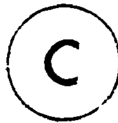
BOOKS OF SPIRITUAL GUIDANCE FOR CHILDREN DURING THE PURITAN-ANGLICAN CONTROVERSY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY



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IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

In this paper I have discussed books of spiritual guidance for children within their historical context. The authors were writing during the time of conflict between the Anglicans and Puritans in the mid-seventeenth century. Their most obvious aim is to secure converts for their particular denominational cause. I attempt to uncover the denominational ideals, as well as the more general ideals concerning man, his world, and his relation to others. These books have not previously been examined by scholars, nor by historians of children's books in this way. The books and authors are: A little book for little children (1660) by Thomas White, A choice manual (1669) by Jeremy Taylor, A token for children (1672) by James Janeway, and Of education (1687) by Obadiah Walker. The books can be found in their original state in the Osborne Room of the Toronto Metropolitan Library.

Thank you to my supervisor, Dr. Graham Roebuck, for his enduring patience and support, and to Dr. Andrew Brink for his interest. I am most grateful to Mr. Osborne for having been the bibliophile he was. Thank you Bernard.

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Introduction

Children's books are a valuable index of the ideals of a particular time and culture. The authors are usually not so much concerned with the actual child reader, as with promoting personal and cultural values, and providing an ideal for the child to emulate. In this paper I examine four seventeenth-century children's books with the specific aim of uncovering the intentions of their authors. I discuss their educational techniques and ideals, and, in a more general sense, provide an as yet unexplored angle on seventeenth-century man's outlook on himself, the world, and his relation to others.

I am working with four books of spiritual guidance which are readily available in their original state in the Osborne Room at the Boys' and Girls' House of the Toronto Metropolitan Library. These are: Jeremy Taylor's _A choice manual_ (1669), originally published as _The golden grove_ in 1655, Thomas White's _A little book for little children_ (1660), James Janeway's _A token for children_ (1672), and Obadiah Walker's _Of education_ (1673). These books are strongly influenced and motivated by the religious controversies of the time, so I have grouped them into

denominational camps depending on their relative conformity to the Church of England. An "Anglican" is defined as one who adheres to the established Church of England, whereas a "Puritan" or "nonconformist" is one who chooses not to conform to the ceremonies and worship of the state church. Thomas White and James Janeway are "nonconformist" preachers ejected from the officially recognized ministry by the Uniformity Act of 1662. They encourage the child reader to recognize his worthlessness as a human being without God, and to make personal appeals to God for mercy. Insofar as the minister plays no active role in succouring God's mercy, this outlook is regarded with hostility by the supporters of the state church. Jeremy Taylor is an Anglican divine who insists that the regulated forms of worship and the sacraments dispensed by the Church of England are necessary for spiritual salvation. Taylor is writing during the Interregnum, and, despite Parliamentary opposition, strongly advocates the return of the established state church. Obadiah Walker is a Roman Catholic at a time when Romanists were regarded with great suspicion by both the Puritans and the Anglicans. His views on education are particularly interesting since he does not claim any denominational loyalties, but argues for the "good of mankind". I apply the denominational labels loosely and hope I grant the individual writer any idiosyncrasies he displays.

I examine these books in order to discover their authors' intentions, and not how they fulfill modern expectations. Too often do the historians of children's books overlook the seventeenth century or criticize it harshly, because the books of this time do not "provoke the imagination", "entertain", or "give spontaneous pleasure". Such goals apply to a twentieth-century ideal of what the child is and how his needs are to be satisfied. How can a book be evaluated in accordance with an outlook that was adopted 300 years after the book was written? With the exception of William Sloane[1], I have had little recourse to historians of children's books, because of their condescending, modern prejudices. Even Harvey Darton, a widely acclaimed historian of children's books, who cautions that one must read seventeenth-century books within their historical context, responds to the Puritan, James Janeway, with horror: "What manner of life did he live, to be so without bowels, and yet to claim, as he did, to be 'one that dearly loves little children'?"[2]

In this paper I attempt to reconstruct the authors' intentions as they appear in the texts, thereby offering what I find is a more accurate assessment of the probable

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[1]William Sloane, Children's books in England and America in the seventeenth century.

[2]Harvey Darton, Children's books in England, p. 56.

purpose a book is meant to fulfill, and how it teaches. If Janeway's book is horrifying, as historians agree that it is, perhaps one can discover why it is horrifying, and if Janeway means to achieve a particular end in the way that he addresses the reader. This would seem to be a more useful critical response than simply responding to the book with exclamations of horror. With close textual analysis one can uncover recurring attitudes and patterns of thought -- the intentions of the author, whether or not a statement of intention is made. An understanding of the intentions of a writer living in a distant time and under different circumstances can be approximated by a study of the time and prevalent, applicable ideologies. What I am offering in this paper is a probable reconstruction of overt intentions. That is, I am not concerned with personal or psychological motivations, but have made occasional reference to a historical context, and the noticeable tendencies of the authors to work towards the religious, social, and political goals of their time and milieu. The overt intentions of these writers is usually to secure converts for their particular religious denomination. Underlying the more obvious ideals are certain conceptions of what man is, his purpose in the world, and how he can come to know God. My work has been to articulate the underlying ideas. For the most part, I must assume that an author's ideas tend to be consistent, even though it is a fact that

not all thinkers are consistent. The approach I have chosen, while it allows me to suggest hypotheses about the ideas of the men living in the seventeenth century, must be applied cautiously, or one could impose a unified outlook where none existed.

I have not referred to the other literature available for children in the seventeenth century, such as the courtesy books which instruct the young gentleman on correct and gracious behaviour, the colourful chapbooks and verses, or the learning aids and textbooks used in the schools and in the home.. A discussion of all the material available to children in the seventeenth century would present a more complete picture of the effect of the books of spiritual guidance, but this is only a brief, introductory study of specific books of spiritual guidance. The authors of these books do not themselves seem to have been aware of a "complete picture" of the material available to children. Therefore, since I detect no inclination on the authors' part to embrace a literature addressed to children (but rather the tendency to refer to a denominational context), and because I am not presenting an overview of all the types of children's books in the seventeenth century, I have not referred to the other types of literature addressed to children. For the same reason, I have not discussed the educational system of the seventeenth century. These books are written to provide spiritual guidance; they do not refer

to a school setting (even though it seems probable that a child could have read White's or Janeway's book in a Puritan schoolroom).

Finally, it must be admitted that these books are not written by "great" thinkers. However, I would argue that the pedestrian writers who provide books of guidance for children present an outlook that is indicative of the general current of accepted ideas in the seventeenth century. Modern anthologies of selected prose of the seventeenth century tend to emphasize the emergence of deism, democracy, and the modern, scientific outlook: they present the ideas of the seventeenth century that would interest a modern reader, and suggest that the medieval world-view has lost its hold, and that religion is no longer a central concern of seventeenth-century man. Little serious attention is paid to the religious controversies of the time. Does this mean that stated religious motivations are a ruse, or does it not rather indicate the modern historian's bias for ideas and events that predict his time? In the seventeenth century, science, politics, and religion were not seen as independent spheres of activity, where science and politics would be the intellectual concern of the socially active man, and where religion would be a private matter. Yet this assumption seems to dominate the interests of modern historians and editors. The seventeenth-century member of parliament would quote Biblical precedent in order

to support an argument in favour of political reform. The seventeenth-century scientist believed that science would uncover God's activity in the natural world. The stationers' list of licensed publications shows that theological works outnumbered all others in the seventeenth century[3]. My point is that religion was a vital concern in the seventeenth century. The children's books I am examining are strongly religious in subject matter and tone. The writers are concerned with inculcating spiritual, otherworldly ideals in their readers. These books, which cannot be found in modern anthologies of seventeenth-century prose, describe a way of life, and not simply a way of worship. In the seventeenth century religion was a way of life.

By examing the ideals and values in the books addressed to children, I am contributing to an understanding of the seventeenth century as it was experienced by the men of the time. My emphasis is on the men living in the seventeenth century, and how they saw themselves in their world.

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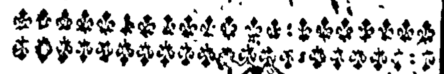
[3]Gerald Cragg, Puritanism in the period of the great persecution 1660-1688, p. 220.

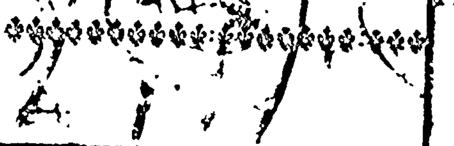


These · Three Books of the same Authour Mr. *James Janeway*, are Printed for, and Sold by *Dorman Newman*.

HEaven-upon Earth, or the best Friend in the worst of times; The Third Edition enlarged, Price 2 *s*. 6 *d*.

Death Unstung, a Sermon Preache at the Funeral of *Thomas Mousley* an *Apothecary*: With a brief Narrative of his Life and Death, also the manner of God's dealings with Him, before and after his Conversion: Drawn up by his own hand; Price 1 *s*.

A Sermon Preach[illegible] at the Funeral of *Thomas Savage*, [illegible] 4 *d*.



A TOKEN FOR CHILDREN;

BEING

An Exact Account of the Conversion, Holy and Exemplary Lives, and Joyful Deaths of several young Children.

By *James Janeway*, Minister of the Gospel.

Suffer little Children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the Kingdom of God: Mark 10. 14.

LONDON,

Printed for *Dorman Newman*, at the *Kings-Arms* at the Corner of *Grocers* Alley in the *Poultry*, 1672.

A Token for Children

James Janeway (1636-1674) was a Puritan preacher who first gained public recognition during the early 1660's. His contemporary, Anthony Wood, describes Janeway as a well-known and admired preacher who was, however, too strongly influenced by the "presbyterians" and "independents" who educated him at Oxford during the Interregnum for Wood's own liking.[4] Janeway was "ejected" from the officially recognized ministry when he failed or refused to take the oath of allegiance to the state church under the Uniformity Act of 1662.[5]

The period following the Restoration was a difficult time for serious Puritans whose conscience would not allow them to abandon their denominational loyalties, despite their recent and inexplicable failure to put their beliefs into effect on a nation-wide scale. The political attitude towards the nonconformists vacillated between the extreme measures of the Clarendon Code, designed to keep the nonconformists out of public life, and the Declarations of Indulgence that Charles himself proclaimed. It is difficult

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[4]Anthony Wood, Athenae oxonienses, III, p. 1006

[5]Dictionary of national biography, X, p. 682.

for me to speculate about the difficulties of publishing nonconformist views, such as Janeway's, at any particular time, since I do not have access to the exact dates of composition, submission to the publisher, granting of a government license, and actual publication. In 1670, two years preceding the publication of Janeway's A token for children, Parliament passed the Conventicle Act in an attempt to suppress Puritans from gathering for communal prayer. In this sense, the political climate seems to have been unfavourable to the publication of a book which demonstrates a Calvinistic outlook on man's miserable state in this world. Yet, from the standpoint of the nonconformists, this very attempt to persecute them would call for the circulation of a book (especially one for the young with whom the future rested) demonstrating ideal behaviour. A token for children was published in 1672, the year in which Charles issued his second Declaration of Indulgence and suspended the penal laws against nonconformists. Janeway seems to have taken advantage of this brief respite from persecution. (Janeway did publish six books and four sermons from 1670 to 1674[6], so his books did receive "official" sanction at certain times.) In A token for children, the book which I will discuss, it must be noted that Janeway's outlook is not one of restrained moderation. Even though

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[6] Dictionary of national biography, X, p. 683.

he does not criticize the government (as Jeremy Taylor does in The golden grove in 1655), Janeway's ideals are provocatively Puritan. Consequently, I would suggest that the licensing of his material indicates a certain amount of indulgence on the government's part. Janeway, even though a Puritan, was recognized for his work during the Great Plague of 1665 and the Fire of London in 1666. Anthony Wood notes that Janeway was a man "much resorted to by those of his persuasion, and admired as a forward and precious young man". Considering Wood's disapproval of Janeway's nonconformism, this is a praiseworthy, if reluctant, commendation, not entirely discredited by Wood's malicious afterthought that Janeway was admired "especially by those of the female sex"[7]. The popularity of this preacher may well have outweighed the sporadically applied government restrictions against nonconformists. A token for children was certainly a popular book, and, for this reason, is the one with which I begin my discussion.

A token for children was first published in 1672. It is an octavo edition, 187 pages in length. A page of publisher's advertisement precedes the title-page of the first part. Janeway addresses "Parents, School-masters, and School-mistresses, or any that have any hand in the

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[7]Wood, III, p. 1006.

Education of children" with a prefatory letter, pleading with them to accept the responsibility of the souls which God has committed to their care. Janeway's book is offered as an aid in effecting the desire for spiritual salvation in children. The letter is followed by a preface addressed to children. The first part of the book is 72 pages long and consists of numbered histories of exemplary children. Janeway presents a pattern of ideal behaviour, demonstrated by seven heroes and heroines, for the reader to emulate. The second part has a separate title-page and preface where Janeway defends the plausibility of his previous stories against critics who have doubted their authenticity. He offers six additional stories modelled on the same pattern as in the first part. The book concludes with a final page of advertisement. Janeway's book was published in both England and America until 1849 [8]. In 1835 it was edited for the use of the Sunday school union of the Methodist Episcopal Church by John Wesley [9]. Modern historians consider A token for children to be the prototype for the children's books of spiritual guidance in the seventeenth century.

