

Translating, Transforming, and Targeting Books for Children: Author and Publisher Morten Hallager as a Transnational Agent in Late Enlightenment Denmark (c. 1768-1803)

Charlotte Appel (Denmark)

How were books targeted at children in late eighteenth-century Denmark – and to which extent were they translations and adaptations of a transnational repertoire of texts and printing formulas known from other European countries? Who were the agents behind such transfers?

The earliest books for children, launched as such on the Danish book market, appeared in the 1760s, but it was not until the 1780s and 1790s that 'books for children' became a more widespread phenomenon. This coincided with a period of social and political reforms, not least school reforms. In towns and cities, new schools were established, some with quite ambitious curricula, and in many rural districts, estate owners initiated comprehensive programmes, which made school attendance mandatory for all boys and girls. The Danish School Laws of 1814 marked the culmination of this development.

This paper will look at one of the most important agents on the emerging market for children's books in late eighteenth century Denmark. Morten Hallager (1740-1803) was active during several decades and in a variety of ways. He trained as a printer and took over his own printing workshop in Copenhagen in 1771. Already as an apprentice, he published (anonymously) a book entitled *Moralsk Dukketøj* [Moral Dolls' Toys] (1767), and as a printer, he was involved in several titles dealing with children, including a translation of Fenelon (1776). In 1784, however, he sold his workshop and set up a private school in Copenhagen. Especially during the 1790s, he was also highly active as a publisher of books for children, clearly drawing on his dual experiences as a printer and a teacher – and making use of his excellent language skills. He published primers for early learners and school books in German and French and he sent out more than thirty titles meant to both instruct and entertain, covering a wide range of topics and genres: handbooks, travel accounts, fairy tales and much more.

In this paper, I want to investigate how Hallager worked as a transnational agent when collecting, selecting, translating and editing his texts, most of which were based on French and German books, and I will pay special attention to the way in which he perceived his own role as a transmitter of European enlightenment ideas to Danish children. My analysis will be based on the books themselves, not least their elaborate paratexts, and on direct comparisons with some of Hallager's European 'models'. Due to his varied experiences with both teaching and book business, the case of Hallager will take us to the heart of a discussion of how early books for children could be highly transnational and at the same time very local.

"Altering the Original Fables to Suit Chinese Notions": A Case Study of Robert Thom's *Yishi yuyan* 意拾喻言 (1840)

Limin Bai (New Zealand)

The *Yishi yuyan* is a translated version of Aesop's fables published circa 1840 by Robert Thom 羅伯聃 (1807-1846). Initially employed by the Jardine and Matheson Company in Guangzhou, Thom later became the first British Consul in Ningbo. Thom was not the first to translate Aesop's fables into Chinese. Aesopic stories were initially used by Jesuits to help spread Christian messages in early seventeenth-century China. The publication of the *Yishi yuyan*, however, marked a significant change in the use of Aesop's fables, from solely facilitating evangelistic preaching to also entertaining and educating Chinese children.

The *Yishi yuyan* selected 82 fables, intended for teaching foreigners the Chinese language. Its first publication met with considerable success, and both Thom's translation and Aesop's fables were incorporated into Chinese literature and used for education. Missionary educators adopted the *Yishi yuyan* as an educational resource. Aesop's fables also became part of children's literature published by the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese (S.D.C.K.), such as the *Haixun yushuo* 孩訓喻說 (A collection of useful fables) which contains 102 fables, many of which are from Aesop. The *Xiaohai yuebao* 小孩月報 (*Child's Paper*), the first Chinese newspaper designed for children, was launched in Shanghai in 1875. With content designed to be attractive to children, it included Aesop. At the end of the nineteenth century the *Yishi yuyan* was incorporated into literacy primers for Chinese children.

Why did the Chinese textbook writers or compilers prefer the *Yishi yuyan* to other translated versions of Aesop's fables? The key factor is that the *Yishi yuyan* was customized for Chinese language teaching and learning by "altering the original fables to suit Chinese notions", as the critique of the time sharply pointed out. This paper examines this Sinicized approach to the translation of Aesop's fables, investigating how they were translated and transformed into the form of literature for Chinese children.

