CHILDREN'S LITERATURE, 1633 - 1686, FROM THE OSBORNE COLLECTION: A STUDY IN THE RELATION OF STYLE TO FUNCTION

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INTRODUCTION

The Osborne Collection owned by The Toronto Public Library, contains over four thousand volumes of children's books dating from 1509 to 1910. Books from the period 1633 to 1686 were chosen for study because this period contained the most popular examples of the two important types of early children's books: courtesy books, and books which stressed the teaching of religious morality. Religious morality is closely intertwined with the Puritan movement. In fact, the authors of many of the children's books (including the two best known, James Janeway and John Bunyan) were Puritan preachers.

The term "Puritan" requires a definition. The editors of Seventeenth-Century Prose and Poetry in pointing out the dangers of the term say that the works of Wither, Milton, and Marvell "show no coherent group characteristics at all; and that the general spirit we moderns are most inclined to label 'Puritan' manifests itself most forcefully in the poems of Quarles."[1] It is this spirit of Puritanism that this thesis adopts: the spirit shows itself in the literature by qualities of intensity of belief, of a vigorous appeal to the emotions, and of a zealous desire to affect the behaviour of the readers so that they can avoid hell and achieve salvation.

"Children's books" are defined as books which were ostensibly written for children. All of the books studied fit this definition;

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1 Alexander M. Witherspoon and Frank J. Warnke, eds., Seventeenth-Century Prose and Poetry, 2nd ed. (New York, 1929), p. 707.

as well the definition appears to be the one applied to books in The Osborne Collection. The number of books considered may appear small, but the total number of children's books printed during this time was small. Sloane lists 261 books published between 1557 and 1710 excluding purely educational works.[2]

The word "style" is given a wide definition to include not only small literary devices but techniques broad enough to be considered genres such as the letter of advice or the use of biography. The style will be discussed in relation to the social and moral purposes of the material. One must clearly understand these purposes because they are in direct contrast to the twentieth century purpose we are accustomed to: that children's literature should be primarily entertaining. However, the style itself will be the main consideration of the thesis; it will be seen that the authors were highly conscious of style and tried to employ as many devices as they could command in writing for children.[3]

The thesis is divided into three parts: the background to the literature being examined including the central ideas the authors wished to present, secondly, an analysis of representative books of courtesy, and thirdly, an analysis of representative "Puritan" books.

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2 M.F. Thwaite, From Primer to Pleasure (London, 1963), p. 23, quoting William Sloane, Children's Books in England and America in the Seventeenth Century (New York, 1955), (no page reference).

3 William Sloane, Children's Books in England and America in the Seventeenth Century (New York, 1955), p. 86.

INTRODUCTION

In all of the books under study, an attempt is made to show the relationship between the style and the moral and social purposes of the literature. It will be seen that the style is effective because it is appropriate to the authors' purposes.

CHAPTER I

CENTRAL PURPOSE AND IDEAS IN THE LITERATURE THAT IMPROVE MORAL AND SOCIAL CONDUCT

The central ideas in the literature and the authors' purpose in promoting these ideas will be examined in this chapter in order to understand and appreciate the main consideration of this paper, which is a description of the kind of literary techniques the authors employed and the effectiveness of these techniques. The purpose and central ideas being examined are contained mainly in two types of children's books: books of courtesy and "Puritan" books. It will be seen that certain ideas are used to satisfy the authors' purpose of improving social and moral conduct. The last portion of the chapter will discuss how widely these ideas were spread in children's literature in order to show how significant the ideas were.

Early seventeenth-century children's literature was written with the primary purpose of creating or improving moral or social conduct. Darton states that good moral behaviour induced by fear was present throughout all children's literature in this period: "For if there is one thing clear about children's books in England it is that before Alice--so late as all that--they were dominated by inhibitions as well as prohibitions."[1] Sloane, also, contends that the creating of good conduct was the authors' chief purpose, and that this was achieved by threatening to deprive the child of God's spirit.[2]

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1 F.J. Harvey Darton, Children's Books in England, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1932), p. 31.

2 Sloane, p. 16.

The desire to shape good conduct was apparent in literature which preceded the works under study here. For example, a thirst for morality is found in Anglo-Saxon literature: Beowulf is the idealization of Anglo-Saxon masculine qualities. Fables which are essentially moral in prupose enjoyed long popularity. There is further evidence of the desire for a children's literature which would improve moral and social conduct in the reaction of some persons against the reading of romantic literature. These persons felt that romantic literature was reading for the idle. Darton quotes a mid-sixteenth century author critical of romantic literature: "Use them to read them in the Bible and other godly books, but especially keep them from reading of famed fables, vain fantasies, and wanton stories, and songs of love which bring mischief to youth."[3] Roger Ascham is also quoted by Darton as being critical of romantic literature:

> What toys the daily reading of such a book (Morte Arthur) may work in the will of a young gentleman or a young maid, that liveth wealthily and idly, wise men can judge and honest do pity.[4]

A further indication of the desire for a literature that improves behaviour appears in the form of books that are commonly called books of courtesy. These books are concerned mainly with social rather than moral improvement, and elevate good manners and

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3 Darton, p. 45, quoting Hugh Rode, Book of Nurture (1544).

4 Darton, p. 45, quoting Roger Ascham, The Scholemaster (1570).

conduct beyond any other consideration. Their form of prudential morality is undoubtedly part of the stream of father-to-son advice that runs to the present day, because the concern is the common one for man in his human life, a concern for his human conduct, for his social behaviour and for his adoption of proper standards by which he should live.[5]

The ideal which elevated proper social behaviour did not, however, originate with books of courtesy. Douglas Bush says that the ideas of social conduct, which are the basis of books of courtesy, are rooted in the past.[6] Sloane describes these books as "an uninterrupted tradition of moralizing in many languages and literatures."[7] He points out, for example, that the Exeter Book contains "A Father's Induction" which consists of the poetic commandments of an Anglo-Saxon father to his son on the moral virtues. Perhaps the most familiar advice to a son and the one that best calls to mind the kind of ideas found in courtesy books is that advice which Polonius gives to Laertes. There

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5 That this concern for gentlemanly conduct is not a peculiar concern can be seen by examining other countries and periods. Each world has had its own ideal that it holds up as a model: for example, the classic world had the orator, and France had its ideal in the citizen. (Darton, p. 50).

6 Douglas Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, 1600 - 1660, 2nd ed. rev. (London, 1962), p. 112.

7 Sloane, p. 16.

are also some well known examples of very early English books of this kind, although they are not contained in The Osborne Collection, such examples as Babees Book, (fifteenth century) and Sir Thomas Elyot's The Governor, 1531. Later, in the eighteenth century, Chesterfield's Letters To His Son became well known for their advice.

Catechisms, a common type of seventeenth century children's literature, were instructive in character and intention. Their didactic quality was emphasized by their teacher-pupil dialogue form. The content of their instruction lay not only in religion but also in such academic areas as grammar, arithmetic, logic and geography. Darton calls them "domestic aids to classroom use."[8]

The final kind of children's literature to be considered here for its instructive qualities is that which is commonly called "Puritan." Obviously this literature also was written to improve behaviour. Its highly moral and instructive qualities are so strong as to invite ridicule from modern critics and readers. Anthologies of children's literature,[9] for example, facetiously quote the full title of James Janeway's chief work, A Token for Children; being an Exact Account of the Conversions, Holy and Exemplary Lives, and Joyful Deaths of several young children. To which is added, Prayers

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8 Darton, p. 16.

9 May Hill Arbuthnot, Children and Books, rev. ed. (Chicago, 1957), pp. 41, 41.

and Graces, fitted for the use of little Children. This critical attitude is partly understandable for the title is admittedly incongruous to to-day's reader, but this attitude also indicates some lack of understanding on the part of the critic and a failure to consider the book in its proper context. While it is true that Janeway's book has little literary or story appeal to children today, readers should not make the careless assumption that what appears ludicrous to a young reader today would provoke the same reaction from a young seventeenth-century reader. Here the authors did not mean simply to terrify, as the title might suggest, they also wished ultimately to give pleasure to their readers--the ideal pleasure that comes from being morally good. One writer calls this pleasure a joie de vivre that is gained from the perfect satisfaction of serving God as well as possible.[10] Only by being good could children achieve the happiness of an imminent heaven; the alternative was an equally imminent hell. This position was appreciated by seventeenth-century Puritan readers and made books like Janeway's not only acceptable but desirable. This point is affirmed by Richard Rogers in "Seven Treatises," who says that, although to the modern mind the Puritan seems a

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10 M.M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism (Chicago, 1939), p. 427.

> morbid, introspective, inhibited moral bigot and religious zealot [yet to] the common man of the time this was not so. The Puritan preacher proffered to a multitude in his own age what seemed enlightenment and a new freedom. He proffered the means to a more active and significant life.[11]

Those who disparage Puritan books like Janeway's must be reminded also that many of these books were enormously popular in their time. Token for Children was regarded as standard reading for children of evangelical parents[12] and more often recommended to seventeenth-century children than any other book except the Bible.[13] The Puritan books were heavily moral in character it is true, but this moral intensity was highly acceptable to their readers.

The central idea that permated this literature was "Remember now thy Creator." Only by remembering Him and conducting their lives accordingly, could children avoid hell. There was no other real purpose in life. For seventeenth-century citizens it was the driving impulse of human life: "Nothing in our more diffuse civilization quite holds the pivotal position, the centrality which religion held in seventeenth century England."[14] Thus Puritan teaching formed a strong religious consciousness. Bunyan represented this view when he said, "In Adam's Fall, we sinned all," that all of creation was sullied,

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11 William Haller, The Rise of Puritanism (New York, 1938), p. 116, quoting Richard Rogers, "Seven Treatises", p. 36.

12 Paul Sangster, Pity My Simplicity (London, 1963), pp. 49, 50.

13 The Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, 1566 - 1910, comp. J. St. John (Toronto, 1958), p. xix.

14 Sloane, p. 11.

and one must therefore apply oneself to being saved. The consolation was that some were to be saved by predestination, and so the authors of children's books prevailed upon each young reader to be one of the chosen few. This could be done by repenting and being born again. Bunyan states this in Divine Emblems when he says, "The egg's no Chick by falling from the Hen;/Nor Man a Christian, till he's born agen."[15] This advice, directed towards children, would require them to reject evil, to fight while there was time, and to overcome their innately evil natures in order to avoid the terrors of hell. The rejection of evil was to be done vigorously, for the Puritans did not believe that salvation could be achieved by contemplation. It was a practical sort of morality that the authors of children's literature encouraged. Every act of the child was important in his spiritual assessment. "It was possible and necessary to irradicate any inclination to enjoy or persist in wrong doing."[16] There was no other consideration in life. Knappen quotes a Puritan to support this view: "Paradise is our native country and we in the world be as exiles and strangers."[17]

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15 John Bunyan, Divine Emblems, 10th ed. (London, 1686), p. 5.

