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Sentiment and Self-Control: Approaching Childhood in the Age of Revolutions

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Introduction

Sentiment and Self-Control

Approaching Childhood in the Age of Revolutions

As a material object, the diary that Marie Seybold kept from 1830 to 1831 weighs very little. Written in a compact hand, the text extends across two slim, unadorned notebooks, with uneven lines separating each of five or six dated entries per page. Both volumes of the diary are small enough to rest on an archivist's palm.

As a personal record of Marie's education, opinions, and daily experiences from age ten to eleven, the diary is freighted with meaning. It documents the practices that shaped how a middle-class German girl grew up during an era of radical transformations in the ideology and experiences of childhood. In their professional careers and social network, the Seybold family exemplified the emerging class of the *Bildungsbürgertum*, for whom children's education was essential to securing bourgeois success. *Bildungsbürgertum*, although sometimes used narrowly to describe individuals in the civil service, medicine, and law, more fully captures a German social class preoccupied with education and self-formation (*Bildung*).¹

Marie's diary is thus useful as an archival record of the social habits and pedagogic practices of this increasingly influential group. But her diary furthermore reveals contests over children's agency as part of that education.

March 9 [1830]

Today it was such beautiful weather that we went walking until it was almost 3 o'clock. In the afternoon we were with Frau Doktorin.

10.

I know nothing to write about today other than that it always rained.

11.

Today—it rained again the whole day.

This should not be a weather almanac!

12.

In the afternoon we brought Father the first primrose from the garden and a little bunch of violets with many blooming buds.

13.

This morning I learned how to bind off and cast on stockings. After dinner there was lightning and thunder.²

<AQ: Do you want the adult's comment to be in italics to distinguish it? I think that would be a good idea.> Although an adult reader criticized her repetitive account ("This should not be a weather almanac!"), Marie continued to write very similar, short entries, often still preoccupied with the weather. Marie's diary thus adds evidence to the story told through the prescriptive ideology of adults. It confirms what anyone who interacts with or has been a child knows: children do not always behave the way adults expect them to. At the same time, Marie kept track of her days in this form because adults required it of her; she made choices and expressed herself within clear constraints, which even included a contradictory requirement to be more independently creative. Marie's diary illustrates the tension between governance and agency that colored children's education as she was growing up.

Judged from one vantage point, Marie's life was ordinary and unremarkable. She spent her childhood in a provincial town; she eventually married a man who worked in the prosaic sectors of beet sugar production and dairy farm studs. But it requires only a slight shift of perspective to recognize a life lived in momentous times. A hundred miles from her hometown of Brackenheim, Marie's cousins were separated from their parents for two years after they fled the Jacobins' 1793 occupation of Alsace.³ Later, a different Seybold cousin served as the representative of Heilbronn at the short-lived reformers' parliament in Württemberg during 1848 and 1849.⁴ Marie's story is thus bracketed by intimate family ties to the upheaval of the French Revolution and the failed revolutions of 1848.

Beginning in the late eighteenth century, a series of dramatic transformations occurred in German ideologies and practices of childhood. As these changes disseminated from educated middle-class German families across European society in the nineteenth century, they spread the notion of childhood as a life stage that was critical to self-formation. The new childrearing

regime was in part a process that adults enacted on youth, one that hinged on motivating children's behavior through affection and on cultivating internal discipline. But there is more to the story than adult strategies—children themselves negotiated these approaches in practice.

Revolutions at Home: The Origin of Modern Childhood and the German Middle Class brings together a rich collection of documents created for and by young Germans to show that children engaged with new educational practices in transformative ways between 1770 and 1850.

Through their reading and writing, they not only embodied but helped construct the modern child subject. In this book, I argue that the active child reader who emerged at this time was not simply a consequence of expanding literacy but was, in fact, a key participant in defining modern life.

By tracing both the history of changing mentalities and the history of children's lived experience in Germany in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the book aims to illuminate the roles children played in transforming modernity. It unpacks how affection and didacticism worked together in children's socialization and how young people's own choices mediated the reimagining of childhood. Relying largely on the writing of adults, historians have identified the formation of modern subjectivities across a range of settings from theological disputes to commerce to political associations. Meanwhile, the emerging field of childhood studies has contributed rich but sometimes ahistorical analysis of the child's development and social roles. *Revolutions at Home* brings together these methods and perspectives on children's lived experiences to open new paths through debates about Western modernity.

The position of children as a central preoccupation of modern institutions and processes—the family, the state, mass schooling, class stratification, industrialization, imperialism, and so on—has been well documented.⁵ What is less understood is the part children played, not only in their own experiences, but in the development of modernity itself. There is now a need for research that combines the cultural history of changing sentiments with the social history of children's lived experience. The development of modern childhood and the history of education have traditionally been understood as processes that adult elites enact on youth, but in practice children's own choices and experiences mediated their socialization in families and schools. Examining what eighteenth- and nineteenth-century German children read and wrote brings to light both the nature of their experiences and children's role in constructing modernity.

Imagining the Modern Child

In the middle of the eighteenth century, even though more children were learning the rudiments of literacy, few books were designed with young readers in mind. How, then, did an active education become the defining feature of middle-class childhood a century later? This transformation is something of a *Bildungsroman*: a coming-of-age story not for one individual, but toward the formation of a new child subject. From the end of the Enlightenment, middle-class educators, parents, and children themselves cultivated that subjectivity through new practices until it became a hegemonic ideal by the end of the nineteenth century. This book will explore that development in detail. To begin, the emergence of the modern child subject may be briefly characterized by the following features.

Childhood was increasingly positioned as critical to the formation of the self. Pedagogues and parents particularly emphasized the cultivation of self-control—although this notion of self-mastery was primarily intended for elite, white, male children. While educators were concerned about protecting children’s innocence and guiding their purportedly malleable moral development, at the same time they idealized the power and creativity of individual intellect. More than ever before, adults at least claimed to care about entertaining children in active ways through their education. Therefore, they were preoccupied with capturing children’s attention and shaping their learning response.

The domestic setting of education (especially for early childhood) grew in importance, and sentimental attitudes and aesthetics increasingly colored children’s learning. Young people’s social networks also changed in character and significance across this era. Finally, new genres, texts, and practices opened opportunities for children to exert agency in their education and leave traces of that agency as they resisted, negotiated, ignored, heeded, imitated, and reframed these pedagogic efforts.

The Age of Revolutions

Although it was an age of new horizons and thrilling possibilities, the instability of virtually every aspect of life in the mad century of unprecedented transformation bridging the year 1800 cannot be doubted.

—Christopher Johnson and David Sabeau, *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300–1900*, 2011

The twin political and economic revolutions of late eighteenth-century Europe could not have come about without a revolution at home. Family labor practices changed, the ideology of

separate spheres took shape, and women played key roles in the intellectual life of the Enlightenment. While these developments have been well documented, children's contributions to this site of revolution have gone overlooked.

Contemporaries saw themselves as living in a time of great change during what historians call the "Age of Revolutions" today. Invoking Eric Hobsbawm's plural term has now come to signify a host of overlapping historical developments including violent political change around the globe, the dissemination of ideas about popular sovereignty and natural rights, the development of secessionist independence and written constitutions, the rise of nationalisms and early decolonization, the first efforts to abolish the slave trade, and the productivity and (uneven) prosperity of the Industrial Revolution.⁶

The era was certainly one of tumult and contradictions. On the cusp of time periods conventionally defined as early modern and modern, traditional and innovative ideas about how children should be educated coexisted sometimes in conflict and sometimes in surprising harmony. The history of reading also illustrates this dialectic, as oral communication and traditions were not displaced everywhere by the rise of print but persisted in new and old forms alongside increased literacy.⁷

Politically, the effects of the French Revolution and subsequent uprisings varied across Europe, but nevertheless were widely felt. The German states of Central Europe were reshaped in their borders, administration, linguistics, military, politics, and more. And the events of 1789 and following decades changed family life across the continent and led to new understandings of the relationship between society and the state.⁸

In response to the threats of political unrest, states took up several defensive strategies, including the project of mass schooling for children from the popular classes. The purpose and effects of eighteenth-century literacy campaigns were also conditioned by absolutism and the German Enlightenment, Richard Gawthrop has argued. First, he writes, "Absolutist governments realized that they needed to do more than merely impose an external discipline on their subjects."⁹ A modernization program required the cultivation of self-discipline to serve the state's needs. Second, the ideals that German Enlightenment thinkers promoted depended on willing diligence. As Gawthrop observes, the Enlightenment was committed "to educating subjects who would conform to the demands placed on them by 'modernization,' not in a spirit of mechanical obedience, but 'from a rational understanding of rights and duties.'"¹⁰ The same

political situation motivated middle-class liberals to develop different educational strategies for their own children, but both mass schooling for lower-class children and changing bourgeois childrearing practices indicate that children's reading and writing practices were an essential means of becoming modern in Europe.

