his father was 'in the full employment of his talents in writing and publishing books of amusement and instruction for children'. Welsh also printed an otherwise unknown epigram from Samuel Johnson: 'Newbery is an extraordinary man, for I know

[7] For a full account of the publication of the *Lilliputian* see Jill E. Grey, '*The Lilliputian Magazine* – A Pioneering Periodical?', *Journal of Librarianship*, 2 (1970), pp.107–15. Grey draws on information from the ledger of its printer, William Strahan, to demonstrate that Newbery certainly first published the *Lilliputian* in periodical form, ordering from Strahan 4000 copies of the first two parts, and 3500 of the third. Since Newbery did not order a separate cover for part three, and since it was printed a year after part two, Grey speculates that it may never have been issued alone, but only ever appeared bound with parts one and two (p.112).

[8] See Wilbur Macey Stone, *The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes. An Essay and a List of Editions* (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1940).

not whether he has read, or written, most books.'[9] We know, however, that Newbery employed a stable of writers to produce the copy for his newspapers, journals and books, and it is likely that he turned to one or more of them when he decided to enter the juvenile market.

The most obvious candidate for *The Lilliputian Magazine* is the poet Christopher Smart. Born in 1722, Smart had been a high-achieving but also rowdy student, and then fellow, at Cambridge University before he became inescapably attracted to the more bohemian life possible in London. He moved there in 1749, and quickly began writing for Newbery, producing light, satirical verse, but also serious and religious poems, which Newbery was pleased to publish. He also wrote for, and edited, some of Newbery's periodicals: *The Student, or, The Oxford and Cambridge Monthly Miscellany* (1750–1) and *The Midwife, or, The Old Woman's Magazine* (1750–3). An offshoot of the latter was a comic theatrical show produced and largely performed by Smart, who appeared, in drag, in the character of 'Mrs Midnight'. Called 'Mrs Midnight's Oratory' or 'The Old Woman's Oratory', it was first seen in December 1751 at the Castle Tavern, near Newbery's shop, before transferring to the larger and more fashionable Haymarket Theatre. In 1752, Smart cemented his ties with Newbery by marrying his stepdaughter, Anne Maria Carnan. Although they had two children, it was not a happy marriage and it has been suggested that Smart's inconsiderate behaviour to his wife caused a rift with his father-in-law. Certainly it was Newbery who, in 1757, committed Smart to a madhouse, ostensibly because of a heightening religious mania (reports describe Smart praying loudly in public and urging others to join him), though bi-polar disorder, drunkenness and even political subversiveness have been suggested as the real reason for his incarceration.[10] It was only in 1763 that Smart gained his

[9] Welsh, *Bookseller of the Last Century*, pp.14 and 22–3.

[10] Chris Mounsey paints Newbery as a ruthless and perfidious exploiter who, 'acting either alone or in concert with unknown political figures, spread rumors about Smart's alcoholism, sexuality, and insanity after having had him locked away' either because of his mockery of government policy in print and on stage, 'or for reasons of commercial jealousy.' *Christopher Smart: Clown of God* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2001), pp.17 and 200.

freedom (having written what is now his most celebrated poetry, *Jubilate Agno*, while in the madhouse). His last years were productive but impoverished. He died in debtors' gaol in 1771. He had separated from his wife, and had apparently become estranged from Newbery, although it was Thomas Carnan, Newbery's stepson, who supported him in his last days and published his plaintive *Hymns for the Amusement of Children* (1771).

Hymns is the only work for children known certainly to be by Smart. But, given the closeness of his relationship with Newbery in the early 1750s, and particularly his authorial and editorial contributions to Newbery's periodicals, it would hardly be a surprise to find that Smart was involved in *The Lilliputian Magazine*. Indeed, since the late-eighteenth century, he has been credited as its editor, though the evidence is not conclusive.[11] All that can for certain be said is that he wrote one or two of the pieces to appear in the *Lilliputian*, notably 'A pastoral hymn' (p.31), advertised in the newspapers as by 'Kitty Smart', and which, under the title 'The Hymn of Eve', would later become one of his best-known works.[12] On the basis of this and three other pieces (see pp.27, 29 and 30), Smart's most authoritative bibliographers go so far as to say that 'the *Lilliputian* was almost certainly edited ... by Smart'.[13]

