

THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS
FROM
THIS WORLD TO THAT WHICH IS TO COME
DELIVERED UNDER
THE SIMILITUDE OF A DREAM.
WHEREIN IS DISCOVERED THE MANNER OF HIS SETTING OUT,
HIS DANGEROUS JOURNEY AND SAFE ARRIVAL AT
THE DESIRED COUNTRY.

"I have used similitudes" — Hosea 12:10.

LICENSED AND ENTERED ACCORDING TO ORDER.

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INTRODUCTION BY THE EDITOR

CHAPTER I.

LIFE A PILGRIMAGE THROUGH A STATE OF SPIRITUAL CONFLICTS —
“THE PILGRIM’S PROGRESS” A GUIDE TO ALL HEAVENWARD PILGRIMS —

THE AUTHOR FURNISHED WITH LEISURE TIME TO WRITE IT,
BY BEING SHUT UP IN PRISON FOR REFUSING TO VIOLATE HIS CONSCIENCE.

Art thou for something rare and profitable?
Wouldest thou see a truth within a fable?
Art thou forgetful? Wouldest thou remember
From New Year’s Day to the last of December?
Then read my fancies, they will stick like burs.

Bunyan’s *Apology for his Book*.

THE pilgrimage of life is a deeply-interesting subject, coextensive with human nature; every individual of our race is upon pilgrimage, from the cradle to the grave. It is the progress of the soul through time to enter upon a boundless eternity; beset on all sides, at every avenue, and at every moment, with spiritual foes of the deepest subtilty, journeying from the commencement to the close of the course through an enemy’s country, uncertain of the term of existence, certain only that it must terminate and usher us into an eternal state, either of exquisite happiness, or awful misery. How natural that every man’s life should be called by its proper name — a pilgrimage.

The Patriarch felt this when he bowed before Pharaoh, and said, “The days of the years of my pilgrimage are an hundred and thirty years: few and evil have the days of the years of my life been, and have not attained unto the days of the years of the life of my fathers in the days of their pilgrimage” (Gen. 47:9). David sang the statutes of the Lord in the house of his pilgrimage (Psa. 119:54). And after the lapse of ages, when the Volume of Inspiration was about to close, the Holy Spirit continued the simile in the apostolic Epistles, “and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth” (Heb.

11:13). As such we are exhorted, “I beseech you, as strangers and pilgrims, abstain from fleshly lusts” (1 Peter 2:11). “See then that ye walk circumspectly” (Eph. 5:15). “So run, that ye may obtain” (1 Cor. 9:24). These are instructions that reach the heart of every Christian convert throughout the world; all are warned of the necessity of sobriety and vigilant watchfulness, “because your adversary, the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour” (1 Peter 5:8). “He shall cast *some* of you into prison, that ye may be tried; be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life” (Rev. 2:10).

All mankind are pilgrims; all are pressing through this world: the Christian willingly considers that his life is a journey, because he is seeking a better country; but the greater multitude are anxious to prevent the recollection, that time is a preparation for eternity, and, in consequence of this neglect, they shudder when approaching the brink of the grave, into which they are irresistibly plunged. Although perpetual examples warn them that suddenly, at a moment when they least expect the fatal catastrophe, it may befall them, still, as if infatuated, they make no inquiry of the Holy Oracles as to how they can escape the second death; but take the miserable counsel of some “worldly wise man,” and seek a refuge in lies, which death will terribly sweep away; or they wholly neglect any preparation for so important and certain, if not sudden, an event. All are on the advance; time hurries on those whose pilgrimage is limited to the foul, but fascinating streets of the “city of destruction,” to their eternal doom; while those whose anxious cries lead them to the Christian calling, press on in the narrow and difficult path that leads to the heavenly Jerusalem.

To condense the instructions given to the pilgrim in the Inspired Writings into a map of the road, a guide or hand-book to the celestial city, a help to Zion’s travelers, and a faithful warning to the votaries who crowd the broad road to ruin, was a labour of love for its vast importance, worthy of the highest powers of human intellect, the warmest Christian philanthropy. It is surprising that a work which so naturally suggests itself to the imagination, and which is of such universal interest, was delayed so long. The abstruse dreams of Jewish rabbis, the splendid figures and scenery that floated before the minds of Oriental and Greek sages, and the intense subtlety of the schoolmen of the Middle Ages, were intended for a very limited class,

excluding all but those who were their immediate disciples; and all their instructions having a direct tendency to lead them from the highway of happiness, to wander in the mazes of a senseless sophistry, or, to use the Apostle's words, "spoil them through philosophy and vain deceit." It was a work that could only be prepared by an expanded soul, above all sectarian bias, by one who could, with unbounded charity, embrace all nations, all tongues, and every people, as brethren in the vast dominions of his God; by one who felt that human happiness would not be perfect until this universe became the kingdom of his Christ. Such a hallowed and sanctified mind alone could furnish his fellow-sinners with an epitome of the way to the celestial city, equally acceptable to Christians of all denominations.

To write for the instruction of the whole family of man, is not the province of a bigoted sectarian, whose visions of happiness extend no further than to embrace his own immediate disciples. Had ancient sages, or more modern schoolmen, felt their brotherhood to the whole human race, knowing that every individual, of all sects or parties, is fulfilling his pilgrimage through the short space of time allotted to fit him for an unbounded eternity, surely some of the great and illustrious philosophers of bygone ages would have attempted to complete an allegory, the outline of which had been given in the earliest of records — the Holy Oracles. No trace, however, has as yet been found in Hebrew, Oriental, Greek, or Latin literature, of such an attempt. The honour of producing this extraordinary work, in a surprising degree of perfection, was reserved to a later age, and was conferred upon an Englishman; a man, as to human learning, unlettered, but deeply learned in the school of Christ, and profoundly skilled in all the subtleties of the human heart; upon a man connected with a denomination eminent for love of Christian liberty, and for hazardous, but resolute obedience and conformity to every institute which they found in the New Testament; and therefore everywhere spoken against, and bitterly persecuted.

This important work was destined to be accomplished by a preaching mechanic, not vainly or falsely claiming, but really possessing the true evidence of apostolic descent in spirit and in truth, as his works and afflictions fully proved; to a man, while suffering under the tyranny of Antichrist, whose judges and officers shut him up to languish in a noisome prison for twelve years and a half of the prime of his life; thus vainly

attempting to bend his free, his Heaven-born spirit, to submit, or pretend to submit, to what he considered to be popish and unchristian forms and ceremonies, and to compel him to conform to the church established by law; having at its head, at that time, the most debauched monarch in Europe.

He was apprehended while conducting the public worship of God, and sent to prison in Bedford jail. The indictment preferred against him was, "That John Bunyan, of the town of Bedford, labourer, hath devilishly and perniciously abstained from coming to church to hear Divine service, and is a common upholder of several unlawful meetings and conventicles, to the great disturbance and distraction of the good subjects of this kingdom, contrary to the laws of our sovereign lord the King." To which he pleaded, "We have had many meetings together, both to pray to God, and to exhort one another; and that we had the sweet comforting presence of the Lord among us for our encouragement; blessed be His name therefor! I confess myself guilty no otherwise." No witnesses were examined, but a plea of guilty was recorded; and his sentence was,

"You must be had back again to prison, and lie there for three months following; and, at the three months' end, if you do not submit, and go to church to hear Divine service, and leave your preaching, you must be banished the realm; and if, after such a day as shall be appointed you to be gone, you shall be found in this realm, you must stretch by the neck for it, I tell you plainly; and so he the justice bid the jailer have him away."^[1]

This was soon after the restoration of Charles II, when a persecuting hierarchy having been reinstated in power, revived obsolete and tyrannical laws. The mechanic, or fisherman, shall not preach or teach, was the sullen, stern voice of despotic authority. But, at the imminent risk of transportation, and even of death, the pious and highly-talented mechanic, John Bunyan, persevered in instructing the peasantry who came within the reach of his voice. He was for this, and for not attending his parish church, seized and sent to Bedford jail; and, by the overruling power of his God, the means that were thus used to prevent his voice from being heard by a few poor labourers, opened to this persecuted disciple of Christ the path to honour, as well as to lasting and most extensive usefulness.

Dragged from the arms of his affectionate wife, who was brought to death's door by painful apprehensions that his life would be sacrificed; bereaved of

the company of his children, and of personal communion with the little flock of Christ to which he ministered, this holiest, most harmless, and useful of men was incarcerated in a jail, with felons and the most degraded characters. But “surely the wrath of man shall praise Thee: the remainder of wrath shalt Thou restrain, O Lord” (Psa. 76:10). Here he finds a resting-place, with leisure time to write his far-famed allegory; here, having commended his bereaved wife and infant family to the protection of the King of kings, even in that DEN, with a conscience void of offence, and full of spiritual peace, he tranquilly reposèd, waiting with resignation the will of his heavenl Father. How strange a dwelling for one so highly honoured of God! how unearthly a mode of fitting him for his glorious destination, to shine as a star in the heavenly firmament, and to occupy a mansion in glory! He who thinks that happiness, or holiness, or true honour, is to be measured by temporal grandeur, makes a false estimate, and knows little of the ways of God.

These walls and bars cannot a prison make,
The freeborn soul enjoys its liberty;
These clods of earth it may incaptivate,
Whilst heavenly minds are conversant on high,
Ranging the fields of blessed eternity.^[2]

The poor persecuted Christian was free from that mental wretchedness which cankered the souls of his persecutors; one of these, named Feckenham, whose violent conduct will be presently seen, died miserably while Bunyan was in prison;^[3] and the Christian inhabitants of Bedford trembled under the thought, that his wretched end was one of the just judgments of God upon persecutors. We must be, however, very careful in such conclusions. Every solemn event, in Divine providence, is not to be considered a judgment upon those who have offended God. Thus, when Charles II said to Milton, “Your loss of sight is a judgment of God upon you for your sins committed against my father”; the intrepid poet dared to answer, “Does your Majesty judge so? then how much greater must have been the sins of your royal father, seeing that I have only lost my sight, while he lost his eyes, and head, and all!”

Notwithstanding that Bunyan fully anticipated an ignominious death, his days were spent as happily as the prison discipline would permit. Working to provide for his family — studying his Bible — instructing his fellow-prisoners — and writing on the most important subjects — must have fully occupied every moment of his time. And it was HERE, in this DEN, that his

vivid imagination conceived, and his pen wrote this wondrous Pilgrimage, under the similitude of a dream. And when it was published to the world, he by it preached, and is now preaching, not merely to a few villagers in the neighbourhood of Bedford, but is making known the glad tidings of salvation, the way of escape from the city of destruction, the pilgrim's path to Heaven, to millions of every clime.

Thus do the emissaries of Satan ever overreach themselves. So it was when the Bishop of London paid a large price for a few score of English New Testaments, to burn them. The money that Tyndale received from Tonstall enabled him to publish a new and superior edition, corrected in the translation, and which was extensively circulated. Some of these remain to this day,^[4] a monument to the faithfulness, the piety, and the talent of the translator, and to the folly of persecution. It led Tyndale to sing —

The devilish imps did strive to have
For the Holy Book a burning grave,
But all their travail was in vain,
God multiplied it quick again.

The pope and devil are seared and wondered,
Their gold burns one, but makes a hundred.^[5]

The world would probably have heard but little of John Bunyan — he might, with thousands of similar valuable characters, have remained comparatively unknown — had not the natural enmity of the human heart to the simple, but Divine truths of Christianity, excited wicked men to acts of persecution. Crafty and designing priests, under the pretence of the sole cure of souls, engrossed the patronage of the state, enjoyed exalted dignities among their fellow-men, and appropriated to themselves immense wealth. To preserve this worldly eminence, they sought to stay the onward improvement of the human mind, and the progress of Divine truth. To effect this object, they resorted to an old plan which had been often tried, and had as often eminently failed. It was the obsolete system of tyranny similar to that which cast the three Hebrew youths into the fiery furnace, Daniel into the den of lions, and had martyred thousands of God's saints — a system opposed not only to reason and common sense, but to the operations of God in nature. It was to compel uniformity in modes of worship, and matters of faith; to bind the spirit in fetters, and to prevent those personal inquiries into religion which are so strictly enjoined in the Word of God. The mode of a sinner's access and

approach to the Throne of Divine Grace, was limited to the same dull round of forms and ceremonies under all circumstances; in fine, it demanded the entire prostration of the immortal mind before the claim of priest-craft to infallibility. Such a system required the support of violence and tyranny. Therefore it was enacted by law, that all should constantly attend the parish church, and go through the proscribed service, upon pain of fine, imprisonment, transportation, or death. If any benevolent person, not connected with the sect of religion taken into partnership with the state, was detected in visiting and praying with the sick, teaching the ignorant the way to Heaven, comforting the distressed conscience, or converting sinners to holiness, he was doomed to imprisonment, that such useful labours might be stopped.

By this time, the Bible, which for ages had been concealed, was widely circulated among the people; education had spread abroad the means of examining those sacred pages; while a holy ministry, under the Commonwealth, had extensively sown the seeds of life. Many felt the powers of the world to come; hundreds of thousands had been taught the Assembly's Catechism, and had sanctioned the Confession of Faith; while upwards of twenty thousand had become united in Baptist churches. Multitudes of godly men and women, of all denominations, were proving the sincerity and truth of their Christian profession by their harmless, benevolent, and pious conduct. The death of Oliver Cromwell let loose those ambitious and licentious spirits, which had been for some years kept under severe restraint. It opened the way for the restoration of the old system of extravagance, tyranny, and iniquity. Like streams long pent up, they now rolled on with resistless violence, filling their course with the tears of the virtuous, and the oaths of the profane.

The Puritans, by their simple habits of life, had secured many comforts, which excited the thirst of plunder, and the enemies of Divine truth entered with alacrity upon the work of wholesale persecution and spoliation. Among the first of those upon whom the hand of tyranny fell, was John Bunyan, a man who had determined, at all costs, to maintain his integrity. With the most inflexible devotion to his Saviour, he preferred death to hypocrisy, and would submit to no compromise with the enemies of his soul's happiness and salvation. In the face of most imminent danger, he dared not pretend to

believe that the priest could, by any ceremony, convert an infant into a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of Heaven; or that one poor feeble, sinful man had power to forgive the sins of his fellow-transgressor. He dared not conform to ceremonies which were not commanded in Holy Writ. He could not unite with a system which, in his conscience, he believed to be directly and essentially opposed to Christianity; inasmuch as it prevented free inquiry, and usurped the throne of God, in wickedly attempting, by coercive laws, to regulate or direct the mode in which the soul shall publicly worship the God of salvation. Bunyan refused obedience to laws that interfered with the sacred rights of conscience. His free immortal spirit was not to be confined by articles, creeds, and confessions made by fallible mortals. He persevered in his pious benevolent course, and the tyrants immured him in a prison. Here his God most eminently honoured and blessed him, and, by His providence and grace, consecrated him to be a guide and companion to Christian pilgrims of every country, and every age, while on their way from the city of destruction to their celestial and eternal habitation in glory.

CHAPTER II.

THE “PILGRIM’S PROGRESS” WRITTEN IN PRISON — DIFFICULTIES THROWN IN THE WAY OF ITS PUBLICATION.

The most important events have arisen out of circumstances very different to what reason could have expected. The great Lawgiver of Israel was a poor foundling. The Redeemer of the world was born in a stable. The sublime Revelations of John were written by an exile in a penal settlement. The universal guid to Christian pilgrims was the unaided work of an unlettered mechanic, while a prisoner for conscience sake. So unsearchable are the ways of God:

Behind a frowning providence
He hides a smiling face.

“Out of the eater came forth meat” (Judg. 14:14). “The wrath of man shall praise Thee,” O God! How wretched is the state of those persecutors who, like Satan, are found fighting against the Almighty! To prevent the pious and talented John Bunyan from doing good, state religion shut him up in a noisome jail; and how remarkably was it overruled for the attainment of the very object they intended to prevent! What fearful odds — the power of the state, priests and justices, armed with Acts of Parliament, to compel uniformity in faith and practice, are linked together to crush a poor tinker! He preaches the glad tidings of salvation to a few poor trembling sinners; they are converted; from being pests to society, they become valuable and useful citizens; it is effected in a barn — the pomp and ceremonies and vestments used in a consecrated building are set at nought. The kingdom of Christ increased, with all its blessed effects, without the aid of a learned education. God must be prevented from thus going with, and blessing His devoted and humble servant, in a way so contrary to Acts of Parliament and human pride; the justices meet — they warn their destined prey, and endeavour to cajole him into obedience and spiritual slavery; he saw their hostile array, he knew their extensive powers — to imprison, transport, put to an ignominious death. What could a poor tinker do under such alarming circumstances?

He had a Refuge and a Friend that they saw not, knew not. He took counsel

with his God, and, while in the path of duty, felt that he had a wall of fire round about him, that all things must work together for good. He went calmly on his way. The warrant was issued by Justice Wingate, a name known only for this deed of iniquity. It was the first attempt in that county at persecution. The place at which the meeting was held is called Samsell. He was warned by the enemies of truth, in the hopes that he would fly, and that they might triumph. The *posse comitatus* was raised, and the liers-in-wait "kept a very strong watch about the house"; his timid friends begged of him to fly; he walked into a close, to hold communion with his God; he went into the meeting with his spiritual strength renewed. When requested by his poor friends, who were alarmed for his safety, not to hold the meeting, he said, "I will not stir, neither will I have the meeting dismissed for this. Come, be of good cheer, let us not be daunted; our cause is good, we need not be ashamed of it." He commenced the service with prayer, during which he was not interrupted. He named his text: "Dost thou believe on the Son of God?" (John 9:35); intending to show the absolute need of faith in Jesus Christ, and that it was also a thing of the highest concern for men to inquire into, and to ask their own hearts whether they had it or no.^[6] But before he could enter upon this important inquiry, the constable approached, produced his warrant, and put his hand upon his person. Bunyan looked at him; the man turned pale, withdrew his hand, and trembled; it was the first victim that he had arrested under those wicked laws. After a few words of counsel and encouragement to the people, he surrendered himself to the officer; and upon his refusal to leave off preaching, the justice committed him to Bedford jail, where he lay, under a cruel sentence, for nearly thirteen years.

We may easily imagine the alarm and misery felt by his affectionate wife and his four children, one of whom was blind, and the whole community of dissenters in that part of the country. Antichrist appeared to triumph. It is very probable that his fellow-worshippers would humble themselves before God, and, with broken hearts, inquire what peculiar crimes they had been guilty of to call forth this severe chastisement. They might call to remembrance the language of David, "Thy judgments *are* a great deep"; and be comforted with his following words, "O Lord, Thou preservest man." Who could have imagined that the jail was to be his study, his Bethel, and the means of his preaching to millions of his fellow-sinners, in all ages and languages! "O the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How

unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out!"

In possession of a strong bodily frame, and of that robust health which arises from incessant activity in the open air; travelling about the country to obtain means of support to his family by his labours, and exerting himself on the day of rest by proclaiming in the villages the glad tidings of salvation; from a state of incessant activity, he was suddenly incarcerated in a jail, situated on a bridge, and over the centre of the river; the small damp dens being on a level with the water. Had he been sent there for crime, it might have rapidly affected his health and spirits; but he was called to suffer, that the cause of truth might be honoured, and the God of truth was with him to preserve his health, and to comfort and support his mind with those supplies of happiness to which the world is a stranger, and which it can neither give nor take away.

[2]

At the assizes, a plea of guilty was recorded; and although numerous prisoners, charged with crimes, were liberated at the coronation of Charles II, his case did not come within the proclamation, and he appeared to be doomed to hopeless imprisonment or to an untimely end. Happily, the regulations of the jail allowed him the use of his Bible and Fox's *Book of Martyrs*, and of the materials for writing. His time was beguiled with tagging laces to provide for his poor family; in praying with and exhorting his fellow-prisoners, and in the composing of books, which were extensively published, for the instruction of the world. He soon became, like Joseph in Pharaoh's prison, a favourite with the jailer, who was at times severely threatened for the privileges he allowed this prisoner for Christ. Among the books that he wrote in prison, we shall find that the most prominent and important one was the "Pilgrim's Progress." Charles Doe, who was a personal friend of Mr. Bunyan's, and who called him "an apostle of our age, if we have any," thus narrates the fact in his *Struggler for the Preservation of Mr. John Bunyan's Labours*:^[8] "In the year 1660 (being the year King Charles returned to England), having preached about five years, the rage of Gospel enemies was so great, that, November 12th, they took him prisoner, at a meeting of good people, and put him in Bedford jail; and there he continued about six years, and then was let out again, 1666. Being the year of the burning of London, and a little after his release, they took him again, at a meeting, and put him in the same jail, where he lay six years more. And after he was released again, they took him again, and put him in prison the third time; but that proved but

for about half a year. Whilst he was thus twelve years and a half in prison, he wrote several of his published books, as by many of their epistles appears;^[9] as ‘Pray by the Spirit,’ ‘Holy City,’ ‘Resurrection,’ ‘Grace Abounding,’ and others also, ‘THE PILGRIM’S PROGRESS,’ as himself and many others have said.” Mr. Doe thus argues upon the fact: “And I reckon I shall not be out of the way if I observe and say, What hath the devil or his agents gotten by putting our great Gospel minister, Bunyan, in prison? for in prison, as before mentioned, he wrote many excellent books, that have published to the world His great grace, and great truth, and great judgment, and great ingenuity; and to instance, in one, ‘THE PILGRIM’S PROGRESS,’ he hath suited to the life of a traveler so exactly and pleasantly, and to the life of a Christian, that this very book, besides the rest, hath done the superstitious sort of men and their practice more harm, or rather good, as I may call it, than if he had been let alone at his meeting at Bedford to preach the Gospel to his own auditory, as it might have fallen out; for none but priest-ridden people know how to cavil at it, it wins so smoothly upon their affections, and so insensibly distils the Gospel into them; and hath been printed in France, Holland, New England, and in Welsh, and about a hundred thousand in England, whereby they are made some means of grace, and the author become famous, and may be the cause of spreading his other Gospel books over the European and American world, and, in process of time, may be so to the whole universe.”

This agrees with Bunyan’s marginal glossary, as to the place where he was located when visited with this wondrous dream. “As I walked through the wilderness of this world, I lighted on a certain place, where was a den; and I laid me down in that place to sleep; and as I slept I dreamed a dream.” The marginal note to that “place where was a den,” is “THE JAIL.” This was first added to the fourth edition, 1680; he had probably been asked, what was meant by the den, and from that time, in every edition, he publishes that his meaning was, “THE JAIL.” That Bunyan attached much importance to these marginal notes, as a KEY to his works, is plainly stated in his verses to the reader of the “Holy War”:

Nor do thou go to work without my key
(In mysteries men soon do lose their way),
And also turn it right, if thou would’st know
My riddle, and would’st with my heifer plough.

It lies there in the window,[10] fare thee well,
My next may be to ring thy passing-bell.

No language can be plainer. The author wishes all his readers to understand where he conceived and wrote the “Pilgrim’s Progress.” He says that it was in “a den.” He puts his key to this word in the window, and upon turning the key right, it discovers the den to be Bedford jail. In this dismal den he tranquilly slept; like the Psalmist, he feared not ten thousands of people, “I laid me down and slept: I awaked, for the Lord sustained me.” And why? It was because “I cried unto the Lord,” “Thou, O Lord, art a shield for me; my glory, and the lifter up of mine head” (Psa. 3). Like Peter, with a conscience void of offence, “he slept while a prisoner in a jail.” And although Bunyan had no angel from Heaven to open the prison doors before him, he had that heavenly communion which filled his soul with peace, and fitted him to write for the instruction of mankind. The rapidity with which the conception of the “Pilgrim’s Progress” came over his mind and was reduced to writing, he thus describes:

And thus it was: I writing of the way
And race of saints, in this our Gospel day,
Fell suddenly into an allegory
About their journey, and the way to glory.
In more than twenty things, which I set down;
This done, I twenty more had in my crown;
And they again began to multiply,
Like sparks that from the coals of fire do fly.
Nay then, thought I, if that you breed so fast,
I’ll put you by yourselves, lest you at last
Should prove *ad infinitum*, and eat out
The book that I already am about.

* * * * *

Thus I set pen to paper with delight,
And quickly had my thoughts in black and white.
For having now my method by the end,
Still as I pull’d, it came; and so I penn’d
It down; until at last it came to be,
For length and breadth, the bigness which you
see.

This simple statement requires no comment. In jail he was writing some book

of “the way and race of saints,” most probably his own spiritual experience, when the idea came over his mind to represent a Christian’s course from his conviction of sin to his arrival in glory, as a journey from the city of destruction to the celestial city. This is the opinion, very elegantly expressed, of Dr. Cheever: “As you read the ‘Grace Abounding,’ you are ready to say at every step, Here is the future author of the ‘Pilgrim’s Progress.’ It is as if you stood by the side of some great sculptor, and watched every movement of his chisel, having had his design explained to you before, so that at every blow some new trait of beauty in the future statue comes clearly into view.” While thus employed, he was suddenly struck with the thought of his great allegory, and at once commenced writing it, and in a short time his first part was completed. It may be inferred that he wrote these two books about the same time, because what he omitted in the first edition of “Grace Abounding” he also omitted in the first edition of the “Pilgrim’s Progress,” but inserted it in the subsequent editions of both these books; one of these is his singular illustration of Gospel truth from the unclean beasts being those that neither chewed the cud nor divided the hoof — one of the conversations between Hopeful and Christian. This is also introduced as an addition to “Grace Abounding” No. 71. It was familiar with Bunyan to connect the term “den” with his cell in the prison. Thus, when narrating his spiritual imprisonment in Doubting Castle, the Giant, instead of ordering his prisoners to their cell or dungeon, says, “Get you down into your DEN again.” So also in the preface to “Grace Abounding,” he thus addresses his converts: “being taken from you in presence, and so tied up that I cannot perform that duty that from God doth lie upon me to you-ward, I now once again, as before, from the top of Shenir and Hermon, so now from the lion’s DEN — do look yet after you all, greatly longing to see your safe arrival into the desired haven.”

The continuation of “Grace Abounding” was written by “a true friend and long acquaintance” of Mr. Bunyan’s; “That his good end may be known as well as his evil beginning, I have taken upon me from my *knowledge*, and the best account given by other of his friends, to piece this to the thread, too soon broken off, and so lengthen it out to his entering upon eternity.” In this we are told of his long imprisonment, and that IN PRISON HE WROTE the “Pilgrim’s Progress,” First Part. The mode in which it was written, and the use made of it, in illustrating his addresses to his fellow-prisoners, has been handed down by one of them — Mr. Marsom, an estimable and pious

preacher, who was confined with Mr. Bunyan in Bedford jail, for conscience' sake. His grand-daughter married Mr. Gurney, the grandfather of the late Baron Gurney, and of W. B. Gurney, Esq., his brother, the justly venerated Treasurer of the Baptist Missionary Society, and he furnished me with the following facts:

"Thomas Marsom was an ironmonger, and pastor of the Baptist Church at Luton; he died in January 1726, at a very advanced age. This Thomas Marsom was a fellow prisoner with Bunyan; and my grandfather, who knew him well, was in the habit of repeating to his son, my father, many interesting circumstances which he had heard from him, connected with his imprisonment. One of these was, that Bunyan read the manuscript of the 'Pilgrim's Progress' to his fellow-prisoners, requesting their opinion upon it. The descriptions naturally excited a little pleasantry, and Marsom, who was of a sedate turn, gave his opinion against the publication; but on reflection, requested permission to take the manuscript to his own cell, that he might read it alone. Having done so, he returned it with an earnest recommendation that it should be published."

How easily can we imagine the despised Christians in prison for their Lord's sake, thus beguiling the dreary hours. How admirably could the poor preacher illustrate his discourses to his fellow prisoners by the various adventures of his pilgrims. He had received calls to join more wealthy churches, but he affectionately cleaved to his poor flock at Bedford. Suppose his exhortation to have been founded on these words, "Freely ye have received, freely give"; how admirably could he introduce all the jesuitic subtleties of Bye-ends, Money-love, and his party, and refute the arguments they had been taught by one Gripe-man of Love Gain, a market town in the county of Coveting, in the north. Imagine him to be exhorting his fellow-prisoners on the "Terrors of the Lord," and you would anticipate his leading in the burdened Christian, the awful dream of the day of judgment, at the Interpreter's house, and narrating his adventures in the Valley of the Shadow of Death. Or when preaching on the words, "Resist the devil," who like him could recount the fight with Apollyon?

These facts are placed before the reader lest anyone should for a moment entertain a doubt which would cast a shade over one of the glories of the "Pilgrim's Progress." It is an imperishable monument to the folly and wickedness of persecution to prevent the spread of religious principles. The

enemies of the Christian faith imprisoned John Bunyan to prevent his preaching the Gospel to a few poor people, and by it he preaches and will preach to millions of every clime. Keep these facts in recollection — the evidence of C. Doe who had it from Bunyan's own mouth; his own key — “den,” “the jail”; the testimony of one who long enjoyed his friendship, published within four years of his decease; the tradition handed down by a fellow prisoner — none of which evidence was ever denied by the advocates for persecution. If we refuse such testimony, neither should we believe if Bunyan was permitted to come from the invisible world and proclaim its truth with the trump of an archangel.

There are very strong internal proofs that the Pilgrim was written long before it was published. A second edition issued from the same press, by the same publishers, *in the same year*, 1678; and there is found a striking difference in the spelling of many words in these two editions, such as “drownded” is corrected to “drowned,” “Slow of Despond” to “Slough of Despond,” “chaulk” to “chalk,” “travailler” to “traveler,” “countrey” to “country,” “raggs” to “rags,” “brust” to “burst.” This may readily be accounted for by the author's having kept the work in manuscript for some years before it was printed, and that he had at length consented to send it to the printers as he had written it. There is an apparent difference of twenty years in the orthography of these two books, which were published in the same year, besides some considerable additions of new characters in the second edition. The printer appears to have followed the manuscript as to spelling, punctuation, capitals, and italics. It proves, that notwithstanding his very numerous and important engagements, Bunyan found time to cultivate and improve his talents in composition, between the time when *he wrote*, the first, and published the second edition.

The reason why it was not published for several years after his release, appears to have arisen from the difference of opinion expressed by his friends as to the propriety of printing a book which treated so familiarly the most solemn subjects.

Well, when I had thus put my ends together,
I show'd them others, that I might see whether
They would condemn them, or them justify:
And some said, Let them live; some, Let them die.
Some said, John, print it; others said, Not so.

Some said, It might do good; others said, No.

Somewhat similar to this, was the conference of dissenting ministers when Sunday Schools were first attempted; the desecration of the Lord's Day was pleaded against them, and it was only by a very small majority that institutions were sanctioned, which advanced the spread of Divine truth with a rapidity as extraordinary as the spread of the missionary spirit, or even as is the increased speed of travelling by the aid of steam.

Thus it was debated whether the Pilgrim should walk forth or not, fearing lest the singularity of his dress should excite vain or trivial thoughts in the readers, like the disturbance at Vanity Fair; or it might arise from a fear lest the various characters and dialogues should be considered as approaching in the slightest degree to the drama. It is impossible to account for the different feelings excited in the minds of men by reading the same narrative in which all are equally interested. In this case the fear was, lest it should tend to excite a light or trifling spirit, while the solemn realities of eternity were under consideration. In most cases, reading this volume has had a solemnizing effect upon the mind. Some have tried to read it, but have shut it up with fear, because it leads directly to the inquiry, Have I felt the burden of sin? Have I fled for refuge? Others have been deterred, because it has such home-thrusts at hypocrisy, and such cutting remarks upon those who profess godliness, but in secret are wanton and godless. The folly of reliance upon an imperfect obedience to the law for the pardon of sin, repeatedly and faithfully urged, is a hard and humbling lesson. It mercilessly exposes the worthlessness of all those things which are most prized by the worldling. No book has so continued and direct a tendency to solemn self-examination. Every character that is drawn makes a powerful appeal to the conscience, and leads almost irresistibly to the mental inquiry, "Lord, is it I?" No work is calculated to infuse deeper solemnity into the mind of an attentive reader. Well might Mr. Macaulay in his review say, "The allegory of Bunyan has been read by many thousands with tears"; or as some pious man has written upon the fly-leaf of the fourth edition, 1680 —

Sleep on, good man,
Continue still thy dreame.
Your allegories do,
I think, resemble
Some landskip vision

At which souls tremble.^[11]

In addition to the serious opposition of his friends to the publication of the Pilgrim, we should also consider the author's other engagements. After so long, so harassing, so unjust an imprisonment, much of his time must have been spent in restoring order to his house and in his church; in paying pastoral visits, recovering lost stations which had been suspended during the violence of persecution, and in extending his devotional and ministerial exercises in all the villages around Bedford which were within his reach. Such was the great extent of his labours in that and the adjoining counties, as to obtain for him the title of Bishop of Bedford. As his popular talents became known, the sphere of his usefulness extended, so that an eye-witness testified, that when he preached in London, "if there were but one day's notice given, there would be more people come together to hear him preach, than the meeting-house could hold. I have seen, to hear him preach, about twelve hundred at a morning lecture, by seven o'clock on a working day, in the dark winter time."^[12] Such popularity must have occasioned a considerable tax upon his time, in addition to which he was then warmly engaged in his controversy on Baptism,^[13] and in some admirable practical works. These were probably some of the reasons why a humble, pious author, hesitated for several years to publish a work, on the practical bearings of which his friends had expressed such opposite opinions. At length he made up his mind —

— Since you are thus divided,
I print it will; and so the case decided.