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[8] The national union catalog pre-1956 imprints vol. 277

[9] The national union catalog pre-1956 imprints vol. 277

The structure of the book itself is not very imaginative. The examples that Janeway offers follow one basic pattern: a child (age ranges from two to nine years old) hears a sermon, is made aware of his sinfulness, repents bitterly that his nature is wicked, whether or not he has committed any particular sin, becomes ill, prays that God be merciful, prays for patience, and, at the last moment, is filled with joy and dies. The child who reads the thirteen histories will have this pattern of exemplary behaviour reinforced continually, whatever the age, sex, or character of the particular hero. Individual differences between the heroes do not effect the outcome of the story: these details are meant to lend plausibility -- the name of the child, the age of conversion, the age and sometimes the date of death, and the reliability of the eye-witness who was not, however, related (and therefore prejudiced) to the child. It is not enough to simply provide models to imitate. They must also be authentic. From Janeway's fervent defense of the authenticity of one of the stories from the first part in the preface to the second part, it is obvious that the stories are worthless as ideals alone. They must have happened and be capable of further empirical verification by others. This type of verification is also emphasized in Thomas White's histories of saintly lives. In light of the gradual change in the seventeenth century from the scholastic to the scientific outlook, this minor

point is of interest. Even in matters of faith or spiritual guidance, empirical verification is necessary. Even though the traditional histories of saints' lives are usually characterised by details meant to add plausibility, Janeway's and White's histories betray the stronger influence of the scientific trend of thought, in that their accounts do not at all depend on "miraculous" occurences or supernatural details. Empirical verification becomes not only an additional gauge of plausibility, but the only measure of authenticity. Janeway's stories exemplify the Puritan model of ideal behaviour which did occur (if one accepts Janeway's protestations), and which can therefore be believed and imitated.

A token for children can be seen in relation to Thomas White's A little book for little children. Both writers are Puritans who hold similar views on man's relationship to God. Both encourage the individual to make personal appeals to God. They believe that man's spiritual salvation is predetermined, but that man is still held responsible for being in a state of readiness for grace. Preaching God's "Word" is seen as an essential and effective tool for convincing people to turn to God, even though the preacher is not seen as an active, intermediary agent appealing to God for man. It is also noticeable that both Janeway and White are not concerned with instilling respect for hierarchial authority (such as is represented

by the Church of England, for example) in their reader. Despite these similarities, which can be attributed to their denominational beliefs, their attitude towards the reader differs remarkably. Janeway's attitude is much more insistant, demanding, and occasionally even threatening, than White's is. Where White coaxes, Janeway insists. Where White is optimistic, Janeway threatens what he knows is a disobedient, naturally wicked reader. Why is Janeway so harsh, especially since White offers the same "message" in a manner which is comparatively gentle? It is not enough to dismiss Janeway as the "grimmest of the grisly band"[10] as Percy Muir does: one must probe the reasons for Janeway's harshness and evaluate the book in accordance with those intentions. In this way a useful and informative statement about Janeway can be made. In his preface to the adults who must guide the children committed to their care, Janeway appeals to them by insisting that he is "one that dearly loves little children"[11]. I have taken this strategically placed avowal and have shown how he attempts to fulfill it.

Showing "love", for Janeway, means to demonstrate how one can avail oneself of the best possible future. This is primarily realized as an otherworldly ideal,

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[10]Percy Muir, English children's books 1600-1900, p. 30

[11]James Janeway, A token for children, p. A5

emphasizing total, uncompromising submission to God, and rejecting any desires and inclinations that do not seem to have come from him. Yet Janeway is also very much concerned with the temporal future of the nation and the physical numbers or strength of his religious denomination. He wants to educate children to be ready for their spiritual salvation, but he also urges parents and teachers to commit themselves to the more worldly task of "[stocking] the next Generation with Noble Plants"[12]. Janeway prays that "the young generation may be far more excellent than this"[13]. He concludes his preface to children, saying:

> . . . that you may be your Parents joy, your Countreys honour, and live in Gods fear, and dy in his love, is the prayer of your dear Friend, J. Janeway.[14]

It would be difficult to distinguish between the godly life, patriotism, and denominational support, and this is precisely the point. In a time of persecution, the future of a religious group is endangered. Janeway seems to react to persecution by asserting his beliefs in an exaggerated form. He provides ideals of exaggerated piety for his readers to imitate, thereby excluding less submissive forms of worship. For Janeway, a "godly" person is seen as "godly", only insofar as he belongs to a particular

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[12]Janeway, p. A3.

[13]Janeway, p. A5.

[14]Janeway, Preface.

denomination or brotherhood. It seems to have been inconceivable to Janeway that one could effect a good deed unless it were motivated by one's spirituality, specifically as this was motivated by one's denominational loyalties. Janeway's attitude stands in direct contrast to Obadiah Walker's, as found in Of education, published only one year after A token for children. The difference in outlook is especially interesting since Walker seems to have been a Roman Catholic as early as 1673 when Of education was published. Consequently, like Janeway, he would also have been a nonconformist, except that Janeway's nonconformism leads him to appeal to an exclusive, denominational audience, expressing hopes for the future of a nation of like-minded Puritans. Walker, on the other hand, avoids denonimational interests entirely -- to the point of not even using Biblical references to support his arguments. Janeway's implicit appraisal of his child-heroes depends on their specific adherence to an exclusively Puritan outlook, whereas Walker's concerns are not at all partisan. Janeway addresses an exclusive audience with particular concerns and hopes for a certain type of godliness.

In light of Janeway's exclusive, denominational ideals, one would expect his book to have appealed to a limited audience. He demands specific loyalty to a particular denominational outlook. His heroes are demonstratively pious in a way that Thomas White, Jeremy

Taylor, and Obadiah Walker do not demand of their readers. Because of Janeway's pronounced concern with repentance and absolute submission to God, one would expect his book to appeal to only those whose denominational views are as strong as Janeway's, and this group is not large enough to account for the book's popularity. Nor is A token for children to be acclaimed for superior literary qualities, or an imaginative presentation of thirteen variations on the same expression of piety. I can only account for the book's popularity by referring to its psychological appeal, over and above its narrower denominational concerns. The children who died while bitterly repenting their miserable state offered more than a Calvinistic worldview with their demonstration of an exaggerated, self-abnegating piety. Many readers must have responded to Janeway's heroes in the way that William Godwin, Percy Bysshe Shelley's father-in-law, did. Godwin recalls his response to the book when he read it as a child: "'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'"[15]. There is noticeable disparity between the wide-ranging popularity of the book and Janeway's ostensible intention to provide an exclusive standard of godliness, thereby ensuring the

[15]Sloane, p. 45.

future of a denominational outlook where man stands in absolute humility before God, and rejects the temporal world and all things associated with it entirely. The particular form of exaggerated piety that Janeway's heroes demonstrate exercised an appeal to readers for over two centuries. Janeway might not have been pleased with Godwin's avowal that he would have liked to excite the admiration of his friends, but this confession of an appeal, along with the tortuous psychological martyrdom of the precocious heroes and heroines, seems to account for the book's popularity. Janeway's intention was to provide an exclusive standard of godliness.

It is no easy task to persuade an inherently sinful man to turn to God, but the only alternative is to see him be eternally damned. Janeway is convinced of man's absolute inability to effect any change of his own volition on his naturally weak and wicked self. Man is in a "miserable state by Nature". As one heroine protests:

> we have such base hearts . . . we are apt to promise great things, when we are sick, but when we are recovered, we are as ready to forget ourselves, and to turn again unto folly;[16]

One exemplary child is converted by the age of two or three. He is equally aware and pained by his "naturally" miserable

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[16] Janeway, p. 9.

state:

> He was wont oftentimes to complain of the naughtiness of his heart, and seemed to be more grievous of the Corruption of his Nature than for any actual sin.[17]

To convince man of the horror of damnation, which no man was strong enough to avoid because of his innate weakness, any means would be considered justifiable, and Janeway uses every possible strong means at his disposal. Janeway is writing with the conviction that man is inherently wicked. From this point of view, it becomes obvious why his manner is so unrelenting. He has no choice but to demand uncompromising submission from his reader, given his view of man's nature and the alternative horror of eternal damnation. Intellectual understanding on the reader's part is not as important as having an emotional effect on the sinner and showing him he must repent and be ready for God's gift of grace, or be eternally damned.

In his desire to impress the reader with his own sinfulness and the need to repent, Janeway uses emotionally manipulative forms of address. Explanations and theological arguments do not seem to have been seen as effective means of persuasion. This indicates a distrust of man's own powers of reasoning, since man is basically a weak and miserable creature, and a preference for the emotional and

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[17] Janeway, p. 21.

psychologically manipulative form of faith. Certainly Janeway uses several emotional and psychological techniques to appeal to his reader. (Whether he uses these techniques purposely or not, cannot be said. They are, however, present in the book, and were probably effective.) Rather than describe objective standards of godliness in the third person, Janeway confronts the reader directly, challenging him, pleading with him, sometimes even resorting to direct threats. He asks persistently: "But will you not quickly forget your promise, are you resolved by the strength of Christ to be a good Child! Are you indeed, nay, but are you indeed?"[18] He addresses the reader directly, confronting him with his sinfulness, and demands a repentant answer:

> Have you been your self upon your Knees, and begging that God would make you like these blessed Children or are you as you use to be, as careless, and foolish and disobedient, and wicked as ever.[19]

This form of address is much more manipulative and coercive than a simple statement, or even a plea, would be. Similarly, Janeway makes demands of the parents, presenting the case in such a way that their response cannot be indifferent. He uses an insistent, accumulative narrative voice with a stacatto rhythm that allows the reader no opportunity of escape.

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[18] Janeway, Preface.

[19] Janeway, Preface.

> Are the Souls of your Children of no value? Are you willing that they should be Brands of Hell? Are you indifferent whether they be Damned or Saved? Shall the Devil run away with them without controul? Will not you use your utmost endeavour to deliver them from the wrath to come? you see that they are not Subjects, uncapable of the Grace of God; whatever you think of them, Christ doth not slight them; they are not too little to dye, they are not too little to go to Hell, they are not too little to serve their great Master, too little to go to Heaven, . . .[20]

Janeway does not overlook the coercive value of threatening the parents with their child's possible death. In the same way, rather than flatter the child or coax him to be good (as Thomas White does), he threatens the disobedient child quite severely::

> Whither do you think those Children go, when they dye, that will not do what they are bid, but play the Truant, and Lye, and speak naughty words, and break the Sabbath? Whither do such Children go do you think? Why, I will tell you, they which Lie must go to their Father the Devil into ever-lasting burning;[21]

Janeway's book reads like the script of a sermon where Janeway preaches directly to the reader in a manner that assumes the immediate and personal presence of an audience. He makes the most of this illusion by predicting his reader's repentance and final submission to God, as if the reader were actually present. In one sense, this prediction establishes Janeway's omniscience for the young reader;

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[20]Janeway, pp. A3-A4.

[21]Janeway, Preface.

in another, it indicates the desired response to the troubled reader.

> Wilt thou get presently into a corner to weep and pray? Methinks I see that pretty Lamb begin to weep, and thinks of getting by himself, and will as well as he can cry unto the Lord, . . . Methinks there stands a sweet child, and there another, that are resolved for Christ and for Heaven. Methinks that little Boy looks as if he had a mind to learn good things.[22]

No, Janeway's form of address is not very "entertaining" or "pleasurable", and it is not surprising that modern critics should find Janeway gruesome. However, given Janeway's conceptualization of man and his sincere desire to save children from damnation, in spite of their natural inclination to act in a way that would ensure their damnation, he has little choice but to use harsh methods. He must frighten; he must indoctrinate; he must even ask the heartless, but sensible and probably effective question:

> Did you never hear of a little Child that died, and if other children die, why may not you be sick and die, and what will you do then child, if you should have no grace in your heart, . . .[23]

There are some encouraging aspects in the book that indicate that Janeway's sole end is not to terrify the reader (as modern critics suggest), but to convince him of his sinfulness so that he can be saved. He frequently reminds the reader that he means well and that

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[22]Janeway, Preface.

[23]Janeway, Preface.

he is their "dear Friend". Janeway encourages the reader with the assurance that God himself has inspired him to write the book for the very purpose of guiding children. It must also be noted that all of Janeway's heroes and heroines do go to heaven. However much they have cried and despaired before dying, they die with great joy. In this way Janeway can be seen to be encouraging his reader greatly.

> . . . when all her friends thought she had been past speaking . . . she broke forth thus with a very audible voice, and chearful Countenance: Lord, thou hast promised that whosoever comes unto thee, thou wilt in no wise cast out; Lord, I come unto thee, and surely thou wilt in no wise cast me out. O so sweet! O so glorious is Jesus! . . . O the admirable love of God in sending Christ! O free grace to a poor low Creature![24]

> . . . in an extasie of joy and holy triumph, she went to Heaven, when she was about twelve years old. Hallelujah.[25]

The ecstasy of the "saints" who are filled with God's grace stands in stark contrast to their earlier misery as sinners. The reader is compelled to make associations between man's destitution without God and man's happiness when he has turned to God. The contrast is itself manipulative, yet it functions as a promising note in an otherwise frightening view of man's life. Janeway's attitude is frequently threatening, yet there are supportive overtones

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[25]Janeway, p. 12.

[26]Janeway, p. 38.

that offer the reader a promise of great future happiness.

Janeway's book is a form of indoctrination written with the certain conviction that only by demanding repentance and threatening the reader with eternal damnation, could one achieve one's end. Once this is realized, one can see that Janeway did indeed "love" children in the only way he could have, given his outlook on man. When the historian, Harvey Darton, asks about Janeway, "What manner of life did he live, to be so without bowels, and yet to claim, as he did, to be 'one that dearly loves children'?"[26], he misses the point.

A token for children was a very popular book and can be taken as an indication of the type of material that would have appealed to the seventeenth-century child (and the adult who would have purchased the book for the child). By discussing this book in terms of the author's seeming intentions, I hope to have prevented the tendency to judge seventeenth-century children's books as they compare to modern material. When I examine other books in subsequent chapters and comment on their "positive" tone, I am not comparing them to modern views, but to this popular seventeenth-century book. Any attempts to adapt the harshness of Janeway's outlook, to present guidance in a form more easily comprehensible to a child, and to empathize with

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[26]Darton, p. 56.

the reader rather than to threaten him, will be seen as improvements on Janeway's methods of emotional coercion, if for no other reason than that the child is gradually being seen as a responsible and self-sufficient agent. If education is the formation of the self towards an end where the self is seen as a morally self-sufficient being, then a technique that relates to the self as a being, rather than an object to be moulded, will be defined (by myself) as an improvement. It must still be recognized, though, that given Janeway's outlook on man, his indoctrinary techniques cannot be criticized as a failure: he was fulfilling his intentions and guiding the child to what he saw as the best form of happiness.

of his ſons, that they muſt not be puniſhed, but God puniſhed them and him, and his whole poſterity for ever. *Abſolon Davids* darling, was *Davids* ſcourge, hee would not bee an avenger of *Ammons* blood, but God was. I remember a ſtory of Mr. *Burroughs*, of one who being at dinner with divers of his friends at his own houſe, his child, of whom he was wonderfully fond, came into the room, hee calls him to him, and ſaith to the company, I ſo dearly love this childe, that I fear I ſhal make him my God, the childe preſently going forth, and playing near a pond, fell in, and was drowned. Thou mayeſt not expect to keep that childe long, which by an holy education thou wilt not give to God: We, if our children are abuſed at Nurſe, do likewiſe.