The Journey of "Lille Alvilde"

Aasta Marie Bjorvand Bjørkøy and Janicke Stensvaag Kaasa (Norway)

Maurits Hansen's short story "Lille Alvilde" [Little Alvilde] (1829), about a small girl's idyllic encounter with a bear, is considered a Norwegian classic. Since it was first published in the periodical *Den norske Huusven*, it has been reprinted numerous times in several publications, many of which were aimed specifically at children. The long and extensive publishing history of "Lille Alvilde" made it available to a large readership, and ensured its canonization in the Norwegian literary field. Moreover, Hansen's story was distributed abroad, and translated versions were printed in English and American books and magazines, such as *The Children's Prize* (1869), *Aunt Judy's Magazine* (1872) and *St. Nicholas* (1890).

In 1871, the Norwegian children's magazine *Børnenes Blad* [The Children's Magazine] printed "Bjørnen og Barnet" [The Bear and the Child]. The story, which is almost identical to Hansen's "Lille Alvilde", was presented as a translation from the English. Towards the very end, however, the translator explains that the translated story is originally Norwegian – a fact that was brought to his attention only after the issue was completed (Birkeland, Risa & Vold 2018, 21). Consequently, "Bjørnen og Barnet" was here printed as a translation of a Norwegian folk tale from the English, without any mention of Hansen or "Lille Alvilde".

In this paper, we will map the journey of "Lille Alvilde", from Norway to England and the US, and back again. More specifically, we will explore the publishing and translation history of Hansen's canonized text in order to explain how this Norwegian classic could have been printed as a translated text in *Børnenes Blad*. By tracing the journey of the original text into the different English versions, we will unpack the distribution, translation – and transformation – of Hansen's story, identifying actors such as translators, publishers and printers that were key to "Lille Alvilde"'s round trip. The case of Hansen's story, we hope, may illustrate some of the odd ways in which children's texts have crossed borders and languages.

Cited literature:

Birkeland, Tone, Gunvor Risa & Karin Beate Vold. 2018. *Norsk barnelitteraturhistorie*. 3rd ed. Oslo: Samlaget.

Children as Users and Producers of Narratives and Media Across Mid-Nineteenth Century Northern Europe: Translations of Karl Blumauer's *Die kleine Stella und ihre Puppe* [1832] and *Der kleine Robert und sein Steckenpferd* [1833] into Danish and Dutch

Nina Christensen (Denmark)

The illustrations and the content of German author Karl Blumauer's (1785-1840) books for children reflect the transnational character of the market for illustrated children's book in Northern Europe around 1830.

In *Die Kleine Stella und ihre Puppe* (*Little Stella and her Doll*, German 1st ed. [1832])¹ the author describes one year in the life of the young girl Stella. One year later, he published *Der kleine Robert und sein Steckenpferd* (*Little Robert and his Hobbyhorse*, German 1st ed. [1833]).² Both books present an ideal child life, which includes social activities with friends and family and continuous interaction between play and learning. The education of boys differs from the education of girls, but in both cases it includes the reception and production of narratives in various genres and media.

Children in Germany, the Netherlands, and Denmark would meet these children in different versions through variations in binding, format, translations and illustrations. The paper will introduce similarities and differences with regard to how illustrations and the book as an object were presented to children in Germany, Denmark and the Netherlands.

The description of a German reading culture for children across media and genres travelled successfully to Denmark, and the paper will analyze how children's use of different media and genres was promoted through texts as well as illustrations. The represented children use and produce music, drama, poetry, prose and drawings in order to teach and entertain each other, and their plays interact with informal learning processes. Furthermore, the books present a catalogue of commodities directed at children through continuous descriptions of gifts given and received for birthdays and Christmas.

Finally, the books can be analyzed as examples of how changing ideas of ideal childhoods travelled across Europe: Children who were active and to some extent independent, but who were also being raised to become consumers, responsible citizens and spouses, as well as loving fathers and mothers of future citizens.

¹ Translated into Danish as *Den lille Stella og hendes Dukke* (1834) and into Dutch as *De kleine Sophie en hare pop* [no year].

