

EVOLUTION OF RHYMES AND FABLES IN ENGLAND THROUGH
THE VICTORIAN ERA: FROM RELIGION TO POLITICS

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I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Janis Coker entitled "Evolution of Rhymes and Fables in England Through the Victorian Era: From Religion to Politics." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it is accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Art with a major in History.

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EVOLUTION OF NURSERY RHYMES IN ENGLAND THROUGH
THE VICTORIAN ERA: FROM RELIGION TO POLITICS

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The central theme of this thesis is the evolution of nursery rhymes from religion to politics by the Victorian Era aided by political advocate, William Godwin. Godwin, inspired by Isaac Watts' secular writings, used children's literature to express his political messages, created an audience ready for more.

With the thesis established the main text was divided into four divisions. They included: a brief history of rhymes prior to 1600's, a critical analysis of both children writers Isaac Watts' and William Godwin, and a summary of the social, political, and religious influences prevalent in Victorian England.

Research materials consisted of books, journals, newspapers, letters, and manuscripts, which dealt with nursery rhymes, critical analyses of rhymes, and nineteenth-century history. Comparison of these sources to original rhymes helped to expose any relationships. An interpretation was given once the data assured a direct link between the rhymes and the historical event or fact.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-----|
| ABSTRACT | iii |
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| Chapter | |
| I. CHILDREN'S LITERATURE PRIOR TO 1600's | 4 |
| Political Messages | 4 |
| Puritan Reforms in England | 6 |
| II. ISAAC WATTS' INFLUENCE ON EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY RHYMES | 9 |
| A Summary of Watts' Life | 9 |
| Rhymes for Children | 14 |
| Conservative to Secular | 18 |
| III. A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF WILLIAM GODWIN'S CHILDREN'S LITERATURE | 31 |
| Summary of William Godwin's Life | 31 |
| The Concept of Reason | 35 |
| Human Nature | 37 |
| The Doctrine of Necessity | 39 |
| Public Rejections | 42 |
| Financial Distress | 43 |
| Godwin's Social and Political Teachings to Children | 44 |
| IV. VICTORIAN NURSERY RHYMES | 57 |
| The History of English Rhymes | 57 |
| Introduction of Rhymes into the Victorian Era | 59 |
| Victorian Influence on the Rhymes | 61 |
| Conclusion | 74 |
| REFERENCES | 77 |

INTRODUCTION

In the early centuries of English civilization, children's literature provided children with little or no entertainment and certainly no political messages. Works written previous to the mid-eighteenth century contained mainly educational endeavors such as the ABC's, primers, books of courtesy, and catechisms. These all enforced religious doctrine, moral laws, and factual information to children. Popular among these compositions were rhymes or verses which either recreated or reflected history.

Pieces written from the Saxon times to the end of the Renaissance exposed many social and political changes. The awareness of these transitions among the people caused the rhymes to flourish and ultimately be adopted by children as their own. These verses consisted only of a few politically inspired nursery rhymes which generally were ignored by the next group of influential English writers, the Puritans.

Puritan writers selected reading material with the expressed purpose of forcefully directing their readers to salvation and the evil world about them. They believed children, like their elders, possessed innate sinfulness which required exhortation. These works ranked among the first to specifically be written for children. Two well-

known examples included James Janeway's A Token for Children and John Bunyan's A Book for Boys and Girls. Both were filled with accounts and rhymes on how to escape from abyss to heaven.

Advocating their ideas and upholding the Puritan doctrine in the late 17th-century was Isaac Watts. Watts, unlike his predecessors or contemporaries, depended on catchy lyrics with irregular meters to reach his audience. His rhymes gently softened the repentance messages and gracefully palliated the stress of fire and brimstone. This concept opened the way for a freer and more secular approach to reach the natural gaiety of children with religious rules. Omitted were verses with political implications.

In the next century, though, William Godwin took the new concept and used it to expound his political messages. Godwin, an anarchist and major figure in English philosophy, believed children needed instruction free from moralizing. Using fables, Godwin furthered this development by using freedom of expression, thought, and, above all, of imagination of social and political consciousness.

This concept prevailed throughout the 1800's but regressed toward a more conservative trend during the Victorian Era. Victorian literature for children assumed several distinct traits. First, they created new rhymes from old verses, altering the lines to be "useful" and "morally-right".

Secondly, they produced many nursery rhymes with political overtones resulting from several factors. They flourished during the reign of an influential ruler, a powerful prime minister, and politically involved religious groups.

In this paper, the origin of nursery rhymes with political messages comes into focus. The central theme is that nursery rhymes containing these political implications advanced into maturity in nineteenth-century England, aided by a political advocate, William Godwin. Godwin's influence on the verses helped create a thirst and a ready response to the rhymes by the Victorian Age. Political nursery rhymes had come to stay.

CHAPTER 1

CHILDREN'S LITERATURE PRIOR TO 1600's

Political Messages

Historically, English rhymes consisted of three basic types of satire: political, romantic, and religious. These types sometimes appeared more than once in the same verse. As the authors penned barbs in verse form, the works became known as nursery rhymes. All of these relived the times of ancient and medieval England.¹

Written English history started with the invasion of the British Isle by Julius Caesar. This Roman occupation was retold in a game rhyme which proved popular among the British people. English children chanted the game as a taunt between the Romans and the English. It appeared as. . .

Have you any bread and wine?
We are the Romans.
Have you any bread and wine?
We are the Roman soldiers.

Yes, we have some bread and wine--
We are the English.
Yes, we have some bread and wine--
We are the English soldiers.²

Possibly this game rhyme originated during the Roman occupation of Britain, with influences from Greek and Roman poets. These earlier writers, according to Henry Betts in The Games of Children, advocated children's games often could

use rhyming activities.³ Although the origin remained unknown, the children who played the game first probably knew early English history and the Roman diet of bread and wine.

Along with this English rhyme emerged a legend which extended the advancement of English nursery rhymes. The Arthurian Legends dated back to about A.D. 600 and incorporated the names of the intended subjects easily traceable as noticed. . . .

When good King Arthur ruled the land,
 He was a goodly king;
 He stole three pecks of barley-meal
 To make a bag-pudding.

A bag-pudding the king did make,
 And stuff it well with plums;
 And in it put great lumps of fat,
 As big as my two thumbs.

The king and queen did eat thereof,
 And noblemen beside,
 And what they could not eat that night,
 The queen next morning fried.⁴

This rhyme reflected King Arthur's thievish activities in providing goods for his troops. Typical of that period's war leaders, Arthur robbed and pillaged people and churches. Although accused as a thief, he enjoyed popularity among the English people for his effort to protect them from invading enemies. His legends retained a permanent place among the rhymes of England.

Included in the final example of political satires prior to the 1600's are those which occurred during the

reign of the Tudors. A number of political satires about the first Tudor king, Henry VIII, appeared. His reputation as a notoriously stingy Welshman proved visible in this verse. . . .

Taffy was a Welshman, Taffy was a thief,
Taffy came to my house and stole a piece of beef;
I went to Taffy's house, Taffy wasn't in,
I jumped upon his Sunday hat, and poked it with a pin.

Taffy was a Welshman, Taffy was a shame,
Taffy came to my house and stole a leg of lamb;
I went to Taffy's house, and Taffy was not there,
I stuffed his socks with sawdust and filled his shoes
with clay.

Taffy was a Welshman, Taffy was a cheat,
Taffy came to my house, and stole a piece of meat;
I went to Taffy's house, and Taffy was not there, 5
I hung his coat and trousers to roast before a fire.

Noticeable in this rhyme is Henry's scandalous ways to gain properties owned by others. This vice, according to historians, continued throughout his reign. During this time he worked at dissolving the monasteries, increasing the taxes, and demanding properties from the churches and people. As indicated in the verse, the English people rebelled against his leadership.

Rhymes were a record in preserving English history up to this period. These literary works initially reached the adult audiences, while the children learned them by oral traditions. This remained a precedent until the Puritans successfully provided works for children to read.

Puritan Reforms in England

After the Act of Uniformity in 1662, the Puritans

produced many children's works. These basically upheld two Puritan concepts which persist even to the present day. One, children prove vulnerable to sin and their conduct leads them either to heaven or hell. Secondly, the authors desired to give children pleasure and make them happy for making the right choice.

According to Darton's Children's Books in England, these doctrines reached more children when applied with the spirit of fear.⁶ This caused them to walk in the way they must go regardless of their nature, environment, or abilities that they possessed. Rejecting this gospel caused concern among the Puritan writers apparently, for many of them addressed the issue. They also believed they would be held responsible for the children's lack of spiritual knowledge.

One author, James Janeway, produced stories with history about good and bad children. His good children often gave accounts of how pious children met early deaths happily. Janeway's book, A Token for Children(1672), exemplified young children chosen by God to die. Janeway ended their deaths with a beautiful departure from the earth. Though these seem unlikely to be "children's books" they were meant to show the children the highest pleasure in life by doing God's Will.

Following Janeway's doctrine that every word needed a religious theme was John Bunyan. Bunyan, an imprisoned

minister, initiated the classical Pilgrim's Progress in 1678.⁷ This immortal tale of a Christian's pilgrimage through life to the Celestial City attracted young minds. The excitement of quests, snares, and pitfalls, and the conflicts of friends and enemies proved to be more enjoyable reading than the theological discourses that much Puritan literature possessed.

Another of Bunyan's masterpieces included his book on rhymes. A Book for Boys and Girls, written in 1686, used objects and devices from every day life to illustrate divine truths and moral ideas. Little things, Bunyan stated, lead children and, often their elders, to the Divine. That was his purpose, as illustrated in this verse:

This pretty Bird, Oh! how she flies and sing!
But could she do so, if she had not Wings?
Her Wings bespeak my Faith, her Song, my Peace.
When I believe and sing, my Doubtings cease.⁸

Writing a generation after Janeway and Bunyan came Isaac Watts. Watts, the son of a dissenter minister was the author of many hymns, songs, and rhymes. It is his influence upon nursery rhymes which proved important as seen in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 2

ISAAC WATTS' INFLUENCE ON EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY RHYMES

A Summary of Watts' Life

Isaac Watts' works display his efforts in producing a much needed transition for eighteenth-century nursery rhymes in England. Many earlier verses influenced strongly by the Puritan creed now became more gentle and more serene by Watts' intervention.¹ He accomplished this change by advocating a jingling metre in the language of a child. This transposition inspired every writer of children's rhymes in his century.

Watts' birth occurred on July 17, 1674, in Southampton, England, the first of nine children. Born into a minister's home, Watts received introduction immediately to religious persecutions and how to endure it.² His father, Isaac Watts, an English Nonconformist minister, twice endured imprisonment during Watts' infancy. With the child nursing in her arms, Watts' mother often sat for hours at the prison gate waiting for her husband's release.³

Results of these dramatic incidents on Watts' life forced him to be a precocious child. Instead of playing as most children played, Watts read and composed poems to please his mother. This unhindered atmosphere resulted in advanced

poems written by Watts at the ages of 7 and 8.⁴

Although his mother enjoyed his early poetic effusions, his father shared not the same pleasure. He spoke of this displeasure to others on more than one occasion with anger and disgust. Watts' father vowed to stop the verses from polluting his son's mind. According to Albert Bailey in The Gospel in Hymns, Isaac Watts, Sr. severely punished his son prompting him to pen these lines:

Oh father, do some pity take,
And I will no more verses make!⁵

In addition to writing poems at home, Watts' formal education included attending Southampton Grammar School. Here, Watts studied Latin, Greek, French, and Hebrew under the headmaster, Mr. Pinhorn.⁶ With his influence, Watts received an offer from a local physician and a few influential friends to attend the University. Watts refused that proposal but later attended the Dissenting Academy at Stoke, England in 1690.⁷

The year before his departure to the Academy, Watts turned loose his rhyming tendencies to the religious field. He despised the lamentable singing in the churches of his day, the Anglican and Non-conformist. One Sunday, after returning from some particularly atrocious service, he complained to his father. Watts' father, enraged at the criticism, blatantly informed him to give them something better to sing.⁸

Watts left the discussion with determination. Before the evening service, he wrote his first hymn. It read:

Behold the glories of the Lamb amidst his Father's
throne;
Prepare new honors for his name, and songs before
unknown.

That night at the Independents' meeting in Southampton, the clerk read the hymn, line by line, while the congregation sung it, line by line, and thus started a revolution of hymn singing. This revolt succeeded in breaking the traditional liturgy of the church, and instituted the substitution of hymns of "human composure."

Watts continued writing hymns throughout his four years at the Academy. Upon his arrival home from school in 1694, at the age of 20, he finished the bulk of his first hymnal, "Hymns and Spiritual Songs."⁹ His next two years he tutored the son of an eminent Puritan, Sir John Hartopp. While tutoring, Watts concluded the accumulation of his theological and philosophical works, which he later published.

