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The Children of the Aristocracy and Squirearchy in 18th Century England: A new era in Parent-Child Relationships

Monica Daphne Beauchamp

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Abstract

The Children of the Aristocracy and Squirearchy in 18th Century England: A new era in Parent-Child relationships

Monica D. Beauchamp

The educational philosophies of John Locke and to a lesser extent Jean-Jacques Rousseau, together with a growth in domesticity, were influential in precipitating significant changes in the lives of children of the aristocracy and squirearchy, in mid-eighteenth century England. Prior to that time there was little or no differentiation between certain aspects of childhood (after the age of seven), and those of adulthood.

The influence of Locke and Rousseau was concomitant with England's increased wealth and prestige, made possible by expanding overseas trade and colonization. The Whig aristocracy together with the Hanoverian monarchy, created a closed circle of wealth and privilege with the accompanying corollary of conspicuous consumption, in which children became an aspect of the outward and visible sign of the wealth and status of their parents.

From mid-century onwards children's needs and concerns assumed a greater importance than heretofore. Their education, games, books and toys reflected their new status as separate and distinct members of society, with different requirements from those of adults. This changing lifestyle, though it removed some of the old repressive ways, nevertheless brought in its wake new problems unenvisaged by either Locke or Rousseau: the total separation of children from the adult world, which reached its zenith in the nineteenth century.

Résumé

Les enfants de l'aristocratie et l'haute bourgeoisie
au dix-huitième siècle en angleterre:
Une nouvelle époque de relations entre parent et enfant

Monica D. Beauchamp

Les philosophies envers l'éducation exprimé par John Locke et Jean-Jacques Rousseau, ainsi qu'une croissance d'intérêt dans la vie familiale, ont inspiré des énormes changements dans la vie des enfants de l'aristocratie et l'haute bourgeoisie en angleterre au milieu du dix-huitième siècle. Antérieur à ce temps-là, il n'y avait aucun ou très peu de distinction entre certains aspects de l'enfance après l'âge de sept ans, et ceux de l'adulte.

L'influence de Locke et de Rousseau coincidait avec la croissance de la prosperité et le prestige d'angleterre. Ceux-là étaient le résultat de l'expansion du commerce et de la colonisation d'outre-mer. L'aristocratie Whig ainsi que la monarchie Hanoverienne ont crée un cercle fermé de richesse et de privilège accompagné par le corollaire de la consommation excessive, dans laquelle les enfants devenaient un aspect du signe visible et apparant de la richesse et la condition de leurs parents.

Les besoins des enfants ont assumé une importance plus marqué qu'auparavant. Leurs vêtements, instruction, jeux, livres et jouets montraient leur état distincte dans la société, avec des besoins différents de ceux des adultes. Cette nouvelle façon de vivre, bien qu'elle enlevait certains aspects de répression de la culture précédente, a produit néanmoins de nouveaux problèmes imprévus par Locke et Rousseau - la séparation complète des enfants du monde des adultes, laquelle a atteint son zénith au 19ème siècle.

Acknowledgements

I am most grateful to Professor Franziska Shlosser for her encouragement and guidance in the supervision of this thesis. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank Professor Hardy George for his insights regarding the portrayal of children in eighteenth century painting, and Wendy Knechtel, of the inter-library-loan department for her help in obtaining many of the primary sources used in this thesis. Finally I would like to thank my husband Peter, my son Christian and daughter Pauline, for their unfailing support and encouragement, without whom this thesis would have been impossible.

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Introduction

Three hundred years after the birth of Locke, and two hundred and fifty years after that of Rousseau -- Marie Winn in Children without Childhood (1981) posited the thesis that children in the late twentieth century have lost the essence of childhood. They are no longer distinguished from adults by their dress but often appear clothed as miniature adults, and are treated as such.

> As we grieve for the disappearance of childhood, it is important to remember that the childlike child has not always existed. Children's new integration into adult society signals a return to a conception of childhood that existed centuries ago.[1]

Responsibilities and privileges are conferred upon them before they have reached the age of maturity, and this is often accompanied by the loss of sexual innocence. Children in the twentieth century are thrust into adulthood before they have completed childhood; a stage of life in which they gradually learn about the world around them, and in which as adults they will play a role.

> Today, as in times past, the most important and also the most difficult task in raising a child is helping him to find meaning in life. Many growth experiences are needed to achieve this. The child, as he develops, must learn step by step to understand himself better; with this he becomes more able to understand others, and eventually can

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[1] Marie Winn, Children without Childhood ((New York: Pantheon Books, rpt. 1983) 87.

> relate to them in ways which are mutually satisfying and meaningful.[2]

In the last thirty years, beginning with the seminal work of Philippe Ariès, L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime scholars have proposed the thesis that the eighteenth century wrought a great change in the concept of childhood. Historians have used various methodologies to recover and reconstruct family life in eighteenth century England, with the aid of diaries, letters, autobiographies, household account books, census returns, church records, paintings and sculpture. Although Ariès was perhaps the first historian to venture into the hitherto neglected field of the history of children, L'enfant has generated a revisionist school in England which contends that there has always been a concept of childhood, and that very little perceived changes took place in the lives of children in the eighteenth century.[3] The present thesis is in accord, however, with that of Ariès, which argues that great changes in the concept of childhood did indeed take place that were to have a lasting effect on the way in which children were perceived as individuals.

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[2] Bruno Bettelheim, The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales (New York: Random, Vintage Ed. 1977) 3.

[3] Linda A.Pollock, Forgotten children: Parent-child relations from 1500 to 1900 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983). Peter Laslett, The world we have lost further explored (New York: Scribner's, 1984). Alan Macfarlane, Marriage and Love in England 1300 - 1840 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986).

These changes were not created by any one cause or event but rather by a multiplicity of causes, among which John Locke's Some Thoughts concerning Education, and the Emile of Jean-Jacques Rousseau were influential in the changing concept of childhood. Among the received theses is the proposition that there was a rise in domesticity amongst members of the aristocracy and gentility, with the acceptance of romantic marriage after 1720.[4] The early years of the century also saw a decline in wet-nursing and swaddling,[5] and of sending one's own children to be trained and reared by other families.[6] Parents were now having to learn the art, and take responsibility for the development and education of their own children. In addition the great country houses of the eighteenth century were newly designed with the servants' quarters being physically separated from those of the family;[7] an innovation which ensured a greater

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[4] Randolph Trumbach, The rise of the egalitarian family: aristocratic kinship and domestic relations in eighteenth century England (New York: Academic Press, 1978) 97.

[5] Trumbach, 4.

[6] Alan Macfarlane, The Family Life of Ralph Josselin: A Seventeenth Century Clergyman (New York: Norton, 1970).

[7] André Parreaux, Daily Life in England in the Reign of George III trans. Carola Congreve, in ser. Daily Life. (London: George Allen and Unwin 1969) "The great stately home was very much more than a dwelling: it was the outward sign of the authority and enduring quality of the great families....These princely homes [reflect]...the remarkable power wielded by the Whig aristocracy, itself supporter and protector of a Hanoverian dynasty which owed to this ruling class its presence on the throne, and which in exchange guaranteed to each great family its own social superiority and political influence." 21.

degree of privacy and intimacy between parents and children.

The Hanoverian age ushered in not only the Enlightenment with its emphasis on "Reason and Control" but it also signalled the beginning of the Industrial Revolution with improvements in agriculture, technological advancements in the production of coal and iron, and burgeoning textile and pottery industries. It was this rapid growth in prosperity that indirectly caused the children of the aristocracy to become one of the visible elements of conspicuous consumerism. This is observed in the number of child portraits executed by Sir Joshua Reynolds and others. In addition the changing concept of childhood created a new market in books and toys intended for children.

In Georgian England where "the formalities and transitions of life were acted out ceremoniously to emboss them on the public memory, the times for living, loving and dying;"[8] there were those rites of passage which separated children from the adult world.[9] This world, however, in which over forty-five percent of the population were under twenty, was eager for change. These young adults who were

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[8] Roy Porter, English Society in the Eighteenth Century Pelican History of Britain, (London: Penguin 1982) 170.

[9] Porter, "Rites of passage marked the openings and closures of chapters in individual lives [as when]....for example [boys] would be publicly 'breeched'....170.

clamouring to get ahead, demonstrated increasing impatience with the older generation.[10]

This thesis will be a qualitative examination (utilizing wherever possible original documents; diaries, letters, memoirs and paintings) of the perceived changes in the dress, education (at home and at school), books, toys and leisure activities of the children of the aristocracy and squirearchy in eighteenth century England. The definition of 'children' from this small élite class of society (comprising approximately one hundred and fifty families) will encompass those years which are framed by physical and economic dependence upon the family, and by assumed sexual innocence.[11] This thesis will therefore examine those specific areas cited above, concerning the lifestyle of children of the aristocracy and squirearchy in Georgian England. It will attempt to demonstrate that significant changes occurred in the lives of these children. These changes appear to have been the result of three major influences; the rise of domesticity after 1690, the proto-industrial revolution, from which emanated conspicuous

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[10] Porter, "Yet there was an extra-fast lane to power for the privileged young: Pitt (the 'Younger') could rise to be Prime Minister at twenty-four; Brownlow North was a bishop at thirty; Wolfe got his army commission at fourteen and was a major at twenty." 166.

[11] Parreaux states that many boys of the gentry and above, were seduced by servants during their early adolescence.125.

consumption, and John Locke's treatise Some Thoughts concerning Education.

The first chapter will be devoted to Locke's Thoughts as well as to Rousseau's Emile, as their ideas pervaded so many areas of childhood. The two other key influences cited above will be referred to as they arise in the following chapters.

Chapter One: The influence of "Some Thoughts concerning Education" in 18th Century England

The writing of two philosophers, one English, (John Locke 1632-1704) and one French, (Jean-Jacques Rousseau 1712-78) was instrumental in effecting change in the rearing of children in England, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. John Locke's treatise Some thoughts concerning education was originally written in the form of letters to his friend Edward Clarke, in response to his [Clarke's] request for advice on the pedagogical upbringing of his son and heir aged eight. Subsequently, Locke's Thoughts, written for the numerically small class of English gentlemen, became the bible for educators of children in all classes of society throughout the Western world, and gave rise to the study of "faculty psychology, child psychology, and modern experimental psychology, and dominated educational philosophy until the mid-nineteenth century"[12]

The birth of John Locke was concomitant with the beginning of the Age of Reason in England, and the conflict between Charles I and his Parliament that culminated in the execution of Charles and the temporary abolition of the monarchy. Locke was raised in an Anglican family with strong Puritan leanings. His father, a modest country attorney who had fought for Parliament in the Civil War, distanced himself from his son until the latter had reached

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[12] Mabel Lewis Sahakian & William Sahakian, John Locke Twayne's World Leader Ser. ed. Samuel Smith, Ph.D. (Boston: Twayne, 1975) 86.

the age of maturity when the relationship between the two men became more cordial. At fourteen, Locke was sent to Westminster School under the conservative Dr. Busby, where he imbibed Royalist political views, together with his Greek and Latin studies. Six years later, in the fall of 1652 at the age of twenty, Locke entered Christ Church College, Oxford. Usually boys went up at a much younger age.

After receiving his A.B. degree in 1656 and his A.M. in 1658, Locke was awarded a fellowship at Christ Church, and in December 1660 was elected University teacher, in which role he found his pupils to be younger than he himself had been as a student at Oxford.

> Sir Charles Berkeley had been a Knight of the Bath at the age of twelve, and entered Christ Church in May 1662 at the age of thirteen. He received the degree of M.A. after only four months residence; such privileges were then available to the sons of noblemen,...[13]

It was during these years when Locke was in his early thirties, that he became romantically interested in several young ladies, but this interest never came to fruition. Following a short absence when he served as secretary to Sir Walter Vane's diplomatic mission to the Elector of Brandenburg, Locke returned to Oxford in 1666 where he chose medicine over Holy Orders. There he met Robert Boyle one of the founders of modern chemistry, and Thomas Sydenham the eminent English physician. He also made the acquaintance of

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[13] Maurice Cranston, John Locke: A Biography (London: Longman's Green, 1957) 72.

Lord Ashley, later Earl of Shaftesbury, whom he successfully treated and cured of "a suppurating hydatid cyst of the liver"[14] while serving as his personal advisor from 1667 to 1675. In 1674 Locke received his Bachelor of Medicine degree.

Both Locke and Shaftesbury shared a common political philosophy; a belief in a constitutional monarchy and the Protestant succession, civil liberty and toleration in religion, and the rule of Parliament. During the years he spent in London under the aegis of Ashley, Locke's advice was sought regarding the education of [his] Ashley's fifteen-year-old son. He also negotiated the terms of marriage for Ashley's son to the twenty-year-old daughter of the Earl of Rutland.[15] It was during this time that Locke encountered Cambridge Platonism and Latitudinarianism. Later during a four year sojourn in France (1675-1679), he would be influenced by the Gassendian school of philosophy.

It is however, Locke's philosophy of education in Some Thoughts concerning Education [1693], that will be examined for its perceived influence on parents and educators in the eighteenth century.[16] In his Thoughts Locke advanced the

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[14] Cranston, John Locke: A Biography 113.

[15] Cranston, John Locke: A Biography 121.

[16] Ricardo Quintana, Two Augustans: John Locke: Jonathan Swift (Madison: Wisconsin, U of Wisconsin Press, 1978) "Though the book excited less interest among Locke's contemporaries than did other writings of his, before the end of the eighteenth century it had become a major influence in modern theories of education." 34-35.

theory that the mind of a child was as a piece of wax, a *tabula rasa,* in which neither good nor evil concepts pre-existed, but which was open to receive impressions and subsequently be influenced by persons and situations with whom it came into contact. He proposed therefore certain principles of education which engendered a form of self-discipline that was not restrictive but resolved:

> the seeming paradox of maintaining in the pupil an active, free, and easy spirit, while at the same time imposing certain necessary restraints and motivating him to cope with difficult tasks.[17]

This philosophy toward the raising of children would influence parents and educators of the élite and subsequently generate numerous treatises and essays by later pedagogues on various aspects of child-raising.

In the Western world from antiquity onwards childhood had been regarded as a stage of life to be passed over with little comment, and references to children (more often to boys than to girls) in the sources occur infrequently between the time of infancy and that of marriage. Tacitus, writing at the end of the first century A.D. condemned the practice of wet-nursing by aristocratic Roman women, while lauding their German counterparts, where: "Every mother feeds her child at the breast and does not dispute the task

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[17] Sahakian, 73.

to maids or nurses." [18] Three quarters of a century earlier, Augustus had established the minimum age of marriage as twelve years for a girl and fourteen for a boy.[19] These brief years embodied childhood for the sons and daughters of the Roman nobility.

The brevity of childhood continued into medieval times, when a knight's son in feudal society, although still a child, was sent as a page into the household of his lord. There, apart from his duties, he gained expertise in hunting and war, and later in courtly manners:

> When to the woods the king repairs, the child goes too; Sometimes his bow he bears, sometimes his stirrup holds. If wildfowl lure the king, Garnier is by his side. Oft on his wrist the hawk or keen-eyed falcon sits. And when to rest the king retires, Garnier is there, Beguiling him with song and old heroic lays.[20]

Children are rarely portrayed in sculpture and painting prior to the thirteenth century, with the exception of children as angels, *putti,* and representations of the Madonna and the Christ-Child, who are commonly portrayed facing front reflecting Byzantine hieratism. In the early Italian Renaissance however, the paintings of Cimabue and Giotto:

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[18] Cornelius Tacitus, Germania trans. H. Mattingly, revised S.A. Handford, (Harmondsworth, Middx. 1981) S.20. 118.

[19] Sarah Pomeroy, Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity (New York: Schocken, 1975) 164.

[20] Marc Bloch, Feudal Society Vol.I The Growth of Ties of Dependence trans. L.A.Manyon. (Chicago: UP. 1961) 225.

> represent[s] the difference between the existing Byzantine tradition in Italy and the new native style based on Byzantine, Gothic and indigenous elements....Instead of an emblem or sacred form, hallowed by centuries of worship, it became a source of contact with Christ and the Virgin on a distinctly human level....[21]

Idealized representations of the Madonna and Child by artists of the High Renaissance depicted a new sense of individualism and benevolence[22] that "must have suggested [to worshippers] a more natural childhood even for the Saviour."[23] This did not result however in a greater concern for children's welfare, in a society in which wet nursing was still very common. "The tender scenes of mothering...in Renaissance art do not represent social reality very accurately."[24]

In England between 1450 and 1630 babies were either sent away from home to be wet-nursed, or, put into the care of a resident wet-nurse in the home for their first twelve to eighteen months. This practice precluded close bonding

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[21] Cimabue, Virgin in Majesty, Uffizi Gallery, Florence. Giotto, Ognissanti Madonna, Uffizi Gallery, Florence; in Renaissance Painting by Paul Stirton (New York: Mayflower 1979), 6-10.

[22] Fra Filippo Lippi, The Madonna Adoring the Christ Child, Berlin-Dahlm, Staatliche Museen, 26-7. Giovanni Bellini, Madonna of the Trees, Venice, Accademia, 55. Leonardo da Vinci, The Virgin, Child and St.Anne, Paris, Louvre, 60. Raphael, La Belle Jardiniere, Louvre, Paris, 61. in Stirton.

[23] John Somerville, The Rise and Fall of Childhood Vol.140, Sage Library of Social Research, (Beverley Hills: Calif. Sage, 1982), 69.

[24] Somerville, 81-82.

between mother and child, and perhaps contributed to maternal indifference, even though the child probably received visits from its parents.[25] Between the end of wet-nursing and boarding school (for boys) children of both sexes were put into the care of nurses and tutors, further weakening personal relationships between parent and child. This paradigm of childhood lasted until a new family pattern emerged at the end of the seventeenth century.

The Religious Reformation in Europe, characterised by the harsh Calvinist doctrine of predestination with its emphasis on "Original Sin", placed greater importance on child-rearing in Puritan England. In the home, the father was the head of a much narrower family group that comprised property, family and wife. Children were raised in a more rigid and disciplined atmosphere than heretofore, and were not allowed to have a will of their own. Schools were repressive, flogging and whipping were normal occurrences and emphasized the maxim that 'the will of the child had to be broken'.