Meanwhile, industrialization reshaped European family life in a number of ways, starting with the rapidly growing markets of the late eighteenth century that created new kinds of child consumers, and changing occupational structures that demanded new forms of child socialization.¹¹ Additionally, urbanization altered many families' daily life and relations; indeed, increasing numbers of the children in this study lived in cities. Innovations in technology, including for print, affected various aspects of daily life. Household forms adapted in some social classes in response to industrialization, although the various arrangements of families remained diverse and complex in this period.¹² Class cultures of family life also evolved in response to industrialization and prompted bourgeois families to cultivate privacy.¹³ Children and youth as producers and consumers helped drive the Industrial Revolution.

Central Europe on the Margins of Revolution

Beginning a century before unification, this era still saw Germany as a social and cultural imaginary. However, we should not attribute too much to those famously numerous political borders. For example, contemporary maps of the Holy Roman Empire often marked large areas as "Germany," despite the quasi-sovereignty of small interior states.¹⁴ I follow the lead of recent scholarship that considers the region as a whole even before 1871, seeking, as Jason Coy puts it, "less to provide assessments of the empire's Staatlichkeit, than to examine the empire and its institutions as a framework for political and intellectual interaction."¹⁵ This book draws from a broad set of regions, including Schleswig in the north (which then belonged to Denmark); various places in Prussia, especially in and around Berlin; Saxony in central Germany; Westphalia and Lippe in the west; Bavaria and especially Baden-Württemberg in the south; as well as publishing houses in Vienna. For families of the Bildungsbürgertum, class and language were in many ways more salient unifying categories than the regional differences that separated them.

While Germany has been seen as marginal to the political and economic revolutions of the eighteenth century (which are conventionally understood as centering in France and Britain,

respectively), Central Europe held outsized importance in the transformation of the family and educational practices that supported a revolution in selfhood. German literacy rates were high compared to the rest of Europe: for example, by 1850, 85 percent of Prussia's population could read and write, compared with 52 percent in England and 61 percent for only reading in France.¹⁶ German readers also lived at the crossroads of the early modern European book trade, with centers in Leipzig, Hamburg, and Vienna, and already enjoyed more than two hundred newspapers in publication before 1700, far more than anywhere else in Europe at the time.¹⁷ Central Europe is the origin of the modern bourgeois Christmas celebration as a family event, an iconic element in the imagined "good childhood" of our modern era.¹⁸ It was two German brothers, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, who made the European tradition of fairy tales an essential component of children's reading around the world.¹⁹ German companies dominated the global toy market in the later nineteenth century.²⁰ Germans played a key role in the development of schooling throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe, as well as in promoting Friedrich Froebel's *Kindergarten* movement around the globe.²¹ School reformers like Horace Mann came from North America and across Europe to examine Prussian schools in particular as a model.²² It is true that the transformation of childhood was in some respects a class-specific but cross-European phenomenon.²³ Nevertheless, I suggest that German educators and families led the way during a revolutionary moment for the ideology and practices of childrearing.

Revolutions at Home

Childrearing and children's education served as a crucial mechanism through which the European public sphere was produced in the nineteenth century. By centering children and childhood, I offer an important new perspective on longstanding questions about the history of the family, gender, and generations. Decades of scholarship have demonstrated that the family does indeed have a history as an object, site, and agent of change.²⁴ As an institution, the family is not separate from social and political life, and the contention that the family is a site of history is closely linked with research that has dismantled a false dichotomy between public and private spheres. Some of the most essential work in this area has emerged from debates around the writing of Jürgen Habermas. Even though Habermas has been criticized for reifying a divide between public and private, he is himself preoccupied in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* with the connections from the family to the market and civic discourse, because he

sees the bourgeois public sphere as constituted through the bourgeois family. He writes, for example, of “the ambivalence of the family as an agent of society yet simultaneously as the anticipated emancipation from society.”²⁵ Belinda Davis and other feminist critics of Habermas and subsequent scholarship have usefully highlighted his silence on how the public sphere is gendered.²⁶

Revolutions at Home uncovers how modern bourgeois subjectivity was cultivated across the life course, starting with the education and active participation of young children. In this way, the work harmonizes with Daniel Cook’s *The Moral Project of Childhood*, which looks at mothering discourses and middle-class Anglo-American children’s consumption to argue that childhood was constructed through bourgeois taste and a Protestant moral architecture in this same era across the Atlantic Ocean.²⁷ Other scholars have looked to the home as a site for producing modern selfhood.²⁸ David Hamlin, for example, has shown how, even if the middle-class European family did become more private over the course of the nineteenth century, the public world of economics, politics, and society nevertheless depended on families. He argues that “the modern, autonomous individual was simply not conceivable without the family.”²⁹ Indeed, he suggests, seeing family life as the origin of the self is what made it a domain of concern for contemporary observers.

The formation of self that I trace in this book was a reflexive, social process for children, whose dependency makes those relationships even more transparent in the historical record. As Jerrold Seigel writes, “To regard people as partial agents of their self-existence is not at all the same as to assert that they need only themselves in order to effect it.”³⁰ Germans during the Age of Revolutions themselves saw children simultaneously as agents of their own self-cultivation and as fundamentally embedded in social relations. Therefore, in my consideration of children’s agency, I follow the lead of David Sabeau, who cautions against assumptions about the psychodynamics of personhood, which promise “the possibility of studying the emotional experiences and subjective lives of those to whom we give our attention.”³¹ He suggests that the historian should conceive of selfhood more usefully in terms of a person’s constitution within a matrix of social relations. This book locates the child within a household, as part of extended family and social networks, and through the influences of educational texts.

Educating the Modern Child

The nature of learning and self-development were conspicuous issues in the decades surrounding 1800. Writers of this era understood themselves to be living in a “pedagogic century,” particularly in continental Europe. There, enthusiasm for reforming instructional methods in service of a superior, freer humanity absorbed scholars across intellectual and political divides.³² Indeed, that passion was so extreme it invited satire. In Rococo artist Jean-Honoré Fragonard’s 1780 painting *Education Is Everything* (figure 1), for example, a young girl dresses up two dogs in human clothing and poses them in a parody of Enlightened instruction.³³ The child’s gender also suggests a caricature of progressives who called for the intellectual uplift of girls and women.

Figure 1. *Education Is Everything*, engraving by Nicolas de Launay, c. 1790, based on a painting by Jean-Honoré Fragonard. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

How Enlightenment pedagogues educated their own (elite) children diverged sharply from the aims of mass schooling, which reified social class distinctions and shored up elite power.³⁴ Targeting young children of the peasantry and working classes, school reformers sought to grow a malleable workforce in service of the state and economic development.³⁵ While my focus in this study is on the emerging pedagogy for bourgeois children that embodied ideals widespread today about responsive teaching and active inquiry, it is key to remember that these new expectations formed during the Age of Revolutions in contrast to the repressive modes of instruction delivered to the popular classes in the German *Volksschule*.

More bourgeois children and youth did start attending schools in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but the aims and practices of these institutions varied widely. Confessional differences between states led to some religiously administered and some secular institutions, often both in the same town. The terms and curricula for different levels were far from consistent across regions in the late Enlightenment, as Juliane Jacobi has tracked.³⁶ Schooling also differed by gender, of course. Many of the boys and young men mentioned in this book left home to board at secondary schools, including military academies such as the influential Hohe Karlsschule in Stuttgart (founded 1770).³⁷ Fewer young women received formal secondary education in Central Europe until later in the nineteenth century, but the percentage of girls attending school was definitely on the rise during this period. In Prussia, for example, a total of between 250 and 350 public girls’ schools from 1827 to 1864 ensured at least one

secondary school for girls in every Prussian city or large town and even in some smaller towns.³⁸

It was through the pedagogic philosophy aimed at middle- and upper-class children, intended to be practiced across educational settings, that the Enlightenment aims of cultivating sentiment and self-control in young people fully emerged.³⁹ Enlightenment philosophers placed the child as symbol at the center of political discourses about reason, governance, and the self; at the same time, some directed their attention to child development itself, reimagining childhood as a vital stage of life cordoned off from adulthood.⁴⁰ Two of these writers demand special attention here because of their international reach.