During this time, Watts encountered a spiritual and a physical challenge. Spiritually, Watts wrestled with himself in an inner agony over the Unitarian and Congregational doctrines. The struggle remained with Watts until 1699 when he answered the "call" to the ministry at the Mark Lane Independent Congregation. Elected to the pastorate in 1702, he enjoyed pastoring, ministering sermons, and visiting from home to home. Often though, Watts served in a weakened state.

As indicated in Bailey's book, Watts' physical appearance seemed to be more like that of an embryo than a fully developed organism. A small man, only five feet tall, Watts' large head, huge wig, and hooked nose quickly snared the attention of those around him. Beneath this visage was a frail and sickly body which cost Watts a fulfilling life as a minister.¹⁰

During the ten years Watts pastored, he published many works. His first published writings consisted of his collection of hymns and sacred lyrics called Horae Lyricae.¹¹ Published in 1706, it preceded his first religious hymnal, the "Hymns and Spiritual Songs," well-known throughout the Protestant Christendom. Two of his most famous hymns from this work included "When I Survey the Wonderous Cross" and "There is a Land of Pure Delight."¹²

These songs received attention quickly and enjoyed a cordial welcome in most Dissenting churches by the year 1712. Ironically, Watts' health weakened and he succumbed to a fever from which he never thoroughly recovered. Deciding finally to take a week-long rest, he traveled to the home of Sir and Lady Thomas Abney in Hertfordshire, England. This visit to Sir Thomas, one of Watts' parishioners, ended with an unexpected results. Watts stayed until his death which was thirty-six years later!¹³

Although Watts' active pastoral duties lasted ten years,

he retained the honor of preaching there for twelve more years. According to Michael Stapleton in The Cambridge Guide to Literature, this Mark Lane Congregation proved to be a remarkable one. When Watts' health failed, they hired an assistant to do most of the work. Thus, Watts could work when his condition allowed it.

Living mostly at Sir Thomas' home, Watts penned many famous compositions. Watts' special outside sanctuary allowed him to think and create writings for adults and children. Works which he composed here included: The Psalms Initiated in the Language of the New Testament, Catechism, Logic, and The Improvement of the Mind. The latter book remains a valued textbook at Oxford within a living memory.¹⁴

Along with these Watts published The Right Use of Reason in the Enquiry after Truth, The World to Come, and his famous book on nursery rhymes, The Divine and Moral Songs. These rhymes resulted from his personal interest in the three Abney daughters, especially their moral and religious education. In fact, Watts became a pioneer in the field of education.¹⁵ Although not published until 1720, the book on rhymes existed as a classic for a hundred years.

All of Watts' writings reflected his own personal life and beliefs. Brought up strictly within the Puritan creed and moving without hindrances among the Puritans' elite, he spoke openly his personal faith. Watts also refused to have

any political connections as can be noticed in his writings void of political messages.

In 1726 Watts received a Degree of D.D. unsolicited from the University of Edinburgh. This honor, along with his attention as "the Father of English Hymnody," never forced him from this low-key manner of life. His final moments proved just as peaceful on November 25, 1748, at the country home of Sir Thomas Abney. They buried Watts' remains at a Puritan resting place, Bunhill Fields, near Southampton. Monuments erected in honor of Watts stand in Abney Park, Southampton Park, and Westminster Abbey. Watts' Museum is on the site of his birthplace.¹⁶

At the time of his death, Watts' works included 454 hymns, 3 volumes of sermons, 29 treatises on theology, and 2 books of nursery rhymes, and several compositions of poetry. Throughout Watts' writings he used an approach different than any previous writer. Watts' acceptance of non-religious terms and ideas developed a more worldly and a more secular theme for his lines. Still absent from his entire literary effort includes writings with political implications.

Rhymes for Children

As previously mentioned, the Puritans influenced the early life of Watts. This powerful force remained a noticeable element in his works, especially in his nursery

rhymes. Watts' verses strongly advocated the Puritan doctrine "what children ought to have" concept.¹⁷ He just approached it with a gentler and softer touch.

For the Puritans, children's books dealt with the instruction and correction of the readers. They introduced a host of "goodly" books designed to counteract any "ungodly" influential literature. Works such as playbooks, romances, and idle folk tales projected frothy, empty, and powerful bait from the devil. This effective tool might poison the mind and forfeit what chance the child had for salvation.

Man, the Puritan believe, faced life from his infancy as a lost and a ruined creature. To them children stood not on the "stairs near to God," but defiled by the world's miry ways.¹⁸ This dogmatic position caused the Puritans to treat the child with the strongest power of discipline. Now, severity became a principle for them.

After the child's spirit broke, they decided their own destiny, heaven or hell. According to Mrs. E. M. Fields' book, The Child and His Book, this decision seemed impossible for the Puritan child to make.¹⁹ She stated the Puritans preached the child's future appeared bleak since it was a miserable little creature so full of original sin.

To reach these hell-bound children the Puritans used moral lessons and religious teachings. Each speller and

reader advocated a moral example with a Biblical concept. Their basic moral theme, generally applied to this material, included the idea of "taste not, touch not, and handle not."²⁰ As a rule, these writings used language of strong persuasion which Watts' thought should be used in theological sermons, not in children's books.

One particular Puritan author of these works was James Janeway. His writings dealt mostly with the Puritan concept of children death as previous stated before. As mentioned by Thwaite in her book, Primer to Pleasure, the Puritans used Janeway's books to help children memorize a small child's dying words and encourage them to escape damnation.²¹

Watts, disturbed by the harshness of these Puritan children's writings, decided to write simple, beguiling lines filled with praise. Early in the 1700's, he shaped these Puritan elements into a new and appealing form for children. His book, Divine Songs, Attempted in Easy Language for the Use of Children, deliberately proposed to divert, amuse, and entertain children in order to provide delight and profit.

In these works Watts presented a simple and easy-to-learn language so rhythmically written that children could quickly grasp and enjoy it. He proposed religious lessons in a new way, choosing Biblical verses with caution.²² By this action, Watts challenged them to praise rather than to condemn the children.

Watts desired to introduce an universal appeal born of a conscious desire to praise. He encouraged all children, rich and poor, to join together in these songs. To every child who read these Songs, Watts wished to furnish memories filled with goodness, and to beautify their souls with God's grace. He believed in a God of retribution, but also in a God of love, an omnipotent being who created the marvels of the earth and sky.

Along with his theme on praise, Watts stressed punishment for wrong doing as well. This satisfied the Puritans and they accepted his rhymes without question. An example of one such rhyme. . .

Lord, I ascribe it to thy Grace
And not to chance as others do
That I was born of Christian race,
And not a heathen or a Jew.²³

Complacent as this seemed, Watts succeeded in using words suitable for a child. This presented the child something to be read which was delightfully gentle, tolerant, and persuasive. Watts' approach introduced the beginning of a more secular viewpoint for children's nursery rhymes. This idea for rhymes, according to F. J. Darton in Children's Books in England, originated with Watts.²⁴

Besides reaching children with this new thought, Watts desired his rhymes to be memorized. He believed this to be easily accomplished since his verses were amusing and entertaining. Watts knew that what children enjoyed during learning stayed in their memory longer and was more quickly

recollected. This "vision" developed over the next two hundred years as children recited Watts' Songs in schools and nurseries in England and America.

Watts' appeal to children's audiences created a need for them to read. Before this time, most children's works consisted of fables, ballads, folk tales, and myths.²⁵ These were read or taught by adults and reflected children as miniature adults. Now, Watts' verses, written on the level of a child's understanding, caused a problem. Children needed to know how to read the verses themselves.

Conservative to Secular

Solving this issue occurred in a most unusual way. In 1730, Robert Raikes, a Gloucester printer, ventured to the poor side of town to do business. There he found a group of children playing in the street and noted their idleness and misery. He commented to an old lady near-by who informed him that Sunday happened to be the worst day for such inactivity.²⁶

It is on that day, she explains, that the streets overflow with a multitude of these wretches all released from work. They are all free to make trouble, to curse and to swear, without a serious thought of heaven or hell. This disturbed Raikes who went home and formulated a plan called Sunday Schools. The primary goal it advocated was to change this

deplorable profanation of the Sabbath. The news spread and soon Sunday Schools were started all over England so that by the 1800's the membership boasted about 850,000 children.

These Sunday Schools favored religious teachings both to believers and unbelievers.²⁷ Carrying out this job, Raikes employed women who taught for the payment of a shilling. They instructed the children from four to seven hours daily, creating a great need for children's literature of secular implications. This helped promote Watt's nursery rhymes to a greater extent, especially his verses on nature.

Watts based portions of his lines on John Locke's theory of the importance of kindness to animals. This concept proved helpful in teaching these unlearned and uncaring curs from the streets. One appeared as this:

How doth the little busy bee
Improve each shining hour,
And gather honey all the day
From every opening flower!

How skilfully she builds her cell!
How neat she spreads the wax!
And labors hard to store it well
With the sweet food she makes.

In works of labour or of skill,
I would be busy too;
For Satan finds some mischief still
For idle hands to do.

In books, or work, or healthful play,
Let my first years be past,
That I may give for every day
Some good account at last.²⁸

Watts also enthusiastically accepted Locke's theories

on the origin and association of ideas. Adapting them to his religious instruction, he stressed the crucial importance of natural theology in impressing proper ideas of God upon children. Watts believed children using sensory experiences understand complex ideas about God and simple religious duties. Attaining this knowledge, children recognize that the reflection of the natural world proves some "Almighty Being" existed.²⁹

Watts' writings partially influenced the concept of natural theology that surfaced in children's books in the Sunday Schools classes. His works strongly affected Mrs. Sarah Trimmer, one of the earliest and most influential author of children's books in this era. Her first work, An Easy Introduction to the Knowledge of Nature, and Reading, the Holy Scriptures, enjoyed immediate acceptance as the "Bible" in these schools.

Trimmer wrote this book after reading Watts' works, the Songs and the Treatise. His writings convinced her that "a book containing a kind of general survey of the Works of Providence, might be very useful; as a means to open the Mind by gradual steps to the knowledge of the Supreme Being."³⁰ Trimmer echoed Watts' opinion that a walk through nature leads to God. Watts achieved this with his rhymes.

According to Thwaite, Trimmer started where Watts quit. Trimmer never flagged in her energies. Her devotion to the

poor and unlettered won her admiration and respect from many. Trimmer also helped the teachers by providing them with various teaching aids. Helps such as scripture abridgements, prints, lessons, and spelling books greatly promoted the new market called publishing.

This business resulted from the rapid growth of a new class of readers, the children. Meeting their needs caused the production of universal, cheap materials. After the appearance of self-conscious, independent children's literature and of Sunday Schools, England now needed some commercial institutions to supply the materials. This caused a great influx of printer shops and book stores in the early 1800's.³¹

Along with these appeared a few distinguished firms established especially during the Sunday School era. They founded their markets strictly on what they called a "Sunday Schools reward" trade. The intense competition among these businesses for such a stolidly conservative market tended to confine the books of the period to an almost rigid uniformity.

This firm commitment to publish only literature children needed narrowed the selections of other books. Trimmer, as well as Hannah More, Rebecca Sherwood, and Lucy Cameron all believed that literature of an irreligious or subversive nature proved dangerous to society.³² Once again Watts' rhymes received renewed interest for children's work.

His verses which caught the attention of the teachers

in the latter years of Sunday Schools included his moral songs and rhymes in the work, Songs. These lines reinforced what these teachers advocated. Watts' songs helped the children to refrain from the temptation of learning idle, wanton, or profane songs or rhymes. One such moral verse of Watts stated:

"Birds in their little nests agree
And 'tis a shameful sight
When children of one family
Fall out and chide and fight."³³

Watts' ability to approach the problem from a child's point of view pleased this particular audience, both teachers and children. They enjoyed his way of putting a more worldly supplement to the religious exercises. Although popular for a time, Watts' lines diminished in demand after consistent recitation over many years. For several succeeding generations these moral rhymes proved wearisome to children and adult audiences as entertaining pieces.³⁴

Whereas the popularity of his verses lessened, Watts' influence upon his contemporaries and writers after his death continued to echo his literary endeavors. These writers aimed their verses more at the children's level and they enhanced his already proven approach to reach children by writing about nature. This helped the growing sensitivity to the beauty of nature which greatly affected children's literature in the 17th and 18th century.

One noted Unitarian writer was Anna Barbauld, a teacher

in a boy's school in Suffolk. Barbauld pioneered the making of suitable books for the young.³⁵ She attempted to awaken the children's thoughts of God in an imaginative way. Barbauld stressed that children learn in life to hear and to see things which affect their minds in wonder and delight.