16 Knappen, p. 343.

17 Knappen, p. 350, quoting Richard Greenham, p. 645.

The authors were concerned about the spiritual welfare of their young readers, and this accounts, in a large part, for their writing moral books. The authors also wrote books because they were concerned about their own fate as preachers. (The authors were almost all preachers whose literary works were often their sermons in printed form.)[18] They desired through their writing, to become more influential as preachers so as to retain their posts. It was important for them to retain their posts because of the opportunity these positions provided for spreading their beliefs and because of their opinion that as preachers, they were no less than the "divinely appointed instruments for discovering the truth as revealed in scriptures."[19] These truths as they saw them became their doctrines and beliefs, and their literature became one of their dialectical weapons for spreading these beliefs.[20]

One must know how popular the literature was in its time in order to determine to what extent the ideas in the literature were spread. This can be determined by learning of the children's strong motivation to read religious books and also by noting bibliographical evidence of the popularity of the books.

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18 Haller, p. 25.

19 Haller, p. 15.

20 Haller, p. 83.

Puritans intensely pursued salvation of the soul and would desire to have their children learn to read so that they could read and interpret the Bible for themselves.[21] Thus the children's books were intended to shape proper moral behaviour, and to encourage children to read so that they could achieve salvation through their reading of the Scriptures. Haller states the twofold purpose of the authors, in this way:

> The spiritual teachers were converting their hearers not only to godlines but also to the appetite for reading godly books, which the preachers were not slow to supply to the public.[22]

Haller considers that these godly books were more effective in converting their readers to godlines and spreading the Puritan movement than had the preachings of the Puritan ministers.[23] He goes even further in underlining the contribution of literature to the establishing of moralistic ideas by stating that the preacher or author exploited the pulpit and press to the extent that an identifiable body of literature was created.[24] As noted earlier, there were 261 children's books published between 1557 and 1710.[25]

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21 Knappen, p. 358.

22 Haller, p. 82.

23 Haller, p. 82.

24 Haller, p. 85.

25 See above, p. v.

More convincing evidence that a reading habit was being established was the formation of a commerical book publishing house that particularly promoted the sale of children's books. John Newberry is generally accepted as the founder of the commercial publishing of children's literature.[26]

During this period of concern for moral and social improvement, the opportunities for literary enjoyment (and the consequent inculcation of the ideas expressed) would, of course, be relatively small compared to present times. The point being made here is that the Puritans and their contemporaries recognized the need to teach children to read; they recognized the power of the printed word to affect religious beliefs; they attempted to create a literature; they succeeded, although it is conceded that it was only a beginning compared to 1740 when children's books were widely printed.

Those examining early books written for children might feel that the effectiveness of the ideas presented would be diminished because of the apparent dullness of the books. However, what appears dull to the twentieth-century view would not necessarily be dull to the seventeenth-century reader. The modern reader might feel that the

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26 Darton, p. 1.

early children's books are of little value. (They certainly receive little consideration in such anthologies as May Hill Arbuthnot, Children and Books, rev. ed. [Chicago, 1957]). The early reader, however, would have been impressed by the sincerity of the words of Janeway, for example, who made the same morally persuasive appeal to the reader as would parents and pastors. And indeed, when Janeway's work is read carefully and objectively, his appealing sincerity is obvious. Plainly, he was concerned with the fate of his young readers. The early reader also had stronger motivation for reading. To attract the young twentieth-century reader, the author must make the reading material palatable for the child; for example, the experiences of the character in the story are often deliberately related to those of the young reader in order to create empathy of reader with character; however, the seventeenth-century reader was motivated, at least in part, to read in order to be a better person, not simply to entertain himself.

Another difference between the modern child reader and the seventeenth-century reader is that the modern reader is conditioned by his educators to reject literature containing moral pronouncements that would intrude on the pleasure of the reading material. The modern teacher of children's literature sees his goal as one of building an interest in the reading of literature. He avoids using any literature that contains moral elements that he feels would hinder the pupil's enjoyment of the story. The seventeenth-century reader, on the other hand, would have sought from the literature the pleasure that

came from the contemplation of the moral elements of the story. The enormous popularity of these highly moral books would support this assumption. It seems very likely, then, that the early reader's greater interest in religious statements would have provided the young reader with an additional reason for reading.

When trying to determine whether the literature would be well received, one should not overlook the fascination that beginners, of every century, would have in the very act of reading, which is the interesting act of decoding from written to verbal symbols, thus unlocking the meaning and experiences of others. This natural appeal, along with the desire for knowledge, would encourage children to read whatever was available. An example of this is found, at least in fiction form, in Janeway's A token for children. In one story, Janeway speaks of little John Sudlow who

> quickly learned to read exactly and took such Pleasure in reading of the Scriptures and his Catechism, and other good books that it is scarce to be paralleled...and he was hugely taken with the reading of the Book of Martyrs,[27] and would be ready to leave his Dinner to go to his book.

Not all would be so highly motivated; some might read some books through force, as Meigs says of the Books of Martyrs: "Few children of the Puritan age escaped reading it under the stern behests of parents or pastors."[28] There is more evidence from people of the time that

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27 James Janeway, A token for children (London, 1676), p. 16.

28 Cornelia Meigs, ed. A Critical History of Children's Literature (New York, 1953), p. 42.

shows their fondness for books that would appear dull to the young modern reader. Sloane quotes William Godwin's reaction as a youth to Janeway's books: "I felt as if I were willing to die with them if I could with equal success engage the admiration of my friends and mankind."[29] There is a further testimonial to their popularity quoted from the seventeenth-century author, Adam Martindale:

> Then of mine owne accord I fell to reading the Bible and any other English booke, and such great delight I took in it, and the praise I got by it from my parents, which preferred my reading before any other in the family, that I think I could almost have a read a day together without play or meat.[30]

These are not isolated examples, for it is believed by one prominent children's literary historian that these books of a strong moral and didactic bias set the standard for most children's books in England for a century and a half.[31]

A further insight into the popularity and effectiveness of children's literature can be seen in a study of Nathaniel Crouch, 1632 - 1725, a seventeenth-century author and publisher. His success as a publisher of children's books stands as evidence that there was a growing interest in reading and an increasing market for children's books. Wonders in England, Ireland and Scotland enjoyed five printings; Science - Birds, Fish, Beasts, Fruits, Plants of Other Countries had such popularity that ten editions were printed. Books with a moral

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29 Sloane, p. 7.

30 Sloane, p. 7.

31 Darton, p. 53.

basis that were equally popular were Travels to Jerusalem and the evangelical Young Man's Calling. If books with a moral basis were sold in increasing number, it is reasonable to state that their ideas were being effectively implanted in the young.

It seems apparent that the authors wished to improve social and moral behaviour. They did this by reminding their young readers of the kind of social conduct they should adopt, and by reminding them that their souls could be saved only by vigorously rejecting evil. It is also apparent that these ideas were spread widely enough to influence effectively many young readers. What remains to be seen is that the literary techniques the authors employed were effective in relation to the social and moral ideas they wished their young readers to adopt.

CHAPTER II

BOOKS OF COURTESY SHOW A RELATION OF STYLE TO FUNCTION

In this chapter, courtesy books will be examined for the kinds of style authors employed and the relationship of these styles to the ideas that the authors were presenting to their readers. It will be seen that the success enjoyed by these books in their time was due partly to the harmony between the style and the purposes of the author. There were two basic purposes or ideas in the books that led to the use of two basic styles. In one case, the authors wished to improve social behaviour in this world; they therefore wrote in a direct, plain manner in order to make their practical advice as clear as possible. In the other case, the authors wished to persuade their readers to be more pious and save their souls; they therefore wrote in a personal, colourful manner.

Before speaking of this main difference, it should be pointed out that individual books of courtesy have characteristics common to both types. For example, A Letter of Advice, although considered primarily a social conduct book, has sections dealing with religion. As well, both types of courtesy books have some similar characteristics. The most important similar characteristic is the literary technique of the letter of advice to the child.

This letter device provided the author with several advantages. It gave him a framework that could conveniently be used to contain his thought. It also had the advantage of being more subtle than a sermon, for it did not annouce itself as a vehicle of advice; rather, it invited the reader to view a father-son relationship. This more

subtle type of presentation would have had the effect of creating a larger reading audience. This, of course, was the author's intention in employing the device, as can be seen in the preface to Osborne's Advice to a Son, in which he announced his publishing of works of a similar kind in response to the success of his Advice to a Son. In fact, the device was so effective that some authors addressed their advice to non-existent children. F. S. Tipping, for example, who wrote The Father's Counsel (1644), was a bachelor. As well, the letter was often given more impact by allegedly being written to the child at the hour of death. Mrs. Leigh's The Mother's Blessing is an example. Others were supposedly instigated by the approaching departure abroad of the child, such as in A Letter of Advice (1688), in which the author launches into advice regarding travel. The literary effect of the device is to add realism and credibility to what would often be a fictitious relationship. Its popular use demonstrated its recognized effectiveness.

That the ideas of good behaviour were effectively transmitted to the reader, there is little doubt. Douglas Bush indicates the popularity of these books by describing the readiness of the reading public in England for such books. He says that there was a felt need in England to "rekindle the dying ideals of gentilness." Evidence for this view, he states, can be found in the continued production of books of conduct and courtesy, a branch of which was the "advice to a son books."[1] More evidence of their popularity can be seen in Pepys'

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1 Bush, p. 24.

ranking Osborne's Advice to a Son as one of the three most popular, with Browne's Religio Medici and Butler's Hudibras.[2] The popularity of Osborne's book resulted in five editions being printed within a two year period and one edition appearing as late as 1722. A sequel, Advice to a Son, the Second Part, appeared in 1658.

The best known courtesy book and most popular of its time was Francis Osborne's Advice to a Son. It is a book that in most ways was typical of its genre, and it will therefore be analysed for the literary techniques that helped Osborne and others to present their ideas of behaviour and conduct. Osborne's book belongs to the first of the two categories of books established above, for it is objective and deals with correct conduct rather than with piety and devotion. Other books in The Osborne Collection that belong to this category are Counsel and Direction, by Denis Grenville, Advice of a Father (author unknown), Letter of Advice (author unknown), Of Education, by O. Walker, and Youth's Behaviour, by Francis Hawkins.

The "ideas" that Osborne wished to impart to his son and readers can be seen in the full title of his book--Advice to a Son or Directions For your better Conduct, through the various and most important Encounters of this Life. He is obviously concerned with

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2 Robert Shafer, Seventeenth Century Studies: Second series (Princeton, 1937), p. 7, quoting The Diary of Samuel Pepys, ed. Henry Wheatley, IV (London, 1918), p. 22.

present conduct. In the preface, Osborne says his purpose is

> to dissect myselfe before you, and by ripping up mine owne Bowels, to let you see where the defects of Humanity reside; which are not only the occasions of many corporeal Diseases, but of most of the Misfortunes accompanying this Life.[3]

The "defects of Humanity" are organized under five headings: Studies, Love and Marriage, Travel, Government, and Religion. His literary treatment of these defects is characterized by thoroughness, a rational approach, and consistency. His writing technique is appropriate to his logical treatment of his subject, for he writes with clarity, good sense, and logic.