Puritan ethics although harsh, were not predicated on cruelty towards their children, but were the consequence of an inordinate concern for their eternal souls, with the result that the Puritans were among the first (until well into the eighteenth century) to provide books especially

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[25] George Morland, A Visit to the Child at Nurse in George Morland: A Biographical Essay by J[ames] T[homas] Herbert Baily (London: Otto 1906) Plate 65 20.

written for children. These books, nevertheless, focused on the darker side of life, with a distinct emphasis on sin and damnation, and the sacrifice of Christian children.[26]

With the restoration of the Monarchy in 1660 however, Puritan ethics were replaced by a more permissive mood. In this atmosphere the Cambridge Neo-Platonists were the first to propose a profound re-examination of childhood that went beyond the philosophy of Plato when they "asserted not only innate knowledge in the child but an innate goodness".[27] These characteristics however, were denied by Locke, but later accepted by Rousseau.

After the Glorious Revolution of 1688 the landed gentry were practically supreme -- they held national and local administration in their hands -- and the successful merchants could only obtain political power and social position by becoming landowners. A new race of landowners emerged, but the old families enriched themselves through intermarriage with the new commercial magnates. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the English aristocracy had amassed vast estates, with the result that social and political powers were increasingly held by a small élite of closely knit families.

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[26] Foxe's Book of Martyrs (1563), 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 (1671).

[27] Somerville, 121.

> In 1726 there were only 179 English peers; some of these were old, some minors, and some witless...which meant that they knew all about one another, their families, their estates, their habits, views, and political tendencies.[28]

In this affluent society wet-nursing was still an accepted practice amongst aristocratic women, which perhaps contributed to the high level of infant mortality during the first half of the eighteenth century. "Up to one in five babies died in their first year; perhaps one in three infants died - of various fevers - before the age of five."[29] As in earlier centuries, boys were often sent away to school to be educated, while the girls were more frequently taught at home, although the popularity of school education for girls was on the increase. Diaries and letters indicate that both girls and boys were regularly thrashed at home and at school, although the commonality of this has recently been challenged.[30]

Locke's educational treatise Some Thoughts Concerning Education was focused on that small élite to whom the education and upbringing of the son and heir as a 'gentleman' would have a prime appeal. His approach to education (socializing) of the child was at the same time traditional yet innovative. His perspective towards

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[28] J[ohn] H[arold] Plumb, England in the 18th century (1714-1815) ser. Pelican History of England, 2nd ed. rev. bibliog. (Harmondsworth: Middx, Penguin, 1950) 34.

[29] Porter, 27.

[30] Pollock, Forgotten Children:

education, "was the cultivation of a good character, gentlemanly manners, and an aptitude for business or some other vocation."[31] He believed moreover, that a specialized education should be the prerogative of the gentry and above, but that the common people only required a knowledge of the Bible and sufficient education to learn the rudiments of their trade.[32]

> The values and ideals of Locke's Restoration society were shared by many men, and there are a multitude of educational writings that contain recommendations similar to some of his.[33]

Locke's Thoughts however, may be regarded as the first writing in modern history to *humanize* the method by which children should be educated [socialized] from babyhood through to maturity. Locke more than other educators who preceded him realized "that children were human beings, with their own particular needs, abilities, and patterns of development...."[34]

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[31] Maurice Cranston, "John Locke" The Horizon Book: Makers of Modern Thought Intro. Bruce Mazlish, (New York: American Heritage, 1972) 158.

[32] Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt, Children in English Society: From Tudor Times to the 18th Century v.1. in ser. Studies in Social History, ed. Harold Perkin. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1969) Whereas under Elizabeth I, Tudor statutes were more concerned with the welfare of the poor, a fundamental shift in emphasis can be seen in the Report for the Reform of the Poor Law prepared by John Locke in 1697 in his capacity as Commissioner of the Board of Trade. 309.

[33] James Axtell, The Educational Writings of John Locke (Cambridge: UP. 1968) 61. See Appendix I.

[34] Axtell, 63.

'A Sound Mind in a sound body' is the opening statement in John Locke's Some Thoughts concerning Education, this maxim being a translation from Juvenal, Satires 10.356: 'mens sans in corpore sano'.[35] This sentiment is echoed by Fanny Boscawen in letters to her husband, an indication that she had been influenced by Locke's philosophy of education.

> Assure yourself they [the children] shall be my sole care and study and that my chief purpose and the business of my life shall be to take care of them and to procure for them a sound mind in a healthy body.[36]

Locke's Thoughts may be described as a liberal practical guide for parents of the gentry and above, in the education (socializing) of their sons. His precepts would embody broad areas of child-raising and would include general advice on: health, diet, sleep, toilet training, esteem and disgrace, corporal punishment, and curiosity. His advice on clothing, formal education and manners, will be included in subsequent chapters on children's clothing and education.

Locke regarded physical well-being as a prerequisite to happiness. He believed that children should not be too warmly clad in winter or in summer. They should wear thin

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[35] John Locke, Some Thoughts concerning Education (Ed.) John W. and Jean S. Yolton. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989) S.1. 83.

[36] Cecil Aspinall-Oglander,(Ed.) Admiral's Wife: Being The Life and Letters of The Hon. Mrs Edward Boscawen from 1719-1761 (London: Longman's Green, 1940) 53-54.

shoes that might leak, and their feet should be washed daily in cold water. These Spartan practices he believed would physically harden the child.

> But begin first in the Spring, with luke-warm, and so colder and colder every Night, till, in a few days, you come to perfectly cold Water, and then continue it so Winter and Summer.[37]

The belief in the efficacy of cold-water bathing may be attributed to the conviction that it was an effective prevention against rickets.

In opposition to the foregoing, James Nelson writing fifty years later, An Essay on the Government of Children (1756) advocated that children [infants] should be kept warmly clothed and only inured to the cold gradually.

> A Child born in the midst of Summer, or where the Air is incapable of affecting it very sensibly, need not to[sic] have so much cloathing[sic] as one born in the Depth of Winter, or in a colder Climate.[38]

He concurred with Locke, however, that children should wear comfortable clothing, but advocated the wearing of shoes and stockings to protect them from injury.

> Nothing is so hurtful to the Head, they[sic] Eyes and the Breast, as catching Cold in the Feet;[39]

On the Management and Education of Children by Juliana Susannah Seymour (1754) also appeared to reflect a Lockian

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[37] Locke, Thoughts §.7. 87.

[38] James Nelson, An Essay on the Government of Children (R & J. Dodsley, 1756) rpt. in ser. Marriage, Sex and the Family in England 1660 - 1800 (New York: Garland, 1985). 88.

[39] Nelson, 127.

concept of health when she proposed plenty of fresh air and outdoor exercise for children, whether walking, horseback riding or digging in the garden,[40] in winter as well as in summer to accustom them to cold and rainy weather.

> No Harm happens to anybody from being wet if they keep in Motion till they get in, and then instantly take off their Cloaths[sic] that are wet;...[41]

Locke wrote in considerable detail regarding the diet of children and its effect upon their health.

> As for his *Diet*, it ought to be very *plain* and simple:and, if I might advise, Flesh should be forborn as long as he was in Coats,...[42]

This Locke believed would encourage healthy teeth and a strong constitution. Furthermore the child's *"Drink* should be only Small Beer;"[43] and only certain fruits such as Strawberries, Apples and Pears should be included in his diet.[44]

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[40] John Hill, On the Management and Education of Children by the Hon. Juliana-Susannah-Seymour (London: R. Baldwin. 1754). rpt. in ser. Marriage, Sex and the Family (New York: Garland, 1985) 56-60. Sarah Fielding, The Governess or Little Female Academy (1749) rpt. Intro. & bibliog. Jill E.Grey, (London: Oxford UP. 1968), reflects Lockian influence, as when 'Mrs Teachum' advocates daily exercise for her pupils. This can take the form of running and playing in the fields or a walk of two or three miles followed by a tea of strawberries and cream, one fruit recommended by Locke. 214.

[41] Hill, Management of Children by Juliana Susannah Seymour 59.

[42] Locke, Thoughts §.13. 91.

[43] Locke, Thoughts §.16. 94.

[44] Locke, Thoughts §.20. 97.

Seymour and Nelson both agreed with Locke's advice on diet. The former advocated a plain diet for children without sugar, salt, sauces or any other highly seasoned foods, and cautioned that meat should not be eaten by a boy until the age of four years, and by a girl not before the age of six,[45] even then, pudding should be substituted for meat two days a week. Nelson also stated that: infants' food should be kept as simple as possible, and following Lockian precepts he believed that, they should never be given a 'dram', or have any alcohol put into their food.[46] Once they have reached their first year, however, he advocates that they "wash down their Victuals with light clear Small-beer...."[47]

Throughout childhood (represented for Nelson by three stages, from infancy until the age of seven, from seven until fourteen, and from fourteen to the age of twenty-one) children's food should remain simple. His suggestions adhere very closely to that recommended by Locke.

> [He adds] but to see Children walk about a House with Tarts or Bread and Butter in their Hands, daubing everything and everybody they touch, is certainly wrong; being not only detrimental to

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[45] Hill, Management of Childen by Juliana Susannah Seymour 41-49.

[46] Aspinall-Oglander, Fanny Boscawen's diary entry for 12th August 1748 records that on the Admirals birthday, she and her children drank a 'bumper of Malmsey, and the two eldest repeated the toast, which was health and success and many happy days to Papa.' 102.

[47] Nelson, 85.

> their Health, but to their Manners too, as it is inexpressibly vulgar.[48]

Locke's proposals regarding children's sleeping habits may be summarized as: 'early to bed and early to rise'. From the age of seven until fourteen he considered eight hours a night to be the ideal. This reference to the years between seven and fourteen deserves comment in that seven had been considered the age at which children passed from childhood into adolescence. Locke, however, appears to be extending the concept of childhood at least until the age of fourteen.[49]

While it was not uncommon as late as the eighteenth century for babies to sleep in the parental bed, Nelson recommended that they should sleep in a cradle or a small crib by the side of the parents, and, should the infant be taken into its mother's bed, great care should be taken to ensure that it did not suffocate.[50] He also cautioned parents against letting their children stay up late, and advised that they should sleep without a pillow, in beds

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[48] Nelson, 126.

[49] Locke Thoughts §. 21. 97. [See Nelson's three stages of childhood above.]

[50] Nelson, Many infants died from being overlaid by mothers or wet-nurses. 91.

that were not too soft.[51] Sleeping arrangements for children of the élite, however, varied considerably.[52]

Locke's concept of raising children was intended to strengthen the child both morally and physically against all the vicissitudes and difficulties that it might encounter in life. He rejected flattery and promises of reward as being equally unhelpful in achieving the desired objectives, but recommended that expressions of approval and disapproval should be used to control unruly behaviour in children.

> It will perhaps be wondered that I mention *Reasoning* with Children:...But when I talk of *Reasoning*, I do not intend any other, but such is suited to the Child's Capacity and Apprehension. No Body can think a Boy of Three, or Seven Years old, should be argued with, as a grown Man.[53]

There were times however, when reason alone would not suffice, then:

> *Beating* is the worst, and therefore the last Means to be used in the Correction of Children; and that only in Cases of Extremity, after all gentler Ways have been tried and proved unsuccessful:[54]

Fanny Boscawen wrote to her husband Admiral Boscawen:

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[51] Nelson, 131.

[52] Magdalen King-Hall, The Story of the Nursery (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958). [Often]"...the nursery would be austere, with low, curtainless beds and bare floors." Lady Molesworth's youngest daughter slept in a garret with the governess. One of the Verney children when staying with the Rector of Claydon, however, "...lyes[sic] in a little Room hung with Paper, which is a sort of alcove within ours." 130-131.

[53] Locke, S.81. 142.

[54] Locke, S. 84. 144.

> Billy is now perfectly recovered, I thank God. Purging discipline all over, but my discipline to begin....Today he would not eat milk for breakfast but the rod and I went to breakfast with him, and although we did not come into action, nor anything like it, yet the bottom of the porringer was very fairly revealed and a declaration made by him; indeed he could not but say it was very good milk.[55]

Locke believed that a child's development should be allowed to proceed naturally. He stated that too many parents suppressed all signs of natural affection, or, excessively indulged their children when young. These parents then attempted to impose a belated authority upon their children when they had reached adulthood. This could only result in a death-wish on the part of the child, as: "*When will you die, Father?*"[56] Locke, therefore, exhorted parents to assert their authority, firmly yet kindly, at an early age. This authority could be gradually relaxed with the approach of maturity.

Examples taken from the lives of three sons of the aristocracy Thomas Thynne (1710-51) 2nd Viscount Weymouth, Thomas Lord Lyttelton born 1744, and Charles James Fox born 1749, may perhaps serve to demonstrate the dichotomy that existed between neglect and indulgence towards children.

Thomas Thynne, heir to Longleat, spent an indifferent childhood in London with his widowed mother and her second husband George Lord Lansdowne. It would appear that he was

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[55] Aspinall-Oglander, 179.

[56] Locke,S.40. 109.

strictly disciplined from an early age, beginning Latin and mathematics at the age of four. At the age of twelve however, excessive discipline gave way to immoderate freedom which caused his behaviour to become unmanageable. "Only in one surviving letter to his mother can hints of loneliness and misery be detected."[57] Arrogant and unruly and deprived of a close family life Thomas was sent to Eton "in the hope that a public school might succeed where a private tutor had failed."[58]

> [Thomas Lord Lyttelton] The only son of devoted and adoring parents with every ambition for his future career...had an upbringing which was, none the less, unfortunate in many respects; and it was not without justification that in later years he spoke with bitter reproach of his early spoiling. 'I have been the victim of vanity, and the sacrifice of me was begun before I could form a judgement of the passion.'[59]

Both Thynne and Lyttelton appear to be archetypes of those children who were neglected or subjected to extremely harsh discipline in early childhood, or were excessively spoilt in homes in which little love prevailed, especially in the case of Thomas Thynne. Charles James Fox, son of the 1st Lord Holland, however, was brought up by an extremely permissive father, who stated: "Let nothing be done to break

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[57] David Burnett, Longleat: The Story of an English Country House (London: Collins 1978) 96.

[58] Burnett, 100.

[59] Reginald Blunt, Thomas Lord Lyttelton: The Portrait of a Rake, with a brief Memoir of his Sister Lucy Lady Valentia Intro. Maud Wyndham, (London: Hutchinson, 1936) 34.

his spirit. The world will do that business fast enough."[60]

In adult life Thomas Lyttelton would earn the reputation of a "rake", and die in mysterious circumstances, and Thomas Thynne would also have an unhappy life as an adult, with the exception of a few brief years of marriage and parenthood, which "provided Thomas with the security and domestic contentment that his own childhood had lacked."[61] Although Charles James Fox was excessively spoilt as a child, "so long as he lived,...few happier and more amiable men have played a part in English public life,"[62]

In an era when domestic dogs and cats were kicked and cuffed, and cock-fighting and bear-baiting were common entertainment, the maxim that children should be taught kindness towards animals was a revolutionary concept. Locke recognized that some children take a perverse delight in cruelty towards animals.[63] He believed strongly that children should be taught kindness towards animals and argued that cruelty towards them would inevitably result in

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[60] Christopher Hobhouse, Fox (London: John Murray 2nd ed. 1947) 3-4.

[61] Burnett, 104.

[62] Peter Quennell, Romantic England. Writing and Painting 1717-1851 (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1970) 55.

[63] Locke, S.116.180-181. [Locke does not indicate whether cruelty to animals by some children, was a natural instinct or a learned response from observation of the world around them.]

brutality towards one's fellow-man. The necessity for this instruction, however, suggests a conflict with his concept of the child's mind as a *tabula rasa*.

> Long before Freud theorized about misplaced aggression, Locke took cognizance of this personality trait, pointing out that butchers were excluded from sitting on juries in capital cases owing to the aggressive behaviour required of them by their occupation.[64]

There are indications, however, that attitudes towards animals were undergoing changes in late eighteenth century England. Keith Thomas discusses the dichotomy that existed in the eighteenth century between those followers of the Judaeo/Christian faiths, in which man is regarded as pre-eminent over all creation, and those who regarded man as merely one aspect of creation, but not superior to animals. This raised the question as to whether animals had souls, and led to the questions of the rights of animals, and also to the rise of vegetarianism.[65] This changing attitude towards animals is reflected in part in paintings of aristocratic children and the sympathetic entries recorded in diaries regarding pets.[66]

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[64] Sahakian, 66.

[65] Keith Thomas, Man and the Natural World: A History of Modern Sensibility, New York: Pantheon Books. 1983.

[66] Sir Joshua Reynolds, Master Crewe as Henry VIII, plate 97; Charles, Earl of Dalkeith, plate 104; The Marlborough Family, plate 108; in Reynolds by Nicolas Penny, Catalogue of an exhibition held by the Royal Academy of Arts, London, (New York: Abrams, 1986). John Singleton Copley, Princess Mary, Princess Sophia and Princess Amelia plate 134; in The Queen's Pictures by Oliver Millar, (New York: Macmillan Publishing 1977) In each of these paintings children are portrayed with

> If an age is to be judged by its treatment of the weak and helpless, the eighteenth century merits our condemnation....[however, increased awareness of cruelty would suggest that] the nascent humanitarianism of the eighteenth century produced the great reforms of the nineteenth.[67]

These reforms were realized in the birth of the Sunday School Movement, the inception of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, as well as the argument for the abolition of the Slave Trade.

Locke believed that children have an innate curiosity about the world around them, and their questions should be answered honestly, within the degree of comprehension and maturity of the child. He therefore urged adults to be sincere and truthful in answering children's questions, and to answer those questions within the degree and scope of understanding of the child.[68] Furthermore, since children learn by example, deception not only hinders knowledge but corrupts innocence and teaches them vices. To gain respect one must give respect.

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their pet dogs, and "Charles" caresses a tame owl. Maria Josepha Holroyd, The Girlhood of Maria Josepha Holroyd (Lady Stanley of Alderley) Recorded in letters of a hundred years ago: From 1776 to 1796). ed. J.H. Adeane, (London: Longmans, Green, 1896) Maria Josepha writes of the swan and deer in her father's country place, and records that her mother has acquired a lapdog and herself a tame Bullfinch. 15 - 16.

[67] Rosamond Bayne-Powell, The English Child in the 18th Century (London: John Murray, 1939) 44.

[68] Locke, S.118. 182-183.