² Danish translation *Den lille Robert og hans Kjøphest* (1835)

Comenius in New York

Patricia Crain (USA)

The Moravian humanist scholar and pedagogue John Amos Comenius never did make it to New York, occupied as he was by the seventeenth-century Protestant diaspora. But his most famous book, *The Orbis Sensualium Pictus* [Visible World in Pictures], printed in German and Latin in Nuremberg in 1658 and in Latin and English in London in 1659, *did* come to New York, not only as a seventeenth- and eighteenth-century import, but also as a New York imprint in 1810. This paper explores the social life and the surprising afterlife of this iconic European school text in the United States, in Philadelphia as well as in New York, taking account of the persistence of its early modern imagery and philosophy, as well as its modernizations and Americanizations, especially by the noted illustrator Alexander Anderson. Using images from extant copies in the U.S., often extensively marked by children and their teachers, "Comenius in New York" finds the *Orbis* suggestively repurposed in a late nineteenth-century facsimile edition likely used to teach children of modern European and African-American diasporas in New York Public Library's "Traveling Library" extension programs.

Christian Felix Weiße's Children's Magazine *Der Kinderfreund. Ein Wochenblatt* (1775-82):

Communication, Translation and Transformation

Ute Dettmar (Germany)

Playwright and author Christian Felix Weiße was one of the most influential children's writers in the eighteenth century. Alongside Joachim Heinrich Campe, he is regarded as the main representative of the (children's) literary Enlightenment in Germany. Being a key figure in the Leipzig Enlightenment, he had numerous contacts across Europe with whom he kept in touch both personally and by correspondence. Weiße's texts, stories, songs and plays for children were very well known in his day and often translated into other languages. His children's magazine *Der Kinderfreund. Ein Wochenblatt* [The Children's Friend: A Weekly] published from 1775 to 1782 is a fascinating case regarding its communication structures as well as the processes of reception, exchange and translation. Even the magazine's very conception was a transnational, intertextual affair, based as it was on moral weeklies such as *The Spectator* (according to Weiße himself). Weiße wove individual literary and non-fiction texts, songs, plays and interesting facts about natural history, society and history into the tapestry of a fictitious family saga. By doing so, he established the image of a readership which could be understood in terms of its interaction and also created a nested model of communication. In the first part of my paper, I would like to address the interplay between the communication levels of authorship, fictitious publisher and narrator as well as fictional (idealized) and actual reception. Moreover, Weiße's *Kinderfreund* is an interesting example in connection with the transnational history of children's literature in the eighteenth century, which was often translated and hence read by multiple language groups. Accordingly, this successful magazine had several imitators and successors both in the German-speaking world and internationally. For example, Arnaud Berquin explicitly sourced individual plays and other texts from *Der Kinderfreund* for his *L'Ami des Enfants* (1782–83), which then continued to resonate when the French magazine was rendered into English. Danish translations and adaptations of selected parts of *Kinderfreund* appeared, too. In the second part of my paper, I would therefore like to explore the magazine's impact over the years by looking at random examples and discuss specific aspects of the translation and transformation processes.

Literature

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Arnaud Berquin: *L'Ami des enfants*, 24 petits vol. in-12, 1782–83

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Girlhood as a Transnational Creation: An International Perspective on Dutch Girls' Books (1750-1800)

Feike Dietz (The Netherlands)

Scholars working in the field of youth literature generally consider the late-eighteenth-century children's book market as the first gendered market for youth literature and as the birthplace of stereotypical representations of girls. It had been known, for example, that the English and French markets for youth literature experienced an explosion of works addressed to girls from the 1750s onwards.

The most recent companion to Dutch youth literature – *Een land van waan en wijs* (2014) – states that the Dutch children's books market also developed into a gendered market during the (late) eighteenth century. This statement, however, is nothing more than a loose assumption: Dutch girls' books have never been studied systematically. My paper aims to bridge this scholarly gap by analysing Dutch girls' books from the second half of the eighteenth century within its international context. The paper's comparative approach will shed new light on the making of a Dutch gendered children's books market and on the construction of girlhood within this market.

I will, first of all, demonstrate that a – relatively small but significant – Dutch tradition of girls' books emerged in the wake of international examples: faithfully translated from English, French or German models, the first Dutch girls' books rebelled against a male-oriented youth literature market, not so much by opposing girls and boys, but rather by presenting both genders as equal identities, or by creating a female world in which men were invisible. Neither of these strategies, however, resulted in presenting girlhood as a distinctive category.