Building from John Locke's assertion of the innate morality of humans, Swiss reformer Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi radically argued that educators should attend to the individual needs of each child, and he emphasized observation and experience over received knowledge.⁴¹ In the German context, Pestalozzi's philosophy was popularized through experimental schools and a proliferation of teaching and parenting manuals. Readings of Pestalozzi by John Dewey, Rudolf Steiner, and Maria Montessori have ensured that his ideas have continued to shape Western pedagogy through institutions such as Montessori and Waldorf schools, as well as the progressive education movement of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

During the Age of Revolutions, Jean-Jacques Rousseau's influence on pedagogy was profound, including in the German case, where his often-contentious and sometimes self-contradicting ideas about nature and self-control shaped pedagogic thought. In particular, German followers took up Rousseau's elevation of the human struggle with nature, his intense focus on child development as the linchpin of social reform, and his reimagination of mothering as always separate from and yet essential to the public world.⁴² The philosopher Paul Hensel asserted that Rousseau's influence in France "seems almost negligible" compared to his presence in German philosophy.⁴³ In the German context, Rousseau's work was translated by Joachim Heinrich Campe, who adapted Rousseauian moralizing about the wild world in his widely read adaptation of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* for German child readers, *Robinson der Jüngere* (*Robinson the Younger*, 1779–80).⁴⁴

A cornerstone paradox of eighteenth-century pedagogy was that the parents and teachers who pursued the educational ideals of Rousseau wanted to *instruct* children in the ways of self-knowing Enlightenment, to educate the innately "natural" child.⁴⁵ They hoped to develop readers who were sociable, yet independent; writers who were cultivated, yet natural; children who were

curious, yet obedient. Above all, they sought to cultivate self-knowledge and self-control in the child.⁴⁶

To convey these messages, many pedagogues were concerned with crafting new mechanisms to capture children's attention.⁴⁷ As I show throughout this book, adults were therefore increasingly interested in how to provide an entertaining education. Because reading took effort, German pedagogue Christoph Wilhelm Hufeland argued, "we thus must place such books in their hands that connect pleasure with instruction."⁴⁸ Making learning fun would help children devote themselves to their work. Following again in Rousseau's footsteps, others suggested that encouraging "natural" inclinations would engage children's attention. Ludwig Georg Friedrich von Seybold, cousin of Marie above, urged his own daughter to resist the cultivated education of her teacher and mother so that she would not become an "ailing hot-house flower, but rather a free, sturdy child of nature."⁴⁹ Ironically, this presumed she would achieve an authentic, unencumbered state by following her father's guidance, in her education as a natural child.

The call for amusement in instruction did not mean that Enlightenment schoolrooms were a paradise of unsupervised children freely following their own various desires. Many Enlightenment pedagogues were concerned with the dangers of unrestrained curiosity and imagination, especially in girls. Philosopher Étienne Bonnot de Condillac warned against young women and girls reading novels because he feared their "tender brains" would not be able to distinguish the real from the fictive and they would spend too much time in asocial isolation; Nicolas Malebranche believed that mothers' overactive imaginations were responsible for the births of monstrous children; and J. H. S. Formey worried that children allowed to play at make-believe would never learn the self-discipline to concentrate and focus their "wandering" imaginations.⁵⁰

Yet Enlightenment pedagogy was authoritarian and dictatorial only to a certain extent.⁵¹ Later Romantic conceptions of the child have overshadowed important changes in attitudes toward children's education that were already developing in the eighteenth century, as William McCarthy has observed. He writes, "Conventional accounts of Enlightenment pedagogy . . . seem wedded to the story that Enlightenment education was a regime dedicated in one way or another to the oppression of the child." McCarthy points out that this conventional story falsely flattens the diversity of approaches in the Enlightenment into a "single-minded enterprise." More

importantly, it presumes “that the *effects* of Enlightenment teaching on pupils are in fact known.”⁵² Until recently, sources for this kind of analysis have seemed elusive. Understanding the effects and mechanisms of Enlightenment pedagogy in practice, as this book seeks to do, requires analysis of education across settings, including informal home-based learning and formal instruction in schools.

A Very Short History of Reading

In this book, I build on scholarship in the history of reading, a diverse area that encompasses the history of the book, philosophy, literary criticism, cognitive psychology, and literacy studies.⁵³ Notably, I adopt the premise that reading is always an interpretive process with multiple agents who make choices about both the writing and reading of texts. To that claim, I am adding a charge to consider young readers seriously as interpreters of texts. As Janice Radway has argued, “reading is not eating.”⁵⁴ I do not assume that children consumed their reading passively or that children’s literacy was a simple matter of learning to decode. Even though no reader is autonomous, children may have been especially free, according to William St. Clair, “to skip, to argue, to resist, to read against the grain . . . to misunderstand, to be distracted, to slip into dreams, to disagree but to continue reading, to stop reading at any time, and to conclude that the reading had been a waste of time.”⁵⁵ It is this exercise of reading agency that has made the historical study of reception notoriously challenging.

I work from the assumption that while we cannot fully diagnose the interior experience of reading, we should consider the meaningful effects of age, gender, and class in producing different, sometimes unexpected relationships between reader and text. As I trace these impacts on young readers, I situate myself within a critical sociological approach in which reading is understood as “an historic and culture-specific competence which has been regulated institutionally in accordance with particular economic and political interests.”⁵⁶ Literacy studies also informs my work.⁵⁷ In this case, I am concerned primarily not with assessing the literacy attainment of individuals, but rather with *literacy practices*: that is, children’s ongoing reading, writing, and learning experiences.⁵⁸

During the years around 1800, just as the modern child subject was coming of age, new modes of reading also emerged that resemble reading practices common today. This was the period of Rolf Engelsing’s “reading revolution,” in which educated Europeans moved from

intensively reading only a few religious books to extensively reading a wide range of secular books.⁵⁹ At the same time, literacy as the basic ability to decode and even write text was spreading rapidly across social barriers. Literacy is challenging to measure, not least because those hoping to count it use varying definitions, and it has been subject to discontinuities and reversals over time.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the ability to follow the catechism or sign a name was not necessarily a mark of progress for those targeted by literacy campaigns in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as Harvey Graff, David Vincent, and others have justly asserted.⁶¹ But in general, crude measures of literacy across studies bear out a similar trend that mass literacy accelerated in Western and Northern Europe from the middle of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. The most reliable numbers may be found in regional studies of literacy rates; national averages conflate key population differences emerging from differing legal regimes, local customs, confessions, and of course the effects of class and gender. For example, in East Prussia, one of the poorest areas in the German lands, the proportion of peasants able to sign their names at the time of marriage grew from 10 percent in 1750 to 25 percent in 1765, and to 40 percent in 1800.⁶² During the nineteenth century, Prussians across social categories were consistently more likely to be recorded as literate than people in Austria, Belgium, England, France, Italy, Ireland, the Netherlands, Spain, Russia, or Scotland. By the 1840s, fewer than 10 percent of all Prussian men were recorded as illiterate.⁶³ To take another German region as an example, nearly 100 percent of children in Baden (in the southwest) attended primary school by the same decade.⁶⁴

But the developments in reading were not just quantitative. What reading meant and how it worked also changed dramatically between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. European reading practices were increasingly private and introspective and granted access to wide-ranging information and genres.⁶⁵ It took long centuries after the development of the written word for the innovation of silent reading to emerge, although this practice was established by the turn of the nineteenth century. The early modern transition from reading aloud to silent reading built partly on the invention of word separation, as Paul Saenger has shown, and transformed ideas about authorship and privacy.⁶⁶ To read independently was a novelty in the modern world. The new, personal way in which texts came to be written and read also affected the classroom, including through facilitating rapid reference reading.⁶⁷

New modes of reading entailed a new moral weight on what reading might mean.

Histories of women readers have often focused on cultural anxieties around the “dangers” of women’s unsupervised literacy. In Europe around 1800, this anxiety was not only about gender, but often also about age (think of Jane Austen’s well-known parody *Northanger Abbey*, in which both the youth and gender of Austen’s youngest heroine contribute to her mishaps). Thus in 1841, seventeen-year-old Anna Hasenfratz (one of the diarists discussed in chapter five) decided she ought to write to her older brother, away at university, for permission to read the novels she craved.⁶⁸ But many Enlightenment pedagogues also believed that reading books could protect children from vice, and they began to promote book consumption, especially for children, as an explicitly bourgeois rejection of aristocratic dissipation. When fundraising to furnish his utopian school with an appropriate library, Johann Basedow asked his potential patrons to pay a little money for children’s books, money that they might otherwise spend on “the tobacco tins, the cases, the furniture, the various collars, the barber, the masquerades and the solos [forms of dress] in color (ladies and gentlemen!), to say nothing of the foreign wines.”⁶⁹ He positioned the written word not only in company with other commodities, but superior to them.