CHAPTER III.

BUNYAN'S QUALIFICATIONS TO WRITE THE "PILGRIM'S PROGRESS" SANCTIFIED BY PRISON DISCIPLINE.

That the author of the Pilgrim was preeminently qualified to write such a work is proved by its vast circulation, and by the extraordinary interest which it created, and has kept alive, for nearly two centuries, throughout the world. This ought not to excite surprise, when it is recollected that it was the production of a man profoundly learned in all the subtleties of the human heart; deeply skilled in detecting error and sophistry; thoroughly humbled under a sense of his own unworthiness. He was baptized into the Divine truths of Christianity by the searching, wounding, and healing influences of the Holy Spirit. Shut up for twelve years with his Bible, all the rags of popery and heathenism were stripped off, and he came out a living body of divinity, comparatively free from mere human doctrines or systems. The spirit of the Prophets and Apostles breathes in his language. His was an education which all the academies and universities in the world could not have communicated. He was deeply learned in that "wisdom that is from above" (James 3:17), and can be acquired only in the school of Christ. His spirit was nurtured by close, unweared, prayerful searching of the Word of life — by perpetual watchfulness over the workings of his spirit, and by inward communion with God. He knew well what was meant by "groanings which cannot be uttered," (Rom. 8:26), as well as by being "caught up," as it were, to "the third Heaven," even to "Paradise," and in his spirit to "hear unspeakable words which it is not possible for man to utter" (2 Cor. 12:4). Previous to his imprisonment he had gone through every severe spiritual trial: with the Psalmist he had sunk in deep mire where there was no standing; the powers of darkness, like "the floods, overflow me" (Psa. 69:2); and with him he could also sing, "I will extol Thee, O Lord, for Thou hast lifted me up" (Psa. 30:1); "Thou hast brought up my soul from the grave" (Psa. 30:3); "He brought me up out of an horrible pit" (Psa. 40:2); "Thou hast healed me"; "Thou hast put off my sackcloth, and girded me with gladness." In his happier days, even while in a gloomy jail, he felt that he was an inhabitant of that invisible, holy, spiritual Jerusalem, the universal church of Christ, encompassed by the "Lord as a wall of fire, and the glory in the midst of her." He lived in an atmosphere, and

used a language, unknown to the wisdom of this world, and which a poet-laureate mistook for reveries, for “the hot and cold fits of a spiritualague,” or for the paroxysms of disease.^[14] His mind was deeply imbued with all that was most terrific, as well as most magnificent in religion. In proportion as his Christian course became pure and lovely, so his former life must have been surveyed with unmitigated severity and abhorrence.

These mental conflicts are deeply interesting; they arose from an agonized mind — a sincere and determined spirit roused by Divine revelation, opening before his astonished but bewildered mind, solemn, eternal realities. He that sits in the scorner’s seat may scoff at them, while he who is earnestly inquiring after the way, the truth, and the life, will examine them with prayerful seriousness. In after life, the recollection of these emotions filled his lips with words that pierced his hearers.

When at liberty, his energetic eloquence had attracted to his sermons every class. It is said that the great Dr. John Owen was asked by the King how a man of his learning could attend to hear a tinker preach, he replied, “May it please your Majesty, had I the tinker’s abilities, I would most gladly relinquish my learning.” Thus did a man, profoundly versed in scholastic literature, and that sanctified by piety, bow to the superiority of the Spirit’s teaching. The unlettered tinker led captive, by his consecrated natural eloquence, one of the most eminent divines of his day.

Considering the amazing popularity of the “Pilgrim’s Progress,” and its astonishing usefulness to all classes of mankind, in all the countries of the earth, may we not attribute its author’s deep and hallowed feelings, severe trials, and every lesson of Divine wisdom he received, as being intended by the Holy Spirit to fit him to write this surprising Dream?

Bunyan was a master of rhetoric, and logic, and moral philosophy, without studying those sciences, or perhaps even understanding the terms by which they are designated. His Bible (wondrous book!) was his library. All his genius was nurtured from the living fountain of truth; it purified his style, and adapted his work, by its simplicity and energy, to every understanding. His key to its mysteries was earnest, holy prayer; and musing over the human heart, and watching the operations of nature, afforded him an ample illustration of its sacred truths. His labour in tagging laces required no application of mind, so that his time for study was every moment of his life

that he could save from sleep, and even then his ever-active spirit was busy in dreams, many of which contained valuable lessons, so that his mind became most richly stored, and was perpetually overflowing.

“The poetry of the Bible was not less the source of Bunyan’s poetical powers, than the study of the whole Scriptures was the source of his simplicity and purity of style. His heart was not only made new by the spirit of the Bible, but his whole intellectual being was penetrated and transfigured by its influence. He brought the spirit and power, gathered from so long and exclusive a communion with the Prophets and Apostles, to the composition of every page of the “Pilgrim’s Progress.”^[15]

Human character was unveiled before the penetrating eye of one so conversant with the inspired writings; every weak point is seen, as well as the advantage taken by the subtle enemy of souls; and all so admirably and plainly pictured that he who runs must stop, read, and admire, even to his surprise and wonder; and be constrained to inquire, Whence had this poor mechanic such knowledge?

Nor must it be forgotten, that in addition to his heavenly, he possessed peculiar earthly qualifications for his important work. He had been the very ringleader in all manner of vice and ungodliness. John Ryland’s description of his character is written with peculiar pungency:

“No man of common sense and common integrity can deny, that Bunyan, the tinker of Elstow, was a practical atheist, a worthless, contemptible infidel, a vile rebel to God and goodness, a common profligate, a soul despising, a soul murdering, a soul-damning thoughtless wretch, as could exist on the face of the earth. Now be astonished, O Heaven, to eternity, and wonder, O earth and hell! While time endures. Behold this very man become a miracle of mercy, a mirror of wisdom, goodness, holiness, truth, and love. See his polluted soul cleansed and adorned by Divine grace, his guilt pardoned, the Divine law inscribed upon his heart, the Divine image or the resemblance of God’s moral perfections impressed upon his soul.”^[16]

He had received the mere rudiments of education, but vicious habits had “almost utterly” blotted out of his memory every useful lesson; so that he must have had, when impressed with Divine truth, great determination to have enabled him not only to recover the instruction which he had received in his younger days, but even to have added to it such stores of valuable information. In this, his natural quickness of perception and retentive

memory must have been of extreme value. Having been mixed up intimately with every class of men, and seen them in their most unguarded moments, it enabled him to draw his characters in such vivid colours, and with such graphic accuracy. Filled with an inspiration which could be drawn from the Bible alone, he has delineated characters as touching and interesting to us in the nineteenth century as they were to our pilgrim forefathers of a bygone and as they will be to the Christian sojourner of ages yet to come. It is a history, with little variation, of that which must always happen while Christianity endures.

Bunyan had run the round of sin; had sown the seed of vice, and brought forth the bitter fruits of repentance; had felt intense alarm lest eternal torments should swallow up his soul in death; had fled for, and found refuge in, the sufferings of Christ. His burden removed, he loved much, because to him much had been forgiven; he had been brought up out of horrible darkness, and well was he qualified to aid those who were walking through the dismal valley of the shadow of death.

His out-door habits and employments, and his sanctified contemplations on the beauties of nature, were calculated to strengthen the vigour of his imagination, and the decision of his character. Happily, the glorious Dreamer never appeared to have any idea of his own immortal fame as an author: little did he dream of the happy influence that his humble labours would have upon millions of mankind; all his spirit centred in his Saviour; all his efforts were to make known the glad tidings of salvation to surrounding sinners. If he coveted the tongue of an angel, it was not for brilliancy of language, but that he might use burning words to make an indelible impression upon his hearers. Even the greatest of his works he published under the humble similitude of a dream, or as that which had passed before his imagination, unaided by those mental powers which are called forth in composing a narrative intended for publication. His sixty humble books were printed without ornament, upon inferior paper, of the class called chap-books, from their being vended by travelling hawkers called chapmen, now magniloquently called *colpoteurs*.

John Burton, a minister, thus recommends Bunyan, in an introduction to *Some Gospel Truths Opened*, 1656:

“Be not offended because Christ holds forth the glorious treasure of the

Gospel to thee in a poor earthen vessel, by one who hath neither the greatness nor the wisdom of this world to commend him to thee. This man is not chosen out of an earthly, but out of the heavenly university, the church of Christ, furnished with the Spirit, gifts, and graces of Christ. He hath, through grace, taken these three heavenly degrees — union with Christ, the anointing of the Spirit, and experience of the temptations of Satan; which do more fit a man for that weighty work of preaching the Gospel, than all university learning and degrees that can be had. Having had experience, with many other saints, of this man's soundness in the faith, of his godly conversation, and his ability to preach the Gospel, not by human art, but by the Spirit of Christ, and that with much success in the conversion of sinners."

His character and qualifications were also admirably portrayed by his pastor, J. Gifford, soon after he entered upon the work of the ministry.^[17] It is in his introduction to the first edition of a "*Few Sighs from Hell*," 1658, and as this interesting portrait was not inserted in any of the subsequent editions of that book, and has escaped the researches of all the biographers of Bunyan, I am tempted to give it *verbatim*, more especially, as it is generally believed that John Gifford was the Evangelist who directed the Pilgrim to the Wicket-gate, put him again into the path when under the flames of Sinai, and prepared him for persecution at Vanity Fair.

“Concerning the author (whatsoever the censures and reports of many are), I have this to say, that I verily believe God hath counted him faithful, and put him into the ministry; and though his outward condition and former employment was mean, and his humane learning small, yet is he one that hath acquaintance with God, and taught by His Spirit, and hath been used in His hand to do souls good; for to my knowledge there are divers who have felt the power of the Word delivered by him, and I doubt not but that many more may, if the Lord continue him in his work; he is not like unto your drones that will suck the sweet, but do no work. For be hath laid forth himself to the utmost of his strength, taking all advantages to make known to others what he himself hath received of God; and I fear that is one reason why the archers have shot so soarly at him; for by his and others' industry, in their Master's work, their slothfulness hath been reproved, and the eyes of many have been opened to see a difference between those that are sent of God, and those that run before they are sent. And that he is none of those light fanatick spirits that our age abounds withal, this following discourse, together with his former, that have been brought to publique view, will testifie; for among other things that may bear record to him herein, you shall find him magnifying and exalting the Holy Scriptures, and largely showing the worth, excellency, and usefulness of

them.

“And surely if thou shalt (notwithstanding this) stumble at his meanness and want of humane learning, thou wilt declare thine unacquaintance with God’s declared method, who, to perfect His own praise, and to still the enemy and avenger, *makes choice of babes and sucklings, and in their mouthes ordaineth strength* (Psa. 8:2). Though men that have a great design do, and must make use of those that in reason are most likely to effect it, yet must the Lord do so too? then instruments (not Himself) would carry away the praise; but that no flesh should glory in His presence, *He hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and base things of the world, and things that are despised hath God chosen* (1 Cor. 1:27-29). Cast thine eye back to the beginning of the Gospel dispensation (which surely, if at any time, should have come forth in the wisdom and glory of the world), and thou shalt see what method the Lord did take at the first to exalt his Son Jesus; He goes not amongst the Jewish rabbies, nor to the schools of learning, to fetch out his Gospel preachers, but to the trades, and those most contemptible too; yet let not any from hence conceive, that I undervalue the gifts and graces of such who have been, or now are endued with them, nor yet speak against learning, being kept in its place, but my meaning is, that those that are learned should not despise those that are not; or those that are not, should not despise those that are, who are faithful in the Lord’s work: and, therefore, being about to leave thee, I shall leave with thee two Scriptures to be considered of. The one is, John 13:20 — *Verily, verily I say unto you, he that receiveth whomsoever I send* (mark whomsoever), *receiveth Me; and he that receiveth Me, receiveth Him that sent Me*. The other is, Luke 10:16 — *He that heareth you, heareth Me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth Me; and he that despiseth Me, despiseth Him that sent Me*” J. G.

Bunyan closes his own preface with these words, “I am thine, if thou be not ashamed to own me, because of my low and contemptible descent in the world, John Bunyan.” This was altered in the subsequent editions to, “I am thine, to serve in the Lord Jesus, John Bunyan.”

His own account of his training perfectly agrees with that given by his pastor. In the epistle to his treatise on “The Law and Grace,” about 1660, he thus speaks:

“Reader, if thou do finde this book empty of fantastical expressions, and without light, vain, whimsical, scholar-like terms, thou must understand, it is because I never went to school to *Aristotle* or *Plato*, but was brought up at my father’s house, in a very mean condition, among a company of poor countrymen. But if thou do finde a parcel of plain, yet sound, true, and home

sayings, attribute that to the Lord Jesus, His gifts and abilities, which He hath bestowed upon such a poor creature as I am, and have been."

Bunyan's great natural abilities required to be tempered in the school of affliction: and his ardent temperament met with no ordinary degree of chastisement; his principles and constancy were tried by bonds and imprisonment; his spirit, in the warfare of controversy, not only with the enemies of his Lord, but upon minor points with his brother disciples. And with some of these he, after their wordy war, met in the same common jail; united in worship before the Throne of God; former wounds were healed, and heartburnings sanctified; and he became more fully fitted as a guide to all pilgrims of every sect. He passed through every trial that his Lord saw needful, to temper his ardent spirit, and fit him to write his immortal Allegory.

It is difficult to account for Bunyan's freedom from those popular delusions which so characterize the age in which he lived, and which spread over the most pious and learned of his contemporaries; the belief in witchcraft, sorcery, ghosts, and goblin sprites, who, in his days, were supposed to ride upon broomsticks through the air, or "dart through a key-hole swift as light." Stories of witchcraft, haunted houses, necromancy, and such follies, are found in the pilgrimages of his day. Although Sir Matthew Hale, Cotton Mather, Baxter, and our most eminent men, were strangely full of faith in these fancies, even from that king who thought himself a mickle wise man, but proved to be a fool and a pedant, to the wretch called the witch-finder, who, by his perjuries, legally murdered so many poor helpless old women, for the rich were rarely, if ever, attacked. Bunyan's early habits, and want of education, and prolific imagination, must have peculiarly fitted him for all such vulgar errors; but he escaped them all. Was it that, after his conversion, the solemnities of the world to come swallowed up all other considerations? or, was it the workings of the Holy Spirit, to fit his writings to be a blessing to future and more enlightened generations? It is a remarkable fact, worthy of serious reflection.

That a man possessing such extraordinary talent should excite the envy of some, and the bitterest animosity of others, is natural. "The archers did shoot sorely at him," and never was a man better armed to resist and crush his comparatively puny assailants. His sentiments and conduct, as to the

profitable trade of preaching, were also calculated to injure him in the esteem of the clergy. Among many false charges brought against him, one was, the making merchandise of souls through covetousness. His reply was,

“Friend, the spirit that led thee to this is a lying spirit; for though I be poor, and of no repute in the world, as to outward things, yet, through grace, I have learned, by the example of the Apostle, to preach the truth, and also to work with my hands, both for mine own living and for those that are with me, when I have opportunity. And I trust that the Lord Jesus, who hath helped me to reject the wages of unrighteousness hitherto, will also help me still; so that I shall distribute that which God hath given me freely, and not for filthy lucre’s sake.”^[18]

In those days, hard words and uncivil language were commonly used in controversy, and Bunyan’s early associations and singular genius furnished his quiver with arrows of piercing point. His moral character was assailed in the grossest terms; he was called a wizard, a Jesuit, a highwayman, a libertine, and was charged as guilty of every crime; to this he gave a direct denial, and triumphantly pointed to his whole conduct since his conversion as a refutation of such unfounded calumnies. These malignant accusations are referred to and refuted in that thrilling narrative, “The singular experience and great sufferings of Mrs. Agnes Beaumont,” contained in a deeply interesting volume, *An Abstract of the Gracious Dealings of God with Several Eminent Christians*, by Samuel James, M.A.^[19] Another and very different tournament took place between him and E. Fowler, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester. He published his views of *The Design of Christianity*; that it was merely the restoration of man to his primitive state. Bunyan saw his book, and very justly conceiving that the learned divine had asserted some gross errors upon doctrinal points of the greatest importance, he treated the embryo bishop just the same as if he had been a brother tinker, a mere man who was attempting to rob his (Bunyan’s) beloved Master of one of the most glorious gems in His crown. In the almost incredibly short time of forty-five days,^[20] he, in jail, composed an answer, consisting of 118 pages of small quarto, closely printed, and in which he completely demolished the theory of this great scholar. It is entitled, “*A Defence of the Doctrine of Justification by Faith in Jesus Christ, showing true Gospel Holiness flows from thence; or, Mr. Fowler’s pretended Design of Christianity proved to be nothing more than to trample under foot the blood of the Son of God; and the idolizing of*

man's own righteousness."^[21] In this hastily written, but valuable book, Bunyan used very strong language; reflecting upon a man of considerable influence, and one of his decided enemies. Of some of Mr. Fowler's sentiments, he says, "Here are pure dictates of a brutish, beastly man, that neither knows himself nor one tittle of the Word of God."^[22] "But why should this THIEF love thus to *clamber* and seek to go to God by other means than Christ?"^[23] Mr. Fowler said, "It cannot be worth our while to lay out any considerable matter of our heat, either for or against *doubtful opinions, alterable modes, rites and circumstances of religion*; it would be like the apes blowing at a glow-worm, which affords neither light nor warmth,"^[24] and whatsoever is commended by the custom of the places we live in, or commanded by superiors, our Christian liberty is to do them."^[25] Bunyan knew the feelings of the clergy in his own neighbourhood, and he also knew that the Act of Uniformity had just turned out all the godly and evangelical ministers from the Church of England. To this sophistry, as to a Christian's being bound by the custom of the country he lives in, and by the authority of superiors, as to outward forms or ceremonies of Divine worship and religious teaching, our Pilgrim's guide thus breaks out into what Mr. Fowler calls a Rabshakeh, "I know none so wedded thereto as yourselves, even the whole gang of your rabbling counterfeit clergy; who, generally, like the ape you speak of, be blowing up the applause and glory of your trumpery, and, like the tail, with your foolish and sophistical arguings, you cover the filthy parts thereof."^[26]

To Bunyan's Treatise a reply was immediately published, and in it the gentleman and scholar complains of the uncharitable terms used by Bunyan, and we are led to expect something polite and genteel; but, unfortunately, the bishop in expectancy, or one of his friends, beats the tinker in harsh epithets, without answering his hard arguments. The scoffer calls our Pilgrim's guide "grossly ignorant," most unchristian and wicked,"^[27] "a piece of proud folly," "so very dirty a creature that he disdains to defile his fingers with him";^[28] and yet writes a book in reply to him. He vauntingly says, that "Bunyan can no more disgrace the bishop than a rude creature can eclipse the moon by barking at her, or make palaces contemptible by their lifting up their legs against them."^[29] "He is not in the least concerned (so he pretends) at the *brutish barkings* of such a creature"; "a most black-mouthing calumniator";^[30] "John Bunyan, a person that hath been near these twenty years, or longer,

most infamous in the town and county of Bedford for a very pestilent schismatic";^[31] and winds up much of his abuse in these words: "I now appeal to *authority*, whether this man ought to enjoy any interest in his Majesty's *toleration*; and whether the letting such *firebrands*, and most impudent, malicious schismaticks, go unpunished doth not tend to the subversion of a government? I say, let our superiors judge of this."^[32] Bunyan had then suffered nearly twelve years' imprisonment, and was more zealous and intrepid than ever; and yet this fanatic bishop would have had his imprisonment continued, or his life forfeited, because he could not resist the arrows with which this prisoner for Christ assailed him, drawn all burning from the furnace of God's Holy Word. This was one of the lessons by which Bunyan was taught how to lead the Pilgrims in their attack upon the monster, Antichrist, which was very rampant, and looked upon the Pilgrims with great disdain; but these valiant worthies did continually assault him, until he became wounded, "and it is verily believed by some that this beast will certainly die of his wounds."^[33] How would it delight the church of Christ to witness his death, and to see his vile remains buried under all his implements of torture; his inquisitions, flames, and stakes, dungeons and racks, halters and church-rates. Another, and a very serious lesson, he was taught in the controversy which he carried on with some Quakers and strict Baptists.

Bunyan's controversy, which is said to have been with the Quakers, was, in fact, not with that highly respectable and useful body of Christians, but with persons whom he considered to be under serious delusions; some of these called themselves Quakers. At this period, the Society of Friends were not united into a body or denomination. The battle, according to his own words, was against Satan, and those lies with which he had deceived some enthusiastic spirits. These characters were called, by Bunyan, a company of loose ranters and light notionists, with here and there a legalist, who were shaking in their principles, sometimes on this religion and sometimes on that. It is true that he talks of the Quakers' delusions; but his fight was with principles, and not persons, and he sets forth what, in his opinion, were "the lies with which the devil beguileth poor souls."

First, That salvation was not fully completed for sinners by Christ Jesus.

Second, That the light within was sufficient without the written

Word.

Some of these visionaries denied the divinity of Christ; others asserted that Christ was born, lived, and was crucified within them, and that He was only to be found within themselves by the aid of that light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world; that His being found in fashion as a man, and humbling Himself to the death of the Cross — in fact, that His personal appearance on earth, was only *typical* of His taking up a residence in the soul of every believer. Thus they entirely abandoned and neglected the written Word. They adopted some singular practices, lived upon bread and water, forbade marriage, and refused to wear hat-bands.^[34] Such were the adversaries against whom he wrote the first book that he published, called “Gospel Truths Opened.” It was about this time that Naylor appeared; and he, acting under the delusion of having Christ within him, rode on an ass into Bristol, while the mob strewed their clothes before him, crying, “Hosanna! blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.” And instead of reasoning with him, in order to remove this temporary delusion, he was cruelly tormented, imprisoned, pilloried, with its brutal accompaniments; burned through the tongue with a hot iron; branded with a B on his forehead for blasphemy; whipped, and confined to hard labour. Mr. Grainger says “that the discipline of a prison soon restored him to his senses”;^[35] and we are inclined to think that he was mercifully restored to his right mind, because he was some years afterwards received into the Society of Friends, as a member, and died in their communion — a fact which the clergyman had not the honesty to state.

Against this first work of Bunyan’s an answer was published by Edward Burroughs, afterwards an eminent Quaker. In this, he fought, as Bunyan called it, “bitterly, with a parcel of scolding expressions”; and he advises him not to appear so gross a railing Rabshakeh; and, in fact, he proved himself a match for his adversary with those weapons. He calls Bunyan “of the stock of Ishmael, and of the seed of Cain, whose line reacheth to the murthering priests, enemies of Christ preaching for hire.” Bunyan replies, “These are words flung unto the winds by thee, my adversary.” Burroughs having thoughtlessly urged that there was not a Quaker heard of in the days of John, his keen antagonist replied, “Friend, thou hast rightly said, there was not a Quaker heard of indeed, though there were many Christians heard of then.”

“Your sister, Anne Blackley, bid me, in the audience of many, *to throw away the Scriptures*; to which I answered ‘*No, for then the devil would be too hard for me.*’” Among other queries put to him by Burroughs, one was, “Is not the liar and slanderer an unbeliever, and of the cursed nature?”^[36] Bunyan’s reply was, “The liar and slanderer is an unbeliever; and if he live and die in that condition, his state is very sad, though, if he turn, there is hope for him; therefore repent and turn quickly, or else look to yourselves, for you are the men, as is clear by your discourse.”

This controversy, carried on with great spirit and warmth, related much to that difficult question, Whether Christ continued His human body after his ascension, or was it resolved into a spiritual form? These disputation, which led to a prayerful investigation of Scripture, must have had a beneficial tendency. Bunyan considered that his antagonist did not value the Holy Oracles sufficiently; and Burroughs considered that too little attention was paid to “Christ formed in us the hope of glory.” Both were questions of the deepest importance; and happy was it for those of their countrymen who witnessed the strife between these giants, and were led earnestly and prayerfully to search into these vital and important truths. The dispute presented much wholesome fruit, although not served up in silver dishes. Burroughs’ friend, Howgill, bears this testimony of his worth: “Though thou didst cut as a razor — and many a rough stone hast thou squared and polished, and much knotty wood hast thou hewn in thy day — yet, to the seed, thy words dropped like oil, and thy lips as the honeycomb.” Bunyan held a public disputation with these zealous missionaries in Paul’s Steeple House, Bedford Town, May 23, 1656.^[37] This was a contest which involved in it a close examination of the Sacred Scriptures, and certainly afforded valuable lessons in fitting Britain’s allegorist for his great and important work.

Bunyan’s difference of opinion relative to the terms of communion at the Lord’s Table, led to a controversy with the Strict Baptist churches, to all of which he was sincerely attached; and this was probably one of the means by which he was enabled to write an itinerary to *all* pilgrims; for it must have blunted the edge of his sectarian feelings, and have enlarged his heart towards the whole Christian community of every class. In the preface to the “Reason of his Practice,” he displays all the noble sentiments of a Christian confessor;

of one who has been deservedly called the Apostle of Bedford, or Bishop Bunyan.

“Faith and holiness are my professed principles, with an endeavour, so far as in me lieth, to be at peace with all men. What shall I say? let mine enemies themselves be judges, if anything in these following doctrines, or if aught that any man hath heard me preach, doth, or hath, according to the true intent of my words, savoured either of heresy or rebellion, I say, again, let they themselves be judges, if aught they find in my writings or preaching doth render me worthy of almost twelve years’ imprisonment, or one that deserveth to be hanged, or banished forever, according to their tremendous sentence. Indeed, my principles are such as lead me to a denial to communicate in the things of the kingdom of Christ with ungodly and open profane; neither can I, in or by the superstitious inventions of this world, consent that my soul should be governed in any of my approaches to God, BECAUSE COMMANDED TO THE CONTRARY, AND COMMENDED FOR SO REFUSING. Wherefore, excepting this one thing, for which I ought not to be rebuked, I shall, I trust, in despite of slander and falsehood, discover myself at all times a peaceable and obedient subject. But if nothing will do, unless I make my conscience a continual butchery and slaughter-shop, *unless, putting out mine own eyes, I commit me to the blind to lead me* (as, I doubt, is desired by some), I have determined, the Almighty God being my help and shield, yet to suffer if frail life might continue so long, even till the moss shall grow on mine eyebrows, rather than to violate my faith and principles. Touching my practice, as to communion with visible saints, *although not baptized with water*; I say, it is my present judgment so to do, and am willing to render a further reason thereof, shall I see the leading hand of God thereto. Thine in bonds for the Gospel, JOHN BUNYAN.”

At the end of this treatise, he severely alludes to the unfair practices of controversialists; he signs himself,

“I am thine to serve thee, Christian, so long as I can look out at those eyes that have had so much dirt thrown at them by many, JOHN BUNYAN.”

Kiffin, Denne, T. Paul, and Danvers replied to this “Confession”; Jesse, and others, defended it. This led to the publication of “The Differences about Water-Baptism no Bar to Communion,” and to the “Peaceable Principles and True.” The controversy was carried on with sufficient acrimony to shake Bunyan’s sectarian feelings, and to excite in his breast a determined spirit of *personal*, prayerful inquiry at the Fountain of Truth, in all matters, both of his faith and practice in religion, even at the risk of life.

The principles of our great allegorist upon this subject have spread over a great number of the Baptist churches. Bunyan probably considered these sentiments as the precursors of the dawn of a happy day, when the baptism of the Holy Ghost, with purifying power like heavenly fire, shall absorb all these bitter waters of contention which occasioned such angry, unholy dissension among the churches of Christ; when the soul of every believer shall be imbued and immersed in sacred love and zeal for the honour of our Lord and the increase of His kingdom, and the subject of water-baptism, as a personal duty, be better understood and appreciated.

In this conflict with his brethren, all that sanctified penetration, that unwavering fortitude, and that determination, first to understand, and then to do his Lord's will, was displayed, that fitted the Author to write his surprising Allegory, and to be a "Great-heart" to guide and protect his weaker fellow pilgrims.

Soon after this, the prisons of England were filled with the most pious and virtuous of her citizens; and when Bunyan and his antagonists, both Quakers and Baptists, were confined within the same walls, conversed upon spiritual things, worshipped unitedly their God by the same way of access, all former bitterness and animosities were swallowed up in the communion of saints, and the wall of separation was thrown down; not only did their sufferings increase their universal spirit and respect for each other, but they became a blessing to many who were confined for real crimes; and when they came forth, it was with renewed powers to proclaim the unsearchable riches of Christ. Hundreds of poor, imprisoned, godly ministers felt the power of those words: "Blessed be God, who comforteth us in all our tribulation, that we may be able to comfort them that are in trouble" (2 Cor. 1:4). Like Kelsey, a Baptist minister, who suffered seventeen years' imprisonment, they could say:

I hope the more they punish me,
that I shall grow more bold:
The furnace they provide for me,
will make me finer gold.
My friends, my God *will* do me good,
when *they* intend me harm;
They may suppose a prison cold,
but God can make it warm.

What if my God should suffer them
on me to have their will,
And give me Heaven instead of earth?
I am no loser still.

Thus does Antichrist destroy himself, for whether he imprisons the Christian, or only seizes on his goods, he uses weapons to hasten the destruction of his own kingdom.

CHAPTER IV.

BUNYAN'S RELEASE FROM PRISON,
AND PUBLICATION OF
“THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS.”

The reigns of the debauched Charles II and the besotted James, those fagends of an unhappy race, were the most humiliating that these realms ever witnessed. Deep dissimulation,^[38] oft-repeated falsehoods, willful and deliberate perjuries, were employed by the first of these royal profligates to obtain the throne. Solemn pledges to pardon political offenders were ruthlessly violated, as well as the oaths and declarations “that liberty should be extended to tender consciences on religious subjects, so that none should be disturbed or called in question for any differences of opinion in matters of religion.”^[39] The fanatic Church of England soon obtained laws in direct violation of all the King's oaths and declarations, such as the Act of Uniformity, the Test and Corporation Acts, the Five-mile and Conventicle Acts, and a revival of the old statutes for compelling all persons to attend the Church service; and thus forcing the weakminded to become hypocritical members of the Church which was then, and continues to this day, to be preferred by the state as best suiting its purposes. Among the rest was an Act ordering all the subjects of the realm, forever, to meet in their respective churches on the 29th of May in each year, and thanking God that these kingdoms were on that day *new born and raised from the dead*:^[40] an Act which has not been repealed, but remains a disgrace to our statute-book. A hurricane of persecution followed, and all the jails in the kingdom soon became filled with those of our countrymen who, by their virtue and piety, were the brightest ornaments of Christianity. While these barbarities were perpetrating, desolations followed in rapid succession. A fearful pestilence swept away the inhabitants of the metropolis, followed in the next year by a conflagration which destroyed the cathedral, and nearly all its churches, magazines, houses, and enormous wealth. Again, in the succeeding year, came a Dutch fleet, which took Sheerness, destroyed our shipping, and caused a degree of consternation thus described by an eye-witness, who was attached to the court:^[41]

“I was at London in the plague and fire years, yet in neither did I observe such

consternation and confusion in the looks of all men, as at this time, and with great cause: for if the Dutch had then come up to London, they had found all open to them, not one gun mounted at Tilbury Fort, nor one frigate ready in the river; so as they might have forced all the ships in the river up to the bridge, and there have burnt them, which would certainly have fired the Tower and all the suburbs west to Blackwall, as well as Southwark below bridge.”