In a straight-forward manner in the opening section Osborne reveals his technique. He begins by regretting that his father had not sent him to a public school, for he feels that he thereby lost some social growth. He could have learned about wrongdoings, such as robbing an Orchard (as a preparation for a later seizing a town), with a minimum of punishment, "under no higher penalty than a Whipping."[4] He goes on to say that even though the public schools enjoy the advantage of economically teaching proper social behaviour, yet, he feels that too much money is invested in the schools. This results in pupils being treated too generously and filling the country with potential beggars and thieves. Similarly, he prays that a fortune never falls upon the universities, for he is opposed to too much learning in any one area, this producing a pedant. Instead, he favours a

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3 Francis Osborne, Advice to a Son, 5th ed. (Oxford, 1656), from the preface.

4 Osborne, p. 4.

"mixt Education" to prevent narrowness. He then clearly outlines the qualities that students should have. He is critical of too much Latin and Greek, for one then borrows too much rather than relying on one's own powers. Similarly, too much reading can be harmful. In short, his treatment is comprehensive, thorough, and clearly stated. He methodically attacks the pedant, the university, as well as institutions, traditions and the weaknesses in all educational classes. Of his literary technique, it is important to note that he is also comprehensive in the sense that what he wishes to say he says completely, and his position is unequivocal. For example, here is his complete opinion of good style in writing:

> Huge volumes, like the Oxe roasted whole at Bartholomew Faire, may proclaime plenty of Labour and Invention, but offer less of what is delicate, savoury and well concocted, then smaller Peices.[5]

It can be seen from Osborne's own words that he prefers the clear, precise technique to the verbose. His own statement on clarity stands itself as an example of clarity. He makes his point and says no more. The comparison of verbosity to the Oxen is effective--and also unusual, for Osborne writes in a style generally free of any literary devices.

Osborne is also completely honest in the expression of his ideas. He repeatedly states his motive for desiring good conduct: it is the way to get ahead in court life. For example, the literature which one should read depends upon his profession: for the Statesman, the subject of French authors is best, for it is "most fruitful in

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5 Osborne, p. 9.

Negotiations and Memories." One might, instead of using the word "honest," apply the word "cynical", for according to Osborne, good conduct is valuable when it gains advantage to the bearer. This point of view is made clearer in Osborne's statements on religion. He advises his son to maintain a middle, lukewarm position in times of stress and change in order to avoid any political disadvantage. This cynical position is explained by Shafer who says that many thinkers felt that they should prepare themselves to live in a self-seeking and treacherous world.[6]

Osborne's advice also has a clear common sense quality. The following is one of the best examples:

> The way of elegance of style, is to employ your pen upon every Errand; and the more trivial and dry it is, the more Brains must be allowed for Sauce. Thus by checking all ordinary Invention, your reason will attaine to such an habit, as not to dare to present you but with what is excellent: and if void of Affectation, it matters not how meane the subject is, There being the same Exactness observed, by good Architects, in the structure of the Kitchin, as the Parlour.[7]

This straight-forward advice has been repeated by many teachers of English after Osborne. The technique of using precise comparisons makes his point clearer: more "sauce" is required for trivial subjects, not the sauce of affectation but the sauce of such precise invention as demonstrated by Osborne in his "Kitchin" comparison.

Osborne cautions against too great a use of poetry: "Be not frequent in Poetry, how excellent soever your veine is, but make it

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6 Shafer, p. 69.

7 Osborne, p. 16.

rather your Recreation, than Business."[8] His reason for this applies to his own literary technique. He considers poetry simply as entertainment, and feels that not all persons would be entertained by the "gouty lines" of poetry.[9] Similarly, he feels that Music is not worth any serious endeavour. These views reveal Osborne's practical nature and one of his limitations. To be of value, education of any sort, according to him, has to be useful in a practical, materialistic way. He believes that education is not valuable if it does not exert a change in social behaviour. This point of view is strongly reflected in his own manner of writing, which is cool and objective; there is no warmth in tone, but, instead, a feeling of restraint in the manner in which he deals with a topic precisely and succinctly and then moves on to the next point of conduct. This restraint in style is evident, for example, in the following passage:

> Despise not a profession of Holinesse, because it may be true; But have a care how you trust it, for fear it should be false. The Coat of Christ being more in fashion than his Practice; Many Pulpit men, like Physitians, forbidding their Patients that, you may ordinarily find on their own trenches.[10]

The style is succinct; the metaphor of Christ's coat is exact. The restraint born of caution and distrust of mankind, mentioned earlier, is also evident, for Osborne is distrustful of love, friendship,

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8 Osborne, p. 17.

9 Osborne, p. 153.

10 Osborne, p. 153.

government and human nature. On the one hand, the son is told not to despise a profession of "Holinesse," but, on the other hand, not to trust the profession. This lack of trust is extended to include the "Pulpit men" as well as their profession.

Osborne's restraint, economy of style, and practical outlook have the disadvantage of discouraging the use of imagination and emotion that would enhance his advice; at least they would have injected some joy into advice that is consistently dour throughout. In choosing this technique, Osborne probably had the same motive as the anonymous author of Advice to an apprentice (1698), who wanted to express himself "in such a plain, familiar style, as is suitable to the Age and Understanding of Youth."[11]

Osborne's position regarding the conduct he recommended and particularly his motives for that conduct is clear. The solutions he recommended to the problems of his time are direct. But, most important, in reference to his style, Osborne did express himself with clarity and good sense; and this, doubtlessly, aided in making effective the presentation of his ideas of good behaviour in social situations.

There are five other books presently in The Osborne Collection which are similar to Osborne's Advice to a Son in that they are concerned with good conduct leading to the creating of the English gentlemen. These five books employ many of the qualities and techniques of Osborne's books: similarities in content, style, tone, and use of

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11 Sloane, from the preface.

rational arguments. It has been noted that these books of conduct first of all share the primary literary technique of the letter of advice to the son. As stated earlier, the advantage of the letter form is that it is more credible than the sermon form of advice. Denis Grenville in Counsel and Direction writes fourteen letters of advice from September 1, 1684, to May 20, 1685. Other books of advice (such as Advice of a Father) consist of single letters. Reasons are often given for employing the letter form: A Letter of Advice is prompted by a son's departure.

In all cases the purpose of the letter is the same as that of Osborne's: to improve conduct and lead the young reader closer to the ideal of the gentleman. In the preface to O. Walker's Of education, Osborne states the importance of gentlemanly conduct: "The most useful knowledge is that of a man's self."[12] The author of A Letter of Advice makes even clearer in his preface this useful purpose of the letter: "To lay down such Rules as I hope may direct and encourage you to employ your Time to the best Purposes; so that you may go...and return home...as a wellbred Gentleman."[13]

Conduct is to be improved in familiar areas. A Letter of Advice speaks of three main areas: studies, moral deportment and

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12 Obadiah Walker, Of education, especially of young gentleman (London, 1687), from the preface.

13 A letter of advice to a young gentleman, author unknown (London, 1688), from the preface.

religion. Hawkins' book Youth's Behaviour deals with more mundane types of manners under seven headings including civility in conversation, dress, and table manners. This book of manners was popular in the seventeenth century when there was strong emphasis on the development of the English gentleman. Hawkins says, for example, that an Oxford scholar bought 250 copies of his book, Youth's Behaviour, stating that it was "an excellent book to instruct youth in behaviour and good manners."[14] The desire to write comprehensively of matters affecting the gentlemen is illustrated in this book by the addition of lists of the names of the books of the Old and New Testament and a series of prayers and proverbs. Advice to a Father, like Osborne's book, is also very comprehensive; it contains four hundred short essays on religious and social conduct. Walker's book is more extreme in this regard and can accurately be described as encyclopaedic; it contains advice on travel, on the problems of civility, on worldly success, and on the conduct of life generally.

In all cases the advice, like that of Osborne's is practical. The authors wish to mould conduct, not offer topics of philosophic consideration. In his preface, Walker makes this clear saying:

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14 Francis Hawkins, Youth's behaviour (London, 1672), from the preface.

> The perfecting of a young man in Sciences and Speculative Learning is the business of so many Books and Persons, that it seems superfluous to engage in that part of Instruction. It was therefore thought more useful to furnish some rules and principles of Active Life.[15]

As stated earlier, Osborne's Advice to a Son has a strong cynical attitude. His son's advancement seems to be Osborne's motive for recommending certain modes of behaviour to him. This same cynicism is apparent in A Letter of Advice. The reader is encouraged to adopt certain conduct because it "becomes a gentleman"[16] or because it is "circumspect and prudent."[17] For example, the author says "Beware of Swimming, which you'll probably be allured to," for "in seeking to save another, have a care you drown not yourself."[18] Similarly Walker speaks against pride, not because it is wrong in itself, but because it is intolerable to the employer who will not then advance the proud person.[19] Walker also cynically recommends the discreet placing of "Liberality and Bounty" in order to gain advantage.[20]

It is clear that the authors considered here were concerned with advancement in this world rather than the next. Their practical nature and cynical attitude impart to their writing a tone of coldness.

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15 Walker, from the preface.

16 Walker, p. 56.

17 Walker, p. 53.

18 Walker, p. 56.

19 Walker, p. 292.

20 Walker, p. 293.

But the tone is perhaps appropriate to the material; books of etiquette are probably not enhanced by an emotional appeal.

The general style of books such as Osborne's is characterized by terseness and is therefore appropriate to a subject matter which is instructional and prescriptive in nature. This style is, according to Mason, characteristic of the works on conduct during the later seventeenth century in which there was "an increasing advance toward a terse, succinct, and epigrammatic style. This tendency is already observable in the Advice of Osborne."[21] The authors did then strive for clarity of expression to make clear their advice. They had no use for style as ornamentation. Walker made this plain when he warned his readers not to expect too much in the way of style.[22] The author of A Letter of Advice illustrates the straightforward manner of expression characteristic of the style the authors strove for:

> Your Gesture and Deportment should neither be light, nor insolent, nor wanton: For the Life and Soul of true Honour, is in generous Qualities, and a modest and affable Carriage.[23]

In some cases the expression becomes more than straightforward, to the point of being aphoristic:

> He fights with a Shadow, that fight with a Saint,; who can neither be hit, nor hurt; a Christian walks invisible, and is invulnerable; you strike at you know not what; the stone falls short, it never comes near him.[24]

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21 Mason, p. 288.

22 Walker, from the preface.

23 A letter of advice to a young gentlemen, p. 56.

24 The advice of a father: or, Counsel to a child, author unknown (London, 1688), p. 65.

Hawkins's style is even more terse; it becomes epigrammatic: "Take not thy repast like a Glutton. Break not bread with thy hands. Cast not thyself upon the Table with thine arm stretched even to thy elbow."[25]

Not all authors achieved clarity of style. Walker's writing is heavy, close and somewhat verbose. The following is a typical example:

> Wealth i.e. Money being the great Instrument, whereby all things are performed in civil Societies; and therefore being equal to all other external commodities of our life; whereby also, well laid out, friends are gained in the Court of Heaven; it is necessary the Educated be taught the use and value of it betimes. [26]

The accumulation of qualifying clauses makes reading difficult and combined with the encyclopaedic nature of the material would account in part for the relative lack of popularity of the book compared to the popularity of the books of Osborne and Hawkins. The author of Advice of a Father, on the other hand, succeeds in being clear; but the words of advice are sprinkled with what must have been clichés even then: "Make a virtue of necessity and be content: being forewarned, thou mayest be for-armed; take the soure with the sweet." [27] His longer words of advice have the sententious tone of Polonius:

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25 Hawkins, p. 16.