Yet close analysis of *The Lilliputian Magazine* allows us to go much further. It is riddled with hints of Smart's involvement. Stylistically it often exhibits the sort of sprightly, jocular writing that Smart was becoming known for in the early 1750s, but snatches of more boldly poetic writing also remind us of Smart's more elevated manner. '*Riches and titles ... are like bubbles on a running stream, liable to be blown away by the first breeze, or jostled into nothing by the next wave*' (p.18), for example, is not the language

[11] The claim is made by James Pettit Andrews in his *Addenda to Anecdotes, &c. Antient and Modern* (London: John Stockdale, 1790), pp.18–19. William J. Thoms also speaks of Smart as the 'editor' of *The Lilliputian Magazine* in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd ser., 74 (1857), pp.425–6. On the former, see Andrea Immel, 'James Pettit Andrews's "Books" (1790): The First Critical Survey of English Children's Literature', *Children's Literature*, 28 (2000), pp.147–63.

[12] *London Daily Advertiser and Literary Gazette*, 29 June 1751, p.2.

[13] Robert Mahoney and Betty Rizzo, *Christopher Smart, An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland, 1984), no.368.

usually to be found in Newbery's texts. Likewise the quasi-biblical language in the 'History of the Rise and Progress of Learning in Lilliput' ('Now liberty sprung up and displayed itself, like the tree of life in paradise...': p.21) is very much what we might expect from the pen of a poet who won the Seatonian prize five times for verses on the Supreme Being, and who would become obsessed by how best to articulate the praises of God that were, he felt, inherent in natural creation.[14] More concrete evidence comes from the fact that several of the putative child contributors to the *Lilliputian* are surnamed Smart (pp. 30 and 67), while one of the epigrams, said to have been written by Master Bridges of Bath, is actually, and incongruously, a flattering tribute to Smart's periodical *The Midwife; or, Old Woman's Magazine* (p.64).

Indeed, the *Midwife* and the *Lilliputian*, published at the same time, seem to share much the same frame of reference. In the former, for instance, Smart had printed the supposed will of Lemuel Gulliver, the protagonist of Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), bequeathing 'the Property and Copy-right of all my Voyages, which she shall think proper to write Notes or Comments upon' to Mary Midnight (Smart's own alter-ego). It was an invitation avidly taken up in the *Lilliputian*: it is not only its title that alludes to Swift's imaginary world (first brought before the public only 25 years previously) but several of the fables and narratives are set there (pp. 5, 18 and 45). In one of these, the Angelicans (another fantastical species to rank alongside Swift's inventions) are described as 'a gigantic sort of *Lilliputians,* about the size of the fairies in Mr. *Garrick's Queen Mab* (p.42)'. This is a reference to the recently produced pantomime, written by Smart's friend David Garrick, which had been the subject of a glowing article in *The Midwife*.[15] Advertisements for the *Lilliputian* included endorsements from Queen Mab and 'Mother Midnight'.[16] And the two

[14] See Harriet Guest, *A Form of Sound Words: The Religious Poetry of Christopher Smart* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

[15] *The Midwife, or Old Woman's Magazine*, 2 (1751), 151–5 and 1 (1750), 145–51. On Smart's 'puff' for *Queen Mab* see Min Wild, *Christopher Smart and Satire: 'Mary Midnight' and the* Midwife (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p.50.

[16] *Salisbury Journal*, 61 (11 March 1751) quoted in Mahoney and Rizzo, *Christopher Smart, An Annotated Bibliography*, no.370.

periodicals even on occasion repeated exactly the same phrases. In its opening dialogue the 'Author' of the *Lilliputian* says that the book aspires to teach children 'the *great grammar of the universe*; I mean, the *knowledge of men and things*' (p.4). Compare the dedication to the first collected edition of the *Midwife* in which the author says 'A Gentleman who has read the *Great Grammar of the Universe*, and obtain'd an intimate Acquaintance *with Men and Things*, sends me Word that there is no Sense in my Book.'[17] Such, in fact, are the continuities between the two periodicals that it is difficult to avoid the impression that the same mind was behind them both.