Still the persecution of the Christians was continued in all its rigour.

Bunyan was one among the first persons punished under the sanction of these wicked laws. He was taken, sent to prison, and threatened with transportation, or the halter, unless he would conform, or pretend to conform, to whatever religion happened to be by law established. This at all hazards he steadily refused; although, at that time, he fully anticipated being hung. Under such an awful impression, he felt exceedingly anxious that, suffering for the cause of Christ, he should meet death with fortitude, and be enabled to address the multitude that would come to see him die.

“And, thought I, if it must be so, if God will but convert one soul by my very last words, I shall not count my life thrown away, nor lost.”^[42]

About this time twelve Baptists were sentenced to be hung for nonconformity. One of these was a widow, Mary Jackman, who had six children; their reprieve was almost miraculous.^[43]

Bunyan’s sufferings in prison were aggravated by his affectionate feelings for his blind daughter, and with tender apprehension he speaks of her in language of impassioned solicitude. “Poor child, thought I, what sorrow art thou like to have for thy portion in this world! Thou must be beaten, must beg, suffer hunger, cold, nakedness, and a thousand calamities, though I cannot now endure the wind shall blow upon thee! Oh, the hardships I thought my blind one might go under, would break my heart to pieces!” Then he casts himself upon the boundless power of his God, repents his doubts, and is filled with consolation. Such were the severe trials by which he was qualified to write the “Pilgrim’s Progress.”

His wife was a partaker of his own spirit — a heroine of no ordinary stamp in so trying a situation. She came to London with a petition for the release of her husband, which was presented to the House of Lords; but in vain. Time after time she appeared in person before the judges; and, although a delicate young woman of retiring habits, pleaded the cause of her husband and his

children in language worthy of the most talented counsel; but all her supplications were fruitless, although Judge Hale was evidently affected by her powerful appeal, and felt much for her.

“This courageous, this fine, high-minded English woman, and Lord Chief Justice Hale, and Bunyan, have long since met in Heaven; but how little could they recognize each other’s character on earth! How little could the distressed insulted wife have imagined, that beneath the judge’s ermine there was beating the heart of a child of God, a man of humility, integrity, and prayer! How little could the great, the learned, the illustrious, and truly pious judge have dreamed that the man, the obscure tinker, whom he was suffering to languish in prison for want of a writ of error, would one day be the subject of greater admiration and praise than all the judges in the kingdom of Great Britain! How little could he dream, that from that narrow cell where the prisoner was left incarcerated, and cut off apparently from all usefulness, a glory would shine out, illustrating the government and grace of God, and doing more good to man, than all the prelates and judges of the kingdom put together had accomplished.”^[44]

How many thousands will in Heaven search out Bunyan, to hear his own accounts of his sufferings, and how he conceived his wondrous dream! Nor will they forget the wife whose “Plain Man’s Path way”^[45] led him to his first inquiries after the Wicket-gate; nor his Elizabeth, who so nobly pleaded for him before the judges.

The number of non-conformists who were imprisoned in these trying times, will never be fully known until the great day when all secrets will be revealed, to the honour of the persecuted and the infamy of the persecutors. They were of both sexes and of all ages, from the child of nine or ten years to the hoary-headed saint of eighty, who, bending and trembling over the grave with bodily infirmities, was driven to prison and incarcerated in a filthy dungeon. In Picart’s *Religious Ceremonies*, it is stated that the number of dissenters, of all sects, who perished in prison under Charles II was EIGHT THOUSAND.^[46]

As a sect, the Quakers were the most severely handled. Not only were they the ardent friends of religious liberty, but their principles led them to testify against oaths, a hireling ministry, tithes, and other ecclesiastical demands, whether by forcible or voluntary contributions; and they taught that the work of the ministry was one of the purest benevolence, and not to be fulfilled for

the love of pelf, or idleness, or worldly distinction. The law required them to attend the Church, and when there, roused by the foolish and wicked observations of the priest, it was common for them to take out their Bibles, and denounce, in awful terms, the conduct of such blind teachers, who were leading their equally blind hearers to everlasting perdition. And for this they were imprisoned and cruelly treated.

If some of the non-conformists occasionally interrupted the clergyman while preaching, the Church party frequently did the same to both Baptists and Quakers. Thus it happened when Bunyan was preaching in a barn, a Church scholar, wounded by his observations, cried out, "You are a deceiver, a person of no charity, nor fit to preach; for you condemn the greater portion of your hearers." Bunyan replied, "Did not Jesus Christ preach to the same effect, when He described four sorts of hearers — the highway, stony, thorny, and good ground? whereof the good ground were the only persons to be saved? Do you mean to say that Jesus was unfit to preach? Away with such logic!" The scholar rode away much better punished than by imprisonment, for disturbing a congregation which he was not compelled to attend.

Multitudes of Quakers and Baptists were confined for the non-payment of ruinous fines, imposed after the officers of injustice had swept away all the worldly goods that they possessed. In most cases they were treated with extreme cruelty; some, even in the midst of the plague then raging, were dragged from their homes and families, and shut up in a jail little better than a pest-house, in which seventy-nine members of the Society of Friends,^[47] and a great number of other non-conformists died, and obtained a happy release from the fangs of tyranny. Upwards of eight thousand Quakers alone suffered imprisonment;^[48] and the record of those who died in prison, as preserved at Devonshire House, Bishops-gate, gives the fearful number of three hundred and ninety-nine persons of that persuasion only. At Carlisle, Dorothy Waugh and Ann Robinson, for preaching, were dragged through the streets, with each an iron instrument of torture, called a bridle, upon their heads, and were treated with gross indecency.^[49] A youth named James Parnell, aged nineteen, was treated with a degree of cruelty which, had it not been well authenticated, would have been beyond our credibility. "He was thrust into a hole in Colchester Castle not so wide as a baker's oven, and at a considerable height from the pavement; in climbing down to get his food, his hands being

benumbed, he lost his hold, and fell upon the stones, wounding his head severely, and bruising his body. In this state he was beaten by the jailer, and thrust into a similar hole nearer the pavement. He was shortly released from further torments by death.^[50] A memorial was presented to the King and his council at Whitehall,

“Being a brief relation of some of the cruel and inhuman usage, and great persecution and imprisonment of above four thousand two hundred and thirty of the people of God, in scorn called Quakers, for worshipping of God, and meeting together in the fear of the Lord.”^[51]

The summary of this frightful broadside, which gives an account of the number of Quakers in every prison throughout the kingdom, and is of undoubted authority, shows that such was the thronged state of the prisons, that in some cases they were crowded into so small a space that some had to stand while the others laid down. Many were taken out dead. To add to their trials, in Somersetshire the vilest felons were ironed to the poor Quakers; all the prisons were filled with men, women, and children; the aged and young, healthy and sick, were indiscriminately shut up with the vilest of ruffians, their clothes torn off; women taken from their beds in the night, and driven along the dirty roads in winter to prison; sixty-eight thrust into a small room, without bread or water, some of the women being in the most trying and delicate state; many in chains and fetters, wallowing in indescribable filth. Sixty of these Quakers were at one time confined, with John Bunyan and his friends, in the prison on Bedford Bridge. In “Some Account of the Life and Death of Mr. John Bunyan,” prefixed to his works, 2 vols. folio, 1737, p. 12, we find that

“sixty Dissenters were at one time put in Bedford jail for attending a religious meeting at Kaistoe, in addition to Bunyan and the usual prisoners, among whom were two eminent dissenting ministers, Mr. Wheeler and Mr. Dun. Amidst all this hurry, Bunyan preached and prayed among them in a mighty spirit of faith and overflowing of Divine assistance, which made me stand and wonder.”^[52]

In one place of confinement in that county, “fifty are in a close and strait place, where many are sick and weak, and likely to perish.” A very affecting appeal was made at this time to the House of Commons. One hundred and sixty-four nonconformists, called Quakers, assembled in Westminster Hall, and sent in a petition, stating that many of their brethren lay in irons, cruelly

beaten by cruel jailers; many have died in their sufferings, and many lie sick and weak upon straw; and then praying that they might suffer in their stead, and that their bodies might be put into the holes and prisons, and an equal number of their suffering dying friends be released. Well might the editor of the *Christian Examiner* call this “the feelings of majestic benevolence expressed in tender and beautiful simplicity.”^[53]

In the jail for the city of Bedford, in which Bunyan was confined, the prisoners were treated with an extraordinary degree of humanity, for which the jailer was severely threatened by some of the inhuman justices. So was Bunyan’s valuable life preserved, and he favoured with an opportunity of writing the “Pilgrim’s Progress,” and so fulfilling his great and appointed work. During this time he was permitted, by favour of the jailer, to visit his family, and even to go to London. This soon was rumoured; and one night he felt so uneasy, when at home, that at a very late hour he went back to the prison. The news of his being with his family at Elstow, was that very day taken to a neighbouring priest, who at midnight sent a messenger to the jail, that he might be a witness against the merciful keeper. On his arrival he demanded, “Are all the prisoners safe?” — “Yes.” “Is John Bunyan safe?” — “Yes.” “Let me see him.” He was called, and appeared; and all was well. His kindhearted jailer said to him, “You may go out when you will, for you know much better when to return than I can tell you.” While he was suffering this imprisonment, his friends in Bedford were severely visited by the ruthless hand of persecution.

Mr. Ruffhead^[54] was one of Bunyan’s principal friends and supporters, and had the honour of being the first that had his house plundered in the general persecution, when those who refused to attend the Church service were so severely visited.

The effect of persecution upon this excellent and pious man was, that he, within two years, opened his house for the reception of the despised Christians, and it was *the first place of worship* that was licensed in Bedford for the use of the non-conformists, if not the first in the United Kingdom. The account of the ruffianly transactions which took place at this time, is contained in a rare tract, called, “A True and Impartial Narrative of some Illegal and Arbitrary Proceedings against Innocent Nonconformists in the Town of Bedford, 4to, 1670.”^[55]

“On Monday, the 30th of May, Feckman, the chief apparitor, with the churchwarden, constable, and overseer, began to distrain. The person’s name is *J. Ruffhead*, at whose house they first began. He had been fined three pounds, and they took away two timber trees, value seven pounds.”^[56]

He must have been a man of some consequence in the town, to have been dealt with so leniently; for in most cases they swept away all the stock in trade, tools, and household furniture, and left the bare walls to shelter the widow and her lamenting orphans. Mr. Foster, a justice, went with the band, and in some cases *doubled the fine*, because it was not immediately paid. The misery was such, that the porters said *they would be hanged, drawn, and quartered before they would assist in that work*. Two of them, for so refusing, were caught and sent to Bedford jail, where, doubtless, they gave an account to Bunyan of the cruel trials to which his pious friends were subjected. The trained bands were called to assist, but “the tradesmen, journeymen, labourers, and servants having either left the town or hid themselves, to avoid his Feckman’s call, the town was so thin of people, that it looked more like a country village than a corporation; and the shops being generally shut down, it seemed like a place visited with a pest, where usually is written upon the door, *Lord, have mercy on us!*” Similar desolations fell upon many cities in the kingdom, which must have been utterly ruined, had the absurd attempt to enforce uniformity been continued.

In reading the narrative of these distressing and cruel proceedings, the mind is strangely relieved by the humours of the mob who accompanied these legalized plunderers.

“Whilst Battison and the other officers were attempting to break into a malt-house, a great number of all sorts of persons were gathered about them, expressing their indignation against him, for attempting this against Bardolf, the maltster, whom the whole town knew to be a just and harmless man. And the common sort of people covertly fixing a calf’s tail to Battison’s back, and deriding him with shouts and hollows, he departed without taking any distress there.”^[57]

Our pious teacher had his time so fully occupied in prison, that his hours must have passed more sweetly and swiftly than those of a debauched monarch, surrounded with luxuries, in his magnificent palaces. To tag laces, the profit of which supported a beloved wife, and his family of helpless children, must have employed many of his hours to procure the scantiest

food, and most homely clothing. But he found time also to study his Bible, teach his fellow-prisoners, and compose books which have inscribed his name on the page of history more indelibly and brilliantly than it could have been if set with diamonds on the most splendid earthly crown. He who could write, and loved to write, such volumes, wanted not occupation or solace; he might have said, I have found a nest of honey in the carcass of the lion that roared upon me. The world has from that time been refreshed with its sweetness, while, as a spiritual medicine, it counteracts the guilt and wretchedness of man. From such adversity God has extracted manna for the nourishment of His church in the wilderness.

Stone walls do not a prison make
Nor iron bars a cage;
Minds innocent and quiet take
That for a hermitage.

For though men keep my outward man
Within their locks and bars,
Yet by the faith of Christ I can
Mount higher than the stars.

These be the men that God doth count
Of high and noble mind;
These be the men that do surmount
What you in nature find.

First they do conquer their own hearts,
All worldly fears, and then
Also the devil's fiery darts,
And persecuting men.

How refreshing for such Scriptures as these “to thrill through the soul” of a prisoner for Christ — “Let not your heart be troubled,” &c. “In the world ye shall have tribulation; but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world.” Thus Bunyan says,

“I have had sweet sights of the forgiveness of sin in this place. O the Mount Zion, the heavenly Jerusalem, the innumerable company of angels, and God the Judge of all; Jesus the Mediator, and the spirits of just men made perfect! I have seen here what I never can express. I have felt the truth of that Scripture, ‘Whom having not seen ye love; in whom, though now ye see Him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory.’”

Many years after he had obtained his liberty, notwithstanding all his sufferings, he, with the — majesty of truth, hurled defiance at all persecutors, and exhorted those who had put on Christ to be steadfast unto the end. When preaching upon the unsearchable riches of Christ, he thus applied his subject,

“We are environed with many enemies, and faith in the love of God and of Christ is our only succour and shelter. Wherefore, our duty, and wisdom, and privilege is, to improve this love to our own advantage — improve it against daily infirmities — improve it against the wiles of the Devil — improve it against the threats, rage, death, and destruction that the men of this world continually, with their terror, set before you.”^[58]

It may be asked, Why dwell so much upon the sufferings of our pilgrim forefathers? My reply is, To those trials in the person of John Bunyan, we are indebted for his invaluable book. To the groans, and tears, and blood of these saints we owe the great privileges we now enjoy. And my object also is to warn my readers not to touch the unclean thing. Antichrist is governed by the same principles and powers now as she was then; the Acts of uniformity and coercion, to use the *Book of Common Prayer*, remain unaltered; but a more humane state of society protects our persons from her despotism. So long as the wealth of the state is the bribe to conformity, and the power of taxing and imprisoning the nonconformist is continued, so long must she lie under the strong suspicion of hypocrisy and tyranny. She was formerly defiled with the sufferings unto death of many of the saints of God. And while the system is the same, it becomes us to listen to the voice of the Holy Spirit, “Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers. Come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord: (2 Cor. 6:14, 17).

It would not be proper to pass by the contemptible sophistry with which Mr. Southey justifies an intolerant bigoted hierarchy in sending our Pilgrim to prison “where his understanding had leisure to ripen and cool . . . favourable for his *moral* and religious nature.”^[59] Can this be the language of the author of Wattyler? Yes; the smile of royalty had elevated and corrupted him. He might now regret that he was not born in Bonner’s days to have assisted in improving the morals and religion of the martyrs, by flogging them in the coal-house!

The same language which Southey uses to justify the Church of England in sending our Pilgrim to prison, would equally justify the horrid cruelties

practised upon those pious and amiable martyrs, Tyndale, Latimer, or Ridley. The alleged offence was refusing to transfer the obedience of a free immortal spirit from God, who justly claims it, to erring debauched, or ungodly man, who, instigated by Satan, assumes the prerogatives of Deity to exercise dominion over the mode and form of worship; to impose trammels upon that which must be free if it exists at all; for God is a spirit, and they who worship him must do it in spirit and truth.

When the English Established Church considered herself unsafe, unless Bunyan and many hundred kindred minds were shut up in prison, it proved itself to be a disgrace to the Gospel, and an injury to a free people.^[60] All national hierarchies have estimated the minds of others by their own standard; but no *real* minister of the Gospel can be like the Vicar of Bray, who was determined to retain his vicarage, whatever doctrine he might be ordered to preach.

How strangely different were the feelings of the poor, pious, unlettered teacher, to those of archbishops, bishops, and clergy, thousands of whom swore under Henry VIII, and Edward VI, to abjure the Pope; perjured themselves under Mary, by swearing to maintain him; and under Elizabeth, again perjured themselves by taking a new oath to un-oath Queen Mary's oath; and all within the space of a few years! The State, by *enforcing conformity* to an Established church, naturally puts the people upon desperate courses, either to play the hypocrite, and have no conscience at all, or to be tortured for having a conscience not fashionable or pleasing to the court party. They must either deny their faith and reason or if virtuous, be destroyed for acting according to them.^[61] Those who have no religion have always persecuted those who have religious principles; and to enable them to do this, they must obey the state, be it Christian or be it Mahometan. Force makes hypocrites: persuasion alone makes converts.

Such wholesale persecutions bid fair to destroy the trade and commerce of the kingdom, and involve it in one universal desolation. Sir W. Petty, the founder of the Shelbourne family, then a man of considerable note, demonstrated this in his *Political Arithmetic*; and the illustrious founder of Pennsylvania gave a just picture of the miseries inflicted by the Church of England, in her endeavours to force pious and honest men into her communion.

“Persons have been flung into jails, gates and trunks broken open, goods distrained, till a stool hath not been left to sit down on. Flocks of cattle driven, whole barns full of corn seized. Parents left without their children, children without their parents, both without subsistence. But that which aggravates the cruelty is, the widow’s mite hath not escaped their hands; they have made her cow the forfeit of her conscience, not leaving her a bed to lie on, nor a blanket to cover her; and which is yet more barbarous, and helps to make up this tragedy, the poor helpless orphan’s milk boiling over the fire, was flung away, and the skillet made part of their prize; that, had not nature in neighbours been stronger than cruelty in such informers and officers, to open her bowels for their relief and subsistence, they must have utterly perished”; and what has such cruelty procured? “the judgments of God, the hatred of men. To the sufferers, misery; to their country, decay of people and trade and to their own consciences, an infinite guilt.”^[62]

“Men must either have no conscience at all, or be hanged for having a conscience not fashionable.”^[63]

He winds up a manly, learned, and excellent treatise, by saying (*inter alia*), that “the interests of Britain will stand longer upon the legs of the English people than of the English Church,”^[64] and signs himself “An English Christian Man, William Penn.” Persecution, for his pure religious feelings, drove him and thousands of the best English citizens across the Atlantic, to seek among savages the repose denied to them by the Church of England, and to found a state and an empire where the perfect equality and happiness of every sect, the non-interference of the state with the spiritual things of conscience and of God, will render it eventually the most mighty of empires, and an unbounded blessing to the whole universe.

At length the King was aroused; probably the grim head of his father flitted before his alarmed imagination; and, to restore tranquillity to his kingdom, he issued a declaration for liberty of conscience; whether induced by the groans of an afflicted people, many thousands of whom had suffered the loss of all things, or by the weakening of his kingdom by the multitudes who emigrated to America, to escape the tyranny of ecclesiastical persecution, or whether to relax the laws against the Papists, has been a subject of controversy, and, however we may be sceptical as to *royal* declarations, yet, judging cautiously, I am inclined to hope that the motives set forth in that declaration were true; at all events, it is an indelible record, that the dreadful experiment tried for twelve cruel years, to compel uniformity in Divine worship by fines,

imprisonment, and even death, most signally failed, while it involved the kingdom in a state of desolation, from which it required the glorious revolution of 1688 to restore it to comparative prosperity.

Favoured by the prompt and kind permission of Sir George Grey, one of her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, and the very courteous and hearty assistance of Mr. Lechmere, Keeper of the Archives in the State Paper Office, every possible search was made to find any papers or records relative to the imprisonment and discharge of Bunyan. Having thus an opportunity of transcribing all that could be found at the fountainhead of intelligence, it may prove interesting to our readers to possess a correct copy of these important documents. The first is the King's declaration, under his own autograph signature.

Charles R

*His Majesties Declaration
to all his loving Subjects*

Our care and Endeavours for the preservation of the Rights and Interests of the Church, have been sufficiently manifested to the World by the whole course of Our Government since Our happy Restauration, and by the many and frequent wayes of Coercion that Wee have used for reduceing all erring or dissenting persons, and for composeing the unhappy differences in matters of Religion, which Wee found among Our Subjects upon Our Returne: But it being evident by the sad experience of twelve yeares that there is very Little fruite of all those forceable Courses Wee thinke Our Selfe obliged to make use of that Supreame Power in Ecclesiasticall Matters which is not onely inherent in Us, but hath been declared and Recognized to be soe by severall Statutes and Acts of Parliament; And therefore Wee doe now accordingly issue this Our Declaration, as well for the quieting the Mindes of Our Good Subjects in these Points, for Inviteing Strangers in this Conjuncture to come and Live under Us, and for the better Encouragement of all to a cheareful following of their Trade and Callings, from whence Wee hope by the Blessing of God to have many good and happy Advantages to our Government; As also for preventing for the future the danger that might otherwise arise from Private Meetings, and Seditious Conventicles;

And in the first place, Wee declare Our expresse Resolution Meaneing and Intention to be, that the Church of England bee preserved and remaine entire in its Doctrine, Discipline, and Government, as now it stands established by Law;

And that this bee taken to bee, as it is, the Basis, Rule, and Standard of the

Generall and Publicke Worshipp of God, And that the Orthodox Conformable Clergy doe receive and enjoy the Revenues belonging thereunto; And that no Person, though of a different opinion and Perswasion shall bee exempt from paying his Tythes, or other Dues whatsoever. And further Wee declare, That no Person shall bee capable of holding any benefice, Liveing, or Ecclesiasticall Dignity or Preferment of any kinde in this Our Kingdome of England, who is not exactly Conformable. Wee doe in the next Place declare Our Will and Pleasure to bee, That the Execution of all and all manner of Penall Lawes in matters Ecclesiasticall, against whatsoever sort of Non-Conformists, or Recusants, bee immediately suspended, and they are hereby suspended. And all Judges, Judges of Assise and Gaole Delivery, Sheriffes, Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Bayliffs, and other Officers, whatsoever, whether Ecelesiasticall, or Civill, are to take notice of it, and pay due Obedience thereunto.

And that there may be no pretence for any of Our Subjects to continue their illegall meetings and Conventicles Wee doe Declare, That wee shall from time to time allow a sufficient Number of Places, as they shall bee desired, in all parts of this Our Kingdome, for the use of such as doe not conforme to the Church of England, to meete and assemble in, in Order to their Publick Worship and Devotion; which Places shall bee open and free to all Persons.

But to prevent such disorders and inconveniencies as may happen by this Our Indulgence, if not duly regulated, and that they may be the better protected by the Civill Magistrate Our expresse Will and Pleasure is, That none of our Subjects doe presume to meete in any Place, untill such Place bee allowed, and the Teacher of that congregation be approved by Us.

And Lest any should apprehend that this Restriction should make Our said Allowance and approbation difficult to bee obtained, Wee doe further Declare, That this Our Indulgence, as to the Allowance of the Publick Places of Worship, and approbation of the Teachers, shall extend to all sorts of Non Conformists and Recusants, except the Recusants of the Roman Catholick Religion, to whom We shall in no wise allow Publick Places of Worship, but only indulge them their share in the common Exemption from the execution of the Penall Lawes, and the Exercise of their Worship in their private Houses onely.

And if after this Our Clemency and Indulgence, any of Our Subjects shall presume to abuse this Liberty, and shall preach seditiously, or to the Derogation of the Doctrine, Discipline or Government of the Established Church, or shall meet in Places not allowed by Us, Wee doe hereby give them warneing, and Declare, We will proceed against them with all imaginable severity: And Wee will Lett them see We can be as Severe to punish such

offenders, when soe justly provoked, as We are Indulgent to truely tender consciences. In Wittnesse whereof Wee have caused Our Greats Seale of England to be putt and affixed to these presents. Given att Our Court att Whitehall this fifteenth day of March in the 24th yeare of Our Reigne 1671.

At this time, George Whitehead, one of the most zealous and prominent Quakers, became deeply affected with the cruel punishments that his brethren and sisters were suffering for Christ's sake. He was a man who, with equal composure and zeal, could plead before royalty and nobles in a state apartment, or impart consolation to a suffering Christian in a dungeon or a pest-house. He thus mentions it in his Journal,

“Soon after the before-mentioned declaration of indulgence was published in print, as I was solitary upon the road returning toward London, a very weighty and tender concern fell upon my spirit, with respect to our dear friends then in prisons, being above four hundred, many of whom had been long straitly confined for not conforming, some having endured ten or eleven years' imprisonment, whereupon I wrote to the King, and requested Thomas Moor, who had an interest with the King and some of his council, to present my letter, which he did; and a few days after we had access to the King's presence, and renewed our request, whereupon he granted us liberty to be heard on the next council-day, in the same week. And then I, with Thomas Moor and Thomas Green, attended at the council-chamber at Whitehall, and were all admitted in before the King, and a full council. Being called to the upper end of the council-board, I opened and fully pleaded the case of our suffering friends. The King gave this answer, 'I'll pardon them.'”

They were permitted to address the council at some length, and it being near the time of a general fast, they concluded with these words, “This is the fast the Lord requires, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free.”

“Favoured with an order from the Secretary of State, and by the kind assistance of J. B. Leonard, Esq., of the Privy Council Office, I obtained access to the minutes of that council; in which is recorded, that a circular letter be sent to the sheriffs of the counties in England and Wales —

After our hearty commendations — Whereas request hath been made unto His Majesty in behalf of the Quakers who remain at present in several goals and prisons of this Kingdom, That His Majesty would be pleased to extend his mercy towards them, and give order for their Release; Which His Majesty taking into consideration, hath thought fit, in order to his clearer information, before he resolve any thing therein, to command us to write these Our Letters

unto you: And, accordingly, wee do hereby will and require you to procure a perfect Lyste or Calendar of the names, time, and causes of commitment of all such Persons called Quakers, as are remayning in any Goale or Prison within that County, and to return ye same forthwith to this Board. And so nothing doubting of your ready performance of this His Majesty's command, we bid you heartily farewell.

From the Court at Whitehall, ye 29th of March, 1672.

Signed

Earle of Ossory Earle of Carlisle

Lord Holles Earle of Bathe

Earle of Lauderdale Mr. Secy Trevor

Earle of Craven Lord Newport

Mr. of ye Ordnance.

Like tres dated and signed at supra were sent to ye Warden of ye Fleet and Mare — shall of ye King's Bench Prisons, And to ye Mayors or Justices of ye seuerall places hereunder written viz.

Citty and County of ye Citty of Chester.

Citty and County of ye Citty of Exon.

Towne and County of Poole.

Citty and County of Glocester.

Citty and County of Lincolne.

Citty and County of Brestoll.

Towne and County of Southton.

Citty and County of ye, City of York.[\[65\]](#)

The indefatigable manner in which the Quakers proceeded to get the requisite official signatures to release their suffering and dying friends, is beyond all praise. They wrote to all their meetings throughout the country to obtain assistance, to enable them to meet the demands for fees, and even sent their talented female friends to the officials, to press on this glorious jail delivery. This appears from the following letters: —

*George Whitehead to Stephen Crisp.
3rd of 1st Month April 1672.*

Before thy letter had come to hand, I had drawn up a paper containing the substance of thine, which Thos. Moore had given to the King, together with a list of the praemuired Friends and of those sentenced to banishment, &c.; which hitherto has been effectual, in order to a further enquiry about Friends, &c. How far the King and Council have proceeded, in answer to the request, I leave it to Wm. Crouch to inform thee. Thy paper is kept for a further occasion if need be, if our end be not answered by them. But we are encouraged to hope well for divers reasons. I could not well send to write to thee before, being much exercised for the sufferers. The Council yesterday signed the letters to the Sheriffs for a return of Friends Commitments, &c. to the Board; so that they are like to be had with expedition into the several Counties.

My very dear love to thee, thy wife, R. Crouch, and Friends

In haste, thy dear brother

[From the original.]

G. W.

*John Rouse to Margaret Fox.
London, 4th of 2nd Month [May],*

DEAR MOTHER,

1672.

Last 6th day the two women took the grant out of the Attorney-general's office, and he gave them his fee, which should have been *L5*; his clerk took but 20s., whereas his fee was 40s. Yesterday they went with it to the King, who signed it in the Council; and Arlington also signed it, but would take no fees, whereas his fees would have been *L12* or *L20*; neither would Williamson's man take anything, saying, that if any religion were true, it was ours. To-morrow it is to pass the signet, and on sixth day the privy seal, and afterwards the broad seal, which may be done on any day. The power of the Lord hath wrought mightily in the accomplishment of it; and the Lord hath bowed their hearts wonderfully in it blessed be His name forever!

Thy dear son in the Lord,

JOHN ROUSE.

Upon the King's declaration being published, an outcry was raised by the

church, that it was only intended to favour the Papists, although in it they are expressly prohibited from the public exercise of their religion. So angry was the King at his motives being, as He said, misrepresented, that he went to the Council Office, called for the deed, and with his own hand broke off the great seal; the ribbon remains to this day to which the seal had been attached. Still the declaration, having passed the patent offices, was fully acted upon, and a return was ordered from the sheriffs throughout the kingdom, of the names of all prisoners, called Quakers, for disobedience to the laws in ecclesiastical matters within their respective divisions, with the causes of their commitment. The following are the minutes of the Privy Council to which their returns were submitted:

At the Court at Whitehall the 8th of May 1672
The Kings most excellent Majestie

Lord Arch Bp of Canterbury	Earle of Bathe
Lord Keeper	Earle of Carlisle
Duke of Lauderdale	Earle of Craven
Lord Chamberlain	Earle of Shaffsbury
Visct Ffaconberge	Lord Hollis
Visct Halifax	Mr. Vice Chamberlain
Lord Bp of London	Mr. Secretary Trevor
Lord Newport	Sir John Duncombe
Earle of Bridgwater	Earle of Essex
Earle of Anglesey	Sir Thomas Osborne
Mr. Chancellor of the Dutchy	
Master of the Ordinance	

Whereas his Majestie of his Princely Clemency was graciously pleased to direct that Letters should be written from this Board to the Sheriffs of the respective Countyes and Citties and Countyes, and Townes and Countyes within his Majestie's Kingdome of England and Dominion of Wales, requiring them to returne perfect lists or Callenders of the Names time and Causes of Comittment of all such Prisoners called Quakers as remaine in their severall Gaoles, or prisons, which they accordingly did, and the same were by order of his Majestie in Councell of the third of this instant delivered into the

hands of the right Honoble the Lord Keeper of the great Seale of England, Sir Orlando Bridgman, who haveing considered thereof did this day returne them againe together with his opinion therepon as followeth viz.

The Returns that are made touching the prisoners in the severall Goales are of severall Kindes.

1. All such of them as are returned to be convicted to be Transported or to be Convicted of a Premunire (vpon which Convictions I suppose Judgment was given) are not legally to be discharged but by his Majestie's pardon vnder the great scale.
2. All those that are returned to be in prison vpon writts of Excommunicato Capiendo not mentioning the cause ought not to be discharged till the cause appeares — for if it be for Tythes, Legacyes, Defamations or other private Interest, they ought not to bee discharged till the partie be satisfied.
3. All those that are returned in prison for debt or vpon Exchequer processe, or of any of the other Courts at Westminster, are not to be discharged till it be Knowne for what cause those processes Issued and those debts be discharged.
4. Those that are in prison for not paying their ffynes ought not to be discharged, without paying their ffynes or a Pardon.