Although she gave credit for this idea to Watts, Barbauld presented her work, Hymns in Prose, in rhythmical prose with elevated thought and style. She set before children a religion of solace and serenity, eschewing doctrinal matters and warnings of damnation. Exposing God as an omniscient, loving, and greater than all the lovely and powerful beings on earth, remained her basic theme.³⁶

In agreement with Barbauld's concepts and contemporary to Watts was Christopher Smart. He presented to children a divinity and love revealed in the natural world. Half-visionary, half madman, Smart's writings included his lifelong religious musing in simple verses. These lines expressed a spirit of charity and a childlike faith in God's love, as seen in this rhyme.

With white and crimson laughs the sky
 With birds the hedgerows ring.
 To give the praise to God most high
 And all the sulky fiends, defy,
 Is a most joyful thing.³⁷

Barbauld and Smart remained the two major contemporary authors under Watts' influence. Even after his death Watts' literature affected many noted writers of this time. As

previously mentioned, one of the earliest authors was Sarah Trimmer. Following her in the late 1700's in writing literature for Sunday Schools were women writers named Hannah More, Rebecca Sherwood, and Lucy Cameron. Each patterned their simple, attractive tales to interest children from Watts.

Of these three women, More remained the most influential. A prominent member of the Clapham Sect and a well-known author of her day, More cried with alarm at the effects of unsuitable literature available to children. She recognized that instructional and devotional works needed additional material to gain the children's attention. More launched a series of religious tracts called Cheap Repository Tracts.³⁸

These productions imitated the clapbooks in appearance and price. They presented tales with vigorous action about religion, sobriety, and honesty. Included with these elements came a well-constructed plot and a simple and direct content. The project sold 300,000 copies of the tracts within the first six weeks, and by the end of the year had marketed over two million tracts.

This popularity required reprints of the tracts many times in the nineteenth century. Addressed not just to children, but the poorer classes in general, they brought a message of faith and hope in improving the poor's situation. More included in the first series Watt's work of Songs. Using

his concepts of hard labor, temperance, humility, and unselfishness, More completed two works for the tracts. Called The History of Hester Wilmot, and The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain, both reinforced Watts' ideas for rhymes just for children readers.

Joining forces with More to infuse principles of Christianity into the lower classes of people appeared Rebecca Sherwood.³⁹ Sherwood, a children's writer, consistently concerned herself with Christian teaching and the aims of the Sunday School movement. More austere and Calvinistic in her theology than either Trimmer or More, she shared with them the gift of writing correct and clear English prose.

Sherwood designed her first story, The History of Susan Grey, for the students in her Sunday School class. Throughout her writing career she remained preoccupied with Christian doctrine and the need to stamp out evil. Sherwood agreed with Watts' conclusion that religious education was the only way to fight it.⁴⁰ Her first book included stories showing the importance and effects of religious education.

Complementing Sherwood in this field was her sister, Lucy Cameron. Cameron helped More by writing tracts for the Cheap Repository Tracts Society. Agreeing with Sherwood about the horror of original sin, Cameron expounded her ideas in little pious stories. Although not as well-known as More

Cameron's works, in addition to theirs, marked the beginnings of a universal cheap literature produced for the children of Sunday Schools.

Although Watts' transitional idea received many positive responses, there soon appeared some negative retorts to his approach. They generally criticized the harsh warnings that Watts' writings still included. The following two verses illustrate the problem.

If this rebellious heart of mine
Despise the gracious call of Heav'n,
I may be harden's in my sin,
And never have repentance giv'n.

What if the Lord grow wroth and swear,
While I refuse to read and pray,
That He'll refuse to lend an ear
To all my groans another day?⁴¹

HEAVEN AND HELL

There is beyond the sky
A heaven of joy and love;
And holy children, when they die,
Go to that world above.

There is a dreadful hell,
And everlasting pains;
There sinners must with devils dwell,
In darkness, fire, and chains.

Can such a wretch as I
Escape this cursed end?
And may I hope, whene'er I die,
I shall to heaven ascend?

Then will I read and pray,
While I have life and breath:
Lest I should be cut off to-day,
And sent to eternal death.⁴²

Watts suffered not only from parody, but from overpraise

for his work as a theologian in the nursery rhymes. His very freedom from harsh dogmatism created a flaw; he wanted to be clear and understandable. Some literary critics believe he missed his opportunity to be famous by "being too easy to understand."⁴³ In Bailey's book, he stated that Watts' simple writings could be understood by anyone with normal intelligence. Bailey continued by adding this simplicity promoted Watts' rhymes for almost two hundred years in many literary circles.

He undoubtedly desired to give children pleasure by his writings. In modern times his point of view became obsolete and narrow, and much of his children's verses receive ridicule. Although not entirely his fault, Watts still suffered the consequence. Some believe the slight change in the general adult outlook upon child-life caused it. Others stated that those who praised him force their opinion upon others and refused to allow Watts to be questioned by the readers. They make him a task, not a pleasure, with very few of his poems surviving the ordeal.

A verse which remained into the twentieth century reads like this:

Let dogs delight to bark and bite,
For God hath made them so.

But, children, you should never let
Such angry passions rise;
Your little hand were never made
To tear each other's eyes.

How doth the busy little bee
Improve each shining hour.

In works of labor or of skill
I would be busy too;
For Satan finds some mischief still
For idle hands to do.⁴⁴

Lewis Carroll, one of the greatest children writers, poked fun at this particular line, although one suspects that his Alice, in Alice in Wonderland, really liked the poem. Later, Carroll's version appeared.

Let Dogs delight to bark and bite,
For God has made them so;
Let Bears and Lions growl and fight,
For 'tis their Nature, too.⁴⁵

Carroll continued to recognize Watts' works and submitted a piece called "Against Idleness and Mischief" to the brilliant parody of "How Doth the Little Crocodile." Even then, a hundred and fifty years after Watts composed them, Alice and her friends related to them.

Regardless of these negative responses, and omission of political rhymes, Watts' rhymes remained visible during the nineteenth century as well. They appeared as common language so frequently repeated. For example:

THE CRADLE HYMN

Hush, my dear, lie still and slumber!
Holy angels guard thy bed!
Heavenly blessings without number
Gently falling on thy head.

Sleep, my babe; thy food and raiment,
House and home, thy friends provide;
All without thy care or payment,
All thy wants are well supplied.⁴⁶

In conclusion, Watts' nursery rhymes proved important for many generations. From the early 1700's until the Victorian Era, the freshness and power of his imagery made his children's verses not only effective in reading, but in memorization as well. Their simple diction, rhymes, and rhythms fashioned lyrics for children which artfully combined instruction, admonition, and praise.

These changes in the world of children's literature proved advantageous. His success in presenting verses in a simple language, allowed the religious lessons to be taught in a new way. Watts continued to alter the lines by introducing more secular views in his works, still religious in nature. This new approach in writing rhymes, according to Percy Muir, influenced every writer of children's verse of his day.⁴⁷

Perhaps Watts' greatest accomplishment occurred by his influence as a religious educator. His concern with the education of children showed in all his children's works. He desired his verses to be a diversion and hoped that each child learned one verse a week. With the opening of Sunday Schools the need for his work came into focus.⁴⁸

Although Watts' writings consisted of more than nursery rhymes, this achievement deserves acknowledgement. With his involvement the rhymes, especially the verses from Puritan authors, reached out with a softer touch that children grasp

which created a new audience, the children. Still, Watts' writings included no political messages.

This new approach with young readers caught the attention of an early 19th-century writer, William Godwin. Godwin, whose ideas for political change was refused by the adult hearers, now turned to the children. Using old familiar children's fables, he rewrote them and inserted into the works political implications. These ideas supported social and political reforms for England and Godwin's quest for a better tomorrow.

CHAPTER 3

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF WILLIAM GODWIN'S CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

Summary of William Godwin's Life

An overview of William Godwin's life reveals that from his birth in 1756 until his death in 1836, many changes took place in the industrial, political, literary, and philosophical areas. Godwin, more than his contemporaries, realized that these events in the known world could eventually lead human beings to happiness and freedom for all, if guided reasonably.¹ Advocating his philosophical theory in many literary works, Godwin achieved popularity for a period. Perhaps attaining this fame and fortune helped erase the disappointments he had faced earlier.²

Godwin encountered many difficulties in his early years. Born on March 3 in Wisbeach, Cambridgeshire, as the son of a Dissenting minister, Godwin was not accepted as a favorite by either parent. Godwin's father, John, complained about his son's lack of intelligence and often rebuked him in tones of ill humor and asperity.³ After Godwin's birth, his mother, not wanting to care for him, employed a hireling to nurse him and later allowed a cousin to care for him in the home.

Cousin Hannah, who had strong literary taste and even stronger Calvinist faith, taught Godwin literature and religion

until he was eleven. This early indoctrination helped Godwin in both his careers as a minister and a writer. At age eleven he became the sole pupil of the Rev. Samuel Newton, a religious bigot of the Sandeman sect.⁴ Their belief in the literal interpretation of the New Testament and the idea of God's select few strengthened Godwin's Calvinist faith.

Following his father's death in 1772, Godwin and his mother moved to London with intentions for him to enter the Homerton Academy. Godwin was rejected on suspicion of believing in Sandemanianism, but later entered Hoxton College and remained there five years.⁵ Upon graduation he began his ministry, only to lose his faith in God in 1779. His rejection resulted from reading Rousseau, Helvétius, and Baron d' Holback. Godwin left the ministry and returned to London to write.

Godwin's financial status forced him to produce works on almost any subject that caught his attention, or that of his publishers. His literary works included novels, articles for the Whig periodicals, and short essays for the "New Annual Register's" historical section.⁶ By 1791, with his writing partially established, Godwin settled down to a serious treatise on political theory.

This work, Enquiry Concerning Political Justice, received immediate public approval. Written with passionate sincerity and a complete absence of compromise, the treatise

enumerated radical beliefs which emerged from the French Revolution and the intellectual ferment which preceded it. This appealed to the intellectual radicals in England and, for a few years, Godwin enjoyed a happy and successful life.

After the third edition of the Political Justice, he wrote a novel, Caleb Williams, in which Godwin used undertones of political theory.⁷ Although the novel achieved recognition, Godwin's popularity diminished as the French Revolution met with opposition by the English intellectuals. At the time, though, Godwin experienced the happiest event of his entire life. He met and married Mary Wollstonecraft, a notorious feminist and author of the Rights of Woman.

According to Elizabeth Pennell in Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin, Wollstonecraft revolutionized not only Godwin's life, but his social doctrines.⁸ Through her encouragement he discovered the flaw in his arguments, and then honestly confessed his mistake to the world. Wollstonecraft also helped develop Godwin's belief that people possess passions which are meant to be expressed. Their wonderful companionship lasted for seven months until Wollstonecraft's death of complications following the birth of their child, Mary.

With Mary and Fanny, Wollstonecraft's illegitimate child, to raise, Godwin struggled to write. After four years he met and married Mrs. Clairmont which, unfortunately, proved to be an unsuccessful union. Nevertheless, Godwin wrote many

books, with varying success; a volume of essays, more novels, plays, a life of Chaucer, and a history of the Commonwealth period.

Disappointed with the success of these works, and in financial distress, Godwin and his wife established a children's bookstore called, Juvenile Library.⁹ Not only did this adventure bring in a profit, but it provided an opportunity to shape the next generation. Shortly thereafter, Godwin began writing and publishing children's books. Knowing the public opposition to his earlier works, Godwin used the pseudonyms of Edward Baldwin and Theophilus Marcliffe to avoid detection.

Although the Juvenile Library experienced success for some years, Godwin was a failure as a publisher. Godwin's constant need for money forced him to borrow continually from his wealthy friends. In recent years, records have been found which prove Godwin gave loans to others who could not repay which eventually led him to bankruptcy. He died in debt in 1836.¹⁰

Godwin left a legacy of works on political theory which proved to be a challenge to his contemporaries and those who study his works today. His efforts to combine literary works with political implications opened a new field of literary interest.¹¹ Godwin included Isaac Watts' secular approach in both his adult and children's literature. The children's

works, especially the fables, provided an excellent opportunity to know Godwin and his political ideas. This proved to be a challenge.

The greatest challenge of Godwin's works consists of understanding his political theory. His thoughts as a philosopher, novelist, utilitarian and his new ideas on anarchism, social economics, and progressive education completed his political philosophy.¹² This doctrine included three basic concepts: The Concept of Reason, Human Nature, and Doctrine of Necessity.

The Concept of Reason

First, the Concept of Reason is the foundation upon which Godwin places his political theory. All mankind, he maintains, possesses equal capabilities to reason. Reasoning would thus enable people to compare, judge, and solve their problems. According to Godwin this would eliminate the need for government, law coercion, commerce, or religion which restrain humanity.