What is curious is that similar cross-references appear in *The Fairing* too. One attraction at the fair which forms the setting and subject for the book are 'Dogs and Monkies brought from the Theatre in the *Haymarket*' which perform various human activities such as dining, dancing and storming a fortress (p.186). Mention of the Haymarket Theatre, and the precise roster of activities the animals perform, make this very evidently a reference to the 'Pantomime Entertainment by the Animal Comedians' which formed part of Smart's 'Mrs Midnight's Concert' for several weeks in 1752–3. Allusions in *The Fairing* to 'my old Friend the learned Dog' and to the use of blue powder on wigs (a preposterous fashion that 'would certainly have prevailed' had it not been ruthlessly mocked by Mrs Midnight) are also connected with Smart's *Midwife* (see pp.187 and 214). But what is so intriguing is that *The Fairing* was apparently published in 1764: over a decade after the *Lilliputian*, the *Midwife*, and the last of Smart's 'Mrs Midnight' performances.

Before pondering this oddity – the appearance of all those references to Smart's activities of the early 1750s in a book published ten years later – we need to establish the publication date of *The*

[17] 'Preface' (signed 'Fardinando Foot, Esq.'), *The Midwife, or the Old Woman's Magazine* (London: 'Printed for Mary Midnight and Sold by T. Carnan', no date but 1751), p.iv. By the 'Gentleman who has ... obtain'd an intimate Acquaintance *with Men and Things*' Smart may have meant Newbery; certainly this 'Gentleman' seems to have a good knowledge of publishing, explaining that the *Midwife*'s lack of sense makes the book 'more likely to sell' and referring 'to several senseless Pieces that have been publish'd lately with Success'.

Fairing. The earliest surviving copy of *The Fairing* is dated 1767. But advertisements appeared in several newspapers in December 1764. Their characteristically playful text is worth quoting in full:

> The Philosophers, Politicians, Necromancers, and the Learned in every Faculty, are desired to observe, That on the First of January, being New Year's Day, (Oh that we may all lead new Lives!) Mr. Newbery intends to publish the following important Volumes, bound and gilt; and hereby invites all his little Friends, who are good, to call for them at the Bible and Sun, in St. Paul's Church Yard; but those who are naughty, are to have none:
>
> 1. The Renowned History of Giles Gingerbread, a little Boy, who lived upon Learning. Price One Penny.
> 2. The Easter Gift, or the Way to be very good: A Book very much wanted. Price Twopence.
> 3. The Whitsuntide Gift, or the Way to be very happy: A Book very necessary for all Families. Price Twopence.
> 4. The Valentine's Gift, or how to behave with Honour, Integrity, and Humanity: Very useful in a trading Nation. Price Sixpence.
> 5. The Fairing, or a Golden Toy, for Children of all Sizes and Denominations. Price Six-pence.
>
> In which they may see all the Fun of the Fair,
> And at Home be as happy, as if they were there.
>
> A Book of great Conscience to those whom it may concern.
> We are also desired to give Notice, that there is in the Press, and speedily will be published, either by Subscription or otherwise, as the Public shall please to determine,
>
> The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes, otherwise called Mrs. Margery Two-Shoes. With the Means by which she acquired her Learning and Wisdom, and in consequence thereof her Estate ... .[18]

There is no reason to doubt this advertisement's claim that *The Fairing* was published on 1 January 1765 (save to say that Newbery probably would have made it available in late 1764 to catch the

[18] *London Evening Post*, 25–7 December 1764, p.2.

Christmas market): the probability is that copies from this first edition simply do not survive. But in any case, why, in the mid-1760s, was *The Fairing* still alluding to Smart's productions of ten years earlier? Smart had gained his release from the madhouse in January 1763. Might he be the author of *The Fairing*, signing himself 'You Know Who' in the book's dedication (p.161)? Certainly there are compelling reasons why not. By the 1760s Smart was on very bad terms with Newbery. After all, it was Newbery who had had Smart incarcerated. And Smart was utterly estranged from his wife Anna Maria, Newbery's stepdaughter, who had been sent to Dublin and then Reading to manage Newbery's affairs. Indeed, Newbery's will, proved in 1767, specifically stipulated that Smart should not benefit from Anna Maria inheritance.[19] Yet on the other hand, Smart was prodigiously productive after his release: his *Song to David*, three volumes of poems, an oratorio, and translations of the fables of Phaedrus and the Psalms of David were all published in 1763–5, though none of them by Newbery. And one cannot help asking why, if Smart was not the author of *The Fairing*, Newbery would have countenanced the decision of whoever did write it to commemorate Smart's 1750s successes when their falling out had apparently been so acrimonious? The mystery remains impenetrable. Perhaps the most likely explanation is that work was begun on *The Fairing*, by Smart, in the early 1750s, but that the manuscript was set aside (coincidentally, or not, during the period of Smart's imprisonment) only to be completed, or prepared for publication, when Newbery was ready to release a substantial tranche of books, as the advertisement details, in 1764. By then, many of the incidents it alluded to were ancient history but Newbery presumably chose not to revise the text just as he chose not to go to the bother of expunging references to Smart.