A

Little BOOK FOR Little Children.

WHEREIN

Are ſet down ſeveral Directions for Little Children;

And ſeveral remarkable Stories both Ancient and Modern of Little Children,

Divers whereof are of thoſe who are lately deceaſed.

LONDON,
Printed for *Joſeph Cranford*, at the *Caſtle* and *Lion* in *Pauls* Church-yard, 1660.

A Little Book for Little Children

Little information concerning Thomas White (d. 1672?), the author of A little book for little children, can be found. He refers to himself as a minister in the dedicatory epistle. His frequent references to the converting power of hearing the "Word" preached, the need for private meditation and prayer, and the belief in a personal God concerned with the minutest details in life readily distinguish him as a Puritan.

The Parliament that governed in the early 1660's was firm in its suppression of dissidents and non-conformists. Even though Charles II issued a conciliatory Declaration in October of 1660, the House of Commons defeated the passage of the bill to that end. It is not surprising that White's book, published in 1660, contains no overt statements against the non-Puritan outlook. White may have been a Puritan, but the censors usually in attendance on the state church were strict. White had to be cautious about showing his denominational colours, much more so than Janeway was. Not only was White publishing a book of spiritual guidance in a political atmosphere that was less lenient than Janeway's, but White's own position as a Puritan was probably

weaker than Janeway's. In the 1670's, the Puritans seem to have been rallying together as a group against persecution, whereas just after the Restoration, they seem to have been a much weaker and more indecisive group as a denomination separate from the Church of England. Certainly White's attitude is not as partisan as Janeway's.

The overall tone of the book is positive and encouraging. White always refers to his reader as a good child who will do what he is advised to do, and will certainly go to heaven. Threats are never directed against the reader (except on two extreme occasions). When the image of hell is evoked, White described the horrors in store for the schoolfellows who have mocked the good child. White even allows for lapses in the child's faith, and describes these sympathetically, if reprovingly. There is no need to react to White's book with horror, as critics such as Darton and Muir do, nor to call White a "fanatic" as Thwaite does.[1] Within the otherwordly framework of the concerns of seventeenth-century man, this is a very positive book which, if it does not treat the child as an end in himself, does recognize that the adult must adapt his language to the child's comprehensive abilities. This book went through "thousands of copies"[2], and twelve

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[1]M.F. Thwaite, From primer to pleasure, p. 25.

[2]Sloane, p. 56.

editions between 1660 and 1702. This alone should indicate its appeal to the adults who bought the book for what it would teach their children. William Sloane comments:

> It has in it nearly everything that a book proper for seventeenth-century children should have: preachments, examples of divine judgement on sinners, stories of early piety and edifying deaths, poetry, and suggestions for further reading.[3]

The Osborne Room has a 1660 edition bound with <u>A manual for parents</u> which is also by White. The second part of the volume, <u>A little book for little children</u>, has its own title-page and is 142 pages long, the two final pages being missing. After page 49 the page numbers start at page 36 again, even though the material is not repeated. Chapters I through V elaborate God's relationship to children; chapters VI through IX enumerate the ways in which children can serve God. White then offers several aphorisms in which godly behaviour is demonstrated; this is followed by a page of scriptural sayings that support the aphorisms. White instructs the reader on good behaviour towards others: the child's duty to his parents, school-fellows, and the poor, concluding with cautionary remarks on the horrors of hell for those -- not the reader he is sure -- who have been selfish and ungodly. The rest of the book is devoted to historical and contemporary examples

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[3]Sloane, p. 55.

of "holy Children" meant to inspire the reader. In a heart-felt conclusion, White reiterates the joys experienced in serving God and torments of Judgement Day when the wicked will be cursed and the holy blessed. In this final note White does emphasize the horrors of hell over the joys of heaven, but he does not directly threaten the reader. He concludes with a blessing. The language is simple, the narrative voice is sympathetically encouraging, examples are used to illustrate White's arguments, and the examples are easy to understand. Each point is given its own carefully delineated chapter within which are numbered sub-points. Granted, White often confuses his numbering scheme with repetitions or mistakes, and it is not always clear how a point relates to the initial argument, but this structured form of argumenation is probably meant as a learning aid.

From the examples which White offers his readers to emulate, one would expect that he is writing for a broad audience of ages five to fourteen -- the age-span of his exemplary heroes. White also makes reference to children so young that they cannot yet read, an accomplishment usually attained by the age of three or four, and so his audience is meant to include even younger children.

Certainly White's prose is very simple and easy to understand. As he cautions adults who might scorn the simplicity of his form of address:

> I shall say also, that they who shall thinke my language to Little Children is too low, let them not judge before they have often in secret had conference with their little Children, and have observed what language and expressions their Children best understand, . . . [it] is fittest for them to hear that they can best understand, and you will find that you cannot bee too plain for little poor children.[4]

Clearly White is concerned for the comprehensive abilities of his readers, having observed from his own experiences that a body of knowledge or advice must somehow be mediated. He is not attempting to present an impenetrable truth that must be absorbed in theory, but rather is mediating advice to a specialized group of readers who will be expected to follow the precepts that White demonstrates in his examples and arguments. This outlook is more practically oriented than Walker's. Walker offers the child a basis of general precepts which he must apply on his own initiative in particular situations, an outlook that assumes a great amount of responsible autonomy on the reader's part. White does not repudiate the child's moral autonomy, as Janeway does by coercing his readers, but he does not offer the child as much responsibility as Walker does. This could be due to his denominational outlook, but, I think, given White's concerns for the child's comprehensive abilities, his manner is more practically, than Calvinistically, oriented. White's presentation of his

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[4]White, pp. A2-A3.

material assumes an attitude which Locke makes explicit in "Some thoughts concerning education:"

> And here give me leave to take notice of one thing I think a fault in the ordinary method of education; and that is, the charging of children's memories, upon all occasions, with rules and precepts, which they often do not understand, and constantly as soon forget as given. If it be some action you would have done, or done otherwise, whenever they forget, or do it awkwardly, make them do it over and over again, 'till they are perfect. . .by repeating the same action 'till it be grown habitual in them, the performance will not depend on memory or reflection, the concomitant of prudence and age, and not of childhood, but will be natural in them.[5]

White helps the child grasp his advice as much as possible. He adapts his prose to the child's understanding. He employs persuasive techniques that appeal to the child's "common sense". The opening line of the book is flattering and coaxes the child to return only what has already been given:

> My dear pretty Children, let mee shew you how dear you are to God. O let God bee as dear to you; do you but love God as God loves you, and hee desires no more of you.[6]

It would only be reasonable to return the love which God gives freely. White frequently uses this persuasive technique, whereby his reader is coaxed to return a favour or respond to something already initiated, (a technique quite different from prescribing rules of

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[5]John Locke, <u>Some thoughts concerning education</u>, no. 64.

[6]White, p. 3.

behaviour or threatening the reader with punishment). Nor is this overt manipulation or indoctrination, since it calls upon the child to exercise his own reason or conscience. Given the situations, as White presents them, the child can understand how he is expected to respond, without having been threatened to comply. White's appeal to the child's own independence of conscience should result in an authentic sense of personal duty to God, rather than a mechanistic obedience in the presence of others. Surely White must have had this end in mind. He saw the child as a reasonable creature and frequently exhorts, "think thy self" and "think with yourselves". It is necessary for the child himself to consider how to act and be responsible for his own actions, since God is seen as taking personal interest in the smallest details of each individual's life. God knows the motives as well as the results of each act. White quotes:

> God sees how bold you are in sin, and how fearless of his threatenings, and how careless of your souls, and how the work of Infidels are in your lives, whilst the name of Christians are in your mouths.[7]

The child is expected to develop an awareness of his motives, and not just to act like a Christian in the presence of others. Consequently, White addresses the child as a responsible being capable of understanding, while also being yet a child and needing a more simplified language.

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[7]White, p. 87.

White prefers to use positive enticement rather than negative reprimands. He emphasizes the joys of heaven over the torments of hell. In the specific instance of being charitable to the poor, White sets a precept in the most encouraging manner:

> I know one who had monies allowed him for his breakfast when he went to school, hee saved that money generally, and when hee came out of the Church, and at other times, gave it to the poor, and came home full of joy.[8]

This emphasis on the joys of godly activity lends a marked tone of affirmation to the book. White could very easily have played a more threatening role and, from modern critical response, one expects that he has. In fact, one does not find any instances where he reprimands or accuses the reader. The way in which he consistently refers to the reader in a positive fashion is another method to ease the child's assimilation of White's precepts.

White frequently uses the time-honoured method of persuasion by example. This was meant to show the validity of argument, especially when one quoted the most authoritative reference, the Bible. Examples are furthermore effective when they have a basis in common experience: a common precedent or situation can be described with the desired result indicated. The suggestible reader (in this case, the child) can be encouraged to turn the common

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[8]White, p. 29.

experience to the same end. One of White's more poignant examples illustrates this:

> My dear Children see you honour, reverence, and obey your Parents in the Lord . . . Take heed of stubborn and rebellious carriges; do you not know how the curse of God fell upon Cham for discovering the nakedness of his Father Noah, it was thus, Noah having planted a Vineyard, and drinking of the Wine of it, not knowing (as most Expositors think) that Wine would make one drunk, drank too much, and lay down upon his bed in an unseemly manner, which Cham seeing, hee went and told it, and did not conceal his fathers fault, and hee and all his posterity was cursed for it.[9]

An idea or precept can often be made more comprehensible with an easily recognizable analogy. To evoke a feeling of the eternity of torment that wicked schoolfellows will suffer, White writes:

> To lye an whole night tormented with the tooth-ake, how tedious doth one night seem, . . . what then will it bee to have head-ake, and heart-ake, and bowels, and body, and soul, and all tormented, Ten thousand of Millions of Millions of Millions of years?[10]

When examples have a common reference to the reader's experience, they help understanding, and are likely to have effect. White carefully chooses unobtruse examples that indicate his concern for the child's comprehension. He does not quote precedents in Hebrew and Greek, a not uncommon practise at this time. White takes care to adapt his knowledge or advice for the child's understanding.

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[9] White, pp. 41-42.

[10] White, pp. 135-136.

In addition to the examples that depend on common experiences, a major portion of the book consists of "some rare Examples of holy Children, that thou [the reader] mayest bee stirred up to follow their holy Example. . . . Read . . . these precious Examples not as Histories, but as Paterns for thee to imitate"[11]. These "paterns" are also meant to indicate a desired result, but the martyrs and precocious little saints portrayed probably do not have a direct relation to an experience the reader could have had (even though their age is a common basis). However, these examples are authoritative in that they did happen and are not simply ideals. As with Janeway, experience is still the measure of validity.

White first tells the story of Origen whose spiritual knowledge was so renowned that the Emperor Alexander called for Origen to explain Christianity. (No note is made of whether Origen succeeds in converting the Emperor.) The precept taught here seems to be Origen's sense of duty in spreading Christianity and, in subsequent accounts of how he prayed with prisoners, in reinforcing others' faith. The spiritual ties with fellow Christians and the desire to die for Christ are stronger than the natural bonds: Origen desired martyrdom despite his mother's pleas to stay with her. It should be noted that

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[11]White, p. 49.

White does not state the importance of presenting Origen's life and does not comment on the actions he describes. His "message" is to be learnt by implication from the highly evocative portrayal that is more suggestive than an impersonalized statement would be. For example, compare the statement that Origen was so godly that even his father was amazed, with White's depiction:

> many a time when hee [Origen] was asleep, his father would unbrace his breast and kiss it with an abundance of love and joy, and with a kind of reverence, as being the Temple where the Spirit of God dwelt.[12]

The next story is more gruesome: seven brothers are martyred by the Emperor Antiochus. (Small details such as exact names, both in the previous and in this story, add to the plausibility and consequent validity of the example). Like Origen, each brother would rather die for Christ, than deny him for the temporal riches the "tyrant" (as he is frequently referred to) offers. They also cry out that they are dying for "truth"[13] and "for Gods sake"[14]; one is perversely glad that he is being tortured, since that assures that the tyrant will suffer all the more when he goes to hell; another is glad since

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[12]White, pp. 48-49.

[13]White, p. 55.

[14]White, p. 59

he will surely go to heaven. Each boy has an implausible page or two of righteous speech at a critical point in the torture, that is, at a critical point for the suggestible reader. Each brother is tortured differently, and even though this is not described in minute detail, White uses a few carefully chosen images to sufficiently disquiet the reader. White offers no commentary, but again allows the story to influence the reader by its suggestivity.

The subsequent stories are about contemporary children who were not martyred, but died at a young age. These stories are of a much less fantastical nature, and tend to describe precocious children asking theological questions showing a mature understanding of man's duty to God, and sometimes claiming that they have seen and spoken with him. The questions and answers posed are a subtle way of informing the reader about the angels, the nature of sin, how one should pray to get strength against the Devil, and such things. White lists passages he found marked in one child's book and uses this opportunity to include quotes from other writers. It is irrelevant whether or not these passages were actually marked in a child's book. What is important is that White values them enough to list them as if they were. Unfortunately, some of the passages are highly cryptic because of numerous undefined antecedents, a practise which White avoids in his own writing. There are 83 passages, passages 40 to 68 being

of especial interest. Rather than the usual elaborations on God's bounty and man's decrepitude without God, these passages depict the misery of a man who despairs of ever finding God. God, in his mercy, finally recalls him.