To feed the demand of these changing reading practices, the German book market grew exponentially during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Friedrich Nicolai, a notable eighteenth-century publisher, said the profession required “tireless industry” in knowing the books available, handling them, selling and visiting book fairs, printing, and so on.⁷⁰ Indeed, it was a substantial charge, since eighteenth-century German book fairs featured more than 250,000 titles, two-thirds of which were written after 1750.⁷¹ The number of titles for sale at the most famous book market, Leipzig, increased by more than half between 1740 and 1770 and subsequently more than doubled between 1770 and 1800.⁷² As the formerly bread-and-butter publication of religious texts declined from 1740 to 1800, pedagogy and geography were among the five genres that each doubled their previous market share in the replacement of theological writing, according to German trade statistics from Helmuth Kiesel and Paul Münch.⁷³ Education was becoming one of the most reliably profitable sections of a German bookseller’s catalog. While for Nicolai a novel typically sold 750 copies in the 1790s, and his more obscure texts were published in runs as low as 225, he gave the 1805 edition of Johann Matthias Schröckh’s world history reader (a key text in chapter three) an issue of 5,000.⁷⁴

With the rise of children’s book markets, such texts entered more and more children’s lives as sought-after commodities.⁷⁵ As in nineteenth-century America, domesticity was

produced through books as “things to buy, own, and display.”⁷⁶ Pedagogues encouraged an acquisitive desire for a personal youth library, as in the frontispiece from an alphabet book published by Campe in 1807 that shows children clamoring around their father to grasp his book (figure 2). As publishers began to recognize the purchasing or proxy purchasing power of bourgeois children, they developed various business strategies to capture it. For one, they reissued popular schoolbooks in abridged editions as shorter, cheaper introductions for home use. The final pages of many schoolbooks and periodicals for children advertised other titles the printers hoped would interest young readers and their teachers. Even if adults were purchasing the books, children could read the topics and see the prices directly themselves, making them ubiquitous temptations. And sometimes publishers attached “tie-ins,” discounts to other books, to attract the child reader to a new author or genre. For example, Johann Günther Friedrich Cannabich’s *Kleine Schulgeographie (Short School Geography)*, published in at least seventeen editions from 1818 to 1851, prominently advertised a discount on a school atlas from the same printer.

Figure 2. Frontispiece, Joachim Campe, *Neues Abeze- und Lesebuch*, 1807. Euro 18 18733, Cotsen Children’s Library, Department of Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

Young people both bought books for themselves to read and read books they had not purchased. Bookseller’s records reveal that schoolboys in Rugby during the second half of the eighteenth century were an important market for children’s and adult fiction, as Jan Fergus has excavated.⁷⁷ But there were certainly other means of acquiring books. For example, sixteen-year-old Anna Kraher (see chapter five) wrote in her diary on March 1, 1831, that after playing with paper dolls, she and her friend Franziska together finished reading James Fenimore Cooper’s *The Red Rover*. Kraher reported, “It is really a wonderful book. I confess it drew 2 tears from me.”⁷⁸ It is not clear here whether the book belonged to Anna or Franziska, reminding us to look beyond purchasing lists or inventories for the circulation of texts in an expanding market.

Agency and Discipline

During the Enlightenment, parents lavished attention on keeping children’s books orderly, a telling illustration of the partnership and tension between agency and discipline in the history of children’s socialization. One of the central goals of didactic propaganda in this era was to

cultivate self-disciplined children.⁷⁹ An increasingly important means of demonstrating self-discipline was through the management of material objects and knowledge. For example, in an 1813 birthday note for his father, ten-year-old Heinrich Wilhelm Weise made an earnest promise: “I will be more diligent this year and I will keep my books in order; if you look at my drawer, dear father, you will find all my books in the greatest order, but no crumbs.”⁸⁰ At first glance, it appears that Weise thoroughly absorbed the message from Enlightenment pedagogy that obedience and orderliness, in addition to writing beautiful letters as a demonstration of his literacy, were the best way to show his love for his father. But the suggestion of his past behavior not having lived up to this vow reinforces what we already know: that prescriptive messages for how well-disciplined children should act did not necessarily translate to compliant practice. Similarly, while her philosopher husband was traveling in Italy in 1789, Maria Karoline Herder was driven to make a new set of rules for her children, enforcing fines for bad behavior. The list of sins was almost entirely concerned with mess and disorganization, and it specifically named the infraction of not keeping books in order (punishment: one Saxon thaler).⁸¹ This prescriptive evidence tells us that the Herder children, like Heinrich, failed to tidy their books often enough to please their parent, and their mother chose to motivate their supposed self-governance with money. The example also underscores a developing notion that each child in this milieu ought to possess his or her own treasured books—enough to get them out of order. The volume of words spent on this need for orderly books demonstrates both the Enlightenment value of self-discipline *and* children acting outside of adult intentions.

Historians have neglected children’s experiences partly because of the persistent challenges of discerning their presence in the historical record. But young people have also been relegated to objects of history because scholars have mistakenly understood children’s agency as simple and unimportant, when in fact the ways in which children form opinions, exercise power, and make history are complex and profoundly embedded in social context.⁸²

Because agency, voice, and subjectivity have been of special concern to recent studies in the history of childhood, this field reveals common traps for historians. First, there is a desire to discover or even celebrate agency in the historical record, including resistance to or negotiation of disciplinary power. Thus we see the inclination of many historians of childhood and youth to seek out examples of children struggling against the dictates of their education with defiance, parody, or silent refusal. Second, there is a desire to reveal and critique the propagandistic

mechanisms of authorities, institutions, and power. Thus we see emphasis on the governance of children through schooling and other disciplinary practices. Even though these two impulses stem from shared historical and political perspectives, they are often in conflict. That is, either we understand children as agents with the capacity to reinterpret and dismiss their socialization, or we accept that teachers, parents, authors, and other adults successfully impose a tyrannical pedagogy on young people.

My approach to reading agency does not look for middle ground between these poles, but instead investigates how agency and discipline worked inseparably to shape the experiences of children and, in turn, their imprint on modern European history. Education does have transformative potential for some individuals, but it has also—and in the same context—served as an instrument of governance and conformity. Children are forces of socialization at the same time and indeed because they are objects of socialization. Moreover, “they are children: individuals inhabiting and negotiating these often conflicting roles as best they can,” as Karen Sánchez-Eppler has observed of the early American context.⁸³

During the Age of Revolutions, as they do today, children exerted agency when they made choices, exercised power, and resisted authority. Individual children also influenced the perspectives and actions of individual adults (teachers, pedagogues, policy-makers, parents), shaping their ideas about childhood and how children learn. At the same time that education worked as a governing process intended to cultivate a particular kind of middle-class citizen, children were still able to form their responses to this instruction: they might reinforce and participate in the changing ideology of childhood; they might also reinterpret the education produced for them through their own lived experience; and they might subvert adults’ pedagogical intentions through misreading, refusing to study, or altering the physical texts of their education. Recognizing the mutual constitution of agency and discipline undermines the story of an orderly trajectory in the history of children’s education from an age of absolute didacticism to an age of emancipated inquiry. This book both uncovers earlier practices that promoted children’s creativity and imagination and reveals how emerging educational strategies purporting to be liberatory also served as forms of discipline.

As scholars of the subaltern have argued, voicelessness in written records should not be mistaken for historical irrelevance or passivity. Taking children’s agency seriously requires new methods and attention to practice. I suggest that children’s education is a particularly bright

avenue for exploring agency and discipline, since education involves both children's own practices and the construction of childhood by adults. Texts written for youth present an intriguing intersection of adult desires to shape childhood and the agency of the child readers themselves. Education is always an interactive process between teachers and learners. But what was special about the decades around 1800 was the scale and pace of change in these interactions as childhood was redesigned.

My consideration of children's agency does not come without skepticism toward the liberal conception of individuality, which coalesced during the Enlightenment and undergirded much of the pedagogic philosophy of this era.⁸⁴ Understanding subjectivities as being historically constituted is still compatible with an investigation of the choices and self-articulations that young people made within social constraints. German children participated in the discursive construction of modern selfhood, not only as future adults influenced by youth identities but also through their own development and negotiation of relational autonomy in childhood.

Historical conceptions of autonomy in general (that is, for adults) are enriched by this approach to considering children as partial agents, partial subjects. Recognizing the constraints on children's agency helps us question ideas taken for granted about adults as historical actors.⁸⁵ Indeed, this entanglement between adult and child expressions of choice and power further indicates the continued value of investigating agency. The attempts to govern, discipline, and control children that were fundamental to the historical dynamics of industrialization, class stratification, and colonialism were pursued within the context of children exerting their own will. The perception of agency and subjectivity, however incomplete—this core idea that “I” can be my own person—is essential to understanding the choices and actions people take in history, even, as Tessie Liu writes, “if their bravery rests on uncertain foundations.”⁸⁶

Chapter Overview

This morning I wrote to Otto. Herr Bertsch and Herr Lerscher didn't come. This evening I was in the garden. I gave Luise Göhring her book back.

—Marie Seybold, diary, age ten, July 6, 1830

When I frequently would like to have a good book for myself, I always first estimate whether so much remains leftover that I can buy the necessary books for [my children] before that. I often wish to possess one thing or another that would serve my comfort: but as soon as I consider that this could go into sufficient payment for a few months to one of the tutors who teaches them in one or another of the arts and sciences; then I happily deny myself these comforts.