Some Thoughts concerning Education was to engender a number of books and essays on the rearing of children in eighteenth century England. Apart from those already cited another treatise should be examined. William Fleetwood (1656-1723), Rector of St.Augustine's, London, and Chaplain in Ordinary to Her Majesty, as did many another divine based his dissertation on the fifth commandment, 'Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee.' For the Reverend Fleetwood, Honour was equated with love, respect and obedience to parents. Since parents gave children the gift of life, children should repay them with love, respect and obedience, even when some of those parents were less than deserving of respect. Children, however, were at liberty to disobey their parents if they broke the laws of God or the laws of the land.[69] Finally, Fleetwood proposed that parents had a duty towards their children:

> To bring Children up in the Nurture and Admonition of the Lord, is according to the Letter, to bring them up in the Christian religion, to teach them their Duty, to learn[sic] them what they are to Believe, and what to Practice, to instruct them in the knowledge of God, and Jesus Christ....[70]

This treatise was published only a few short years after Locke's Thoughts and does not appear to have been influenced

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[69] William Fleetwood, The relative Duties of Parents and Children, Husbands and Wives, Masters and Servants (London: C. Harper. 1705). rpt. in ser. Marriage, Sex and the Family in England, 1660 - 1800. New York: Garland, 1985) 39.

[70] Fleetwood, 104.

by him, as much as the two later essays of Seymour and Nelson, which provided parents and educators with practical secular, and moral advice (in the case of Seymour) on child-rearing, that owes a great deal to Locke.

The doctrine of original sin[71] was rejected not only by John Locke, but also by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-78), who in spite of his later philosophy of child-rearing epitomised in Emile, abandoned all five of his illegitimate children to a Paris foundling hospital. Born in Geneva in 1712, Rousseau was brought up in a motherless household, his mother having died in childbirth. By the time he had reached his tenth birthday, his older brother Francois had run away from home, and his father had fled after a quarrel with a patrician, one Pierre Gautier.[72]

After many years of wandering, Rousseau realized his philosophy regarding childhood in Emile (1762), in which he proposed the thesis that children are born into a state of perfect grace and it is only society which corrupts them:

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[71] Elizabeth Ewing, History of Children's Costume (New York: Scribner's 1977) states that: "The doctrine of original sin had much to do with the harsh treatment of children, which survived throughout the eighteenth century in spite of the 'winds of change' in the upbringing of children." 39.

[72] Maurice Cranston, Jean-Jacques: The Early Life and Work of Jean-Jacques Rousseau 1712-1754 (New York: W.W. Norton, 1983). 28.

> Everything is good as it leaves the hands of the Author of things; everything degenerates in the hands of man.[73]

Rousseau developed those ideas which had stemmed from Comenius and Locke, "and placed them in a new theoretical framework that of the 'natural man'".[74] This concept is developed in Emile, in which the boy's education, with the help of his tutor and friend, would have a number of years of perfect freedom to develop naturally.

Rousseau divided childhood into five stages, the first from birth to five years, in which the young child would enjoy total freedom to acquire motor skills. From the age of five to twelve Emile would master physical activities and skills. The third stage between the ages of ten and fifteen was regarded by Rousseau as the age of reason, in which Emile would study science and the nature of things. From fifteen to eighteen his education would closely approximate that followed by all young gentlemen of the period, and would conclude with the Grand Tour.

Rousseau differed markedly from the Lockian concept of reasoning with a young child:

> [Reason] is the one most in vogue today. Its success, however, does not appear to me such as to establish its reputation; and, as for me, I see nothing more stupid than these children who have been reasoned with so much. Of all the faculties

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[73] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Emile or On Education, Intro., Trans. and Notes Alan Bloom, (New York: Basic Books, 1979). 37.

[74] John Lawson & Harold Silver, A Social History of Education in England (London: Methuen, 1973). 233.

> of man, reason, which is, so to speak, only a composite of all the others, is the one that develops with the most difficulty and latest.[75]

His philosophy of child raising, although predicated upon 'love' [perfect freedom] would appear to have commonality with Lockian philosophy of childhood, in that both argued for a different concept of childhood from the accepted mode. They both posited the thesis that childhood should be extended beyond the accepted age of seven. In his Thoughts Locke referred to a child as one who is still between the ages of seven and fourteen. Rousseau's tutelage of Emile would extend to the age of eighteen. James Nelson, who appears to have been strongly influenced by Lockian precepts, would extend the age of childhood to twenty-one.

Both Locke and Rousseau believed that the child should be allowed to develop at its own pace, not at an artificial pace set by either the tutor or the parent. Locke and Rousseau were each concerned to show kindliness towards children which should be coupled with authority and firm discipline, and which could be modified with advancing maturity. Some Thoughts concerning Education and the Emile were concerned almost exclusively with the education of boys, 'the young gentleman'. Each, however, recognised childhood as a separate state of being, and the child as a 'distinct' personality, but generally excluded girls in their changes pertaining to children.

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[75] Rousseau, 89.

> Love childhood; [says Rousseau] promote its games, its pleasures, its amiable instinct. Who among you has not sometimes regretted that age when laughter was ever on the lips and the soul is always at peace?[76]

Rousseau's Emile had a significant influence on children's upbringing and on their clothing, although in England many of his reforms had been anticipated by Locke. Concerned scholars in the modern world from Erasmus onwards had condemned the harsh treatment meted out to children, and proposed reforms which would allow them greater freedom in their upbringing, education and dress.

It would appear that a generalised concept of childhood as epitomized in Locke's Thoughts influenced subsequent pedagogues and generated other treatises of child-rearing. Three of these later treatises have been examined, in which two are strongly pro-Lockian. Locke's concept of kindness towards animals may have contributed to, or, reflected current concerns as suggested by Keith Thomas. Paintings, from the studios of Copley, Hogarth, Reynolds, and Zoffany, appear to reflect a more liberal attitude towards childhood, in which children are depicted with their pets. Rosamond Bayne-Powell, has also asserted that the nascent humanitarianism of the eighteenth century, took longer to develop, but ultimately influenced the reforms of the nineteenth. Lockian concepts may be perceived in the letters of Mrs Boscawen and in Sarah Fielding's The

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[76] Rousseau, 79.

Governess: or Little Female Academy. There are also instances of the neglect and/or spoiling of children, as epitomised by the childhood of Lyttelton, Thynne and Charles James Fox. These examples would indicate that certain members of the aristocracy were less influenced by Locke's philosophy of childhood. It was not however until the second half of the eighteenth century, that his holistic approach to the development of the child in body, mind and spirit, would lead to a fundamental change in attitude toward childhood in England.[77] It was his concept of childhood together with that of Rousseau that would influence parents and educators for the next two centuries.

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[77] Sahakian, n.12.

Chapter Two: Changes in Children's Clothing

A key expression of the new concept of childhood emerging in the eighteenth century can be found by examining children's costume of that period, which appears to reflect: not only Lockian and other reforming influences, but also the rise of domesticity in the late seventeenth, and conspicuous consumption in the eighteenth century.

In his Thoughts, John Locke had stated:

> One thing the Mention of the Girls brings into my Mind, which must not be forgot; and that is, That your Sons *Cloths* be *never* made *strait* especially about the Breast...Narrow Breasts, short and stinking Breath, ill Lungs and Crookedness, are the Natural and almost constant Effects of *hard Bodice,* and *Cloths that pinch.*[78]

Furthermore, changing marriage and family structures in the late seventeenth century:

> profoundly affected the domestic lives of aristocrats. The equality of men and women raised the possibility of true and equal friendship between husband and wife. Romantic rather than arranged marriages became the ideal and the practice, and after marriage husband and wife expected to be each other's constant companion.[79]

In addition there was a closer bonding between mother and child with the ending of wet-nursing, and the perceived decline in mortality in aristocratic children.[80] Boys, however, were still preferred over girls.

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[78] Locke, S.11. 90. S.12. 91.

[79] Trumbach, 3.

[80] Trumbach, 207-208.

Economic factors were instrumental in bringing England into the modern age in the eighteenth century. New agricultural methods resulted in an improved food supply. Technological inventions led to the development of the factory system with the division of labour and mass production, which together with the availability of cheap money (augmented by the expansion of home and foreign markets) contributed to the cultural and technological revolution.

> There was a consumer boom in England in the eighteenth century. In the third quarter of the century that boom reached revolutionary proportions. Men, and in particular women, bought as never before. Even their children enjoyed access to a greater number of goods than ever before.[81]

The only exception to the orgy of 'spending and getting' appears to have been the extremely poor, both urban and rural. For the rest of the population, however, from the aristocracy and squirearchy down, the acquisition of material goods, together with the constant changes in fashion, became a way of life.

> Realizing that there was a market in culture, men of business began quite deliberately to exploit it....[82]

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[81] Neil McKendrick, The Consumer Revolution of Eighteenth-century England in Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, J.H.Plumb The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-century England (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1982) 9.

[82] J[ohn] H[arold] Plumb, Georgian Delights (Boston: Little, Brown 1980) 10.

A counter influence to that generated by commercial interests, were those pedagogues and social reformers, among whom, James Nelson and Juliana Susannah Seymour continued to denounce the current fashion in children's dress and advocated loose comfortable clothing more suited to growing bodies. Nelson condemned clothes which restricted the natural movements of the body, and which he believed had an adverse effect on children's health. He stated, furthermore, that girls were more affected than boys, since the latter were breeched at the age of four or five, whereas girls were forced to wear constricting clothing all of their lives.[83] Seymour, also abhorred the wearing of stays, and reiterates that the poor grow straight without the use of 'Armour', which cause all manner of problems and deformities.[84] Their advice was not heeded, however, until the last quarter of the eighteenth century, when children's clothing returned to a simplicity that had once been commonplace in the late Middle-ages.

If one accepts the hypothesis that all of history is cyclical, and that "cycles are dependent on the close

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[83] Nelson, 103.

[84] Lawrence Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500 - 1800 (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1977). "William Law, whose handbook on the upbringing of children ran to ten editions between 1729 and 1772, told the story of a mother whose....eldest daughter died at the age of twenty. At the autopsy it was found that 'her ribs had grown into her liver, and that her other entrails were much hurt by being crushed together with her stays, which her mother had ordered to be twitched so straight that it often brought tears into her eyes whilst the maid was dressing her.' 444

relationship between the psychological drive of a society and its technological evolution",[85] a comparison may be made between England in the eighteenth century and during the later Middle Ages. Both ages witnessed technological revolutions, and new imports in the Middle Ages with the introduction of 'stuffs' (silks and velvets from the East brought back by the crusaders), and in the second half of the eighteenth century, the importation of easy-care cottons and muslins from India.

It is relevant to this thesis to interject a brief summary of the history and the general trends in children's costume from the fourteenth until the eighteenth century. In the fourteenth century:

> Contemporary evidence, written or pictorial of children's clothing in this century is extremely rare and little girls appear to be almost entirely ignored.[86]

Judging from contemporary illustrations, medieval manuscripts, church brasses and monuments, however, there was little to distinguish between the clothing of children and those of adults, who are both depicted wearing loose flowing robes of simple design. The first reference to children's clothing is made in The Treatise of Walter de Biblesworth in which he states that: "When a child is born

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[85] Jean Gimpel, The Medieval Machine: The Industrial Revolution of the Middle Ages (Harmondsworth: Middx. Penguin 1983 240.

[86] Phillis Cunnington & Anne Buck. Children's Costume in England: From the Fourteenth to the end of the Nineteenth Century (London: Adam & Charles Black. 1965) 13.

he must be swaddled."[87] (a custom which can be traced back to antiquity in the belief that it was necessary to keep a baby's limbs straight and free from harm). The ritual of unswaddling a baby from time to time during the day was described by two Huguenot refugees in the 1560's[88] a custom that continued well into the eighteenth century when it came under attack by physicians and reformers, who were among the first to condemn it as evidence of restrictive clothing.

Fourteenth century sources are apt to depict boys rather more frequently than girls, the costume of the former consisting of braies or loose fitting drawers, over which would be worn a short tunic with loose sleeves which could be worn with or without a belt. Girls were dressed in long plain gowns or kirtles, over which was worn the cote-hardie, a sleeved overgarment, or alternatively the surcote which was sleeveless; for outdoor wear both sexes would wear a hooded cloak. Shoes and gloves completed the outfit.[89]

Beginning in the second half of the fourteenth century, and continuing into the fifteenth century, these simple clothes underwent changes in design and texture with the introduction of rich fabrics often decorated with heavy embroidery and lace. Small boys continued to wear the loose

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[87] The Treatise of Walter de Biblesworth in Cunnington & Buck 13.

[88] Cunnington and Buck, 35.

[89] Cunnington & Buck, 13-20.

gown without a belt, however older boys became miniature versions of their fathers when the simple tunic was replaced by the padded gipon or doublet and hose, (the doublet being made from damask, satin or velvet, although for daily use, broadcloth, fustian, linen and sometimes leather were used). The noble boy's outfit was completed by the wearing of the 'knightly girdle', and for warmth a short cloak or houppelande (made of wool, velvet or damask and trimmed with fur) was added.[90]

> John was liberally fitted out with furs.... When he was eight years old he was given a silver gilt belt fashioned in the shape of harebells and two years later he had a sword.(1397)[91]

From the available evidence it would appear that girls (from the late fourteenth and continuing into the fifteenth centuries) continued to dress very much like their mothers; the kirtle would be worn over a simple chemise and on top of that the super-tunic or houppelande. A description of girls' clothes however, pertains mostly to royalty and ceremonial occasions. The wedding dress of the twelve-year-old Princess Philippa, (youngest daughter of the future Henry IV who was married by proxy in 1406) consisted of:

> A tunic and mantle with a long train of white satin worked with velvet, furred with pured minever and purfled (edged) with ermine and the sleeves of the tunic also furred with ermine.[92]

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[90] Cunnington & Buck, 23.

[91] Carlton Williams, (My Lord of Bedford, 1389-1435 by Carlton Williams 1963) in Cunnington & Buck, 16.

[92] Cunnington & Buck, 30.

Other dresses in the trousseaux were variously made of 'cloth of gold' or velvet, all richly embroidered or decorated with pearls and trimmed with minever or ermine.[93]

By the end of the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, educators and reformers in England, had put forth tentative arguments in favour of the liberalisation of children's clothing. Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536) the great philosopher and scholar, urged that children's dress should be loose enough to allow for ample freedom in movement.[94] Subsequently this concern with children's health and physical welfare was expressed by Edward Mulcaster the first headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School from 1581 - 1586, and the Elizabethan courtier Endymion Porter (1587-1649), who urged that children's clothing should be warm and light, and, who, furthermore, proposed the revolutionary idea for his time, that children should go bare-headed.

An early attempt to introduce reform into girl's clothing was made by a woman -- Hannah Woolley, in The Gentlewoman's Companion (1675) -- when she censured the fashion of wearing tight corsets by young girls, as being

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[93] Cunnington & Buck, 31.

[94] William Harrison Woodward, Desiderius Erasmus: concerning the Aim and Method of Education (New York: Lenox Hill [Burt Franklin] 1904 rpt. 1971). 88.

injurious to their health."[95] The undeniable fact that even young babies wore clothing which restricted freedom of movement may be deduced from:

> A very small pair of boned stays in the Victoria and Albert Museum [which] may be evidence that babies wore a boned bodice....[96]

It appears however, that these arguments for change had little or no effect on children's clothing until the middle of the eighteenth century.

Philippe Ariès has subjected to critical analysis paintings, sculpture and documents relating to games, education and the dress of children over a period of six centuries. His research led him to the conclusion that a new concept of childhood emerged in the seventeenth and reached its fulfillment in the eighteenth century, in which parents and educators began to conceive of the 'idea' of childhood as being a separate and distinct reality from that of adulthood, and which subsequently influenced the change in children's dress. Ariès states that:

> In medieval society the idea of childhood did not exist; this is not to suggest that children were neglected, forsaken or despised. The idea of childhood is not to be confused with affection for children; it corresponds to an awareness of the particular nature of childhood, that particular nature which distinguishes the child from the

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[95] Ewing, 42.

[96] Cunnington & Buck, 105.

> adult, even the young adult. In medieval society this awareness was lacking.[97]

He quotes at length from Heroard's Journal sur l'enfance et la jeunesse de Louis XIII [1607] in which an early indication of this concept is expressed:

> Heroard's diary indicates that there was a very structured progression from one set of clothing to another. At the age of three years, Louis XIII was given his first robe without leading strings, and four years later at the age of seven years and eight months he was breeched, being now dressed in doublet and hose and cloak, and equipped with a sword. By these outward signs, Louis XIII showed that he had put away the 'robe of childhood.'[98]

Ariès postulates the thesis that in seventeenth century France, there was an increasing trend towards differentiation between the clothing of adults and that of children. Fashion dictated that upper-class children would no longer be dressed like adults, but should wear a distinctive dress which would resemble the fashion of the previous century.[99] Together with this trend towards the archaic, Ariès perceives a parallel tendency for the children of the middle classes to adopt the dress of the working classes, a trend in which children's costume was influenced from the bottom up. (A parallel that was not

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[97] Philippe Ariès, Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life trans. Robert Baldrick, (New York: Alfred A.Knopf, 1962) 128. This statement has been challenged by Pollock in Forgotten Children who claims that there has always been a concept of childhood, and that children have always been wanted and loved.

[98] Ariès, 53.

[99] Ariès, 57.

again observed until the introduction of jean-wear for children in the middle of the twentieth century).

> The costume worn by the well-dressed child...was at once archaic (the Renaissance collar), lower-class (the trousers), and military (the military jacket and buttons).[100]

Although Lawrence Stone accepts Ariès' thesis that family portraits are evidence of a "growing solidarity between parent and child...."[101], he does not regard special clothing for children as an indicator of a more child-oriented society. Whether children wore special clothes or were dressed as miniature adults "depends more on the whims and fashions than on deep-seated psychological shifts in the attitudes towards children."[102] Conversely, it may be argued that differentiation in dress, whether that of children, or of a particular group or individual, creates a change in attitude or perception towards that same group or individual. Peter Laslett, however, rejects the received thesis that children were in reality (as well as in paintings) regarded as miniature adults.[103]

During the first half of the eighteenth century little boys wore frocks (long skirted dresses with a boned bodice) until they were breeched at about the age of three or four.

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[100] Ariès, 59.

[101] Stone, The Family. 412.

[102] Stone, The Family 410.

[103] Peter Laslett, 119.

> One of the clothed effigies in Westminster Abbey is of the little Marquess of Normanby,[sic] who died in 1715, just after he was 3 years old. The effigy is fully dressed, probably in the child's own clothes which include a stay bodice of yellow silk and linen, stiffened with cane, with shoulder straps tied with ribbon....[104]

Once breeched a boy was but a small replica of his father, being dressed in a coat, waistcoat and breeches, often made in costly materials of silk or velvet and embroidered or trimmed with silver lace. Hair was worn shoulder length and curled at the ends, although sometimes periwigs were worn by boys.