The same advertisement also announces the forthcoming publication of *Goody Two-Shoes* and it now seems beyond doubt that this, Newbery's most celebrated production, was first published in late 1764 or early 1765, though the identity of its author remains a

[19] See Betty Rizzo and Robert Mahoney (eds), *The Annotated Letters of Christopher Smart* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), p.125.

matter of debate.[20] Previously overlooked internal evidence sheds light on precisely when it was actually written, and perhaps who wrote it. 'Why, it was but Yesterday, that a whole House fell down in *Grace-church-street*, and another in *Queen's-street*', interjects someone calling himself the 'Man in the Moon' when the school run by Goody Two-Shoes collapses in the novel. This 'Man in the Moon' then goes on to call for Parliament to take action to prevent further disasters (pp.130–31). Intriguingly, what must surely have been the first of these events is reported in a July 1763 edition of *Lloyd's Evening Post*:

> On Saturday evening, about six o'clock, a melancholy accident happened in Gracechurch-street. The party-wall between Mess. Nash, Edows, and Martin, and Mr. Harrison's, being deemed very bad in the opinion of the workmen, they were ordered to repair it; but whilst they were about it, and before they could get it properly secured, and shoared up, both houses fell down in less than three minutes after they heard it crack; there were 16 people in the house at the that time, but providentially not one was hurt.[21]

The 'Man in the Moon', whoever he or she was, was evidently aware of day-to-day events in central London. Newbery himself comes to mind, especially since he was the largest shareholder in – and therefore perhaps had a hand in editing – the newspaper

[20] The evidence for its first publication date is set out in Julian Roberts, 'The 1765 Edition of *Goody Two-Shoes*', *The British Museum Quarterly*, 29 (1965), pp.67–70, including a discussion of the unreliability of the date '8 April 1765' that appears on the dedication leaf of some editions from about 1770.

[21] *Lloyd's Evening Post*, 22–5 July 1763, p.85. The Queen Street collapse may be that referred to in the diary of Jérôme Lalande for 3 May 1763: 'This morning I saw three houses which had collapsed, from a lack of good building regulations, there were several people crushed in Whitefriars' (*Diary of a Trip to England. Translated from the Original Manuscript,* ed. Richard Watkins (Kingston, Tasmania: Published by the author, 2002), p.28) – although Queen Street is actually a few hundred meters east of the area usually designated as Whitefriars.

that reported the collapse and its aftermath.[22] His shop was only half a mile away from Gracechurch Street. It seems not unlikely that he was the 'Man in the Moon', although perhaps interposing his plea for parliamentary intervention into a narrative written by somebody else.

Besides Newbery, the other main candidates for the authorship of *Goody Two-Shoes* are the printer and journalist Griffith Jones and the poet, playwright, novelist and much else, Oliver Goldsmith. The former's claim has been advanced on the basis of an assertion in John Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (1812–15) that it is 'to Mr Griffith Jones, and a brother of his, Mr Giles Jones, in conjunction with Mr John Newbery, the public are indebted for ... The Lilliputian histories of Goody Two Shoes, Giles Gingerbread, Tommy Trip, &c., &c.'. In fact, Nichols was here reprinting a claim that had been made a little earlier, by the bookseller Henry Lemoine in 1797, but no further corroboration can be found.[23] Evidence to support Goldsmith's candidacy is a little more persuasive, but hardly overwhelming. Goldsmith had worked as a hack writer for Newbery since at least 1760 and from 1762 to 1764 – at the very time *Goody* was being written – he was living in Newbery's care (or perhaps custody) at Newbery's Canonbury House (just as Smart had done a decade earlier). During this period, amongst much other writing by Goldsmith, Newbery co-published *The Citizen of the World* (1762), brought out the extremely successful *History of England in a Series of Letters from a Nobleman to his Son*, and purchased the copyright of *The Vicar of Wakefield* (finally published 1766). It would hardly be a surprise if Goldsmith also had a hand in *Goody*, though the only substantiation his supporters have been able to adduce are various perceived similarities of tone, style, structure, humour and theme between *Goody* and some of Goldsmith's works, notably *The Vicar of Wakefield* and *The Deserted Village* (1770). In particular, the dismay

[22] Newbery's authors frequently wrote for *Lloyd's Evening Post*. See Arthur Le Blanc Newbery, *Records of the House of Newbery from 1274 to 1910* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), p.17.