—Christian Felix Weiße, *Der Kinderfreund*, 1775

Because “childhood” is not a conventional category around which archives are typically organized, writing this book has required developing my own archive across nearly twenty institutions in Germany, France, and the United States. The two commonplace moments quoted above from a child’s diary and youth periodical, respectively, illustrate some contradictions of bringing together texts for and by children as historical evidence. Ten-year-old Marie Seybold’s words seemingly offer the historian “real evidence” of her participation in literacy practices of the nineteenth-century Bildungsbürgertum: writing letters to her brother, taking lessons with tutors, borrowing books from friends, and dutifully recording these activities in her diary. But because this is a limited historical document and not a novel, there are many unanswerable questions: What *was* the book she borrowed from Luise? What was their relationship like? Why did she borrow this particular volume? What books did Marie herself own, and did she ever lend them out? Did these friends discuss their reading together? What opinion did Marie have of the book in question?

By contrast, Christian Felix Weiße describes fictional family exploits across many issues of his periodical in fine detail. The prominence of this passage (in the very first issue of *The Children’s Friend*) makes it clear that the new bourgeois family was fundamentally defined by education: Weiße celebrates books as a highly desirable commodity, and as something that the new child subject deserves. This message circulated in a range of prescriptive texts, likely producing varied effects in both adult and child readers of this periodical. But because we only have the text itself, it is difficult to say anything definitive about those reader responses.

What this means is that we need to assemble sources of both types for a multi-dimensional picture of children’s lives—and in this example, the central role that reading and writing played in those lives. *Revolutions at Home* places archival evidence from family papers, especially children’s own writing, alongside texts written for children. In this way, it intervenes in research on the family and education that has relied on prescriptive, top-down evidence from adult pedagogues. This exploration of practices on the ground is also amplified by rich information in the material produced by adults for child readers.

This book is organized as a series of studies in practices or genres of literacy that constituted children’s education through overlapping but varied audiences, chronologies, purposes, and rhetorics. Each chapter attends to changes in both the cultural meaning of

childhood and children's social experiences. Each unfolds a different dimension of childhood in the Age of Revolutions, including didacticism, orality, schooling, and domesticity. Bringing together these multiple genres illuminates the full prism of educational experiences that produced the modern child.

Chapter one, "Reading Serially: The New Enlightenment Youth Periodical for the New Youth Subject," examines serial publications for young readers and their families, paying special attention to the fashioning of gendered subjectivities. In the 1770s and 1780s, German publishers rapidly began issuing magazines, weeklies, yearbooks, almanacs, and other serialized readers designed especially for children and youth. I have analyzed approximately sixty of these titles published between 1756 and 1855 and distributed long distances across Central Europe. Serialized to varying degrees, some of these publications were very short-lived and a few became remarkably successful. Youth periodicals presented a patchwork of essays, fiction, "true" stories from current events, games, poetry, riddles, illustrations, sheet music, and more.

I explain how the commercial expansion of this new genre in the late eighteenth century provided a literary laboratory for developing pedagogic ideas about children's innocence and the cultivation of self-control; at the same time, the growing success of these publications indicated the widespread construction of child readers as a distinct audience. Not only did adults' aim "to amuse and instruct" signal greater attention to child readers' desires and agency, but the spread of such texts offered more opportunities for children themselves to negotiate their reading education.

Chapter two, "Telling Tales: Folklore Transformed for Middle-Class Child Readers," investigates how radical changes in the revision and publication of fairy tales during the early nineteenth century shaped bourgeois child readers' understanding of class and family relations. Viewing fairy tales as neither simple nor static, this chapter traces the transformation of a popular, adult oral form of folklore into reading matter designed for middle-class children. I focus on Jacob and Wilhelm Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (*Children's and Household Tales*), which constitutes a particularly rich corpus of data as one of the most influential collections of fairy tales in the Western world. The Grimms were especially self-conscious about the pedagogic aspects of their project, and their text's seventeen editions published between 1812 and 1857 furnish the means to examine precise changes in the didactic and aesthetic priorities of the tales over time.

I am primarily concerned with the family sociology that children encountered in fairy tales: how parent-child relationships, marriage and sexuality, proper age and gender roles, and the emotional life of families depicted in German folklore were shaped by class. What did child readers learn about family life and class distinctions from fairy tales? In addition to using this genre to explore how the new child subject was constituted in terms of class cultures, I also address the literary-oral hybrid nature of fairy tales as a dimension of nineteenth-century children's culture.

Chapter three, "Reading the World: German Children's Place in Geographic Education," surveys geography texts, world history narratives, atlases, and natural science schoolbooks to examine the formal component of middle-class children's education. Geographic textbook authors in this period often drew on their experience as schoolteachers or on established scholarly reputations in history or classics. These books were used in a variety of settings: Gymnasien and Realschulen (secondary schools); Volksschulen (primary schools); military schools; and at home, with or without private tutors.

I use this corpus to trace how a descriptive, memorization-driven approach to geography instruction gave way to the fashioning of a modern approach around 1800. Now understood as a social science concerned with the dynamic relationship between humans and nature, the discipline demanded an active, problem-based pedagogy. Through examining textbooks themselves, as well as readers' marginalia, teaching curricula, and students' notebooks that reveal evidence of educational practices on the ground, I use the story of geography to exemplify a new, active model of learning for German children.

Chapters four and five turn to writing *by* children in order to paint a more complete picture of literacy practices than an analysis of children's literature alone provides. Enlightenment pedagogues taught and understood reading and writing as distinct disciplines despite their obvious connection, and researchers have continued to study them as separate phenomena. Especially in this era, it is certainly true that not all readers were writers. But for this particular class of the Bildungsbürgertum, writing was an essential tool in the cultivation of the active child learner.⁸⁷ Children's writing and writing practice took a variety of forms: formal essays and quotidian notes at school; poetry (both copied and original), often to accompany a holiday letter or drawing; autograph books (*Stammbücher*), in which school friends and family would inscribe short messages or lines of verse in honor of the recipient; and other informal or

ephemeral writing that did not leave archival traces.⁸⁸ This book focuses on writing forms in a domestic setting, genres associated with home and family.

Chapter four, “Writing Home: Letters as a Social Practice,” explains the escalation of children’s letter writing from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century by drawing on hundreds of letters children wrote to parents, other relatives, teachers, and friends. The letters come from eight archives and some published sources, representing Berlin, Brandenburg, Schleswig, Lower Saxony, Lippe, Württemberg, and Bavaria. I have collected as many children’s letters as I could find, with a central focus on letters written by bourgeois children before late adolescence. Most were short (one to two pages) and carefully composed, though some examples were more informal. Although many were sent through the post, some written for a special occasion were delivered by hand to a relative living in the same household.

Letters show children practicing adult conventions and asserting their important place in the family by reporting on household news, money management, and other practical concerns; demonstrating their bourgeois accomplishments and sentimental education; cultivating associations that would be important in adulthood; and engaging in relational autonomy through a number of different vertical and horizontal relationships. I reveal how children’s letters document a lifelong process in the making of class cultures and forging of social ties. I furthermore situate children’s education in letter writing as part of the broader project in cultivating able bourgeois subjects.

Chapter five, “Writing the Self: Growing Up with Diaries,” explores how young people wrote about their own lives. As has been well documented, diary-writing soared as a technology of the self at the end of the eighteenth century. Yet though it might seem common sense that childhood and adolescence are a pivotal life stage for self-development, few diaries written by youth before the twentieth century have received extensive attention. For this book, I have closely read the little-known diaries kept by six girls and boys between the ages of ten and seventeen in regions across the German lands.

I argue that young diarists wrote regularly as a means of both self-surveillance and self-formation. Diaries could be another canvas for practicing penmanship and linguistic development, or perhaps for mechanically echoing didactic ideas about virtue and discipline. But I show that young writers also used their diaries to forge identities, assert personal taste and opinions, and grow up. Youth diaries thus reveal how modern European discourses of self-

expression and self-discipline were practiced and shaped by very young writers.

In the conclusion, I return to Enlightenment educational philosophy and linger on some of the contradictions that animated middle-class children's learning throughout the transformations wrought by the Age of Revolutions. It is these contradictions, I argue, that make it essential we consider children's perspectives and participation. By bringing together documents created both for and by children of the Bildungsbürgertum, this book charts a fundamental shift in the experience of growing up that still guides our world today.

1 See Jürgen Kocka, ed., *Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), especially Volumes I & II; Pia Schmid, "Deutsches Bildungsbürgertum: Bürgerliche Bildung zwischen 1750 und 1830" (PhD diss., Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, 1984).