All the rest I conceive may be discharged. Which being this day taken into consideration his Majestie was gratiouly pleased to declare, that he will Pardon all those persons called Quakers, now in prison for any offence Committed, relateifig only to his Majestie and not to the prejudice of any other person. And it was therepon ordered by his Majestie in Councill That a List of the Names of the Quakers in the Severall Prisons together with the causes of their Comittment be and is herewith sent to his Majestie's Attorney Generall who is required, and Authorized to prepare a Bill for his Majestie's Royall Signature conteyning a Pardon to passe the great Seale of England, for all such to whom his Majestie's may legally grant the same & in Case of any difficultie that he attend the Lord Keeper, and receive his directions therein.

Ex. J. W. WALKER.

Order of Councill for the Quakers generalle Pardon.

Endorsed.

This is a true List of the Names of such persons commonly called Quakers and others which are by Vertue of an Order of Councill of the 8th of May last past to be inserted in a generall Pardon.

Ex. J. W. WALKER.

Then follow the names of four hundred and seventy-one prisoners, ordered to be inserted in the pardon. One sentence in this opinion of the Lord Chancellor, Sir Orlando Bridgman, is worthy of especial regard. Having noticed the cases of all those who had been legally convicted, either by summary process before a magistrate, or by petty session, or by a jury, he winds up with a sweeping expression "*All the rest may be discharged.*" That multitudes were imprisoned without conviction, upon the mere verbal orders of a justice, there can be no doubt. These would be set at liberty without any formal pardon; even in Bunyan's case no evidence was taken, but a conviction was recorded. In a conversation between him and the justice, and also with the clerk privately, *he denied* having offended any law whatever; but his honest declaration, that he had met with others for Divine worship, was distorted into a plea of guilty, and he was sent to prison without redress. "They took me for a convicted person," and "would not let me out of prison, as they let out thousands at the time the King was crowned."^[66]

It is impossible to calculate the amount of misery inflicted upon the Christian Church at that period, by the Episcopalian establishment supported by the state. Among the multitude of prisoners who were liberated from our over-crowded prisons at the coronation of Charles II, vast numbers had been confined for their love to the Redeemer, which prevented their conformity to the forms of worship ordered by the State. In addition to these, a countless host was discharged, under the just decision of the Lord Chancellor, "All the rest, I conceive, may be discharged"; while nearly five hundred more were included in the royal pardon, and great numbers were still left to perish in prison, for the non-payment of ecclesiastical dues, generally of a trifling amount. The loss to the non-conformists in their goods, during this severe and cruel persecution, has been estimated at half a million sterling, seized by rapacious officers to pay fines for not attending the liturgy and service — an enormous sum, considering the value of money at that time; yet from records which the Editor has seen, it was not over-stated. But a small portion of this found its way into the royal exchequer. Our great Allegorist was trained up in the fiercest spiritual warfare; and, with his fellow-pilgrims, passed through the severest temporal sufferings.

May God, in His infinite mercy, forgive the living representatives of a system which is so naturally full of cruelty, and not, in the severity of His justice,

visit the sins of the fathers upon their children; some of whom appear, even now, to have an inkling for similar anti-Christian conduct. It cannot be forgotten that, within a few years, an estimable man, John Childs of Bungay, was sent to jail for refusing to pay a church rate.

But to return to our distinguished nonconformist prisoner. On the day following the meeting of the Privy Council, when the report of the Lord Chancellor was received, and the King had ordered his royal pardon for the Quakers; Bunyan, being still a prisoner, was, in pursuance of the declaration for liberty of conscience, licensed to be a teacher, being one of the first persons that were so registered. These were the first permissions to preach given, to the dissenters from the established sect, in this country.

The volume from which these extracts are made is called *Indulgences*, 1672, under the head “Congregationall.”

CHARLES &c. To all Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables and other Our Officers and Ministers Civil and Military whom it may concerne, Greeting. In Pursuance of our Declaration of the 15th of March 1671, Wee doe hereby permitt and licence John Bunyon to bee a Teacher of the Congregation allowed by Us in the Howse of Josias Roughed Bedford for the use of such as doe not conforme to the Church of England, who are of the Perswasion commonly called Congregationall. With further licence and permission to him the said John Bunyon to teach in any other place licensed by Us according to our said Declaracion. Given at Our Court at Whitehall the 9th day of May in the 24th yeare of our Reigne, 1672.

By his Majestie's Command
ARLINGTON

[margin note]

Bedford Licence for
John Bunyan to be a
teacher in the house of
Josias Roughed 9 May
72.

At the same time the house of Josias Roughed was registered in the following form:^[67]

CHARLES &c. To all Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables and other Our Officers and

Ministers Civill and Military, whom it may concerne, Greeting. In pursuance of Our Declaration of the 15 of March 1671 Wee have allowed and Wee doe hereby allow of the Howse of Josias Roughed in Bedford to be a place for the use of such as doe not conforme to the Church of England who are of the Perswasion commonly called Congregationall to meet and assemble in, in order to their Publick Worship & devotion. And all and Singular Our Officers and Ministers Ecclesiasticall Civill and Military, whom it may concerne are to take due notice hereof, And they and every of them are hereby strictly charged and required to hinder any Tumult or Disturbance, & to protect them in their said Meetings & Assemblies. Given at &c the 9th day of May in the 24th yeare of Our Reigne 1672

By his Majestie's Command
ARLINGTON.

[margin note]

A place for a teacher in Bedford.

The church of Christ at Bedford is here called Congregational. In ten months, about three thousand five hundred of these licenses were granted, only one being at Bedford; many were for persons and places called *Anabapt*, all others were under the term Congregational. Philip Henry was indulged “in his house, Malpas Parish, in Flintshire.” Thomas Senior and Henry Ashurst, in their respective houses at Clapton, in Hackney. Bunyan’s church could not fairly be called *Anabapt*, because it consisted of members some of whom, probably, had not been baptized in or with water, some christened in infancy, and others immersed on a profession of their faith.

Mr. Roughed, whose house was licensed for Bunyan to preach in, was plundered a few months previously for refusing to go to church. To attend such a place was one month a violation of the law, visited with ruinous fines and imprisonments, and the next month, places are licensed according to law, for any person to attend, instead of going to church. Law-makers must ever be the scorn and derision of the world, when they interfere with Divine and spiritual worship.

The Quakers had much greater influence with the King and his council than all the other denominations of Christians; and it was soon rumoured abroad that they had been with the King in council, and had obtained for their

suffering friends a royal promise of a free pardon. Controversy between them and other Christians had been carried on with much bitterness of speech, and in this Bunyan had borne a prominent part, when combating against what he conceived to be serious errors. But as Christians involved in one common calamity, the Quakers admitted their brethren in affliction to partake of the bounty bestowed expressly upon themselves. Whitehead thus narrates this delightful fact in his journal:

“When the instrument for discharge of the prisoners was granted to our friends, there being other dissenters, besides Quakers, in some prisons, as Baptists, Presbyterians, and Independents; some of their solicitors, especially one William Carter, seeing what way we had made with the King for our friends’ release, they desired their friends in prison might be discharged with ours, and have their names in the same instrument, and earnestly requested my advice or assistance, which I was very willing to give in compassion to them; and, accordingly, I advised them to petition the King, with the names of the prisoners in it, for his warrant to have them inserted in the same patent with the Quakers, which accordingly they did petition for, and obtain.”

“Our being of different judgments and societies, did not abate my compassion or charity, even towards them who had been my opposers in some cases. Blessed be the Lord my God, who is the Father and fountain of mercies, whose love and mercies in Christ Jesus to us should oblige us to be merciful and kind one to another; we being required to love mercy, yea, to be merciful, as well as to do justly, and to walk humbly with the Lord our God.”[\[68\]](#)

Such was the Christian conduct of men, who, of all the members of the church militant upon earth, have been the most grossly slandered.

In pursuance of the Quaker’s kind advice, Bunyan and his fellow-prisoners petitioned the King for their liberty; and at the meeting of the Privy Council, held on the 8th of May 1672, in presence of His Majesty, and a numerous assembly of his nobles, before the grant of pardon to relieve the Quakers was engrossed, it is recorded:

At the Court at Whitehall, 8th May, 1672.

Upon reading this day at the board the humble petition of John Fenn, JOHN BUNYON, John Dunn, Thomas Haynes, Simon Haynes, and George Farr prisoners in the Gaol of Bedford and James Rogers prisoner in the Castle of Cambridge for being at Conventicles and Non-conformity. It was ordered to be referred to the Sheriffs of the Counties of Bedford and Cambridge to

examine the said Petitions and forthwith certify this Board whether the said parties are detained in prison for the offences therein mentioned or for what other crimes.

At the Court at Whitehall,
ye 17th of May, 1672.

The King's most excellent Majestie

Lord Arch Bp of Canterbury	Earle of Shaffsbury
Lord Keeper	Viscot Fauconberg
Duke of Lauderdale	Viscot Halifax
Duke of Ormonde	Lord newport
Marquis of Worcester	Lord Hollis
Earle of Bridgewater	Lord Clifford
Earle of Essex	Mr. Vice Chamberlain
Earle of Anglesey	Mr. Secretary Trevor
Earle of Bathe	Mr. Montague
Earle of Carlisle	Mr. Chancellor of ye Dutchy
Earle of Craven	Master of ye Ordnance
Earle of Arlington	Sir Thomas Osborne.

Whereas by order of the Board of the 8th Instant the humble Petition of John Fenn John Bunyon John Dunn Thomas Haynes Simon Haynes and George Farr Prisoners in the Goale of Bedford Convicted upon severall Statutes for not conforming to the Rights and Ceremonyes of the Church of England and for being at unlawful Meetings, was Referred to the Sheriffe of the County of Bedford who was required to Certify this Board whether the said persons were committed for the Crimes in the said Petition mentioned and for no other which he haveing accordingly done by his certificate dated the 11th Instant It was thereupon this day ordered by his Majestie in Councill, That the said petition and Certificate be (and are herewith) sent to his Majestie's Attorney Generall, who is authorised and required to insert them into the Generall Pardon to be passed for the Quakers. If he finds that they are within the compass of his Majestie's pardon according to the Rule Prescribed by the order of the 8th of May about pardon for the Quakers.

[margin note]

Reference Peticôن severall Non-Conformists Prisoners in Cambridge Castle and Bedford Goale.

The like order for Francis Holcroft and James Rogers for frequenting unlawful meetings as by certificate from the Sheriffe of Cambridge of the 10th and 11th Instant.

[The sheriff's return cannot be found.]

At a Court at Whitehall, ye 22d May 1672,

A similar order was made for Walter Penn and twelve others, prisoners in Wilts.

At a Court ye 7th of June 1672,

On a Certificate of the Mayor, Sheriff and Aldermen of Worcester, Robert Smith, a Baker, was ordered to be inserted in the pardon.

On the 12th of June, the petition of twenty-two prisoners was read and referred to the Sheriffs, and on the 26th their names were ordered to be inserted in the pardon.

On the 14th of June Thomas More the Quaker obtained a similar order, and on the 26th of June Thomas Gower Durham and eight prisoners in Devon and Exeter were ordered to be inserted in the pardon.

Through all these minutes the intended patent is referred to as the general pardon to the Quakers.

Thus we find undoubted proof upon the records of the Privy Council of England, presided over by the King in person, that John Bunyan's only crime, as certified by the sheriff, and for which he was counted worthy of so cruel an imprisonment, was being present with others to worship his Maker in simplicity and in truth. This was all his crime; "the very head and front of his offence." O that all her Majesty's subjects would constantly follow his example! then might our prisons be converted into colleges and schools, and our land become an earthly paradise.

In pursuance of this great and benevolent object, these indefatigable Quakers obtained a warrant to the Attorney-General, for a free pardon, of which the

following is a copy:

Our will and pleasure is, that you prepare a bill for the royal signature, and to pass our Great Seal of England, containing our gracious pardon unto here follow the prisoners' names. Of all offences, contempts and misdemeanours by them, or any of them committed before the 21st day of July 1672, against the several statutes made in the first, twenty-third, and thirty-fifth years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth: in the third year of the reign of our late royal grandfather, King James; and in the 16th year of our reign — in not coming to church and hearing divine service; in refusing to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and frequenting or being present at seditious conventicles; and of all praemunires, judgments, convictions, sentences of excommunication, and transportation thereupon; and of all fines, amercements, pains, penalties, and forfeitures whatsoever, thereby incurred, with restitution of lands and goods, and such other clauses, and *non obstantes*, as may render this our pardon most effectual; for which this shall be your warrant.

Given at our Court at Whitehall the — day of June, in the twenty-fourth year of our reign.

But now a new and very serious difficulty presented itself in the shape of enormous fees, in the different offices through which the pardon had to pass; these amounted to between twenty and thirty pounds for each person whose name was inserted in it. Whitehead again applied to the King, and at length all difficulties were removed by the following order:

His Majesty is pleased to command, that it be signified as his pleasure to the respective officers and sealers, where the pardon to the Quakers is to pass, that the pardon, though comprehending great numbers of persons, do yet pass as one pardon, and pay but as one.

ARLINGTON.

At the Court at Whitehall, the 13th of Sep. 1672.

Whitehead adds, “Though we had this warrant from the King, yet we had trouble from some of the covetous clerks, who did strive hard to exact upon us.”

A very considerable sum for those days, and for such poor persons to raise, was needful to carry this pardon into full effect. The dissenters had been

enormously plundered. Hundreds, if not thousands, had been stripped of all that they possessed, so that the prison, intended and used as a place of rigorous punishment, was in fact their only shelter from the inclemency of the weather. The expenses of a royal pardon for such a number of prisoners was very great, not merely in the drawing, engrossing, and passing through the various offices and departments of the State, but in employing efficient persons to go through the kingdom to plead this pardon before the various sessions and assizes. Every impediment that cruelty could invent was thrown in the way of the release of these Christian prisoners for nonconformity, by the squirarchy and clergy. To raise the requisite funds, a strong appeal was made by the following circular sent to the Quakers in the country:

FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,

We suppose you may not be insensible how that upon sundry applications made to the King and Council in time past and more especially now of late for the release of our dear suffering Friends, the Clerk and others, and others attending him and them, have upon that account been put to a great deal of trouble and pains in writing of orders and letters to the Sheriffs of the respective Counties in England and Wales, and otherwise in order to Friends' discharge, and although for some years together their labour therein (as well as those of us who traveled in that affair on Friends' behalf) was from time to time rendered ineffectual, yet at this present, there appears a very great probability of accomplishing our friends liberty, which hath and doth renew an additional trouble upon them, and thereby a further obligation laid upon us to requite them for their pains, and not only them but also the Clerks of the Keeper, Attorney General, and other inferior officers, who in drawing up the Kings grant and orders, and Friends general discharge (now in agitation towards an accomplishment) will be at no small trouble in writing and other services in order thereunto that we apprehend Friends cannot be clear if they do not in some measure answer the reasonable part in them by gratifying them for their pains. Wherefore we saw meet to recommend it to such Friends in the Counties as are or have been lately prisoners for the truth's sake and who are to share in the benefit that may accrue by the King's intended general discharge that they will be pleased to contribute their proportion toward defraying of this great charge which they are desired forthwith to take into their consideration accordingly and to send it up to London with all convenient expedition unto Gerard Roberts, John Osgood, and William Welch or any or either of them for the purpose aforementioned. We remain Your dear friends and brethren.

London, 5th of 4th mo. 1672.

Part of the money is already disbursed on this behalf by Friends in London.

Extracted from the Minute Book of the Society of Friends, 1672, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate.

All difficulties having been overcome, this Magna Charta, or grant of liberty, was issued.

The original patent, with the Great Seal attached to it, is carefully preserved by the Society of Friends, in their archives at Devonshire House, and it contains the names of twenty prisoners not included in the order of Privy Council. But Bunyan's name is in both. It is in Latin in the usual form, prepared by Mr. Nicolls, the principal clerk to the Attorney-General, to the following effect:

Charles the Second by the Grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, Defender, &c. To all to whom the present letters shall come greeting — Know ye that we moved with piety^[69] of our special grace, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, Have pardoned, remitted and released and by these presents for us our heirs and successors Do pardon, remit and release to Edward Pattison, John Ellis Arthur Cooke and Richard Cannon prisoners in our Gaol of Newgate within our City of London.

And in the same form the prisoners are named in the other jails throughout the kingdom. The following were fellow-sufferers at that time in Bedford jail:

John Fenn, JOHN BUNYAN, John Dunn, Thomas Haynes, George Farr, James Rogers, John Rush, Tabitha Rush, and John Curfe, Prisoners in the Common Gaol for our County of Bedford. The names and places of imprisonment having been given of the four hundred and ninety-one prisoners, the grant goes on with great care to secure the benefit intended — to each of them — or by whatsoever other names or name — surname — addition of name — Art — Office — Mystery or Place they — are known deemed called or named or lately was known &c. ALL and all manner crimes transgressions offences of praemunire — unlawful conventicles contempts and ill behaviour whatsoever — by himself alone or with any other person howsoever whensoever or in what manner soever or wheresoever advised commanded attempted done perpetrated or committed before the thirtieth day of July last past before the date of these presents, against the form of the Statute &c. In witness of which thing we have caused these our letters to be

made patent. Witness myself at Westminster the 13th of September in the twenty-fourth year of our reign 1672. By writ of Privy Seal. Pigott.

This instrument is extended by the forms of law, so that every name is repeated eleven times, and in which our great sufferer's name is spelt in four different ways. *Bunnion* twice, *Bunyan* five times, *Bunnyon* once, and *Bunnyan* three times. It is singular that he spelt his own name in different ways in the early part of his life, and on the drawing of his portrait by White it is spelt *John Bunion*, while on the engraving done by the same artist it is *John Bunnyon*.^[70] The names inserted in this pardon are four hundred and ninety-one.

Bunyan having had a very sharp controversy with the Quakers, it is a strong manifestation of their Christian spirit that he certainly obtained his release through their instrumentality; for they paid all the expenses of getting the royal grant, and also of having it served throughout the kingdom; and to do this with speed, many of the prisoners being in a dying state with the severity of their sufferings, duplicates of the pardon were made and authenticated, and messengers were dispatched throughout the country to set the prisoners at liberty. At first, Whitehead and his friends took the patent with them, and produced it at the assizes and quarter-sessions. With some reluctance on the part of the persecuting justices, they consented to discharge the prisoners named in the patent, not daring to disobey the royal mandate. They then discovered that some of the pious sufferers had still been omitted, notwithstanding the return made by the sheriffs, and the additions which had been made at Whitehead's request, before the Great Seal was attached. On behalf of these they pleaded effectually, and they also were discharged from confinement.

The great anxiety of the Quakers to effect their object is shown by many letters which passed at the time between their leading ministers. This will be seen by the following extracts:

Ellis Hookes to Margaret Fox.
13th of 6th month (Sept.) 1672.

G. W. and myself have been much employed this summer in the business of the prisoners liberty, &c. (He describes the process of getting the pardon through the various offices).

Ellis Hookes to Margaret Fox.
1st of 8th month (Nov.) 1672.

The deed of pardon prepared on 11 skins about 500 names; hoped that a letter from the Principal Secretary of State "may be effectual to discharge them."

Same to same.
10th of 10th month (Jan.) 1672.

All the prisoners were Discharged except those in Durham, Cumberland, Lancashire, and Monmouth in *Wales*.

It is said that Bishop Barlow interceded for Bunyan; but if he did, there is no record or petition to that effect preserved either in the State Paper or Privy Council Offices. He was not then a bishop, but possessed great influence, and had written, *The case of a Toleration in Matters of Religion*, which he extended further than any divine of that age. This, and his friendship with Dr. Owen, might have given rise to the report. Barlow became afterwards a trimmer, and sided with the court party — a very natural effect of his elevation into had company.

My conviction is, that Bunyan owed his release to the desolating effects produced by a wholesale persecution visiting tens of thousands who dared not, as they valued the honour of Christ or the salvation of their souls, attend the national, and, in their opinion, anti-Scriptural service; and that the Privy Council, finding that the country must be plunged into revolution or ruin if the wretched system of compulsive uniformity was continued, determined to relax its severity, grant liberty of worship, and discharge the prisoners. As this could not be done by proclamation, and the prisoners were too poor to sue out a patent individually, much difficulty and delay might have arisen to prevent their discharge. This was removed by the active benevolence of George Whitehead. The appeal which he and his friends made was allowed; and he appears to have obtained the insertion of twenty names which were not in the Privy Council list to be added to the pardon. Whitehead's *concern* appears to have followed immediately after the declaration for liberty of conscience was published. Whether it arose from some intimation given him by Mr. Moor, or from a secret influence of the Holy Spirit, can only be known in a future state. For the payment of the fees, and for sending his release to the prison, and for obtaining his liberty, Bunyan was indebted to

the Quakers. By this patent, all fines were remitted, and that without finding security for future conduct.

Bunyan's gratitude for the preservation of his life, and his deliverance from prison, shone through all his conduct. It appeared strikingly in his admirable treatise of "Antichrist." In the chapter on the instruments that God will use to bring Antichrist to his ruin: "Let the King have verily a place in your hearts. Pray for kings; I am for blessing of them that curse me; and for doing good to them that hate me, and despitefully use me, and persecute me."^[71]

From this time there appears no more discord between Bunyan and the Quakers. The Ranters had separated from them, and soon disappeared; while the Quakers became united into a most useful church of Christ, under the name of "The Society of Friends." When they understood each other's peaceful and pious principles, all hostility came to an end.

Charles Doe states that, on the 21st of December 1671, while Bunyan was yet a prisoner, he was, by the church at Bedford, called to the pastoral office. This was in or about the last of his twelve years' imprisonment; and when set at liberty, he preached the Gospel publicly at Bedford, and about the countries, and at London, with very great success, being mightily followed every where.^[72]

From this time to his peaceful removal to the celestial city, he was divinely protected, and his liberty preserved, in the midst of the severe persecutions under which many of his nonconforming brethren suffered. No man in the kingdom was more fearless and uncompromising in the publication of Divine truth, both through the medium of the press and of the pulpit. With him, the fear of man was swallowed up in the fear of God; so that he boldly persevered in the path of duty, at the imminent risk of losing all his temporal blessings, and even life itself; and yet he was unmolested! After producing such a work as the "Pilgrim's Progress," the fruit of his prison meditations; after coming forth from his thirteen years' incarceration in a narrow, damp, wretched dungeon, which, by Divine power, had been transformed into the house of God and gate of Heaven; he appeared like a Christian giant, refreshed by wholesome discipline and diet. The emissaries of Satan dared not again to risk the sending him to a jail, where he might produce some other and more potent instrument for the destruction of their kingdom. Protected by his God, he devoted himself, body, soul, and spirit, to the

building up of that spiritual kingdom which disarms tyrants and despots, both civil and ecclesiastical, sets the captive free, and fills the souls of those that receive it with blessing and praise.

He possessed a devoted wife, to whom he was married about the year 1658, he being then a widower with four children. His marriage to his first wife, one of his biographers says, “proves, too, I readily grant, that she had little prudence.” If by prudence he means worldly pelf, Bunyan valued it not; they were happy in their union, and she was highly honoured. Had she been unhappy, he would have been charged as the cause of her unhappiness. She was the chosen vessel to assist him in obtaining the treasures of the Gospel, and must be honoured as one of the means by which he was prepared to publish his universal guide to Christian pilgrims. It was his second wife, who pleaded his cause with such modest intrepidity before the judges, and she must have assisted him greatly in arranging his affairs. One of his oldest biographers tells us, that

“when he came abroad again, he found his temporal affairs were gone to wreck; and he had, as to them, to begin again, as if he had newly come into the world; but yet he was not destitute of friends, who had all along supported him with necessaries, and had been very good to his family; so that, by their assistance, getting things a little about him again, he resolved, as much as possible, to decline worldly business, and give himself wholly up to the service of God.”^[73]

A circumstance which took place on the 6th of November 1673, must have greatly comforted him. His sufferings and ministry were a blessing to his son, Thomas, who not only became a member of his church, but was set apart as an occasional preacher, and exercised his ministerial gifts in the villages round Bedford. In six years after his liberation, he had published nine valuable treatises, among which were his controversial books with his Baptist brethren; and then he, having overcome all his scruples, published, although against the wish of some of his friends, the First Part of this greatest of all his labours, his *vade-mecum* of the Heaven-ward pilgrim, by which his memory is embalmed and his name diffused throughout all the Christian churches of every sect and denomination.

CHAPTER V.

WAS BUNYAN ASSISTED IN THE COMPOSITION OF HIS PILGRIM?

To this question take his own reply —

“Some say the Pilgrim’s Progress is not mine,
Insinuating as if I would shine
In name and fame by the worth of another,
Like some made rich by robbing of their brother.
Or that so fond I am of being sire,
I’ll father bastards: or, if need require,
I’ll tell a lie in print to get applause.
I Scorn it; John such dirt-heap never was,
Since God converted him. Let this suffice
To show why I my Pilgrim patronize.
“It came from mine own heart, so to my head,
And thence into my fingers trickled;
Then to my pen, from whence immediately
On paper I did dribble it daintily.
“Manner and matter too was all mine own,
Nor was it unto any mortal known,
Till I had done it. Nor did any then,
By books, by wits, by tongues, or hand, or pen,
Add five words to it, or wrote half a line
Thereof: the whole, and ev’ry whit is mine.
“Also for *this*^[74] thine eye is now upon,
The matter in this manner came from none,
But the same heart and head, fingers and pen,
As did the other. Witness all good men;
For none in all the world without a lie,
Can say that this is mine, excepting I.
I write not this of any ostentation,
Nor ’cause I seek of men their commendation;
I do it to keep them from such surmise,
As tempt them will my name to scandalize.
Witness my name, if anagram’d to thee,
The letters make, Nu honey in a B.

“JOHN BUNYAN.”

“I dare not presume to say, that I know I have hit right in everything; but this I can say, I have endeavoured so to do. True, I have not for these things fished in other men’s waters; my Bible and Concordance are my only library in my writings.”^[75]

He who doubts the word of John Bunyan, knows nothing of the character and soul of a man who suffered nearly thirteen years’ imprisonment in Bedford jail, rather than utter a falsehood or use the slightest simulation. Such objectors deserve chastisement in Doubting Castle, and should be flogged with the royal garter — *Honi soit qui mal y pense*. But such there have been from 1678 to a late period and the same feeling which led the Scribes and Pharisees to reject the Messiah, because He appeared as the son of a carpenter, probably has led authors of great repute to express their doubts as to the originality of the “Pilgrim’s Progress,” because the author was an unlettered man — the reason why, as his pastor says, “the archers shot so sorely at him.”

Dr. Dibdin, in his *Typographical Antiquities*, describing Caxton’s *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, says —

“This extraordinary production, rather than Bernard’s *Isle of Man*, laid the foundation of John Bunyan’s ‘Pilgrim’s Progress.’”^[76]

The late Dr. Adam Clarke, in a Postscript to a *Life of Bunyan*, observes that “his whole plan being so very similar to Bernard’s religious allegory, called the *Isle of Man*, or, *Proceedings in Manshire*; and also to that most beautiful allegorical poem, by Mr. Edmund Spenser, oddly called the *Faery Queen*, there is much reason to believe that one or other, if not both, gave birth to the ‘Pilgrim’s Progress.’”^[77]

Mr. Montgomery, a devoted admirer of Bunyan’s genius, considers that the print and the verses entitled *The Pilgrim*, in *Whitney’s Emblem*, dedicated to the Earl of Leicester, in 1585, might, perhaps, have inspired the first idea of this extraordinary work.^[78]

Southey, who investigated this subject with great ability, came to a very pointed conclusion: “It would, indeed, be as impossible for me to believe that Bunyan did not write the ‘Pilgrim’s Progress,’ as that Porson did write a certain copy of verses entitled the *Devil’s Thoughts*.” Now, as these verses were doubtless written by Southey himself, he had arrived at a conviction

that Bunyan was fully entitled to all the honour of conceiving and writing his great allegory. Still, he says,

“the same allegory had often been treated before him. Some of these may have fallen in Bunyan’s way, and modified his own conceptions when he was not aware of any such influence.”^[79]

It is high time that these questions were fully investigated, and set at rest.

It must be kept in mind that Bunyan knew no language but his own; and that all his characters, as well as the trial by jury, are purely English. When he used five common Latin words in Dr. Skill’s prescription, *Ex came et sanguine Christi*, this perfectly unassuming author tells his readers, in a marginal note, “*The Latine I borrow.*” It is absurd to suppose that learned men read to him old monkish manuscripts, or the allegories of a previous age; for his design was unknown, he had formed no plan, nor had he any intention to have written such a book, until it came upon him suddenly. His first idea was inspired from one of his own works while composing it, and then the whole story flowed into his mind as quick as he could write it. Every attempt has been made to tarnish his fair fame; the great and learned, the elegant poet and the pious divine, have asserted, but without foundation in fact, or even in probability, that some of his ideas were derived from the works of previous writers.

Every assertion or suggestion of this kind that came to my knowledge, has been investigated, and the works referred to have been analyzed. And beyond this, every allegorical work that could be found previous to the eighteenth century, has been examined in all the European languages; and the result is a perfect demonstration of the complete originality of Bunyan. “It came from his own heart.” The plot, the characters, the faithful dealing, are all his own. And what is more, there has not been found a single phrase or sentence borrowed from any other book, except the quotations from the Bible, and the use of common proverbs. To arrive at this conclusion has occupied much time and labour, at intervals, during the last forty years. The works read and analyzed commence with our monkish manuscripts, and continue through the printed books published prior to the Reformation, when the church, having no competition in the cure of souls, spoke out without disguise; and from that time to 1678, when our Pilgrim appeared. Many, if not all the works so examined, contain useful information; and some of them show what was

taught by the Church of England when she refused the Bible to the laity, and was unreformed. And, as my readers ought to judge for themselves, while, in most cases, these rare volumes are beyond their reach, it may prove useful to print these analyses, and then every reader can form his own opinion as to the probability, or rather the impossibility, of Bunyan's having gained any idea, or phrase, or name, from any source but his own prolific imagination. My determination in all these researches has been to report the whole truth; and had it been discovered that some hints might have been given by previous writers, it would not have been any serious reflection upon the originality of a work which has no prototype. This idea is well represented by Mr. Montgomery:

“If the Nile could be traced to a thousand springs, it would still be the Nile; and so far undishonoured by its obligations, that it would repay them a thousand-fold, by reflecting upon the nameless streams, the glory of being allied to the most renowned of rivers.”^[80]

But there has been no discovery of any tributary spring; no borrowed phrases; no more hints, even, than such as naturally arise from the open treasury or storehouse of Holy Writ.

The greatest characteristic of original genius is its spontaneous exertion — the evidence of having written without labour and without the consciousness of doing anything remarkable, or the ambitious aim of doing a great work. The greatest efforts of genius flow as naturally as it is for common men to breathe. In this view, Bunyan's work comes nearer to the inspired poetry of the Hebrews in its character than any other human composition. He wrote from the impulse of his genius, sanctified and illuminated by a heavenly influence; as if, indeed, he had exerted no voluntary supervision over its exercise. Everything is as natural and unconstrained as if it had not been intended for public inspection. There has not been found any model with which it can even be compared.^[81] It is a beautiful transparency, seen as the heavenly light shines through — the renewed spirit alone enjoys the picture in its perfection, with all its chaste but glowing colours. It can be fully appreciated only by him who possesses that spiritual light without which the things of God and Heaven cannot be discerned.

Bunyan's works furnish ample proof that his mind was preparing, for many years, the plan and incidents which render this allegory so striking. This may

easily be traced in his works, although it was not known to himself; for, however he was all his spiritual life employed in unintentionally preparing the material, the design struck him suddenly. Twenty years before his great work appeared, he published a most pungent work, called "Sighs from Hell." The preface to this book alludes to a pilgrimage; and in it is found some similar ideas to those which occur in the conversation between Christian and Pliable. It thus commences:

"Friend, because it is a dangerous thing to be walking towards a place of darkness, the journey that most of the poor souls in the world are taking with delight, I have thought it my duty to tell thee what sad success those souls have had, and are like to have, by persevering therein. Why, friend, hast thou thy back to Heaven and thy face to hell; and art thou running full hastily that way? I beseech thee, stop thy earnest race, and look what entertainment thou art like to have. Hark! dost thou hear the bitter cries of those who have gone before; shall not these mournful groans pierce thy flinty heart? O! sinner, sinner, there are better things than hell to be had, and a thousand times cheaper. O! there is no comparison; there is Heaven, there is God, there is Christ, there is communion with an innumerable company of saints and angels."