26 Walker, p. 64 .

27 The advice of a father, p. 16.

> Every Bird will sing in the Sun, and the Spring:
> Be thou merry in a Winter's day; what falls out
> without thy fault, concerns not thee to fall:
> Be still the same in every state; imitate the
> Cedar, not the Shrub; move not with the greatest
> blasts, and let not change thee.[28]

It is apparent that all of the authors studied were concerned with communicating their advice to their readers as clearly as possible. They attempted to make this advice clear by a careful arrangement of words with few literary devices, and by a careful choice of diction. It is also apparent from a comparison of style and technique that some would have been more successful than others. One can then conclude that to varying degrees the styles were effective in presenting the authors' particular ideas of prudential morality. To the extent that the expression was clear, the genre benefited, particularly because the content was of that prescriptive nature which demands clarity to be effective. Furthermore, any audience would have been more inclined to adopt the author's ideals of social conduct because of his effectiveness with clear statement--and this was plainly the purpose of the authors.

There is a second type of courtesy book quite different in style from the one represented by Osborne's Advice to a Son, but equally popular. Mrs. D. K. Leigh's The Mother's Blessing (1633) is typical of the courtesy book that can best be considered a manual of devotion, a type of book which is in contrast with the shrewd and

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28 The advice of a father, p. 32.

worldly advice books of the Osborne type. Leigh's book was first published in 1616 and remained in print into the eighteenth century. There are two other pious books of conduct in The Osborne Collection: The Young Man's Instructor, and The Old Man's Remembrance, by Thomas Doolittle, and Counsel and Directions Devine and Moral in Plain and Familiar Letters of Advice, by Denis Grenville.

The pious kind of advice found in these books can be expected to have a different style in order to present most effectively the generally different kind of advice they offer. The difference in technique is suggested in the full title of Mrs. Leigh's book: The Mother's Blessing or the Godly Counsel of a Gentlewoman, not long since deceased, left behind her for her Children. Containing many good admonitions profitable for all Parents, to leave as a Legacy to their Children. A proverb follows the title: "Prov. 1.8. My sonne, heare the instructions of thy father, and forsake not the law of thy mother." The author states that the advice will be in the form of "exhortations" with the implication that one can expect an appeal to his emotions by an emphasis on the connotative aspects of words, by an arrangement of words different from the straightforward arrangement of Osborne's, and by the use of emotive literary devices.

In the dedication to her book the author states her writing purpose:

> I being troubled and wearied with feare, lest my children should not finde the right way to Heaven, thought with my selfe, that I could doe no lesse for them, than every man will doe for his friend, which was to write them the right way that I had truly observed out of the written Word of God, lest for want of warning, they might fall where I fumbled.[29]

Mrs. Leigh's pious intentions are evident in her wish that her three sons avoid the pitfalls that she is aware of so that they will find Heaven. The subjects of her forty-five chapters illustrate her desire to have her children seek Heaven. Some chapters deal specifically with religion: the need for prayer, how one can benefit from prayer, and the benefit of prayer to the Holy Ghost. The other portions of the book deal with ways by which people can direct their lives on earth in order to achieve salvation. For example, Mrs. Leigh says that the first obligation of parents is to teach their children to read the Bible in their own mother tongue, "for I know it is a great help to true godlinesse."[30] Again, she feels parents should give good names, that is, Biblical names, to their children so that they will be encouraged to read in the Bible those things which are written of these saints for whom they are named.[31]

It is apparent that Mrs. Leigh's purpose is quite different from Osborne's. He is concerned with correct conduct in order to get ahead in public life. His clear syntax and diction are appropriate to his direct, shrewd proposals. Mrs. Leigh is concerned about good conduct so that salvation of the soul can be achieved. Her advice is

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29 Mrs. D. K. Leigh, The mother's blessing (London, 1633), from the dedication to the book.

30 Leigh, p. 24.

31 Leigh, p. 42.

not materially practical and shrewd, but, rather, emotional: be loyal to your parents, do this for your father, find solace in prayer and the Bible, speak reverently of Christ when in public. The appeal is to the emotion; and, what is more important, the style with its emotional elements enhances the subject. For example, preceding the text is a short lyrical poem in which the reader is urged to be like the "lab'rous Bee" that prepares itself for life. It is written in rhyming couplets and is deliberately pleasant in tone: "Then gather well, and lose no time, I take heed now you do see." Its purpose is obviously to jog the reader with lyrical persuasion into spiritual reformation.

This style of writing is quite different from Osborne's; where his is terse and objective, Leigh's is full and personal. In the chapter on treating children gently, she begins with an exhortation "I am further also to entreat you, that all your Children may be taught to reade...to learn how to serve God, their King and Country, by reading."[32] She continues with a stronger emotional plea: "And I desire, entreat and earnestly beseech you, and every one of you, that you will have your Children brought up with much gentlenesse and patience."[33] The author at times apparently appeals to reason when promoting "gentleness": "Gentleness will soon bring them to virtue." But even here it is the affective quality of the word "soon" that almost unconsciously lures the reader to accepting the author's point. The

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32 Leigh, p. 45.

33 Leigh, pp. 45-47.

arguments are frequently supported by evocative quotations from Scripture; for example, at one point she says "Teach a Childe in his youth, the trade of his life, and he will not forget it, nor depart from it when he is old."[34]

In other sections there are other devices used to increase the emotional appeal. The following section employs sentiment, rhetorical questions, and colourful language:

> My deare children, have I not cause to feare? the Holy Ghost saith by the Prophet, "Can a Mother forget the Childe of her wombe?" As if he should say, Is it possible that she which hath carried her Childe within her so neere her heart, and brought it forth into this World with so much bitter payne, so many groanes and cries, can forget it? Nay rather, will she not labour now till Christ be formed in it? Will she not bless it every time it suckes on her breast, when she feels the blood come from her heart to nourish it?[35]

Parallel structure is used as another literary device to strengthen Leigh's plea for conduct that leads to the salvation of the soul:

> It is the most pleasing thing, because it brings so sweet contentment to the soul...It is the most comfortable thing, it regard it so comforteth and strengthenth the heart... It is most profitable, for it getteth an everlasting Kingdom to those that use it.[36]

Leigh's religiously oriented book stands in contrast to Osborne's manuals of conduct. As a result she relies on figurative language and literary devices to sway her audience to strive for more pious

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34 Leigh, pp. 45-47.

35 Leigh, pp. 9-10.

36 Leigh, p. 84.

behaviour.

The young man's instructor, and the old man's remembrance by Thomas Doolittle is one of the two remaining books of this type found in The Osborne Collection. Like Leigh's, the author's purpose, as stated in the subtitle, is to fit practical truths to the capacities of children. Doolittle's book deals with such topics as the authority of the scripture, its sufficiency and perfection, the existence of God, the fall of Adam, and original sin. To make his point, the author relies on an appeal that is partially emotional and that frequently employs a series of rhetorical questions and exhortations. For example, when encouraging parents to take responsibility for the spiritual welfare of their children, he says, "Is it not expressly charged upon you by the Great Eternal God? and shall the Commands of the Glorious God be of no Authority with you? God forbid."[37]

But this book is probably more correctly classified as an example of the literary sermon, the most popular of the religious works addressed to children.[38] Doolittle's book at least has some of the characteristics of the sermon. It is, for example, based on Scripture, Ecclesiastes 12.1. Sloane states that seventeenth-century sermons written for the young were generally dull compared to the "golden age of sermon writing in seventeenth-century England."[39] However, in

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37 Thomas Doolittle, The young man's instructor, and the old man's remembrance (London, 1673), p. A,3.

38 Sloane, p. 45.

39 Sloane, p. 45.

Doolittle's prefatory letter to his text, he attempts to make his book not dull but interesting, for he expresses a desire to avoid "hard words;" he even apologizes for any hard words that might have "slipped" from him. It is true that, like all sermons and books of advice, there is absent that intangible quality that appeals to the child's imagination and totally involves him in the story being read. But there is in the author's technique a coherence in argument and a successfully simple style that would give the material some appeal. The text is written in the form of Socratic dialogue; the questions lead the audience to the author's conclusion. By a process of logical elimination the author proves to the listener that the Scripture is the word of God:

> Must not the Scripture be from God, or from some creature? Yes if it be from any Creature must it not be from Angels or Man? Yes If it be from Angels, must it not be from good or bad? Yes Would they have been good Angels, that should have invented such Doctrines of themselves, and say they had been from God? No Then good Angels were not the Authors of the Bible. No [40]

With the same type of argument the author attempts to prove to his pupil that the author of Scripture could not be the Devil, either a good or a wicked one. Only God logically remains as the possible composer. The author then has the pupil or reader gather together these questions with their implied answers; the question and answers are then summarized in order to emphasize the argument.

Although one could not expect the reader to be entranced with this

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40 Doolittle, p. 16.

literature, it does have considerable intellectual appeal, and the argument is broken down into small increments; these steps would make it more palatable to young readers. It must also be kept in mind, when assessing the appropriateness of the author's literary technique, that most seventeenth-century sermons were written for a teen-age audience.[41] Consequently, the intellectual material and dialogue would have had greater appeal for the audience of older children.

Denis Grenville states, in the preface of his book Counsel and Directions Devine and Moral in Plain and Familiar Letters of Advice, that he wishes to be helpful to

> Establish young men in a course of Virtue, and Devotion, on their first arrival at the University, and to caution them against those dangerous Rocks, whereon a multitude of unwary young men have often times split to their temporal and eternal ruine...The chief thing that the author desires ...is, that they may contribute to the begetting of some more reverence and respect than is usual with young Scholars.[42]

It is apparent that his intentions, like those of Mrs. Leigh's, are pious: to make his readers more virtuous so that they can achieve salvation. The content is also characteristic of Leigh in that it serves the same pious intention. Of fourteen letters, the first four speak of the need of the reader to pursue spiritual reading. The six that follow warn against human weaknesses such as temptation, frugality and prodigality; one letter cautions against Hobbes' ideas, and the final letter speaks of the need for Holy Communion.

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41 Sloane, p. 45

42 Denis Grenville, Counsel and directions devine and moral in plain and familiar letters of advice (London, 1685), p. Az.

Although Grenville's intentions are the same pious ones as those of Leigh, his tone, by contrast, is quite different. Whereas she is strongly emotional and exhortative, he is calm and reasonable, stating his advice with equanimity. In speaking of the need of religion he says:

> If you ever hope to succeed happily in your honest designs, and endeavours, you must first look up to God, whose blessing makes all things proper, and maketh Wise as well as Rich. As Religion ought to be Concomitant of your studies, so it is indeed the main end of them. You cannot be either good Christian or good Subject without it.[43]

Grenville's tone is clearly paternal. He does not exhort; he counsels. Even when most aroused, he seems to speak with restraint: "It is a great unhappiness of our Age, which I have often bewailed, that Youth in most places are admitted to the Holy Sacrament without sufficient preparation."[44] This tone is also evident in his very detailed advice to his nephew on how to find time to read the Bible: "From the one Feast to the other you have eighty-seven Days, and the whole New Testament contains only 259 Chapters; so that if you read three Chapters each day, the New Testament will be dispatched in the time and later.[45] Thus, by keeping once or twice a week in your Study while others are in the Buttery at Breakfast..."[46] [You will find time to read your Bible].