[23] Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (6 vols., London: printed for the author, 1812–15), vol.3 (1812), p.466; Lemoine, *Typographical Antiquities: History, Origin, and Progress, of the Art of Printing* (London: S. Fisher, 1797), p.82.

expressed at the enclosure of land by the rich in the latter recalls the 'Introduction' to *Goody*. Goldsmith, in fact, had, as early as 1762, in Newbery's *Lloyd's Evening Post*, written angrily against the increasing rates of eviction of the rural poor by large landowners, and the appearance of very similar sentiments in *Goody*, written a year or two later, is striking.[24] But it does not prove Goldsmith's authorship of even the 'Introduction', let alone the whole book. Indeed, Charles Welsh, who had access to an archive of Newbery business records now lost, lists many of Newbery's financial dealings with Goldsmith but evidently found no record of a payment for a children's book.[25]

What seems increasingly likely is that *Goody* was the combined work of several different authors. Indeed, at the end of the introduction to *Goody*, 'the Editor' deliberately raises the suggestion that preface and narrative are written by different people ('Why, do you suppose this is written by Mr. Newbery, Sir? This may come from another Hand': p.93). Similarly, the history of Tommy Two-Shoes (pp.149–54), promised at the end of his sister's story (p.144), was added only in the second edition, as if Newbery (perhaps responding to a rival's opportunistic sequel) thought better of a plan to publish another complete book and commissioned one of his authors to add ten pages that could be tacked on to the end of *Goody*.[26] A letter purporting to be from the book's printer

[24] Goldsmith's essay appeared in *Lloyd's Evening Post*, 14–16 June 1762, p.571, and was later titled 'The Revolution in Low Life'. See Sylvia Patterson Iskander, 'Goody Two-Shoes and *The Vicar of Wakefield*', *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, 13 (1988), pp.165–8. The debunking of Lady Ducklington's ghost in *Goody* (pp.108–12) may also be linked with Goldsmith's exposé of a 'real' London ghost in his pamphlet *The Mystery Revealed; Containing a Series of Transactions and Authentic Testimonials, Respecting the Supposed Cock-Lane Ghost* (London: W. Bristow, 1762).

[25] Partial records of the Newbery-Goldsmith transactions are given in Welsh's *Bookseller of the Last Century*, p.62n.

[26] See Roberts, 'The 1765 Edition of *Goody Two-Shoes*', p.70. David Hounslow speculates that Newbery's expeditious expansion of Tommy's story was a response to the unscrupulous publication, by Henry Roberts, of a book called *The Orphan; or, the Renowned History of Tommy Two-Shoes*, which appeared in 1765 or 1766. Hounslow, 'The Opie Copy of the 1766 Edition of *The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes*', *Bodleian Library Record*, 15 (1995), pp.136–9 (p.138, n.1).

adds to the impression of the text's hybridity (p.154). There is even the hint of a connection to Smart in *Goody*'s singing of the 'Cuzz's Chorus' which, David Hounslow has argued, Smart probably wrote in the late 1750s (p.103).[27] Quite possibly, irrespective of whether he was producing a periodical like the *Lilliputian* or a 'novel' like *Goody*, it was Newbery's method to collect material from a number of authors (and illustrators) and to compile it into a more or less coherent volume (either himself or employing an editor). It was a process that may sometimes have taken years, as appears to have been the case with *The Fairing*. Such a *modus operandi* would explain why the question of who wrote Newbery's books has remained so difficult to answer.

Genre confusion, the carnivalesque and politeness

Newbery's publications were also generic hybrids. *Goody Two-Shoes* is part moral tale and part fairy story, with a heroine who, like Cinderella, goes from riches to rags and back to riches again. *The Fairing* actually includes two nursery tales – *Dick Whittington* and *Puss in Boots* – both also tracing a child's journey from poverty to affluence. Though well-known now, these were fairly new in the mid-eighteenth century. The story of Dick Whittington circulated chiefly in the form of a seventeenth-century ballad while *Puss in Boots* (with *Cinderella*) had been in English only since 1729 when Robert Samber published his translation of Charles Perrault's *Histoires ou contes du temps passé*. Despite their novelty, the inclusion of fairy tales in respectable children's literature was already contentious. John Locke, in his *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), had associated tales involving the supernatural with servant culture – something the new children's literature was designed to displace – and he had condemned such stories as psychologically damaging to young minds. Newbery, though a disciple of Lockean rationalism in most ways, was evidently prepared to defy the widespread critical aversion to the fairy story. He and his successors published several volumes of Perrault's and Madame d'Aulnoy's tales and, in *Goody*, even went so far as