How do these ideas remind us of Christian's encouraging words to Pliable!

In examining the following accounts of allegories composed by learned doctors, bishops, and divines, the simple Christian will rejoice and triumph in the amazing superiority of a poor unlettered preaching mechanic, guided only by his Bible. Sanctified learning is exceedingly valuable; yet the productions of an unlettered man, wholly influenced by the Holy Oracles, shines resplendently over the laboured, murky productions of lettered men, who, forsaking the simplicity of the Gospel, are trammelled with creeds, confessions, canons, articles, decretals, fathers, and, we may almost add, grandfathers.

The first work, in the order of time, that claims our notice, has never been printed. It is called

The Pilgrim.

This ancient poem, a manuscript on vellum, illustrated with drawings, but

very much damaged, is in the Cottonian Collection in the British Museum; probably translated in the fifteenth century from the first of the *Three Pilgrimages*, a French manuscript. It is in the form of a dream, and it concludes by fixing the pilgrim as a monk in a Cistercian monastery. Soon after setting out, he is tempted by a golden image, but is driven from it by the appearance of a dead corpse. He then encounters an armed man, who endeavours to entice him to turn aside to see his mistress, and uses a magic circle and incantations. They hold a long conversation, in which is narrated the case of a Duke Fryse, who had consented to be baptized; he is represented with a girdle about his middle, otherwise naked, except his crown; but when he had got into the baptistery, he becomes alarmed by a voice which informs him that it is an unlucky day:

For hym thought he herde a cry
That affermed certeynly
For synne and for Inyquyte
How mo folk schulde dampned be
At the day of Jugemente
Gon to helle there to be brent,
Ye mo as in comparisoun
Thanne folk for ther savacyon
Scholde that day receyued be
To dwelle in heuene that fayre cyte.”

The duke, although a bishop has got him by one hand, with one of his legs in the baptistery, gets his liberty, and runs away. Had sprinkling been the practice in those days, the bishop might readily have managed the ceremony with a handful of water. The pilgrim then has a very long adventure with Heresy, who strives earnestly to draw him aside. She is engaged with a pair of scissors, cutting strips from Pelagians, Arians, and other “Sectys founde false and vutrewe.” These she puts together, to form a new system of divinity. He becomes sadly puzzled; she had laid her nets so artfully, “In lond, on water, and in the hayr.” He sees many attempt to pass, but all are entangled; at length by *fasting* and by great penance, he *slips* through the nets.

He is then assaulted by Satan, who tells him that he has devoured thousands of Christ’s flock, and has so many arts that he cannot escape him. The devil, to terrify the pilgrim, narrates a recent adventure by which he had succeeded in destroying a holy hermit. He had transformed himself into an angel of

light, and went to the hermit, warning him that Satan would soon overcome him if he was not courageous to resist; that he would appear to him in the shape of his father, and if he parleyed with the fiend, he must be lost; and exhorted him to smite the fiend at once with sword or knife. Soon after this, his father really came to visit him, when the deluded hermit plunged a dagger to his heart, and thus fell into the jaws of the fiend. The pilgrim, much terrified, kept crossing himself, at which Satan drew back; and by continuing to make the sign of the cross, he makes his escape. He is then stopped by Fortune and her Wheel, and by Idolatry, but evades them. A fortune-teller wishes him to have his nativity cast, but as he knows that many men are born at the same moment, some to fortune and many to misery, he knows that there can be no virtue in such consultations of the stars. He is then profited by images in churches, to remind us of the holy lives of saints —

And vu to folkes many on a one
Ful greet proffyte also they don.”

Sorcery endeavours to catch him with her crooked hook; and he is assailed by Worldly-gladness, but escapes. At length Grace Dieu visits him in a stately ship, having a palace and castle on deck. He embarks, and is shown a large baptistery, filled with tears from an eye in a rock. This bath is replenished with tears of repentance, by works of supererogation. Its virtues are thus described:

For it re-cureth euery wounde
Call this Baptym the secunde
That dothe away alle greuance
With which water Dame penaunce
Makyth a lye^[82] I the ensure
To wasche away al ordure,
In whiche bath in certayne
The hooly womman Mawdelyne
I washen was tak heed her to
The Apostle Peter eke also
And many mo than I may telle
Were I waschen in this welle
And so schalt thou by reed of me
Yeue thou lyste to purged be.”

Grace Dieu fills up the bath, and the pilgrim, naked enters the baptistery to his middle, and is bathed and washed. She then tells him he may make his

choice of monastic orders — Cisterces, Clunys, Charterhous, or Preechers Minours: he chooses to enter the Cistercian order. The porter, “Drede of God,” at first refuses him; but Charity receives and shows him over the establishment: he is shown many books. The librarian says:

“And my name zene thou lyste be
Is called Agyographe,
Which is to seyne I the ensure
Of holy wrytyng the Scripture,
And at feyres and at feestis
I reste in skynnes off dede bestis.”

She expresses a clear notion of the Old Testament as enlightened by the *New*

“I mene as thus in sentement,
That the oolde testament
Were derke and cloudy off his syght
Zeue that it ne took his lyght
Claryfyed by entendement
Off the newe testament,
Whos schynynge in conclusyoun
Is cause off our Salvacyoun.”

He is shown a mirror, which exhibits the sins of the person who looks in it; he is also shown one of Flattery’s mirrors, which exhibits the most defiled, as angels of purity. He is at length introduced to the chief prior, Obedience, and sits down to dinner —

“And also as I dyde obserue,
Noon other folke at mete serue
But fulkes deede euere more
Where off I was abaschyd sore.”

Abstinence is the freytourer and butler; the servants were the skeletons of those who had founded and endowed the abbey Wilful Poverty, in a state of nudity, sings a song, ending with —

“I slepe in Joye and sekerness
For thoues may not robbe me.”

Unwilling Poverty sits grumbling and murmuring. Dame Chastity at last introduces the pilgrim to Prayer, who makes him welcome in these lines —

“Wherfore callyd I am Prayere
Whiche that am the messagere
That flee to heuene with whynges lyght,
Fer aboue the sterres bryght
To fore the lord to present
Prayer made in good entente.”

He then speaks to the pilgrim about the servants, who were the spectres of the founders —

“And eche wyght for his good dede
Is worthi to resseyne his mede
Lyke his meryte off equyte
These deede folk which thou dost se.”

Grace Dieu, Obedience, Latrya, and Prayer, then give him instructions for his future conduct in the monastery, where he remains until death strikes him, and he awakes from his sleep.

There is an ancient pilgrimage noticed in Skelton's *Ryght Delectable Treatyse upon a Goodly Garlande or Chapelet of Laurell*. The author recounts his literary labours; *inter alia* —

“Of my ladys grace at the contemplacyoun
Owt of frenshe in to englysshe prose
Of mannes lyfe the peregrynacioun
He did translate, enterprete and disclose.”

No copy of this pilgrimage has been discovered and identified as his; and very high authority connects the second line with the “peregrynacioun.” If so, it is in prose; but if the first two lines refer to the *Contemplation on the Virgin Mary's Grace*, a prose work, and Skelton being a poet, it would lead us to infer that the pilgrimage was in verse. The poem last described may prove to be the translation referred to by Skelton. Be that as it may, Bunyan never gained a hint from John Skelton, the satirist.

The Abbey of the Holy Ghost.

This curious allegory was written by John Alcocke, the founder of Jesus College, Cambridge, a learned and abstemious English bishop, in the reign of Henry VII.

The author represents the fall and recovery of mankind under the simile of an Abbey, the inmates of which are perfect in holiness and happiness. The abbess is Charity; the prioress, Wisdom; the subprioress, Mckenesse; and the nuns, Poverty, Cleanness, Temperance, Soberness, Penance, Buxomness, Confession, Righteousness, Predication, Strength, Pacience, Simplicity, Mercy, Largeness, Reason, Pity, Meditation, Orison, Devocion, Contemplation, Chastity, Jubilation, Honesty, Curtesy, Fear, and Jealousy. This abbey was conveyed by the Almighty to Adam, Eve, and their heirs forever, upon condition that he withstood the temptation of the fiend *and that of his wife*. The deed is witnessed by angels and man, Heaven and earth, sun and moon, stars, and all creatures. Geven at Paradise, the first day that man was made; in the year of the reigning of Almighty God, King of Kings, whose kingdom never began nor never shall have end. No persons were to be admitted until Conscience had cleansed the soul with grace of the Holy Ghost. Two maidens, called Love and Righteousness, shall cast away from Conscience all manner of filth; Meekness and Poverty shall keep them poor in spirit.

The abbey was situated upon the waters of repentance. Joy and Mercy built the walls and strengthened them with alms. Patience and Strength are the pillars and buttresses. The nuns have each her place; Contemplation is the doctor; Devotion the butler the bishop remarks, "Alas! if I durst say, full many be in religion (nuns), but few be religious"; Oryson shall be chanter. St. Bernard saith, When we pray in good life, our good Angel danseth and maketh thereof a present to the Father of Heaven. The abbey being so well furnished, a tyrant came, and in an evil hour, while the portress was absent, he put in his four daughters, who were all of shrewd manners; the fiend father of them all. Their names were Pride, Envy, False Judgment, and Lust; and these destroyed the abbey, and dispersed the inmates. The punishment of man was the loss of Paradise, to spend his days in sorrow, to eat grass that groweth on the earth, and never to come to bliss until the abbey was restored. When Adam and Eve died, their souls went to hell; and not only they, but all those that of them came for four thousand six hundred years; to hell they went, everyone. Then some of the nuns prayed the Holy Ghost for assistance. David, Isaiah, and others, endeavoured to re-edify the abbey; but in vain. At length Christ came, and sought out the abbess and her company for thirty-three years; and at last brought them together by hanging on the Cross; after

which He led them with him into hell,[\[83\]](#) and took out Adam and Eve his wife, and all his friends, and replaced them in the Abbey of the Holy Ghost in Paradise.

From this curious and very rare little volume, Bunyan could not have gained any idea; but in it are some translations of passages of Scripture made fifty years before any version of the Bible was published in English, which prove the great liberties the church took with the Scriptures; and the extent to which they misled the people, while the Holy Oracles were locked up in a foreign language. Matthew 3:2: ‘Shrive ye and do ye penance, and be ye of good belief; the kingdom of Heaven nigheth fast.’ John 8:6: ‘He stooped down and wrote on the ground with his finger all their sins, so that each of them might see how sinfull other was.’ Matthew 26:38: ‘I have, he said, full much dread against that I shall die. Sit ye down, he said, and wake ye, and bid your beads till I come again to you.’[\[84\]](#)

The Pylgremage of the Sowle.

Printed by William Caxton. 1483. Small Folio.[\[85\]](#)

Dr. Dibdin having, in his account of this very rare volume, stated that “this extraordinary production, which, perhaps, rather than Bernard’s *Isle of Man*, laid the foundation of John Bunyan’s ‘Pilgrim’s Progress.’” I shall make no apology to the reader for the following specimens of its poetry and prose. Not daring to trust to the doctor’s specimens, which occupy eight folio pages, my analysis is drawn from a careful perusal of the original edition by Caxton, compared with the manuscript written in 1413; the result is, to establish honest John’s originality, and to excite great surprise that the learned doctor could have published so unfounded an insinuation.

As I laye in a seynt laurence nyght, slepyng in my
bedde, me bifelle a full merueylous dreme.

Having finished my pilgrimage and laid aside my fleshly carrion, it appeared loathsome and dame Misericord buried it. The fowle horrible Satan cruelly menaced me and told me I was his prisoner — a youngling of full huge beauty appeared, and defends the soul of the pilgrim, who is taken to judgement. He is brought before Michael, while his good angel pleads for

him Satan cries loudly against him. The devils complain that as soon as a pilgrim is born and washed in the salt lye (christened) Grace Dieu assigns them a guardian angel — we are ill used, let us cry a row so loud that in spite of them they shall hear our complaint. Peter the porter of Heaven is called to testify whether the pilgrims have done penance — Call St. George for the Gentiles, for clerks St. Nicholas, for hermits St. Anthony, St. Benet for monks, for wedded folk St. Paul — not that he was ever married, but he taught the duties of marriage — for widows St. Anne, for maids St. Katherine. The Pilgrim is placed before the tribunal, and his guardian angel pleads that he had kept his belief, never lost his scrip, nor his *burden*,^[86] and having persevered to the end, he ought to be safe. The cursed Satan acknowledged that the Pilgrim passed the water and was therein washed and fully cleansed of all rather *fylthe*,^[87] but as soon as he knew good and evil he set little by that washing, but cast himself like a swine in ordure and *fylthe*. He was washed at a tender age unwillingly, and although by this laver the foul spot of sin original was utterly avoided, yet he has not kept the vow, and is more spotted with deadly sin than he was before he was washed; and as all heathen men that have never received this laver *belong to our Company* because they have it not, much more those that have received these gifts of Grace de Dieu and despised them must be ours. The soul pleads in verse, he appeals to Jesus. Some of the lines are striking:

“For though there ran a river from thy side,
That all the world doth fully overflow,
Thy grace is whole, as every man may know.”

He then appeals to Mary —

“Now be my help a blissful Heaven’s Quene
Let somewhat of the grace on me be seen
I am be-knownen that I have done amiss

Eternal death deserved with my deed
But gracious Lady Queen of Heaven’s bliss
Thou be my help and comfort in this nede
I am that same that highly have mis-wrought

Against thy child Jesus and eke thee
Yet know I well that Lion is he not
Nor thou nor might no Lioness be
In thou there is no malice nor cruelty

Though that I have thy son and thee agrieved
By thee is all my trust to be relieved.”^[88]

He calls upon Michael — John Baptist, apostles and martyrs, and all saints.

Justice pleads against him, and will allow none to speak on his behalf. He then answers for himself, and accuses Satan of being a liar; but the fiend calls *the worm of conscience*^[89] to bear witness against him, and he relates all his wickedness that was not purged with penance, and as he spoke, Satan wrote it all down in a great paper. The soul defends himself by having at all times borne his burdon and scrip^[90] by his natural frailty and the temptations of Satan and allurements of the world. Mercy pleads for him that he had been contrite, and made amends for sin, and had confessed; but when his good and had deeds were weighed, the evil was heaviest. Then Mercy flew to Heaven and brought back a pardon from Jesus, which is given in verse; *inter alia* —

“At instance of mine own mother sweet
To whom I may no manner of thing deny
And mercy also may I not forget
Unto their good^[91] myself I will apply
This grace I grant them of my royalty
That I shall them receive unto my peace
Of hell pain I grant them full release.”

Christ balances the wicked works of this sinner with —

“Of the treasure of my bitter passion
And of the merit of my mother dear
To whom none other hath comparison
With merit of my saints all in fear
That to my bidding full obedient were
Of plenty and of superabundance
A forset^[92] full which putteth in balance.”

The balance is in favour of the soul, and his sentence is to bear all his sins as a burden into purgatory, and abide in the fire until all are burned and “thou, clean purged of all thy foul sins, shall then be pardoned.” At this sentence Satan is sore annoyed, and has great anguish.

He meets a number of pilgrims from purgatory, who sing to the Trinity and to Mary a song of praise for their deliverance. The angels join in a song without comparison more lusty than he had heard before. Then came one pilgrim,

conducted by a huge number of angels, each having in his hand some lusty instrument, as harp, organs, &c., some of which he could not scribe. It was a soul who, by extraordinary penance, had suffered his purgatory on earth. He then sees a number of pilgrims condemned to “brenne withynne the fyre of helle, neuer to be releued.” An ugly company of devils seized them, saying, “Goo we fast in to helle; there shall we fynde a warm duellynge place.” Our poor pilgrim is taken to purgatory, where, in three days, he imagines that he has suffered a thousand years’ indescribable tortures. His guardian angel is with him in the fire, but being a pure spirit, suffereth not. In his torments, he is told that naught can help him but masses and the good “dedes of hooly chirche.” He asks, What is the use of the pardons and indulgences granted by the church? His angel tells him that they abridge the time of punishment and pain; that for every deadly sin he must suffer seven years’ purgation, and the thousand years that he had suffered was but as a moment, for his fardel of sins seemed to be as huge as ever, although the fire was so fierce, that if the great sea fell therein, it would be dried in a moment. At length, Grace Dieu sends from the church a quantity of prayers, masses, and good works, to comfort the pilgrims in purgatory — a packet to each prisoner, with the names of those who had purchased the masses for their relief. Every soul answered the summons, and greedily took the relief, all swimming in hot fire: it was ointment that relieved their horrid pains, and decreased their burden of sins.

He then discovers the place in which Adam and the Fathers, to John the Baptist, were confined, till Christ descended into hell and released them. The prison also in which the souls of infants who had died without being christened — a dark and doleful place, where they will be shut up forever. He inquires how it is possible for the God of love thus to condemn the innocent? His angel refers him to the words of Christ to Nicodemus: “As seynt John recordeth, he seith, *that an innocent deyng without baptym is dampned withouted ende.*”^[93] And they lay in endless darkness, and never know joy, and this pain shall be extended to all the most innocent souls not baptized. All these places of punishment are within enclosed all round by the earth. He is then led by his angel to the surface of the earth, the fire still burning within him, to every place in which he had committed sin; the punishment was according to the nature of his crime — sometimes shut up in thick ice, the pain being more intolerable than fire. This was for having used baths and

steues[94] for easement of his body. One soul who had been purged, could not escape, because his executors had neglected to pay his debts. He finds that one day's penance upon earth cleanseth from sins more than years of purgatory. In the journey he finds his bones, and has a long conversation with them, in which they mutually criminate each other.

His guardian angel then takes him into the very depth of the earth, to hell, the stink of which nearly caused his soul to burst. The unbaptized *innocents* he saw in a place: "Hit was wonder merueylous blacke and derke ynowe"; ever flying about seeking, but never finding, a hole to escape. He then came to a darker place of "fire horrible and wonder hideous." There saw he the cursed fiends; some blew the fire; some, with iron forks, righted the brands; some, with sharp hooks, dressed the wretched souls into divers pains. Lucifer sat in a red-hot iron chair, chained with red-hot chains. The devils torment each other. The punishment of Pride is that a devil sits upon her head, and befouls her as much as he can. Hypocrites are trodden perpetually under foot by devils, ingulfed in fire and stink. The envious and backbiters were hung by red-hot iron hooks through their tongues over eternal flames. Judas thus hung, but as his mouth had kissed the king, his lips shined like gold; and his tongue was drawn out through his neck, and he hung in hottest flames. Traitors were broken upon wheels, fixed by hooks turning swiftly round; the same punishment was inflicted upon lawyers, proctors, and counsel, who, to fill their purses, had pleaded for the guilty against the innocent. Upon seeing a number of souls being devoured by wolves, but never eaten; others having molten brass poured down their throats, he swooned, but is revived by his angel. These were the punishments of extortioners. Angry people were tied up in bundles, and pitched into fiery furnaces; drunkards were laid upon burning coals, with sulphur, their throats slit, and tongues drawn through the slit; the lechours were laid upon beds of burning thorns, full of venomous and huge toads and worms, forever biting and gnawing them. The boiling caldron and pit of hell was boiling full of heretics; and when our Lord shall renew the world, all their burning and stinking and horrible pains shall be renewed, and all the filth that may be found in every other place, shall be cast thereto. He then ascends to the earth, and sees the tree from which Eve plucked the apple, and which, after process of time, formed the cross on which the Saviour suffered. Then follows a number of dialogues between the Trinity, regarding the scheme of mercy. His purgation being finished, and sins consumed, his

angel took him by the hand, and began to mount towards Heaven. The angel shows him many mansions; tells him how saints' days are to be kept. In the feast of the Purification, the Cherubims sing this song —

“Heryed^[95] be thou blyisifull heuen queue
And worshyped mote^[96] thou be in euery place
That moder art and very mayden clene
Of god our lord thou geten hast that grace
Thou cause of ioyes arte, and of solace
By meryte of thy great humlylyte
And by the floure of thy vyrgynyte
Honoured be thou, blesyed lady bryght
By thy person embelysshed is nature
Of heuen blysse augmented is the lyght

By presence of so fayre a creature
Thy worthynesse passeth al mesure
For vuto thyn estate Imperyall
No presynge is that may be peregall.”^[97]

In the feast of Ascension the father honoured the sone; and at the feast of Assumption, the Son honoured and worshipped his mother.

Song of angels on Easter day, to the Saviour, is —

“When thou were dead, to hell thou descended
And fetched them out that lay there in pain.”

The angel illustrates to him the doctrine of the Trinity, by the world being round, without beginning or end; having breadth, length, and depth, which three, by unity in measure, comprises one world. So in a body is matter, form, and substance; if one of these be missing, it is imperfect. So the matter is likened to the Father, the form to the Son, and the substance to the Holy Ghost. So to every perfect work, there must be might, cunning, and will. He then asks, that as these three are one, how came it that one was separated and became incarnate alone? This is accounted for, as a sunbeam does not leave the sun, but enliveth the earth; so the Son illuminated the world, being clothed with man's flesh in the blessed maiden, and yet departed He not from His Father's presence. When properly prepared, the angel went to clear his way to Heaven, and as he looked after him, a “wonder huge light” descended from the high Heaven, smiting on his eye, and awoke him from his sleep; whereof he was full sorry, after having seemed to live so many thousand

years; the clock struck twelve, and the bell tolled midnight, and he remembered that he had not slept three hours while all these adventures had passed, Now Jesus give us grace to come to this bliss! Translated in 1413, and printed by W. Caxton, June 6, 1483.

There is, in the British Museum,[\[98\]](#) a very fine and curious MS. copy of this very singular work, illustrated with rude illuminated drawings. It finishes with,

“Here endith the dreem of the pilgrimage of the Soule, translated owt of the Frensch in to Englysche. The yere of our Lord M.CCCC.XIII”

The translator craves indulgence, if

“in som places ther it be ouer fantastyk nought grounded nor foundable in Holy Scripture, ne in docteors wordes, for I myglit not go fro myn auctor.”

The original work was written in verse by Guillaume de Guillonville, prior of Chalis, about 1330.

The Booke of the Pylgrimage of Man.

4To, 26 leaves. Woodcut of Pilgrim, with staff and cockle-shell, and clasped book in his left hand.[\[99\]](#)

Here begynneth a boke, in Frenche called, le pelerynage de L'homme (in latyn, peregrinatio humani generis), and in oure Maternal tunge, the pylgrymage of mankynd, of late drawnen and in compendiouce prose copounded by the reuerent father in god dane william[\[100\]](#) hendred Prioure of the honourable place and pryory of Leomynstre: and now newly, at the specyal commaundemente of the same Father reuerent, I haue compyled the tenure of the same in Metre comprehended in 26 chaptours as ensuyng appereth.

THE TABLE.

First, the prolege, with the exposyon and interpretacyon of the name of their sayd reuerent father in God.

Item how man was made of viij partyes.

Capitulo primo.

Item how almyghty god put adam into

paradyce, and of his first age. Ca.	ij
Item the secounde age of mankynde, and howe ye sonnes of noe Bylded the Toure of Babylon. Cap.	iij
Item how man procedyd his thirde age, and of the synkyng of cyties. Ca.	iiij
Item howe Moyses receyuyd ij tables of the lawe in the iiiij age of man. Ca.	v
Item howe kyng Salomon byldyd the temple of god in the Cytie of Jerusalem. Ca.	vi
Item howe the vj age enduryd telle che commynge of oure sauyoure. Ca.	vij
Item how mankynde endured and of the nombre of yeres from the begynnyng of the worlde to the byrthe of crisite. Ca.	vijj
Item howe almyghty God was pylgrym for causes and howe he gaue mankynde ensample to do his pylgrymage. Ca.	ijj
Item which iij synguler poyntys apperteyne to a pylgryme. Ca.	ix
Item howe mankynde entereth the londe of Jane at the age of lx. Ca.	x
Item an exposicion autorysed by Scripture of ye concepcion of seynt John Baptyst. Ca.	xij
Item howe mankynde entereth into akyngdome namyd the londe of July and parte of the marterdome of seynt Thomas of cauntorbury. Ca.	xijj
Item a parable of auctorytie of the hooly order of seynt Benet. Ca.	xiiij
Item how mankynde enteryth the empyre of august and of the abounaunte welth that there is. Ca.	xv
Item howe mankynde enteryth and goeth thorowe the dukedom of September. Ca.	xvj
Item howe mankynde enteryth into the londe of Octoberat the age of a C. yere. Ca.	xvij
Item howe mankynde enteryth the barury of Nouembre. Ca.	xvijj
Item howe mankynde enteryth the lordshyp of December. Ca.	xix
Item howe mankynde goth thorowe londe of	

January and of the strastye that coste. Ca.	xx
Item howe mankynde enteryth the londe of February. Ca.	xxi
Item howe man procedyth his pylgrymage in and thorowe the londe of Marche. Ca.	xxij
Item howe Batayle was mayntaynd bytwene Sol Justice and pluto duke o tenebris. Ca.	xxiiij
Item howe vyse toke the fowarde on his party, and howe sol Justicie fled. Ca.	xxiiij
Item howe Sol justicie turned agayne and dyscumfyte vyce and wanne the feld. Ca.	xxv
Item the conclucyon of this boke. Ca.	xxvi

Here endeth the table.

“We hym folowynge a full good sped.
 Shortly anone the skrymysche beganne.
 And so sure for matter in dede.
 Uyce with his felysshyp faste layed on
 That voce mea was agast soone.
 Thenne oure capteyne Sol justicie.
 With In manus tuas away dyd flye.
 In to a darke vale that was nygh by.
 But yet at the desyre and specyall request.
 Of a gracyouse man callyd domine exaudi.
 He came agayne and shortly in haste.
 To avde us there came one hyeng faste.
 Whiche is callyd with all and some.
 Benedictus qui venit ad prelum.”

So he sets out with *Beatus vir* for a guide, and enters the land of June — a royal land, full of pleasures and fruits, of which he eat plenteously in every lane; then came to a place held by the “Pope of June,” where was the cleanest castell in Xtendom, called, “castell of corpus xti” —

“Of whiche indulgence by auctorytye
 The founder is called by naturall sext
 Of the romaynes romanus pontifex,”

where man could be healed from worldly wretchedness and sinful sore.

His guide then led him to *dominus illuminatio* for a safe-conduct in all the lands they should visit —

“So for to purchas a parfyte wryte.
To soule justicie we toke our way.
Sealed to haue oure saffe condyte.
And he shortly sayde not nay.
But also bane us of his lyuery.
A feneyble garment Joyntly compyled.
With fayth and hope that we exiled.”

They then come to a monastery, &c.

Emprynted at London by me Richard Faques, dwellyng in Poulys
churche yerde at the sygne of the Maydynhed.

The informacym for pylgrymes unto the holy lande, That is to wyt to Rome, to Jherusalem and to Many Other Holy Places. Imprinted by Wynkin do Worde. 1524.[\[101\]](#)

This rare volume is a hand-book for pilgrims; gives the routes, coin, conveyances, fees, and other instructions to those who were going on any distant pilgrimage. It also contains the narrative of a pilgrim in his journey to the Holy Land. Sixty-six pilgrims sailed from Venice in one ship; they visit Jerusalem and other places in the Holy Land. He gives the pronunciation of useful words to enable future visitors to ask for bread, wine, &c. It is a very rare tract, but there is nothing allegorical about the narrative, which is simply of the facts as they took place.

The next allegorical work in chronological order, representing life as a pilgrimage, is:

The Historie of Graunde Amoure and la bell Pucel; called the Pastime of Pleasure, containing the Knowledge of the Seven Sciences, and the Course of man's Life in this Worlde. Invented by Stephen Hawes, Grome of King Henry the Seuenth his Chamber. Printed by John Waylande, 1554. Small 4to.

Such is the rarity of this volume, that, although it wants six leaves, it bears this inscription on the fly leaf, “I bought this Volume at Mr. Bindley's sale, January 21st, 1813, for the inordinate sum of forty guineas. James Boswell’ (Author of the *Life of Dr. Johnson*).

Mr. Hallam, in his *Literature of Europe*, gives a good account of this poem — “From the title we might hardly expect a learned allegory, in which the

seven sciences of the trivium and quadrivium, besides a host of abstract virtues and qualities, play their parts in living personality. It is rude, obscure, full of pedantic Latinisms, but learned and philosophical. The best, though probably an unexpected, parallel for Hawes, is John Bunyan; their inventions are of the same class, various and novel; their characters, though abstract in name, have a personal truth about them; they render the general allegory subservient to inculcating a system, the one of philosophy, the other of religion. I do not mean that the *Pastime of Pleasure* is equal in merit, as it certainly has not been in success, to the ‘Pilgrim’s Progress.’ Bunyan is powerful and picturesque, from his concise simplicity; Hawes has the common failings of our old writers — a tedious and languid diffuseness, an expatiating on themes of pedantry in which the reader takes no interest, a weakening of every feature and every reflection, by ignorance of the touches that give effect. Hawes was educated at Oxford, and traveled much on the Continent, and held an office in the Court of Henry VII. He was the earliest of our learned and accomplished gentlemen.”

Hawes’ work was the result of a learned education, great connections, an extensive knowledge of the world and singular ability; still Mr. Hallam justly admits that the “Pilgrim’s Progress” is greatly superior as a work of genius, although Bunyan was not blessed even with the rudiments of education, no literary connections, and his travels extended not beyond his neighbouring villages. How extensive and prolific must have been the natural powers of Bunyan’s mind! But compare the moral tendency of those two allegories: Hawes’ inspiration is from beneath, strongly tinged with the smoke of the infernal pit; Bunyan is inspired by Heaven, his whole course is illuminated from the celestial city. His pilgrims breathe a heavenly atmosphere; every line of his narrative has a holy, and, consequently, a happy tendency. Hawes derived his knowledge from worldly philosophers, Bunyan from the Bible.

The *Pastime of Pleasure* is a narrative of the adventures of a love-sick knight, in search of a lady named La Bell Pucel. He is directed to the Tower of Doctrine, where he is told that he must become proficient in the seven liberal sciences, in order to win his lady.

Walking in a gay meadow, he finds a statue, whose hands point to two paths, one of contemplative life —

“And in the other hande, ryght fayre wrytten was

This is the waye, of worldly dignyte
Of the actiue lyfe, who wyll in it passe
Unto the tower, of fayre dame beautye
Fame shall tell him, of the way in certaintye
Unto la bell pucell, the fayre lady excellent
Aboue all other, in cleare beauty splendent.”

In pursuit of this beautiful virgin he chooses the path of active life, and sets out —

“Thus all alone, I began to trauayle
Forthe on my waye, by long continuaunce
But often times, I had great maruayle
Of the by pathes, so fall of pleasaunce
Whiche for to take, I had great doubtance
But euermore, as nere as I myght
I take the waye, whiche went before me right.”

On his journey he falls asleep, and is awaked by the sound of a horn. A lovely lady, on horseback, rides swiftly up to him, accompanied by two greyhounds, with their names set in diamonds upon their collar — Grace and Govern-aunce. The lady proves to be Fame; she presents to him the two greyhounds, praises La Bell Pucell, and instructs him how to attain her in the Tower of Music, and she informs him that he will have great labour, and must pass through hard adventures before he will attain his object: —

“For by the waye, there lye in waite
Gyantes great, disfigured of nature
That all deuoureth, by their eul conecite
Against whose strength, there may no man
endure
They are so huge, and strong out of measure
With many serpentes, foule and odious
In sundry likenesse, blacke and tedious

But beyond them, a great sea there is
Beyoude whiche sea, there is a goodly land
Most full of fruite, replete with joye and bliss
Of right fine golde, appeareth all the sande
In this faire realme, where the tower doth stand
Made all of golde, enameled about
With noble stories, whiche do appeare without.”

He at length arrives at the castle, when the portresse thus questions him —

“Tyll that I came to a royll gate
Where I sawe standyng the goodly portres
Whiche axed me, from whence I came alate
To whom I gan, in euery thing expresse
All myne aduenture, chaunce and busines
And eke my name, I tolde her euery dell
When she hearde thys, she liked me ryght well.”