This situation changed, however, when Dutch book producers developed the epistolary girls' novel, inspired by a transnational tradition of epistolary literature. These Dutch novels portrayed girls as autonomous literate agents, who inspired and guided other girls, and used their literacy competencies to build alternative worlds dominated by girls. More than girls' books produced elsewhere in Western Europe, these Dutch novels presented the girl as a distinctive identity, defined by her ability to read and write.

"It was a book with German letters!" International Encounters in Jewish Children's Literature

Gabriele von Glasenapp (Germany)

Jewish literature and also Jewish literature for children must be considered as fundamentally international or transnational. Unlike other bodies of literature, Jewish literature was and is not limited by national or lingual borders; an aspect that features in many definitions of Jewish literature. Jewish literature in Central Europe first consisted of a body of texts that non-Jewish scholars tried to define, so it was informed by attributions and ascriptions. Only at the end of the 18th century, Jewish minorities installed their own definitions, which also reflected the transnationality of Jewish literature(s).

Jewish literatures make room for two communications: one with readers of the Jewish minority and one with readers of non-Jewish majorities. This is especially true for Jewish literature in German language, which signaled the willingness of acculturation by using the German language.

This paper will retrace this double communication and the international character of Jewish children's literature on different levels: first on a textual, that is communicative level – unlike other texts, Jewish literature was published in Germany in four languages (Hebrew, Jewish-German, German and Yiddish) and two alphabets. Secondly (and connected to this), central aspects of the book market and distribution system will be looked at, like multilingual agents, specifics of the system, and modes of reception (many translations) not only in Germany. The specifics of Jewish children's literature in German speaking cultures will be illustrated using the example of the stories "Vögele der Maggid" and "Mendel Gibbor" by Aron David Bernstein, published in the 1850s.

Going Global: Transnational Networks and the Spread of Cheap Print for Children

Matthew O. Grenby (UK)

Little has been written about the intercontinental distribution of pre-modern cheap print for children. Yet, from at least as early as the sixteenth century, primers, catechisms and other kinds of ephemeral, educational printed texts were produced in huge numbers right across the globe. From Western and Eastern Europe, to North and South America, and South and South-East Asia, books providing elementary instruction to children (and others) took remarkably similar forms, even if they also retained or developed intriguing local characteristics. These books were often primary elements of colonial programmes or the result of missionary impulses. But the spread of children's cheap print does not seem to have been just one-way, from the metropole to the periphery. This paper will take a first step towards considering the networks of production, reception and of ideas that in some ways unified children's experience of cheap print in many parts of the world.

Transnational Readings in Fables: Animals in Eighteenth-Century Spanish Children's Books

Noelia López Souto (Spain)

Children's books in 18th century Spain were included in the flood of classical didactic literature, which was a very cultivated tradition in the Age of Enlightenment. From a transnational perspective, this paper studies the use and the representation of 'translated' animals in Spanish fables or stories for children, with a special focus on the representative compilations written by Tomás de Iriarte, *Fábulas literarias* (Literary Fables, 1782) and *Coleccion de obras en verso y prosa* [Collection of Prose and Poetry] (1787). This analysis reveals that even animal characters in Spanish fables served to communicate a serious cultural concern particularly developed there in the modern age. Eighteenth-century Spanish intellectuals were troubled by the contamination –grammatically, lexically, semantically – of Spanish texts by other languages, especially French. This national opposition to French influence, equally strong in literary, scientific, and philosophic works, must be understood as part of the contentious relationship between both countries at the time. This study shows how the anti-French phenomenon affected even Spanish children's books.

Children and Popular Print in a Transnational Perspective: A State of the Discipline

Elisa Marazzi (Italy)

The aim of this paper is to tackle a specific segment of children's (possible) readings in 1750-1850, which is at the intersection of children's literature and popular print. Studies in these two sectors have advanced considerably in the last decades, both stressing the societal relevance of books for children, and contributing to an accepted definition of popular print that does not imply any judgement of value. Nonetheless, the possibility that popular print was read by children or even that it was in some case intentionally produced for them, has scarcely been considered.

During the Copenhagen conference, Matthew Grenby showed that an enormous amount of cheap material was printed for children in many different regions of Europe, both in terms of religious and educational works, and of more entertaining ones. Moreover, there is evidence that transnational encounters were frequent and intriguing in this particular sector.