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43 Grenville, p. 8.

44 Grenville, p. 13.

45 Grenville, p. 30.

46 Grenville, p. 39.

This restrained tone would have made Grenville's letters easy to read and thus helped him achieve his purpose of making his nephew more pious and virtuous. Whether his rather plain arguments were stimulating enough to have been followed with interest by children is another question.

It can be seen that courtesy books employed different kinds of style to suit different purposes. The authors, like most authors, attempted to employ methods of style that complemented their subject matter. Books, such as Osborne's, that prescribed correct social conduct were written in a clear, precise, straightforward manner. Other courtesy books, such as Leigh's, that promoted pious living in order to save the soul were written in a colourful style that appealed to the emotions. In each case, the style was appropriate to the content. Although one cannot make any significant claims of literary merit for the literature, it seems reasonable to say that the success enjoyed by these books in their time was partly due to the appropriateness and effectiveness of the literary techniques to those purposes appreciated by the seventeenth-century reading public.

CHAPTER III

PURITAN BOOKS SHOW A RELATION OF STYLE TO FUNCTION

The "Puritan books" that form a part of The Osborne Collection show an effective relation between the style and the authors' purpose in writing. The Puritan authors were devoted to preparing the child for the world to come by persuading him to lead a model life in this world. Some of the Puritan authors prevailed upon the young readers with stories that described the Christian struggle of children, and used a style which was appropriate because it helped to make their stories clearer and more credible. James Janeway's A token for children is the best example of this kind of relation between style and function and will be analysed for this purpose. Other Puritan authors prevailed upon their readers with the use of "Emblem poetry" which correlated a picture with a moral. This technique and others employed by Emblem poets will be examined in the second section of this chapter.

Upon first examination, the content and style of Puritan children's books may seem highly unrealistic to the modern reader, but it must be recognized that the Puritan child reader had a different set of beliefs that would make his literature, both its content and techniques, far more acceptable to him. It can be said that his literature, which was primarily emotional in appeal rather than rational, was consistent with the basic emotional appeal of his religion. Knappen says that their literature has always been characterized by "intellectual backwardness."[1] To understand the reason for the emotional appeal, one should bear in mind that the Puritan authors

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1 Knappen, p. 367.

were appealing largely to the middle class man (and his children), rather than to a more learned group who would be swayed by intellectual argument. (The authors of courtesy books were writing for a more intellectual court circle audience.) In fact, Puritans believed that salvation came from the natural sensory capacities of man combined with faith. It was not necessary to pursue God through intellectual study.

The arguments used, then, to win readers to a religious life were not intellectual but emotional. The emotional arguments ranged from the mildest wooings to the most fearful threats. Knappen enlarges on this point by quoting a Puritan author who says that much was made of the "comfortableness of religion here and now, the joy of a clear conscience, and the experience of the love of God in Jesus Christ."[2] Knappen adds that the Puritans also were kept aware of how brief life is and how certain is death;[3] and that they were always urged to feel sorrow and repent their misconduct,[4] rather than to comprehend the causes and understand their feelings. All of these, of course, are beliefs affecting the emotions, and they would tend to condition the readers to accept and be moved by literature which employs content and techniques that are also directed towards the emotions. The authors deliberately developed a technique that supported the beliefs they wished to spread in order to make the literature most meaningful and effective for the children. Sloane says, "The Puritans, themselves,

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2 Knappen, p. 387, quoting Richard Greenham, The Works of Richard Greenham, fifth edition (London, 1612), p. 293.

3 Knappen, p. 388.

4 Knappen, p. 344.

in other words, were influenced in their style of writing for children by a need of adopting their message to the level of their audience's understanding."[5]

1. James Janeway.

The stylistic techniques that Puritan authors employed in order to sway their readers towards adopting certain beliefs are apparent in seven Puritan books published between 1633 and 1686, and contained in The Osborne Collection: Janeway, James. Heaven upon earth, 1667; Taylor, Jeremy. A choice manual, 1669; Gauge, T. The Principle of Christian Religion, 1670; Janeway, James. A token for children, 1671; Keach, Benjamin. War with the Devil, 1673; Crouch, Nathaniel. Choice Emblems, 1684; Bunyan, John. Divine Emblems, 1686. The book which was most successful, if one uses popularity as a criterion, is James Janeway's A token for children 1671 - 1672,[6] and it will be analysed for stylistic techniques. Mason also considers it typical of Puritan children's literature.[7]

Janeway's introductory remarks in his text and preface reveal many of the literary techniques that he employs in the body of his book. His appealing tone of sincerity and expressions of anxiety for little children can be considered a stylistic device in that they move the reader to improve himself spiritually. Another technique is his use of the elements of the novel: ' he uses biography, for example, to

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5 Sloane, p. 26.

6 Darton, p. 54.

7 Mason, p. 76.

add credence to his stories of afflicted children whose souls are saved; character and plot are also employed in a particular manner to demonstrate proper Christian behaviour. Janeway also employs the device of amplification with what is generally a straightforward style.

His sincerity in tone, which is surely one of the main reasons for the success of the book, is apparent in the opening lines. This tone can be considered a deliberate technique of style, for it is clear that Janeway is straining to achieve a certain effect with it. In the preface he expresses, for example, his fear of the consequences of the laziness and unfaithfulness of parents and teachers towards the children in their care.[8] For example, he frequently states his feelings towards the children: "I have oft prayed for your Children, and I love them dearly." His closing remark is "That the young generation may be far more excellent than this, is the Prayer of one that dearly loves little Children." But mainly his sincerity is evident in his anxiety for the fate of the children. He reminds parents of dangers to the children that result from the Devil being hard at work and a "corrupt nature [that] is a rugged knotty piece to hew." His anxiety builds in a series of peremptory rhetorical questions: "Is not the duty clear, and dare you neglect to direct a Command? Are the Souls of your Children of no value? Are you willing

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8 Janeway, A token for children, from the preface.

that they should be Brands of Hell? Are you indifferent whether they be Damned or Saved?"[9]

Fear of death is one of the means by which Puritan authors aroused their readers to action. Janeway uses this in a devastating manner when he says of the children, "they are not too little to dye, they are not too little to go to Hell." This fearful thought combined with the author's obvious faith in his message would surely create a strong reaction from his readers and also account in part for the popular appeal of the book.

The author also writes at times with quiet simplicity and kindness, as in his remarks to children in the preface: "You may now hear (my dear lambs) what other good Children have done, and remember how they wept and prayed by themselves;" But, for the most part, in the preface Janeway is as demanding of the children as he is of their parents and teachers; and he uses the same devices of persuasion. His description of their fate if they behave as the children in his stories is written gently: "Why they are gone to Heaven, and are singing Hallelujahs with the Angels: They see glorious things, and having nothing but joy and pleasure; they shall never sin no more." But even this closes on a note of fear: "they shall never be beat any more, they shall never be sick, or in pain any more." Janeway also uses devices when speaking to the children that encourage their involvement. He speaks directly to them and asks if they have been properly affected

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9 Janeway, A token for children, from the preface.

by what he is saying. By suggesting that they should be crying, he encourages them to do so:

> How are thou now affected poor Child, in the reading of this Book? Have you shed ever a tear since you begun reading? [Later he adds] Wilt thou get presently into a Corner to weep and pray? Methinks I see that pretty Lamb begin to weep and think of getting by himself.[10]

The use of this kind of device to a modern audience would likely provoke laughter (although children can be urged to tears by emphatically pointing out the shame of their behaviour). But within the context of seventeenth-century religious conviction there can be no doubt as to the effectiveness of involving the child emotionally.

The elements of the novel--characterization, plot, dramatic effects--in Janeway's Tokens are obviously shaped in a way that will illustrate certain religious beliefs, as will be seen. In this way his novel differs from novels that the modern person is accustomed to reading. Today if an author's religious beliefs are apparent it is most often only because they are an intrinsic part of his story, and not because he has certain beliefs he wishes his reader to adopt. This is one of the reasons that modern readers find Janeway's works implausible and, conversely, why they were not unacceptable to Puritan readers who believed that the purpose of reading was to have one's religious beliefs shaped for him. The characters in Janeway's novels are all of a type that are determined by the Puritan belief that to achieve salvation one only required his natural capacities and his willingness to accept the

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10 Janeway, A token for children, from the preface.

light of faith. Anyone, then, could be saved:

> The common man leapt to the conclusion that the common mind was enough,..By such arguments the notion spread that it was the people who were the elect, that no man was predestined to damnation and that, thanks to nature and the God of nature, the heart of every man was wise in its own right.[11]

All that was left for Janeway to do was to illustrate his belief by drawing characters who would have natural capacities and who would find the light of faith and achieve salvation. They could be lowly and ignorant; it would not matter. In fact, because the common mind "was uncorrupted by vain human knowledge, it was more likely to apprehend truth."[12]

Thus,it is not surprising to find Janeway's characters fitting into a certain mould of doctrine. And because they are deliberately moulded to illustrate beliefs, it seems correct to consider that the author's use of character constitutes a literary technique. The technique is, then, effective to the degree that it helps in inculcating certain religious beliefs.

Janeway's characters are all young, without the disadvantage of "vain knowledge." The oldest is twelve; the youngest, two or three. Six of the seven characters in Part I of Tokens are by nature good, as one might expect at their age. "Charles Bridgman had no sooner learned to speak, but he betook himself to prayer."[13] is typical of the

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11 Haller, p. 169.

12 Haller, p. 169.

13 Janeway, A token for children, p. 43.

characters who from the very beginning were "crying after God."[14] The exception is a beggar boy, parents unknown, who is only superficially bad and needs only the kindness of a Christian to expose his natural goodness. In spite of their goodness, all the pious children in the stories are characterized by a restlessness. They are concerned for their own fate and the fate of others, and are not content until they "prayed with them and for them."[15] They seek relief in the reading of the Bible in order to "be directed by it how to get acquaintance with God."[16] If they feel any personal shortcomings they weep bitterly. They despise idleness, are obedient to their teachers and parents; and they forget little that would make them more virtuous, so much so that they appear precocious children or socially mature adults. Mary A., four or five years old, for example, counsels an adult in difficulty, by quoting her minister: "I have heard Mr. Carter say, a man may go to Heaven without a penny in his Purse, but not without Grace in his heart."[17] Mary also displays her maturity in her "great delight in reading of the Scripture,"[18] and also in her wisdom of pacifying an adult suffering from an illness: "it were a strange thing to say when it is night, it will never be day again."[19] One precocious five year

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14 Janeway, A token for children, p. 91.