2 Marie Seybold, diary, 9–13 March 1830, Q 3/48 Bü 3, Familiennachlass Schmidt, HSAS (see bibliography for list of archive abbreviations). Born September 12, 1819 to a Protestant family of jurists and bureaucrats in Württemberg, Marie Seybold is one of six young writers whose diaries I examine closely in Chapter Five. I have chosen to refer to children and youth by their given names in order to avoid confusion when discussing several members of the same family. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from both published texts and archival manuscripts in German or French are my own throughout.

3 Marie's father's uncle, David Christian Seybold, was a philosopher who took a position in Strasbourg in 1792. His children had been sent ahead and made it home to Brackenheim, but Seybold was jailed on suspicion of aristocratic sentiments. Eberhard E. von Georgii-Georgenau, *Biographisch-genealogische Blätter aus und über Schwaben* (Stuttgart: Emil Müller, 1879), 915.

4 Joseph Friedrich Wilhelm von Seybold represented Heilbronn as one of the seventy elected representatives in the Second Chamber at the Württembergische Landstände (1848–1849). Frank Raberg, *Biographisches Handbuch der württembergischen Landtagsabgeordneten (1815–1933)* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001).

5 As a field, the history of childhood has exploded in the past two decades. Despite criticisms and amendments to his bold thesis concerning "The Discovery of Childhood," Philippe Ariès continues to be cited widely in histories of childhood across comparative contexts. Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, trans. Robert Baldick (New York: Vintage Books, 1962). Developments in the literature on transformations of childhood and youth in Western European modernity can be traced through works such as Anne Digby and Peter Searby, *Children, School, and Society in Nineteenth-Century England* (London: Macmillan, 1981); John Gillis, *Youth and History: Tradition and Change in European Age Relations, 1770–Present* (New York: Academic Press, 1981); Joseph Bristow, *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World* (London: Harper Collins Academic, 1991); Anna Davin, *Growing up Poor: Home, School, and Street in*

London, 1870–1914 (London: River Orams, 1996); Edward Ross Dickinson, *The Politics of German Child Welfare from the Empire to the Federal Republic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996); Mary Jo Maynes, Birgitte Sølund, and Christina Benninghaus, eds., *Secret Gardens, Satanic Mills: Placing Girls in European History, 1750–1960* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005); Paula S. Fass, ed., *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World* (London: Routledge, 2013); Colin Heywood, *Childhood in Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

6 While undeniably Eurocentric in its formulation, the Age of Revolutions as a framework has received renewed attention in recent years from historians of the Global South. See, for example, David Armitage and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Age of Revolutions in Global Context, c. 1760–1840* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Paul E. Lovejoy, *Jihād in West Africa during the Age of Revolutions* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2016). See also the open-access journal *Age of Revolutions* at <http://ageofrevolutions.com>.

7 Harvey Graff, *The Literacy Myth* (New York: Academic Press, 1979); François Furet and Jacques Ozouf, *Reading and Writing: Literacy in France from Calvin to Jules Ferry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

8 Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Suzanne Desan, *The Family on Trial in Revolutionary France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Sarah Maza, *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie: An Essay on the Social Imaginary, 1750–1850* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).

9 Richard Gawthrop, “Literacy Drives in Preindustrial Germany,” in *National Literacy Campaigns: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Robert Arnove and Harvey Graff (New York: Plenum, 1987), 39.

10 *Ibid.*, 42.

11 This is a broad field, but some representative works on child labor, welfare in the era of industrialization, children and consumer culture, and related topics include: Rachel Fuchs, *Abandoned Children: Foundlings and Child Welfare in Nineteenth-Century France* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984); Colin Heywood, *Childhood in Nineteenth-Century France: Work, Health and Education Among the “Classes Populaires”* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Mary Jo Maynes, *Taking the Hard Road: Life Course in French and German Workers’ Autobiographies in the Era of Industrialization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Lydia Murdoch, *Imagined Orphans: Poor Families, Child Welfare, and Contested Citizenship in London* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers, 2006); Peter Kirby, *Child Labour in Britain, 1750–1870* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); David Hamlin, *Work and Play: The Production and Consumption of Toys in Germany, 1870–1914* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007); Dennis Denisoff, ed., *The Nineteenth-Century Child and Consumer Culture* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008).

12 David I. Kertzer, “Living with Kin,” in *History of the European Family*, vol. 2, *Family Life in the Long Nineteenth Century, 1789–1913*, ed. David I. Kertzer and Marzio Barbagli (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 40–72.

13 David Hamlin addresses this specifically in the context of childhood, writing in conversation with Foucault: “With the task of producing bürgerliche individuals in mind, many parents began to enforce a physical separation of their children from the world outside, creating, as the private sphere, a space ‘heterogeneous to all

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- others and closed in upon itself.” Hamlin, *Work and Play*, 24. See also Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann, *Die deutsche Familie: Versuch einer Sozialgeschichte* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1974); Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann, *Die Kindheit: Kleidung und Wohnen, Arbeit und Spiel, eine Kulturgeschichte* (Frankfurt: Insel, 1979); Gunilla Budde, *Auf dem Weg ins Bürgerleben: Kindheit und Erziehung in Deutschen und Englischen Bürgerfamilien, 1840–1914* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994); Karin Wurst, *Fabricating Pleasure: Fashion, Entertainment, and Cultural Consumption in Germany, 1780–1830* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2005); Gunilla Budde, *Blütezeit des Bürgertums* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2009); Jason Tebbe, “Landscapes of Remembrance: Home and Memory in the Nineteenth-Century *Bürgertum*,” *Journal of Family History* 33, no. 2 (2008): 195–215.
- 14 See work by geographer Martin Lewis.
- 15 Jason Philip Coy, “Introduction: The Holy Roman Empire in History and Historiography,” in *The Holy Roman Empire, Reconsidered*, ed. Jason Philip Coy, Benjamin Marschke, and David Warren Sabean (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010), 3.
- 16 Kenneth Barkin, “Social Control and the Volksschule in Vormärz Prussia,” *Central European History* 16, no. 1 (1983): 50.
- 17 R. A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education, 1500–1800*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2013), 194.
- 18 David Hamlin, “The Structures of Toy Consumption: Bourgeois Domesticity and Demand for Toys in Nineteenth-Century Germany,” *Journal of Social History* 36, no. 4 (2003): 857–69; Joe Perry, *Christmas in Germany: A Cultural History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).
- 19 For the transnational influence of the Grimms, see Cay Dollerup, *Tales and Translation: The Grimm Tales from Pan-Germanic Narratives to Shared International Fairy Tales* (Amsterdam: J. Benjamins, 1999). On the impact of German children’s literature in general on other traditions, see David Blamires, *Telling Tales: The Impact of Germany on English Children’s Books 1780–1918* (Cambridge: OpenBook Publishers, 2009).
- 20 On German toys, see Hamlin, *Work and Play*; Bryan Ganaway, *Toys, Consumption, and Middle-Class Childhood in Imperial Germany, 1871–1918* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2009).
- 21 On the *Kindergarten* movement inspired by Froebel, see Ann Taylor Allen, “‘Let Us Live with Our Children’: Kindergarten Movements in Germany and the United States, 1840–1914,” *History of Education Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (1988): 23–48; Norman Brosterman, *Inventing Kindergarten* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1997); Roberta Wollons, ed., *Kindergartens and Cultures: The Global Diffusion of an Idea* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Anja Schoenberg Shepela, “‘Meine kühnsten Wünsche und Ideen’: Women, Space, Place, and Mobility in Late Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Germany” (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 2014). On Horace Mann’s influential trip from the United States to report on Prussian schools, see Clarence J. Karier, *The Individual, Society, and Education: A History of American Educational Ideas*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 220–24.
- 22 Harvey Graff, *The Legacies of Literacy: Continuities and Contradictions in Western Culture and Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 14.