The portress, whose name was Countenaunce, introduced him into the castle, and in the Fair Hall, upon the arras, is portrayed the perils he will have to encounter; that Folly will beset his path, but that Correction will follow —

“And in her hande, a strong knotted whippe
At every iarte she made him for to skippe.”

He finds that he will have to destroy a giant with three heads, another more fierce with four heads, and a third still more terrible with seven heads, and at length he will win and wed, La Bell Pucell. The principal officers in the castle are thus named —

“The marshall, yclipped was dame Reason
And the yeures, also observaunce
The panter Pleasaunce, at euery season
The good Butler, curteys continuance
And the chiefe coke, was called temperaunce
The lady chamberlayne, named fidelitye
And the hye stewards, Liberalitye.”

He is then sent in succession to Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, and at length to Music. In the Temple of Music, he sees and falls deeply in love with La Bell Pucell. She returns his love, but informs him that he will have to brave many desperate adventures before they can be united. He promises to fit himself for all that may happen, and goes to Chivalry — he is taught by Minerva — harnessed and knighted —

“For first good hope, his legge harneys should be
His habergion, of perfect righteousness
Gyrde fast, wyth the girdle of chastitie
His rich placarde,^[102] should be good busines
Brodered with almes, so full of larges^[103]
The helmet mekenes, and the shelde good fayeth,

His swerde Gods worde, as S. Paule sayeth.”

Fortitude, Consuetude,^[104] Justice, Misericorde, Sapience, Curtesye, Concord, and dame Minerva see him on his road, and bid him farewell. His first adventure is with a Kentish man, Godfrey Gobilion, who gives an account of his parentage in these lines —

“Ich am a gentilman, of much noble kynne
Though Iche be cladde, in a knaues skynne

For there was one, called Peter Pratefast
That in all his life, spake no worde in waste
He weddid a wife, that was called Maude
I trow quod I, she was a gorgious boude
Thou liest, quod he, she was gentle and good
She gaue her husbande, many a farde hode

And at his meales, without any misse
She would him serue, in clenly wise iwys
God loue her soule, as she loued clenlines
And kept her dishes, from all foulenes

When she lacked clowtes, without any fayle
She wyped her dishes, with her dogges tayle.”

The conversation that ensues between these worthies, on the misfortunes of lovers, exceeds for gross indelicacy the tales of Chaucer. Grand Amour continues his journey, and becomes a regular Jack the Giant-killer. His first adventure was with a monster twelve feet high, with three heads. These he decapitated; and is then attacked by a second and more formidable giant, fifteen feet high, with seven heads, named, Dissimulation, Delay, Discomfort, Variance, Envy, Detraction, and Doubleness; all these he cuts off, and is then received and entertained by seven fine ladies. His next fierce encounter is with demons. Pallas instructs him how to fight with them. He attacks and slays the great dragon — wins La Bell Pucell, and is married to her, and enjoys great happiness, until he is quietly removed by death to purgatory, where, having been purified, he goes to Heaven.

In vain have I endeavoured to discover the intention of the author in this allegory. His editor says, that it was to stimulate young men to study the seven liberal sciences! Its natural effect would be to stimulate them to licentiousness. These were the class of books given to the people by the

church, in preference to the Bible.

We now come to a very rare pilgrimage, written in Italian, and entitled *Libro del Peregrino*, by J. Cauice, dedicated to Lucresse Borgie.

The edition in my library is “*El nouamente stampato et hystoriato*, small 8vo, with woodcuts, Venice, 1524.” I have also a translation into French, by T. Dassy, Secretary of State to the King of Navarre; it is called *Le Peregrin: traictant de L'honneste et pudiquer amour, par pure et sincere Vertu*. It is elegantly printed in black letter, with woodcuts, small 4to, Lyons, 1528, and from it the following analysis was made: —

“The pilgrim, a native of Ferrara, at the age of twenty-two years on May-day, attended to hear a Dominican Friar preach. Divine love lay in ambush, and the eloquence of the preacher pierced his heart. He passed a restless night—*speaks in silence*, and at length cries out, O life more miserable than death! his thoughts wound him and he is wretched. Under the character of a lady named Geneure, the daughter of Angiolo (the Virgin Mary, queen of angels), to that time unknown to him, is personated that which alone can cure his wounded spirit. This lady is very wise and modest, young, but ancient in prudence, and very difficult to obtain. He becomes very desirous of obtaining her, and his pilgrimage is made with this object. Through the aid of Geneure’s nurse, Violante, he corresponded with her, and sought an interview. He is directed to a subterraneous passage, by which he hopes secretly to reach her house in the night; but mistakes the chamber, and enters that of another young lady, named Lyonore (the lioness), the daughter of Petruccio (the flurgy), and mistook her for Geneure. This sad adventure with Lyonore involves him in great trouble. It came to the knowledge of Geneure, and she weeps for her pilgrim’s treason; but is comforted by her mother (the blessed Virgin), who tells her that it is natural to man to go astray. Geneure threatens to enter a nunnery, and submits to her mother that the vows of obedience and poverty are of sovereign virtue. The pilgrim, before Geneure entered upon her novitiate, met her accidentally at church, and proposes marriage, his faults are forgiven, they become united, and pass their time in great happiness, until death separated them.”

If Bunyan had been able to have read this quaint old Italian or French story, he would never have devoted his valuable time to such a mass of rubbish; and if he had, not the slightest idea could have suggested itself to have assisted him in composing the adventures of his Pilgrim. In fact, he dared not to have spent an hour over a book, which, under the title of *The Pilgrim*, contains all the looseness of an Italian love-story,

This book was for some time very popular. I have two Venice editions, in 8vo, printed in italics, 1524 and 1527. I have seen also a similar edition not dated, and one of 1538. There is also a very handsome one of the French translation, printed by Gallist, Du Pres, Paris, 1528, and another in 1540. Niceron thus accounts for its popularity, “Ce livre faisait en France, an commencement du regne de Francois I, les delices de la jeunesse, et donnait lieu aux predicateurs d'on blamer fortement la, lecture comme dangeuse.”^[105]

It is a matter of great regret that those who write and publish for the millions, too frequently circulate opinions and supposed facts without personal investigation. Mr. Chambers, the popular publisher at Edinburgh, whose works find readers as far as the English language is known, has joined those who appear to detract from Bunyan, by charging him with plagiarism.

In his *Encyclopedia of Literature*,^[106] speaking of Gawin Douglas the Bishop of Dunkeld, a celebrated Scottish poet, he observes,

“The principal original composition of Douglas is a long poem, entitled, *The Palace of Honour*. It was designed as an epilogue for the conduct of a king, and therefore addressed to James IV. The poet represents himself as seeing, in a vision, a large company travelling towards the Palace of Honour. He joins them, and narrates the particulars of the pilgrimage. The well known ‘Pilgrim’s Progress’ bears so strong a resemblance to this poem, that Bunyan could scarcely have been ignorant of it.”

With some trouble I found a copy of this very rare tract by Douglas. It is a short poem, but being in the ancient Scottish dialect, it is quite long enough to weary an Englishman’s patience. Had it been Douglas’ long poem, a translation of Virgil, it would have defied any attempt of mine to read it; but, by the aid of a good modern glossary, I read it through, and, to my extreme surprise, found that it has not, either in the plot or detail, the slightest similarity whatever to the “Pilgrim’s Progress,” and that it is written in terms that a poor unlettered minister could not have understood.

The principal character in the story is represented as being in a desert, when, hearing the noise of an approaching cavalcade, he gets into a stock a hollow tree, and sees them pass. He then follows them to the Palace of Honour, and gives a description of what took place. Had Bunyan seen and read the following stanza, *and understood it*, how indignant would he have felt at the

author's notion of baptismal regeneration: —

“Ze bene all borne the sonnis of Ire I ges
Sine throw Baptisme gettis grace and faithulnes.
Than in zone Carwell surelie ze remane,
Oft stormested with this warldis brukilnes

Quhill that ze fall in sin and wretchitness
Than schip brokin sall ze drown in endles pane
Except be faith ze find the plank agane
Be Christ, wirkung gude warks I vnderstund
Remaine thairwith, thir sall zow bring to
land.”^[107]

Surely Mr. Chambers could not have imagined that the representation of a large party going *up a hill* of polished marble, and on *the summit* seeing the infernal regions as narrated in the following verses, could have aided Bunyan in his solemn account of the Christian's feeling in the *Valley of the Shadow of Death*: —

“As we approchit neir the hilles heid
Ane terribill sewch birnand in flammis reid
Abhominabill, and how as hell to se
All full of brintstane, Pick and bulling Leid,
Quhair mony wretchit creature lay deid.
And miserabill catiues zelland loude on hie
I saw, quhilk den nicht weill compairit be
Till Xanthus the flude of Troy sa schill
Birnand at Venus best contrair Achill.
Amid our passage lay this viglie sicht
Nocht braid bot sa horribill to euerie wicht
That all the warld to pas it suld haue dreid.
Weill I considerit na vppermair I nicht
And to discend sa hiddeous was the hicht
I durst not auenture for this eird on dreid.
Trimblane I stude wt teith chatterand gude speid
My Nymphe beheld my cheir and said let be
Thow sall nocht aill, and lo the caus (quod sche)
To me thou art commit, &c.”

There may be as much poetic beauty in these lines as there is melody in the drone of the bagpipe, but there is not the slightest similarity, nor even any idea in the whole poem, that could by possibility have aided the author of the

“Pilgrim’s Progress.”

The Pryke of Conscience.[\[108\]](#)

A very curious old English poem; it is theological and descriptive, but not allegorical.

*The Myrrour of Lyfe, by William of
Nassyngton, 1418.*[\[109\]](#)

An ancient English poetical treatise on religion; excepting the title, it has no pretence to allegory.

*Castellum Amoris. Le Chateau D’Amour,
by Robert Grosteste.*

A fine copy of this curious poem, in Norman French, is in the British Museum[\[110\]](#) It narrates the creation and fall of man; the four daughters of God, Mercy, Truth, Patience, and Peace, unite to devise the means of man’s restoration. The divisions are —

1. The Prophets predict.
2. The Saviour is born in the great Palace of Love.
3. The Palace is described with its keepers.
4. Satan attempts to overcome the keepers.

It is a very curious poem, and is called at the end, *Scala Coeli*. I venture to give a specimen of this singular composition, and have selected the following, because it treats upon the subject of baptismal regeneration, which at present occupies so much of the public attention. The author was evidently of that party who pretend to believe that the God of love will send a poor babe to everlasting misery, if its parents neglect or refuse to have it christened!! As the French is old and contracted, a translation is added: —

“O baptize treslour fussenent
Et nomi Deu pater et

“They were then baptized
In the names of God the Father

Deo, fiz.
Et du saynt espiritz
Kar qi baptize ne serra
Ca en cel ne entera
Mes ci creaut cy baptize
Serront mys a satmete."

and of the Son
And of the Holy ghost
For whoever is not baptized
He in Heaven shall not enter
But those created in this baptism
Shall be put into salvation."

Scala Perfeccioonis Englyshed. The Ladder of Perfection,
written by Walter Hilton, about 1380.

This was one of the most popular of the monkish writings, and so much esteemed in the reign of James II, as to have been published by the court to promote the influence of popery in these realms; it was then very much altered, and *not* improved.

The only allegory in it is the Ladder, placed upon the earth to ascend by steps to Heaven. It was intended for monks and nuns, to guide them in devotional exercises, so that their affections might be gradually raised from earthly things. It is the most Scriptural of all the monkish manuscripts, but the evangelical truths are omitted in the more modern printed editions. Thus he says, if we were only infected by original sin, and had escaped the pollution of actual transgression, we must have perished but for the sufferings of Christ.^[111] To speak for thy profit and my own, "say I thus that thou neuer so moche a wreche, hadest thou done neuer so moche syn, for sake thi self and al thi werkes gode and had, cry mercy and aske oneli saluacion be vertue of the precious passion mekeli and trusteli and with outyen doute thou schalt haue it, and fro this original syn and al other that thou have done thou sal be saf."^[112] Dr. Dibdin considers this a wild and dangerous exposition of the consoling doctrines of the Christian religion made by an enthusiastic writer!^[113] Hilton gives a faithful warning against placing dependence upon happy feelings, unless they arise from a living faith. "I had rather feel, and have a stedfast desire and a pure spiritual union with my Lord Jesus, though I cannot see Him with my ghostly eye, than to have without this desire the fruit of all the bodily penance of all living men, or all the visions and revelations of angels' songs and sounds." "Jesus leadeth the soul into itself. The secret voice of Jesus is fully true, 'My sheep hear My voice, and I know them, and they know Me.' There is no feigning in it, nor fantasy, nor pride, nor

hypocrisy; but softness, meekness, peace, love, and charity. And it is full of life, love, and grace; and, therefore, when it roundeth in the soul, it is sometime of so great might, that the soul suddenly layeth off hand all that there is, praying, speaking, reading, or thinking, and all manner of bodily work, and listeneth thereto, fully hearing and perceiving, in rest and in love, the sweet steuen^[114] of this spiritual voice, as it were ravished from the mind of all earthly things. Sometimes Jesus sheweth himself as a master, sometimes as a father, and sometimes as a lovely spouse; and it keepeth the soul in a wondering reverence, and a lovely beholding of Him, that the soul liketh never so well as then.”^[115]

It is delightful to meet with such beams of the Sun of righteousness in a dark age, like the dayspring from on high, breaking through a dismal night with its cheering rays.^[116]

The Pilgrimage of Perfection.

Supposed to be written by William Bond. 4To, printed by Pynson, 1526.

A fine copy of this rare book is in the extensive and valuable library of my kind friend, the Rev. J. H. M. Luxmoore, rector of Marcweil, near Wrexham, by whose permission the following analysis was made: —

This work is more particularly intended for the monastic orders, to promote what, in those days, were called pious feelings; by which it was intended to treat the gifts of providence, the comforts, and even necessities of life, with contempt; to abstain from reasonable enjoyments; to retire into solitudes where no relative duties could be performed; lacerating the body; submitting the soul, with blind obedience, to the will of men; a looking forward with dread to the future; contemplating the God of love, not as the forgiver, but as the avenger of sin; and to which may be added, that climax of pride, fanaticism, and folly, in which Jews, Mahometans, and all antichrist glory — that there is no salvation out of the pale of their own sect.

The volume commences with the tree of grace and the tree of vice; under the branch of avarice, a nun is told to NOTE PT A PIN OR A NEDELL KEPT CONTRARP TO NE COMMAUNDEMENT OF THEIR SOUERAINNE IT ISO DAMPNABLE.

It is divided into two parts: first, “sheweth howe the lyfe of euery Christian is

as a pilgremage: second, the journey of religion — man is never contented in the cage of this world; wherefore it appereth that ther is an hyer cage and another place for his full contention.” — “As the iewes spoyled Egipt of their richesse, so the Christians have spoyled both iewes and philosophers of the noble veritees of philosophy”;

“In heuen euery man and woman shalbe as an emperour and empresse.”

The journey begins with the sacrament of baptism, professing by it to be pilgrims; openly forsaking the devil, pomps, mortal sins, honours, riches, and pleasures; for daily sustenance, is given the blessed body of our Lord in the sacrament, by which these pilgrims are raised above nature to immortal glory. John 6:53 is thus translated — “Except ye eat the flesh of the son of the virgin, and drink his blood, ye cannot have life in you”; but it is silent as to the cup being denied to the laity. 1 Peter 2:2, 3, is thus translated — “As infants and young children: whom our mother, holy church, hath brought forth, by the regeneration of baptism in the faith of Christ Jesus.”

Then follow very extensive instructions to the pilgrims, without any attempt at allegory. Many portions of Scripture are given, but they are strangely translated. The Lord’s prayer — “O father in heuen delyuer vs fro all euyll of peyne and synne. Suffre vs nat to be ouerthrown in temptation. Forgyue vs our offences as we forgyne them that hath offended vs. Gyue vs our dayly sustenaunce and necessaryes. Thy wyll be fulfylled in erthe, as it is in heuen. Thy kyngdome come to vs. Thy holy name be santifyed.” 1 Corinthians 3:13 — “But yet (as saynt Poule sayth) the fyre of purgatory must proue his workes.” When suffering pain from fasting, he adviseth that such pain be alloyed by using these word —“Ah, caryon and wormes meate: what vaantage shalte thou haue, ever to stufte and fyll the greedy gutte of thy bely with delicate meetes and drinke which damn the soule.” Praying to our blessed Lady and to the saints is ordered, because Job was commanded to “call to some of the sayntes of heuen, and they wil answere” (Job 5:1). In the ten commandments, the second is omitted, and the tenth is divided into two, to make up the number. The Virgin Mary can obtain blessings for us, because “The mother of God, sheweth to her son her pappes and brestes, with the which she gaue hym sucke!! therefore make supplication to her, to have mercy on this present churche militant, releue, socoure, and helpe it.” The heavenly anthem is translated — “Glory be to god in heuyn, and peace in

erthe to man or woman, that hathe a good wyll" (Luke 2:11). The pilgrimage is divided into seven days, and on the seventh the soul approaches to perfection; and here the feelings or experience of the pilgrims strongly remind us of some modern sects, such as the Irvingites — "Some in this vnwont ioye haue been compelled to syng, some to wepe, some coude nothinge speke; but Jesu, Jesu, Jesu. Some coude nat says so moche, *but onely expresse suche voyces, that be nat in use to siynifye any thyng*: one Masseus in such ioye coude speke nothing but v v v." With the Quakers, "Some other in such jubile, trymbled or quaked in all the ioyntes of their bodyes." Like the Ranters, "Some were constrainyd to leape and daunce for ioye, and some to clappe their handes." Some have arrived at so high a state of mortification, that if asked "whether they coude be contented, for the love and pleasure of god, and to fufyll his wyll, to lye for euermore in the paynes of hell, without remedy, they wolde answere: ye with all their hertes." In such a state was St. Bernard, who was ravished before the cross when the body "losed it selfe from the crosse, and halsed^[117] and kyssed hym most swetely"; the holy Brigit was lifted up in the aire, and her face was made to shyne brighter than the sonne!!!

The reader need not be told that Bunyan could have had no help from this impure source.

The Pype, or Tonne of the lyfe of perfection.
4to, 1532.

This is an allegorical work for the instruction of nuns, written by the old wretch of Sion;^[118] and although it is not a pilgrimage or a dream, it is a guide to female pilgrims. Under the idea of wine being kept in a pipe or tun, is represented —

1. The life of perfection, as *the wine*;
2. Religion, *the pipe*;
3. Essential vows, obedience, willful poverty, and chastity, *the staves*;
4. Holy rules, *the hoops*;

5. Ceremonies, *the wickers*, by which the hoops are made fast.

If these wickers fail, the hoops open, the cask falls to pieces, and the wine is lost; *all depends upon the ceremonies*. This curious book was published to prevent the spread of heresy “by newe fangle persones,” aided by the New Testament, which had then been about six years in circulation in England; for “Luther, with all his discyple, depraue all maner of religyons, except onely (as they call hit) the religyon of Christe. Wherefore I thought it necessary to answer the perilous poison of such blaterers.” The work is divided into three parts: “Of Obedience,” “Wylfull Pouertie,” and “Chastite”; being the three great vows made by the nuns to whom it is addressed.

1. Of Obedience. Without implicit obedience, there is not the slightest hope of salvation. This related, not only to the obedience due by nuns to the pope, the priest, and the abbess, but also to the obedience due by a wife to her husband. If married ladies acted in the same spirit then as they do now, might not the sorrowful inquiry have been made, “Lord, are there even a few that be saved?” “Kynges as sone as they were conuerted and baptizid, left their dyademes and were subiects unto the clergie, and under theyr obedience”; a peculiar kind of antinomianism reigned in the church; “I say, that no temporall laws maye bynde any spirituall persone. This have we said vnto Tyndale, that arche heretike.” Some of the rules and examples show that nuns were sad women, who could “braule and chide; eat and dryuke to excess” — “they be in right great jeopardy of nawfrage^[119] and wracke of chastite.” Obedience in ecclesiastical payments is enforced by a very odd translation of Numbers 18:22 — “Those persones that wolde nat be obedient duely to pay theyr tythes, were judged by our Lord vnto deth”; and whether God, or the vicar of God, gave any manner of commandment, it is all one, and by like reverence to be performed; “our lorde god, in maner makynge the prelates and souereynes equall with hymselfe.” The extent of obedience is thus illustrated — “that man that in obedience to his souereyne dyd caste his owne chylde quicke into a hole flamynge ouen has now laude, prayse, thanke, and grace, because he was obedient as he would have had indignation of god and vengeance if he had not obeyed.”

2. Of Wylfull Pouertie. This vow was so strict that no monk or nun was to consider their clothes their own, but the property of the establishment; and, to terrify the poor votaries, a story is told, fol. cc., of a monk that did appear

after his death to one of his companions, showing that he was in marvellous great pains, “for bycause he gaue a payre of olde showes vnto a pore body without leaue.” All the efforts and threats to prevent the monks from getting money was in vain; and our unhappy author laments that there are few monasteries in England but where the monks lend and borrow; play for money at all manner of games; dice, cards, bowls, and sometimes at worse or more inconvenient things; while the nuns enjoy their gains, make good cheer, sing and laugh, play and sport, and be as merry as lay people. We close our account of this singular volume by extracting a curious version of Psalm 137:9. “Blessed be that person that doth hold and restrain his dren, and that doth thrust and crash their head unto the stone, that is unto Christ and his passion and death.”

No one can for a moment suppose that Bunyan could have gained a hint from this volume.

*Viaggio Spirituale, nel quale, facendosi
passaggio da questa vita mortale, si ascende alla
celeste. Del R. P. Cornelio Bellanda, di Verona,
4to, with the Aldine mark. Venetia, 1578.*

This spiritual pilgrimage, from mortal life to the celestial, has nothing in it allegorical, but in ten chapters treats of penance, confession, the judgment, heavenly blessedness, &c. It is a very rare volume, elegantly printed by Aldus, jun.^[120]

The Vision of Pierce Plowman.

“I am inclined to think,” says Mr. D’Israeli, in his *Amenities of Literature*, “that we owe to Piers Ploughman, an allegorical work of the same wild invention from that other creative mind, the author of ‘Pilgrim’s Progress.’ How can we think of the one, without being reminded of the other? Some distant relationship seems to exist between the Ploughman’s *Dowell* and *Dobet*, and *Dobest*, Friar *Flatterer*, *Grace*, the Portress of the magnificent Tower of Truth, viewed at a distance, and by its side the dungeon of Care, *Natural Understanding*, and his lean and stern wife *Study*, and all the rest of

this numerous company, and the shadowy pilgrimage of the ‘Immortal Dreamer’ to the ‘Celestial City.’ Yet I would mistrust my own feeling, when so many able critics, in their various researches after a prototype of that singular production, have hitherto not suggested what seems to me obvious.”

Such a notice by so popular a writer, led me very closely to examine this severe satire. It is written in language that to Bunyan would have been almost as impenetrable as Hebrew or Greek. It is a very curious poem, composed about the time of Wicliff, by one of the Lollards, said to be by Robert Langland. In a poetical vision or dream, he exposes and reproves vice, and extols Christian virtue. “The printer R. Crowley, 1550 states, that it was written in the time of Edward III, when it pleased God to open the eyes of many to see His truth, giving them boldness of heart to open their mouths, and cry out against the works of darkness. This writer feigneth himself in dreams most Christianly to instruct the weak, and sharply rebuke the obstinate blind. He godlily, learnedly, and wittily rebuked vice in all classes.” There is nothing in this very interesting book that could, in the slightest degree, have aided Bunyan, if he had been able to read it. It presents a melancholy picture of the state of the clergy, and of society generally, at that time; and, according to his account, pilgrims were very sad story-tellers.

Pilgrames and Palmers plyght hem togyther
For to seke S. James and sayntes at Rome
They went forth theyr way, wyth many wyse
tales,
And had leaue to lye all hyr lyfe after.”

The hermits appear to have had a still worse propensity —

“Hermets on a heape wyth hoked staues
Wenten to Walsingham, and her wenches after.”

Mr. D’Israeli must have been dreaming when he imagined the slightest resemblance between *Piers Plowman’s Vision* and the “Pilgrim’s Progress,” either in the plan, or in any of the details of this curious poem.

Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*.

Were told on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Thomas-a-Becket; and it is evident

that these pretended holy journeys were full of vim and profligacy.

Erasmus, *On the Religious Pilgrimages*,

The very droll colloquy of Erasmus, called the *Religious Pilgrimage*, is preceded by an account of a shipwreck, when all the passengers and crew are calling each on his patron saint, promising pilgrimages and offerings. Among them — “one vowed to *St. Christopher*,” in the great church at *Paris*, “as loud as he could bawl,” that he might be sure to be heard, a *wax candle*, as big as himself, and he was rather a mountain than a statue: a friend gave him a touch. *Have a care what you promise, says he, for if you should sell yourself to your shirt, you are not able to purchase such a candle.* Hold your tongue, you fool, says t’other, softly, for fear the saint should hear him; *let me set foot a land once, and he has good luck if he get so much as a tallow candle of me!!*” This pilgrimage has a long letter from the Virgin Mary, written by one of her secretaries, in droll terms, complaining that it is of no use that hundreds should pray to her at once, for she could only hear one at a time, and had no power to assist her worshippers.

No one can suppose that Bunyan gained any hint from such satirical works as these.

Spenser’s *Faery Queen*.

To this work Dr. Adam Clarke considered Bunyan to have been indebted for some ideas in his “Pilgrim,” or “Holy War.” It must require no ordinary degree of penetration to discover that which is, to many, perfectly concealed.

This is a very long but elegant allegorical poem, composed of seven legends:

1. The Knight of the Red Cross, or Holiness. This gallant knight, properly caparisoned and accoutred, rides forth with Truth, represented as a fair lady; his first adventure is with a monstrous dragon called Error, who is slain. They take refuge in the cell of an aged sire, who acted the part of a holy hermit, but proved to be a most unholy enchanter; he calls spirits from the vasty deep, and transforms them into a gallant knight and a beautiful woman. He kindles a flame of jealousy in the breast of the red cross knight, so that he abruptly

quits his fair companion, and in his journey meets with a knight called “Sans Foy”; they fight, and Sans Foy is killed, and a lovely lady, his companion, is taken captive; she proves to be “Falsehood.” He is taken prisoner by the contrivance of Falsehood, and is thrown into a dungeon in the castle of Giant Orgoglio, where he lies in despair for three months. Truth induces Prince Arthur to attack the Giant, whose body disappears when he is slain after a fearful combat; he relieves the red cross knight from a cell —

“Where entered in, his feet could find no floor,
But all a deep descent, as dark as hell,
That breathed ever forth a filthy baneful smell.”

He is then led to a house of holiness, and is taught repentance. Our knight then seeks and fights the old dragon fiend for three successive days, and kills him. He visits the infernal realms; sees what the classic poets have described; meets again with his lady Truth, and his adventures close with their marriage. The next legend is that of Temperance narrating the exploits of Sir Guyon. He attacks and overcomes Furor, Incontinence, and Mammon. He recounts from a friar’s book “a chronicle of Briton’s Kings.” His startling description of our forefathers is a good specimen of his versification and stanzas —

“But far in land a salvage nation dwelt
Of hideous giaunts, and halfe-beastly men,
That never tasted grace, nor goodness felt;
But wild like beastes lurking in loathsome den,
And flying fast as roebucke through the fen;
All naked without shame or care of cold,
By hunting and by spoiling liveden;
Of stature huge, and eke of corage bold,
That sonnes of men amazed their sterness to
behold.”

Temperance is besieged, but relieved by Prince Arthur. Then follows the legends of Britomartis, or Chastity: all the chapters are headed with poetical contents; as —

“The witches sonne loves Florimell,
She flies; he faines to dy.
Satyrene saves the squyre of Dames
From Gyauntes tyranny.”

The other legends are of friendship, justice, courtesy, constancy, and mutab-

ility. The first legend of Holiness is the only one that bears the slightest resemblance to any part of the “Pilgrim” or “Holy War.” In this we have a battle with the old dragon fiend, a descent into hell, and being a prisoner in a giant’s castle. It is not at all likely that Bunyan could have found time, even had he the inclination, to have read the *Faery Queen*. His poetry is from the school of Francis Quarles and not of Spenser. The knightly hero *seeks* the old dragon fiend; the pilgrim is sought by Apollyon. Apostolic injunctions would naturally lead our allegorist Bunyan to portray the dreadful combat. “The devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour,” WHOM RESIST. Clothed in the armour described in the Epistle to the Ephesians, and wielding the sword of the Spirit, his final success was certain — “resist the devil, and he will flee from you.” Such texts, with his own experience of the saint’s conflict with the powers of darkness, naturally suggested the fight with Apollyon, without the aid of any uninspired author.

All Spenser’s imagery of the Infernal Regions is taken from Ovid, Virgil, and Dante. But the pilgrims’ fears, while passing through the Valley of the Shadow of Death, depict the author’s personal feelings, and the experience of David. “The sorrows of death compassed me, and the pains of hell gat hold upon me: I found trouble and Sorrow” (Psa. 116:3). The strong language of Job:15, “A dreadful sound is in his ears; he believeth not that he shall return out of darkness”; and the emotions of the Psalmist, “an horrible pit and the miry clay,” led to an intensity of *feeling*, under doubts and fears, which knightly poetry, however elegant, could never have engendered. Spenser was a philosopher well acquainted with heathen literature, from which his images are drawn. While Bunyan, shut out of the enticing treasures of human learning, possessed in that Inspired Volume, which was his daily solace under severe privations, the most noble model for his allegorical imagery, he neither wanted, nor could he have gained, the slightest hint from Spenser.

Le Voyage du Chevalier Errant.
Par. F. J. de Cartheny.

Written about the year 1311. 8vo, Anvers, 1557. Published in English under the title of The Voyage of the Wandering Knight. Showing the whole course of Man’s Life; how apt he is to follow Vanity, and how hard it is for him to

attain to Virtue. Devised by John Cartheny, a Frenchman; and Translated out of French into English by William Goodyear of Southampton, Merchant; a work worthy the reading, and dedicated to Sir. F. Drake, Knt. London, Printed by Thos. Snodham, 4to. No date, but about 1611. (See Herbert, p. 1022).

The knight determines to seek the palace of true felicity, and first tries riches, pleasure, and honours; but he adds, “I was as very a fool in this as he who hoped to catch fish by angling in the air, or hunt the hare with hounds in the open sea.” Under the guidance of Folly, he obtained from an armorer named Evil-will, a shirt of lasciviousness, a doublet of lewd desires, hosen^[121] of vain pleasures, armour of ignorance, a corslet of inconstancy, vambraces^[122] of arrogance, gauntlets of idleness, a gorget of licentiousness, a helmet of lightness, a buckler of shamelessness, a gilt-cap of vain- glory, a girdle of intemperance, a sword of rebellion, and a lance, named Hope of Long-life. “Then Pride prepared me a galloping horse, called Temerity. At last Folly apparelled herself lightly with a cloak of feathers, and mounted upon a jenet; and opening her feathers and wings with the wind, away she flew; and I also, at a wild adventure, set spurs to my horse, and away we went both.”

During their ride, Folly tells him her triumphs in such gross terms, that the knight found fault with this insatiable empress, and calls her some very unpolite names; but not having received God’s grace, he was unable to forsake her. They come to two paths, one a goodly green meadow; the other rocky, narrow, and full of mountains; and here met with two elegant ladies, on chargers richly caparisoned. Lady Voluptuousness pictures to him the pleasures of idleness, with all worldly delights; and Lady Felicity, the advantages of industry and virtue. As the husbandman could expect no corn unless he prepared the ground and sowed the seed; so that man is marvelously misinformed who thinketh to achieve true blessedness unless he prepares his way by virtue and good deeds. But while Reason preferred the good advice of Felicity, Folly prevailed, and led him to the palace of Voluptuousness. The palace is minutely described, with all its wanton and luxurious enjoyments. After leading *a beastly life* eleven days, he goes out hunting, accompanied by his gay ladies; when suddenly the palace sinks into the earth, yielding such an air of brimstone, that the like hath not been felt. The knight “sunk into a beastly bog up to his saddle,” and his companions

changed into serpents, snakes, toads, and venomous worms.