15 Janeway, A token for children, p. 2.

16 Janeway, A token for children, p. 4.

17 Janeway, A token for children, p. 34.

18 Janeway, A token for children, p. 33.

19 Janeway, A token for children, p. 34.

old child learns by heart his Catechism and answers questions "with greater understanding than could be expected of one of his age."[20] Another "grew exceedingly in knowledge, experience, patience, humility, and self-abhorrency."[21]

The young children in the story, then, are naturally good but not yet content, for they have not completely given themselves to Christ, by their adopting a posture of absolute faith: "If thou art but willing to accept of him, thou mai'st yet have Christ..."[22] If these children do not receive Christ, it is because they are not "heartily willing to accept of him." All sinners in the world can have Christ if they are "but willing to accept of him." In this way, Janeway is demonstrating in fiction the Puritan belief, stated earlier in this study by Haller,[23] that every man no matter what his state could achieve salvation. This would account, of course, for the popularity of Janeway's characters because along with the reader's realization that he could be saved, came this book that demonstrated this happy belief that mitigated anxieties of predestination. It is in this relationship between belief and biography that Janeway uses character as a literary technique. One could extend this point and say

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20 Janeway, A token for children, p. 51.

21 Janeway, A token for children, pp. 65, 66.

22 Janeway, A token for children, p. 70.

23 See above, p. 44.

that it is the use of biography that is the technique: the idea that these are true stories of persons who were saved helps convince the reader of his own possibility for salvation. Janeway goes to some pains when using this device to point out that these are stories told to him of actual children. When describing one child's sorrow for his sin, he says, "He had a friend that oft watched him, and listened at his Chamber-door from whom I received this Narrative."[24] Another character in one of the stories is "a godly friend of mine."[25] Others have their credentials as good witnesses described: "My friend is a judicious Christian of many years experience,...a constant eye and ear-witness...from whom I received this information."[26] The advantage of insisting that the characters are real is to give credence to their actions and thus move the readers to emulate them, by emulating the reality of their salvation.

What remains for Janeway to do as far as his characters are concerned is to have them see the light of faith. This is done suddenly in the stories:

> Upon Thursday, after long waiting, great fears, and many Prayers, when all her friends thought she had been past speaking, to the astonishment of her Friends, she broke forth thus with a very audible voice, and cheerful Countenance: Lord, thou has promised that whoever comes unto thee, thou wilt in no wise cast out; Lord, I come unto thee.[27]

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24 Janeway, A token for children, p. 23.

25 Janeway, A token for children, p. 50.

26 Janeway, A token for children, p. 55.

27 Janeway, A token for children, p. 12.

Another gives himself to God just as abruptly: "He answered, now I am willing, for I shall go to Christ."[28] One child jumps up in bed and calls out, "The Match is made."[29] Another suddenly "called to her Friends, and said, I am marked, but be not troubled, for I know I am marked for one of the Lord's own."[30]

To use these one-dimensional characters in such a way, making them subservient to the author's religious beliefs, creates a problem of realism even for readers whose belief in the characters would be high because of the reason discussed above. Judging from the extreme popularity of the book the problem would not be serious, but Janeway does mention it in the preface to Part II of A token for children. He acknowledges some disbelief by one reader in the reality of the character who "began to be serious between two and three years old" and whom the reader considered to be "scarce credible."[31] Janeway's main defence, again, is that the story was told to him by a woman of high repute; he then peremptorily dismisses the argument, saying he is more interested in saving souls.

The plot of the stories, what little there is, is closely related to the character study. The characters are first presented as being naturally good. There is no conflict in action but some inner

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28 Janeway, A token for children, p. 25.

29 Janeway, A token for children, p. 71.

30 Janeway, A token for children, p. 36.

31 Janeway, A token for children, from the preface to Part II.

conflict as the child-hero strives for faith. It is achieved suddenly, and the child then quickly passes on to her or his reward quite happily, "and was not in the least daunted when she spoke of her death."[32] The death, as the title indicates, must be joyful, for the child has achieved the ultimate pleasure of joining Christ. Puritan believers would have this pleasure; only those of a different era speaking from their own point of view could call this author "the grimmest of the grisly band."[33]

Janeway developed certain types of characters and involved them in a conflict between temptation and salvation in order to demonstrate to readers what to believe and how to act. But even more effective in achieving these goals is his style of writing, which strongly plays on the emotions of his readers. This style is most easily understood and appreciated if one keeps in mind that the temper of the Puritans was distinctly practical. Knappen states that their religion was not mystical but a "practical sort which joined head and heart."[34] Their concern was not so much with life in the next world, as with how to save oneself in this world to be ready for the next: "They that will not sweat on earth will sweat in hell."[35] To illustrate the Puritan emphasis on earthly life, Knappen quotes a Puritan author: "All is trouble and weariness and vanity to a godly mind: whether he eat, or

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32 Janeway, A token for children, p. 36.

33 Percy Muir, English Children's Books, 1600 - 1900 (London, 1954), p. 30.

34 Knappen, p. 342.

35 Knappen, p. 397.

drink, or sleep, he counteth it servitude unto the flesh and wisheth with David to be rid from these necessities."[36] In order to lead children to focus their attention on cleansing themselves in this world and reaching a state of edification, the authors turned, in literature and in writing, to playing upon the emotions of their readers. "The emotions of children were deliberately worked upon in religious meetings in order to produce a sense of sin and so conversion."[37] This "working upon the emotions" was done by Janeway in two ways: He attempted to win his readers by convincing them of the truth of his stories aided by an air of sincerity on his part in describing them. Second, his attempt was strongly supported by the evidence of amplification. To illustrate these two ways the stories in the second part of Janeway's A token for children will be discussed.

The following selection is typical:

> John Harvey was born in London, in the year 1654. His Father was a dutch Merchant, he was piously educated under his virtuous mother, and soon began to suck in divine things with no small delight.
>
> The first thing very observable in him was, that when he was two years and eight months old, he could speak as well as other children do usually at five years old.
>
> His Parents judging that he was then a little too young to send out to school, let him have his liberty to play a little about their yard, but instead of playing, he found out a school of his own accord hard by home, and went on to the school-Mistress, and entreated her to teach him to read, and so he went for some time to school without the knowledge of

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36 Knappen, p. 350, quoting Henry Smith, Sermons (London, 1599), p. 254.

37 Sangster, p. 189.

> his Parents, and made a very strange progress in his learning, and was able to read distinctly before most children are able to know their letters.
>
> He was wont to ask many serious and weighty questions about matters which concerned his soul and Eternity.
>
> His Mother being greatly troubled upon the death of one of his Uncles, this child came to his Mother, and said; Mother, though my uncle be dead, doth not the Scripture say, he must rise again: yea, and I must dy, and so must every body, and it will not be long before Christ will come to judge the world and then we shall see one another again, I pray Mother do not weep so much.[38]

The beginning of this story is typical of Janeway's stories. It identifies the central character, gives his birthplace and date, and some information about his father. It then moves quickly forward, usually by describing one of the precocious qualities of the central character and describing the consequences of this characteristic. For example, in the section quoted, his curiosity about his soul is described and its resulting application to a particular problem is discussed. Implied in this simple example is something about the admirable interests of the boy, his precociousness, his Christian sympathy and concern for others, and his mature, common-sense advice. After making this point, there is no transition statement, nor any digression, but another quality, or point, and its consequences are described. The effect is to give the story a sense of immediacy, a feeling that this story actually happened (even though the extreme precociousness of the characters make this doubtful). This feeling of immediacy is reinforced by the natural order in which the story begins. It is neither in medias res nor is it a flashback which tends to give a

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38 Janeway, A token for children, pp. 65-67.

contrived feeling. This natural, chronological beginning lends a note of authenticity to the story. The precise biographical information given tends to create the impression that the story is true. The biographical information also has the advantage of more readily involving the reader vicariously, because the young reader would identify to some extent with the youthful characters in the story. Biographical information is frequently used at the conclusion of the stories, where the precise date of death of the hero or heroine is stated: "He died when he was twelve years three weeks and a day old."[39] "She died the fifth of September, 1664 betwixt seven and eight in the evening, in the fourteenth year of her age."[40] The effect is to give the story the same air of certainty as an obituary announcement.

The straightforward, clear, journalistic quality of the style supports the impression that the author is simply reporting a story that actually happened. There is no descriptive or figurative language until the final death-bed scenes. The sentences are mainly simple or compound in structure and loose in meaning; that is, they do not have introductory phrases or clauses which must be read before the meaning is clear. The effect on the young reader is not simply to interest him with material that is plainly written but to give him the feeling that this is a biographical statement. This feeling of verisimilitude, and it would seem to be convincing, would tend more readily to persuade the reader and therefore more readily involve him

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39 Janeway, A token for children, p. 13.

40 Janeway, A token for children, p. 60.

emotionally in the plight of the young heroes. Ironically, it is the sincere tone based on what is probably fictitious information that moves the reader.

Examples from other parts of Janeway's books add to the emotional appeal of the stories. The following passage and others like it contribute a dramatic quality through the use of dialogue:

> ...who built the Ark? It being answered that it was likely that Noah hired men to help him to build it: And would they (said he) build an Ark to save another, and not go into it themselves?[41]

The use of dialogue, with the suggestion that these persons actually did talk, also contributes to the sense of immediacy that the author strove for in order to involve the emotions of the reader. An interesting characteristic mentioned earlier, which has the same effect of adding an air of truthfulness, is the author's frequent use of asides that state he was present for the stories he is telling: "After this she (as I remember) put her Father..."[42] The word "remember" has a tone of understatement, characteristic of the author's writing in general and that cleverly lends credence to the idea that what he is saying has occurred. In another story Janeway assures the reader of the authenticity of the story by saying, "But take these...which were taken from her dying lips;"[43] he goes on to say that the story had previously been translated but was "brought into this form by me."[44]

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41 Janeway, A token for children, p. 7.

42 Janeway, A token for children, p. 15.

43 Janeway, A token for children, p. 24.

44 Janeway, A token for children, p. 25.

The attempt to make the stories credible is aided by language which is free of ornament, as can be seen from the extensive section quoted above. There are some literary devices, but they are the kind that aid clarity rather than create ornamentation. There is, for example, the frequent use of the rhetorical question and the use of the balanced sentences. The occasional literary device that is used (e.g., "my body is this Tabernacle"[45]) is so traditional as to be considered not deliberately figurative at all.

The exception to this understated manner of writing occurs occasionally when the hero or heroine is at the moment of seeing God:

> it is the glory that I see,--'tis that I fix my eye upon.
>
> One asks her what was glory like? She answered, I can't speak what, but I am going to it; will you go with me? I am going to glory, O that all of you were to go with me to that glory! with which words her Soul took wing,[46]

This scene would have a dramatic effect on the emotions of the young readers, for they would be seeing their young saints persevere in the faith to the very end. Although the device of Scriptural quotations is frequently used, only a few of the quotations are purely exclamatory. Most of them are used to support logically the arguments of their young heroes. One advises her parents who are concerned with the imminent death of their child to "Cast thy burden upon the Lord, and he shall sustain thee, and he will never suffer the righteous to be moved."[47] One story of the Tokens which relies heavily on this device has a total

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45 Janeway, A token for children, p. 60.

46 Janeway, A token for children, p. 22.

47 Janeway, A token for children, p. 26.

of forty-two Scriptural quotations. This is a substantial number, for it represents approximately fifteen hundred words of a total number of approximately thirty-five hundred words in the entire story.