> O do thou awaken my heart, for it is asleep, do thou raise mine heart for it is dead. Lord thaw mine heart for it is frozen . . .
>
> O my God, how coldly without love, how doubtingly without faith, do I call upon thee . . .
>
> Alas my God, what did I think of when I thought not of thee! what was I mindeful of when I forgot thee!
>
> O that thou shouldest follow after mee to imbrace mee, whereas what could bee expected, but that thou shouldest pursue mee to destroy mee?[15]

In these passages White prompts the child to see the possibility of a lapse in faith -- a not uncommon attitude for a Puritan to hold considering man's weakness in comparison to the demands of faith, but this is the only time that White allows his reader the opportunity to compare such a lapse in godliness to himself. At all other times, only wicked schoolchildren (someone other than the reader) are described as weak. Here White does not directly appeal to or counsel his reader, but presents a mirror in which the child can see despair, as well as see the subsequent regeneration when the speaker once again has faith (thanks to God's intervention). White presents this terror and then overcomes it subtly.

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[15]White, pp. 100-104.

One history consists of excerpts from letters written by a schoolboy (who finally dies) to his brother. In these letters the boy laments his sinfulness and reminds his brother and himself to both pray earnestly for the Lord's mercy. That White presents these laments as exemplary does not mean that he sees children as wicked, lamentable creatures, but that he approves of their humility and desire to be saved. Wicked children, as White frequently emphasizes, do not repent their sinfulness, and they go to hell. Good children repent the wickedness which is part of their nature as human beings: the good child does not see himself as good; (this would be vanity!). There is an important distinction here between actually seeing children as incorrigibly wicked, and encouraging children to repent their natural wickedness and, consequently, seeing them as good children. These exerpts are offered as exemplary behaviour. Indirectly, the schoolboy is being praised for his repentant humility.

Of course, White does not want to frighten his readers with his ideal children. At one point he assures them:

> And you must not think I am telling you the story of one, in whom Adam . . . . never sinned. There is that foolishness bound up in all children's hearts, that will sometimes need to rod of correction, Prov. 22.15. though there be very few in whom there appears less then in him.[16]

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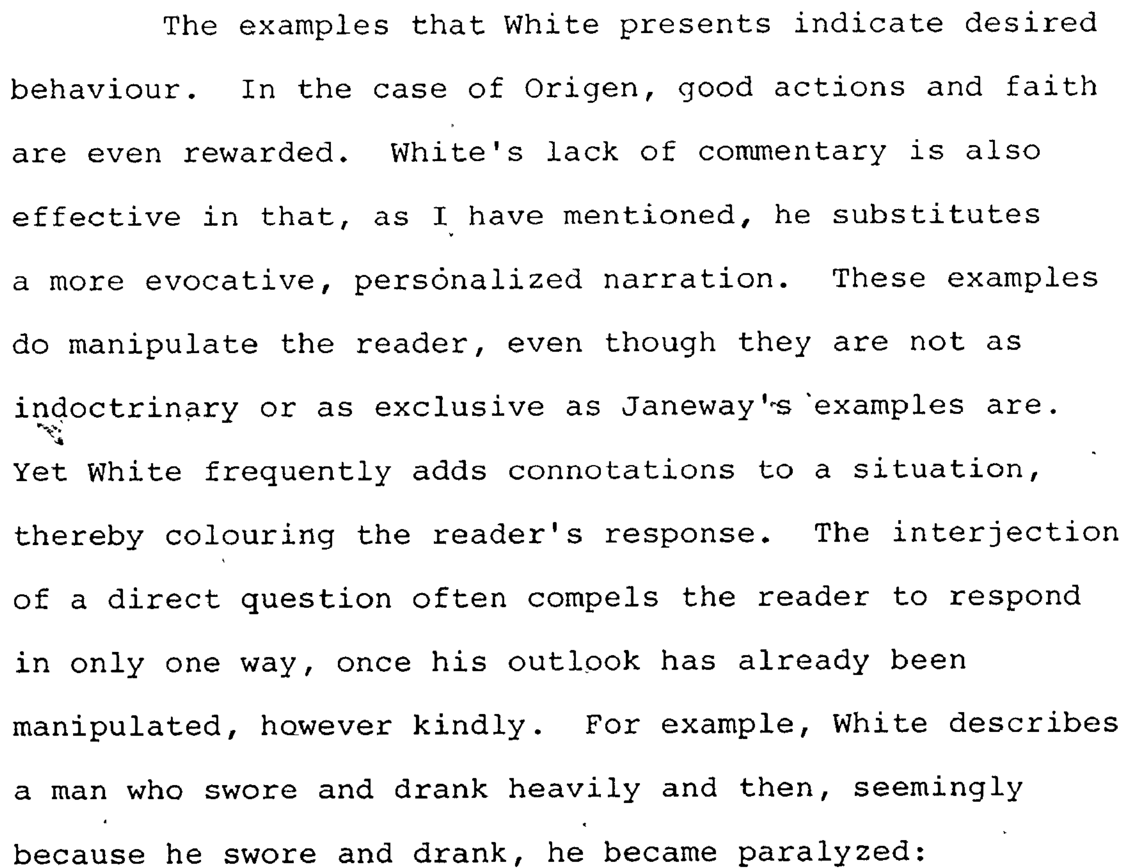
[16]White, p. 114.

As with Janeway's histories, these stories portray "Paterns . . . to imitate", but the models are human, and therefore not without sin. This assurance is meant to lessen the intimidation of the reader who is probably incapable of voluntarily running into the fire as the youngest of the seven brothers did. Yes, these examples are meant to incite the reader to pious action, but they cannot be too flawless or he would never try. White seems to recognize this.



The examples that White presents indicate desired behaviour. In the case of Origen, good actions and faith are even rewarded. White's lack of commentary is also effective in that, as I have mentioned, he substitutes a more evocative, personalized narration. These examples do manipulate the reader, even though they are not as indoctrinary or as exclusive as Janeway's examples are. Yet White frequently adds connotations to a situation, thereby colouring the reader's response. The interjection of a direct question often compels the reader to respond in only one way, once his outlook has already been manipulated, however kindly. For example, White describes a man who swore and drank heavily and then, seemingly <u>because</u> he swore and drank, he became paralyzed:

> his teeth were set, hee, though recovered to life again, yet could not speak, only sometimes wee could hear him swear, and wee could hear him speak nothing else plain: A sad thing when one's tongue which should bee our glory, should serve us onely to dishonour God; . . . I am persuaded my dear children, if you had been by, you would have been much affected to see a man in such misery at that very time, so sinful; in a few dayes hee dyed; . . . which one of his company seeing, became a very sober and reformed man. . . . what a sad thing it is for any to swear when they cannot speak any thing else, for little children to swear, shews them to bee the Devils children, but for pretty little children to sing Psalms, that shews you to be Gods children, and as Angels; would you not bee glad to bee like Angels?[17]

The child has just been made to believe that a man died because of his swearing. The manner and tone of narration manipulates the expected response to the sweetly worded question. Frequently, White portrays a situation with such highly connotative language that the issue becomes distorted. For example, in order to demonstrate that the sinner will go to hell, White offers this analogy: "You had as good say you will eat this Rats-bane, or that pyson, and yet you would not dye"[18]. Of course one will die if one eats poison, but one usually does not do so. It would be a sin to overindulge in roast-chicken and yet the statement that a sinner will suffer in hell, just as surely he will suffer for eating roast-chicken, is simply not as powerful. White's picturesque analogies distort the

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[17]White, pp. 5-8.

[18]White, p. 95.

situation in order to elucidate a precept for a manipulative end. On the one hand, this helps the child to understand. He knows he will be ill if he eats poison, and can transpose this conception of illness to the suffering of a sinner. On the other hand, White has "loaded the dice". This method should be highly effective, especially since White's narrative voice is so kind and encouraging.

White must set up some sort of disciplinary guidelines and he does so in an indirect fashion that indicates punishment, but does not implicate the reader. Rather than scold a child who does not worship God (thereby admitting that there are those who do not worship Him, perhaps even the reader), White says that those who hinder children from serving God will be severely punished: "[Gods] love appears exceedingly by his severe punishing them that in any way hinder you [reader] in Gods worship"[19]. White also describes the punishment of wicked school-children,[20] and uses an example from Scripture to show how wicked children mocked Elijah and were torn to pieces by a bear.[21] These are indirect ways of indicating punishment without directly accusing the reader. Certainly there are times when White is frightening. He asks:

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[19]White, pp. 8-9.

[20]White, p. 132.

[21]White, p. 17.

> My dear little Children, do not you find your hearts willing if ever persecution should arise, to die rather, than to deny Christ and turn Papist? would you not rather sing at the stake to be burnt, than worship Images?[22]

This is perhaps a gruesome request -- asking children to "sing at the stake to be burnt" -- but the alternative of succumbing to the Roman Catholic Church would be seen as far worse. White is usually only frightening or harsh when he confronts the reader with the alternative of eternal damnation, and in that case, he must persuade the child to save his soul, if he must also upset him.

> My dear Children, consider what a comfort it will bee unto you when you come to dye, that when other children have been playing, you have been praying. The time will come, for ought you know very shortly, before you are a month older, when you shalt lye sick upon thy bed, and thou shalt bee struggling for life, thy poor little body will bee trembling, so that the very bed will shake under thee. Thine eye-strings will break, thy dear Parents will stand by thee weeping, but cannot help thee. O then a thousand worlds for a good conscience; then, O then, the remembrance of thy holy life will give thee assurance of the love of God. . . . Say to thy self, my dear childe, shall the blessed Angels carry my soul to heaven when I dye? O surely, I will pray more than ever I have done, I will never think I can do too much for God who hath done so much for mee, and will do more.[23]

In a time of high infant mortality White's fears are not ungrounded. At a time when the horror of damnation was very real, a sincere attempt had to be made to save the soul.

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[22]White, p. 49.

[23]White, pp. 34-35.

Field's criticism of the "hurtful effect" of such teaching on "sensitive young minds"[24] overlooks the intentions of the writers: death <u>was</u> probable and salvation could not be delayed. Since there are only two passages such as the one quoted above in the entirety of White's book, I would persist in disagreeing with modern critics and continue to argue that White's tone is affirmative, (certainly in comparison to Janeway's overriding tone of pessimism). Even though he describes the possibility of the child's death, he does not mention the possibility of damnation, but coaxes the child to affirm his devotion to God. White could have been far more terrifying than he is. There is no sound justification, I find, for accusing White of "unrelenting severity"[25].

The techniques White uses to guide the child to salvation are subtle and convey the impression of a teacher concerned for the spiritual welfare and conscience of the child. He carefully explains and reasons with his reader and avoids threatening him in any way. Superimposed on White's attitude are certain conceptions of what man is, how he is responsible for himself, and his purpose in this world. I should like to present these briefly.

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[24]E.M. Field, The child and his book, p. 189.

[25]Muir, p. 28.

At one point White lists the means by which one can convert someone. These can be seen more broadly as the ways in which man knows and relates to the world, himself, and others: Scripture, reason, experience, and the "conscience within". All of these means of persuasion rely on subjective verification. The Bible is important in that it is believed to be the authoritative Word of God, but it will convince a non-believer insofar as he examines it for guidance in his own life. Reason is not conceptualized as an ideal realm of perfect universals independent of man's comprehension, but as man's understanding itself, how he comprehends and makes sense out of the world around him and, more specifically, since White is speaking of conversion, how man comprehends the world as a natural revelation of God's activity. Reason is an attribute that comes from God and is proof that God created man: "As you could not have been reasonable creatures if the Father had not created you, . . ."[26]. The "conscience within" is an innate faculty that all men have and that assures them of a God. Experience is seen as the way in which man participates in the world and comes to see God working through the world and others because of his participation in the world. What is interesting about these "proofs" (especially in light of the scientific revolution in the

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[26]White, pp. 93-94.

seventeenth century) is that they revolve around the individual's perception or experience of the world around him. Theoretical or scholastic "evidence" seems to have been abandoned in preference for a variety of subjective proofs. No wonder, then, that White should be so concerned for educating the individual and inviting him to "consider" problems and implications as White poses them. Granted, the desirable responses are too often implied to argue that White wants to educate the individual as an end in himself, but the attitude that the individual is responsible for his own decisions and life is constantly reinforced.

How does White reconcile the view that man is a responsible agent with the strong Puritan conviction that man is "naturally" inclined to sin? Wickedness can be overcome by developing a regenerated "nature". (Locke makes this same claim, without the attendant moral connotations.) Since habits also form one's nature, innate or "Natural" tendencies can be replaced with new thoughts and activities that will be repeated and reinforced till a new "nature" will have impressed itself on what seems to be a malleable personality that forms or reforms when impressed upon often enough. White urges his reader:

> Consider further, how much more easie it will be for thee, now thou art a childe, to serve God, than hereafter, before custome of sinning become another nature; thou art inclined by nature to sin, and if thou shalt be inclined moreover by evil custome, how hard will it bee to overcome two Natures, or a Nature double-dyed?[27]

It is possible to effect a change on the child's innate tendencies. This belief accounts for the positive, encouraging tone in White's book. Despite the child's natural tendency to sin, he can be effectively persuaded to do good. Human "nature" is seen as a dynamic potential, rather than a static self. It is not surprising, then, that White so often appeals to the reader's understanding. If the child is seen as having several means with which to relate to the world (reason, experience, and conscience), then he cannot be indoctrinated as effectively as he might be convinced by an appeal to his reason, experience, and conscience. Man has these faculties and will use them. White directs these faculties towards his desired end. Of course, man is not yet being conceptualized as a self-sufficient being: he is dependent on God's grace to fulfill the earnest desire to be saved. This same dependency is emphasized by James Janeway, but Janeway overlooks or disbelieves in the efficacy of the attributes which man does have, and which are some measure of man's nature as

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[27]White, pp. 20-21.

a self-motivated being. White admits that man is finally dependent on God, but concerns himself with educating man's sense of his own responsibilities, rather than insist on man's utter dependency on God. White is writing at a time when it would have been politically wise to insist on man's need for the strong support of an established church that would appeal to God on man's behalf, as Jeremy Taylor does, yet White is a Puritan. He insists that man is himself responsible for succouring his own salvation, and that man is capable of that responsibility, a view which neither James Janeway nor Jeremy Taylor would hold.

According to White, man is responsible for his thoughts and actions. White advises the child to learn how to judge his own actions, regardless of parental observation. The child is told that he will have to answer for himself to God on Judgement Day.