Godwin describes reason as a comparison and balance of different feelings, and a faculty which distinguishes between truth and falsehood. This allows humans to perceive the natural laws in the world, judge morality, and decide what action is preferable. At this point, Godwin agrees with Jonathan Edwards' Freedom of the Will, which advocates that people's wills become influenced by their views of knowledge.¹³

Godwin concludes that under normal circumstances people do what they think is right.

Since reason influences human action, Godwin stresses a better way to change people. He encourages a continuance of a peaceful argument wherein truth, naturally having stronger reasons in its favour than error, would prevail. This Platonic notion of universal, eternal, and immutable truths can continually be discoverable by the unaided use of reason.¹⁴ Then reason would be sufficient to govern rational creatures where mankind could practice universal benevolence and perfect sincerity.

According to Godwin, reason not only improves mankind's actions, but increases their knowledge. He, like John Locke, often describes the original state of the mind "like a sheet of white paper, which are susceptible to every impression."¹⁵ Humans begin with "absolute ignorance," and build knowledge through impression, memory, and association. Godwin believes if people have evidence of knowledge, reason does not deceive them and no doubt remains as to their actions.

Besides action resulting from reasoning, Godwin advocates action results from circumstances and events not innate. He states that people can be reshaped by an improved external environment. This environmental influence can be looked upon as the major reason of differences in people's "actions and dispositions." He concludes that impressions

make the person. Hereditary and antenatal influences do exist, but compared to experience they lack effectiveness.

Godwin admits habits and prejudices influence people along with this environmental determination of human thought and action. He argues that human conduct is capable of doing away with these prejudices by reason. Sensory attractions, passions, and affections remain ineffective in a rationally directed life.

Concluding this concept of reason, Godwin believes reason permits humans to be rational and acceptable for life. This basic doctrine of his philosophy assures that lives and societies governed by reason will be the best possible. Thomas Aquinas extends this belief by adding reason becomes the "root of liberty."¹⁶ This being so, Godwin's dream would be fulfilled for a new-made world of perfect, or near perfect beings.

Human Nature

In Godwin's second concept, Human Nature, he defines five traits found prevalent among mankind. He concludes that people are: motivated by self-interest, born with a nature of good or evil, said to be equal or unequal, capable of human perfectability, and possessed with individuality for human development. These concepts of human nature formed the basis for Godwin's social and political theories throughout his literary endeavors.¹⁷

The first trait explores the idea that man acts in his own interest. This allows each person's welfare to be looked upon as an equivalent in importance to that of someone else. According to Godwin, people only do what seems good in their own eyes and consequently receive pleasure by doing that. He agrees with John Stuart Mill in his argument promoting utilitarianism, that this pleasure or happiness is attainable for all humans.¹⁸

Godwin advocates that people are driven to this action by one of two motives-direct or indirect. Direct motive constitutes what actually exists in one's mind when one decides to act. Indirect motivation results from force of habit through subconscious acts. Godwin believes that many people live under the control of habits and prejudices and tend to act selfishly, ignoring the general welfare of mankind. Such behaviour requires laws, governments, and religions; all opposed by Godwin.

Regarding the second trait of human nature, Godwin admits to having a great and unreasonable faith in human goodness. He agrees with Jean-Jacques Rousseau's belief in natural goodness.¹⁹ Godwin accepts goodness as an inherent quality which may be used as a tool in widening experience and improving the ability. He blames the lack of insight for the presence of evil.

In discussing Godwin's evaluation of equality or

inequality of mankind, he projects equality among all people. People secure this equal position because their minds undergo the same environmental influences at birth. Agreeing with John Locke and Rousseau, Godwin maintains environment and not inherent traits give every person the opportunity to receive knowledge through environmental experiences. It's when different social structures exist that eliminate this experience that inequality can be found.

The fourth trait of perfectibility consists of Godwin's most misunderstood concept. He argues his definition of this idea has been misinterpreted. Godwin defines perfectibility as a progress man achieves for improvement at some distinct date. He points out this does not mean humans are perfect or will ever be perfect, but rather they will always be imperfect. Perfection would stop improvement and civilization would cease.²⁰

Godwin's final trait of human nature includes mankind's desire to be an individual. His concept of individualism which expresses cooperation with others in a community threatens the autonomy of the individual. If mankind works together, Godwin believes, they will find it necessary to conform to each other's needs and opinions, depending less upon their own reasoning. He advocates modern technology will eliminate this cooperation.

The Doctrine of Necessity

With this theory Godwin relied upon the ideas from other

men. This third concept, The Doctrine of Necessity, resulted from Godwin's study of works by Samuel Clark, Jonathan Edwards, and David Hume. Their belief that every event is determined by necessity which governs people's actions and shapes their character attracted Godwin's attention.²¹ He adopted this form of determinism popular in that era and called it his "doctrine of necessity."

Godwin's doctrine infers that not only objects of this material world but all human actions and thought are determined by law. This reflects that a person's actions can be predictable according to the circumstances one experiences. Joining Godwin in promoting this form of determinism, G.W.G. Hegel applies it to his concept of history.²² He advocates that once a belief in a free individual arises in a human society this belief inevitably determines the actions which causes that belief to become a reality.

According to Godwin, existing evidence of necessity in nature prevails. He embraces the Newtonian view of the universe as a machine governed by necessary and universal laws. Man and nature are both subject to the strict laws of necessity, so that in everyone's life there occur chains of events with outcomes impossible for humans to act different than they act. It is at this point Godwin agrees with Hume that the same motives produce the same actions, the same events follow the same causes.

Godwin embraces in this doctrine of necessity a term called causality. He states that this principle concludes nothing can exist or happen without a cause. According to Godwin, man's actions are indeed involved in a necessary chain of cause and effect.²⁴ Godwin also emphasizes that the human will is part of the series of causes, and human actions become voluntary so that they can alter the direction of the chain, even if they cannot break it.

This action shows how the concept of free will becomes an important factor in Godwin's determinism. He believes that this will has the ability to overcome bias and be determined solely by the good.²⁵ Godwin's belief is equivalent to the traditional doctrine of free will advocated by Thomas Aquinas. Aquinas' concept that people make choices from many viewpoints, while Godwin believes it comes from one, appeared to be the only difference in their free will idea.

In conclusion, the main thrust of Godwin's doctrine of necessity deals with the concept that human actions are determined. As previously mentioned before, he agrees with the idea of free will. Godwin also argues that in humans' voluntary action, they choose what seems most desirable, but they have little control over what seems to be so. Godwin advocates Edwards' concept of self-limiting will which remains forever revealed in nature and in human life.²⁶

These three concepts of reasoning, human nature, and

necessity provide a clearer understanding of Godwin's philosophy as found in his works. His literary efforts, especially his fables for children, present a challenge when analyzing his political theory.

Public Rejection

The response to Godwin's political theory remained favorable for a time. But his reforms to perfect this theory appeared radical for many and soon met with harsh opposition. Godwin's changes in human choice, individualism, and perfectibility were widely rejected. Many believed Godwin's philosophy consisted of unsuitable and inconceivable opinions for people to accept.

According to George Woodcock's book, William Godwin, negative reaction toward Godwin began after the death of his first wife, Mary Wollstonecraft in 1791. Several years passed before he accepted the fact that his message proved unwelcome in a hostile world. In 1801 Godwin ended his open social proselytising with the publication of a trenchant reply to his attackers. But in a sense he never ceased to preach his doctrine of political theory. He continued to express them in other literary efforts, the fables.²⁷

Godwin stood firm in his convictions and bore strong consequences. Although the world refused to listen, and he became silent, Godwin maintained an unflinching constancy of opinions. This brought him many difficult years which

finally forced Godwin to become immersed in the crude business of commercial gain for the maintenance of his dependents. He opened a juvenile bookshop called The Juvenile Library.²⁸

Financial Distress

Eventually, this proved to be a financial disaster for the Godwins.²⁹ Their only successful result was Godwin's own children's works written for their library. These writings allowed him to once again speak out his political and social theories to the next generation.³⁰

Godwin's books for children show little sentimentality and pious rhetoric which filled many children's books of that day. Although they sometime contain expressions hard for children to understand, they are void of language which emphasizes the limited intelligence levels of children. Godwin employed a tone of conversation rather than lecture. Some critics believe this technique allowed him to more easily influence the English school child's mind with his political theory.³¹

Whether or not Godwin tainted his children's literature purposely, he believed as did other followers of Rousseau, that books help children become better people. In his first book, Fables, Ancient and Modern, Godwin adapted some well-known fables for very young children and deliberately contrived happy and forgiving endings. This retelling of

traditional tales made early childhood education easier.³² Although some of Godwin's fables have real aesthetic importance, most included a political message opposed by the readers. Godwin's desire to overcome his financial problems with the publication of this work proved futile. He died a pauper for the public refused to buy the book.

Godwin's Social and Political Teachings to Children

Godwin's concept of reasoning results from his studies of philosophers ranging from Socrates to Rousseau.³³ Their ideas remain prevalent in many of his fables. His works illustrate the Socratic doctrine that moral decay only results from intellectual deficiencies and his own concept that all humans have the power to reason. In addition, the fables imply that Godwin rejected Rousseau's claim that reasoning comes naturally to man, as well as Rousseau's doctrine of general will. This combination of ideas is purported by the following fables: "The Old Man and the Bundle of Sticks," "The Miller, His Son, and His Ass," and "The Traveler and the Bear."

1. "The Old Man and the Bundle of Stick"

In the first fable, "The Old Man and the Bundle of Sticks," the old man puts forth a riddle to his five sons as they play together during a holiday season. Godwin indicates there is a mood of festivity among the sons.

The old man asks for a bundle of sticks to be brought in from outside. Believing the sticks are for the fire, one son goes out and returns with a bundle of sticks.

As the sons continue to play, the old man asks them to break the bundle of sticks. Each son tries his hardest to accomplish the feat and fails. After a while the old man proclaims that he will break the bundle of sticks. He cuts the cord from around the bundle and breaks the sticks one at a time. The five sons all confess that they never gave thought to separating the bundle in order to break the sticks.

Godwin reveals in this story how that wit, more than strength, enabled the old man to break the bundle of sticks. Godwin's concept of reasoning, which stresses that people can overcome their problems by reasoning, is illustrated by the old man's actions. Godwin indicates that if the five sons had used their heads their physical labors would have been less strenuous and more successful. Godwin uses the dilemma of the sons to debunk Rousseau's concept of natural reasoning.

2. "The Miller, His Son, and His Ass"

"The Miller, His Son, and His Ass" relates what takes place at a country fair. Some people attend fairs for the serious business of buying and selling while others go only to play. Godwin advocates that the serious ones profit the most while the merry ones generally regret their losses.

The miller and his son begin the journey to the fair to sell the miller's ass and buy a drum for his son. As the miller and his son walk along leading the ass, fellow travelers complain to the miller for not allowing the son to ride the ass. Reasoning it out, the miller places his son on the ass and continues the trip.

Shortly thereafter, another group of travelers accuse the son of being selfish for riding the ass while his father is walking. Responding to their criticism, the miller climbs onto the ass with his son. The travelers then claim the two are overloading the ass.

The miller, confused and angry, takes a rope and ties the ass' legs to a long pole. The miller and his son then carry the ass between them. However, the miller soon realizes that this action is a mistake, unties the ass, and continues to the fair as he had first begun. Although others jeer and criticize, the miller remains content with this method of travel.

The fable reveals that the miller's failure to apply reasoning in responding to criticism only created more problems. The miller and his son experienced one difficulty after another because they failed to think out solutions. Godwin's concept of reason advocates that individuals need to depend upon themselves without interferences from others. He expressed also the individual will, not the general will provided the answer.³⁴

3. "The Traveler and the Bear"

In this particular fable Godwin illustrates the lack of trust among humans and shows how the traveler reasons out an escape in the time of danger. He continues to prove in this fable, as in the other two, that older people should possess a greater ability to reason than younger people. This provides evidence for Godwin's theory of the importance of environmental influence on people's lives.

The story begins with an old man and a young man traveling to a far city. To reach that city they must travel through a forest inhabited with wild beasts. The travellers agree that regardless of what happens on the trip they will stand by and defend each other. After parting with their families the travellers depart.

With a decision to travel in the daytime and stay by the fire at night they approach the forest with care. Their belief that wild beasts are afraid of fire and wander about only at night prove to be a mistake.

One day near the end of their journey, they meet a bear. The old man aims his gun but it misfires. The young man throws down his club and climbs a tree, leaving the old man alone.

The old man struggles to know what to do, and then remembers that some wild beasts refuse to eat dead carcasses. The old man quickly lies down and plays dead, and is relieved

when the bear turns and retreats back into the forest. The travellers continue their trip. The old man parts from the young man at the next town, willing to journey alone with only his wit to help him finish the trip. The old man sees that his power to reason is better for him than to travel with a cowardly companion. This concept of reasoning agrees with what Socrates stated.