It is interesting to compare Janeway's style with the prescribed demands of medieval rhetoric. The doctrine of the medieval period, according to Manly, was taught primarily by two authorities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: Matthieu de Vendôme and Gaufred de Vinsauf.[48] Manly summarizes their doctrine by saying that it has three main divisions: (1) arrangement or organization; (2) amplification; (3) style and its ornaments. Something has been said about Janeway's arrangement: the abrupt and natural beginning, the chronological order of characteristics and events culminating in a death which is usually dramatic. Janeway's pattern does not follow some of the recommendations of the medieval doctrinaires who also suggested the use of artificial beginnings such as in medias res and flashbacks, or beginning with a proverb or sententia; nor does Janeway ever digress or end with lengthy exempla. Similarly, Janeway avoids the ornamental style, and the heavy use of rhetorical devices, for reasons mentioned earlier. The third division of amplification created by the rhetoricians is relied on heavily by Janeway.

The motive of the rhetorician in using amplification is to display his skill in telling the story; for it was felt most that "all the tales had been told,"[49] and so his material was too small for his

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48 John Matthews Manly, "Chaucer and the Rhetoricians," Chaucer Criticism, eds., Richard Schoek, Jerome Taylor (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1960), p. 273.

49 Manly, p. 277.

purpose. This was very probably the case with Janeway. His purpose was to teach readers what to believe and how to act; his method was to describe the lives of little saints who served as models of those who achieve salvation by persevering in the faith. Had Janeway been more creative, he might have achieved his goal by fashioning more interesting material; but (judging from the popularity of his works) it is doubtful that he could have been more successful. One must assume, then, that Janeway knew the temper and psychology of his reading audience; he knew that they wanted to achieve salvation, and that they would be interested in reading material that would tell them directly how to do so. Janeway knew that material, simply written, would have greater appeal to young readers; he knew that giving his stories a factual biographical quality would more greatly affect the emotions of his readers. How, then, would an author make such a presentation that is essentially simple but still have a story of sufficient substance and impact? It is plain that Janeway chose the device of amplification. To write simply and at the same time to amplify may seem like a contradiction, but Janeway's kind of amplification was not that of digression to related or illustrative points, nor was it so much an expansion of a single point. Rather, it was an accumulation of separate characteristics of the young hero, an accumulation of expressions of concern for others, and an accumulation of difficulties which he met in achieving salvation.

Example thirteen of Janeway's A token for children will serve as an example of the author's heavy reliance on this form of

amplification. This tale contains a total of forty-five paragraphs. Nineteen of these paragraphs each describes a quality of the young hero; eight state a difficulty that stands in the way of his salvation; and ten express his concern for others. His qualities are admirable: interest in learning, inquisitive, observant, diligent, concern for his soul, enjoyment in discoursing with ministers and scholars, and so on. To achieve salvation he overcomes, or attempts to overcome, such impediments as failing eyesight, and the plague which infected his family as well. His concern for others is directed towards encouraging them to change their behaviour so that their souls might be saved. This division of parts within the story (qualities and how they are employed to fight evil) fits the conception of the good little Puritan as it was believed by the Puritans. ("The saint was a fighting, not an innocent soul...as long as he kept up his fight he was showing evidence of his election."[50]

Occasionally, as well, the importance of the impending death of the young hero is emphasized because it is announced at the beginning of the story and then again at regular intervals throughout the story. Eight such announcements are made in example eleven. Each occasion, of course, would have some effect on the emotions of the readers. In another story Janeway employs amplification in a small way by saying, "These are some of his dying Expressions,"[51] then by going on to list six of them.

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50 Haller, p. 88.

51 Janeway, A token for children, p. 12.

Summarized in this way, the stories might sound very dull. One should, however, keep in mind the different kind of motivation of the young readers discussed earlier and the great empathy the Puritan readers would have with these characters. More importantly, one should also note the tone of sincerity created by Janeway in his description and also the pains taken to make his stories as factual sounding as possible. As well, there is a balance within the stories that would help sustain interest. For example, in paragraph twenty-nine the particular quality of the young hero is: "He was of a compassionate and charitable disposition, and very pitiful to the poor, or any that were in distress."[52] This quality is described in more detail; then it is followed by an incident which illustrates the character's compassion and charity: "One notable instance of his true charity, I cannot omit."[53] He goes on to describe giving drink to a Turk, against the wishes of his friends, so that the Turk may "think the better of the Christians, and the Christian Religion."[54] This alternation of description and incident prevents the story from becoming a simple list of characteristics and, thus, is a technique that serves Janeway's goal of influencing his readers to accept his ideas.

Janeway obviously wished to teach readers what to believe and how to act so that they could achieve salvation. He did this by describing stories of young persons who were models of Christian

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52 Janeway, A token for children, p. 79.

53 Janeway, A token for children, p. 79.

54 Janeway, A token for children, p. 81.

behaviour. His purpose of having children achieve salvation was effectively supported by stylistic techniques that gave credibility to his stories. Janeway deliberately strove for a sincere tone to win the support of his readers; he used biography to suggest that his stories were real; he moulded character to demonstrate proper Christian behaviour; he wrote in a straightforward and clear manner; he relied heavily on the device of amplification, but this device clearly and emphatically underlines his message of salvation. Undoubtedly, his stylistic techniques supported his purpose in writing.

2. Emblem poetry.

Emblem poetry was another technique used successfully by Puritan writers to help teach their readers what to believe and how to act. This kind of poetry consisted of a picture accompanied by words which stated a moral. The close correlation of the picture with a moral demonstrated the effective relation between style and the author's purpose. Other effective techniques used by emblem poets that will be examined here were the use of personification, the lyrical quality of some of the poetry, and the structure of some of the poems. There are two emblem poets whose works are contained in The Osborne Collection in the period studied here. They are Nathaniel Crouch and John Bunyan. Their emblem poems will be analysed to show the relation between the emblem techniques and the purpose of the authors.

The emblem was a symbol, a concrete pictorial image accompanied by words, usually a poem. The picture had an allegorical significance which was explained by the words that followed it. The reader would then

correlate the symbols in the picture with the moral points presented in the poem. The moral intention of the authors in emblem poetry was obvious. The preface to Bunyan's Divine Emblems states:

> And here, you little delicate Creatures, be advised not to read the following Emblems as so many Tales about Beasts, Birds, Spiders, Bees etc., but as soon as you can, enter into their Spirit and Meaning, this will prevent your being Boys and Girls at sixty Years of Age. They were designed to open and inlarge your sprouting Understanding, to direct your Thoughts, to point out your Safety thro' this, and your Path in a better World.[1]

It is this intention of teaching morality that justifies considering emblem poetry within the context of "Puritan" literature.

This particular technique which seventeenth-century writers chose was widely current in all forms of art in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Witherspoon and Warnke point out its popularity by saying that Francis Quarles, a poet of modest talents, was the most widely read poet in the seventeenth century,a century that included Milton, Donne, and Jonson: Quarles's Emblems, Divine and Moral achieved "phenomenal popularity, especially amoung the Puritans."[2]

Emblem writing is part of the larger genre of allegorical writing, and this explains to a large degree the public acceptance of emblem writing, for in the seventeenth century the "allegorical way of thinking was pervasive and habitual."[3] This method of writing was pervasive by the seventeenth century because it "had already had a long

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1 Bunyan, p. XI.

2 Witherspoon and Warnke, p. 828.

3 Freeman, p. 31.

and illustrious history."[4] Willey later states that allegory in relation to Scripture arose out of the coming together of Judaism with Hellenism in Alexandria in the first and second centuries A.D., as an attempt to reconcile philosophy and religion.[5] Emblem writing, then, would more likely find acceptance as a literary technique by seventeenth-century readers because of their appetite for allegorical writing. "Based primarily upon the taste for allegory, it had life so long as that had life."[6] Emblem writers would therefore have adopted this form because of its advantage in being familiar literary fare. This familiarity existed not only because of the long tradition of allegorical writing, but also in part because of the recent popularity, noted earlier, of Quarles and Wither. Another partial explanation for its popularity is that it was the method which allowed the author to reduce an abstract notion or a point of morality to an understandable level, and this would be particularly important to the Puritan preacher, whose purpose in writing was not literary but the practical one of saving souls.

It seems apparent, that emblem writing can be considered a broadly used literary technique employed as a means to a moral end by morally minded writers. The emblem writing of Crouch and Bunyan will be analysed to show the relationship between the emblem as a poetic device and the purposes of the authors.

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4 Basil Willey, Seventeenth Century Background (New York, 1934), p. 68.

5 Willey, pp. 68, 69.

6 Freeman, p. 204.

Crouch's, Choice Emblems, 1684, will be considered before Bunyan's, Divine Emblems, 1686. Crouch's book was in fact of an earlier kind than its date indicates, inasmuch as it was pirated from Wither's, A Collection of Emblems Ancient and Modern, which appeared in 1635.[7] This plagiarizing probably explains why Crouch's promise in his sub-title of "Delights for the Ingenious" and "diverting recreation" falls short as one examines his serious, allegorical emblems. Crouch's desire to make his stories more palatable was in keeping with the growing tendency of the times of children's literature to include entertainment as well as usefulness, as a worthy goal, or the dolce as well as the utile.[8] However, Crouch in borrowing from the sober works of earlier authors not yet infected by this spirit could not give the "delights" that he promised.

The central technique in emblem poetry by which writers attempted to teach moral lessons was the picture which preceded the poem; in fact, Freeman states that emblem writers thought of their poetry as being "speaking pictures."[9] The pictures controlled what was said in the poem to the extent that the poem, in the case of most authors, was a factual description of what was in the picture. The practice of using plates engraved for, and used by, other authors, added importance to the picture as a technique. However, this kind of

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7 Muir, p. 34.

8 Darton, p. 2.

9 Freeman, p. 14.

control would seriously limit the author from imparting a creative or imaginative quality to his work, and this is the primary weakness of this form of literature.

The most striking feature of the pictures is their non-dramatic quality. The persons and objects in the picture for the most part have little relation to each other. They stand alone; each is a symbol provoking comment in the poem that follows. In this sense they are allegorical in that they are abstractions that represent the moral qualities outlined in the poem. For example, in Emblem number two of Crouch's Choice Emblems there are three persons in the picture: one is a young man, virtuous looking, simply clothed, who wonders which way to turn in life, to vice or to virtue, for below the picture is the Latin inscription Quo me vertam nescio. As well, the young man points in opposite directions to indicate his indecision. The two other figures symbolize Vice and Virtue, and they are on each side of the young man. This may seem to suggest unity; however, it is plain that all three figures are absolutely unaware of each other. There is no pictorial inter-action. These figures are also that much more non-dramatic because they are thoroughly symbols. Virtue is in the clothing of the wise man; a book is on his lap; the medical staff and the musician's lute leaning on him; a single flower symbolizing life grows near him. Vice is symbolized by a devil-like figure complete with horns and serpent feet and hands; he covers his face with a mask; cut flowers are in a vase beside him; nearby is the skull and crossed bones. They are stock figures in poses appropriate to their natures, and they are surrounded by smaller symbols that have no natural reason

for being there. They all contribute to a thoroughly non-realistic picture. And this, of course, is the author's intention: to employ the picture as a technique so that he can by means of allegory contribute to the reader's understanding of the moral lesson to be gained. He does not wish simply to appeal to the reader's artistic sensibilities. The significance of the picture is in the total effect of all of the unrelated symbolic details. In what way, then, could this kind of literary technique be effective? Freeman provides the answer by saying, "the pleasure of the reader lay in identifying the significant details and correlating them with the moral doctrines taught in the accompanying poem."[10] The familiarity of the reader with allegory because of its long tradition and particularly because of the then current appeal in the seventeenth century for the emblem poetry of Quarles and Wither would make it likely that the reader would easily relate the pictorial symbols to the moral doctrines.