This means that we have a partial knowledge of what children read in the 18th and 19th century, even though some readings might have been shared transnationally. Drawing on such considerations, the paper will outline a state of the discipline, presenting an overview of research already done in the two abovementioned fields that has led to the emergence of evidence on their intersection. What do we know on popular print for children so far? Can we retrace transnational encounters drawing on research already done? Are those encounters relevant only in terms of genres (almanacs, printed images, chapbooks, etc.) or also in terms of contents (reuse and adaption of texts, illustrations). How can we already enlarge our knowledge on children's readings and education practices?

Finally, scope and methodology of a recently funded project on this topic will be presented.

Reprints, Piracies, Hibernicisations: Children's Books and Late Eighteenth-Century Dublin Booksellers

Emer O'Sullivan (Germany)

Before the British copyright act was extended to Ireland in 1801, Irish needs were mainly satisfied by Irish booksellers reprinting English titles – with or without authorisation. This chapter will focus on the transnational phenomenon of British children's books issued by Dublin booksellers in the late 18th century, which were more than mere reprints of their originals. Special attention will be paid to the bookseller James Hoey junior and to his adaptation, for an Irish readership, of the famous 1750 Newbery publication, *A museum for young gentlemen and ladies*. Focusing mainly but not exclusively on this hibernicisation, the chapter will examine the blend of national and commercial interests behind Hoey's adaptations. It will be led by the following questions: how did an Irish publisher come to delete some and insert additional material into an English publication? Can any of its source(s) be identified? What – if anything – can be gleaned of the publishers political or religious affiliation from the material he added? Who was James Hoey? Who were his readers? The aim of the chapter is to document and analyse this special type of late 18th-century transnational publication practice.

Agency and the Children's Crusade Against Slavery: 1791-1833

Lissa Paul (Canada)

"Agency" in the context of contemporary interest in children's literature and children's studies has become a key term. It is in fact the keyword Nina Christensen authored in the second edition of *Keywords for Children's Literature*. Citing Colin Heywood, Nina defines children's agency as being "active in determining their own lives and the lives of those around them." In late-Enlightenment Britain children demonstrated exactly that kind of agency, determining both their own lives and the lives of others when--following the defeat of William Wilberforce's first bill to abolish the slave trade in 1791--they gave up West Indian sugar. But that's not how Harvey Darton read either children's participation in the boycott or the literature written for them in support of abolitionist causes.

Although Darton quotes Maria Edgeworth's 1792 letter promoting the boycott so that "slaves will not be so cruelly treated" (156), he situates it in the context of the 'semi-artistic literary form' of "The Moral Tale: Didactic," a genre characterized by its emphasis on obedience (the antithesis of agency) and sensibility (especially feelings of pity). As was typical at the time, Darton locates pity for "cruelly treated" enslaved people with pity for cruelly treated animals, and he doesn't dwell at any length on the abolitionist literature for children. Besides Edgeworth, however, among the authors writing actively in support of the abolitionist cause were Anna Barbauld, her niece Lucy Aikin (who gave up sugar as a ten-year old), Hannah More, Priscilla Wakefield, and Eliza Fenwick. Although I will be focusing on the British side of the children's crusade against slavery in my talk, I will also discuss the agency, the acts of resistance demonstrated by enslaved children in Barbados in the same period. Their stories are, of course, harder to trace, but I will do so by accessing fugitive slave ads from the newly digitized copies of *The Barbados Mercury Gazette* (1783-1833).

The Publisher Heinrich Friedrich Müller and His Impact on the Children's Book Market in the Early Nineteenth Century

Carola Pohlmann (Germany)

At the beginning of the 19th century, Vienna and London ranked among the most relevant centres for the production of both paper toys and moveable books. Vienna was developing into a centre for the production of toys and stationery during the next few decades – a centre which was not only restricted to the domestic market, but which also exported its products to countries such as France, Britain, Germany, Scandinavia, and, in part, even the United States. The introduction of modern printing methods such as lithography facilitated the production of a large number of copies, so that a broad public within the middle classes could afford graphics and illustrated books from then on.