In the eighteenth century a new interest in children and childhood appears to have resulted from the dual and very different interests of commerce and reform, 'the rise of the egalitarian family', and the consumer boom.

> consumer behaviour was so rampant and the acceptance of commercial attitudes so pervasive that no one in the future should doubt that the first of the world's consumer societies had unmistakably emerged by 1800.[105]

The emphasis was not pride in the durability of goods, but on keeping up with the constant changes in fashion, and nowhere was this more noticeable than in clothing. Unprecedented spending was urged on by commercial interests which aggressively advertised their wares, and made luxuries into necessities with:

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[104] Cunnington & Buck, 109.

[105] McKendrick, 'The Consumer Revolution of Eighteenth-Century England" in The Birth of a Consumer Society: 13.

> whole newspapers...taken over by advertisements, and a very large proportion of all newspapers ...filled with advertising.[106]

The necessity of the élite to set themselves apart from the rest, had been supported in earlier centuries by 'sumptuary laws' but in the eighteenth century, the pervasiveness of 'spending and getting' filtered down through all ranks of society, so that the middle classes emulated those of the upper ranks, and the poor those of the middle classes. In a society that judged a person's worth by outward show, the haste to spend and acquire material goods became a prime concern.

"Magnificent houses were built reaching a crescendo of building in the 1760's and 1770's"[107] and were filled with furniture commissioned from Hepplewhite, Sheraton and Chippendale. Fine china from the potteries of Wedgwood, Chelsea, Worcester and Bow, candlesticks from the Huguenot silversmiths, mirrors from Linnell, and cutlery from the master smiths of Sheffield[108] graced these minor palaces. Gardens were created with new and exotic plants, and whole estates were landscaped and planted with hundreds of trees, artificial lakes and temples. It would appear, therefore,

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[106] McKendrick, "The Consumer Revolution of Eighteenth-Century England" in The Birth of a Consumer Society: Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J[ohn] H[arold] Plumb, 11.

[107] McKendrick, 'The Consumer Revolution of Eighteenth-Century England" in The Birth of a Consumer Society: 10.

[108] McKendrick, "The Consumer Revolution of Eighteenth-Century England" in The Birth of a Consumer Society 10.

that the new interest in children and childhood should have arisen not only from the efforts of the reformers but also from commercial interests and conspicuous consumerism, in which children were a potential market to be exploited.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, and more particularly in the last quarter, the evolution of more comfortable clothing for children, especially boys, may be evidenced in the number of 'child portraits' that emanated from the studios of Sir Joshua Reynolds (who could command £150 for a portrait), Thomas Gainsborough, William Hogarth and others. In portraits executed by Reynolds in the thirty-year-period between 1754 and 1783, changes in boy's costume may be observed, beginning with the portrait of Lord George Greville (1754) aged eight, and concluding with the portrait of The Lamb Children (1783). Lord George Greville is depicted wearing a blue/green velvet jacket over a gold waistcoat while at the neck may be seen a soft cotton or lawn shirt collar. According to the fashion of the day the hair has been allowed to grow naturally, falling in a short fringe over the forehead. A formal note, however, is introduced by the gloves (one of which is worn, its companion held in the hand), while a book is held casually in the other hand, on which can be clearly read the word SYNTAX. Although the jacket appears to be made of velvet over a silk or satin waistcoat, both are devoid of embroidery or lace, the only hint of ornamentation being in

the buttons.[109] The portrait may be described as one of casual elegance.

An example of the 'archaic' in portraiture may be observed in the study of Lord George Seymour Conway (1769). The six year old curly haired child is depicted in Vandyke costume with a cloak thrown carelessly over one arm. His gold coat is probably of silk or satin with an elegant lace falling collar. Aileen Ribeiro states that the Vandyke costume was an "artistic convention" kept in Reynold's studio for the purposes of portraiture.[110] This style was also employed by Gainsborough in his portraits of Lords John and Bernard Stuart, and of Jonathan Buttall known as The Blue Boy.[111]

Gainsborough preferred to paint:

> in the manner of the Antique or else in sufficiently generalized a way to define the vagaries of fashion and thus any possibility of the pictures rapidly taking on the dismal appearance of last year's cast-off dress.[112]

These portraits do not therefore represent reality, any more than those portraits of children in any other form of

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[109] Nicolas Penny, Reynolds (New York: Abrams, 1986) Lord George Greville plate 22.

[110] Reynolds, Lord George Seymour Conway, in Penny, plate 76, 244.

[111] Thomas Gainsborough, Jonathan Buttall, The Blue Boy (1770). San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Art Gallery, in John Hayes, Gainsborough Paintings and Drawings (London: Phaidon Press 1975) plate 94.

[112] Hayes, 13.

'fancy dress'[113] which was popular for portraiture in the eighteenth century. The Vandyke costume utilised by both Gainsborough and Reynolds bring into question Ariès' thesis that an aspect of children's clothing in the eighteenth century was epitomised by the wearing of out-dated clothing. In England, at least, it appears that the antiquarian style was merely an artistic convention.

Girls too began to benefit from the new freedom in clothing in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Gradually the tight stays were abandoned, and simple unboned dresses made of lawn, muslin or other fine cottons were worn with a soft sash tied at the waist. It is probable that most muslin dresses were worn either in warm weather or else were used for 'best wear'. In a letter to her Aunt Serena, dated April 1786, the fifteen-year-old Maria Josepha Holroyd informs her that she is making a gown for herself out of Spotted Muslin.[114]

The portrait of the seven year old Lady Caroline Howard (1778) also, reflects the changing fashions in a young girl's clothing. She is portrayed wearing a dress of white muslin with a blue silk sash, posed against a backdrop of trees and flowers. For added warmth she has donned a short

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[113] Reynolds, Master Crewe as Henry VIII (1776) in Penny, plate 97, 269.

[114] The Girlhood of Maria Josepha Holroyd [Lady Stanley of Alderley]. Recorded in letters of a hundred years ago: From 1776 to 1796. Ed.J.H.Adeane. (London: Longmans, Green 1896) 15.

black silk cloak, and on her head she wears a cap in the style of a turban, and she wears mittens.[115] As with the painting of Lord George Seymour Conway, there is a subtle hint of childish innocence and vulnerability, as portrayed in 'romantic' art and literature.

It would appear however, that families who lived at a greater distance from the metropolis were less likely to be influenced by the eighteenth century concern with 'spending and getting', or indeed by new social reforms. In Scotland boys still wore miniature editions of their fathers clothes, these formal clothes, however, were worn only for parties, at other times they were dressed very plainly. "Some of the sons of the gentry especially in the Highlands, went about looking like little ragamuffins,"[116] a measure of which Locke would have approved! Girls too as a rule, wore simple clothing. Whether at home or visiting friends they wore jupps, (short woollen gowns with close fitting bodices) derived from the French jupes, hence their name.[117] Clothes often too old to renovate could sometimes be cut down for the children.

It was not until the last quarter of the eighteenth century in England, with the publication of Emile, that the

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[115] Reynolds, Lady Caroline Howard (1778) in Penny, plate 107. 279. Even at this tender age girls were encouraged to wear long mittens to keep their arms soft and white.

[116] Marjorie Plant, The Domestic Life of Scotland in the 18th Century (Edinburgh: UP 1952) 187.

[117] Plant, 188.

real revolution in boys clothing came about, when little boys of five years having passed out of the petticoat stage, were allowed to wear loose trousers reaching to the ankle, lawn shirts with or without a soft collar, and sturdy shoes with plain buckles. In inclement weather a short jacket provided extra warmth and protection.[118]

Mrs Papendiek in her Journal reflects on the breeching of her four year old son Frederick in the new skeleton suit.

> The shirt was made like a man's, except that the collar was large and frilled, and turned over the jacket instead of being buttoned up. The jacket and trousers were of cloth, the latter being buttoned over the jacket, and the trousers only to the ankle bone....Boots for children being then unknown, they had gaiters, which went over the end of the trousers, and these with strong shoes equipped them properly for walking...Under-waistcoats and drawers were not then worn, so I had the lining of the trousers made separate, which ensure a proper cleanliness. [119]

The social historian must be alert to the fact that fashions in children's clothing, as in adults, changed gradually over a period of time, and that several different fashions can be observed within the same time-frame. The group portrait of The Lamb Children(1783) portrays the three sons of Lord Melbourne aged thirteen, four and one year, wearing three types of costume common to the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

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[118] Doris Langley Moore, The Child in Fashion (London: B.T.Batsford. 1953) 14.

[119] Mrs Papendieks Journals. Court and Private Life in the Time of Queen Charlotte (London: Richard Bentley & Son, MDCCCLXXXVII vol.2 230-1.

> The eldest boy Peniston, wears a three-piece suit of black silk - unusually formal clothes for his age-group. William, helping to support his baby brother Frederick, wears a buff-coloured "skeleton suit"....The baby Frederick wears a white, back-fastening muslin frock tied round the waist with a pink silk sash,...his costume is virtually indistinguishable from that of a small girl of the same age.[120]

Whether or not Jean-Jacques Rousseau had a great influence on children's dress in England is debatable, for other voices earlier in the century, had anticipated his revolutionary approach to children's clothing and education. Rousseau urged mothers:

> From the moment that the child breathes on leaving its envelope, do not suffer his being given other envelopes which keep him more restricted: no caps, no belts, no swaddling;....[121]

Madame de Maintenon in 1707 had praised the English for releasing babies from their swaddling bands after the first three months, an innovation which she commended for its cleanliness and its increased comfort for the baby.[122] Swaddling however, as has been indicated above, although dying out in England was not discontinued until the end of the century, which caused Rousseau to continue his entreaties against tight, restrictive clothing for children.

> The best thing to do is to leave them in smocks as long as possible, then to give them a very large

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[120] Reynolds, The Lamb Children (1783), in Penny, plate 133. 305.

[121] Rousseau, 60.

[122] King-Hall, 128.

> garment and not make a point of showing off their figure...[123]

He also recognised that children loved bright colours:

> There are gay colors and sad colors. The former are more to children's taste. They are also more flattering to them; and I do not see why one would not consult such natural fitness in this.[124]

Rousseauian philosophy, therefore, following the publication of Emile would give the added impetus to those earlier reforms predicated by John Locke. It was only after the publication of Emile "that children's clothing began to have its own identity."[125]

Doris Langley Moore the internationally well-known collector of costume, states that the origin of the change that took place in the course of the eighteenth century cannot be ascribed to any one single source:

> no serious student of fashion can suppose that any important mode proceeds from a single or even a dual source....Mr.James Laver has frequently pointed out, a kind of zeitgeist, a spirit of the time, inspiring a mood in which youthful and responsive minds, not in one circle or one country only, feel a readiness for change.[126]

She dismisses the thesis that little boys' costume was derived from that of sailors. She proposes that the advent of a more casual style of dress for boys originated with the clothes commonly worn by boys in the country on their

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[123] Rousseau, 126

[124] Rousseau, 126.

[125] Ewing, 42.

[126] Langley Moore, 13.

father's estates, while reserving the more formal dress for social occasions in the city.

> This theory is not as fanciful as it may sound. All the principal male fashions from the period of which I write to the present day have been styles originally introduced either for informal use or country wear.[127]

The second half of the eighteenth century saw a growing trade between Great Britain and the East; in particular calico, fine cottons and white muslins from India. "Worn by girls it [white muslin] emphasized the look of purity and innocence which was considered the greatest attribute of female childhood."[128] In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, therefore, girls gained greater freedom when their elegant silk and satin dresses were replaced by simple straight dresses of lawn, muslin or fine cotton. This innovation may have been a continuation of the costume worn by babies of both sexes, or alternatively have been influenced by:

> traditional simple country clothes worn by humble rural people and therefore attractive to fashion when it was set on a 'back-to-nature' course.[129]

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[127] Langley Moore, 15.

[128] Langley Moore, 14.

[129] Ewing, 51. An alternative influence might have stemmed from the nightgown (the name belies its true function) which was a loose unboned gown or 'house-dress' worn by young girls in the home. This comfortable item of clothing in vogue from the mid- seventeenth century until the mid-eighteenth century, would have provided a measure of freedom and warmth, which was absent from girls' normally restrictive clothing.

There is some disagreement however among social historians as to whether girls benefitted as much from the new styles as did their brothers.

> [Low décolletage] is very restricting to the arms: a satin sash is liable to slip out of position or to come undone altogether and who would not gladly exchange muslin for velvet in cold weather.[130]

The revolution in children's clothing which can be dated from 1770 initially bore no relation to that of adults. Comfort became the hallmark of children's wear - a true fashion liberation. (As happened in the sixth decade of the twentieth century, the fashion of youth ultimately influenced and was copied by adults). The skeleton suit lasted for nearly fifty years, while the simple white dress for girls devolved into the 'party dress' which was *au courant* until the early years of the twentieth century.

The reason why the revolution in children's fashions lasted so long and spread to adults has been attributed to the French Revolution, during which time the French fashion industry had been brought to a standstill. At the same time in England, the Lancashire cotton industry was growing apace, hence the new fashionable materials were made of lawn, muslin and fine cotton. When peace was restored, the hierarchial element in society dictated an end to the current classless fashion. Once again the privileged classes kept their distance by special skills and constantly changing fashions which served to set them apart from the

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[130] Langley Moore, 16-17.

lower classes,[131] and once again children were subjected to an era of restrictive and most unchildlike clothing, which would last for another century before there would be a second revolution in children's clothing. As Braudel has stated:

> Is fashion in fact such a trifling thing? Or, as we think, do these signs constitute evidence in depth concerning the energies, possibilities demands and *joie de vivre* of a given society, economy and civilization?[132]

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[131] Langley Moore, 12.

[132] Fernand Braudel, Capitalism and Material Life 1400 - 1800 trans. Miriam Kochan, (Glasgow: Fontana/Collins 1974) 235.

Chapter Three: Children's Education

Sociological, religious, and political changes beginning in the late seventeenth and continuing throughout the eighteenth century, ultimately had a salutary effect upon the lifestyle of children and the concept of childhood. These changes were epitomised by the rise of the nuclear family, and a more affiliative role for children within the family. Children were no longer sent away from home to be reared by others, either to be wet-nursed,[133] or educated/socialized by other families. These changes which appear to have begun with the aristocracy and squirearchy, led to an increased concern with the education and manners, clothing, health and diet of children.[134]

It would appear that Locke's philosophy of education as embodied in his Thoughts was predicated upon the ideals of educators and pedagogues from antiquity onwards. Marcus

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[133] Lawrence Stone, The Family, The early 18th century witnessed the first onslaught of propaganda against wet-nursing, by physicians, Dr.William Cadogan; the apothecary James Nelson; and in an especially virulent attack "The Spectator" inveighed against the practice, of [wealthy] women handing their children over to 'dirty and slovenly wet-nurses.' This practice was defended however, by prominent women amongst them Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in 1716, and Mrs Boscawen in 1748". 429-432.

[134] Lawrence Stone, "Family History in the 1980s: Past Achievements and Future Trends" in Journal of Interdisciplinary History, XII: I (Summer 1981) 51-87. "Attitudes towards children...changed, although when and in what classes remains uncertain."74 "But there is no agreement in sight about which were the leading sectors in the change, nor when or why the changes occurred. As leading sectors, Ariès, myself [Stone], and Greven favour the gentry and the bourgeoisie, Trumbach the aristocracy, and Degler and Norton the middle class; we are therefore in rough agreement."75.

Fabius Quintilianus in the first century A.D. proposed a theory of education in his Institutio Oratoria that affirmed the importance of elementary education for boys of wealth and/or noble birth. He believed that prior to the age of seven children's learning should not be formalised but acquired through play, with standard instruction beginning at that age. These brief years of childhood appear to reflect the common practice of the time, that childhood ended and adolescence began at seven.[135] He rejected corporal punishment in contrast to the common practice of his time, and urged that the teacher allow for differences of temperament and talents in individual pupils. Quintilian also regarded relaxation and games as being necessary to education.[136]

A German medieval writer of the fourteenth century expressed a similar philosophy with regard to corporal punishment when he stated:

> Children won't do what they ought If you beat them with a rod. Children thrive, children grow When

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[135] Lawson and Silver, State that: This concept of childhood [in England] lasted until the beginning of the eighteenth century. From the age of seven, children were treated like adults, at work and at play and before the law. "An eight-year-old boy was hanged in 1629 for burning two barns at Windsor; a seven-year-old boy and his eleven-year-old sister were hanged at Kings Lynn as late as 1708" 110-111.

[136] Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, Quintilian on Education Intro. and trans. William M.Smail. Oxford UP 1938. (New York: Columbia Univ. in ser. Classics in Education no.28 rpt. n.d.) Book I, 11-33.

> taught by words, and not a blow...Evil words, words unkind Will do harm to a child's mind.[137]

Quintilian's insistence in the Institutio on the dual importance of moral and intellectual training had a significant influence on fifteenth and sixteenth century humanists. Erasmus' work on education De pueris statis ac liberaliter instituendi [1529] addressed to William Duke of Cleves, proposed a method of education which from a child's earliest years would take due care of the individuality of the child [boy].

> The Master will be wise to observe such natural inclination, such individuality, in the early stages of child life, since we learn most easily the things which conform to it.[138]

Throughout the sixteenth century Renaissance, humanism in England was to have a distinct influence upon scholars and educators in their philosophy with regard to the schooling of the ideal gentleman.

With regard to the education of girls and women Erasmus reflected the position of the Italian humanists, who believed that women had the right to a liberal education. This belief was influenced by the intellectually accomplished daughters of Sir Thomas More, in whose house he was a frequent visitor, and which resulted in him becoming a staunch defender of education for women.

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[137] Somerville, 69.

[138] Desiderius Erasmus, De Pueris Instituendis in William Harrison Woodward, Desiderius Erasmus concerning the Aim and Method of Education (New York: Lenox Hill [Burt Franklin] 1904 rpt.1971) 196.

Anticipating Locke by more than a century, Roger Ascham, tutor to the young Elizabeth Tudor, urged that love rather than fear should prevail in education:

> And therefore, my dear friend, bring not up your children in learning by compulsion and fear, but by playing and pleasure.[139]

These ideas were repeated in the educational philosophy of John Comenius (1592-1671) in Orbis Pictus, which would have a profound influence upon educationalists in Britain, where he spent several years during the Thirty Years War after fleeing his native Moravia.[140]

The turbulent middle years of the seventeenth century in England witnessed a growth in Protestantism, foremost among whom were the Puritans. With the dissolution of the Monarchy and the formation of the Commonwealth, Puritan morality would govern the education and upbringing of children at home and at school. This strict and at times apparently harsh upbringing was not conceived by parents as cruel but rather as a demonstration of love, to ensure the salvation of their children's immortal souls.