The allegorical intent and the total lack of concern for realism is apparent in all of Crouch's fifty pictures. Some contain figures unrelated to each other as in the one described above; others have single figures that are equally symbolic. For example, emblem fifteen has a picture of a six-armed man in royal garb. Each arm holds a weapon to illustrate the attached sententia that "Where many Forces joined are,/Unconquerable Pow'r is there."[11] All the pictures

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10 Freeman, p. 19.

11 Nathaniel Crouch, Choice Emblems (London, 1686), p. 8.

serve their purpose as technique: to equate pictorical detail with moral ideas.

The moral ideas are made plain by the accompanying poem from which a lesson is drawn. In Emblem two the youth meets Vice and Virtue, then says:

> Both woo'd my Youth,and both persuaded so,
> That (like the young Man in our Emblem here)
> I stood and cry'd, Ah! which way shall I go?[12]

The youth states his quandary as it was pictured in the emblem. He thus illustrates that the text is subservient to the picture, and this is supported by a remark that directly refers to the picture. Vice and Virtue (which are symbolized in the picture) then make offers to the young man; for example, Virtue offers wisdom, and the picture shows a scholar surrounded by symbols of learning: the medical staff, a book, and the musician's lute. Of Vice, the young man says, "I espy'd/Grim Death attending Vice."[13] Death is symbolized by the skull and crossed bones. Disdaining Vice, whom he recognizes as Death behind the mask, the young man learns his lesson when he recognizes the proper path in life and chooses Virtue:

> Her Beauties contemplate, her Love embrace,
> And by her safe Directions run my Race.[14]

Other moral lessons which are brought home to the reader through the technique of closely correlating the poem with the picture are such

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12 Crouch, p. 8.

13. Crouch, p. 59.

14 Crouch, p. 47.

Puritan characteristics as opposition to earthly vanities and pleasures and praise of knowledge, modesty, diligence and thrift.

Crouch employed other literary techniques effective in underlining the moral lessons: There is heavy use of personification in which agents such as Vice and Virtue represent moral qualities. There are also parallels drawn from the picture. Emblem twelve pictures a young man with "Winged Arms, and his up-lifted Eyes" and a "Stone, which clogs his other Hand." The winged arm and up-lifted eyes symbolize that he "hath Wit, and Will, to rise;" the stone is the "Poverty and Fortune [that] keep him low."[15] The author draws parallels from this to his contemporaries who feel they would have achieved their ambitions if they could have retained their wealth. But the author's response to this attitude points up a moral: that wealth is more likely to lead to one's undoing:

> I find my Poverty for me was fit:
> Yea, and a Blessing greater than my Wit.[16]

Generally, Crouch's lyrics are characterized by a virility of expression, although they do nothing to charm the reader:

> How fond are they who spend their precious time
> In still pursuing their deceiving Pleasures?
> And they that unto airy Titles climb,
> Or tire themselves in hording up of Treasures?
> For these are Death's, who, when with Weariness
> They have acquir'd most, sweeps all away;
> And leaves them for their Labours, to posses
> Nought but a raw-bon'd Carcass lapt in Clay.[17]

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15 Crouch, p. 47.

16 Crouch, p. 48.

17 Crouch, p. 11.

There is a stern tone emphasized by the rhetorical questions and the pejorative connotations in words such as "precious," "airy Titles," and "hording up." But there is useful strength in the expression "sweeps all away" and the stark line "Nought but a raw-bon'd Carcass lapt in Clay." The couplet which concludes each poem helps give the message an effective note of conviction:

> The Life of Grace is form'd by Death to Sin,
> And there doth Life, Eternal strait begin.[18]

One other emblem book contained in The Osborne Collection is John Bunyan's Divine Emblems, an important book in children's literature which remained in print to the mid-nineteenth century. This book is similar in form to Crouch's; it contains the staple pictures and moral lessons attached to them; however, Bunyan's literary techniques in his use of the form are quite different. This is probably because of Bunyan's superior literary talents and his intention to write his emblems specifically for children.

This intention is suggested by the original title of the book--A book for boys and girls; or, Country rhimes for children, 1686. The intention is directly stated in the section of the book addressed "To the Reader":

> The Title-page will shew, if thou wilt look,
> Who are the proper Subjects of this Book.
> They're Boys and Girls of all Sorts and Degrees,...[19]

There is certainly a lighter, more charming tone in his book as compared to the forceful tone of the emblems of Crouch. Bunyan wishes

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18 Crouch, p. 4.

19 Bunyan, p. xix.

to teach readers what to believe and how to act, as do all the Puritan children's writers; but he relies more heavily on gentle persuasion rather than correct arguments or fearful threats.

The pictures are part of this lighter, more entertaining quality in that they are less allegorical and more realistic than Crouch's. Particularly, they lack the unrelated detail and the stock symbolic figures; in fact, they illustrate everyday common things such as scenes of the fowler in the field, chickens, birds in flight, fish in water, a bee hive, a boy chasing a butterfly, the rising of the sun. All of these demonstrate Bunyan's intention to use the common "fingle-fangle[s]" of everyday life on which to base his lessons.[20] As well, these objects and persons are always in a realistic setting: living room scenes are complete with expected furnishings, and outdoor scenes have the natural detail that one would look for. In brief, the pictures are obviously intended to be attractive (they also have ornate borders in geometric patterns). In this way they capture the attention of the reader so that a moral point can be made.

The poem which follows the picture is made up usually of two distinct parts. The first is a description of the superficial meaning of the picture: The fowler is in a field holding a rope attached to a net; a mirror has been placed in front of the net to attract the bird. The second part states the allegorical meaning; it is clearly titled the "Comparison" and states,

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20 Bunyan, p. xx.

This Fowler is an Emblem of the Devil
His Nets and Whistles, Figures of all Evil
His Glas an Emblem is of sinful Pleasure,
Decoying such, who reckon Sin a Treasure.[21]

Each part is a separate entity that has meaning by itself. The first part which describes the scene or incident has a separate meaning; it is not just a part written from which to make a moral point. Freeman, in praising this skill or technique, says that "it was Bunyan's great strength as an allegorist that he knew how to endow his images with solid literal sense."[22] Although the parts taken separately make good sense, the same cannot be said about the relationship between the two parts. In many cases Bunyan stretches credibility in drawing a moral from the picture. For example, from a description of the frog is drawn the comparison to the hypocrite, whose nature is also cold, mouth wide, and who also croaks but who "neither loveth Jesus, nor His Yoke."[23]

The occasional emblem has a run-on type of structure rather than having two distinct parts, one following the other. Here, for example, each couplet makes a separate moral point:

The Egg, when laid, by Warmth is made a Chicken;
And Christ, by Grace, the dead in Sin doth quicken.
The Chick at first is in the Cell confin'd;
So heav'n-Born Souls are in the Flesh detain'd.[24]

Another emblem has a different form: that of a dialogue between the sinner and the spider.[25] Unlike Crouch, Bunyan had some

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21 Bunyan, p. 3.

22 Freeman, p. 213.

23 Bunyan, pp. 42, 43.

24 Bunyan, p. 5.

25 Bunyan, p. 20.

variety of structure in his collection of emblems, which, of course, would increase its appeal.

The style of writing also adds to the clear understanding of both levels of meaning. The first part is not simply a factual description of the picture as with Crouch, for Bunyan attempts to dramatize as well as describe the danger of the lark:

> Thou simple Bird, what makes thee here to play?
> Look, there's the Fowler, pr'y thee come away.

And later,

> Thy Nature is to soar up to the Sky,
> Why wilt thou then come down to th' Nets and die?[26]

This dramatic level of meaning would have appeal to the young reader even though Bunyan's lines are obviously not of a high poetic order. But there is a warmth in the use of everyday speech and naturalness of expression that seems suitable for children.

The comparison, as one can see from the example quoted above, is stated briefly and clearly. This economy of expression would appeal to the understanding of young readers.

The comparison, of course, is the essential part of the emblem as far as Bunyan was concerned. In the lines to the Reader he states his purpose in writing the emblems:

> I do't to show them how each fingle-fangle,
> On which they doting are, their souls entangle,
> As with a web, a trap, a gin, or snare,
> And will destroy them, have they not a care.[27]

This moral purpose is stated in some of the emblems (as well as being

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26 Bunyan, p. 3.

27 Bunyan, p. xx.

illustrated by them). In Emblem IV, he says,

> The Egg's at first contained in the Shell,
> Men afore Grace, in Sins and Darkness dwell.[28]

Generally, Bunyan proclaims through his emblems the Puritan ethic: the desire to have children see the vanity of earthly pleasures and thus save themselves from Hell. Bunyan's forty-nine emblems are divided rather evenly between emphasizing the need of God's Grace for salvation and the need to rid oneself of sin. It is because they deal with these subjects that one can consider Crouch's and Bunyan's emblems as part of a "Puritan" literature.

The techniques of the emblems--the use of allegory, the relation of the details of the picture to the doctrines taught, the use of various literary devices, the use of familiar objects in realistic settings (in the case of Bunyan), and the clear natural expressions--all of these seem effectively employed and explain in part the choice of this form by Crouch and Bunyan and their popularity with it.

The Puritan authors strove to find harmony between their style and their moral purpose in writing. They would, of course, as writers, seek harmony, in any case particularly because seventeenth-century writers were, "for the most part highly conscious of their art."[29] But they had an additional reason for seeking a style that agreed with their purpose. They wished their young readers to lead a model

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28 Bunyan, p. 5.

29 C. V. Wedgwood, Seventeenth-Century English Literature (New York, 1950), p. 4.

life in this world so that they would find salvation in the next. It seems clear that Janeway deliberately fashioned a style that gave credibility to his stories, and that Bunyan and Crouch adopted a form or technique that was appropriate to support their moral intentions.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Early seventeenth-century authors of children's literature wished to improve moral or social conduct. The content of the stories was chosen with this primary intention, and the style was fashioned to complement the content. It seems clear that the style was effective because the stylistic techniques employed supported the moral and social purposes of the authors. The desire to use an effective style has been noted by Thwaite, who says that with children's literature in the seventeenth-century "there is apparent a growing endeavour to present the necessary exhortation and advice in a palatable and interesting fashion."[1] The correlation between style and function of the books selected for study from The Osborne Collection clearly demonstrates this growing desire to present advice in an interesting and effective manner.

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1 Thwaite, p. 23.

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