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- 23 For examples of how this pattern developed in other geographic contexts, see Arianne Baggerman and Rudolf Dekker, *Child of the Enlightenment: Revolutionary Europe Reflected in a Boyhood Diary* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Jennifer Popiel, *Rousseau's Daughters: Domesticity, Education, and Autonomy in Modern France* (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2008); Anna Kuxhausen, *From the Womb to the Body Politic: Raising the Nation in Enlightenment Russia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013).
- 24 Louise Tilly and Miriam Cohen posed this question in a review essay published several years after the establishment of the *Journal of Family History*, reflecting on other notable developments in the field. Louise A. Tilly and Miriam Cohen, "Does the Family Have a History? A Review of Theory and Practice in Family History," *Social Science History* 6, no. 2 (1982): 131–79. Their review is organized around Michael Anderson's still-useful taxonomy of family historiography as the demographic approach, the sentiments approach, and the household economics approach. Michael Anderson, *Approaches to the History of the Western Family, 1500–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980). For an updated survey, see Mary Jo Maynes and Ann Waltner, *The Family: A World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- 25 He also argues that "the subjectivity of the privatized individual was related from the very start to publicity . . . [for] the familiarity (Intimität) whose vehicle was the written word, the subjectivity that had become fit to print, had in fact become the literature appealing to a wide public of readers." Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (1962; Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 50–55.
- 26 See, for example, Belinda Davis, "Reconsidering Habermas, Politics, and Gender: The Case of Wilhelmine Germany," in *Society, Culture, and the State in Germany, 1870–1930*, ed. Geoff Eley (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 397–426.
- 27 Daniel Thomas Cook, *The Moral Project of Childhood: Motherhood, Material Life, and Early Children's Consumer Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 2020).
- 28 For a particularly provocative analysis of selfhood in the representation of nineteenth-century children, see Stephanie O'Rourke, "Histories of the Self: Anne-Louis Girodet and the Trioison Portrait Series," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 52, no. 2 (2019): 201–23.
- 29 Hamlin, *Work and Play*, 24.
- 30 Jerrold Seigel, *The Idea of the Self: Thought and Experience in Western Europe since the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 43.
- 31 David Sabeau, *Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 31.
- 32 The century between 1750 and 1850 rode a "virtual tidal wave of pedagogical passion." Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation: Scholarship, Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 131–32.
- 33 Fragonard's painting was later remade as an engraving by Nicolas de Launay in 1790.
- 34 According to Pamela Selwyn, the bookseller Friedrich Nicolai, who published Friedrich Eberhard von Rochow's books, "saw works directed at educating both pastors and schoolteachers, particularly those in the countryside,

as an essential instrument in the struggle against superstition and ignorance.” He reported it was “very sad to see the children of middling and common men, who are not destined for [university] studies, and yet who represent the genuine components of the nation, almost everywhere so miserably taught.” Pamela Selwyn, *Everyday Life in the German Book Trade: Friedrich Nicolai as Bookseller and Publisher in the Age of Enlightenment, 1750–1810* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 52–53.

- 35 On the role of the state in promoting schooling during the nineteenth century and the importance of local communities in determining regional dynamics, see Mary Jo Maynes, *Schooling for the People: Comparative Local Studies of Schooling History in France and Germany, 1750–1850* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1985).
- 36 Juliane Jacobi, “Girls’ Secondary Education in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Germany, Austria and Switzerland,” (paper presented at European Conference on Educational Research, Göteborg, Sweden, September 10, 2008).
- 37 See Werner Gebhardt, *Die Schüler der Hohen Karlsschule. Ein biographisches Lexikon* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2011).
- 38 Jacobi, “Girls’ Secondary Education,” 10. Female illiteracy is estimated to have reached less than 10 percent by the mid-nineteenth century, if not earlier. David Vincent, *The Rise of Mass Literacy: Reading and Writing in Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000), 9, fig. 1.2.
- 39 The cast of Enlightenment pedagogues included notable philosophers and reformers such as Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, John Locke, Immanuel Kant, and Joachim Heinrich Campe, but also figures lesser known today, such as Johann Bernhard Basedow, Friedrich Eberhard von Rochow, Caroline Rudolphi, Amalia Holst, and Betty Gleim. On John Locke, see Adrienne Wadewitz, “‘Spare the Sympathy, Spoil the Child’: Sociability, Selfhood, and the Maturing Reader, 1775–1815” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2011); Adriana Benzaquen, “Locke’s Children,” *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 4, no. 3 (2011): 382–402. For a print history perspective on the circulation of Basedow’s reform movement, philanthropinism, see Andrea Immel, “The Shady Business of Enlightenment: John Trusler’s *Progress of Man* and Johann Basedow’s *Elementarwerk*,” *Princeton Library Chronicle* 68, no. 3 (2007): 969–86. For an overview of Campe’s position within continental Enlightenment pedagogy, see Richard B. Apgar, “Taming Travel and Disciplining Reason: Enlightenment and Pedagogy in the Work of Joachim Heinrich Campe” (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, 2008). On imitators of Campe well into the nineteenth century, see Adalbert Merget, *Geschichte der deutschen Jugendlitteratur* (Berlin: Plahn, 1882), 25–26. On women pedagogues of the Enlightenment, see Elke Kleinau and Christine Mayer, “Caroline Rudolphi—Gemälde weiblicher Erziehung (1807); Amalia Holst—Über die Bestimmung des Weibes zur höheren Geistesbildung (1802); Betty Gleim—Erziehung und Unterricht des weiblichen Geschlechts (1810),” in *Erziehung und Bildung des weiblichen Geschlechts: Eine kommentierte Quellensammlung zur Bildungs- und Berufsbildungsgeschichte von Mädchen und Frauen*, ed. Elke Kleinau and Christine Meyer (Weinheim, Germany: Beltz, 1996), 70–84.
- 40 Arianne Baggerman addresses this in the context of personal narratives: “The increasing fascination for childhood in nineteenth-century autobiographies can also be explained by the continued effect of enlightened pedagogy, in which the childhood years were seen as a separate stage of life, of vital importance to the

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- formation of character.” “Lost Time: Temporal Discipline and Historical Awareness in Nineteenth-Century Dutch Egodocuments,” in *Controlling Time and Shaping the Self: Developments in Autobiographical Writing since the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Arianne Baggerman, Rudolf Dekker, and Michael Mascuch (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 529.
- 41 Peter Stadler, *Pestalozzi: Geschichtliche Biographie* (Zürich: Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 1988–1993).
- 42 On Rousseau’s influence on German philosophy, see David James, *Rousseau and German Idealism: Freedom, Dependence, and Necessity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). In a somewhat cranky passage of his *Confessions*, Rousseau referred to *Émile* as “the best, as well as the most important of all the works I had produced.” Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Confessions and Correspondence, Including the Letters to Malesherbes*, ed. Christopher Kelly, Roger D. Masters, and Peter G. Stillman, trans. Christopher Kelly (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1995), Book XI.
- 43 Paul Hensel, *Rousseau* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1912), chapter 6.
- 44 See Nikola Merveldt, “Multilingual Robinson: Imagining Modern Communities for Middle-Class Children,” *Bookbird: A Journal of International Children’s Literature* 51, no. 3 (2013): 1–11.
- 45 On the particular interpretation of this paradox in the bourgeois German milieu, see Budde, *Auf dem Weg ins Bürgerleben*, 78. For a fuller development of these contradictions in the case of one Dutch boy’s education, see Baggerman and Dekker, *Child of the Enlightenment*.
- 46 For a rich engagement with Norbert Elias’s classic and relevant work on *The Civilizing Process*, especially around the gendered, classed, and raced dimensions of “self-mastery,” see Pavla Miller, *Transformations of Patriarchy in the West, 1500–1900* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).
- 47 See Noah W. Sobe, “Concentration and Civilisation: Producing the Attentive Child in the Age of Enlightenment,” *Paedagogica Historica* 46, no. 1–2 (2010): 149–60.
- 48 Christoph Wilhelm Hufeland, quoted in Hubert Göbels, ed., *Hundert Alte Kinderbücher aus dem 19. Jahrhundert: Eine illustrierte Bibliographie* (Dortmund: Harenberg, 1979), 2:445.
- 49 “The solicitude for his darling never left him, and even from a distance he guided her education according to sensible principles.” Eberhard von Georgii-Georgenau, *Biographisch-genealogische Blätter aus und über Schwaben*, 924–25. This admiring description by a family chronicler in the 1870s may remind readers of similar sentiments expressed in Louisa May Alcott’s novels of the same decade, a fictional treatment of her father Bronson Alcott’s Romantic-era pedagogy. See especially *Little Men* (1871), *Eight Cousins* (1875), and *Rose in Bloom* (1876).
- 50 Jan Goldstein, *The Post-Revolutionary Self: Politics and Psyche in France, 1750–1850* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 35 and 38.
- 51 Sociologist Katharina Rutschky famously coined the term “schwarze Pädagogik” (“black” or “poisonous” pedagogy) to define the corporal punishment and repressive impulses of eighteenth-century child socialization. Rutschky, ed. *Schwarze Pädagogik: Quellen zur Naturgeschichte der bürgerlichen Erziehung* (Frankfurt: Ullstein, 1977).
- 52 William McCarthy, “Performance, Pedagogy, and Politics: Mrs. Thrale, Mrs. Barbauld, Monsieur Itard,” in

Childhood and Children's Books in Early Modern Europe, 1550–1800, ed. Andrea Immel and Michael Witmore (New York: Routledge, 2006), 261–62.