These theories of education taken from antiquity, the renaissance, and puritan morals, were familiar to Locke and appear to have contributed to his philosophy of education

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[139] Roger Ascham, The Schoolmaster (1570) ed. Lawrence V.Ryan, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell UP. 1967). 32.

[140] Ewing, Komensky [Comenius] "was a pioneer in advising following nature in child training and in this respect the forerunner of Froebel, Pestalozzi and of the kindergarten system in general".42.

(albeit for gentlemen) in Some Thoughts concerning Education. In his treatise Locke predicated an holistic approach to the development of the child, in which care of the body and development of the character would take precedence over the training of the intellect, and would put an end to the religious domination of childhood. Axtell states, however, that the traditional educational works of Roger Ascham, Sir Thomas Elyot, John Milton, James Cleland, and Henry Peachem, seem not to have been consulted by Locke:

> Because Locke was welding together from his own educational experiences, personal reflection, and omnivorous reading a partially new intellectual category, there were few works of predecessors from which he could have drawn.[141]

Fifty years later in the second half of the eighteenth century Locke's philosophy would influence Jean-Jacques Rousseau. His novel Emile (1762), which was translated into English the following year, would reinforce the Lockian influence upon children's upbringing in England. Although many of his [Rousseau's] reforms had been anticipated by Locke, Emile would further stimulate changes in the lives of children and childhood and influence parents and educators for nearly two centuries to come.

Locke's perspective towards formal education, when it should begin and how it should be imparted, was revolutionary for an age when rod and rote were considered essential to education. He believed that serious study

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[141] Axtell, 65.

should begin by teaching a child to read, and only then when the child had surfeited itself with play.

> When he can talk, 'tis time he should begin to *learn to read*. But....great Care is to be taken, that it be never made as a Business to him, nor he look on it as a Task...I have always had a Fancy, that *Learning* might be made a Play and Recreation to Children;[142]

Accordingly, all subsequent teaching should be adjusted to conform to the child's age and ability, in this regard Aesop's Fables[143] was considered a suitable and appealing book for a child learning to read, as well as certain selected Bible stories.

Once the child had mastered the essentials of English, Latin should be introduced, which Locke looked upon: "as absolutely necessary to a Gentleman;"[144] It should not be taught by rote however, but by daily usage. Good handwriting and an ability to draw (in an age before photography) was also considered essential to record places and events when travelling abroad.[145] Locke's broad perspective of education for the sons of the gentility would include, French, shorthand, arithmetic, geography,

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[142] Locke §.148. 208.

[143] Nicholas Blundell, Blundell's Diary and Letter Book 1702-1738 Ed. Margaret Blundell. (Liverpool: UP. 1952), Nicolas Blundell's daughter Mally began to read on her seventh birthday, and a year later "begin to joyn in writing"..."Mally and Fanny [sister] were not oppressed by much book-work". 70. "Ezop's Fables for my Niece Middleton 3s 6d". 32.

[144] Locke, §.164. 217.

[145] Locke, §.160. 214. §.161. 215.

chronology, history, geometry, some law and natural philosophy. Dancing, horsemanship, painting, and gardening were seen as necessary social accomplishments, but he is less than enthusiastic about music or fencing. The 'Grand Tour', which would complete the 'Gentleman's education', should not, however, be undertaken without a tutor before the age of twenty-one.

> But from Sixteen to One and Twenty, which is the ordinary *time of Travel,* Men are of all their Lives, the least suited to these Improvements.[146]

It may be posited therefore, that Locke's concept of education appears to depart from that type of education which he himself had received at Westminster, where the traditional disciplines of Greek, Latin, Rhetoric and Logic were pre-eminent.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, education in England had been controlled by the traditionalist and orthodox Anglican (High Church), where the sons of the aristocracy and squirearchy were schooled in well endowed and wealthy Public Schools whose *raison d'être* was to educate leaders of men in Church and State. The most fashionable of these schools was Westminster where as:

> the classics became vocationally 'useless' so they increasingly became the symbol of the gentleman's education, for gentlemen by definition did not have to work for a living.[147]

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[146] Locke, $.212. 262.

[147] Lawson & Silver, 198.

Westminster was well-known for its violence and lawlessness, where the "rich, arrogant and unafraid...young gentlemen of England were hard to control...."[148] Eton, however, with its emphasis on a classical curriculum retained its leadership among the public schools, and was patronised increasingly after 1760 by the nobility and gentry (probably due to the personal interest of George III). Thomas Lord Lyttelton at the age of fourteen was sent to Eton where Dr.Barnard compared his [Lyttelton's] abilities[149] favourably to those of Charles James Fox. At Eton the boys enjoyed games of cricket and football, as well as swimming and boating. Until the latter years of the century Eton and Winchester had little of the lawlessness which was prevalent at Westminster, where discipline exercised by older boys eventually led to flogging and open rebellion, with the result that: "the boys occupied the school for two days and hoisted the red flag."[150]

Subsequent to the Act of Uniformity in 1662, and the Five Mile Act of 1665, by which all nonconformist clergymen and schoolmasters were prevented from teaching in public or

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[148] Lawson & Silver, 199.

[149] Blunt, 36.

[150] Ariès, 318. William Crampton, The complete Guide to Flags (London: Griswood & Dempsey). rpt. (New York: Gallery Books 1989) "The original Red Flag was the one hoisted during the French Revolution to signal the declaration of martial law. Later the mob seized the flag and brandished it themselves to indicate that the power of the people was superior to the power of the courts." 11.

private schools, or of coming within five miles of any corporate town, the latter years of the seventeenth century witnessed the emergence of the private academy. Some of these dissenting academies upheld the classical tradition in education, others emphasized a more general curriculum that included the classics but also offered instruction in English grammar, arithmetic, accounts, geography and history, elementary science, as well as French, music and dancing. The curriculum offered by these academies appear to reflect Lockian influence in the variety of its subjects, but they were not intended solely for the education of the 'sons of gentlemen'. The purpose of some academies, however, was to educate boys for specific vocations, of these: "Heath Hall near Wakefield...offered separate courses designed for 'gentlemen', business, the army and the navy, and the universities."[151]

These private schools which catered mostly for the sons of the upper-middle class became popular with many aristocratic families and members of the squirearchy who objected to the public schools atmosphere of corruption and bullying, and desired a less authoritarian, and a more flexible and informal approach to education. In essence these changes in educational ideas and methods may be seen as the birth of modern education.

> The Academies opposed a narrow classical education in principle and advocated mathematics and science as

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[151] Lawson & Silver, 204.

> a basis for modern education....They especially objected to the customs of bullying and the atmosphere of corruption which was prevalent in the majority of public Grammar Schools.[152]

In this changing environment the private tutor was considered a suitable alternative to public grammar school education by many aristocratic and noble families for the education of their sons. In some families the tutor was engaged only to teach at the primary level, after which the boys and sometimes girls would be sent away to school; other families, including some of the most influential political families dispensed entirely with public education and opted wholly for private instruction at home. It would appear that Locke's theory of education had most influence in the great houses with their cultural resources, libraries, paintings and sculptures,[153] In the 1770's, Joseph Priestley (the eminent unitarian theologian and scientist) tutored the sons of the earl of Shelburne; and William Jones, a self-taught mathematician and FRS became tutor to the future earl of Hardwicke and the first and second earls of Macclesfield.[154] Locke's influence was also felt to some degree in the academies, but his philosophy of education had less impact in the grammar schools.[155]

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[152] Nicolas Hans, New Trends in Education in the 18th Century (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1951) 117.

[153] Lawson & Silver, 202

[154] Lawson & Silver, 202.

[155] Lawson & Silver, 176.

In Scotland at the age of six, James Boswell attended a co-educational private academy in the West Bow run by one James Mundell, where he was taught Latin, English, Writing and Arithmetic. He was shortly withdrawn from this school because of extreme timidity and dependence upon his mother (a condition which had affected his health) to be taught at home by a private tutor. This tutoring, which included a study of the Roman poets must have been of a sufficiently high standard in order for him to enter the University of Edinburgh in his thirteenth year.[156]

John Cannon argues that: although Locke preferred his 'sons of gentlemen' to be educated privately by a tutor, throughout the eighteenth century, the peerage continued to attend the great 'public schools'.

> Unimpressed by Locke's arguments, the nobility seems to have come round to the opinion that the rough and tumble of a public school was the best preparation for public affairs.[157]

Nicolas Hans, however, points out that below the peerage:

> Many aristocratic families, country squires and members of the clergy preferred private schools to public schools...[158]

What influence therefore did Lockian ideas and those of later pedagogues exercise over education in the eighteenth

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[156] Frederick A.Pottle, James Boswell: The Earlier Years 1740-1769 (New York: McGraw-Hill 1966) 1-23.

[157] John Cannon, Aristocratic Century: The peerage of eighteenth-century England (Cambridge UP 1984) 43.

[158] Nicolas Hans, 117.

century? If the number of editions of Locke's Thoughts are an indication of his influence (fifteen English editions by 1777), it may be deduced that Lockian philosophy upon eighteenth-century didactic essays and treatises was extensive.[159] His concept of the child's mind as a *tabula rasa* is reflected by Seymour when she stated:

> My Dear it is certain, that the Minds of all People, are in their Infancy, a kind of Blank...They are ready to receive whatever characters shall be written on them, and what they do receive at this time they are fixed upon them for ever.[160]

Learning however, should proceed at the child's pace, not at the artificial pace set by the parent or tutor.

> In the first place, if they read only a little, they will remember that little distinctly and perfectly, which is better than their having a confused Remembrance of ten thousand Things at once, from their having been obliged to take in too much. I know that if I only read two Pages of a Book, I shall remember what it was that I read two or three days afterward; whereas, if I have gone through many Pages, all stands confused in my Memory; and I have a just Sense of nothing.[161]

Locke's perceived influence upon these later pedagogues is also reflected in the need to assert authority towards children without the use of corporal punishment. All too

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[159] Yolton, Locke. "It is speculation at best to give the number of copies printed: a print-run of 200 or 500 copies was not unusual. The contract quoted...for the third edition...speaks of 1,500 copies: we may assume an edition of any number between 200 and 1,500 for the first edition." 57. See Appendix II.

[160] Hill, Management of Children by Juliana Susannah Seymour 145.

[161] Hill, Management of Children by Juliana Susannah Seymour 213.

frequently parents express inordinate love to children in their infancy and try to impose a belated authority on their grown-up children; an impossibility once those children have reached maturity.[162]

In the early years of the eighteenth century there existed two distinct streams of girl's education for the daughters of the aristocracy and the squirearchy; the boarding school and a private education at home. From the later seventeenth century onwards - private boarding schools for girls had been established in London and the larger county towns; and became the subject matter for a variety of genre paintings by lesser artists during the course of the century.[163] By 1780 Salisbury had at least three such schools for girls, whose curriculum included music, writing, accounts, dancing, French and English, as well as needlework and the tambour. Lacking in intellectual content, these schools emphasised moral training and genteel accomplishments, which came under criticism as merely being the means "to increase a young lady's chance of a prize in the matrimonial lottery"[164]

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[162] Hill, Management of Children by Juliana Susannah Seymour 126-136.

[163] James Thomas Herbert Baily, "A Visit to the Boarding School" in George Morland; A Biographical Essay (London: Otto 1906) In which "...an elegant and beautiful mother...is waiting to see her children....who are being led in by a simple white robed damsel...." plate 69. 19-20.

[164] Maria Edgeworth, in Lawson & Silver, 208.

Susan Sibbald together with her sisters and brothers received her early education at home with the help of a governess, until at the age of fourteen years she was sent as a boarder to Belvedere House school at Bath, kept by Miss Sophia Lee and her sisters Harriet and Ann. This genteel establishment was considered suitable for girls of the upper classes. The basic curriculum consisted of writing, arithmetic, music, drawing, dancing, and needlework with French being a requisite of speech during school hours. At the age of 70 years Susan Sibbald commented on the changes in childhood which had taken place in half a century, in that: "Nature was left much more to have her own way, in forming the minds of children than at present,..."[165]

Mrs Montagu's experience of school appears to be quite different from that of Sibbald, when as a child she [Montagu] attended a school in Kensington kept by Mrs Robartes where "The girls were so dirty...that sometimes one could not salute them."[166] Her favourite niece however, was sent to a boarding school in Chelsea where she [Mrs Montagu] "found the girl in perfect health, with a little addition of *embonpoint* extremely becoming."[167]

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[165] The Memoirs of Susan Sibbald 1783-1812 ed. Francis Paget Hett. (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1926) 12.

[166] Dorothy Gardiner, English Girlhood at School: A Study of Women's Education through 12 Centuries (London: Oxford UP 1929) 339.

[167] Gardiner, 340.

Children of recusants were sometimes educated abroad until the Royal Act of Clemency was passed in 1717. From the pages of his diary in which he recorded daily events shared with his wife and/or children, Blundell appears to have been less patriarchal and more domestically inclined than was common for his time. His daughters enjoyed a very happy childhood in the English countryside, but were sent to Flanders to be educated. When they had completed their education Blundell allowed them to choose their own marriage partners, with the stipulation that the suitor must be a: "Gentleman of a cumpotent Estate, one of a good caracture, and a Catholick.[sic]"[168]

Education for those girls who were taught at home was very uneven in content and context. Some like Maria Josepha Holroyd the daughter of Lord Sheffield, appear to have become quite a bluestocking without benefit of formal education. When French emigrés (who had fled the Revolution) found sanctuary under her fathers' roof, Maria Josepha took this opportunity to advance her knowledge. Stimulated by the conversation around her, she became proficient at reading in both English and foreign languages. In addition: "She early acquired a love of botany from Sir Joseph Banks, and delighted in gardening and country pursuits."[169].

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[168] Blundell, 223.

[169] Holroyd, Intro. J.H.Adeane xvii.

In comparison, the daughters of Mrs Hester Lynch Thrale, especially the eldest Hester Maria (Queeney), were tutored personally from an early age by their mother, who recorded the academic achievements of her children, in her family record book "Thraliana".[170] At the age of four years the child was learning not only to read and write, but was studying catechism, astronomy and Latin grammar to the 5th declension. Two years later:

> Queeney's intelligence was now a source of wonder. The combination of her Johnsonian memory [Johnson lived with the Thrales for extended periods] and her intensive tutoring had turned the six year old child into an even greater prodigy than her mother had been at that age.[171]

The "Thraliana", however, lacks the sense of a happy carefree family life that is recalled by Susan Sibbald in her Memoirs, when as a nine-year old at home at Fowey in Cornwall, she played at 'donkey races' and skipping rope with her siblings; and retained pleasant memories of her school, Belvedere House, at Bath.

In sharp contrast to the education received by the son and daughters of Hester Lynch Thrale, Lady Sarah Lennox's letters to her life-time friend Lady Susan O'Brien shows

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[170] Hester Lynch Thrale, Thraliana: The Diary of Mrs.Hester Lynch Thrale (Later Mrs.Piozzi) 1776-1809 Ed. Katherine C. Balderstone. Vols.1 & 2, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1942). Mary Hyde, The Thrales of Streatham Park (Cambs: Mass, Harvard UP. 1977). Mrs Thrale's relationships with her surviving daughters (after the deaths of her son, and husband Henry Thrale) declined drastically with her marriage to Gabriel Piozzi.

[171] Mary Hyde, The Thrales of Streatham Park (Cambridge: Mass. Harvard UP 1977) 40.

that she placed her daughter's happiness above other concerns:

> she will never be a prodigy. Luckily I am no admirer of prodigys, so it's no serious misfortune to me and only mortifys my vanity a little, but if I don't hurt her happiness I have nothing to care for beyond that[sic]....[172]

Fanny Burney (Mme D'Arblay) 1752-1840, the diarist, and daughter of the organist Dr. Burney, had practically no formal education, but wrote her first novel Evelina at the age of twenty-six, which brought her to the attention of court and literary society. As Josephine Kamm has pointed out:

> The learned woman was still an anachronism; but women inclined to scholarship continued to study, generally surreptitiously. With certain exceptions, at home as at school, the accent remained focused on the accomplishments.[173]

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu an outspoken critic of women's education believed that women should be able to read the Latin and Greek classics, and should also study poetry, history, geography and philosophy. Drawing and needlework however, should not be neglected any more than a man would neglect to learn swordsmanship.[174] Mary Wollstonecraft (although not born into the gentility) spent many years as a governess. She believed that the best teacher for a girl

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[172] The Life and Letters of Lady Sarah Lennox 1745-1826 ed. The Countess of Ilchester and Lord Stavordale, (London: John Murray 1902) 272.

[173] Josephine Kamm, Hope deferred: Girls education in English history (London: Methuen 1965) 102.

[174] Kamm, 103.

was her own mother, and a boarding school should only be resorted to when the mother was unable or unwilling to take on the task of educating her daughters. Her view, however, exerted little influence on the education of the daughters of the élite.[175]

It would appear that individual 'bluestockings' did little to influence women's and girls' education for the better. Neither Hannah More nor Priscilla Wakefield (two other blue-stockings) thought it necessary for a girl to pursue real learning. They were satisfied with the state of women's education which depended largely upon memorization, and the question and answer method of examination. Hannah More furthermore "resented the intrusion of the middle-classes into the preserves of the nobility."[176] In this context Mrs Charlotte Charke, the daughter of Colley Cibber the actor, received an education which was at once, genteel, yet liberal and progressive. At the age of eight years she was sent to a 'famous' school in Westminster where she studied Latin, Italian, and geography. She remained there

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[175] Kamm 130. Eleanor Flexner, Mary Wollstonecraft: A Biography. (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1972) 155. "Most of Mary's ideas about education were radical for her day. Because her primary concern was the education of girls, we tend to ignore the fact that she also advocated drastic changes in the education of boys, argued for a national system of education...for coeducation, and the mixing of all classes, at least in the elementary schools."

[176] Kamm, 107-108.

for two years then continued her studies at home, with the addition of music and dancing.[177]

The eighteenth century produced a vast quantity of literature on female upbringing, which was more concerned with moral training and genteel accomplishments than any form of intellectual education. Lockian liberalism brought little change to girls education which was dominated by cultural, music, languages and drawing, rather than intellectual pursuits. Jonathan Swift and Adam Smith were both satisfied with the status quo in the education of girls: Swift recognised the need for raising the general standard of education but "did not wish it raised high for girls."[178] and Adam Smith stated that:

> Girls,... are taught what their parents and guardians judge it necessary for them to learn and they are taught nothing else.[179]

Towards the end of the century this concept was strongly assailed, though with little practical result, by such middle-class blue-stockings as Maria Edgeworth, Mary Wollstonecraft and Hannah More. [180]

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[177] A Narrative of the Life of Mrs Charlotte Charke: Daughter of Colley Cibber 1755 (London: ser. Constables Miscellany of Original and Select Publications in Literature. Constable 1929) 28.