> It is an excellent way, my dear Childe, when thou art ready to excuse thy self, when thou art about doing any thing that is ill, to say to thy self, Do I in my conscience think, that God at the Day of Judgement will take this excuse? and if thou in thy conscience thinkest God will not take such an excuse, do not thou satisfie thy self with it.[28]

> The thought of the day of Judgement is a singular means to keep thee from those sins which thy Mother, nor thy Father can never know, . . .[29]

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[28]White, pp. 43-44.

[29]White, p. 45.

White is developing a sense of conscience in his reader. He supplies an external judge who is always present, even though he will not hold the child immediately accountable. Eventually, the thought of Judgement Day will become an internalized conscience that judges thoughts and actions, and presumes that man is a responsible individual, despite any natural inclination to sin. Man knows he has an alternative and therefore knows that he acts wrongly when he sins. A circular freedom has been constructed: man is educated because he is an individual who is responsible for his actions, and man is held responsible because he has been educated to know that.

More important than understanding, however, is faith. Often understanding brings faith, but where the two conflict, faith is valued as the more essential, since spiritual salvation and not personal accumulation of knowledge is desired. White encourages children to have faith even if they cannot understand why. Understanding and guidance will come from God.

> thou art a poor little childe and canst not read as yet, that is no matter, thou shalt be saved if thou beleevest and obeyest Christ . . .[30]

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[30]White, p. 18.

> I do not advise you to take a book, though I by no means forbid you, but would have children use to go alone to pray before they could either read or speak plain; now and then, besides your set times, go kneel down and pray some short prayer, if it be only thus, Lord give mee they grace, Lord make mee to know thee, to love thee, . . . and many other such like which God will teach thee.[31]

Understanding (a Puritan would say "right understanding") depends on faith. Knowledge of the world is scorned as an evil involvement with seductive, temporal things. As White succintly states: "Wicked men study, and godly men meditate"[32]. Scriptures, understanding, and experience are ways in which God is revealed to man. By "meditating", as White advises, one achieves an understanding which can be envisioned as concentric circles expanding outwards and encompassing a revealed understanding of the world and man himself, but always based on one's faith in God, which has always included this heightened understanding. As White says, "The end of meditation is not properly to increase our knowledge, but to improve our knowledge"[33].

How then does man have a meaningful existence in this world, if his life is inspired by an otherwordly ideal? What can man do in this world? One can predict White's answer: man will be an "instrument of God's glory":

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[31]White, p. 27.

[32]White, p. 97.

[33]White, p. 98

> Our whole estate is one way or other to bee improved to the glory of God, for God hath given us riches, not to live in carnal pleasures, or pride, wee are to provide for our own selves and children, so much as may inable us the better to serve God.[34]

Here is another, equally important, reason for educating children: so that they will be instruments of God's glory and, consequently, a glory to their nation. A patriotic note recurs occasionally in White's otherwise politically disinterested book of general spiritual guidance. If England was to be the new Israel, as Puritans hoped it would be, then England would have to be strong against the countries affiliated with the Church of Rome. As with Janeway, the patriotic note is actually a cry for the "true faith". The corollary to educating the youth for the glory of the nation, would be to encourage the state to provide education. In his dedicatory epistle to the Mayor of London White advises:

> Another way of Charity is Keeping youth at the Universities, whose parents cannot. The advantage of the work of Charity is not personal, but national. The whole state and Church of God, may have cause to bless you for the good they receive . . .[35]

It is unclear whether this is meant as advice to the Mayor as a private person or as a government official who could initiate government programs to financially

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[34]White, p. All.

[35]White, p. A7

support students, but the reason for such a suggestion is clear enough. If godly youth were educated, then they would hold the positions of power and be able to further the Puritan reform of the state and the Church of God (in contrast to the Church of England or the Church of Rome). The Puritan hopes for the spiritual brotherhood of faith to grow to a national scale so that all activities in life are directed by godly principles. Such a reform calls for an educated spiritual awareness among all individuals. White initiates an education of this kind by providing spiritual guidance and by reinforcing the reader's sense of his responsibility both as a child of God, and as a member of what is seen as the one Protestant nation where the Papists had been driven out.

White's denominational lea nings are fairly well-hidden. His book of spiritual guidance could probably be used by any number of religious groups, as seems to have been the case since his book was so popular. White makes statements that most of the Protestant divines of his time would agree with, without reservation. For example, one should "die rather, than to deny Christ and turn Papist"[36]. An accepted commonplace, in theory, was that one could not reconcile a spiritual life with sensual.

[36]White, p. 49.

indulgence: "So if you will go on a carnal life, you may as well say plainly, wee will go to hell"[37]. (This is a quote which White provides; he does not himself address the reader with assurances of hell.) In opposition to Roman Catholic doctrines, all Protestants held that grace could not be merited, but could only be bestowed freely by God. White makes this point frequently. Then, in favour of reform (a bland word in itself), he quotes:

> Do not think you shall abuse your Maker and Redeemer, and serve his enemies and abuse your souls, and trouble the world, and wrong the Church, and reproach the godly, grieve your teachers, and hinder your Reformation, all this upon free-cost.[38]

Since this is quoted by White with no reference made as to its context, one cannot tell whether it is directed against Roman Catholics in other countries -- in which case it would be an acceptable speech -- or whether it is directed against the Church of England. White seems to criticize temporal authority and church hierarchy in an ambivalent manner, but 1660 would not be the time to voice these opinions too forcibly. In an indirect fashion White places these words in the mouth of the seventh and youngest of the brothers martyred by Antiochus as he is running into the fire:

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[37]White, p. 96.

[38]White, pp. 91-92.

> Who gave thee this Purple? And who exalted thee to this Kingdome and Dignity? even hee whom thou in us doest persecute, whose servants and worshippers thou killest and tormentest, for which thy wickedness, thou shalt suffer eternal fire and torments, which shall have no end; thou art of higher dignity in this world than other men, yet hee that made other men, made thee also of the same nature that they are of, all men are born, and must dye alike.[39]

This is one way of making an indirect point against the present government. White never refers to higher temporal authorities again.

White's frequent emphasis on private meditation or prayer, advising the child to call on God himself, bypasses the need for an intermediary between the individual and God. As can be seen in Jeremy Taylor's A choice manual, an Anglican would be inclined to show more respect for the church hierarchy and its importance in the state, as well as in denominational matters. Puritans seem to expect that national affairs will be governed in an inevitable and godly manner, once the people are converted and saved by the preaching of God's Word. Sermons may have a manipulative power, but this is certainly never acknowledged by White. The Word must be preached, but the need for personal appeals to God and personal interpretation of Scripture is emphasized equally. The preacher is seen as an important and necessary figure, not as an intermediary agent between God and man (as in the Anglican or Roman

[39]White, p. 74.

Catholic Churches), but as the man who has the "understanding to explain the Scriptures and theological problems" (or to interpret political events, as the case may be). The Puritan minister is therefore accorded a certain respect within a framework where it is also asserted that all believers are equal in their ability to have faith. White attempts to instill a sense of reverence for the minister in the child, even promising a reward to the child who holds him in high esteem: "thou shalt generally get one good prayer or blessing from the Minister; . . . and to have a Minister bless one in the Name of the Lord is no small concernment"[40]. Yet the absence of a Church hierarchy in White's scheme is dramatically obvious. White suggests that spiritual conversion or education on an individual basis is of primary importance. The effect on the denomination and, eventually, the entire nation, would follow.

Even though the books of spiritual guidance of this time contain many denominational overtones, White's popular book of spiritual guidance would satisfy many and exclude few. His manner encourages the child to examine for himself, to assure himself with his own reason and his own experiences. He explains carefully and uses examples which are based on common experiences, and therefore readily understandable. White's "education"

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[40]White, pp. 36-37.

of the child's sense of responsibility as an individual and as a child of God is consistent with the Puritan outlook on man's own responsibility for being in a state of readiness for spiritual salvation. White's educational techniques convey the impression of a man sincerely interested and intelligently informed as to how to educate the child towards the best conceivable future a seventeenth-century man could have.

A CHOICE MANUAL,

CONTAINING
What is to be *Believed*, *Practised*, and *Desired* or *Praied for*; the *Praiers* being fitted to the several Days of the Week.

ALSO
FESTIVAL HYMNS,
According to the Manner *of the Ancient Church*.

Composed for the use of the Devout, especially of younger persons,

By Jeremy Taylor, *D. D.*

LONDON,
Printed for *R. Royston*, Bookseller to His most Sacred Majesty, at the Angel in St. *Bartholomew's* Hospital. 1669.

A Choice Manual

Jeremy Taylor (1613?-1667) is accredited with having written 33 works in defense of the Anglican church. He took his B.A. in 1630 at Caius College, Cambridge, and his M.A. in 1633. He was ordained, but the date is unknown. By 1633 he had attracted the attention of Archbishop Laud with his oratorical skills as a preacher. Laud caused him to be appointed a fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford in 1635, even though such a procedure was against the statutes of the college. Eventually Taylor was attached to the archbishop's favoured retinue of chaplains. In 1638 he was given the living of Uppingham, and shortly thereafter was appointed as one of Charles I's chaplains. In 1642 Charles I commanded that the degree of D.D. be conferred on Taylor. Taylor remained a chaplain to the king during the Civil War, but, with the defeat of the royalist party, he retired to Wales under the protection of the Earl of Carbury of the Golden Grove. He seems to have established a grammar school with old acquaintances, William Nicholson and William Wyatt, at Golden Grove sometime in the late 1640's. In 1655 he published a book for the devotion of the young, The golden grove. In a

somewhat romanticized biography of Taylor, Edmund Gosse states that Taylor wrote the book for the purpose of maintaining the Anglican forms of worship at a time when the use of the Book of common prayer was forbidden by Parliament, and when it seemed probable that the youth of this time might lose the Anglican heritage unless a substitute work that would escape the notice of Parliament could be distributed.[1] This seems a likely conjecture. Once Charles II was restored to the throne in 1660, Taylor, who had actively helped in the restoration, was rewarded with the bishopric of Downe and Connor in Ireland.

Taylor's contemporary, Anthony Wood, praises Taylor's erudition at great length, especially his defence of the Church of England against the Church of Rome. Later critics have drawn attention to the ways in which Taylor's Anglicanism differs from his contemporaries, and have cited examples where Taylor's formulation of certain theological points were not acknowledged by them. For example, when Taylor published Unum necessarium in 1655, the Bishops of Salisbury and Rochester repudiated his presentation of the doctrine of original sin. In the summer of 1657 Taylor was again drawn into a dispute on the same matter with Henry Jeans, even though Jeans was

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1 Edmund Gosse, Jeremy Taylor, p. 113.

said to have admired Taylor as a scholar.[2] Taylor's most recent biographer, C.J. Stranks, states that Taylor was never a "complete party man"[3]. The golden grove is, however, a simple catechism outlining the basic forms of worship of the Church of England, and would not reflect complex theological distinctions in any noticeable manner. The preface does contain very pronounced criticisms of the reigning "official" church:

> In this sad declension of Religion, the Seers, who are appointed to be the Watchmen of the Church, cannot but observe that the Supplanters and Underminers are gone out, and are digging down the foundations; and having destroy'd all publick forms of Ecclesiastical Government, discountenanc'd an excellent Liturgie, taken off the hinges of Unity, . . . taken away all cognisance of Schism, by mingling all Sects, and giving countenance to that against which all Power ought to stand upon their guard.[4]

Gosse supposes that these particular criticisms are the direct cause of Taylor's short imprisonment immediately after his publisher applied for a license for the book.[5] Stranks is similarly convinced that Taylor's outburst against the "independents" is the cause for his imprisonment.[6]

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[2]C.J. Stranks, The life and writings of Jeremy Taylor, p. 158.

[3]Stranks, p. 44.

[4]Jeremy Taylor, A choice manual, p. A4.

[5]Gosse, p. 112.

[6]Stranks, p. 151.

There is no doubt that Taylor's opinions did not always please his opponents, or even fellow Anglicans. Yet his catechism was very popular and, despite his more controversial views, I think it can be seen as a reliable example of the type of material an Anglican would have given a child to read.

I am using a 1669 octavo edition of The golden grove which has been retitled A choice manual. The book is 183 pages long. There are three blank pages before the title-page, followed by a page on which "The Golden Grove" is printed on heavy type. The verso page has an engraved frontispiece of the author with the inscription, "Non magna loquimur sed bivusmus. / Nihil opinionis Gratia omnia / Conscentiae faciam." On the following page there is an engraving of a woman holding three intertwined snakes away from her : she has a bird on her shoulder; the other arm is extended with a bird sitting on her fingers; she is looking at the bird; she has a crown on her head and is sitting on a dais with one foot extended, resting on a glove. Pinned onto the dais is a cloth saying, "The guide of infant-devotion together with a guide for the penitant." The next page is the title-page. This is. followed by a short and interesting preface where Taylor laments the present state of religious affairs and hopes to help the young to a right understanding of the worship of God. The body of the text, as outlined on the title-page,

is contained on pages one to 112. This is followed by _A guide for the penitent: or a model drawn up for the help of a devout soul wounded with sin_ and "Festival hymns".

I am basically concerned with the first portion of the book as it is addressed to "younger persons" and is an indication of the type of book that was expected to appeal to and help the beleagured Anglican youth during the Interregnum. This book went into its twentieth edition by 1700, and was published as late as 1868 in London.[7] Even though this book does not seem to have been as popular in America as Janeway's _Token for children_, _A choice manual_ was published in New York in 1842 and in Philadelphia in 1856.[8] This was certainly a very popular book, but since it was read by adults as well as by children, no attempts can be made to gauge its particular appeal to children.

At first glance, _A choice manual_ does not seem to be a children's book. Even though the preface contains many references to children, the book itself is in no way adapted to the special needs of the young reader. Occasionally one finds advice that indicates that Taylor cannot possibly have been addressing the child directly:

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[7] _The national union catalog pre 1956 imprints_, vol. 584.

[8] _The national union catalog pre 1956 imprints_, vol. 584.