Other Godwin's fables illustrates the five traits found prevalent in human nature. As previously mentioned, they include: self-interest, natural goodness, equality or inequality, human perfection, and individualism.³⁵ Godwin champions these in the fables, "Industry and Sloth," "The Good-Natured Man," and "The Wolf and Mastiff."

4. "Industry and Sloth"

In "Industry and Sloth," he points out how self-interest motivates people to action, whether directly or indirectly. The fable starts with a mother who begs and pleads her son to get up and work. After many day of lies and excuses the son is visited one morning by two young girls, Industry and Sloth.

Both Industry and Sloth gain the attention of the young man. Industry, a grave and sedate-looking girl, and Sloth, full of enticing words and smiles instruct the young man about his way. Industry provides the argument that if he rises early, he will be cheerful and alert, ready to work,

and become a respectable member of the community. Sloth, on the other hand, encourages him to lie still, enjoy the pleasure, and only think about the work which need to be done.

After listening to both arguments, the young man decides that for his own good he must arise and work as Industry said. Therefore, every morning when his mother calls, he quickly arises and soon recognizes the rewards of honor and wealth.

This fable illustrates what Godwin discusses in his opinion concerning human nature and self-interest. Godwin believed when a person decides to act in a way which is most productive for all, that decision generally rests on consideration of the individual's self-interest. As the young man in the fable realized it was in his own interest to arise and work, he thus changed his behavior and was rewarded accordingly.

5. "The Good-Natured Man and the Adder"

Many fables written by Godwin expresses the second trait: natural goodness. In the fable "The Good-Natured Man and the Adder" Godwin's doctrine of goodness is exposed as well as his idea of evil. All humans possess the ability to be good, and only experience evil because they lack insight of truth. This idea opposes Rousseau's concept that humans are "by nature unamiable."³⁶

Godwin describes this good-natured man as being good to both humans and animals. His creed includes daily acts of kindness. But one day this good-natured man's goodness and lack of insight caused him great stress when he helped a poisonous adder.

The fable begins with the man coming home from work one snowy evening. As he hastes along he spies an adder lying almost frozen beside the road. Although the man is cold and hungry, he stoops and places the adder inside his coat for warmth and continues toward home.

Upon his arrival home, he takes the adder out and lays it by the fire. As his family gathers around to admire its' beautiful colors the fire's warmth revives the adder. Suddenly the adder rears his head and begins to attack the good-natured man and his family.

Each member runs for safety, fearing the adder's fangs. A neighbor strolling nearby hears their screams and, knowing the kindness of the man, runs to help. Opening the door and viewing the situation, he strikes and kills the adder.

The good-natured man and his family are thankful for the timely and unselfish act shown by the neighbor. The only regret comes with the realization that the good-natured man brought this evil on himself, not knowing the danger of the adder.

6. "The Wolf and The Mastiff"

Godwin demonstrated in this fable another concept of

his. Relating to Godwin's doctrine of human goodness is his concept of human equality. He believed equality prevailed among all people since they all experience the same environmental influences from birth. He rejects Thomas Hobbes' idea that humans are by nature equal. Godwin argues that the way humans handle their experiences produces equality or inequality among people.

Illustrating this idea, Godwin tells a fable about a hungry wolf and a well-fed mastiff. At their meeting each one agrees there is little need to fight or fuss since both are born from the same origin and species. They quickly decide the only difference stems from their experiences.

As they walk along, the mastiff comments on the leanness of the wolf due to his lack of food. The mastiff explains to the wolf that his honest master, the farmer, always remembers to feed him. This exposes Godwin's respect for the people in the country. Throughout this fable, he expresses the beauty of the country, its' people, and its' land.

Drawing near the farmer's house, the wolf notices that the hair around the mastiff's neck is worn away. The wolf asks what caused the problem and the mastiff reluctantly informs the wolf of his chains. Being a free-spirited animal and having knowledge about chains, the wolf declares his decision to return to the wilds with an empty belly, rather than chains and plenty of food.

This idea of having liberty rather than having food represents John Locke's concept that the natural liberty of man is to be free from man on earth, only being bound to the law of nature for his rule.³⁷ Godwin indicated this in several of his fables for children.

Another concept found in Godwin's fables for children consists of the doctrine of necessity. Based upon immaterialism and necessity, the idea advocated that every event is determined by causal necessity where the action of human will is not free. Godwin included this concept in these three works: "The Travellers and the Money-Bag," "The Country-Maid and Her Milk-Pail," and "The Mice in Council."

7. "The Travellers and the Money-Bag"

"The Travellers and the Money-Bag" begins with two poor travellers going to London agreeing to share food, money, and fellowship. On their third day one traveller stumbles across a bag of money and instantly boasts of his lucky day, forgetting their previous agreement. He tells his fellow traveller that as soon as possible he will buy a mare and continue the trip alone, bidding his fellow traveller a very pleasant walk to London.

Before they enter the city, they hear horsemen discussing a bag of money lost by a farmer. The selfish man hastily informs his companion of their need to hide lest they are hanged as thieves. The fellow traveller refuses

to hide and reminds the selfish man that since he said he owns the money, he will be the one to hang.

Hearing their conversation, the horsemen appeared and demand the travellers to stop. The horsemen believe the good traveller's story, takes the money in order to return it to the farmer, and departs. It is here that the good traveller bids his selfish companion a very pleasant walk to London and he departs.

In this fable, Godwin describes how human actions are determined by their own opinions and these opinions are generally determined by desires. This doctrine agrees with Edwards' idea that people are guided by their will through desires.³⁸ The selfish traveller's desire for the money motivated him to change his mind about his fellow traveller and to forget about their agreement to share.

According to Godwin, another aspect of the doctrine of necessity includes that humans perform actions which are only possible for them to do. David Hume's stated that human actions are based on custom and habit. Godwin rejected this idea as noticed in the next fable.

8. "The Country-Maid and Her Milk-Pail"

In "The Country-Maid and Her Milk-Pail," a young, happy girl continues to displease people because of carefree, forgetful ways. Whatever the instructions are, she tends not

to complete the tasks. Godwin reminds the young readers that they probably tend to forget instructions now, although upon reaching young adulthood this tendency will vanish.

Her mother, believing the country-maid should be more attentive, reprimands her repeatedly. One day the mother suggests an award to the girl if she finishes her work each day. Phillis, the country-maid, works hard to complete each task given her during that week. On Saturday Phillis happily receives a pail of milk to sell at the market.

With the milk-pail on her head, Phillis walks to town. All the way she fantasizes about what she plans to buy with her money. Her plan eventually includes buying sixty eggs in order to hatch forty chickens. Selling the chickens, she can then purchase a sow and later a cow. While she is dreaming of the calf the cow will have, Phillis becomes excited. She forgets about the milk-pail and starts to skip and jump, spilling the milk on the ground and on herself. Phillis returns home, having learned that sometimes dreams become reality when you forget what you are really doing.

9. "The Mice in Council"

"The Mice in Council" opens with Godwin's explanation to never kill a creature except in the case of necessity. This would apply in the events only if a creature attempted to kill or overpower another. In this particular story, a cat

came to live in a house filled with mice.

At first the mice cleverly hid away, but they soon grew faint with hunger and many died. They called a council to decide what to do. One young mouse spoke of tying a bell around the cat's neck. The mice all thought that was a great idea until one elder asked who would tie the bell on. The young mouse silently slipped away while the rest agreed to move.

In this fable, Godwin places necessity "in nature, rather than in the constitution of our intellect,"³⁹ This view is in an agreement with Hume's concept of necessity, the same motives produce the same actions. The mice will probably face another foe just as before wherever they go.

In conclusion, Watts' introduction of a secular approach with nursery rhymes allowed Godwin to impart to children his social and political reforms by fables. Providing a challenge in the adult literary world first, his concepts proved to be unworkable for them. They refused Godwin's doctrines of anarchy, reasoning, and necessity.⁴⁰

Besides the unfavorable acceptance of his doctrine, personal problems and reforms forced Godwin to change his literary approach and means of living. Although the new adventure of the bookshop was a financial failure, it opened the door for Godwin to produce children's work.

It was here that Godwin found a plan to teach his theory for future reformers of England and be heard.

It proved evident they listened for by the mid-1800's rhymes with political overtones had increased in popularity. Their acceptance opened the way for an abundance of political nursery rhymes indicating messages of social, political, and religious interests. These factors helped place the verses in a prominent, significant position during the Victorian England. This is not the case in past centuries.

CHAPTER 4

VICTORIAN NURSERY RHYMES

For many centuries nursery rhymes conveyed to children valuable history lessons, though not many political messages. Passed on by oral traditions, these rhymes entertained and enlightened hearers and reflected ideologies from each period. Every era brought forth nursery rhymes with different statements, a few with political implications. Victorian England proved an exception.

Many of the Victorian nursery rhymes included political overtones. These connotations received influences from the social, political, and religious factors of past and present decades.¹ In order to identify the implications of these rhymes, three areas required research. These areas covered the history of English rhymes, the introduction of rhymes into the Victorian Period, and the Victorian influences upon the rhymes. Each field gives insight toward interpretation of the political rhymes.

The History of English Rhymes

In reviewing the history of English rhymes, "infant amusements" proved to be among the earliest preserved rhymes.² Originating in the fourteenth centuries, these rhymes included simple games for parents and nurses to use with children.

From the sixteenth century appeared rhymes accompanied by melodies called lullabies. Authors of these nursery songs intended them to soothe or entertained infants in the home.

Along with these earlier English works came rhymes which appealed to the adult audiences. Fragments of ballads or folks songs, remnants of ancient customs or rituals, and echos of tavern glees or brawls remained prevalent to the nineteenth century.³ Besides these, the acceptance of political satires and adult riddles became increasingly popular. Children eventually adopted these adult rhymes for enjoyment.

Perhaps there are several reasons why the English child embraced these particular rhymes in the 1700's. Children in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were treated as a "grown-up in miniature."⁴ The paintings of these eras even portrayed children wearing identical clothing as the adults. Many parents saw nothing wrong with children using strong language or savouring strong drink. Possibly these liberal viewpoints helped the adult rhymes to be acceptable for English children.

At the same time these rhymes caught the attention of the literary writers of England. These authors realized the need for documentation of these oral works and ventured to published them. It was during this period that the term "nursery rhyme" originated.

Introduction of Rhymes into the Victorian Era

The words first appeared in the Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine in 1826.⁵ In that issue an anonymous writer, possibly editor John Wilson, parodying as Hazlitt, wrote an essay called "On Nursery Rhymes in General." The essay gained the attention of English writers which gradually adopted the term "nursery rhymes." By 1842, James Orchard Halliwell had published a book titled The Nursery Rhymes of England.⁶

Halliwell's work made the introduction of rhymes an easy transition. An authoritative piece, it included many verses collected primarily from past oral traditions.⁷ The writing, interspersed with notes about the origin and age of nursery rhymes, proved to be comprehensive and authentic. It still remains a foundation of almost every nursery rhyme anthology today.

After the publication of this book, Halliwell enlarged and revised a second book in 1843. His additional critical analysis of each rhyme makes this work more acceptable to the English literary circles. In both volumes, however, he presented many rhymes using a trait prevalent for Victorian writers. This distinctive feature expressed old traditional rhymes with a "new twist" or "line" added.⁸

An example of a rhyme and how adaptation occurred appears in Halliwell's version of "Little Miss Mopsey." Originally called "Little Miss Muffett," the rhyme passed

from one generation to the next by oral tradition. According to Iona and Peter Opie, "Little Miss Muffett" became known in the 1600's and appeared as:

Little Miss Muffett
Sat on a tuffet,
Eating her curds and whey,
There came a big spider,
Who sat down beside her,
And frightened Miss Muffett away.

In 1842 Halliwell published the rhyme as "Little Miss Mopsey." Although this rhyme lacks any political implications, it shows how Victorian writers changed the rhymes to their liking. Halliwell's rhyme stated:

Little Miss Mopsey
Sat in the shopsey,
Eating her curds and wheys;
Along came a spider,
And sat down beside her
And frightened Miss Mopsey away.

Victorian writers believed altering the rhymes would help the verses to be "useful" and "moral-acceptable" for the Victorian Period. As indicated in Delamar's Mother Goose book, Victorian authors took a prudish stance in writing these verses.⁹ Many English rhymes now appeared with a moral or principle attached. This transition received support from the social, political, and religious sectors as well.

These rhymes became increasingly popular in England by the mid-1800's. They gained in popularity as they bonded with the English people which used a common "moral" language.¹⁰

This allowed the nursery rhymes to reach all classes of people. Although most of the verses spoke of the common man and his daily life, some dealt with the nobility at large. This unifying element where people spoke the "same" language, especially helped rhymes with political messages.