[27] David Hounslow, 'The Cuz's Chorus: Or, a Little Piece of Book-Trade Nonsense', *Quadrat*, 12 (2001), pp.3–7.

to license the inclusion of a speaking, reading and poetry-composing raven (pp.119–22). Some compromise is evident though. The Newbery edition of Madame d'Aulnoy's fairy tales received a subtitle that stressed the practical utility of the fairy tale: 'For the Amusement of All Those Little Masters and Misses Who, by Duty to Their Parents, and Obedience to Their Superiors, Aim at Becoming Great Lords and Ladies.' And in *The Fairing* the telling of the two fairy tales is followed by a short debate on their probity, concluding 'that Fairy Tales should never be read but on Fair Days, when People are inclined to have their Heads stuffed with Nonsense' (p.208).[28]

Another emerging genre with which Newbery's children's publications manifestly have close ties was the novel. The 'rise of the novel' (though a matter of much debate among literary critics) was essentially coeval with Newbery's development of the new children's literature: Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*, *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison* were published in 1740–1, 1748 and 1753 respectively, Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones* in 1749, Tobias Smollett's *Peregrine Pickle* in 1751, Charlotte Lennox's *The Female Quixote* in 1752, Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* from 1759 to 1767, Horace Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* in 1764 and Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield* in 1766 (to name only a few of the major titles). Self-evidently, Newbery's *Goody Two-Shoes*, one of the first continuous prose narratives written for children, and tracing a strongly characterised individual's adventures through a harsh world, was an attempt to bring the novel form to children. It was an attempt that had, in fact, been made already in the *Lilliputian Magazine*. Several of the *Lilliputian*'s constituent stories read like miniature novels, notably the 'History of Florella' which many eighteenth-century readers would surely have recognised as a drastically condensed rendering of the first part of Richardson's *Pamela*, published ten years earlier but still the subject of widespread public debate. Indeed, it was a recognition archly pre-empted by the *Lilliputian's* editor's note that the story was 'Sent by an Unknown

[28] For a summary of the debate, and the place of the Newbery firm in keeping the fairy tale in print in the second half of the eighteenth century, see M. O. Grenby, 'Tame Fairies Make Good Teachers: The Popularity of Early British Fairy Tales', *The Lion and the Unicorn*, 30 (2006), pp.1–24.

Hand, And may, for ought we know, have been published before' (p.13). There are some differences – Florella, unlike Pamela, is not a servant in her would-be seducer's house, and she is not the victim of an attempted rape, as is Pamela – but the similarities are more striking. Both narratives are developed through the letters of the protagonists and hinge on the seducer's interception of letters between the heroine and her parents, and in both the seducer is finally reformed by the heroine's chastity and financial probity, allowing the narrative to close with a happy marriage.

Another of the *Lilliputian*'s stories deals with equally adult themes: 'The Adventure of Master Tommy Trusty And his delivering Miss Biddy Johnson, From the Thieves who were going to murder her ' (p.10). Representing the abduction of a child and her attempted murder, this was surely more likely to induce childhood trauma than any of the fairy tales against which critics were warning. Its terror is amplified by the text's geographical specificity, and it seems possible that, as was the case with other elements of Newbery's publications, this was a story taken from real life.[29] On the other hand, Tommy's cunning trick of making a hullabaloo to persuade the villains that he is approaching with a numerous posse, allowing him to rescue a girl in distress seems distinctly novelistic. A possible source is an episode in Fielding's *Tom Jones*, published two years before, in which the hero charges into a remote wood to rescue a woman who has been abducted there and is about to be murdered.[30]

[29] A possible inspiration for the story of Biddy Johnson, as recorded in *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, is the case of Ann Brooks, tried for robbery on 6 September 1749. She 'was indicted for that she, in a certain necessary house, on Jane Randolph, spinster, did make an assault, her in corporal fear and danger of her life did put, taking from her person one linen cap, val[ue]. 4d. one silk knot, val[ue]. 1 d. one camblet skirt, one coat, one flannel peticoat, val[ue]. 6d . one pair of shoes, val[ue]. 6d. the goods of the said Jane Randolph , July 8. | The child was found in its shift only, after it had been seen in the prisoner's hand leading it, the prisoner had carry'd the cloaths to her house, where she and the clothes were found.' Brooks was found guilty of the lesser crime of felony and sentenced to transportation. *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, accessed 7 September 2012; t17490906–86).