During the Biedermeier period, the quality of illustrations played a key role in the commercial success of children's books and books for young adults. The spread of artistically significant paper toys and picture books was particularly due to the publisher Heinrich Friedrich Müller: his mercantile aptitude, the minute execution of his products and his high demands in terms of artistic value set new standards – even in the eyes of the fastidious Viennese public. The successful businessman Müller belonged to the circle of eminent citizens in Vienna. The key secrets to his success were his willingness to take advantage of modern printing methods such as chromolithography – a technique which he is considered to have pioneered in Austria – and to experiment with both children's books, paper toys and parlour games. Müller's specialty, though, was combining books with attached games: the ideas on which these gimmicks were based were either contrived by Müller himself, or he adopted them from other manufacturers. Some of his books and games were not only produced for the Austrian market, but for the ones in Germany and Scandinavia as well.

The Grimm's *Children's and Household Tales* on Its Way to France in the Nineteenth Century

Natacha Rimasson-Fertin (France)

The *Children's and Household Tales* by the Brothers Grimm (1st edition 1812-1815) were translated into French for the very first time in 1824. The book must have been both successful among the readers and interesting for the translators, since a research in the catalogue of the French National Library (Bibliothèque nationale de France) shows a list of about 70 publications in the 19th century alone.

My paper will present the main French translations of the Grimm's Tales published between 1824 and 1857 (which is the publication date of the last edition the Brothers Grimm edited by themselves), and try to answer the following question : Which ones of the Grimm tales did French children actually read in the first half of the 19th century, and in what form?

As the tales collection grew more and more from one edition to another, we have to assume the translators always worked on the latest available edition, choosing several narratives they would then translate. This explains why some tales had once been read, before disappearing for a long time from the French editions, so that one cannot say, French readers all had read the same Grimm texts in the 1820es and in the 1860es.

In fact, the translators weren't reluctant to change or even to remove details or parts of the original text which they found too cruel or too strange for young French readers, so that many transformations occurred in the different French translations of the Grimm tales, making some of them quite astonishing.

I will study various examples of changes happening during the translation process and how they correlate with a transcultural approach, starting with character names, food, units of measurement, and ending with some outstanding cases.

Examining the aims of the Grimm translators in the 19th century will enable me to draw conclusions about the goals and criteria of children's literature in France and in Germany, and also about the translator's role in children's literature at that time.

A World of Books: Global Thinking and Child Bookmakers

Karen Sanchez-Eppler (USA)

In Copenhagen I had the pleasure of thinking with this group of inspiring interlocutors about the literary productions of an American farming family whose boys wrote and illustrated a library of little home-made books and magazines. My presentation at the first symposium, "Historians of the World: The Transnational Imagination of Child Bookmakers" noted the Nelson brothers' engagement with European literature—Dickens, Defoe, Wyss—and the ways that their own "world-making" literary endeavors invested in colonial patterns of discovery, settlement, and development. This essay will extend this work. "A World of Books" will explore the significance of global thinking for the Nelson brothers' book-making project and ask what their endeavors might tell us about the transnational circulation and function of children's books. The Nelson's bookmaking was merely one manifestation of the brothers' paracosmic play in an imaginary "World" located on three islands behind their family home in rural New Hampshire. Through their play, the separate island "continents" of their imaginary World developed distinct national cultures. The books the brothers produced reflect competition and conflict between these nations, but also collaboration, with some publications claiming transnational authorship and publication sites. International relationship and communication provide much of the impetus for the Nelson brothers' bookmaking in a way that I will argue helpfully illuminates the transnational dimensions of children's book production and circulation in the real world.

"Travel ... is a Part of Education": Children, Teachers, and Books on the Move

Jill Shefrin (Canada)

Throughout the history of the book, children's book authors, often also teachers or parents, migrated--for political, religious or economic reasons. Their work was published in their home and adopted countries, sometimes across Europe. Itinerant schoolmasters travelled to the American colonies for years at a time. The exodus from French Revolution brought educational writers to many countries. Brides in royal marriages, such as Queen Charlotte in England, acted as patrons to foreign teachers and writers. The young pupils of these foreign-born teachers were exposed to the publications of their tutor or governess, as well as to other, often equally transnational, works.