Victorian Influences on the Rhymes

Rhymes with political overtones played an important role in Victorian England. Already made popular by the writings of William Godwin, the rhymes received influences from certain areas during the 1800's. These areas included: published Victorian rhymes, noted religious and political groups, reformed English society, and transformed Victorian music.

Many published nursery rhymes appeared after 1850.¹¹ Among these published rhymes were those containing various political connotations. Some messages poked fun at the English government or an English official, while others magnified a social problem or ill. Still other verses revealed an idea or doctrine from an individual or group. Whatsoever the meaning, the rhymes appealed to the children as well as the adults.¹²

Victorian children were well-versed in nursery rhymes by oral traditions. According to Nannetta Whitbread, these children learned the basic English language at home through the verse. Folk-lore, Bible stories and proverbs, ballads,

dances, counting-out rhymes, and traditional rhymes provided this education.¹³ Parents believed this created a bond from home to school. The nursery rhymes at school brought back the warm familiarity of home and verse.

These rhymes became even more popular among children with the passing of two laws. The English Parliament approved a bill in 1843 making education compulsory for children seven years or older. Later, the Education Act of 1870 initiated infant-nursery schools for children aged five to seven.¹⁴ Both bills caused an increase in school attendance which helped expose more children to these rhymes.

Beside the influence of home and school upon the rhymes, many religious and political factions of 19th-century England remained strongly influential. The power of the Whigs, the theory of human rationale of the Utilitarians, and the help from the Evangelicals and Conservatives all raised the moral temperature of politics during this time.¹⁵ These forces combined the prompting of conscience with the chance for power and strengthening England's political system, making "morality" a dominant mode observed in many of their nursery rhymes.

Two of these parties formed the power structure of the English Parliament. They were the Conservatives, led by Robert Peel and Benjamin Disraeli, and the Whigs, led by Lord Russell and William Gladstone.¹⁶ These two parties

united to promote reforms in England through gradual, peaceful means. This unity inspired some literary writings, including one familiar nursery rhyme.

John Lea wrote the rhyme about England's ruler, Queen Victoria. Victoria's rule began in 1837 and continued for 63 years.¹⁷ Lea insinuated the long reign proved that Parliament and the Queen enjoyed a unifying force to rule England together. The rhyme appeared as follows:

When great Victoria rules the land,
She rules it like a Queen.
She has a Princess and a Prince,
Not very far between.

Several statements can be read in this rhyme. Lea first identified Queen Victoria's ability to be great. Evidences of Victoria's distinguished accomplishments occurred throughout her long reign. England reached the height of its power. It retained a great industrial expansion at home and enjoyed an imperial outreach abroad.¹⁸

These achievements received strong guidance from both parties. Their influences proved to be Victoria's greatest political strength in her position as a political figurehead¹⁹ Lea indicated this political relationship between the parties and Victoria in the rhyme's line:

She rules it like a queen. . .

Concluding the rhyme, Lea described this liaison as resembling a family's consanguinity. He compared the Whigs and the Conservatives as a prince and a princess and denotes

their ties in origin and kinship with the Queen. This reflected how both parties came to power in the same decade and both established an alliance with the Queen.²⁰

One result of the Conservatives' and Whigs' political efforts included the advancement of the concept "morality" within the English government and people. This heightened the moral creed and sixty-year career of William Gladstone. Gladstone, as a Whig leader and England's prime minister four times, helped to sustain unity within both parties many times. This time was no exception.

Gladstone always believed in the moral character of government. He quickly taught moral lessons to the Parliament whenever possible. His influence helped build the foundation of the Victorian concept of morality. Gladstone projected the term "morality" as the key which unlocked the door, bringing England together.²¹

One of Gladstone's theories included that the church and state operated inseparably. He advocated these remained moral agencies on the earth, thus they must work together to benefit the nation. Gladstone lived a standard of right and wrong, and preached such action should be displayed in public or private life.

Besides being a politician, Gladstone achieved fame as a writer. In the literary field, his writings promoted the concept of "moral-acceptable" upheld by other Victorian

writer, including authors of rhymes.²²

Throughout his term of office, Gladstone gained honors for his dedication to Christian principles applied to the political ideas and reforms. One example of his firm commitment was his struggle for Ireland's freedom. This created a stir among his colleagues, but Gladstone held his ground. Gladstone's strong belief in moral efficacy of a representative government molded his stance.

Gladstone's stand on Ireland's behalf received more opposition from the religious groups. They realized if Ireland became free, then Ireland's church would be disestablished from the mother church in England. In the eyes of England's church leaders, this event would limit their finances as well as their power.

One church leader, Bishop Deny wrote a hymn expressing his disapproval of Gladstone's goal for Ireland's freedom. It later appeared as a rhyme.²³

Look down, Lord of Heaven,
On our desolation!
Fallen, Fallen, Fallen
Is our country's crown.

Deny identified the desire for a divine intervention for England's trouble. The Church of England was already experiencing problems from within. With the rise of England's industrial revolution and England's desire for more land abroad, interests of the people changed from religion to politics.²⁴ These events caused a "falling away" from the church.

In the rhyme's conclusion Deny describes England's condition as hopeless and rapidly decaying. If Ireland received freedom from England, the ruling power of Queen Victoria and the Church would be eliminated in Ireland. This would be a disaster for Victoria's empire and the Church, according to the church leaders.²⁵

Gladstone's criticism remained mild if compare to his influence. Gladstone and both political parties stayed strongly unified until the late 1890's. In 1895 the Conservatives pulled away from the Whigs in order to reduce the dictation of the morality code. They insisted on promoting a high moral standard in politics without a written moral order. However, both parties remained unified in fostering social reforms, although not as vigorously as the Utilitarians or Evangelicals.

The Evangelicals represented a small group of people know as the Clapham Sect.²⁶ As a branch of the Church of England, the Evangelicals' influence touched all classes of people. These included the working and unemployed people, the earnest, town-dwelling businessmen, the upper middle-class, and the landed gentry active in politics.

Gaining power in the mid-1800's, the Evangelicals worked toward many social reforms. Where the political parties helped specific groups, the Evangelicals tried to reach every group with social change. One result of the Evangelicals'

effort was that England sensed a degree of moral obligation and accountability in their relationship with their neighbors. This provided a foundation with the cohesion needed to support Gladstone's political moral message which had already been established.

The greatest Evangelicals' asset to England's society came by breaking down the communication barriers between the elites and lower classes.²⁷ This advanced the common "moral" language mentioned before. By promoting this principle of oral communication, the Evangelicals received the influences they needed to gain support for their reforms.

Joining in the Evangelicals' fight for social reforms appeared a group called the Utilitarians. Although opposite in most of their beliefs, they did agree that good morals made a perfect person.²⁸ The Utilitarians believed that morals came by obtaining secular help, while the Evangelicals said morals could be attained by religious experiences and by keeping the commandments of the Bible. Together they promoted changes in Victorian England which helped raise the moral temperature of politics.

In the Evangelicals' and Utilitarians' relationship to rhymes, each wrote a limited amount. Many of their rhymes followed the trait of the Victorian literary authors. Both groups took traditional nursery rhymes and adopted different works to fit their own doctrine or belief.²⁹

One of the traditional rhymes the Evangelicals used for their version was "Two Little Blackbirds." They adopted the rhyme whose words and title were changed. According to Halliwell the rhyme became popular in France in the 14th century and appeared as:

Two little blackbirds
Sitting on a fence.
One named Jack
The other named Jill.
Fly away, Jack,
Fly away, Jill,
Come again, Jack,
Come again, Jill.

The Evangelicals version:

Two little dicky birds
Sitting on a wall.
One named Peter
One named Paul.
Fly away, Peter,
Fly away, Paul,
Come again, Peter,
Come again, Paul.

In the original verse, evidence of witchcraft can be noted. Since ancient Rome, witch-lore has used the blackbird to serve as a medium for divination. Generally, the blackbirds told of past and future events. The presence of two blackbirds meant a time of cursing, where each one carried a curse, one evil and one good.³⁰

As mentioned before, the Evangelicals believed that obeying God's commands perfected the morals of people. In the rhyme they replaced all the implications of evil with Biblical concepts. First they changed the evil connotation

of the blackbirds to the peaceful symbol of the dicky birds. This logo was used when relating about peace.

Their second revision came when they changed the names to Biblical names, Peter and Paul. This established a divine connection between the rhyme and the Bible. The rhyme's message now became acceptable for the children to read. As the Puritan creed, the Evangelicals believed children should read only religious and moral-acceptable material.

Although agreeing with the Evangelicals' idea that people could gain perfection, the Utilitarians believed it could be achieved by a different method. They promoted the doctrine that personal liberties helped people in developing good morals. To the Utilitarians these freedoms provided people with true happiness. Many of their rhymes supported social reforms which dealt with freedom of individuals or groups of people.³¹ The Utilitarians' concept can be seen with the publication of a rhyme called "Three Little Kittens." Written in 1883 by Eliza Lee Follen in America, the rhyme became popular in England by 1885 when embraced by the group Utilitarians. It was published as:

Three little kittens
They lost their mittens,
And they began to cry,
Oh, mother dear,
We sadly fear
Our mittens we have lost.

What! lost your mittens,
You naughty kittens!

Then you shall have no pie.
 Mee-ow, Mee-ow, Mee-ow,
 No, you shall have no pie.

The three little kittens
 They found their mittens,
 And they began to cry,
 Oh, mother dear
 See here, see here,
 Our mitten we have found.

Put on your mittens,
 You silly kittens,
 And you shall have some pie.
 Purr-r, Purr-r, Purr-r,
 Oh, let us have some pie.

The three little kittens
 Put on their mittens,
 And soon ate up the pie,
 Oh, mother dear,
 We greatly fear,
 Our mittens we have soiled.

What! soiled your mittens,
 You naughty kittens!
 Then they began to sigh,
 Mee-ow, Mee-ow, Mee-ow,
 Then they began to sigh.

The three little kittens
 They washed their mittens,
 And hung them out to dry,
 Oh! mother dear,
 Do you not hear,
 Our mittens we have washed.

What! washed your mittens,
 Then you're good kittens,
 But I smell a rat close by,
 Mee-ow, Mee-ow, Mee-ow,
 We smell a rat close by.

Follen, an anti-slavery and feminist advocate, interspersed throughout the rhyme the Utilitarian message for 19th-century England. Promoting their basic doctrines, Follen illustrated how individual liberties achieved happiness; happiness that every man creates by having good morals.³²

There appeared three symbolic implication in the rhyme. The three little kittens represented the three social classes of England. Queen Victoria's image resembled the kittens' mother. The mittens stood for the personal liberties of these classes which bring happiness if experienced.

In the rhyme, the kittens lost their happiness when they lost their personal liberties. These liberties included the right to vote, to own property, and to be free from oppression (whether by way of slavery or working condition).³³ During the early Victorian Era, people from every class lacked at least one of these liberties. As the Victorian age progressed, various classes gained these liberties although restrictions remained.

These limitations concluded that only certain people gained the right to vote, and the right to own property had to be approved by the elite. Additionally, the long hours and unsafe conditions for the laboring class, and the employment of minors and women existed until the 20th century.

The Utilitarian influence upon Victorian England proved smaller than the influence of the Whigs or the Conservatives. The Utilitarians did help foster a liberal movement established in the early Victorian Period. In the 1840's, the liberal movement paved the way for the emerging of England as a free-trading nation. It also encouraged the English to use the

freedom available to speak, think, and write as the people desired.³⁴

One class of people which enjoyed this new liberation happened to be the nursery rhyme writers. As this literary group experienced freedom, they criticized the government and political figures without fear of retaliations. The Opies gave an example of this in the rhyme "Pussy Cat, Pussy Cat." Written in the 1700's, the rhyme appeared again during the Victorian Era critical of Queen Victoria's foreign policy.

Elder Lord Elmer, criticizing Queen Victoria's desire for more land abroad, revived the rhyme around 1850's. Aiming to gain Queen Victoria's attention to the problems at home, Elmer published the rhyme in a pamphlet.³⁵ The rhyme simply stated:

Pussy, cat, pussy cat, where have you been?
I've been up to London to look at the Queen.
Pussy cat, pussy cat, what did you there?
I frighten's a little mouse under the chair.³⁶

As mentioned before, Elmer exposed the rhyme again for a political connotation. Elmer believed that the Queen's quest for land abroad had slackened her concern for England's welfare. He insinuated that right in the Queen's palace lived a problem, the rat. Using the cat to represent people, Elmer emphasized that anyone could go see the Queen and discover she had a problem, which the Queen herself failed to see. The problems remained.

These problems at home included: the unsafe and unsanitary conditions of the city dwellers, the unfair and unequal treatments of the workers, and the unruly and unkempt state of the lower class.³⁷ Although these problems existed, the liberal movement promoted reforms which still made Victoria's reign successful. Beside her strong political power at home and abroad, the extension of suffrage, the close of the middle-class rule, and the installment of democracy extended Queen Victoria's popularity.