[178] Kamm, 117.

[179] Kamm, 119.

[180] Lawson & Silver, 208. The above statement is contrary to that made by Josephine Kamm, Hope deferred who states that: "it cannot be said that the bluestocking circles exerted any influence on the course of girl's education as such; for the accomplishments continued to run riot at the

In spite of the wide dissemination of Locke's Thoughts, the publication of Jean Jacques Rousseau's Emile, and Francois de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon's Traite de l'Education des Filles, (translated into English in 1750 by Dr.George Hickes), education for girls:

> [was] heavily weighted in favour of moral training and genteel accomplishments,...[and] lacking in intellectual content....[181]

In his treatise Fénelon was atypical for his age in recognising the importance of women in society and the necessity of giving them a good education. Nevertheless he concurred with his English contemporary George Savile, Marquis of Halifax, that the female sex is essentially subordinate, and a woman's happiness and usefulness is limited by nature. He anticipated Rousseau, however, when he emphasized that:

> the natural bent of a pupil should be followed as much as possible, and that education was not a process of filling the mind with information, but of drawing out and directing what was already there.[182]

A new concept of childhood was also espoused by the forerunners of Romanticism in art, prominent among whom were Coleridge and Wordsworth, who sentimentalized the innocence

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expense of a solid training." 111.

[181] Lawson & Silver, 208.

[182] "The Ascendancy of France: 1648-88." The New Cambridge Modern History vol 5 Ed. F.L. Carsten, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP 1969) 269-70.

and wisdom of childhood.[183] This concept which had its greatest effect upon girls and women, would, in the nineteenth century, engender a more restrictive and subordinate lifestyle for girls from affluent families.

In the late eighteenth century, Rousseau's philosophy of childhood which owed much to Locke, was predicated upon the counter concept to 'Original Sin'. He believed that children are born into a state of perfect grace, and only those impressions gained from society around them makes them bad. In Emile he argued that children should have a number of years of perfect freedom, since: "Nature wants children to be children before being men."[184] therefore: "Treat your pupil according to his age."[185] Rousseau developed those ideas which had stemmed from Comenius and Locke, "and placed them in a new theoretical framework that of the 'natural man'".[186] That aspect of Locke's philosophy towards education, which recommended a more Spartan lifestyle for children, was also echoed in modified form by Erasmus Darwin and others. These later pedagogues recommended the beneficial effects of gardening and walking,

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[183] William Blake, The apotheosis of childhood, British Museum, in Quennell, 48; Reynolds, The Age of Innocence, Tate Gallery, London, in Quennell, 58; Reynolds Penelope Boothby, Royal Academy Exhibition, in Penny, plate 147; William Blake, Songs of Innocence(1789); William Wordsworth "My Heart Leaps up when I behold".

[184] Rousseau, 90.

[185] Rousseau, 91.

[186] Lawson & Silver, 233.

and plenty of fresh air and sunshine, and also recommended that the windows of bedrooms and classrooms should remain open both in winter and summer.[187]

Rousseau, divided childhood into five stages, the first from birth to five years in which the developing child would enjoy total freedom to develop motor skills, and which would allow nature to set its own pace in weaning, speech and walking. From ages five to twelve Emile was not yet a rational being, therefore formal education should not be attempted, neither geography, history, languages, literature, nor any form of moral instruction. A negative education should be aimed at the senses, the acquisition of skills and the enjoyment of physical activities: a healthy mind in a healthy body.

The third stage from ages ten to fifteen[188] was regarded by Rousseau as the age of reason in which Emile would study science and the nature of things. With the approach of adolescence, which for Rousseau encompassed those years just after twelve and belonged to childhood, serious studies could commence, with science and handicrafts being of prime importance.

> Make your pupil attentive to the phenomena of nature....Let him not learn science but discover it....You want to teach geography to this

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[187] Gardiner, 356-359.

[188] It would appear that Rousseau allowed for an overlap of two years between the second and third stage of education.

> child....Why do you not begin by showing him the object itself....[189]

From fifteen to eighteen, Emile entered the last stage of adolescence in which abstract ideas, philosophy, religion and sociology, as well as languages and literature would form the core of his education which would closely approximate that followed by all gentlemen of the period, and would conclude with the Grand Tour. Rousseau's liberal philosophy however, did not extend to girls' (Sophie's) education, whose upbringing was predicated on the objective of making her a passive docile companion to Emile.

Thomas Day born 1748, was an ardent follower of Rousseauian educational philosophy. Following a visit to France where he met his idol, he returned to England and wrote pamphlets on such various topics as the emancipation of the slaves, American independence, and the reform of the suffrage. Later he became disillusioned with politics and turned to the writing of children's books of which Sandford & Merton is the most well-known. Thomas Day, Erasmus Darwin and the Edgeworths', were disciples of Rousseau and Fénelon and subscribed to the philosophy that learning should be pleasurable and that "education should accommodate itself to the child and not the child to its education."[190]

Rousseauian philosophy had a liberating effect on education - by recommending that learning was best

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[189] Rousseau, Emile 168.

[190] Kamm, 124.

accomplished through experience. This philosophy was attractive to certain English middle-class intellectuals, but was found, however, to be impractible for mass education. Following the publication of Emile a flood of books was produced, which found a ready market in a society which had rediscovered childhood. This did not necessarily have the desired effect envisioned by either Locke or Rousseau. The old religious morality was replaced instead by a social morality, enforced at times by the birch.

In the second half of the eighteenth century the new interest in children, especially towards their education became the prerogative of 'strangers'. That is not to say that childhood had passed unrecognised in earlier times, but it had primarily been the concern of the family especially that of the *paterfamilias*, who dictated how and where his children would be raised and educated. In the last decades of the century, however, the dissemination of the printed word, which made educational theories available to a greater number of the population contributed to the standardization of education, and brought children into the modern age.

What significant changes therefore took place in the eighteenth century with regard to education? The upper classes had three types from which to choose, that of private tutors, private academies, or public schools like Eton or Westminster. There is some disagreement among historians as to the influence of Lockian educational philosophy in the eighteenth-century, and the resulting

changes in method and content. Lawson and Silver argue that Westminster and other public grammar schools with their emphasis on a classical education, were still the venue of choice for the 'sons of gentlemen', since gentlemen did not have to work for a living. They also point out that the dissenting academy, which initially attracted the upwardly-mobile middle classes, became increasingly attractive to some members of the aristocracy, who preferred a less authoritarian, and more modern approach to education. Nicolas Hans concurs with the above argument that the academies were increasingly patronised by some members of the aristocracy who objected to the corruption and bullying in the great public schools. Lawson and Silver state also, that education under the private tutor had its best chance of success in the great houses with their cultural facilities. Cannon, however, using statistical data, argues that the majority of the sons of the peerage continued to patronise the public grammar schools, Eton etc. Stone is in partial agreement with Cannon with respect to the education of the peerage, but states that:

> It was only at the highest level of court aristocracy that Locke's advice was ignored, and children were still largely neglected and sent early away from home.[191]

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[191] Stone The Family n.72. 432.

Stone also states that some élite parents withdrew their boys from school in favour of tutors at home - because they feared moral contamination with boys of lower rank![192]

Teachers at school continued to use the birch to enforce discipline, but these methods came under increased criticism. In 1735 The Gentleman's Magazine ridiculed teachers who regularly flogged their pupils:

> The most telling criticism was that there was something sexual at the basis of this sadism. For why did some schoolmasters pick on the prettier boys, and why did they say it was because of their concern for them.[193]

The enforcement of discipline in the home, however, became less brutal with physical punishment being replaced instead by psychological punishment. In some homes both physical and psychological punishment were used.

> Lady Anne Lindsay described her childhood home as being 'a sort of little Bastille, in every closet of which was to be found a culprit, some were sobbing and repeating verbs, others eating their bread and water, some preparing to be whipped.' It was Lady Balcarres who was the tyrant. Lord Balcarres occasionally tried to intervene with an 'Odsfish, Madam! you will break the spirit of my young troops. I will not have it so.'[194]

One day, Margaret Lindsay the third child of the family, who complained of 'hard laws and little play', persuaded her brothers and sisters to run away, but they were spotted by the shepherd who brought them back home!

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[192] Stone, The Family 434.

[193] Somerville, 124.

[194] King-Hall, 163.

> taken before the Countess, [she] declared that whipping was too good for them, and that instead they should each have a dose of tincture of rhubarb to teach them to stay at home.[195]

Mary Wollstonecraft's own experience as a governess, however, which was borne out by other teachers, found a lax attitude toward lessons very prevalent:

> the weather is so lovely, that an excursion into the country will do them more good than all the lessons in the world.[196]

This attitude appears to reflect the rise of domesticity, the decline of patriarchy and the concomitant increase in romantic marriage. Mothers, and sometimes fathers, displayed a greater personal interest in the upbringing of their children, particularly in early childhood. This may be seen in the decline of swaddling and wet-nursing, which by mid-century resulted in a closer bonding between mother and child.

> [Trumbach states:] that by 1750 aristocratic women, because of the force of domesticity, were spending more time with their infants and that the quality of that time had significantly changed.[197]

In the eighteenth century, as in any age, antithetic philosophies co-existed in attitudes towards children and

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[195] Plant, 5.

[196] Kamm, 133. Stone, The Family, evidence of excessive permissiveness in the late 18th century "...indicate a degree of indulgent permissiveness among parents and of spoilt arrogance among children which historically have no parallel except for conditions in the United States in the late 20th century. 436.

[197] Trumbach, 187.

childhood, and the most appropriate means which would enable them to take their place in society. It is possible to elicit from the sources examples of both physical and psychological punishment as well as elements of excessive permissiveness. This diversity in education and morals, punishment and reward appears to represent not only changing attitudes towards children and childhood, but also the uncertainty of the élite concerning the best method of child-rearing. In this environment the educational theses of Locke and Rousseau precipitated the development of numerous didactic self-help books and pamphlets by pedagogues and reformers in the later decades of the eighteenth century, and ultimately influenced a changing concept of education for the next two centuries.

Chapter four: Children's Books, Toys and Leisure Activities

Cultural horizons in the eighteenth century expanded in both quantity and quality with the growth of disposable income and the greater availability of consumer goods. This affected in varying degrees all segments of the population, from the richest to the poorest and from the eldest to the youngest. Whether in art, music or theatre, books or newspapers, museums and exhibitions, or merely travelling for pleasure, opportunities for enjoyment were notable in that they included children. This expanded concept of childhood, although it would have met with the approval of Locke (and to a lesser extent of Rousseau) was not, however, brought about solely by altruistic motives but rather by commercial interests, which contributed to the already prevalent aspect of conspicuous consumerism.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, childhood and children were subjected to scrutiny as never before. Not only were their clothing and education of interest, but also their play and leisure activities, with the increased availability of books, toys and games. Children increasingly became visible companions to their parents as they were taken on holidays abroad, to the seaside, or on visits to zoos, puppet shows, theatres and museums. Some family histories reflect a carefree family life in which the children spent happy childhood years, and this is not better epitomised than by that member of the Verney family, Sir Thomas Cave, 3rd Baronet of Stanford and Member of Parliament:

> His early and happy marriage made his home the best loved place on earth....His own and his wife's nephews and nieces were always welcome at Stanford....The birthday of his eldest boy Verney Cave was marked by such extensive hospitality that it became almost a county festival.[198]

Books for children with the exception of school-books were almost non-existent in England before the seventeenth century, those which were produced were either gloomy or contained theological moralising, but none were made for the pure enjoyment of the child. Literature expressly produced for children had its tentative beginnings in the fifteenth century with the development of the Horn Book. This was made by pasting transparent horn on to a wooden paddle and was used to illustrate the alphabet in both capital and small letters, and digits, together with the Lord's Prayer. Some later Horn Books had an abacus attached. This device became the standard method of instruction for children for several centuries, and was still in use by Hester Thrale in mid-eighteenth century.

> Christ's Cross being set at the head of the Horn Book, that all our Studies might begin for the Glory of God etc., made the Alphabet be familiarly called Criss Cross Row; this however is out of Fashion now; and neither Men nor Children are reminded of their Saviour.[199]

There were, however, a genre of books that provided children with some form of amusement, these were the

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[198] Margaret Maria, Lady Verney, LLD, ed. The Verney Letters of the Eighteenth Century 1696-1717 Vol.1. From the MSS. at Claydon House, (London: Benn, 1930) 214.

[199] Thrale, 251.

stylistically poor Chapbooks which were meant to be read by adults, but were eagerly seized upon by children, who were thus able to read stories of action and adventure. Chapbooks were first sold about 1640 by chapmen or peddlers who tramped the country selling these small books from their peddlers packs at the cost of a farthing or a few pennies. In addition to these, from 1709 onwards a child of wealthy parents could probably read other books intended for adults. The precocious eight-year-old Henry Thrale understood the meaning of 'castration', so wrote Mrs Thrale in her Journal.

> I bid him never to talk to his Sisters on such Subjects, and got rid of it myself as I could, but Harry makes reading so much his Amusement that he must know everything that Books contain;[200]

Children, nevertheless, continued to read books which were not intended for them, including some old romances, early editions of Perrault, and stories from the Arabian Nights. Three books, however, were to have a profound influence upon children's literature in the latter half of the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth.[201]

The year 1744 may be considered a watershed in children's literature with the publication of A Little Pretty Pocket Book by John Newbery, in which a new world opened up for children with stories and fables, myths,

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[200] Hyde, Henry Thrale had also read Tom Jones and Joseph Andrews at the age of eight. 144.

[201] Isaac Watt's Divine and Moral Songs for Children (1715). Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe (1719). Dean Swift's Gulliver's Travels (1726). Watts Divine Songs although didactic was written to give pleasure to children.

histories, geography and science, as well as educational games and puzzles. Newbery's philosophy which was predicated upon Locke's concept of the child's mind as a *tabula rasa,* was nevertheless not allowed to overrule his business judgment to make the printing and publishing of children's books into a viable commercial enterprise.

> [He] was the first to see that, in his line of business, children's books deserved special attention and development. He produced almost nothing original that has passed into the nursery library to live for ever.[202]

Under George II (1727-60) there was not only an abundance of books available for children but in the late eighteenth century they "became a minor social necessity..."[203] An untold number of these books have unfortunately for the social historian vanished from the record. From the pages of those still extant emerge details which reflect the social mores of the eighteenth century. In A Little Pretty Pocket Book it appears that children were still being whipped for their misdemeanours, as illustrated in one little rhyme:

> 'So great O, and P, Pray what do you see? *A naughty Boy whipt;* But that is not me'. These are accompanied by small blocks, respectively, of

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[202] F[rederick] J[oseph] Harvey Darton, Children's Books in England: Five Centuries of Social Life (Cambridge: UP 1960) 4.

[203] Darton 144. Aspinall-Oglander. In a letter to her husband in September 1754, Fanny Boscawen wrote that she had allowed their eldest son Harry to purchase a copy of Robinson Crusoe 149.

> a well and of a boy being birched upon an extensive bare rump.[204]

Among the topics encompassed in children's literature were the question of slavery and that of cruelty to animals.[205] Mrs Trimmer, a thorough-going adherent of reason and the natural child, reflected the beliefs of her age when she assumed the superiority of men over all creation.[206]

> But we must not betray the trust given to us,. We must put lobsters and eels to death mercifully. We must destroy caterpillars and snails, because 'they devour fruit and vegetables', but not butterflies and moths.... [207]

Although Locke had condemned frightening stories of ghosts and hobgoblins and other aspects of the supernatural

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[204] Darton, 3. Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt Children in English Society from Tudor Times to the Present vol 1 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1969) in ser. Studies in Social History. In reply to an essay on 'Flogging' published in the Gentleman's Magazine, 'Britannicus' was moved to write to the editor, 'Is not this sort of Correction common in almost every Family, as well as every School in Great Britain?' 303.
Pollock, Forgotten Children, however, rejects the perceived evidence of 'whipping', based upon her premise that children have always been loved and wanted throughout the last four centuries. She states: "details of severe physical punishment did not appear in diaries because it did not occur. Child abuse occurs in all socio-economic groups, although there is a tendency for it to be more common at the lower end of the scale" 87.

[205] Samuel F.Pickering Jr. John Locke and Children's Books in Eighteenth-Centur, England Knoxville: Tenn. UP. 1981 "Until the end of the 18th century, Locke's emphasis upon the danger of cruelty to animals influenced the depiction of animals in children's books." 12.

[206] See note 65.

[207] Darton, 161.

as being unsuitable for children, by the end of the eighteenth century this objection under the influence of Rousseau, had expanded to include fairy-tales and folk-tales. In Lucy Aikin's Poetry for Children is found this interesting passage regarding the suitability of poetry for children as a substitute for Fairy Tales.

> Since dragons and fairies, giants and witches, have vanished from our nurseries before the wand of reason, it has been a prevailing maxim that the young mind should be fed on mere prose and simple matter of fact[s]...[But] the magic of rhyme is felt in the very cradle - the mother and the nurse employ it as a spell of soothing power.[208]

It is apparent however, that fairy-tales and nursery rhymes did not die, but merely went underground to reappear in the nineteenth century to be read by later generations of children.

> fairy tales have great psychological meaning for children of all ages, both girls and boys....Rich personal meaning is gained from fairy stories because they facilitate changes in identification as the child deals with different problems, one at a time.[209]

Between 1748 and 1793 two books for children were published which appear to demonstrate the growing influence of Locke and Rousseau on childhood. Sarah Fielding a thorough-going Lockian wrote what has been described as the first full-length school-girl's book, while Thomas Day a convinced disciple of Rousseau, wrote in the moral/didactic genre a story which contrasted the moral superiority of a

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[208] Darton, 156.

[209] Bettelheim, 17.

middle-class boy, with that of the weak and spoiled aristocratic child. Although these books are practically unknown today, they each enjoyed great popularity until well into the Victorian age.[210] In the last quarter of the eighteenth century and continuing into the nineteenth century, Rousseauian philosophy, influenced the creation of moral/didactic tales for children by Maria Edgeworth, Mrs Trimmer, the Barbaulds and others, whose philosophy, perhaps motivated by the French Revolution, had begun to question the superiority of the English aristocracy.