"Whoever hath Children and Servants let him or her take care that all the Children and Servants of the family say their Prayers before they begin their work"[9]. Obviously this advice is directed at an adult. This raises the question: who is Taylor's intended audience? According to the title-page, his book is "composed for the use of the devout, especially of younger persons". In the preface Taylor strongly voices his fears that the youth born during the Interregnum will be stranded without the Anglican forms of worship. Yet it is obvious that, even though Taylor composed the book for a youthful audience, his ends are to promote the practices and faith of the Church of England:

> we must now take care that the young men who were born in the Captivity may be taught how to worship the God of Israel after the manner of their forefathers, till it shall please God that Religion shall return into the Land, and dwell safely, and grow prosperously.[10]

The young men of England need spiritual guidance, but Taylor does not attempt to solve the problem by addressing the youthful reader directly. He simply presents a catechism and book of spiritual advice that is complete enough for a child to consult on various matters, but is not directed at or adapted for the child. In this way the child can

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[9] Taylor, p. 41.

[10] Taylor, p. A5.

see what kind of an adult he is expected to become. Taylor sets up an ideal for the child to reach, rather than adapt the ideal to the child's understanding. (Were one to criticize Taylor's seeming lack of experience in communicating with children, it must be remembered that Taylor officiated at a grammar school in the time previous to the publication of this book and therefore had experience teaching children). Insofar as Taylor's book is not noticeably a book directed at the child reader, it would seem to have no place in this paper. It is, however, an example of what an Anglican -- a celebrated Anglican divine, at that, -- would intend a child to read. There seems to be no specialized distinction between this book and a catechism written for an adult, but this, in itself, is a point to be noted.

Taylor uses a reasonable and authoritative voice, with an occasional restrained appeal to the reader's emotions. He does not address the reader directly, but acknowledges him indirectly by using the first person plural form of address. An effective dialectic is established between the reader and God, since Taylor's lengthy sections of suggested prayers are presented as they are meant to be used. They are rarely interrupted by a narrative voice, and, consequently, the reader reads as if he were praying to God. These are techniques that could be employed to reinforce an adult's faith, as well

as a child's, but it should be noted that there is no indication that Taylor is consciously adapting or manipulating his style or content for a youthful audience.

Taylor holds certain views on man's nature and place in the church which I will discuss because they will clarify Taylor's seeming disregard for the child reader. Taylor's most obvious presupposition is that the Anglican way of worship is not difficult to follow: the principles of the Anglican faith are simple and "easie" to understand, "easie" being used to signify both the simplicity and availability of access, as well as the security and comfort inherent in these "true" doctrines. Complicated theological discussion are not seen as necessary to having faith, and, consequently, there is no need to guide the child along a difficult path: the essential doctrines are easy enough for him to understand. Not only are the basic precepts frequently described as "easie", but there are also many aids to help the individual attain God's favour. Taylor's assumptions about the Anglican faith are consistent with his attitude towards the youth for whom he composes the book, but whom he does not seem to address pointedly. If the Anglican faith is "easie" to adhere to, then there should be no need to dilute its doctrines and practices for the child's understanding. This seems to be the premise underlying Taylor's seeming disregard for his ostensible reader -- or, at least, this premise would justify it.

True to the seventeenth century, Taylor readily admits that man is weak, frail, and prone to evil inclinations. Yet Taylor is not as horrified as Janeway is at man's prospects, since God has given man so many aids, the Church of England being one of the strongest. Where the Puritan expects the innately sinful individual to strive for regeneration on his own, the Anglican can rely on the Church which is not absolutely infallible, but, as an accumulated body of wisdom, the Church is seen as having the potential to be stronger than the individual. With this optimistic portrayal of the Church's powerful intermediary link between God and man, Taylor strikes a note of encouragement which would not be available to the Puritan who could find communal solace and comfort in the brotherhood, but was himself solely responsible for succouring a relationship with God. For an Anglican, the Church is seen as taking on the greater part of this responsibility. The comfort and security derived therefrom is valued more highly than the Puritan's determination to shoulder the whole of the individual's burden. Taylor says: "It is easier, and safer, and more pleasant to live in obedience, then to be at our own disposing"[11]. The set forms of worship and unquestioned doctrines of belief that

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[11]Taylor, p. 51.

the Church of England offers are seen as comforts:

> there is a more solid comfort and material support to a Christian spirit in one Article of Faith, in one period of the Lord's Prayer, then in all the disputes of an impertinent people, who take more pains to prove there is a Purgatory then to perswade men to avoid Hell: And that a plain Catechism can more instruct a Soul, then the whole day's prate which some daily spit forth, to bid them get Christ, and persecute his Servants.[12]

In a defensive note Taylor dispenses with the advantages of theological argumentation and the Puritan practise of calling upon the individual to do his particular spiritual duty. The Church of England was criticized by contemporary Puritans as offering an easy escape from the individual's burden with its use of set prayers and prescribed articles of faith that "answered" doubts with a regulated certainty, but Taylor sees these supposed flaws as the strongholds of the Anglican faith.

With syllogistic certainty, Taylor assumes that comfort and security are indications of truth. He never wavers from the stand that the Church of England represents the one and only "truth": ". . . the enemies of our Church . . . . did despair of prevailing against Us and Truth, and knew no hopes . . ."[13] (In this sense, Taylor is as exclusive in his denominational outlook as James Janeway is.) The Puritans were similarly convinced that

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[12]Taylor, pp. A8-A9.

[13]Taylor, Preface.

they had found the "true" faith, but for them, truth was manifested in different desirable qualities. For Taylor, comfort, unity, security, and moderation are the indications that designate God's approval and these could be found in the practises espoused by the Church of England. Attempts to reform the Church were seen as dangerous and heretical. The unwary reader would almost think that Taylor valued the comfort of conservatism over the dangerous but cleansing desire to purge the church of existing flaws, but this is not so. Firstly, Taylor insists that the Church of England is built on a foundation of truth and is, therefore, in no need of reform from the laity. Secondly, Taylor is not advocating the comfort and security of mediocrity when he describes the "pleasantness" of "obedience", but a very distinct kind of adherence to a strictly regulated form of worship. In other words, Taylor distinguishes between a thoughtless, irresponsible obedience, and a sincere obedience that stems from convictions and engenders a sense of trust and security in the believer. It is this latter form of obedience which will offer spiritual comfort and which Taylor attempts to educate in his reader.

For an Anglican, the Church of England was _the_ figure of authority whom one would voluntarily obey, thereby receiving spiritual comfort and security. It was believed that Jesus Christ appointed the ministers of the Church to act as intermediaries between man and God. The

individual's responsibility to seek assurance of his own salvation is lightened with the help of these intermediaries, even though his responsibility to be sincere in his obedience to the church is emphasized even more. This obedience extends to the more political realm of the duty of maintaining Christ's ministers on this earth:

> Jesus Christ hath appointed Ministers and Embassadors of his own to preach his Word, to us, to pray for us, to exhort and to reprove, to comfort and instruct, . . . What are we tied to perform towards them? . . . To pay them honour and maintenance, to obey them in all things according to the Gospel, . . .[14]

The ministers of the Church also dispense sacraments which are a means of conveying grace.[15] These are aids which would not be available to a Puritan and are again an indication of the Anglican's psychological "comfort" in having several intermediary agents to help man in his relations with God. (It is also interesting to note that Taylor subtly reinforces the political importance of the Church hierarchy by frequently referring to Jesus Christ as a "Bishop"[16]).

Man is himself never worthy to come before God. The intermediary aids which help man in his weakness, also serve as protective shields to hide man's impure nature.

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[14] Taylor, pp. 12-13.

[15] Taylor, p. 11.

[16] Taylor, p. A9 and p. 23.

Taylor suggests the use of the following prayer to God:

> Turn thine eyes from our impurities, and behold the brightness and purest innocence of the Holy Jesus; and under his cover we may plead our cause, not that thou shouldest judge our sins, but give us pardon, and blot out all our iniquities, . . .[17]

Taylor's view of man's nature is as bleak as Janeway's is, but, as an Anglican, Taylor can suggest the support and protection of the Church of England with its attendant rites, prayers, sacraments, and ministers -- all representatives of Christ's power and mercy -- to intercede with God. Taylor's emphasis is on the availability and spiritual assurance of these aids; he encourages the reader to sincerely surrender his individual will to the greater spiritual authority and intermediary, the Church of England, rather than weakly flounder about with his own poor strength. Without this assurance, it could be surmised that Taylor's view of man's weakness would lead to a form of spiritual guidance where he would flail his reader into a repentant awareness of his desperate sinfulness, as Janeway does, or he would attempt to educate the individual's sense of his own responsibility to be in an active state of spiritual readiness to be saved, as White does. Being an Anglican, however, Taylor relies on the Church of England (and all that it entails) as the necessary and "pleasant" intermediary between man and God. Taylor rarely resorts

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[17] Taylor, p. 74.

to threats and deals with death, hell-fire, and punishment for the unregenerate in only a cursory manner, seemingly preferring to emphasize the many possibilities whereby the devout Anglican can be saved.

Given these aids and interediary agents which Taylor presents in such an encouraging light, it is perhaps not surprising that Taylor did not attempt to further soften or adapt his material for the young reader. The "simplicity" and "easiness" of religion is constantly reiterated. The reader is assured that God expects only "easie" things from man. Taylor describes the Commandments:

> They are many, but easie; holy, but very pleasant to all good minds, to such as desire to live well in this world and in the world to come.[18]

Religious duty is not seen as a difficult task, but as one that man will enjoy performing, if he takes advantage of the many aids that the Church of England offers. This conviction stands in contrast to the Puritan conception of the difficulty and suffering entailed in giving one's life to God. Taylor's outlook, even though it is impersonal, is hopeful and optimistic. Either he has entirely overlooked his intention, as stated on the title-page and in the preface, to write a book for children, or else the inference to be drawn is that the child will have no difficulty understanding the easy and pleasant precepts

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[18]Taylor, p. 13.

and spiritual aids that the Church of England offers.

I have said that Taylor, like Janeway, sees man as a morally weak being, but, in addition to his damnable inclination to sin, man has innate faculties that respond to spiritual guidance. Man is both spirit and body, and the spirit has advantages that allow it to assert its dominance over the body. The body, belongs to the natural world and is inclined to sensual indulgence which hinders the soul, but the soul has God's grace (dispensed by the Church) as a powerful aid:

> And this Holy Spirit our blessed Lord hath left with his Church for ever, by which all the Servants of God are enabled to do all things necessary to Salvation, which by the force of Nature they cannot do;[19]

God has made a covenant with man and promised to help him. Man's terms of the covenant are described as being innately present, whether or not man is aware of them. At baptism, "God will write his Laws in (man's) hearts"[20]. These laws of obedience to God are seen as being present in man, somewhat like White's "conscience within". Man's "understanding" is an additional internalized aid which reveals God's ways to him. Understanding is conceptualized as a type of revelation that God grants:

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[19]Taylor, p. 26.

[20]Taylor, p. 9.

> That which thou dost not understand when thou readest, thou shalt understand in the day of thy visitation: for there are many secrets of Religion which are not perceived till they be felt, . . .[21]

This type of understanding is not an objective, analytical comprehension, but is felt intuitively and is based on one's faith. In fact, Taylor does not admit of an objective body of knowledge (except perhaps as the Church theologians would present it), but advises the reader to have faith when he cannot understand, or to hope that God will grant understanding. Taylor emphatically insists that man's own powers of reasoning are not an absolute guideline, but a subjective, and therefore flawed, means of comprehension. He encourages the reader to pray that "we may quit all our own affections, and suspect our reasonings, and go out of our selves, and all our own confidences"[22]. Where White sees man's faculties as instruments of moral responsibility, Taylor discourages the reader from indulging in his own speculations. Taylor sees man's faculties as ways in which the individual can himself "feel" assurance of God, but not as guidelines whereby the individual can be encouraged to act on his own authority, or, for example, to find his own interpretations of Scripture. White's advice to ponder over a Scriptural passage until one

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[21] Taylor, p. 65.

[22] Taylor, p. 72.

discovers a meaning, or to ask others about it until one is oneself satisfied with one's reading of it, would be seen by Taylor as heresy. Within the Anglican framework, Scripture would be interpreted by the theologians: one's own reasoning was considered "suspect"[23]. This difference between White's and Taylor's treatment of a similar mental occurrence stems from their opposing denominational outlook. White is a Puritan who educates the individual to discover the manifestation of God's grace on his own initiative; Taylor is an Anglican whose end is to promote the individual's sincere trust and dependence on the Church of England.

Taylor introduces an aspect of innate capacities which neither White nor Janeway deal with, but which Obadiah Walker also refers to. Whereas a Puritan would emphasize the equality of all believers, at least in matters of faith, Taylor frequently refers to the inequality of men, even in matters of faith.

> We promise to leave all our sins, and with a hearty and sincere endeavour to give up our will and affections to Christ, and do what he hath commanded (according to our power and weakness).[24]

> And as we all die in Adam, so in Christ we all shall be made alive; but every man in his own order: [25]

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[23]Taylor, p. 72.

[24]Taylor, p. 10.

[25]Taylor, p. 28

> This holy Spirit God gives to some more, to some less, according as they are capable, . . .[26]

Some will have the capability to be ready for God's grace, whereas some will be too weak to be saved. In one sense, Taylor is contradicting his many statements and examples concerning the "easiness" of being a member of the Anglican Church. In another sense, he seems to assume an innate, hierarchial order,.an order that is necessary to the functioning of a church hierarchy. This attitude, whereby some have an innate, privileged status in addition to and enhanced by the spiritual aids which can be acquired, supports Taylor's denominational outlook. Taylor does not suppose, as White and Janeway do, that all men have an equal ability to have faith, because Taylor does not believe in the "priesthood of all believers". His description of inherent inequality among men is entailed in the Anglican's reliance on a strong church with administrative powers. For the Puritan, man stands in a humble, but personal, relationship to God. Taylor depicts a hierarchy where man stands in submission before God and those whom he appoints as his ministers. A hierarchial order that benefits the Church of England is shown as the ideal. The reader prays:

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[26] Taylor, p. 28.

> I adore thy Majesty, and rejoyce in thy mercy, and revere thy Power, and confess all glory and dignity and honour to be thine alone, and theirs to whom thou shalt impart any ray of thy Majesty, or reflexion or thy honour:[27]

Taylor's depiction of the innate inequality of men partly justifies his belief in the supremacy of the ministers of the Church of England. The view that some men are "better" or more priviledged than others offers an exclusive, but promising note to the reader. He can assume that he is possessed of more spiritual strength than his denominational adversary. His strength is innate and is, therefore, seen as impregnable.