Democracy gave rise to the transformation of Victorian music. Before the 19th century, the bulk of most music appeared in the Anglican church services. This ecclesiastical thread caused the music to reflect a softer and more sentimental message. But when the English people started prospering with material goods, their interest changed from religion to politics, it brought a more secular, cultural note to the Victorian songs.³⁸

This transition brought a difference to the written music during this time. Pulling away from the religious theme, the authors introduced fairy-like characters into the Victorian music. According to Earnest Walker, author of The History of English Music, Frederic Hymen Cowen wrote the first Victorian musical piece about fairies.³⁹ Shortly thereafter, an influx of fairy tale rhymes appeared in England.⁴⁰

Another change in the music came with the growth of

urban population. When the working class people settled near the factories, they brought their own music. Most of their music consisted of rhymes and ballads. Once they moved into the cities, the industrial population joined the elite in supporting the growth of choral societies and brassband concerts. While the workers continued to enjoy their traditional music, they quickly embraced music which told of their new environment.⁴¹

Such music about the worker's new lives reflected the increasing wealth of the middle class and the poverty still prevalent in the lower class. Some music spoke of problems facing the workers. These included crowded houses, long working hours, low pay, and child labor. These worker's plights eventually found root in many Victorian nursery lines as seen in this verse.

Hush a by, baby
 Lie still, lie still
 Your mommie's away at the mill.
 And won't return home till the moon light appears,
 Hush a by, baby, lie still.⁴²

This nursery rhyme paints a picture of a working mother's life in Victorian England. It speaks of how the mother goes to work at the mill and will not return home until after dark. This verse, as others, exposed to the people the lack of concern that the Queen and Parliament had for the working conditions during the 19th century.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the political connotations of Victorian

nursery rhymes provides an excellent way to study the period.⁷⁵ With the help of James O. Halliwell, who preserved the rhymes, and William Gladstone, who influenced the morality code among the entire English people, the study of Victorian rhymes gains an established foundation.

Evidence proves political Victorian nursery rhymes emerged with influences from the past and present centuries. From the earliest periods where no political messages existed, the written history of the ancient and medieval eras included rhymes. Verses about life then and its' changes reached both the adult and children audiences. Although the rhymes remained close to the same in context, the themes were changed by the Puritan influences after the Reformation.

Puritans stressed the necessity of reaching children at the earliest age for religious purposes. To them, a child's or adult's eternal ending proved the most important goal in life. With this in mind, the writers approached the need for religious writings to be acceptable and readable for the young. The "heaven or hell" literature still is effective.

Respecting this Puritan doctrine but softening their "hell, fire, and brimstone" approach, Isaac Watts took a different viewpoint. His gentle and serene style caused the lines to be more liberal and secular in nature. At this, his rhymes basically remained a religious or moral idea without any political sermons.

Seeing this as a vehicle in spreading his forbidden political teaching, William Godwin advanced this secular idea

politically. By turning children's fables into political lessons he upheld his belief that children's literature could promote social and political reforms for England. Although Godwin's popularity dwindled among political circles, his influence upon children's literature having political implications remained permanent. When Victorian England appeared, political nursery rhymes were being published and widely read and enjoyed by all.

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER 1

1. In the section, "The Concept of Nursery Rhymes," White provides a chronological outline of the development of nursery rhymes, particularly political verses. (Diana White, "Social, Political, and Personal Satire and Doggerel in the English Nursery Rhymes." Master Thesis, Texas Woman's University, 1971), 8.

2. Darton presents a detailed summary of the earliest known rhymes in England, and the history each verse reflects. (F. J. Darton, Children's Books in England, 2d ed., Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 100.

3. The author gives a discussion on the origins of children's games found in classical literature. (Henry Betts, The Games of Children: Their Origin and History, London: Methuen & Co. LTD., 1929; reprint, Detroit, Michigan: Singing Tree Press, 1968), 1.

4. Appearing in Delamar's chapter about historical allusions and satires includes the sources of certain religious, political and ancient rhymes familiar to children. (Gloria Delamar, Mother Goose: From Nursery to Literature, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company, 1987), 123.

5. Delamar relates historical material contemporary to the origin of each rhyme. (Delamar, 109-110).

6. Located in Darton's section regarding the Puritan's Good Godly Books is an analysis of nursery rhymes written under the influence of the Puritan doctrines. (Darton, 53-69).

7. Thwaite's history of children's books in England establishes that certain political, social, and religious factors influenced rhymes. (Mary F. Thwaite, From Primer to Pleasure In Reading, Boston: The Horn Book, Inc., 1972), 27-30.

8. Throughout Thwaite's research, the author indicates the lines which reflects the influential powers in England of each era. (Ibid.).

CHAPTER 2

1. In the section, "Getting Under Weigh," there is a brief discussion of Isaac Watts' effect on 1800's nursery rhymes.

(Percy Muir, English Children's Books: 1600-1900, New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1954), 57.

2. Found in Mrs. E. M. Fields' work on Watts is a short overview of unique facts of his early childhood.

(Mrs. E. M. Fields, The Child and His Book, 2d ed., Detroit, Michigan: Singing Tree Press, 1968), 258-259.

3. In a long chronological summary under the title "Dr. Isaac Watts," editor Nicholas Barker provides witty insights about Watts' personal life.

(Nicholas Barker, ed., The Cambridge Guide to English Literature, Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 1236-1237.

4. Fields presents the reader a short summary of Watts' poetry endeavors as a child.

(Fields, 258).

5. Visible in Albert E. Bailey's chapter called "The Revolutionary Dr. Isaac Watts and his Contemporaries" is unusual explanations of Watts' childhood, especially his father's opposition to his poetry.

(Albert T. Bailey, The Gospel in Hymns: Background and Interpretations, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950), 44-46.

6. Barker continues to give a complete outline of Watts' life.

(Barker, ed., 1236).

7. The author provides a detailed account of the education of Watts.

(Bailey, 46).

8. Reflecting a short dialogue between Watts and his father, Fields expresses the tension which existed between them.

(Fields, 259).

9. The complete chapter, "The Poetry of Isaac Watts," tells the background information of Watts' hymn writing.

(Bailey, 61).

10. Arguing that Watts' physical condition and grotesque figure shortened his life as a minister and brought refusal to his proposals for marriages made an interesting review of Watts' life by these authors.

(Jane Bingham and Grayce Scholt, Fifteen Centuries of Children's Literature, West, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1980), 320-39.

11. In William Andrew's writings about church hymnals, the author explains the theological doctrine of Watts found in his hymns.

(William Andrew, Old Church Lore, West Yorkshire, England: E. F. Publishing Limited, 1975), 139-142.

12. Researching the hymnals of Watts, Bailey includes hymns which made Watts famous and well-known in religious circles.

(Bailey, 49-50).

13. Desiring to give the reader a complete look at Watts' writings for children, the author tells how Watts influenced nursery rhymes and materials for Sunday Schools.

(Thwaite, 54).

14. Barker supplies an overview of all the writings of Watts and their publishing date.

(Bailey, ed., 1236).

15. Edward Baldwin's section on the schools of England, continues defining religious and secular education prevalent for many centuries.

(Edward Baldwin, The History of England, for the Use of Schools and Young Persons, London: M. J. Gowin & Co., 1806), 25.

16. The author relates the achievements and honors bestowed upon Watts.

(Bailey, 1236).

17. Critical of many authors and their definitions of rhymes, White argues that doggerel includes a variety of subject matters and explains how.

(White, 4).

18. Researching the customs of English's folk tales, Christina Hole criticizes the Puritan doctrine of the lost and ruined, hell-bound children.

(Christina Hole, British Folk Customs, London: Hutchinson & Company, 1976), 68.

19. Echoing the same criticism with Hole is Fields, which adds that the Puritan's creed creates an impossible situation for the children.
(Fields, 188).

20. The author displays how the Puritans intermingle Biblical concepts in their children's literature.
(Ibid.).

21. Thwaite exposes how James Janeway's writings influenced Watts' works.
(Thwaite, 53-54).

22. Relating what Watts placed in the preface of his nursery rhyme book, Divine Songs, Lou and Thomas McCulloch state the literary creed of Watts.
(Lou and Thomas McCulloch, Children's Books of the Nineteenth Century, Des Moines, Iowa: Wallace-Homestead Book Co., 1979), 108.

23. Thwaite describes some of the rhymes of Watts as complacent and arrogant lines.
(Thwaite, 54).

24. In the section, "Interim: Between the Old and the New," Darton speculates that Watts bridged the gap between the Puritans' "goodly books" and the Radicals in the early 1800's.
(Darton, 108-109).

25. Under the title, "The Art of the Fairy Tale," in Smith's work, the author explains how children's work consisted of mostly folk tales, myths, ballads, and fables, in the centuries before the 1700's.
(Lillian Smith, The Unreluctant Years, Chicago: American Library Association, 1953), 43-47.

26. Realizing the importance of Sunday School in the 1700's, Thwaite provides the reader with a detailed summary of its origin.
(Thwaite, 58-65).

27. The author continues to relate the complete story of Sunday Schools and the difference it made in the literary world of children's literature.
(Ibid.).

28. Pickering challenges the reader to compare John Locke's and Watts' teaching about natural theology.
(Samuel F. Pickering, John Locke and Children Books in Eighteenth-Century England, Knoxville, Tennessee: The University of Tennessee Press, 1981), 17-19.

29. In the section, "The Lyrical Instruction of Watts," the co-authors stress the importance of Watts' theology to his rhymes.

(Patricia Demes and Gordon Moyles, eds., From Instruction to Delight: An Anthology of Christian Literature, Toronto, Canada: Oxford University Press, 1982), 61-62.

30. The author shows how Watts' works influenced Sarah Trimmer's children's literature.
(Thwaite, 59).

31. Muir provides a summary of the growth of a new market called publishing, as the result of Sunday Schools.
(Muir, 58-60).

32. Thwaite adds a more detailed discussion of the publishing market by specifying authors involved with its' conception.
(Thwaite, 60-65).

33. In Martin's work about nursery rhymes, she gives excerpts of Watts' moral songs.
(Sarah C. Martin, "The Comic Adventures of Old Mother Hubbard and Her Dog, 1805," Master Thesis, Texas Woman's University, 1965).

34. Robert Darnton, in his division of "Peasants Tell Tales," theorizes why Watts' rhymes diminished after many years.
(Robert Darnton, The Great Cat Massacre, New York: Vintage Books, 1985), 39-42.

35. Thwaite included Mrs. Barbauld in her chapter on Watts and his contemporaries, explaining the importance of Barbauld's work in promoting books for young children.
(Thwaite, 57-58).

36. Analyzing the differences in religious doctrines in England.
(Edward Baldwin, Outlines of English History: Chiefly Abstracted from the History of England, London: M. J. Godwin & Co., 1808).

37. The author states a brief summary of different writers of Watts' era, especially those influenced by him.
(Thwaite, 57).

38. Ford Brown gives a paragraph about Hannah More and her involvement with Sunday Schools.
(Ford Brown, Fathers of the Victorians, London: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 137.

39. This work describes Sherwood as an important children's writer of Sunday Schools and how Watts' writings influenced her work.
(Thwaite, 63-65).

40. Bailey mentions short biographical sketches of Watts' contemporaries, including Sherwood.
(Bailey, 44-48).

41. Comparing the positive and negative responses of Watts' writings, Bailey explains different rhymes.
(Bailey, 188, 260-263).

42. In the section, "Watts: From Divine Songs," Demers and Moyles takes exact rhymes from the work and explores them for content purposes.
(Demes and Moyles, eds., 65).

43. Bowen describes the humility of Watts in his personal life.
(Desmond Bowen, The Idea of the Victorian Church: A Study of the Church of England, Montreal, Canada: McGill University Press, 1968), 15.

44. Appearing in the section, "Isaac Watts," Bailey covers the various verses that Watts wrote which made Watts famous.
(Bailey, 45).

45. Fields explores the different versions of Watts' rhymes found in the work, Divine Songs.
(Fields, 56).

46. These authors included the entire rhyme of "A Cradle Hymn."
(Demes and Moyles, 75).

47. Muir explains how he believed Watts influenced the verses to be more secular in nature.
(Muir, 56).

48. The author tells about Watts' religious effect upon nursery rhymes, even until the present day.
(Francis Cornish, The English Church in the Nineteenth Century, London: Macmillam and Co., Limited, 1910).

CHAPTER 3

1. In Part I of George Woodcock's book, there is a brief outline of Godwin's early life from 1756-1783.
(George Woodcock, William Godwin: A Biographical Study, London: The Porcupine Press, 1946), 1.

2. Woodcock provides the reader a short summary of Godwin's early childhood and his rejection by both parents. (Woodcock, 5-7).