The changing perspective of the aristocracy and gentility toward their children in the second half of the eighteenth century, was predicated not only upon Lockian and Rousseauian philosophies of child-rearing, but also upon a growing domesticity within the family, in which children's needs and wishes were more closely attended to. Disposable wealth as a result of an expanding economy, also contributed to the burgeoning market in children's books, games and toys. An excerpt from The Twelfth-Day Gift: Or, The Grand Exhibition (1767), may serve to demonstrate the variety of food enjoyed by the affluent in England at this time.

> Even this Cake before me, which you so long for, is the Product of Husbandry and Trade. Farmer *Wilson* sowed the Corn. *Giles Jenkins* reaped it, Neighbour *Jones* at the Mill ground it, the Milk came from Farmer *Curtis*, the Eggs from *John Thomas* the Higgler; that Plumb came from *Turkey*, and this

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[210] Sarah Fielding, The Governess or, Little Female Academy (1748) and Thomas Day, Sandford and Merton (1783-89).

> from *Spain*, the Sugar we have from *Jamaica*, the candied Sweetmeats from *Barbadoes*, and the Spices from the *East Indies*.[211]

This brief overview indicates the quantity and variety of children's books in late eighteenth century England. Although Lockian philosophy provided the incentive for Newbery and other publishers and booksellers, these entrepreneurs eagerly seized the opportunity to make books for children a 'social necessity'. This attitude reflects in part the changing concept toward children as well as the perception of them as a viable market to be exploited.

Since antiquity children have always played with toys, 'dolls' being one of the oldest and the most varied. Representations of the human figure the *Ushabti* or servants of the dead in the next world, have been recovered from the tombs of ancient Egypt, and "in the *huacas* or tombs of the Incas of Peru small gaily-dressed clay dolls have been found folded in the mummy garments of children"[212] In the Middle Ages bread dolls were made to represent saints, and eaten on feast days, and although figures of chocolate and sugar were known to Leonardo da Vinci:

> The Renaissance period appears to be singularly lacking in interest in the flowering of the child,

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[211] Pickering, 14.

[212] Lesley Gordon, A Pageant of Dolls: A Brief History of Dolls showing the National Costumes and Customs of Many Lands (Leicester: Edmund Ward n.d.) 2.

> apparently absorbed in the flowering of the man.[213]

German medieval pastry cooks made the most artistic of all the edible dolls, of sugar, meal and gum tragacanth. "An engraving dated 1698 showing the gum tragacanth doll-makers at work may still be seen."[214] Edible dolls were also immortalised in the couplet:

> Run, run as fast as you can, You can't catch me - I'm the Gingerbread Man![215]

Dolls were also used as 'Signs' to hang outside shops, and "black dolls were exhibited by sellers of West Indian muslin and other similar produce"[216]. During the reign of Catherine de Medici in the sixteenth century, fashionably dressed dolls, the forerunners of the fashion plate, were sent to foreign countries to advertise French fashions.

It cannot be certain at what date children adopted these different forms of dolls to themselves. We do know, however, that children had rag dolls in the eighth and ninth centuries, and that in the Sonneberg district of Germany in the fourteenth century, hunters, charcoal-burners and woodsmen were making dolls, which soon gave rise to a flourishing industry.[217]

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[213] Antonia Fraser, A History of Toys (n.p. Weidenfeld & Nicolson 1966) 72.

[214] Gordon, 12.

[215] Old English Rhyme.

[216] Gordon, 9.

[217] Gordon, 20-1

It is important to remember that toys existed before the eighteenth century, with the majority being produced in the home. In medieval times these toys were simple and few, but evidence suggests that children played with spinning tops, windmills,[218] hobby horses, whistles, drums and cymbals, and for babies there were rattles and corals, which were generally believed to ward off the evil eye. With the industrial revolution toys became more plentiful and sophisticated, and their depiction in paintings provide the historian with an insight into the social and economic life of their owners.

Until 1730 children's toys could only be purchased from peddlers at country fairs, specialty toyshops being then unknown, even in London.[219] Fifty years later in 1780 there were toyshops in abundance with a great variety of toys for sale, including microscopes, camera obscura, and toy theatres with moveable scenery and actors. As commercial interests had taken advantage of the increased demand for new fabrics and fashions, there were also those entrepreneurs who seized the opportunity to satisfy the demand for novelty, generated by an "increased *desire* to

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[218] Pieter Bruegel, Children's Games (1560) Kunthistorisches Museum, Vienna. in Pieter Bruegel the Elder ed. Wolfgang Stechow, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1990) Plate 7, 60.

[219] Blundell, "Items of sums spent at fairs almost invariably included 'Toyes for ye children' which usually cost 3d". 53.

spend accompanied by an increased *ability* to do so".[220] These far-sighted entrepreneurs may be epitomised by the publisher of children's books, [John Newbery], the inventors of cheap jig-saw puzzles [John Spilsbury], playing cards [John Wallis], and board games, to the more expensive "portable printing press made for children of the rich by J.Sutter of St.Martin's Lane."[221] Wedgwood also had a line of toys and miniatures "directly aimed at the juvenile market.[222]

In the second half of the century there were mechanical toys, looms, printing presses and water-mills which could be assembled and made to work. A reference to one of these more sophisticated toys is made by Mrs Boscawen in a letter to her husband dated 13th August 1746:

> Your little son has this moment been talking of you, and hopes you will bring him grist to his mill, if not a mill itself.[223]

Even babies were not forgotten. One astute businessman, in 1731, had invented a new teething ring the "Anodyne Necklace"[224] which he advertised as having been

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[220] McKendrick, "The Consumer Revolution" in McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb, 23.

[221] McKendrick, 'The Commercialization of Fashion" in McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb, 81.

[222] McKendrick, "Josiah Wedgewood and the Commercialization of Potteries, in McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb, 142.

[223] Aspinall-Oglander, 20.

[224] Plumb, "The Commercialization of Leisure" in McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb. n.20, 272.

used by the Princess of France, in an attempt to reach that portion of the population that was desirous of emulating the upper classes. The élite of course used more expensive teething rings, of coral and silver, in the belief that coral would ward off the evil eye. Rousseau, however, attacked the rattle as a luxury item which, in conjunction with his naturalistic philosophy of child-rearing, led him to advocate toys based on natural objects like fruit and flowers.

> rattles of silver and gold, and coral....What useless and pernicious affectations!....little branches of fruit and leaves, a poppy flower in which one can hear the seeds striking one another, a licorice stick that he can suck and chew, will give him as much enjoyment as these magnificent gewgaws....[225]

Maria Edgeworth like Rousseau, placed little trust in dolls and dolls' houses, rocking-horses, and any action toys. She preferred instead simple toys which encouraged physical exercise - hoops, whipping tops and shuttlecocks and battledores, while sedentary recreation could be satisfied with plain paper, a pencil and scissors.

Children's leisure activities and the toys with which they played are recorded in the pages of diaries, journals and autobiographies, the latter often written from the distance of an adult perspective. In her Journal, Mrs Papendiek recalls an incident in 1769 when she was only four

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[225] Rousseau, 69-70. Fraser, History of Toys states that in this respect Rousseau completely ignored the universality, the historicity and religious significance of the rattle.15.

years of age. The rather lengthy description is interesting in that it demonstrates the Lockian style of punishment in which shame was used to discipline the child for a misdemeanour rather than any form of physical punishment.

> 'In the autumn of 1769, a serious incident was committed by me. I passed the afternoon with Augusta Petch, who had a new set of toy plates and dishes exceeding the usual children's services. These so dazzled me that I secreted one of the largest dishes and brought it home unperceived, in short regularly stole it.'

[Her father discovered what had happened, and took his daughter back to Mrs Petch with the dish and said in the presence of the child]:

> 'My child took away this dish without your knowledge; she must herself entreat pardon.' 'I recollect fully falling down on my knees and saying my usual prayers, and giving back the stolen property, which in future no persuasion could induce me to play with or even look at.'[226]

Letters written from school provide further insight into the lifestyle and activities of children of the upper ranks of society. The Honourable John Fermanagh (aged 12 or thereabouts) wrote to his father from school:

> Dear Papa, - George brought me some Gingerbread which you was so kind to send me,...I beg the favour of you...that you will desire my dear Mama to send me a little Tea and Sugar, as also a pair of Battledores and Shuttlecock....John Verney.[227]

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[226] Papendiek, 44.

[227] Verney, 134. Holroyd, Maria Josepha age 15 played backgammon after dinner. 13. Blundell, Nicolas Blundell taught 3 boys to play "at Penny Prick with ye Footballe'. 91. Sibbald, Susan. played with skipping ropes at 9 years of age and at age 12 played with a whip top. 26.

For perhaps the first time in the history of pedagogical writing Locke stressed the necessity for children's recreation and the opportunity for play. As with Rousseau, however, he did not believe that toys should be bought for children but preferably made at home, nor should they have a surfeit of toys, since this would only encourage waste and destruction. He states furthermore that:

> And I have known a young Child so distracted with the number, and Variety of his Play-games, that he tired his Maid every day to look them over; and was so accustomed to abundance, that he never thought he had enough, but was always asking, What more? what more? what new Thing shall I have?[228]

Primary sources appear to be in accord with this philosophy. It would appear that those children of the aristocracy and squirearchy who lived away from London, either permanently or temporarily, were satisfied with simple country amusements. When the seven-year-old Ralph Verney was left with the Rector of Claydon while his family was in London, the child enjoyed watching repairs being made to brick walls and thatched roofs on the estate; he also helped to unpack the carrier's load and collect the postmen's letters, and then hid with the game-keeper in a tree while the deer were being driven past.[229] He amused himself on church-days:

> [with] the sole Ringing of the Bell, and the whole property of the News-Papers. He was in great

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[228] Locke,§.130. 191-192.

[229] Verney, v.2. 175.

> expectation of the Drum and Fiddle on Thursday night, and when the Carrier delivered the one broken and the other lyeing(sic) at the bottom of the Waggon,(sic) could not be come at, he bore the Disappointment with the Temper of a Philosopher.[230]

The growth in domesticity in the late eighteenth-century is reflected in the sources, which provide insights into the nature of play and leisure activities of children. It would appear that in the home, mothers particularly were spending more time with their children, as can be observed in the following delightful episode recounted by Fanny Boscawen in her Journal of July 12. 1748:

> my son and his sister make hay beside us [in the garden] Mrs Smythe having presented the former with a rake, fork and spade, and I treated him with a large wheel-barrow. We likewise stole a haycock from our neighbour, Sir John Elwell, which has amused the young ones for these three weeks past....[231]

Indulgence of children by parents, often by mothers, may be epitomized by Mrs Papendiek who described a period in her life when her husband was required to stay at court, during which time:

> A little bed was put up in my room, and one or other of the three bairnies was always to sleep there, which was a great privilege and delight to them, poor little dears, and the race to be first made the act of going to bed more desirable to them.[232]

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[230] Verney, 173-175.

[231] Aspinall-Oglander, 92-93.

[232] Papendiek, v.2. 36.

There are also references to spoiled children and the consequent reaction by adults, as may be seen in Hester Lynch Thrales's entry in 'Thraliana' August 13th 1777, in which she records an incident during a dinner party given by Sir Joshua Reynolds:

> Lady Rothes was troublesome; She brought two Babies with her both under six Years old, which though the prettiest Babies in the World were not wanted there at all, they played and prattled and suffer'd nobody to be heard but themselves - [Sir Joshua's] sister...put the children under the Care of a Maid, and sent them walking while we dined, very little to the satisfaction of the Parents, who expressed some uneasiness lest they should overheat themselves as it was a hot day.[233]

As in every era, children, especially the very young ones made their own amusements which were not always deemed acceptable by adults, as when Lady Clive's children, the eldest of whom was only six, were 'whipt severely' for playing at *Father, Son and Holy Ghost*.[234]

In the second half of the eighteenth century children became more visible companions to their parents when they were taken (sometimes inappropriately when too young as seen above) on excursions in which they would benefit socially or educationally from new experiences. They enjoyed visits to theatres, museums and fairs, and were taken on family holidays as travelling for pleasure became more widespread. Mrs Thrale was often accompanied by her eldest daughter when

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[233] Balderston, v.1. 108, also n.3.

[234] Balderston, v.2. 647.

travelling, even to Italy.[235] Lady Sarah Lennox took her ten-year-old daughter to the sea-side[236], while Mally (from the age of three) and Fanny Blundell were constant companions to their father whether in visits to country fairs, or a race-meeting at Ormskirk, a Wake at West Derby and a "bawle" in Liverpool.[237] Moreover, he did not shield them from distressing sights, as when the drummer's wife was 'whipt for stealing',[238] or when in 1715 following the departure of his eldest daughter Mally for Flanders, Blundell took his youngest daughter Fanny (as a treat) to the sea-side "to see a Man as was cast up" [239] In comparison a lengthy entry in Mrs Thrales Journal in March 1776 describes a family outing to the Tower of London, Moore's carpet manufactory and Brookes Menagerie. Tragically, the entry concludes with the illness and sudden death of her adored son Harry.[240]

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[235] The comfort of coach travel was improved with the use of faster horses brought about by the cross-breeding of the indigenous English breeds (the Suffolk Punch, the Clydesdale and others) with the swifter lighter Arabian stallion. Thus longer distances including visits to the sea-side, tours of Scotland (Lyttelton) and Wales (Thrales) became more desirable.

[236] Lennox, 272.

[237] Blundell, 70.

[238] Blundell, 109.

[239] Blundell, 147.

[240] Hyde, Harry probably died from fulminating septicaemia or meningitis, which before the days of antibiotics a child often died within a few hours of an acute infection. 153.

Many and varied are the excursions and activities in which children participated in the eighteenth century. A letter written from school by the Honourable John Verney to his father Lord Fermanagh in August 1722 asks permission to be allowed home in order to see the Duke of Marlborough buried.[241]

Concomitant with the burgeoning toy industry there were vastly increased opportunities for parents and children to visit exhibitions both for amusement and education.[242] Parents were encouraged to take advantage of this by the sharply reduced entry prices for children. Sir Ashton Levers's Museum of Natural History at Leicester House advertised family season tickets at a cost of five guineas for the entire family, which included both the governess and tutor. This cost, however, would have been prohibitive except for the very rich.[243] Maria Josepha Holroyd, in 1786, at the age of 15, wrote of her visit to the Duchess of Portland's Museum and commented on the beautiful shells exhibited there. She appears not to have been as interested in the Vase of Alexander Severus preferring objects closer

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[241] Verney, v.2. 133-4.

[242] Pears Cyclopaedia, 96th edition. (London: 1987-88).A.11. 1753, The British Museum had its beginnings with the purchase by the government of Sloane's collection, and in 1768 The Royal Academy of Arts was founded.

[243] Plumb, "The New World of Children in 18th Century England" in McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb, 85.

to her own time such as Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book, because, "I know more about them" [244]

There were puppet shows, circuses, scientific lectures, various exhibitions of automata, and horseless carriages -- even human and animal monstrosities were exhibited in provincial cities as well as in London. Maria Josepha's father must have encouraged eclectic tastes in his daughter, for in letters written between the age of twelve and fifteen she wrote of seeing the 'little Baron' and the 'Irish Giant'; of a visit to the opera, and of seeing Mrs Siddons in Isabella. She also commented on the popularity of air balloons. "Everything now is Air-Balloons; there are Balloon Hats, Balloon Cakes, Work Bags, and even Balloon Noses..."[245]

In an era in which science and technology were advancing rapidly[246], all classes of society,

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[244] Holroyd, 14.

[245] Holroyd, 6-10. 1783 witnessed the first flights in hot air (Montgolfier) and hydrogen (Charles) balloons.

[246] Pears Cyclopaedia, Between 1733 and 1785 enormous strides were made in technology and science which made England at once prosperous and economically a leader in Europe. 1733, John Kay invented the flying shuttle, first of the great textile inventions, and Jethro Tull published The Horse-Hoeing Husbandry, advocating new agricultural methods. 1759 James Brindley designed the Worsley-Manchester Canal, the beginning of this form of transport in Britain. 1764 James Hargreaves invented the Spinning Jenny. 1766 Henry Cavendish proves hydrogen to be an element. 1769 Richard Arkwright erects spinning mill (invention of water frame). 1774 Joseph Priestley discovered oxygen. 1775 Watt and Boulton formed partnership at Soho Engineering Works, Birmingham. 1785 Edmund Cartwright invented the power loom. A.10 - A.11.

particularly those with leisure and money to spend, were interested and fascinated by some of the new scientific marvels.

> Some of the excitement of the new world of science and technology that fascinated children is beautifully realized by Joseph Wright of Derby's "An Experiment with the Air-Pump".[247]

Culture too was not neglected. In the great houses of the élite, books on various subjects swelled their libraries. Paintings, figurines, clocks, silver and mirrors adorned the rooms, and exotic plants gathered from distant parts of the world together with statuary beautified their gardens. Concerts and festivals were enjoyed by the élite, and emulated by the less wealthy middle-classes, and in all these pursuits, adults were increasingly accompanied by their children.

There are references in letters and memoirs to pet animals and other childish amusements. Maria Josepha writes that she has acquired a Bullfinch and her mother a Lap-Dog, while Lady Sarah Lennox at the age of fifteen, was more intent on her dogs and squirrel,[248] than the attentions of the Prince of Wales, afterwards George III. The tone of her letters to her friend Lady Susan Fox Strangways reflect her youth, although two years later at the age of seventeen

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[247] Plumb, "The New World of Children in Eighteenth-Century England", McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb, n 94, 308.

[248] Lennox, Life and Letters, intro. Ilchester & Stavordale, viii-x. Portraits of children and family groups also reflect the new interest in pet animals.

she was married. As a parent however, Lennox wrote of her twelve-year-old daughter:

> My daughter is grown a most charming girl, tho' I say it; she is but twelve years old and is very childish in everything, so that altho' she fully employs my attention she is not yet old enough to be quite a companion. She looks much older than she is, being very tall.[249]

In the visual arts notably in portraiture and scenes of family life, children are depicted taking part in various activities.[250] Conversation pieces and genre paintings appear to show an increasing appreciation of children at play, either alone or accompanied with adults. This can be observed in Hogarth's picture of "The Graham Children"(1742), and Zoffany's group-portrait of "The Duke of Atholl and his Family"(1765), in which the Duke and his Duchess are portrayed beside a lake surrounded by their seven children. The Duke is holding a fishing rod, helped by one of his sons. Another boy has chased a pet ring-tailed lemur up into the branches of a tree, while the girls have been busy weaving crowns of flowers.[251] These

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[249] Lennox, Life and Letters, 319-20.