Taylor's catechism explains and reinforces the Anglican articles of faith and particular acts of worship. White's book advocates a more general ideal of godly behaviour that reflects one's belief in God, rather than particular ways in which one should worship him. This difference is based on the different emphasis that an Anglican would place on set forms of worship as opposed to a Puritan's preference for extemporaneous worship as inspired by a certain outlook. A Puritan, such as Thomas White, would make a concerted appeal to the reader himself and attempt to inculcate convictions and attitudes, rather than practices, whereas an Anglican would concern himself mostly

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[27]Taylor, p. 95.

with reinforcing methods of worship, (even though he would also expect one's belief in God to be reflected in one's way of life). This is what Taylor does. He assures the reader that there are many external and internal aids to help him, and that the path will be "easie".

Education, for Taylor, is not the process whereby man learns how to assume responsibility for himself as a self-sufficient agent. The particular acts and prayers which Taylor recommends, as well as the aids he indicates that man should use, presuppose that the individual conform to a generalized, externally imposed ideal. White encourages his reader to find his own interpretation for Scriptural sayings and to apply them to his own life. Walker encourages the individual to discover his unique talents and use them -- to the glory of God and mankind -- but to recognize and use them in this world. Taylor advocates a more submissive relationship to an otherworldly ideal: "We promise to leave all our sins, and with a hearty and sincere endeavour to give up our will and affections to Christ, ..."[28]. The recognition and use of man's autonomous faculties, as with Janeway, is ignored. The individual's development of abilities useful in the temporal world is discouraged. Taylor emphasizes that man cannot be happy in this world; nor can he know God with meagre, personal appeals alone.

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[28]Taylor, p. 10.

Man needs the Church, specifically the Church of England, both as a reason for existence, and as a strong intermediary between God and man. Its ways are not only depicted as the only important justification for man's existence, but (mercifully) as "easie".

By now it must be clear why Taylor did not see the need to adapt his book of spiritual guidance for a child audience. He emphasizes the "easiness" of the Anglican way of worship frequently; he depicts the many external and internal aids that God has given man to help him to saved with assurance; his tone is affirmative and confident, while also being impersonal and firm enough to demand his reader's attention. This is an introductory book of guidance which a young reader could understand.

OF

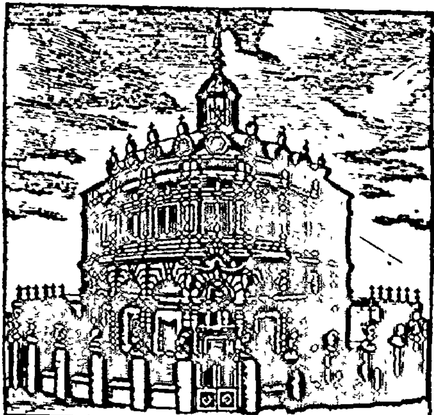
EDUCATION.

Eſpecially of

Young Gentlemen

IN TWO PARTS.

The Fifth Impreſſion.



OXFORD.
Printed at the *Theater* for *Amos Curteyne.*
Anno. 1687.

Of Education

Obadiah Walker (1616-1699) graduated B.A. from University College, Oxford in 1635, and M.A. in 1638. When Parliament ejected him from his fellowship in 1648, Walker travelled to Rome as a tutor to young men. He was reinstated at Oxford after Charles II returned to England, but he continued to travel on the continent as a tutor until approximately 1665 when he returned to University College as senior fellow and tutor. In June of 1676 Walker was unanimously elected Master of University College. It would seem that Walker took the oath of allegiance to the throne and Church of England demanded by the Clarendon Code, despite the many rumours that he was a Roman Catholic, and the fact that at least one of his students had converted to the Roman Catholic faith after travelling with him. Walker certainly did supervise the publication of "papist" books at the University College press and opened a Roman Catholic chapel for public use in August, 1686. After the accession of the Roman Catholic king, James II, Walker no longer observed the Anglican service and sacraments, but he did not openly declare his allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church either. He was finally imprisoned in

December, 1688 on the grounds of high treason. Walker defended himself before the House of Commons in October, 1689, answering the various charges by claiming that he had never "changed" his religion, and was only obeying the king's own commands that certain books be published and that a certain area of the college be made available for a Roman Catholic chapel. Walker further stated that he never tried to convert others to the Roman Catholic faith through his books, but always presented a general argument in support of "'good moralists and good Christians'"[1]. The House of Commons sent Walker to the Tower on charges of high treason till January, 1690, when he was released on bail. He went to the continent for several years and finally returned to London in poor circumstances, and was taken in by one of his old students. He died in January, 1699.

What is of interest in the biographical details of Walker's life is the activity which clearly indicates that he had a preference for the Roman Catholic faith, practices, and countries, even though he never publicly declared himself a Roman Catholic. He was charged with treason, but argued that his actions were not treasonable. He published books in which he could not have avowed

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[1]Wood, vol. 4, p. 441.

Romanist leanings without endangering his position and person. At a time when educational treatises were predominantly denominational, Walker wrote books of general advice that advocate "good morality" for the "good of mankind". I can find no indication whether this secular outlook was adopted by choice or for protective reasons, but its existence is nevertheless interesting. Walker does encourage the practice of saying daily prayers and meditating on Biblical verses, but he is noncommittal about any particular Church or any particular forms of devotion. (Simply as a comparison, note that Janeway's polemical A token for children was published only one year before Walker's Of education).

Eleven original works are attributed to Walker, the first published in 1654, and the other works from 1673 to 1692. I will discuss Of education which was first published in 1673, and went into its sixth edition in 1699. It was a popular book in the seventeenth century, but it did not outlive its author. In the first part of the book Walker discusses general views on spiritual guidance or education. These are of especial interest for the marked contrast to the views implicit in the denominational books. The latter sections of the book, where Walker describes forms of civility, courteous habits, a curriculum for studying rhetoric, exercises to practise elocution and such subjects, are too topical to be of much interest to later generations,

or to be included in an introductory discussion of books of spiritual guidance in the seventeenth century.

The Osborne Room holds the fifth printing (1687) of Of education. The Scolar Press published a facsimile edition of the first printing of Of education from the Bodleian Library copy in 1970, and since this edition is more easily accessible, my page references follow this earlier copy. The 1687 edition is 309 pages in length and consists of two parts with continuous paging. After two blank pages, there follows a page with "Education of Young Gentlemen" printed across the length of the page. The title-page follows with an engraving of Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford: a squat, round, two or three storey building, surrounded by a stone gate with busts on the regularly spaced posts. Most of the printing at Oxford was done at Sheldonian Theatre, so it would not be an unlikely subject for a title-page. The title-page of the 1673 edition reads: Of education. Especially of young gentlemen. In two parts. By Obadiah Walker. Oxon. At the theater. Ann. 1673. The author's name is signed, not printed. An engraving of a crest of arms occupies the place later to be replaced by the round building. This edition is 291 pages in length.

The book is addressed partly to the instructor, partly to any youth who might read it. It is a general address to those concerned with either dispensing or

receiving education, and refers to the very young as well as to those at the university. The narrative voice is firm, but not impersonal. Walker appeals to reason and encourages the reader to respond rationally. This is to be contrasted with Janeway's emotional indoctrination which elicits the reader's fear, and Taylor's authoritarian stance that discourages subjective reasoning. Like Thomas White, Walker wants to educate a morally responsible individual. He also strives to instill an awareness of social responsibility. His book is composed for the use of "gentlemen", the "leaders of society", and it is probably because he is writing for the "leaders of society" that Walker is so concerned with inculcating an outlook of social and humanitarian responsibility. Gentlemen hold positions of power and have the temporal advantages to wield that power. As Walker tells parents, "You provide them estates; to what purpose, if you also procure them not parts to use them?"[2]: those who have power are most in need of education. Walker frequently makes the point that man's purpose is to "do good" for others. The gentleman would seem to have the greatest means to achieve that end, and must therefore be educated to know that.

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[2]Obadiah Walker, Of education, p. 14.

> The greater means and opportunities any one hath of glorifying God, the greater duty and obligation lieth upon him.[3]
>
> Wealth i.e. Money being the great Instrument, whereby all things are performed in civil societies; . . . it is necessary the Educated be taught the use and value of it betimes.[4]

Walker sets out to educate the gentleman, the leader of society, and consequently discusses the principles and ends of activity in secular life. In the preface he explains, "It was . . . thought more useful to furnish some rules and principles of Active life; as being that, whereto Gentlemen seem more disposed both by their births, and general incliniations;"[5]. Yet Walker's consistent interest in the "universal good" and "benefitting mankind" indicates that he is concerned to instill an awareness of man's responsibility to other men above and beyond the particular duties of the gentleman.

It should be noted that Walker is the only writer among those discussed in this paper who refers to a social class. White picturesquely appeals to a reader who has "scarce a rag to cover [him]"[6], but this description functions more as an analogy for spiritual poverty, than

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[3]Walker, p. 31.

[4]Walker, p. 62.

[5]Walker, Preface.

[6]Walker, p. 7.

as a realistic reference. Janeway also dramatizes poverty for similar reasons. Insofar as White and Janeway do not specifically refer to "young gentlemen", as Walker does, one can suppose that they are not writing for this specialized group of readers. Taylor is equally ambivalent about the social standing of his intended audience. He was an instructor at a grammar school for young gentlemen, but does not specifically appeal to this social group in A choice manual. Like White and Janeway, Taylor refers to material poverty as an analogy for spiritual starvation. Taylor does, however, idealize order and stability, which can be interpreted as having social value. Certainly White, Janeway, and Taylor do not make overt references to a socially defined group of readers. They do not concern themselves with man's activity in this world in their books of spiritual guidance. Walker is interested in man's place in this world. His more secular concerns seem to require that he specify his particular audience in the world (i.e. in society), since men perform various tasks in the world. The denominational books of spiritual guidance are not confined by social boundaries.

Walker is concerned with "the good of mankind". The other writers discussed in this paper are concerned with man's relationship to God. In Of education man's relationship to God is seen in secular terms -- not as an end in itself, but as it affects man's activities in this

world. God is not envisioned as a being closely connected with the individual's life, observing and judging every action he performs, but as an abstract entity such as the "universal good"[7], or the "rational agent"[8]. Walker's focal point is man, and how man can best use his capacities to the benefit of himself and others. These are secular, but not yet temporal, interests: they concern man's activities in this world, but place value on the transcendent ends of that activity, and not the activity itself. Walker emphasizes man's activities and abilities, but to a greater purpose than the individual's own concerns. He values pursuits that are beneficial to mankind as a whole:

> we suppose that no man cometh into this World either to be idle, or follow and enjoy only his own pleasure and humour; but to be serviceable to his Maker: who (acting as a rational agent) maketh nothing for our, but him, -self; and out of his infinite favour to us, is pleased to honour us so much, as both that some way we may do him service, and thereby also in the highest manner advantage our selves, by advancing his Kingdome and interest, i.e. by doing good (for God is universal good) both to our selves and others.[9]

God and his kingdom are mentioned frequently in this passage, yet the emphasis lies on realizing God's principles and kingdom <u>in this world</u>. The emphasis has shifted from a personal, spiritual, otherwordly ideal to a realization

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[7]Walker, p. 30.

[8]Walker, p. 30

[9]Walker, p. 30

of transcendent, philosophical ideals such as the "universal good" in the actions of men in this world. Even though Walker uses religious phraseology, he anticipates a secularized ideal. Man is in the world to "do good" to himself and others, and this is to be done in the temporal world. The point is reiterated frequently, and humanitarian serviceableness becomes a form of conscience, similar to White's reference to Judgement Day:

> Let him say continually with himself, for what came I into the World? Why hath God given me such riches, such parents, such respect among men, but to do more good?[10]

This is an end to be undertaken by all men, regardless of their individual capacities. Janeway and Taylor set up a standard ideal of practises and worship for all the members of their denomination to attain, the rich and the poor, the weak and the strong, the intelligent and the stupid. Walker advocates ways of reaching an ideal that will be realized differently according to the different capacities of each individual. There is a difference between an educational ideal that is standardized and applies to all, and an ideal that is an individual responsibility, where the individual is judged insofar as he attempts to "benefit mankind" with the abilities he has.

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[10] Walker, pp. 53-54.

Walker says, "he is to be crowned, not who doth so well as others, but as well as he can"[11]. Walker does not dictate particular acts, but tries to educate the child to an awareness of his social and humanitarian responsibilities, to do "good for mankind". Even though Walker has chapters in which he shows the student how to practice elocution and logic, he emphasizes most strongly the basis upon which these particular studies have been built and which should govern the individual's outlook. For example, after commending the practical necessity of the sciences, Walker concludes, "but the great universal Art is . . . to excel others in virtue, prudence, and those abilities which render him more useful in the general concernments of Mankind"[12]. In reference to learning Walker writes, "that is best, which is most beneficiall and proper for every ones condition of life"[13]. Walker's great concern is to educate a socially and morally responsible individual. He attempts to form an outlook on which each individual will base specific actions according to his different abilities. He portrays man as a rational being capable of doing good, and having a free will to act in accordance with reason in a world where all things tend towards a

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[11]Walker, p. 99.

[12]Walker, p. 112.

[13]Walker, p. 111.

universal realization of the good. Supposedly, the man who holds this view of himself and his purpose in the world will act in a fashion which cannot help but "glorify God" and "benefit mankind".

What is man, according to Walker? He is a being possessed of both reason and senses, the senses being related to the body, and reason related to the spirit or understanding. Rather than decry the senses, in the characteristic fashion of the more religious writers, as the means whereby man sins in this world, Walker places them in a philosophical framework: they are the means by which the body knows the world, and even though these means are imperfect, they are not to be dismissed as "evil" of themselves. The senses can be brought under the control of reason. Other "corruptions", such as the innate impurity of original sin, predestined inclinations towards evil, and the temptations of this world, are also dealt with rationally. Walker believes that the impurity of original sin is absolved in baptism. Temporal advantages such as wealth and family status are treated as means to a good end. Since Walker is primarily interested in educating an awareness of one's duties to mankind as a whole, temporal assets are valued highly as providing even more means to an even greater end. Rather than despise wealth, Walker proposes that the child be educated to the "right" use of it:

> Wealth i.e. Money being the great Instrument, whereby all things are performed in civil Societies; and therefore being equall to all other external commodities of our life; whereby also well laid out friends are gained in the great Court of Heaven, it is necessary the Educated be taught the use and value of it betimes.[14]

Man is seen as having certain innate or natural capacities, which have been distributed unequally. Rather than see this as a disadvantage, Walker would simply have each individual "use" his particular capacities to their fullest. He claims that this is the gauge by which man will be held accountable.