3. Under the section, "Childhood," Peter Marshall presents a discussion on Godwin's father as a parent and a minister.

(Peter Marshall, William Godwin, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1984), 11-12.

4. In Woodcock's writing about Godwin's early years the author explains Samuel Newton's theological doctrine and its influence upon Godwin's political theory. (Woodcock, 10-12).

5. Appearing in the introduction of William Godwin, Elton and Esther Smith give a short chronological sketch of Godwin's entire life.

(Elton and Esther Smith, William Godwin, New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1965), 11-15.

6. In a short biographical summary in the section concerning the Godwin Legend is a list of Godwin's literary accomplishments.

(David Monro, Godwin's Moral Philosophy: An Interpretation of William Godwin, Folcraft, Pennsylvania: The Folcraft Press, Inc., 1969), 2.

7. A complete summary of Godwin's works. (Ibid., 2-4).

8. The influence Mary Wollstonecraft had upon Godwin's political theory is analyzed by Mary Pennell. She presents evidence to prove Wollstonecraft helped to secure his political theory.

(Elizabeth Pennell, Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin, 2d ed., London: Gibbings and Company, Ltd., 1909), 180.

9. In Marshall's writings about Godwin's juvenile library, he states a detailed account of the establishment of Godwin's venture.

(Marshall, 266).

10. The chapter, "The Years of Patience," tells the entire summary of Godwin's final years, especially his financial failures.

(Monro, 180-246).

11. Arguing that Godwin deserves a place in literary history as an influential writer of the nineteenth century.

(Melvyn Barnes, The Best Detective Fiction, London: C. Bingley, 1975), 11-12.

12. John Clark's book stresses the political philosophy of Godwin.

(John Clark, The Philosophical Anarchism of William Godwin, Princeton, New Jersey: Prince University Press, 1977).

13. The author relates Edwards' concept of the Freedom of the Will in the chapter concerning the will and mind.

(Edward Davidson, Jonathan Edwards: The Narrative of a Puritan Mind, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968), 130-132.

14. Appearing in short dialogues in Plato's "The Republic" is Socrates' philosophy of reason.

(Jean Porter, ed., Classics in Political Philosophy, Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1989), 53-58.

15. Reflecting the influence John Locke had on Godwin's concept of reason, Clark goes into a brief summary of Locke's. (Clark, 13-14).

16. Comparing Thomas Aquinas and Aristotle in the section called "Theoretical and Practical Thinking," the author gives a short statement of Aquinas' concept of reason.

(Ralph McInerny, St. Thomas Aquinas, Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1977), 55-61.

17. In the Smiths' book on Godwin, they provide a detailed description of his literary work under the section, "Writings for Children and Adults."

(Smith, 121-145).

18. Clark's conclusion speaks of the eight points of John Stuart Mills' doctrine on Utilitarianism.

(Clark, 304-305).

19. The author compare Rousseau's and Godwin's theories on natural goodness.

(Monro, 157-162).

20. This is a complete analysis of Godwin's concept of human nature in which Clark explains the idea of Godwin's perfectibility.

(Clark, 60-86).

21. Throughout Marshall's book he evaluates the part which Samuel Clark, Jonathan Edwards, and David Hume had in developing Godwin's political theory.

(Marshall, 17-45).

22. In chapter five of "Reason in History," O'Brien gives his opinion of how Hegel views reasoning in history.

(George O'Brien, Hegel on Reason and History, A Contemporary Interpretation, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1975), 148-153.

23. Clark provides an overview of the similarities and differences of Hume and Godwin.
(Clark, 43).

24. Appearing in the section called "Doctrine of Necessity," Clark covers the question of why the term called causality fits into the concept of determinism.
(Ibid., 42-47).

25. The author shows that Godwin remains constant in his belief of necessity.
(Ibid., 48).

26. Ola Winslow's writings explains the effect of John Locke on Jonathan Edwards and his views concerning the will.
(Ola Winslow, Jonathan Edwards, 1703-1758: A Biography, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940), 4-7.

27. The reason for opposition to Godwin's works is found in Woodcock's section about Godwin's calamity years.
(Woodcock, 146-179).

28. Reflecting on the years the Godwin's owned the bookshop, Woodcock gives an account of its' progress.
(Ibid., 193-207).

29. The author furnishes the financial status of the Godwin's business venture.
(Ibid.).

30. Critical of the Godwins attempt to run a business, the author does find one successful effort: Godwin's works for children.
(Ibid.).

31. In David McCracken's article, he shows how closely Godwin's literary theory and political theory conjoin, especially in his children work.
(David McCracken, "Godwin's Literary Theory," Philological Quarterly 69, January 1970), 120-121.

32. Explained in the preface of Godwin's book on fables is the question of why it is important to retell traditional tales.
(William Godwin, Fable, Ancient and Modern, with a Preface by D. L. Greene, New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1976), 5-9.

33. The complete book edited by Porter with brief summary of philosophers from Plato to Marx.
(Porter).

34. Located in the section called "Human Nature," is a short overview of Rousseau's and Godwin's comparison of the "general will."
(Clark, 81).

35. Explaining his ideas of Godwin, Woodcock presents his evidence of traits found in Godwin's concept on human nature.
(Woodcock, 47-97).

36. To understand Godwin's idea of human nature, Clark gives Rousseau's concept of the natural man which is similiar to Godwin's belief.
(Clark, 69).

37. This discussion exposes Locke's doctrine that men are equal by nature.
(Porter, 250).

38. Under the section called "Political Justice," in Marshall's work, there is a short discussion of Edwards' concept on the will and how it relates to Godwin.
(Marshall, 98-99).

39. The analysis of Hume's concept of necessity establishes the fact that Godwin used many basic principles of Hume.
(Clark, 42-43).

40. Desiring to give the reader a complete picture of Godwin's literary works, Paul starts with Godwin's earliest writings until his death. This work provides details omitted from most books on Godwin.
(Charles Paul, William Godwin: His Friends and Contemporaries, Vol. 2., London: Henry King & Co., 1976).

CHAPTER 4

1. The complete book by Peter Marsh highlights the social, political, and religious influences prevalent during the Victorian times.
(Peter Marsh, The Conscience of the Victorian State, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1979).

2. The "General History" section in Delamar's work contains a brief outline of nursery rhyme history. More research is needed for a better foundation if writing on the history of rhymes.
(Delamar, 2).

3. White expresses the limited definition of rhymes previously stated.
(White, 4).

4. In Gomme's writings about English children, he goes into the social ills that prevailed in the 1600's and 1700's.

(George Gomme, London in the Reign of Victoria, London: Blackie & Son, 1898), 25.

5. In the introduction of James O. Halliwell and his influence upon rhymes, the Opies give evidence that the word "nursery rhyme" appeared before his book.

(Peter and Iona Opie, The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes, New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 1.

6. Delamar gives a complete summary of Halliwell's methods of preserving the nursery rhymes.

(Delamar, 10-11).

7. A complete summary of his work on rhymes. (Ibid.).

8. This analysis of the Victorian nursery rhymes resulted in establishing the fact that a certain trait prevailed. Serious thoughts were given to rhymes with messages, particularly political verses.

(Opie, 16).

9. To prove why the Victorian writers wrote new lines or words for rhymes, Delamar questions past eras influences.

(Delamar, 16-17).

10. Giving an overview of England's common people through the 17th and 18th centuries, the author tells what he believed held the common people united.

(Wilbur Gordy, American Beginnings in England, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925).

11. The first nursery rhyme book was published by Halliwell in 1843. After his publication, rhymes appeared in abundance in Victorian England, according to the Opies.

(Opie, 6).

12. Researching the culture before the Victorian Era reflects some unusual characteristics of the period, particularly the idea of children being treated as adults.

(Ibid., 4-6).

13. Children learned the English language at home for many years. This was taught primarily through rhymes especially oral tradition verses.

(Nannette Whitbread, The Evolution of the Nursery-Infant School: A History of Infant and Nursery Education in Britain, London: Oxford University Press, 1919), 13.

14. In 1870 an important bill passed the English Parliament which required the establishment of nursery-infant schools to help working mothers with child care and provide education at an earlier age.
(Ibid., 40-44).

15. Marsh describes the unity of the four political parties during the Victorian Era.
(Marsh, 2-4).

16. Describing the influence that Victorian prime ministers achieved on the English government, Hazen argues that they were the real power. What they desired, Parliament and the Queen gave.
(Charles Hazen, Fifty Years of Europe 1870-1919, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1919), 121-123.

17. Some Victorian authors wrote of Queen Victoria and all her great accomplishments, omitting any negative reviews. Gomme paints a pretty picture of her entire reign.
(Gomme, 42).

18. Describing the Victorian Era's achievements, Hazen's comments become bitter, especially regarding the great industrial nation's social ills. His criticism can also be found when relating to imperialism.
(Hazen, 90-95).

19. Arguing that Victoria's power stemmed from her prime ministers, the author gave examples to prove she ruled only as a figurehead.
(Ibid., 185).

20. Giving background material of the political parties of England, Marsh explains the beginnings of the Whigs and Conservatives.
(Marsh, 29-35).

21. Realizing the importance of William Gladstone, the author gives a preview of Gladstone's personal beliefs and motives. Marsh relates how these ideas carried over into his political career.
(Ibid., 73-83).

22. This work explains Gladstone's influence upon different areas during the Victorian age. Hazen provides information to illustrate why he believes Gladstone is one of the most influential man at that time.
(Ibid., 202).

23. The English still mingled religion with politics in the late 1800's. The hymn written by Deny shows how the religious music sometimes had political implication. The last line was later omitted and the hymn became a rhyme. (Opie, 35).

24. Throughout the section "The Conduct of Government," it is implied that the English people turned from religious approaches to a more secular view of life. (Marsh, 14-19).

25. In the short, biographical sketch about Gladstone, Marsh relates the struggles that he faced when working for Ireland's freedom. His work with Parliament and different political groups reflects his excellent ability as a statesman. (Ibid., 114-118).

26. Located in Marsh's chapter, "The Conduct of Government," is a short overview of the Evangelicals' beginnings in England. It can be seen in this chapter that the Evangelicals remained a branch of the Church of England, thus widely accepted by English society. (Ibid., 12).

27. Arguing their acceptance also came from the fact of using a common "moral" language which broke down barriers of communication during the Victorian Period. (Ibid., 13).

28. In the chapter about the Evangelicals' and the Utilitarian's influences upon the rhymes, Halliwell explains how they worked together although, they held many opposite doctrinal beliefs. (James O. Halliwell, Popular Rhymes and Nursery Tales, 2d ed. Detroit: Singing Tree Press Book Tower, 1968), 15, 52-56.

29. Delamar's work in historical and political effects upon rhymes echoes Halliwell's observations regarding the Evangelicals and Utilitarians. (Delamar, 97-135).

30. Explaining the presence of witchcraft upon the verses, the authors record "Two Little Blackbirds." (Opie, 147).

31. Desiring to give the readers a complete picture of the Utilitarian, Marsh starts with their origin and, in outline form, shows their activities throughout the 1800's. (Marsh, 52-69).

32. In the same section of the Utilitarian history, Marsh includes doctrines which advocates true happiness comes from having good morals. This idea still remains today. (Ibid., 32).

33. Reflecting the work of Parliament and Queen Victoria, Smellie provides the readers with a critical review of both.
(K. B. Smellie, A Hundred Years of English Government, London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., Ltd, 1950).

34. The author relates the concept of the liberal movement in Victorian England and the influence it had upon the people.
(Ibid., 45-67).

35. Many Victorians believed the Queen's reign brought back respect for the throne. Hazen opposed this by showing the Queen lacked public support in many of her reforms.
(Hazen, 63).

36. In Delamar's book of rhymes, she included the original story of the verse "Pussy Cat, Pussy Cat."
(Delamar, 375).

37. This work gives information needed to understand the social ills and problems facing the Victorian people. It details activities which occurred within the different classes of people.
(Smellie, 13-16).

38. Using sources from many different areas, Walker wrote an excellent outline on music history. It proved helpful when researching for political messages in Victorian music.
(Earnest Walker, A History of Music in England, 2d ed. London: Oxford University Press, 1919), 257-300.

39. The introduction of fairies into Victorian music is explained fully in Walker's outline. He argues that the idea of fairies entered the music sphere before the rhymes.
(Ibid., 273).

40. Proving this argument, Walker gives the author and title of the first musical piece with the word "fairy." The music was written earlier than any rhymes with fairy-like people.
(Ibid.).

41. This work reflects the influence the workers brought to the cities with their own music.
(Sir Malcolm Sargent and Martin Cooper, eds., The Outline of Music, New York: Arco Publishing Co. Inc., 1963), 390-395.

42. Halliwell's version of "Hush a by, Baby," and the original rhyme as Halliwell heard it.
(James O. Halliwell, The Nursery Rhymes of England, London: Percy Society, 1843), 132.

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