Children were also born abroad or travelled--touring, emigrating, or fleeing persecution. Silvia Cole, granddaughter of a Huguenot and daughter of an English merchant in Amsterdam and his Dutch wife, came to London aged five to live with her aunt and uncle. She was welcomed with a personalized manuscript designed to introduce her to her new city. Amelia Murray travelled to the Netherlands with her mother in the late 1740s on an extended visit to her father, Lord George Murray, who had been banished from England following the final Jacobite Rebellion. Colonial civil servants and officers fathered children, in the eighteenth century most often with indigenous women, in the nineteenth increasingly with British wives. The adolescent daughter of one British official in India recorded and published her own collection of Indian fairy tales.

Seeking commonalities, this paper draws on paratexts, life writing, manuscripts, ephemera, and juvenile marginalia to establish the circumstances and, where possible, the reading experiences of children living abroad or in the care of foreign teachers between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries.

From Michaelmas-Day to Thanksgiving: The Transatlantic Transformation of Poor Molly Goosey Into La Gansa Amorosa

Laura Wasowicz (USA)

I propose to deliver a presentation on the various versions of a picture book first issued under the title *Michaelmas-Day or The Fate of Poor Molly Goosey* by London publisher Dean & Co. ca. 1840s as part of the *Grandmamma Easy's New Pictorial Toy Books* series. With its curvaceous Roman boldface type and large hand-colored wood engravings, this humorous picture book captures the ill-fated love affair between King Gander and his mate Molly Goosey. They are doomed by the arrival of September 29th, Michaelmas Day, a holiday in which geese like themselves are traditionally consumed by humans as part of the celebration. This sad fate awaits Molly, but not before some comic poetry: "As the lovers were walking, one morning, and talking, O think of the pangs they must suffer, to hear the fat cook, say with ominous look, 'I must presently kill her and stuff her.'" Molly indeed was killed, roasted, and set before a table of hungry farmers, who made "a good dinner" of her "while they talked of the markets and weather," while her bereft suitor Gander watches through a doorway.

To the modern eye, this tale might not seem especially memorable or even appropriate for children, but in its own way, this wistful story was quickly picked up by American publishers who in short order re-issued it with the text and close copies of the illustrations intact, unfettered by any international copyright protection. Among them was George Swett Appleton of Philadelphia, who was part of the Appleton family publishing dynasty. His *Grandmamma Easy's Michaelmas-Day or Poor Molly Goosey* was issued between 1843 and 1849 with the text and illustrations virtually identical to the London Dean & Co. edition. This title was also picked up by short-lived Boston publisher Wier & White in about 1850, who tweaked the text to reflect the emerging American culture reflected in the title *Thanksgiving Day or The Fate of Poor Molly Goosey*. In this version Gander and Molly kindle a romance on Roxbury Green (as opposed to Banbury), and the holiday is described as "a Thanksgiving day in November." This Americanized text offers tantalizing allusions to an evolving new holiday in which neither the date of the holiday nor the type of bird to be consumed are set in stone.

About two decades later, this basic story, with the 1840s vintage wood-engraved illustrations are picked up again by an Appleton, in this case D. Appleton of New York, who took George S. Appleton's illustration blocks for *Grandmamma Easy's Michaelmas Day*, and published it as *Historia de la Gansa Amorosa* as part of the *Mi Abuela Facil* series. The Spanish prose text returns the holiday to the 29th of September, "el dia de San Miguel." The back cover advertisement includes an extensive list of Spanish language picture books, including those initially issued in English as part of the *Grandmamma Easy* series. Using various sources, I have discovered that in the 1840s, D. Appleton began a pedagogical foreign language publication program including Spanish textbooks; by the early 1860s Appleton's foreign language publishing for children expanded to include picture book titles in Spanish for Latin American markets in Cuba, Mexico, and South America; and I want to discuss this trajectory of D. Appleton's publishing business. Also, I want to examine how this picture book story of Molly Goosey/Gansa Amorosa was used to amuse children across countries and languages while teaching them about holidays, customs and food ways—all things that would initially seem to be rooted sturdily in a national tradition.