- 53 Some of the scholars whose work has influenced my analysis come out of philosophy (especially Hans-Georg Gadamer) or literary criticism, including reader response theory (Wolfgang Iser, Susan Suleiman, and Inge Crosman Wimmers). As Matthew Grenby notes, it would be impossible to present a complete survey of work in the history of reading, given the prolific expansions in this field. Grenby, *The Child Reader, 1700–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 6. A useful review essay on key questions in literacy studies is Carl F. Kaestle, “The History of Literacy and the History of Readers,” *Review of Research in Education* 12 (1985): 11–53. For the most current scholarly conversations on theories of reading and the history of the book, consider the Society for the History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing (SHARP), which fields an active listserv on these topics. See <http://sharpweb.org>.
- 54 Janice A. Radway, “Reading Is Not Eating: Mass-Produced Literature and the Theoretical, Methodological, and Political Consequences of a Metaphor,” *Book Research Quarterly* 2 (1986): 7–29.
- 55 William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 5.
- 56 Allan Luke, “The Political Economy of Reading Instruction,” in *Towards a Critical Sociology of Reading Pedagogy*, ed. Carolyn Baker and Allan Luke (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1991), 6.
- 57 Louise Rosenblatt’s early transactional theory of reading has proven especially influential here across a wide range of disciplines. See, for example, *The Reader, the Text, the Poem: The Transactional Theory of the Literary Work* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978). More recently, Harvey Graff has led a revitalization of the “new literacy studies,” which questions the simple equation of literacy acquisition with social development. See *Literacy Myths, Legacies, and Lessons: New Studies on Literacy* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2011) for an overview of trends and recent historical cases excavated in this field.
- 58 In any historical investigation of literacy, it is essential to remember the persistence of orality. Although the evidence in this book is drawn from the written word, the importance of oral communications is present as, for example, children acted out dramas they first read in youth periodicals, told and retold fairy tales, or participated in schoolroom catechism and conversation. On orality, see Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (New York: Meuthen, 1982); Jack Goody, *The Interface between the Written and the Oral* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
- 59 Rolf Engelsing, *Der Bürger als Leser: Lesergeschichte in Deutschland 1500–1800* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1974).
- 60 Literacy was not even absolute in one individual. As Carl Kaestle summarizes, “Some individuals learned to read but then forgot how. Some were literate but rarely read. Some perceived themselves to be literate but were perceived by others as illiterate, or vice versa. Furthermore, individuals who were unable to read participated in literate culture by listening to those who could read. The worlds of literacy and oral communication are interpenetrating.” Kaestle, “The History of Literacy and the History of Readers,” *Review of Research in Education* 12 (1985): 12–13.

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- 61 Graff, *The Literacy Myth*; Vincent, *The Rise of Mass Literacy*.
- 62 Rolf Engelsing, *Analphabetentum und Lektüre: Zur Sozialgeschichte des Lesens in Deutschland zwischen feudaler und industrieller Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1973), 62.
- 63 David Vincent, "The Progress of Literacy," *Victorian Studies* 45, no. 3 (2003): figures 2 and 3.
- 64 Maynes, *Schooling for the People*, 104 (table).
- 65 On new modes of reading after 1750, see Engelsing, *Der Bürger als Leser*; Robert Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1989); Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994); St. Clair, *Reading Nation*; Ian Jackson, "Approaches to the History of Readers and Reading in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *The Historical Journal* 47, no. 4 (2004): 1041–54.
- 66 Paul Saenger, *Spaces between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997).
- 67 On reference reading and the eighteenth century as the age of information, see also Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011); Daniel Headrick, *When Information Came of Age: Technologies of Knowledge in the Age of Reason and Revolution, 1700–1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- ⁶⁸ Anna Hasenfratz, diary, January 1, 1841, 1491.1, DTA.
- 69 Johann Basedow, *Das Methodenbuch für Väter und Mütter der Familien und Völker* (Leipzig: Fritsch, 1771), 8.
- 70 Selwyn, *Everyday Life*, 30.
- 71 Engelsing, *Der Bürger als Leser*, 53.
- 72 Rudolf Jentzsch, *Der deutsch-lateinische Büchermarkt nach den Leipziger Ostermesskatalogen von 1740 und 1800 in seiner Gliederung und Wandlung* (Leipzig: Voigtländer, 1912), 15, 67, 146, cited in Richard Gawthrop and Gerald Strauss, "Protestantism and Literacy in Early Modern Germany," *Past & Present*, no. 104 (1984): 53.
- 73 The other three genres that replaced theology were political treatises, popular philosophy, and natural sciences. Helen Fronius, *Women and Literature in the Goethe Era 1770–1820: Determined Dilettantes* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2007), 140–41.
- 74 Selwyn, *Everyday Life*, 43.
- 75 On books as commodities, see Matt Erlin, *Necessary Luxuries: Books, Literature, and the Culture of Consumption in Germany, 1770–1815* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014).
- 76 Karen Sánchez-Eppler, *Dependent States: The Child's Part in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 29.
- 77 Jan Fergus, *Provincial Readers in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- 78 Cooper's *The Red Rover* was published originally in 1827, and translated in 1828 as *Zahlreiche Übersetzungen und Bearbeitungen für die Jugend, Der Rote Freibeuter oder Der Rote Seeräuber*. Anna Krahmer, diary, March 1, 1831, 1677/II, DTA.
- 79 See Budde, *Auf dem Weg ins Bürgerleben*; Miller, *Transformations of Patriarchy*; Baggerman and Dekker, *Child of the Enlightenment*.

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- 80 Heinrich Wilhelm Weise to Friedrich Wilhelm Weise, March 8, 1813, Nachlass Hermann Weise, E Rep. 200–12 Nr. 14, LAB.
- 81 August Herder to Johann Gottfried Herder, 1788, in F. E. Mencken, *Dein dich zärtlich liebender Sohn: Kinderbriefe aus sechs Jahrhunderten* (Memmingen, Germany: Heimeran, 1965), 69. A surprisingly steep fine, one Saxon Thaler could cover the cost of a new book around this time according to the advertisements in M. Christian Schulz, *I. G. Stedmann's Reisen in Surinam für die Jugend bearbeitet* (Berlin: Schüppel, 1800).
- 82 See Mary Jo Maynes, “Age as a Category of Historical Analysis: History, Agency, and Narratives of Childhood,” *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1, no. 1 (2008): 114–24; Steven Mintz, “Reflections on Age as a Category of Historical Analysis,” *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1, no. 1 (2008): 91–94. John Gillis addressed the question of young people’s agency as “the proposition that youth makes its own history, a history linked with and yet analytically separable from that of the family, the school, and other adult institutions.” Gillis, *Youth and History*, ix.
- 83 Sánchez-Eppler, *Dependent States*, xv.
- 84 Some histories of the self that have shaped my approach include: Sabean, *Power in the Blood*; Roy Porter, ed., *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present* (London: Routledge, 1997); Goldstein, *The Post-Revolutionary Self*; Seigel, *The Idea of the Self*; Mark G. E. Kelly, “Foucault, Subjectivity, and Technologies of the Self,” in *A Companion to Foucault*, ed. Christopher Falzon, Timothy O’Leary, and Jana Sawicki (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013).
- 85 As Andrea Immel and Michael Witmore ask, “To what degree has the ‘obvious’ marginality of children impeded our ability to see adults exercising a similarly middling kind of power?” “Introduction: Little Differences: Children, Their Books, and Culture in the Study of Early Modern Europe,” in *Childhood and Children’s Books in Early Modern Europe, 1550–1800*, ed. Andrea Immel and Michael Witmore (New York: Routledge, 2006), 14.
- 86 Tessie P. Liu, *The Weaver’s Knot: The Contradictions of Class Struggle and Family Solidarity in Western Europe, 1750–1914* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), x.
- 87 Indeed, it is a consequence of the increasing importance of bourgeois children’s writing that the texts I analyze were preserved in the first place. Sánchez-Eppler elegantly acknowledges the skewed nature of such an archive, writing of early American children: “Their families valued these children’s writing enough to encourage this activity and to preserve the product. . . . These diaries should thus be seen as offering best instances, childhood literacy at its most personal, empowered, and liberating.” Sánchez-Eppler, *Dependent States*, 19.
- 88 Children’s imaginative or fiction writing is not a central focus of this study, but there are examples from other contexts, such as the nineteenth-century manuscript libraries examined by Sánchez-Eppler or the juvenilia of famous writers like Jane Austen, Lewis Carroll, or the Brontë sisters. Sánchez-Eppler, “Practicing for Print: The Hale Children’s Manuscript Libraries,” *Journal of the History of Children and Youth* 1, no. 2 (2008): 188–209; Liz Maynes-Aminzade, “Literary Fetishes: The Brontë Miniature Books,” *Harvard Library Bulletin* 24, no. 2 (2013): 27–45; Christine Alexander and Juliet McMaster, eds., *The Child Writer from Austen to Woolf* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Christine Alexander, “Playing the Author: Children’s Creative

Writing, Paracosms and the Construction of Family Magazines,” in *Children, Childhood and Cultural Heritage*, ed. Kate Darian-Smith and Carla Pascoe, 85–103 (London: Routledge, 2013); Laurie Langbauer, *The Juvenile Tradition: Young Writers and Prolepsis, 1750–1835* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).