[250] Francis Cotes, The Young Cricketer(1768). A portrait of Lewis Cage of Milgate Park; in British Painting in the Eighteenth Century: An Exhibition under the Gracious Permission of Her Majesty the Queen in collaboration with the British Council. 1957 Plate 5, 112. George Romney, The Leveson-Gower Children,(1776-7) Abbot Hall Art Gallery, Kendal, in The Genius of British Painting ed. David Piper, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975) 175. William Hogarth. The Graham Children (1742) in Ewing, plate 3, 97.

[251] William Hogarth, The Graham Children, Tate Gallery, London, in Ewing, 97. Johann Zoffany, The Duke of Atholl and his Family, (1765) in Peter Quennell, Romantic England 55.

groups have a happy informality about them that compare favourably to the stiff portraiture of the earlier painting by Arthur Devis of "The James Family"(1751).[252]

> Recent studies of the family and of children in this period have suggested that there was a new emphasis among the upper classes on domestic affection.[253]

This does not refute the fact that portraits of children existed before the eighteenth century, but they were generally formal representations of children, often commissioned by royalty and the nobility for the purposes of marriage.

Concomitant with this new interest in children and childhood is an apparent competitive element by some parents, as they compare their own children to those of others. This sense of rivalry was expressed by Mrs Boscawen in a letter to her husband:

> The comparison of <u>our</u> children with your brother George's. I went directly from our boy to his girl. What a difference! In every circumstance, and in nothing more than behaviour.[254]

and again in a later letter she states:

> Your children are all charming, in health as well as beauty. There are many children upon the green...[and] I always have the pleasure to find that my boy and Bess are taller by the head than

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Reynolds, <u>The Marlborough Family</u>, in Penny, plate 108, 137.

[252] Arthur Devis, <u>The James Family</u>, Tate Gallery, London, in Quennell, 57.

[253] Quennell, 283.

[254] Aspinall-Oglander, 28.

> anything of their age - and stout in proportion.[255]

Were therefore English parents fonder of their children than those on the continent, and did these demonstrations of love and concern change the lives of children of the aristocracy and squirearchy for the better? It would appear that from the last quarter of the seventeenth century a greater amount of attention was devoted to children in England, as was observed by the French travel writer Misson in 1698.

> On a une extraordinaire complaisance en Angleterre pour les jeunes Enfants, toujours caresser, toujours applaudi, à ce qu'ils fait.'[256]

It is certain that references to children appear more frequently in letters, diaries, journals[257] and paintings in the eighteenth century than in earlier centuries. A consequence of the new interest in children would in the nineteenth century, however, evolve to encompass adolescence within the realm of childhood, with its subsequent separation from and dependence upon the adult world, an

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[255] Aspinall-Oglander, 84.

[256] H.Misson de Valbourg in King-Hall, 92.

[257] Pollock, Argues that this is due to a greater degree of articulation in the diarists themselves. 106.

aspect of childhood which had not been envisioned by either Locke or Rousseau.[258]

[258] J[ohn] H[arold] Plumb, "The Great Change in Children" in Horizon (New York: American Heritage) Winter 1971, vol. XIII, no. 1. States that: prior to the 16th century, childhood only encompassed those years before the age of seven, after which children did not lead separate lives. In the nineteenth century, however, "children...were even excluded from adult society *in the home.*"n.p.

Conclusion:

In Family Life and illicit love in earlier generations, Peter Laslett observed that children appear in the writing of the past "far less frequently than would be expected when it is remembered how youthful all societies were before our own day."[259] As has been stated above, this is less true in the latter years of the eighteenth century as children became more visible both in writing and portraiture.

As Doris Langley Moore has pointed out, a certain *zeitgeist* is necessary to generate and bring together disparate forces into a united whole. In the eighteenth century change was a constant factor, which together with the increased pace of life contributed to the disappearance of some of the old traditional ways. It is the contention of this thesis that there was a significant change in the lifestyle of children in eighteenth century England, resulting in part from the influence of John Locke's Some Thoughts concerning Education and the Emile of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who although not the first pedagogues to advocate a new concept of childhood, were instrumental in their influence over later reformers. The discontinuation of the custom of sending children away from home to be reared by other families, was concomitant with the growth of domesticity in the late seventeenth century, which resulted in a greater degree of perceived affection and/or concern

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[259] Laslett, 18.

towards children. This concern with various aspects of childhood ultimately reached into those areas of conspicuous consumption in which children became the outward and visible signs of the wealth and status of their parents.

The eighteenth century, therefore, witnessed the tentative beginnings of a new concept of childhood dependence which extended upwards into adolescence until it reached its apex in the Victorian age, in which the long duration of childhood was not measured by biological changes, but by economic dependence and perceived sexual innocence. This statement is made, however, with the caveat that variations in family lifestyle existed within the aristocracy and squirearchy, as in all ranks of society.

There were those children whose 'childhood' extended into later adolescence, as when Maria Josepha Holroyd in 1787 at the age of sixteen, was given advice on deportment and etiquette "as you will now in a manner begin the world, and make your first appearance as being no longer a child."[260] Conversely, there were those whose childhood ended almost before it had begun.

> In 1741 Lord Chesterfield wrote to his 9 year old son as a 'youth' no longer as a 'child'....[261]

This attitude encouraged precocity on the part of some children that can only be compared to specific aspects of childhood common to the late twentieth century, in which an

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[260] Holroyd, 17.

[261] Pinchbeck & Hewitt, 298.

increasing number of children have lost the 'innocence' of childhood at an ever younger age.

Locke's premise of the child's mind as *tabula rasa,* his philosophy of a specialized education for the gentry and above, was predicated on the freedom of the individual, which premise was expanded by Rousseau in the last decades of the eighteenth century. Together these two philosophical giants were to influence education in England for the next century and a half. The restrictions placed on education for the children [boys] of the Dissenters, together with the development of the Academies, projected education into the modern era. This education even as it became more practical continued to place important emphasis upon the classics, for boys. Girls did not benefit from these changes. The minority of women who received a useful education did so, in spite of, not because of formal education.

The forces which combined to eliminate constricting clothing for children, also stemmed from the dual interests of Lockian and Rousseauian reform and conspicuous consumption. These changes were reflected in the portraits of children and family groups, with boys being the first to benefit from the new freedom in clothing. These changes may be attributed to the influence of the lower classes, as Langley Moore has suggested, or to the costume of sailors. It is certain that other forces, among which the rapid growth of the Lancashire cotton industry, and the effects of the French Revolution, contributed in no small measure to

the increased wealth of England and ultimately to a new vision in children's clothing. These changes, however, were short-lived:

> The young Victoria at the age of four, in 1823, was shown in a portrait in a large feather-trimmed hat and a fur tippet on her coat - in contrast to her great-aunt Amelia at the same age.[262]

Although more toys, books, games and leisure activities were available to children, early adolescence assumed many variables, particularly with adolescent girls, which led to precocity in some [Queeney Thrale] and the ever-present reminder to conclude a 'good marriage'. Maria Josepha Holroyd aged fifteen was allowed to dine downstairs at Sheffield Place but not yet in Town.[263] Mrs Papendiek was married at seventeen, while at the same age Susan Sibbald left school to be a companion to her sister Betsey.

All aspects of childhood in any century are subject to variations within families and society. This thesis has concerned itself with the lifestyle of that section of the population that formed the élite in Hanoverian England. These children of the aristocracy and squirearchy lived in a vastly different world from that of the majority of the population. Physically separated from the slums and stews of London as depicted by Hogarth, they lived their lives untouched by the poverty and affliction of the common man. It appears, however, that significant changes did occur in

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[262] Ewing, 68.

[263] Holroyd, 12.

the lifestyle of children of the aristocracy and squirearchy in the latter decades of the eighteenth century, which may be attributed in varying degrees tc the influence of John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, together with the growth of domesticity, and the impetus of conspicuous consumption.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

(by permission)

1. **A Visit to the Child at Nurse**
   George Morland

2. **Master Crewe as Henry VIII**
   Sir Joshua Reynolds
   Royal Academy of Arts, London

3. **Charles, Earl of Dalkeith**
   Sir Joshua Reynolds
   Royal Academy of Arts, London

4. **Lord George Greville**
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5. **Lord George Seymour Conway**
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6. **Jonathan Buttall, The Blue Boy**
   Thomas Gainsborough
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   San Marino, California

7. **Lady Caroline Howard**
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8. **The Graham Children**
   William Hogarth
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9. **The Duke of Atholl and his Family**
   Johann Zoffany
   From His Grace the Duke of Atholl's Collection at Blair Castle, Perthshire, Scotland

10. **The Marlborough Family**
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11. **The James Family**
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13. **A Visit to the Boarding School**
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14. **The Age of Innocence**
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15. **Penelope Boothby**
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16. **The Young Cricketer**
A portrait of Lewis Cage of Milgate Park
Francis Cotes

17. **The Leveson-Gower Children**
George Romney
Abbot Hall Art Gallery, Kendal

Fig. 1. A Visit to the Child at Nurse

Fig. 2. Master Crewe as Henry VIII

Fig. 3. Charles, Earl of Dalkeith

Fig. 4. The Marlborough Family

Fig. 5. Lord George Greville

Fig. 6. Lord George Seymour Conway

Fig. 7. Jonathan Buttall, The Blue Boy

Fig. 8. Lady Caroline Howard

Fig. 9. The Graham Children

Fig. 10. The Duke of Atholl and his Family

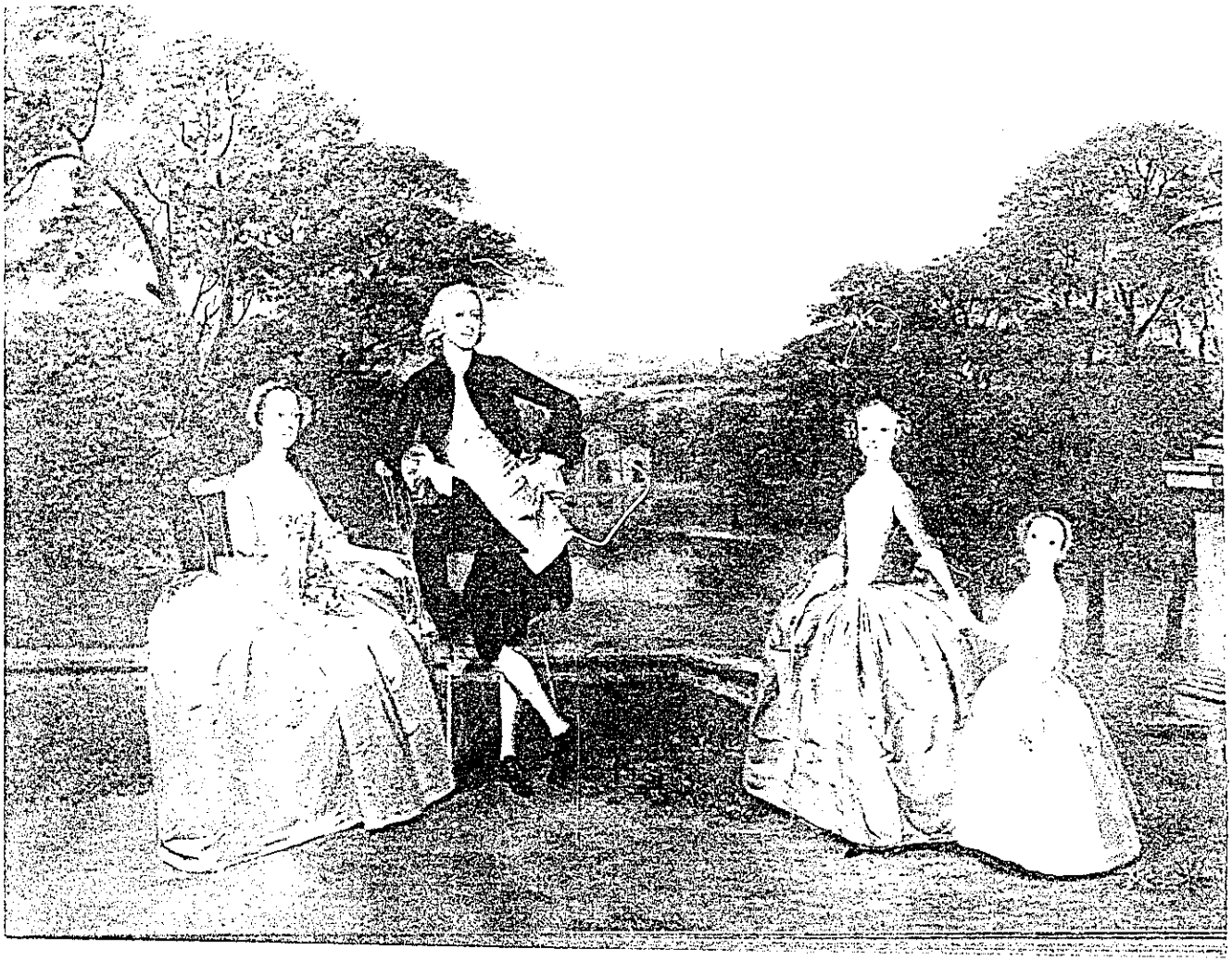

Fig. 11. The James Family

Fig. 12. The Lamb Children

Fig. 13. A Visit to the Boarding School

Fig. 14. The Age of Innocence

Fig. 15. Penelope Boothby

Fig. 16. The Young Cricketer

Fig. 17. The Leveson-Gower Children

APPENDIX I

Below are the books pertaining directly to education which Locke is known to have had or consulted...arranged in chronological order.

Quintilian, Institutio Oratoria.

Plutarch, Moralia.

Castiglione, Baldassare, Il libro del Cortegiano.

Clenardus, Nicolaus, Epistolarum libri duo.

Montaigne, Michel de, Essayes.

Burghley, William Cecil, first Baron, 1636. Precepts.

Raleigh, Sir Walter, 1636. Instructions to his sonne: and to posterity.

Bacon, Francis, 1640. Of the advancement and proficience of learning.

Osborne, Francis, 1656. Advice to a son.

La Hoguette, Pierre Fortin, Sieur de, 1660 Testament, ou Conseils fidelles d'un bon pere à ses enfants.

Allestree, Richard, 1660. The Gentleman's Calling.

Callières, Jacques de, 1668. La fortune de gens de qualité.

Comenius, John Amos, 1668. Janua Linguarum.

1668. Examen de la manière d'enseigner le latin par le seul usage.

Nicole, Pierre, 1670. De l'éducation d'un prince.

Le Fèvre, Tannegui, 1672. Méthode pour commencer les humanités grecques et latines.

Walker, Obadiah, 1673. Of Education, especially of young gentlemen.

Arnauld, Antoine, and Nicole, Pierre, 1674. La Logique, ou l'art de penser.

1674. Advice of a parent to his children.

Lewis, Mark, 1674. An essay to facilitate the education of youth, by bringing down the rudiments of grammar.

Lamy, Bernard, 1676. De l'art de parler.

1679. De l'éducation des enfants et particulièrement de celle des princes.[not identified]

Du Four, Sylvestre, 1686. Instruction morale d'un père à son fils qui part pour un long Voyage.

Fénelon, François de Salignac de la Mothe, 1687. Education des filles.

Vaumorière, Ortigue de, 1692. L'art de plaire dans la conversation.

Bordelon, Abbé Laurent, 1693. La belle éducation.

1694? The Knowledge of the world, or, The art of well educating youth.

Tillotson, John, Bishop, 1694. Six Sermons.

Penton, Stephen, 1694. New Instructions to the Guardian.

Molesworth, Robert, 1694. An account of Denmark.

Tryon, Thomas, 1695. A New Method of Educating Children.

Fleury, Claude, 1695. The history, choice and method of studys.

Fleetwood, William, 1696. A sermon on the education of children.

Belgarde, Abbé de, 1697. Reflections sur le ridicule et sur les moyens de l'éviter.

Ainsworth, Richard, 1698. The most natural and easie way of institution: containing proposals for making a domestic education less chargeable to parents.

Baker, Thomas, 1700. Reflections upon Learning.

1700. Instructions de l'Empereur Charles V à Philippe II.

1700 La Metode[sic] qu'on a tenue pour l'education des enfants de France.

APPENDIX II

The first editions (1693) of Some thoughts concerning Education.

According to Locke's notebook in the Bodleian Library, MS Locke f.29, p.144, 25 presentation copies of his work on education were given to the following:

Ld. Keeper	Sir John Somers of Evesham
Ld. Pembroke	Thomas Herbert, eighth Earl of Pembroke and Lord Privy Seal
L: Ashley	Anthony Ashley Cooper, later third Earl of Shaftesbury
L:Ch:Just Treby	Sir George Treby, Chief Justice of Common Pleas from 1692
Mr.Clarke	the dedicatee
JL	Locke himself
Mr.Freke	John Freke, a barrister and member of the Middle Temple
Mr.Popple	London merchant, translator of Locke's *Epistola de Tolerantia*
Sr.W.Yonge	Friend and MP
L.Monmouth	Charles Mordaunt, first Earl of Monmouth of 2nd creation, later Earl of Peterborough
ABp.	John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury
B.Furley	Benjamin Furley, a Quaker and friend
Dr.Guenelon	Peter Guenellon, medical graduate living in Amsterdam
Mr.LeCler	Jean Le Clerc, friend at Amsterdam, theologian and biblical scholar, editor of the *Bibliothèque* universelle, etc.

Mr.Daranda	Paul d'Aranda, friend and correspondent of Le Clerc
Mr.Pawling	Oxford mercer with whom Locke left papers and clothes when he fled to Holland
Mr.Fermin	Thomas Fermin, a Socinian, and friend of Tillotson
Mr.Molineux	William Molyneux, friend, scientist, Irish MP, and member of the Royal Society
Dr.Molineux	Thomas, brother of William MD from Dublin, later FRS
J.Johnston	James Johnstone or Johnstoun. nephew of Gilbert Burnet and Secretary of State for Scotland, 1692-6
Mr.Bridges	Brooke Bridges, Auditor of Imprest (Exchequer) 1682-1705, at one time with the East Indian Company
Mrs Duke	Sir Walter Yonge's sister
Helmont	Baron F.M. van Helmont of Rotterdam, friend and medical writer
L.Farfar	Archibald Douglas, Earl of Forfar and Lord of Scots Treasury
J.Bonville	Locke's cousin and a pewterer FRS