He fell into despair, howled, and scratched his face; he tried in vain to get out, and found “that after a man be once sunk in sin, he will not be able to recover himself unless he have the help of God’s grace.” After bitter repentance, he prays; and a splendid lady, called God’s-Grace, relieved him, and he left Temerity his horse, and Folly his governess, in the bog to fish for frogs. “Thus you see that God’s grace draweth us from sins without any merit of ours; howbeit not without an inward heart-grief and sorrow for sin, which is a special gift of God’s grace.” His new guide showed him the ruins of the palace of worldly Felicity converted into a great bed of iron, red hot, upon which his late companions were tormented. He is then led to the school of repentance, which is surrounded with a moat, called Humility. Here all his follies are brought to his remembrance; he sees what torments he had deserved for them, and was half in despair. Portions of Scripture are exhibited, which comfort and convert him. Understanding, now preaches him a sermon on the history of Mary Magdalene. The knight then receives the communion, and is carried to the palace of Virtue. The third part of the voyage describes the happiness which his felt in company with Lady Virtue. At length Faith, from the top of a tower, shows him the city of Heaven. It concludes with a prayer, the creed, and ten commandments, and an exhortation to perseverance until the knight shall attain the glorious city of paradise.

Although this work was doubtless intended for good, yet such is the indelicacy of many of its scenes, that it was more calculated to excite evil passions than to lead an inquirer to happiness. The way of salvation is confined to moral observances, without that spring of virtue which flows from faith in Jesus Christ, and its consequent evangelical obedience. There is no similarity between this Voyage and the “Pilgrim’s Progress,” except it be the foresight of the heavenly paradise, which has been, and is, one of the enjoyments of the real Christian from the Revelations of John to the present time.^[123] There is no ground for supposing that the persecuted Bunyan ever saw this *Chevalier Errant*.

Whitney's *Emblems*. 4to, Leyden, 1586;
pp. 179.

The cut over one of the emblems represents a man swimming, with a pack upon his back.

“Desire to haue, dothe make vs muche indure,
In trauayle, toile, and labour voide of reste:
The merchant-man is caried with this lure,
Throughe scorching heate, to regions of the
Easte:
Oh thirste of goulde, what not? but thou canst
do:
And make mens hartes for to consent thereto.
The trauailer poore, when shippe doth suffer
wracke,
Who hopes to swimme vnto the wished lande,
Dothe venture life, with fardle on his backe,
That if he scape, the same in steede maye stande.
Thus, hope of life, and loue vuto his goods,
Houldes vp his chinne, with burthen in the
floods.”

Another emblem has a cut, representing a pilgrim with his staff leaving a globe the world behind him (p. 225). *Peregrinus Christianus loquitur.*

*Adve[124] deceiptfull worlde, thy pleasures I detest:
Nowe, others with thy showes delude; my hope
in heaven doth rest.*

Inlarged as followeth —

“Even as a flower, or like vnto the grasse,
Which now dothe stande, and straight with
sithe dothe fall,
So is our state: now here, now hence wee passe:
For, time attendes with shredding sithe for all.
And deathe at lengthe, both oulde, and
yonge, doth strike:
And into dust dothe turne vs all alike.

“Yet, if we marke how swifte our race do the

ronne,
And waighe the cause, why wee created bee:
Then shall we know, when that this life is
done,
Wee shall bee sure our countrie right to see.
For, here wee are but straungers, that must
flitte:
The nearer home, the nearer to the pitte.

“O happie they, that pondering this arighte,
Before that here their pilgrimage bee past,
Resigne this world: and marche with all their
michte
Within that pathe, that leades where ioyes shall
last.
And whilst they may, there, treasure vp their
store,
Where, without rust, it lastes for euermore.

“This worlde must chaunge: That worlde, shall
still indure.
Here, pleasures fade: There, shall they eadlesse
bee.
Here, man doth sinne: And there, hee shalbee
pure,
Here, deathe hee tastes: And there, shall neuer
die.
Here, hathe hee grieve: And there shall ioyes
possesse.
As none hath seene, nor anie harte can
gesse.”

These are the poems from which Mr. Montgomery conceives Bunyan might perhaps have inspired his first idea!

The other of Whitney’s Emblems upon pilgrimage, is under a cut representing Mercury and two men travelling upon a road.

“The trauaylinge man, vncertaine where to goe,
When diuers wayes before his face did lie,
Mercurius then, the perfect pathe did showe,
Which when he tooke, he neuer went awrie,
But to his wishes, his iorneys ende did gaine

In happie howre, by his direction plaine.

“This trauailinge man: doth tell our wandrингe
state,
Before whose face, and eeke on euery side,
Bypathes, and wayes, appeare amidd our gate,
That if the Lorde bee not our onlie guide:
We stumble, fall, and dailie goe astraye,
Then happie those, whome God doth shew the
waye.”

The Pilgrimage to Paradise.

Compiled for the Direction, Comfort, and Resolution of God’s poore distressed Children in passing through this irksome Wildernessee of Temptation and Tryall. By Leonard Wright. 4to, London, 1591.

Full of sound instruction, but not allegorical.

Benoist (Father-Confessor to Mary Queen of Scots), le Chevalier Chrestien.

This is a dialogue between a Christian knight and an infidel, whom he attempts to instruct in the knowledge of God and the Romish faith. It has cuts representing the knight’s horse, and the various parts of his armour and habiliments, which are spiritualized. Some of these instructions to an infidel are curious, “Comme l’Eglise, second Paradis, a este plantee et est contenue en la Vierge, monde mystique.”^[125] “De la descente de Jesus Christ en enfer, ou il a remporte encore une autre victoire sur Satan, brisant ses prisons, et deliverant les Peres qu’il y tenoit captif.”^[126] This is the true meaning of the descent into hell in what is called the Apostles’ Creed. Among other curious discoveries which the author makes is, that if Adam had not been persuaded to sin by his wife, his posterity would not have been corrupt.^[127]

The Pilgrimage of Princes.
By L. Lloid, one of Queen Elizabeth's
Sergeants-at-Arms.

There is nothing allegorical in this entertaining volume. It is a pilgrimage to the characters and works of princes, which are curiously exhibited. A few are in poetry, such as that of King Herod:

“When *Herod* reigned in Juda king
His life so loathsome led,
On sucking babes and infants blood,
This cruel tyrant fed.
To seek our Saviour Christ, he kill'd
The Babes of Juda land;
And thought our God could not escape
His fomie bloody hand.
Of worms this Herod was devoured,
Of vermin loe, and mice:
His bones, his flesh, was all consumed
And eaten up of Lice.”

The Plaine man's Path-way to Heaven.
By Arth. Dent. 1601.

There is a rare tract under this title in black letter, with a woodcut of the author, 12 leaves; but the book that was made a blessing to Bunyan is a small octavo volume. This little book made a considerable part of the worldly goods which Bunyan's first wife brought as her portion, and it became one of the means by which he was awakened from the dreary sleep of sin, and therefore an invaluable portion. It is singular that no one has charged him with taking any hints from this book, which is one of the very few which he is known to have read prior to his public profession of faith and holiness in baptism.

The author, in his epistle, calls it a “controversie with Satan and Sinne.” It is a dialogue between “a Divine, an Honest Man, an Ignorant Man, and a Caviller.” They commence about buying a good cow, then worth four pounds, and are drawn into religious conversation. The author is so high a Calvinist,

that, speaking of infants, he says, “some, no doubt, are saved through the election of grace.” He commences with the new birth: arguments are adduced to show why good and worthy men are lost, because they esteem a preacher no more than a shoemaker, nor the Scriptures than their old shoes. He places lying among the principal sins, which he calls the Beelzebubs of the world. He introduces very familiar illustrations and well-known proverbs. Speaking against pride, he says, “How proud many (especially women) be of baubles. For when they have spent a good part of the day in tricking and trimming, pricking and pinning, pranking and pouncing, girding and lacing, and braving up themselves in most exquisite manner, out they come into the streets with their peddler’s shop upon their backs and take themselves to be little Angels — they are one lump of pride — the time will come when they and all their gay clouts will be buried in a grave — what will all this profit them when their bodies are buried in the dust and their souls in hell-fire? what then will they say of these doubled and redoubled ruffs, strutting fardingales, long locks, fore tufts, shag haire and new fashions?”

He complains of two marks being paid for a pair of stockings L1, 6s. 8d.! “What say you to our artificial women, which will be better than God hath made them? they like not His handy work, they will mend it — they will have other complexions, other hair, other bones, and other . . . than God made them.” Modern refinement prevents one of these words from being copied; but the monstrous deformity shown by some ladies of our day, appears then to have been in fashion. Dent calls such ladies pictures, puppets, and peacocks. Had Bunyan been a plagiarist, how readily might he have borrowed an idea from Dent of the Muck-rake. “The gripple muck-rakers had as leve part with their blood as their goods. They will pinch their own backs and bellies to get their god into their chest.” But Bunyan’s Muck-rake is all his own. “Mony lazie lozels and luskish youths do nothing but walk the streets, sit on stalls, and frequent Ale houses. Many rich women do ordinarily lie in bed till nine of the clock, and then forsooth rise, and make themselves ready to goe to dinner. And after they have well dined, they spend the rest of the day, and a good part of the night also, in playing, prattling, babbling, cackling, prating, and gossipping. Fie on this idle life.”^[128]

The enmity of the natural man against those who bear the image of Christ is thus expressed: “It is a wonder to consider how deadly the wicked hate the

righteous, and almost in every Thing oppose themselves against them: and that in most virulent and spiteful manner. They raile and slander, scoffe and scorne, mocke and mowe at them, as though they were not worthy to live upon the earth. They esteeme every pelting Rascall, and prefer euery vile Varlet before them. And though they have their lines and liberty, their breath and safety, and all that they haue else by them for their sakes, yet for all that, they could be content to eate their heart with garlicke: so great, so fiery, so burning and hissing — hot is their fury and malice against them. They may be compared to a man that standeth upon a bough in the top of a tree, and with an axe choppeth it off, and therewithall falleth down with it, and breaketh his necke.”^[129] Dent, speaking of the entrance by the strait gate, says: “It must be done by great strife against the world, the flesh, and the Diuell — none can enter in without vehement crowding and almost breaking their shoulder — bones — many which seek shall not bee able to enter.” How different to Bunyan’s description: “Knock, and it shall be opened unto you.” Yet both are right: one places his obstacles long before the pilgrim arrives at the gate; then, having overcome the world and the flesh, the devil shoots at him; the other reserves all the Christian’s opposition to the time when entering the gate.

Dent’s language is picturesque: “We haue all the Diuels in hell against vs, with all their horns, heads, marvellous strength, infinite wiles, cunning devices, deepe slights and methodical temptations. Here runs a sore stremme against vs. Then haue we this present euill world against us, with her innumerable baits, snares, netts, gins and grins to catch vs, fetter vs and entangle vs. Here haue wee profittes and pleasures, riches and honour, wealth and preferment, ambition and couetousnesse. Here comes in a Camp-royall of spiritual and inuisible enemies. Lastly we haue our flesh, that is, our corrupted nature against vs: wee haue ourselues against ourselues.” This book was written fifty years after the Reformation; but so slow were the clergy to teach, or the people to learn, that when a farmer is asked, “What is the end of receiving the sacrament?” he answered, “To receive my maker.” And when asked how many sacraments there were, his answer was, “Two, Bread and Wine!” Bunyan must have felt the force of such language as the following: “Every sin that a man committeth is as a thorn thrust deep into the soul; which will not be got out again but with many a sigh, and many a sorrowful Oh! Oh! Every sin is written with a pen of iron and the point of a diamond

upon the conscience, which, if not felt in this life, then with woe, and alas! when it is too late.” The farmer being deeply affected with a sense of his danger, Atheist advises him to read “*The Court of Venus, The Palace of Pleasure, Bevis of Southampton, Ellen of Rummin, The Merry Jest of the Friar and the Boy, The Pleasant Story of Clem of the Clough, Adam Bell, and William of Clodesley, The Odd Tale of William, Richard, and Humphrey, The Pretty Conceit of John Splinter’s Last Will* — excellent books against heart qualms and dumpishness.” To which the zealous minister replied: “They are good to kindle a fire — they were devised by the devil, seen and allowed by the Pope, printed in Hell, bound by Hobgoblins, and published in Rome, Italy, and Spain.”^[130]

This volume must have been exactly suited to the warm imagination of Bunyan. It had proved invaluable to him as a means of conversion; but, after a careful and delightful perusal, no trace can be found of any phrase or sentence having been introduced into the “Pilgrim’s Progress.”

The copy which the Editor has used in extracting the above account is the nineteenth impression, 1625, and has the name of M. Bunyonn written on the bottom of the title; probably the very volume which his wife brought him as her dowry.^[131]

The result of long, anxious, and expensive inquiries is, that, from the first idea to the completion of his “Pilgrim’s Progress,” it entirely flowed from Bunyan’s own soul. Well might he say: —

“Manner and matter too was all mine own.”

Sir Walter Raleigh’s *Pilgrimage*.

Written by himself, and published in his remains.

“Give me my scallop shell of quiet,
My staff of faith to walk upon,
My scrip of joy, immortal diet;
My bottle of salvation.

My gown of glory, hope’s true gage,^[132]
And thus I’ll take my pilgrimage.
Blood must be my body’s only balmer,

No other balm will there be given;
Whilst my soul, like a quiet Palmer,^[133]
Travelleth towards the land of Heaven.

Over the silver mountains,
Where springs the nectar fountains,
There will I kiss the bowl of bliss;
And drink mine everlasting fill
Upon every milken hill.

My soul will be a dry before,
But after it will thirst no more.
I'll take them first to quench my thirst,
And taste of nectar's suckets,
At those clear wells, where sweetness dwells,
Drawn up by saints in chrystral buckets.

Then by that happy blestfull day,
More peaceful pilgrims I shall see,
That have cast off their rags of clay,
And walk apparelled fresh like me;
And when our bottles and all we
Are filld with immortality,
Then the blest parts we'll travel;
Strowed with rubies thick as gravel.
Ceilings of diamonds, sapphire flowers,
High walls of coral, and pearly bowers.
From thence to Heaven's bribeless hall,
Where no corrupted vices brawl,
No conscience molten into gold,
No forg'd accuser bought or sold,
No cause deferr'd, no vain-spent journey,
For there CHRIST is the king's attorney;
Who pleads for all without degrees,
And He hath Angels,^[134] but no fees;

And when the twelve grand million jury
Of our sins, with direful fury,
'Gainst our souls, black verdicts give,
Christ pleads His death and then we live.
Be Thou my speaker (taintless pleader,
Unblotted Lawyer, true proceeder)
Thou would'st salvation e'en for alms,
Not with a bribed lawyer's palms.

And this is my eternal plea
To Him that made Heaven, earth and sea,

That since my flesh must die so soon,
And want a head to dine next noon,
Just at the stroke, when my veins start and
spread,
Set on my soul an everlasting head.
Then am I ready, like a Palmer, fit
To tread those blest paths which before I writ,
Of Death and Judgement, Heaven, and Hell,
Who oft doth think, must needs die well."

*The Plain Man's Pilgrimage, or Journey
towards Heaven, wherein if he walke
carefully he may attain to everlasting life.*

By W. Webster. 18mo, 1613.

First, To set out on the journey, we must get rid of covetousness. Second, For speed, we must begin young — give God the heart, and number our days. We have a long journey to go in a short space of time — a day. A short life is like a winter's day; a long life like a day in summer. One of his similes is far beyond ordinary comprehension. "For as the windows of the temple were large within and narrow without; so they which are within the church have greater light than they which are without." Another extract will show the doctrinal views of the author. "We must put on his (Christ's) righteousness, which is as strange a vesture to us, as our flesh was to him; it requires great cunning to wear it cleanly and comely, from foyling^[135] and rending it, lest it should be taken from us again."

The author gives much good advice as to searching the Scriptures and prayer, but there is nothing allegorical in this rare little volume.

The Pilgrim.

This old comedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher, could afford no hint to Bunyan, and it is very probable that he never wasted one of his precious minutes over a play.

To a late period, and even to the present day, in Roman Catholic countries, the word *pilgrim* is only understood as relating to a meritorious pilgrimage to

the shrine of some saint. In the *Glossographia Anglicana*, 1719, the meaning of the word *pilgrim* is “one that travels upon account of religion, to visit holy places; to pay his devotion to the relics of dead saints.” The principal places were Rome, Loretto, Jerusalem, Compostella, and the local shrines with which every country in Europe abounded. In former times it was a duty inculcated upon all classes, from the king to the peasant, from the archbishop to the humblest clerk, all bent beneath the custom of the times; and two visits to a neighbouring shrine were considered equivalent to one at double the distance. Such as were unable to go in person, gave money to have the duty performed by proxy. A dream or vision, a penance ordered, or a vow made in the hour of danger, were frequently the prelude to a pilgrimage, and the belief was general, that if they were not made during life, they might, with greater trouble, be performed after death.

“Some went for payment of a vow
In time of trouble made,
And some who found that pilgrimage
Was a pleasant sort of trade.”^[136]

Frequently two hundred thousand pilgrims were at Loretto at one time. They formed processions round the palace of our Lady, on their bare knees, five, seven, nine, or twelve times. We can scarcely credit the accounts of the number of devotees who practised all sorts of vices, going and returning, to secure the pardon of sin, by visiting the shrine, and invoking the aid of the saint — so besotted and intoxicated were mankind made by the Church. In six months, from January to June, 1435, the King of England granted licenses to two thousand eight hundred and fifty pilgrims, to Compostella alone; and it is impossible to give any idea of the myriads of Europeans who perished on pilgrimages, especially to the Holy Land. The church constantly prayed for these votaries, as the Church of England now prays for those who travel by land or by water.

The Rev. W. Acworth, at a meeting of the Bible Society, related an anecdote, which may be useful to travelers in popish countries.^[137] “A gentleman who had traveled before me from Rome, had with him some Bibles, Testaments and tracts, on the top of which he had placed good old John Bunyan’s Pilgrim’s Progress. When the package was opened, the Douanniers examined this book, and not being very good English scholars, they knew not what to

make of the title, Bun-Bun-Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress! 'What is that?' said one; 'Oh,' replied the other, 'tis some work on the advantage of pilgrimages'; and consequently the whole were immediately allowed. Now, I had my regular passport; but I venture to say, that good John Bunyan's Pilgrim was a better passport for the Bible than any other which could have been found on that occasion."

The Pilgrim's Practice,

Containing many Godly Prayers. By Robert Bruen. 8vo, Lond. 1621.

The Pilgrim's Profession.

— This is accompanied by *The Pearl of the Gospel; with a glass for Gentlemen to dress themselves by*. By Thomas Taylor, D.D. 8vo, 1624. There is nothing allegorical in these volumes.

The Pilgrim of Casteel.
Written in Spanish,
translated into English; 4to, 1623; and
republished many times.

This is a romance, probably invented in English. It represents a lover in the disguise of a pilgrim. He suffers ship wreck, and is picked up by some fishermen, who mistook him, when covered with weeds and mud, for a fardel of cloth; but found it to be the pilgrim in a trance. They restore him to strength, and he enters upon some very extraordinary adventures. In his journey, he gives a good illustration of the then popular faith in haunted houses. Being benighted he found a lodging in a hospital, deserted "in regard of a strange noyse which every night was there heard, which hath happened ever since the death of a stranger who came thither to lodge, nobody both dwelt there." The pilgrim having made the sign of the cross, laid down to sleep, but in the deep silence he awoke, for "his bed did move as a ship or a horse, which did carry him"; he opened his eyes, and saw horsemen enter by two and two into the chamber, who, lighting torches which they held in their

hands at the candle which he had left burning, cast them against the ceiling of the chamber, where they stuck fast with their bottoms upward, which dropt down burning flames upon his bed and upon his clothes. He covereth himself as well as possibly he could, leaving a little hole to look out at, that he might see whether his bed did burn or no; when as instantly he saw the flames out, and that upon a table which was in a corner of the chamber, four of them were at primero, they passed, discarded, and set up money, as if they had truly played.

At length they, debating upon a difference, fell into a quarrel in the chamber, which made such a noise with clashing of swords, that the miserable pilgrim called for help upon our lady of Gadalupe; when the clattering of swords, and all other noise ceased, and he was all of a sweat with fear. Presently he felt that the bed and the clothes were pulled away from him by the uttermost corners, and he saw a man come in with a lighted torch in his hand, followed by two others, the one with a great brazen bason, and the other sharpening a little knife. Then began he to tremble, and all his hair to stand on end; he would have spoken, but was not able, when they were near him, the torch was put out; and the pilgrim, thinking that they would kill him, put his hands forth against the knife, when he felt that they laid hold on him, he gave a great cry, and the torch instantly kindled again, and he saw himself between two mastiff dogs, who held him fast in their teeth. JESUS, cried out the pilgrim; at which name all those fantastic illusions vanished away, leaving him so weary and so affrighted that he could stay there no longer. He then went to a holy hermit, who had a stone for his pillow, his staff for a companion, and a death's head for his looking-glass; who learnedly attributed all these midnight revels to “angels fallen from the lowest quire, who suffer less pains than other, as having not so much sinned, but do take pleasure to displease men with frightings, noises, rumours, subtleties, and such like things, which they do in the night in houses, which thereby they make altogether uninhabitable, not being able otherwise to hurt but by these foolish and ridiculous efforts, limited and bound by the Almighty.”

It appears by numerous stories in this book, that the Pilgrim's habit was frequently assumed by runaway lovers, of whom this volume contains many romantic accounts. It contains nothing allegorical, but *professes* to be a relation of matter-of-fact adventures.

The most curious book which has fallen under my notice, upon these painful pilgrimages, is

*The Pilgrim of Loretto performing His Vow
made to the Glorious Virgin Mary, Mother
of God. By L. Richeome. 4to, Paris, 1630.
Dedicated to Mary, Queen of Charles I.*

This work is intended to show the merits and advantages of pilgrimages to holy places; because the Jews were pilgrims to Jerusalem three times a year. The kings, or sages, made their pilgrimage, guided to the star of the world. Our Lord was a pilgrim in Egypt, and he has left many places to which Christians should undertake holy pilgrimages, and obtain the fruits of his graces; among these, Loretto is the most famous. This chapel is forty feet long, twenty wide, and twenty-five high, built of ordinary small stones, hard and squared long, of the colour of brick; the walls adorned with paintings of sacred stories, a stone altar — “breathing as it were something divine.” The image of the Blessed Virgin, crowned with precious stones; her gown of cloth of gold, with a sky-coloured mantle. On her left arm the little child Jesus, having a countenance full of grace and majesty. In the year 1291, the 9th of May, this house was at night carried by angels from Galilee into Sclavonia, and remained there four years. On the night of the 19th of November, 1294, it was removed, first into the Mark of Ancona, to a forest, the property of a lady named Loretto; but the forest being infested with thieves, it was removed to a hill hard by. In less than a month, it was again removed to Reccanata, and there remains. Dr. Franklin says that three removes are as had as a fire; but this house, with all its contents, was bodily removed, without injury, four times; and to prevent scepticism, the author recounts some wonders performed by angels — “we know by their naturall force, they roule about the huge frames of the celestiall Bodys, from East to West with an admirable swiftness and constancy now these six thousand yeares togeather, without any paine or difficulty: a work without comparison more difficult, than to carry a house once or twice, from one country to another, although it be miraculous, and admirable for the rarenes.” He adds the testimony of Francis Prior, which, if true, decides the fact — “he had often heard of his grandfather, that he did see the house of the blessed Virgin, when being

carried in the air it lighted in the forest"; besides which, it was honoured with innumerable miracles. The result was, that emperors, popes, and princes presented gifts to the Virgin, until the massive gold and silver plate, diamonds, and baubles accumulated to an incredible value; it has been thought that millions of pounds sterling would not have paid for them, at a fair valuation.[\[138\]](#)

This pilgrimage is completed in forty days; thrice seven going, being the number of penance and purgation; nine to spend at Loretto, for the orders of angels, the intellectual light; and ten to return, it being the number of perfection. The pilgrim is to use his rosary of sixty-three beads, the age of the Virgin when she died; saying upon the small beads an Ave Maria, and upon the larger, every tenth, a Paternoster. Having confessed and communicated, three pilgrims commence the pilgrimage; and the first day's meditation was on the condition of man, as a pilgrim and stranger upon earth. It closes with a canticle, of which this is the last stanza:

“Merrily then, let's march apace
Unto this blessed Virgin's Hall,
There shall we see the Heaven's grace
Inclosed in a Chappel small:
And learne to be of this mayde-wife
Perfect Pilgrimes all our life.”

Similar instructions are given for each day's meditation. After the ten commandments follow the five, which were forgotten or omitted in the Decalogue, and are called the Commandments of the Church.

- 1.** To keep the feasts.
- 2.** To hear mass.
- 3.** To fast Lent, &c.
- 4.** To confess.
- 5.** To take the sacrament at Easter: to which are added,
- 6.** Not to marry in times forbidden; and
- 7.** To pay tithes.

When they had arrived at Loretto, themes were given for this nine days'

meditation, dining his sojourn there: as, a meditation upon the holy eucharist; on the conception of the blessed Virgin; on her ancestors; presentation; espousal of Joseph and Mary, both being virgins to the time of their death; the incarnation; nativity, &c. Before leaving Loretto, they pray to the Virgin; the close of this prayer is — “*to stirre us up to yield honour, praise, and immortal thanks to the Sonne and the Mother, who with their honour have made thee so honourable.*”

On their return, these pilgrims were mistaken for thieves, and narrowly escaped death. Many miracles are talked over; and among them, one narrated by Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, in 1526, in his book against Ecolampadius, of a priest who lived many months without food or hunger, and in the midst of snow, without feeling cold, BY LICKING A STONE.

The best sentence in the volume is in the thirty-fifth day. The meditation is upon the preaching of John: “he that in his preaching maketh himselfe admired, and not Jesus Christ, and draweth the harts of his hearers after himselfe, and not after Jesus Christ, is a thiefe, employing his Maisters money and guiftes to his owne uses, and not to his Maisters honour.” The three pilgrims being benighted, climbed an oak to pass the night. One of them said, “If it rains, what shall we do?” “We will doe,” answered another, “as they do in Normandy.” “And what do they there?” replied he. “They let it rain,” quoth the other. At eleven o’clock at night, they are alarmed by a horrible spectacle. A monstrous old goat, with a black candle burning blue between his horns, reading a book, making a circle, when sixty-six sorcerers and witches came riding through the air, to this devil’s hall. As they arrived, they did the old goat homage, by kissing under his tail, and commenced dancing. Upon a bank they made an altar, and parodied the sacrifice of the mass. At length, the old goat caught sight of the pilgrims; in a moment the dance was dashed; three of them were turned into fierce wolves, who mounted the tree to devour the pilgrims; but *they* made the sign of the cross, and said, “*Jesus Maria*”; the wolves fell down like sacks of corn, and the assembly vanished, leaving a most horrible stench behind them;^[139] as if the plague had there burnt all the rags of her infection. All this is narrated, not as an allegory, but as a matter of fact. When such abominable stories were believed, we can hardly wonder at the brutal severity of our laws against poor old women, called witches.

In the morning, among goblets of flesh and other foul matters, they found a piece of turnip, cut to resemble a host,^[140] with a silver chalice and paten; these they carried to the nearest monastery, from which they had been stolen.

A merchant, who had befriended the pilgrims, when in the most imminent danger of being murdered, vowed to devote himself to religion, and was instantly carried, by invisible agency, through the air, for many miles to a monastery, where he took the vows.

The pilgrims meet some *beset with pretended reformation*, and recover them to holy church, by narrating some miracles; among others, one of a priest who was captured by the Turks, and on his refusing to turn Mahometan, they took out his bowels and heart, and put them into his hands, leaving him to be devoured by wild beasts. But in fulfillment of a vow that he had made to the blessed Virgin, he got up and walked to Loretto, with his heart and bowels in his hands; recounted to the officers of the church what had happened, showed them his empty body and *his life* in his hand, and fulfilled his vow! A painting of this miracle is preserved in the chapel. The pilgrims, on the fortieth day, return in safety, and become monks. This curious and rare volume ends with the Litany, Rosary, and Corone of the blessed Virgin, in English: being the official prayers to Mary, as sanctioned by the church. These illustrate the dispute as to whether or not she is an object of worship with the Romish Church. The following is

“The Oblation of the Assumption”:

“O Soueraigne Lady and Virgin, the houour of mankind, and beauty of the heavens, I humbly offer unto thee 10 *Aves* and one *Pater-noster*, to the glorious mystery of thy Assumption; when by the B. Sonne, thou wert called to his euerlasting glory, & deseruedst at thy happy passage to haue present the holy Apostles thy seruants, & wast receiued body and soule into the heauenly habitations of the celestiall spirits, as Queene of the Angels & mother of their Lord & maister.”

The lady who, with considerable talent and great humility, published Bunyan in epic poetry, under the signature of C. C. V. G., in a note to a *Key*, says, “It is a certain fact, and one not very generally known, that a complete design of a Pilgrim’s Progress is to be found in Lucian’s “*Herotimus*; it is not to be imagined that Bunyan could have seen it there, from the limited educational advantages he possessed; yet, the obvious allegory occurred to his mind,

unschooled as it was, in a similar arrangement with that suggested by Lucian.”^[141]

Mr. Tooke thus translates the passage:^[142] “Hermotimus, of Cladomena, of whom it is related, that his soul often quitted him, and after having wandered a long while about the world by itself, returned again into its body, and that Hermotimus was several times taken for dead, and always rose again.” To this Mr. Wieland adds a note: “It was a singular gift that he had of being able to leave his body, and come into it again; and as a proof that his soul, while its body lay for dead, was actually out of it, he knew, not only to give account of the remotest places, and of what he had there seen and heard, with accuracy, and in conformity to truth, but also foretold sundry future events, as earthquakes and other calamities, which actually came to pass. And this he carried on so long, that his faithful wife was induced to deliver up his body to his enemies, during one of these emigrations of the soul, who immediately burnt it; and thus forever stopped all re-entrance to the poor soul. The learned Bishop Huet directly pronounces this beautiful story to be an old wife’s tale.” Where the poor burnt-out soul obtained another habitation, we are not told. This notion of the soul wandering about without the body has been lately revived, among other absurdities called *Mesmerism*; but what idea Bunyan could get from this absurd story, is far beyond my comprehension.

**Bernard’s *Isle of Man*: or, the Legal Proceedings
in Manshire against Sin.**

This interesting little volume was very popular. The author, a Puritan member of the Church of England, who, profiting by the personal respect felt for him by his bishop, escaped punishment, and was permitted to enjoy his living of Batcomb. The purity of his life; his zeal for the conversion of perishing sinners; and his obedience to the dictates of his own conscience, would, but for such protection, have subjected him to persecution. The late Dr. Adam Clarke^[143] considered that there was much reason to believe that *The Isle of man*, or Spenser’s *Faery Queen*, gave birth to the “Pilgrim’s Progress” and “Holy War.” Dr. Southey^[144] imagines that Bunyan had seen this book “because his verses introductory to the Second Part have some similarity to Bernard’s *Apology for his Allegory*, which closes the volume. Such

authorities induced me to a careful re-perusal of a book which had given me much pleasure in bygone days.