The Travels of *The Traveller*: Children's Literature Circulating in the Enslaved and Colonized Nineteenth-Century Atlantic

Courtney Weikle-Mills (USA)

Scholarship of childhood in the early Caribbean has been stymied by the myth that children's literature was not readily available in the area—a myth that we can partially trace to English children's books. For instance, in A. Selwyn's *The Little Creoles* (1820), readers were asked to sympathize with white West Indians arriving to England without ever having experienced children's stories:

Francis had been taught to read by his father's book-keeper, but he never had been amused by any of those charming little narratives, with which the French and English languages are now graced; the delightful stories of Miss Edgeworth, or Berquin, were utterly unknown to him; he had scarcely opened any book but Vyse's Spelling Book.¹

This paper contests this myth by tracing the circulation of children's books in the colonized British and Danish Caribbean through two channels: newspaper ads and missionary records. Examining the titles and types of books that circulated most frequently among the islands' colonized and enslaved populations offers clues into what their purveyors hoped to promote: children who would work tirelessly to achieve virtue and knowledge as defined by European colonizers, and who would look to books to understand their place in a vast world. The records also document Afro-Caribbean children performing these roles—presumably with a canny awareness that such performances were expected and demanded. I offer a reading of one title for which we have more circulation data than usual, *The Traveller: Or, A Description of Various Wonders in Nature and Art* (1838), a London tract society publication which appears on a list of reward books given to Afro-Caribbean children by Moravian missionaries in Danish St. Croix. A section in this text on the printing and book trades bespeaks awareness of its far-flung audience—and its emphasis on the readers' imaginative travel through a world that is in a constant state of geological remaking, technological invention, and geographical motion offers a fascinating counterpoint to books like *The Little Creoles*, which cast the British landscape and seasons as the sole key to children's successful moral education.

¹ A. Selwyn, *The Little Creoles; Or the History of Francis and Blanche. A Domestic Tale* (London: Printed by and for William Cole, 1820), 34.

Of Mirrors, Mentors, and Models: The Tales of Catherine the Great in Transnational Context

Sara Pankenier Weld (USA)

When Russian Empress Catherine the Great (1729-1796) wrote literary fairy tales for her grandsons, thereby founding Russian children's literature proper, she partook in a transnational tradition, finding inspiration and models in older genres that had gained new appreciation while crossing national boundaries in the eighteenth century. These include the age-old tradition of mirrors for princes (*specula principum*) meant to guide young rulers, made popular by and widely appreciated in the eighteenth century in the guise of Fénelon's *Les aventures de Télémaque* [The Adventures of Telemachus](1699), and tales in exotic settings, as inspired by Antoine Galland's translation of *Les mille et une nuits, contes arabes traduits en français* [A Thousand and One Nights, Arab Stories Translated into French](1704-1717) and its endless eighteenth century imitations. A comparative examination of Catherine's *Skazka o tsareviche Khlore* [The Tale of Prince Khlor] (1781) and *Skazka o tsareviche Fevei* [The Tale of Prince Fevei] (1783) reveals not only how Catherine finds productive models for her own influential inception of a Russian tradition of children's literature by participating in a transnational tradition, but also throws into relief how unique Catherine's tales are in certain other respects, when viewed in historical or political context. Unique, for example, is the strange fact that these tales were written by the enlightened despot herself and mirror her own mind. Or that they were written for specific child addressees, the future emperors Alexander and Constantine, whom Catherine tried to shape into ideal future rulers of Russia, as well as for the Russian populace, which Catherine sought to enlighten according to her own principles and Enlightenment ideals, by using transnational models and sources of inspiration. Uniquely telling also is the gender transfiguration that occurs in Catherine's "The Tale of Prince Khlor," when Fenelon's Mentor figure (Minerva in disguise) becomes the undisguisedly feminine Felicity (*Felitsa*). This amounts to a strategic maneuver that sanctions the empress's own claim to wisdom and authority as modeled on Minerva – an association of goddess, author, and empress not entirely lost on her audience (as evidenced by Gavriila Derzhavin's famous "Felitsa" ode about Catherine). Ultimately, then, the intricacies of Catherine's own mirror tales for her princely grandsons and their universal and unique features emerge in fullest relief only when viewed in a transnational as well as national context.

When publishers publish for children, when authors write for children, when translators translate for children, they have a child image that they are aiming their work at—it is this act of aiming work at children that I am interested in studying, whether the resulting work is actually read by children of a certain age or not. Moreover, when speaking of child and children's literature, we should be able to define them somehow. Yet there is little consensus on the definition of childhood, child, and children's literature. As a whole, I do not consider them separate or parallel issues: all translation involves adaptation, and the very act of translation always involves change and domestication. The change of language always brings the story closer to the target-language audience.