[30] Henry Fielding, *The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling* (London: A. Millar, 1749), bk.9, vol.2, p.293.

In Fielding's novel, Tom cannot restrain himself from glancing at the half-naked woman he has rescued, and proceeds to sleep with her, and we might think that this kind of highly sexualised fiction, intended for adults, would have been a world away from children's literature. But the *Lilliputian Magazine* is not prudish in the way that children's books would become. Its retelling of a bible story unabashedly explains that Joseph was 'a very comely youth' and that 'his mistress was so charmed with his person, that she used all the arts of fond persuasion to lure him to her bed' (p.35). And how, one wonders, would a parent explain Polly Meanwell's gratitude for being rescued from a pirate who 'made several attempts on her virtue' or that she 'would not comply with his wicked desires' (p.71)? Or her plea that her rescuer should not 'for a sensual gratification, a momentary pleasure, make me miserable for ever?' (p.71; see also pp.15 and 128) The explicit moralising that periodically rears up in the narratives only adds to the generic confusion. Biddy Johnson, it is carefully explained, was only abducted as a result of her vanity about her appearance and her filial disobedience. Whoever wrote the story evidently knew that such moral lessons ought to form the proper content of a children's book, but chose a curious medium for transmitting them. The impression we get from many of Newbery's early publications is that the authors were feeling their way, and had only a dim sense of what was and was not a 'fit' subject or tone for children's books. At this early date, the proprieties of children's literature had not yet reified.

Besides the novelistic content, the *Lilliputian Magazine* mélange also featured fables, poetry, jests, bible narratives, hymns, recipes, riddles, country dances, letters debating current events (against the cruel sport of cock-throwing, for example, on the occasion of its prohibition in London: p.22) and an eccentric assortment of illustrations. Perhaps the most remarkable sections are the four separate accounts of children's voyages to fantastical regions, as susceptible to satirical and allegorical readings as Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* which they openly emulated. As for *The Fairing*, alongside its fairy tales, stories familiar from standard editions of classical history ('Cincinnatus', p.173) jostle side by side with comic sketches ('Neighbour Tumble-turf, and Neighbour Chopstick', p.183), and moral fables ('The history of Honesty and Knavery',

'Miss Pride and Miss Prudence', pp.169 and 171) with exposés of magic tricks (p.189) and original verse (such as 'Drunken Will', p.178, a poem that Brian Alderson calls 'on the brink of being a limerick'[31]). In and of itself, the book also contributed to, and perhaps revived, a distinct literary genre: the 'fairing', a present traditionally given or bought as a souvenir of a fair. As with his other 'occasion books', including *The Easter Gift*, *Whitsuntide Gift* and *Valentine's Gift* which featured alongside *The Fairing* in the 1764 advertisement, Newbery thus ensured that there was a readymade market for his book. He was by no means the first to do so, books designed for adults to give children as mementoes of the fair having been in print since at least 1589 when the preacher John Stockwood published his *Bartholomew Fairing for Parentes, to bestow upon their Sonnes and Daughters*.

Newbery's *Fairing* went further though. Andrea Immel notes the accuracy of its description and suggests that the book may have been inspired in part by William Hogarth's famous engraving of 'Southwark Fair' (1733–4) or as a memorial to Southwark Fair and its well-known acts (the fair had been closed down for good in 1763, just before *The Fairing's* publication).[32] But the book was designed not only to describe the specific attractions, topography and feel of the fair (in both text and illustrations), but also actually to resemble a fair in its organisation, tone and what Alderson calls 'the almost random whirl of events'.[33] Thus, as the author puts it in a preface, to succeed, the book must be 'written without either Rule or Method, or Rhyme, or Reason ... it must be one entire Whole, but a whole Heap of Confusion' (p.162). As such, the book now seems a perfect expression of the *carnivalesque*, the term Mikhail Bakhtin used for those chaotic, rumbustious,

[31] Brian Alderson, 'Preface' to *The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes* and *The Fairing* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1977), pp.iii–x (p.v). The Limerick form is usually said to have first appeared in print in *The History of Sixteen Wonderful Old Women* (1820) and to have achieved a permanent place in literature with Edward Lear's *Book of Nonsense* (1846).