> And of (this the use and profit we make of our talents) must we give a severe account.[15]

> he is to be crowned, not who doth as well as others, but as well as he can.[16]

Having less ability is no excuse for Walker. In every way he avoids the irresponsibility of various sorts of determinism. (Even the seventeenth-century physiognomist's excuse that the soul is determined by physical characteristics is dealt with:

> I have not observed that any Physiognomical signs are infallible: . . . indeed the temperature of the body seems no otherwise to be the cause of the actions of the soul or person: then as the temper of the Axe is the cause of cutting;[17])

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[14]Walker, p. 62.

[15]Walker, p. 8.

[16]Walker, p. 99.

[17]Walker, pp. 88-89.

The innate characteristics or capacities with which Walker believes that man is born do not have innate moral tendencies that determine man's moral character. Man cannot have an "inclination to virtue or vice"[18]: "parts are indifferent of themselves to produce good or evil; and great parts . . . are fitted for great, whether good or bad undertakings"[19].

The fatalistic view that man has a "disposition to evil" is seen as irrational. Any "disposition" can be used to good purpose and, therefore, is good. Walker demonstrates: "that which disposeth to lust, suggests also persuasiveness, plausibility, and cheerfulness"[20]. The senses, the temptations of this world, and the excuses of inequality and "dispositions to evil" are not ignored by Walker, but they are not seen as hindrances either. These are means by which man acts in the world. These means can be brought under the control of reason. Reason is conceptualized as an infallible form of guidance which God provides for man.

Jeremy Taylor discourages his reader from trusting in his own powers of reasoning: the individual cannot find "truth" by himself, but should trust to the absolute

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[18]Walker, p. 75.

[19]Walker, pp. 5-6.

[20]Walker, p. 20

authority of the Church of England. Walker's outlook is much different. He sees the individual's rational faculties as a mode of access to God's objective truth, as long as he has faith: "God hath given us his holy Religion, and his spirit to govern reason . . . , and to render every thought obedient to Faith"[21]. Reason is governed by God's spirit. It is, therefore, an infallible guide for choosing the good, as well as an infallible strength against evil. Through the use of his reason, man knows God's principles and can govern his actions accordingly. The use of reason will lead to activity that benefits man and glorifies God or the "universal good". The educator's task is not to instill reason, which is innate, but to prompt the rational faculties to action. All things are seen as teleologically oriented towards the realization of the universal good, and since man has reason, he can be aware of that end.

> the end of every Agent and every action is Good, either reall or seeming, neer or far off; private or publick.[22]
>
> All naturall Agents, though they work for an end, yet intend it not, but are directed to it. Only man being a rational creature, knows and aimes at an end.[23]

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[21]Walker, pp. 93-94.

[22]Walker, p. 151.

[23]Walker, p. 151.

Reason should govern all of man's activities. Walker's view of man is very optimistic, since man is seen as having this infallible source of truth within himself.

Walker is convinced that man can be a morally efficacious being. The difference between Walker's belief in man's potential for doing good and the views of the other writers examined in this paper can be demonstrated succinctly with this quote:

> Man hath a design higher then Nature, to be like to Almighty God and his Holy Angels; to overcome himself, master his passions, and rule over others, not by fear and violence, but by reason, justice, and choice. The Arts and Sciences he invents, the Laws and Government he establisheth, the Cities and Fleets he buildeth, argue him to be of a most noble extraction; and that a good man is worthy to be revernced of his own self: in as much as he will do nothing misbeseeming so noble and eminent a nature.[24]

Man derives his strength and guidance from God (also called the Holy Spirit or reason), yet he wields that power himself.

Man, as Walker portrays him, has a great deal of freedom in determining his life. He is not hindered by his sensual appetities, evil inclinations, or the temptations of this world if he has faith and follows the dictates of reason. Walker affirms that man does have a free will. He can overcome or redirect his passions and choose to act with reason.

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[24] Walker, pp. 50-51.

> Man hath a free will, which (if possible) is to be gained by reason.[25]

Once one grants that man has a free will, it ensues that he has the responsibility to glorify God (a responsibility which the Puritans already characterized him as having), as well as the ability to control his destiny to some extent. The belief that one is naturally evil, or that one cannot govern one's own life is described as a "perverseness of the will:"

> . . . that any one becomes evil rather then good, is not so much the fault of his constitution, as the perverseness of his will, following the suggestions of sense, rather then the Dictates of reason.[26]

The will, and not innate depravity, is the governor of morality, and the will belongs to man. In this sense, man is a morally autonomous being, even though he can only retain his freedom by acting in accordance with reason which is guided by God. Consequently, even though man <u>is</u> free, he also has other responsibilities that prompt him to exercise his freedom towards the realization of the universal good. God has given man certain natural capacities or gifts, and, even though man is free to do with them what he will, reason dictates that he educate them to do good for the service of mankind and God.

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[25]Walker, p. 41.

[26]Walker, p. 20.

The process of education is seen as forming the natural capacities and acquiring new habits to the end of glorifying God and mankind. It would be almost impossible to direct every action towards a desired end, unless one wanted men to perform the same actions regardless of their particular talents or situations. Walker sees particular individuals as having different abilities and builds his educational scheme on this observation. Rather than direct actions, he attempts to inculcate an outlook that defines man's responsibilities and ideals. In this way he directs all activity towards a specific end, rather than teach specific actions as they should be performed in certain contexts. The essential characteristics of this outlook have already been discussed: man has a free will and is not determined by environmental or innate handicaps; he has access to God's reason and, as a free being, will choose to govern his actions in accordance with that guidance. Underlying this view of man's nature and purpose in the world is the belief that all things develop towards the realization of the universal good. The educator's concern is to instill this outlook and to convince the student to intend to act in accordance with reason. This is an education of intentions, as Walker readily acknowledges:

"First, direct his intentions aright, and by that means his actions become virtues;"[27]. It is consequently not surprising that Walker anticipates Kant's formulation of the highest (i.e. most rational, most good) imperative as the one which is acted upon solely for itself, and not for any extrinsic gain or hypothetical reward. Kant writes:

> An action done from duty has its moral worth, not in the purpose to be attained by it, but in the maxim in accordance with which it is decided upon; it depends therefore, not on the realization of the object of the action, but solely on the principle of volition in accordance with which, irrespective of all objects of the faculty of desire, the action has been performed.
>
> . . . .
>
> . Thus the moral worth of an action does not depend on the result expected from it, and so too does not depend on any principle of action that needs to borrow its motive from this expected result. For all these results (agreeable states and even the promotion of happiness in others) could have been brought about by other causes as well, and consequently their production did not require the will of a rational being, in which, however, the highest and unconditioned good can alone be found. Therefore nothing but the idea of the law in itself, which admittedly is present only in a rational being -- so far as it, and not an expected result, is the ground determining the will -- can constitute that pre-eminent good which we call moral, a good which is already present in the person acting on this idea and has not to be awaited from the result.[28]

Walker describes the ideal form of intention in the following

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[27]Walker, p. 44

[28]Immanuel Kant, <u>Groundwork of the metaphysic of morals</u>, (tr. H.J. Paton), pp. 67-69.

terms: "For if any object be proposed, he considers not so much what is lawful or expedient, as what is best to be done".[29] In practice, this imperative is demonstrated as follows:

> To carry himself decently, tell him not, that the people will think better of him, that he shall be more accepted in conversation; but tell him, that he ought to carry himself as the noblest and worthiest of Gods creatures.[30]

Implicit in the appellation, "the noblest and worthiest of Gods creatures", is the possession of reason. Consequently, the man who acts as "the noblest and worthiest of Gods creatures" acts solely on the rational imperative. Walker assumes a self-evident relationship between intentions as they are governed by reason, and the desire to act on these intentions. As seen by Walker, the will seems innately enamoured of reason. Once man understands an issue with his reason, the will cannot help but choose to act in accordance with it: "when the judgement is convinced, the Will surrenders of her self"[31]. What Walker attempts to achieve with his education is to form an outlook in the young man whereby all his actions will be directed towards the good, reason, the benefit of mankind, or the glorification of God, as this end is interchangeably called.

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[29] Walker, p. 49.

[30] Walker, pp. 43-44.

[31] Walker, p. 39.

In fact, the general outlook or intention to work towards this end is valued more highly than the occasional good deed, and in this matter, Walker again anticipates Kant's view that intentions, rather than actions, are to be judged for moral worth:

> That a man may be virtuous is not sufficient that he now and then do virtuous actions; nor that he do them frequently out of good nature, interest, mode, passion, or the like; but that he work discreetly, constantly, habitually, and for a good end, and by deliberation and choice;[32]

The formation of an outlook, whereby the young man will act in accordance with reason all the time, is the goal of Walker's education.

The world is seen as the necessary testing-ground for man's intentions and aspirations. Even though Walker speaks of what seem to be abstract entities, such as reason, free will, and the universal good, he means for these faculties or goals to be realized in the sentient world. He educates the gentleman's awareness of himself as a morally efficacious being who has God's guiding principles within him. These are seen as "principles of Active life"[33]. About man's innate capacities and motivations Walker says,

[32] Walker, p. 176

[33] Walker, Preface.

"The faculties of the soul can work of themselves; but as not except upon an external object, . . ."[34]. Rather than despise the world as a mere stop-over in a spiritual pilgrimage or as a hotbed of sensual temptations, Walker accepts man's being in the world and finds a reason for it: man is here to benefit mankind, to do good, and to glorify God on this earth by promoting good actions. Man has a duty to use his natural gifts and to act in the world. Walker would have agreed with the Duke in Measure for measure:

> . . . Thyself and thy belongings
> Are not thine own so proper, as to waste
> Thyself upon thy virtues, they on thee.
> Heaven doth with us as we with torches do,
> Not light them for themselves; for if our vi es
> Did not go forth of us, 'twere all alike
> As if we had them not.[35]

Man's possession of reason, free will, and the tendency to work towards the good are seen as innate characteristics which God has given man. Education is the process which makes the student aware of these gifts, as well as teaching him how to put them to practical use in the world. Walker writes: "So all men are born with reason, but have not the use of it at first"[36]. The innate faculties must be assisted to action by the educator.

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[34] Walker, p. 6.

[35] William Shakespeare, Measure for measure, I, i, 29-35.

[36] Walker, p. 6.

This is best done through imitation.

> There is but one way and manner of learning, be the subject whatever it will. . . . The Educator prescribeth his end; gives him rules and precepts; presents his examples and patterns, and then sets him to act according to what was before him taught. And if the Educated apply himself seriously to meditate, contrive, observe his copy, and be content to be admonished and corrected when faulty, he will, no doubt, arrive to the intended perfection;[37]

Walker himself supplies many analogies and examples as models to imitate and to demonstrate his precepts. He frequently refers to classical Greek and Latin precedents, occasionally to a modern example, and only rarely to the Bible -- an omission which reinforces the secular tone of the book. From the examples, the student can see how principles of moral behaviour are applied in practice. These models, are not so much meant to be imitated in themselves (as Janeway's heroes are), as to be imitated for their moral worth. There is a fine distinction between teaching a child how to act in a specific situation, and teaching him a general precept and offering examples as illustrations. If one is convinced, as Walker is, that one learns by imitation, then the child should imitate these models in order to "absorb" the precept. This sort of activity on the educator's part will be reinforced with discussions on free will, reason, the universal good, and

[37] Walker, p. 9.

benefitting mankind as a whole. A general outlook that will respond to particular situations in active life will be inculcated. Man's duty is to act in the world. Walker teaches him how to think about his capabilities, how to develop them, and to what end. In this way, man's actions have been "educated".

In this book on education, man is not yet seen as an entirely self-sufficient being: he has reason to guide him and reason is derived from God. Yet man is an autonomous being who chooses to act in accordance with rational principles within himself in this world. Walker wants to educate the individual to know this and to act. He is concerned with educating the individual to a sense of his capacities and how he must use them in the world. Actions are important insofar as they benefit others and prove one's virtues, but the education of one's outlook and intentions serves the essential purpose. Consequently, Walker sets out to educate the individual's intentions. The educational ideal is the same for all: it will be realized differently by each individual.

Conclusion

By examining these four children's books, I hope to have indicated a largely unresearched area of study concerning seventeenth-century man's life and ideas. This thesis cannot be a comprehensive account of children's books in the seventeenth century, not only for reasons of restricted space, but also, and more importantly, because of the state of our knowledge of the field at the present time. Existing studies interpret the scattered and incomplete evidence in contradictory ways. I restricted myself to a careful study of the four books that were available to me in their original state, and attempted to place them in their historical context.

In many ways my study is incomplete. Historical research in general is hampered when primary material has been lost, as is the case with information concerning children in the seventeenth century. Such information was not considered to be important enough to be recorded and stored. Consequently, little is known about these books and it is difficult to assess their importance. Accurate, complete

information about publication figures, who bought the books, the actual responses of the child readers, and other indications of a book's popularity are not available. There are few clues to help the modern historian understand what role the books written for children actually played.

Then, simply to understand the strategems the authors of these books were using to influence their readers, demands that one be well-read in many diverse aspects of seventeenth-century life. The historian who could not notice finer theological distinctions, an author's political leanings, appeals to social hierarchies, and the various prejudices and values characteristic of different groups of people would not be able to do justice by these books. It would be necessary to accumulate a great deal of information about all facets of seventeenth-century life and ideas, and then to use it with a certain amount of imagination when reading the children's books, since one could not really predict which type of information would be relevant at any particular point: one could only be sensitive to indirect suggestions which might have been taken for granted by contemporary readers. This preparatory effort is, I think, necessary to an understanding of these books. I attempted to ground myself in the fundamental issues of the times when these books were published, and so to provide a context which would prove useful as a

starting point for future investigations of this subject.

What is needed now, before the remaining primary material is lost, is a comprehensive study of all the material available for children in the seventeenth century and its importance in seventeenth-catury life as a whole.

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