[32] Andrea Immel, 'The Didacticism That Laughs: John Newbery's Entertaining Little Books and William Hogarth's Pictured Morals', *The Lion and the Unicorn*, 33 (2009), pp.146–66 (p.157).

[33] Alderson, 'Preface', p.vii.

humorous and grotesque texts that either represent actual carnivals or embody their spirit – both of which might be said of *The Fairing*. An allusion in *The Fairing*'s preface to François Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (1532–64), Bakhtin's key example of the carnivalesque, reinforces the point (p.162).[34] Yet for Bakhtin, the carnivalesque is strongly connected with the attempt to destabilise prevailing power structures, even if only temporarily. On the face of it, this is not the case with *The Fairing*. Instead, the book can seem to offer a picture of disorder only as vehicle for the imposition of a series of conventional moral lessons. This reading supports the post-Bakhtinian view that carnival's licensed transgression, by providing a sort of safety valve, ensures that nothing fundamental ever actually changes, and thus that the carnivalesque is, in its effects, ultimately more conservative than radical. Certainly, while it celebrates the carnival, *The Fairing* is circumspect, or even critical, of its ethos: 'A Fair ... may be compared to a Journey through Life, where Mankind are always busy, but too frequently in Schemes that are idle and ridiculous'. And, closing the main part of the book: 'You now seem tired of the Fair; and are sensible, I hope ... that there is no real Pleasure, but in living a virtuous, peaceable and good Life.' (p.213)

In fact, what we see in *The Fairing* is an attempt to drive a wedge between children and popular culture. Peter Burke writes that before the eighteenth century, 'popular culture was everyone's culture; a second culture for the educated, and the only culture for everyone else', but that by the end of the 1700s, 'the clergy, nobility, the merchants, the professional men – and their wives – had abandoned popular culture to the lower classes, from whom they were now separated, as never before, by profound differences in world view.'[35] The same, thanks to Newbery and those who followed him, was becoming true for children. Before the mid-eighteenth century, their education and their literary pleasures had necessarily been either oral (lessons, sermons, the nursemaid's

[34] Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1968). See also Terry Castle *Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnivalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986).

[35] Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York: New York University Press, 1978), p.270.

tales reviled by Locke) or obtained from religious books (the bible, the psalter, the prayer book) and popular literature (ballads, chapbooks, romances). It was the ambition of Newbery's publications to remove children from this vulgar, plebeian culture and to offer them instead something more refined, edifying, bourgeois, and specific to their perceived needs. In *The Fairing*, we see this manoeuvre underway. Although the book lured children in with an offer of the fair, it was intended to replace the need for an actual visit. As its title-page specifies, in the book children 'may see all the fun of the fair | And at home be as happy as if they were there.' (p.159) Fairings were souvenirs of a trip to the fair; this *Fairing* was intended as a souvenir of the whole history of the fair, for its intended readers were supposed to derive their pleasures at home, reading and partaking in polite society, not out among the 'mobbing' masses (p.165).

Indeed, we should think of Newbery's publication as an attempt to bring children into the culture of politeness that had developed during the early eighteenth century. Lawrence Klein writes that this eighteenth-century idea of politeness 'referred ... to the protocols of conversation [and] also to its outcomes, the edification and refinement that, it was hoped, would eventuate from polite conversation'. Like other cultural historians, he links it with the civil and to an extent democratic sociability of the new coffee houses, locations where (at least in theory) men of many different backgrounds could meet for pleasant and mutually instructive discussion, could learn what was taking place in their vicinities and the wider world, and where their manners would inevitably be refined as they conversed.[36] Joseph Addison and Richard Steele were its most celebrated proponents, using their periodicals *The Tatler, The Spectator* and *The Guardian* (appearing in succession from 1709–14) simultaneously to distill into print the polite conversation of the coffee house, and to encourage the spread of the coffee houses' polite and inclusive ethos among their readers. The *Lilliputian*, and Newbery's publications in general, evidently shared a similar ambition (though, unlike the coffee houses, they

[36] Lawrence E. Klein, 'Coffeehouse Civility, 1660–1714: An Aspect of Post-Courtly Culture in England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 59 (1996), pp.30–51 (pp.47–8).