Sin is the Thief and Robber; he stealeth our graces; spoileth us of every blessing; utterly undoeth us, and maketh miserable both body and soul. He is a murderer; spares no person, sex, or age; a strong thief; no human power can bind him; a subtle thief; he beguiled Adam, David, yea, even Paul. The only watchman to spy him out is Godly-Jealousy. His resort is in Soul's Town, lodging in the heart. Sin is to be sought in the by-lanes, and in Sense, Thought, Word, and Deed Streets. The hue and cry is after fellows called *Outside*, who nod or sleep at church, and, if awake, have their mind wandering; Sir Worldly-wise, a self-conceited earth-worm; Sir Luke-warm, a Jack-on-both-sides; Sir Plausible Civil; Master Machiavel; a licentious fellow named Libertine; a snappish fellow, one Scrupulosity; and one Babbling-Babylonian; these conceal the villain Sin. To escape, he pretends to be an honest man; calls vices by virtuous names; his relations, Ignorance, Error, Opinion, Idolatry, Subtilty, Custom, Forefathers, Sir Power, Sir Sampler, Sir Most-do, Sir Silly; Vain Hope, Presumption, Wilful and Saint like, all shelter and hide him. The Justice, Lord Jesus, issues his warrant, God's Word; to the Constable, Mr. Illuminated-Understanding, dwelling in Regeneration, aided by his wife Grace; his sons Will and Obedience, and his daughters, Faith, Hope, and Charity, with his men Humility and Self-Denial, and his maids Temperance and Patience. Having got his warrant, he calls to aid his next neighbour Godly Sorrow, with his seven sons Care, Clearing, Indignation, Fear, Vehement Desire, Zeal, and Revenge; these are capable of apprehending the sturdiest thief. He goes to the common inn, an harlot's house called Mistress Heart, a receptacle for all villains and thieves, no dishonest person being denied house room. Mistress Heart married her own father, one Old-man, keeping riot night and day, to prevent any godly motion from lodging there. The house has five doors, Hearing, Seeing, Tasting, Smelling, and Feeling. Eleven maids, impudent harlots, wait upon the guests, Love, Hatred, Desire, Detestation, Vain hope, Despair, Fear, Audacity, Joy, Sorrow, and Anger, and a manservant Will. The Dishes are the lusts of the flesh, served in the platter of pleasure; the lust of the eyes in the plate of profit; and the pride of life. The drink is the pleasures of sin; their bedroom is natural corruption. "In this room lyeth, Mistress Heart, all her maids, her man, and all her guests together, like wild Irish." The bed is impenitency, and

the coverings carnal security; when the constable enters, he attaches them all with *apprehensions of God's wrath*, and carries them before the judge, who examines the prisoners, and imprisons them until the assizes, in the custody of the jailer, New-man. "If any prisoner breaks out, the sheriff Religion must bear the blame; saying, This is your religion, is it?" The keepers and fitters, as vows, fasting, prayer, &c., are described with the prison.

The second part is the trial of the prisoner, and judgment without appeal; the commission is Conscience; the circuit the Soul; the counsel for the king are Divine Reason and Quicksightedness; the clerk Memory; the witness Godly Sorrow; the grand Jury Holy Men, the inspired authors; the traverse jury Faith, Love of God, Fear of God, Charity, Sincerity, Unity, Patience, Innocency, Chastity, Equity, Verity, and Contentation; all these are challenged by the prisoners, who would be tried by Nature, Doubting, Careless, &c., all free-holders of great means. This the judge overrules; Old-man is put on his trial first, and David, Job, Isaiah, and Paul, are witnesses against him. He pleads, "There is no such thing as Original Corruptions; Pelagius, a learned man, and all those now that are called Anabaptists, have hitherto, and yet do maintain that sin cometh by imitation, and not by inbred pravity.^[145] Good, my lord, cast not away so old a man, for I am at this day 5,569 years old." He is found guilty, and his sentence is — "Thou shalt be carried back to the place of execution, and there *be cast off, with all thy deeds, and all thy members daily mortified and crucified with all thy lusts*, of every one that hath truly put on Christ." Mistress Heart is then tried; Moses (Gen. 8:21), Jeremiah (17:9), Ezekiel, Matthew (15:9), and others, give evidence, and she is convicted, and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment under the jailer, Mr. New-man. All the rest of the prisoners are tried; the juries called in due order; prisoners plead; witnesses are called; defence heard, verdict given, and sentence passed. One among the prisoners, named Papistry, has a long trial with numerous Scriptures brought to testify against him: his sentence closes the book — "That thou, the Master of Iniquity, with the Old Serpent called the Devil, or Satan thy father, with thy lewd mother that great whore, drunk with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus, which sitteth upon a scarlet-coloured beast; as also with that false prophet, the son of perdition, thy guide and governor, shall be cast alive where the dragon is, into the lake of fire burning with brimstone, there to be tormented with all the marked ones in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb; without rest

day and night, the smoke of which torment shall ascend up forever and forever, without mercy or hope of redemption.” The contents form a key to the allegory.

There is not the slightest similarity between this and the “Pilgrim’s Progress,” and the only resemblance it bears to the “Holy War,” is making the senses the means of communication with the heart or soul an idea usual and universal in every age, the use of which cannot subject a writer to the charge of plagiarism. A correspondent in the *Gentleman’s Magazine*^[146] imagines the following strange genealogy or descent: Bunyan from Bernard; from Fletcher’s *Purple Island*; from Spenser’s *Faery Queen*; from Gawin Douglas’s *King Hart*; from the *Old Mysteries and Moralities*. — *He might have added*, from the dreams of the Fathers!!!

Scudder’s *Christian’s Daily Walk*, 1625.

This excellent book was much read by the Puritans and non-conformists, and was strongly recommended by Dr. Owen and R. Baxter.

The sum of it is a Christian’s directions to walk with God. The moral actions of man’s life are aptly resembled by the metaphor of walking; no man while he liveth here is at home. There are two contrary homes to which every man is always going, either to Heaven or to hell. Every action of man is one pace or step whereby he goeth to the one place or the other; so that God’s own children, while they live in this world as pilgrims and strangers, are but *in the way*, not *in the country* which they seek.

The book that has been most noticed as likely to have been seen by Bunyan, is

Bolswert’s *Pilgrimage of Duyfkens and Willemyken*, 8vo, Antwerp, 1627.^[147]

It was translated into French, and became somewhat popular. This book was noticed by two gentlemen from Yorkshire, who called to see my extensive collection of early English Bibles and books, about twenty-four years ago. Among other books they noticed a very fine copy of this rare volume of

Bolswert's, the prints in which reminded them of Bunyan's "Pilgrim," and on their return to the north, a paragraph was inserted in a provincial paper stating that our "Pilgrim's Progress" was a translation. The falsehood of such a statement has been fully proved by Mr. Southey, to whom the identical volume was lent, for the purpose of fully entering into the question, and there appears not to be the slightest similarity in the two stories.

The cuts which struck my visitors were — A man sleeping, and a pilgrim leaning over the bed; through the open door two pilgrims are seen walking; they stoop on the bank of a river, at the head of which, in the distance, the sun is setting. Another cut represents the pilgrims with fools' caps on their heads, driven by a mob, and one of them before a man sitting with his secretary at a table; a third shows the alarmed pilgrim in a circle of lighted candles, while a necromancer produces goblins and sprites from an overhanging hill; a fourth shows the two pilgrims going up a steep mountain, when one of them falls over the brink. The story is, that Dovekin goes to Willemyken to awake her, and she sets out; they wash in a river which has its source in Rome, and, taking *the Netherlands in its way*, flows on to Jerusalem. They are infested with vermin at a kermes;[148] go through a number of ridiculous adventures, until one is blown from a rock, and is lost; the other arrives at Jerusalem, and is married.

This short analysis is by Mr. Southey; but a translation of this pilgrimage into French lately fell into my hands, and on an attentive perusal of it, the object of the writer becomes perfectly apparent.

Dovekin-Colombelle, the dove — is one who, without inquiry, obeys the church. Willemyken-Volontairette, self-willed, or without restraint — will not submit without inquiry. These two sisters set out on pilgrimage: Colombelle is happy in every adventure, until blessed with a splendid husband and great wealth; while Volontairette gets into perpetual dangers and difficulties, until she meets a violent death.

The whole object is to prevent inquiry; to keep the mind enslaved to priestcraft; to obstruct that research into Scriptural truth which the Holy Ghost enjoins, "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good" (1 Thess. 5:21). "Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God: because many false prophets are gone out into the world" (1 John 4:1). It is almost a wonder that a tale so suited to the same popish puseyite

sect in this country, has not been published in English.

We now come to a similar class of books published during Bunyan's life: —

*Wholesome leepast for the Souk in her
Pilgrimage towards Jerusalem which is
above. By John Hodges. A pocket volume,
1638.*

This is a series of meditations on passages of Holy Writ, arranged in the order of the alphabet.

*The Soule's Progresse to the Celestiall Canaan,
or Heavenly Jerusalem. By way of godly
meditations and holy contemplations.*

Accompanied with divers learned exhortations and pithy perswasions, tending to Christianity and Humanity. In two parts. First, on the Nature of God, and second, on the sum of the Gospel. By John Wells, small 4to, 1639.

*True Inventory of the Goods and Chattles of
Superstition, late of the parish of Ignorance,
in the County of Blind Devotion. 4to, 1642.*

*The Last Will and Testament of Sir J. Presbyter;
with his admonitions to legions of perjured
friends. 4to, 1647.*

The two last belong to a series of satirical attacks upon Episcopacy.

*A Spiritual Duel between a Christian
and Satan.*

By H. J., 1646; with a frontispiece representing a Saint armed, supported by Faith, Hope, and Charity, fighting Diabolus, attended by Mundus and Caro.

Flame is proceeding from the mouth of Diabolus.

This is a long and dreary conference between a sinner and Satan, with soliloquies and prayers extending over 425 pages, not relieved by anything allegorical.

The Christian Pilgrim in his Conflict and Conquest. By John Castaniza. Printed in Paris, 1652.

A curious, but not allegorical volume of popish instructions, with fine plates.

The Pilgrim, from Quarles' Emblems.
“*O that my ways were directed to keep Thy statutes*” — Psalm 119:5.

1.

“Thus I, the object of the world’s disdain,
With pilgrim face surround the weary earth:
I only relish what the world counts vain;
Her mirth’s my grief; her sullen grief my
mirth;
Her light my darkness; and her truth my error:
Her freedom is my goal; and her delight my
terror.

2.

“Fond earth I proportion not my seeming love
To my long stay; let not thy thoughts deceive
thee;
Thou art my prison, and my home’s above;
My life’s a preparation but to leave thee;
Like one that seeks a door, I walk about thee;
With thee I cannot live; I cannot live without
thee.

3.

“The world’s a lab’rinth whose anfractuous[149]

ways
Are all compos'd of rubs and crooked
meanders
No resting here; he's hurry'd back that stays
A thought; and he that goes unguided,
wanders;
Her way is dark, her path untrod, unev'n;
So hard's the way from Earth; so hard's the way
to Heaven!

4.

“This gyring^[150] lab'rinth is betrench'd about
On either hand with streams of sidph'rous fire
Streams closely^[151] sliding, erring in and out,
But seeming pleasant to the fond descrier;
Where, if his footsteps trust their own invention,
He falls without redress, and sinks without
dimension.

5.

“Where shall I seek a guide? Where shall I meet
Some lucky hand to lead my trembling paces?
What trusty lantern will direct my feet
To 'scape the danger of those dang'rous
places?
What hopes have I to pass without a guide?
Where one gets safely through, a thousand fall
beside.

6.

“An unexpected star did gently slide
Before the wise men, to a greater light;
Backsliding Isra'l found a double guide;
A pillar and a cloud — by day, by night;
Yet in my desperate dangers, which be far
More great than theirs, I have no pillar, cloud,
nor star.

7.

“O that the pinions of a clipping^[152] dove
Would cut my passage through the empty air;

Mine eyes being seal'd, how would I mount
above
The reach of danger, and forgotten care!
My backward eyes should near commit that
fault,
Whose lasting guilt should build a monument of
salt.

8.

“Great God, that art the flowing spring of light
Enrich mine eyes with Thy resplendent ray:
Thou art my path, direct my steps aright;
I have no other light, no other way:
I'll trust my God, and Him alone pursue;
His Law shall be my path, His heavenly light my
clue.”

‘S. AUGUST SOLILOQ. Cap. 4.

“O Lord, who art the light, the way, the truth, the life; in whom there is no darkness, error, vanity, nor death: the light, without which there is darkness; the way, without which there is wandering; the truth, without which there is error; the life, without which there is death. Say, Lord, Let there be light, and I shall see light, and eschew darkness; I shall see the way, and avoid wandering; I shall see the truth, and shun error; I shall see life, and escape death. Illuminate, O illuminate my blind soul, which sitteth in darkness, and the shadow of death: and direct my feet in the way of peace.”

‘EPIG 2.

“Pilgrim, trudge on, what makes thy soul
complain,
Crowns thy complaint; the way to rest is pain:
The road to resolution lies by doubt:
The next way home's the farthest way about!

Under the Commonwealth, a great effort was made to purify the Church, by an examination of all those clergymen who, either from profane conduct, ignorance, or want of talent, were a scandal to their profession; or whose violent attachment to monarchy led them to foment rebellion against the Government, and who were unfit for the work of the ministry; all such were ejected from their livings; and pluralists were strictly limited to one living,

the selection being left to themselves. These triers and judges are all named in an ordinance of the Lords and Commons, October 20, 1645, and September 26, 1646. The description of characters, they were to try, is thus given: —

“All persons that shall blasphemously speak or write anything of God, His holy Word, or Sacraments. An incestuous person. An adulterer. A fornicator. A drunkard. A profane swearer or curser. One that hath taken away the life of any person maliciously. All worshippers of images, Crosses, Crucifixes, or Reliques; all that shall make any images of the Trinity, or of any Person thereof. All religious worshippers of Saints, Angels, or any mere creature. Any person that shall profess himself not to be in charity with his neighbour. Any person that shall challenge any other person by word, message, or writing to fight, or that shall accept such challenge and agree thereto. Any person that shall knowingly carry any such challenge by word, message, or writing. Any person that shall upon the Lord’s Day use any dancing, playing at dice, or cards, or any other game; Masking, Wake, Shooting, Bowling, playing at football, or stool-ball, Wrestling, or that shall make, or resort unto any plays, interludes, fencing, Bull-baiting or Bear-baiting, or that shall use hawking, hunting or coursing, fishing or fowling, or that shall publickly expose any wares to sale, otherwise than as is provided by an ordinance of Parliament. Any person that shall travel on the Lord’s Day without reasonable cause. Any person that keepeth a known stewes or brothel house, or that shall solicit the chastity of any person for himself or any other. Any person, father or mother, that shall consent to the marriage of their child to a papist, or any person that shall marry a papist. Any person that shall repair for any advice unto any witch, wizard, or fortune teller. Any person that shall assault his parents, or any magistrate, Minister, or Elder in the execution of his office. Any person that shall be legally attainted of Burretry, Forgery, Extortion, or Bribery. And the severall and respective Elderships shall have power likewise to suspend from the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper all ministers that shall be duly proved to be guilty of any of the crimes aforesaid, from giving or receiving the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper.”

With power to appeal to the provincial Assembly, to the Nationall, and from thence to the Parliament.[\[153\]](#)

The commissioners, called triers, ejected many from their livings who had been a disgrace to their calling. The character of the clergy was at a very low standard. Bunyan called them proud, wanton, drunkards, covetous, riding after tithecocks and handfuls of barley.[\[154\]](#) And the exclusion of such from

their livings, has been since called *the sufferings of the clergy!* To ridicule the efforts of these triers, and, at the same time, some of the Calvinistic doctrines, a small volume was published, entitled *The Examination of Tilenus in Utopia*, London, 1658; said to have been written by Bishop Womack;[155] and merely because the names of the supposed triers are Dr. Absolute, Mr. Fatality, Mr. Fri-babe, Dr. Damn-man, Mr. Take o' Trust, Mr. Narrow Grace Philip Rye, Mr. Know-little Hugh Peters, Dr. Dubious R. Baxter, &c., therefore it has been asserted[156] that Bunyan must have read and profited by this book, in composing his allegorical works.

It is neither a “Pilgrim’s Progress,” a “Holy War,” nor a “Heavenly Footman”; and to imagine that Bunyan was assisted by this book, merely because the triers are named after some doctrinal or practical bias, is as absurd as to suppose that the boys in a grammar-school were aided by Bunyan, because they nick-named their master, “Dr. Flog’em,” for his unmanly and absurd attempts to drive Latin by force into his pupils.

In the *Journal* of George Fox, one of the founders of the Society of Friends, under the year 1659, is the copy of a long letter sent by him to these triers. In this he calls upon them to dismiss all ministers who are “evil beasts, slow bellies, given to wine and filthy lucre, proud, and that have fallen into the condemnation of the devil.” He instances one Ralph Hollingworth, priest of Phillingham, whose parishioner, Thomas Bromby, a thatcher, having refused to pay a sum under six shillings for tithe-dues, instead of preaching the glad tidings of salvation to him, and his wife and family, sent him to jail, and had them keep him there eight and thirty weeks.

We now come to a short *Pilgrimage*, which has in it one feature similar to the perseverance of Christian. It is one of the delightful poems of George Herbert’s, in his pocket volume called *The Temple*, entitled,[157]

The Pilgrimage.

“I travel on, seeing the hill, where lay
My expectation.
A long it was and weary way
The gloomy cave of Desperation
I left on the one, and on the other side

The rock of Pride.

“And so I came to Phansies meadows strewed
With many a flower;
Fain would I here have made abode,
But I was quicken’d by my hour.
So to cares cops I came, and there got through
With much ado.

“That led me to the wild of Passion; which
Some call the world;
A wasted place, but sometimes rich,
Here I was robb’d of all my gold,
Save one good Angel,^[158] which a friend had ti’d
Close to my side.

At length I got unto the gladsom hill,
Where lay my hope,
Where lay my heart; and climbing still,
When I had gain’d the brow and top,
A lake of brackish waters on the ground
Was all I found.

“With that abash’d and struck with many a sting,
Of swarming fears,
I fell, and cry’d, Alas my King!
Can both the way and end be tears?
Yet taking heart, I rose, and then perceiv’d
I was deceived.

“My hill was further: So I slung away,
Yet heard a cry
Just as I went, *None goes that way*
And lives: If that be all, said I,
After so foul a Journey death is fair,
And but a chair.”

The only similarity is that Christian goes up the hill Difficulty; he hears the cry of Timorous and Mistrust — “Just before us lie a couple of lions; if we came within reach, they would presently pull us in pieces.” Christian’s reply was — “If I go back, I shall perish. If I can get to the celestial city, I am sure to be in safety there. I must venture.”

A Dialogue between Life and Death.

Very requisite for the contemplation of all transitory Pilgrims, and pious-minded Christians. 1657.

This little book consists of only twenty-four leaves, and might have been seen by Bunyan as a religious tract previous to his writing the “Pilgrim’s Progress.” It contains nothing allegorical as to pilgrimages, nor any idea that could have assisted our author in composing his great work.

It is a Dance of Death, illustrated with very rude cuts, and printed with a homely rhyme to each.

*A Spiritual Journey of a young man towards
the Land of Peace to live essentially in God,
who met in his journey with three sorts of
dispute.*

With some proverbs or sentences, which the old age spake to the young man. Also a Spiritual Dialogue, whereunto is annexed a round or chorus dance, whereunto the vain heathenish lusts, with their wicked confused loose minds and thoughts (as well in confusion as in a show of holiness), assemble from all corners of the earth, and dancing hand in hand, skip and jump to Hell. Translated out of Dutch. London, printed by J. Maccock, 1659. Small 4to.

There is nothing allegorical in this volume; it consists of disputation, proverbs, and dialogues, the whole intent of which is to show that an illuminated uniform spirit must be sought, not from the Bible, but from inward light, and that to seek knowledge from the Scriptures without that spirit is like journeying by night with a lantern in which there is no light — fighting with a scabbard without a sword — quenching thirst with a vessel in which is no wine, or being contented, when hungry, with a cupboard or bin without bread.

Reading's *Guide to the Holy City; or, Directions and Helps to an Holy Life.* 4to, Oxford, 1657.

***The Pilgrim's Pass to the New Jerusalem.* By M. R. Gent, London, 1659, small 8vo.**

This volume contains a series of meditations on passages of Scripture, intended to convey the consolations of a good hope, through faith in the Redeemer, to His pilgrims. It contains nothing allegorical.

Pordage's Mundorum Explicatio, or the Explanation of an Hieroglyphical Figure;

wherein are couched the mysteries of the Eternal, Internal, and External Worlds, showing the true progress of a Soul from the Court of Babylon to the City of Jerusalem; from the Adamical fallen state, to the regenerate and Angelical. A Sacred Poem. 8vo, 1661.

There is nothing allegorical in these volumes.

***Jesus, Maria, Joseph; or, The devout Pilgrim to the ever blessed Virgin Mary.* 12mo, Amsterdam, 1663.**

This is a mere guide to devotees, in their approaches to the Virgin Mary.

***Philothea's Pilgrimage to Perfection. Described in a Practice of Ten Days' Solitude.* By Brother John of the Holy Cross, Frier Minour. Small 8vo, Bruges, 1668.^[159]**

A rare volume, published during the time that Bunyan was writing his “Pilgrim's Progress”; and it is not at all probable that he saw this Roman

Catholic production; but if he had seen and read it, he could not have gleaned a hint to use in his wondrous “Dream.” It is dedicated to the Countess Dowager of Sussex.

In this, Brother John Cross has made a wonderful discovery — that countesses, being the more refined images of God, above the vulgar, have, by their noble descent, a clearer aptness to sublime thoughts and actions! What could such a man have thought of the son of a carpenter, of fishermen, of publicans, of tent-makers, or of tinkers? The pilgrim’s name is “Philothea”; she enters on her pilgrimage with the author’s good wishes, expressed in the language of Holy Toby: “*Walk well, God be in thy way, and his holy Angel accompany Thee.*” The journey is divided into ten days’ solitary employment, that the pilgrim might be ravished into the heavenly paradise, to hear and see what we are loath to leave and cannot utter. To attain this, very minute directions are given as to time, place, posture of body, method, choice of a guide, &c. The guide he describes as “a medicine of life and immortality.” “Woe be to him that is alone,” says Brother John, probably feeling under his state of celibacy. His qualification is knowledge, charity, and discretion; he will securely lead thee to rest and peace. Her exercises are to be vocal prayer, reading spiritual books, corporal mortifications, and manual labour; use only one meal a day; to this, add a hair cloth next the skin, and occasional floggings. These are general instructions, which are followed by objects for meditation on each day’s journey, so as to arrive at perfection in ten days; solitude, humility and austerity, patience and charity, vileness by sin, the sacrament, mortification, flight from earth, spiritual life, God speaking to man, love’s ascents and descents, the soul’s repose in God, union with Christ, and ending with meditations upon the Passions.

*An Hue and Cry after Conscience; or, The
Pilgrim’s Progress by Candle-Light, in
Search after Honesty and Plain Dealing,*

Represented under the Similitude of a DREAM. Wherein is discovered the Pritty manner of his setting out. His Pleasant Humours on his Journey. The Disappointment he met with after all his Search. Together with his flight at last into another Country, where he is still on his Rambles. Written by John Dunton. 1685, 18mo.

The advertisement to the reader says, that, as the author's previous work was of the pilgrim's journey to an heavenly country, so now of all sorts of wicked pilgrims, of either sex, that are either posting directly to hell, or madly dancing and frolicking upon the brink of destruction. Progressing by candle light, all manner of vice and roguery is painted to the life, in its proper colours; and then brought to light as a fatal spectacle to the thinking and gazing part of mankind, together with the most eminent cheats of all trades and professions.

This is a display of vice, villany, and deceit of every description, without any continuous plot; and it adds one to a thousand proofs of the degraded and debauched state of society in the reign of Charles II, and of our happy exemption from such scenes. Morality and purity have extended, as voluntary efforts to spread Divine truth increased; awful was the state of society when none but state-paid priests were permitted to teach the glad tidings of salvation.[\[160\]](#)

Bishop Patrick's *Parable of the Pilgrim.*
4to, 1687.

Whoever has patience to wade through ten pages of Bishop Patrick's *Parable*, must be fully convinced that his Lordship's limping and unwieldy *Pilgrim* will never be able, with all his hobbling, to overtake, or even to get within sight, of John Bunyan by many a thousand miles — a striking proof that exquisite natural ability casts a brighter and more captivating lustre, than the deepest acquired parts. The bishop's *Pilgrim* has only one description which has the slightest similarity to Bunyan's style.

A gentleman rides up to the pilgrims, "very civil and inviting," but they observed that he had a sword by his side, and a pair of pistols before him, together with another instrument hanging at his belt, which was formed for pulling out of eyes. They told him — "We are strongly possessed against those who would make us believe we cannot see our way unless we let them pull out our eyes, and who are not content to labour by reason to bring them to their bent, but shoot them to death if they stiffly refuse, as if they were but rogues and thieves." The learned bishop does not approve of the Roman Catholics using force, pulling out of eyes, or shooting churchmen; while, at that very time, his own church, if dissenters refused, to use his own phrase, to

have their eyes pulled out, sent them to prison, tormented them, and, in some cases, they hung, drew, and quartered them! On getting rid of him, another man, more sad and melancholy, crossed their way, with a dagger by his side and a pistol peeping out of his pocket — he represents the Presbyterians or Independents; and to him the Episcopalian says, “I retain my own eyes, but use also those of ‘the Conductors of Souls; and am glad with all mine heart that I have met with one both to teach and to watch over me.’ Your dagger will soon grow to a sword; you pretend to liberty, and will give none.” How true is the saying, ‘with what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged.’”

The very crime which the learned bishop imputes to others, was most prominently his own; for at that time no Church was more hostile to the Christian’s duty of seeing with his own eyes, or judging for himself from a personal examination of the Sacred Scriptures. The bishop exclaims against those who persecuted his Church, but veils the infamous Protestant persecutions by which that same Church was spotted as with a leprosy.

After all, Patrick, with some excellencies, is but a sorry peddler, dealing in damaged wares; for, instead of Christian experience formed from Scripture, we find scraps from the philosophers and heathen mythology. Patrick and Bunyan were writing their pilgrims about the same time: they do not appear to have anything in common. Patrick was a learned man, and his elaborate work requires the pains to read it which he took in its composition; while Bunyan’s story flowed freely from his rich imagination, and the reader enjoys it with the same flowing pleasure.

The sixth edition of the *Parable of the Pilgrim* has a finely executed frontispiece, representing a pilgrim leaving a city, and going a roundabout way to the New Jerusalem, which shines forth in the clouds.[\[161\]](#)

Patrick’s Pilgrim, slightly abridged, was published in the Englishman’s Library; and still more abridged, in a neat pocket volume, at Oxford, by Parker.

CHAPTER VI.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE EDITIONS OF THE “PILGRIM’S PROGRESS” PUBLISHED DURING THE AUTHOR’S LIFE, WITH NOTICES OF THE MORE PROMINENT MODERN EDITIONS.

The first edition of the “Pilgrim’s Progress” was published in a foolscap 8vo, in 1678. This volume is of extraordinary rarity; only one copy being known to exist, and that in the most beautiful preservation, in the original binding, clean and perfect. It was discovered in a nobleman’s library, and, judging from its appearance, had never been read. It is now in the cabinet of H. S. Holford, Esq., of Weston Birt House, Totbury, Gloucestershire. To that gentleman the public are deeply indebted for his liberal permission, given to me on behalf of the Hanserd Knollys Society, not only to copy it for publication by that Society, but also to correct the proof-sheets of the edition by a careful comparison of them with the original. Having with great care and labour edited that edition, I can certify that it is an accurate reprint, not merely verbal, but literal, including the punctuation, and the use of capitals and italics. The volume contains 253 pages, with a black-letter head-line. It has no portrait or cuts. In it are some words and sentences which were omitted in all the subsequent editions until that in 1847, by the Hanserd Knollys Society.

The second edition was published also in the year 1678. The title is nearly similar to the first, with the words, “The second Edition, with Additions.” And to this very considerable additions had been made. A copy of this book, wanting the verses at the end, is in the British Museum; and a very fine and perfect one is in the library of W. B. Gurney, Esq., Denmark Hill.[\[162\]](#) It is comprised in 276 pages, and has no portrait or cuts. It has many more typographical errors than the first edition, but the spelling is greatly modernized and improved.

The third edition appeared in the following year, 1679, by the same publishers. A most beautiful copy of this rare volume, bound in olive morocco, to all appearance new, is in the library of the Rev. * * *[\[163\]](#)

It contains 287 pages, with a portrait of the author, engraved by R. White. f.

marked upon the rock, but no other cut or illustration. This portrait is well engraved, and a credit to the eminent artist, who was a personal friend of Mr. Bunyan's. It is very superior to the miserable imitations which *ornamented* later editions. In this a considerable addition was made; and this completed the allegory. From that time to the author's decease, every edition presents some little additions of side-notes or references.

The fourth edition is by the same publishers, in 1680; it contains 288 pages, and has the portrait. A copy of this is in the Editor's possession. Another copy of this same edition, lent to me by Mr. Pickering, bookseller, Piccadilly, has on the back of the portrait, *An Advertisement from the Bookseller*: —

“The *Pilgrims Progress*, having sold several Impressions, and with good Acceptation among the People, (there are some malicious men of our profession of lewd principles, hating honesty, and Coveting other mens rights, and which we call *Land Pirates*, one of this society is *Thomas Bradyl*, a Printer, who I actually found printing my Book for himself, and five more of his Confederates,) but in truth he hath so abominably and basely falcified the true Copie, and changed the Notes, that they have abused the Author in the sence, and the Propriator of his right (and if it doth steal abroad, they put a cheat upon the people). You may distinguish it thus, The Notes are Printed in Long Primer, a base old letter, almost worn out, hardly to be read, and such is the Book it self. Whereas the true Copie is Printed in a Leigable fair Character and Brevier Notes as it alwaiies has been, this Fourth Edition hath, as the third had, the Authors picture before the Title, and hath more then 22 passages of Additions, pertinently placed quite thorow the Book, which the Counterfeit hath not.

“N. P.”

“This is Brevier, and the true Copy” “This is the Long Primer Letter.”

The additions alluded to are quotations from Scripture, and side-notes. Dunton had a high opinion of Bradyl, and calls him a first-rate printer, active, diligent, and religious.^[164] Ponder certainly did not unite in these encomiums.

The fifth edition is also by Ponder, and was published in 1680; it contains 221 pages. This has the portrait, and one woodcut on page 128 — the Martyrdom of Faithful, with the verse beneath. A fine copy is in possession

of my excellent friend Mr. Pickering.

The sixth has not been found in a perfect state.

The seventh, in very beautiful preservation, is in the library of R. B. Sherring, Esq., Bristol. It was published by Ponder, 1681, containing 286 pages, handsomely printed, with the portrait, and the cut of the Martyrdom of Faithful, *on a separate leaf*, between the pages 164 and 165. It was a copy of this edition which Bunyan used in writing his Second Part, all the references in which, made to the First Part, correspond with this edition. On the back of the portrait is a manuscript memorandum, that the book was given to Thos. Hayward Aug., 1682, Pretium 1s. 6d.

There were two eighth editions in 1682; they have 211 pages, and two leaves of a list of “Books,” printed for Ponder, the publisher. A fine copy of one of these is in Sion College Library; and the other, somewhat imperfect, is in the Editor’s possession. On the back of the frontispiece is the following *Advertisement*:

“The *Pilgrims Progress* having found good Acceptation among the People to the carrying off a Seventh Impression, which had many Additions, more than any preceding; and the Publisher observing, that many persons desired to have it illustrated with Pictures, hath endeavoured to gratifie them therein; And, besides those that are ordinarily Printed to the fifth Impression, hath provided Thirteen Copper Cuts curiously Engraven for such as desire them.”

Of these cuts, which were sold for one shilling, nothing is known, unless they are the set of neat engravings inserted, four in a sheet, in Chandler and Wilson’s edition of Bunyan’s Works, 2 vols. Folio, 1737, very fine impressions of which appeared in an early German translation, published in London, under which are the *English* verses; they are sixteen in number, but if the three “that are ordinarily printed to the eighth impression” be deducted, the number then agrees with the advertisement. The whole of these designs were cut in wood, and with the verses were printed in the thirteenth edition.

This eighth edition looks as if it were printed with a Dutch type; sheet D, pp. 49-72, differs from the rest of the volume, and it is very singular, that in the two following editions the same difference is found in sheet D, which is a sharper type, and more closely printed.

Gay, in his *What-d’ye-call it?* a farce, represents a man about to be shot,

when a countryman offers him a book to pray by; he takes it, and says: —

“I will, I will.

Lend me thy handkerchev. [Reads and weeps.]

‘The Pilgrim’s Pro—’

I cannot see for tears! ‘Pro—Progress,’—Oh!

‘The Pilgrim’s Progress—eighth—edi-ti-on,

Lon-don—print-ed—for—Ni-cho-las

Bod-ding-ton:

With new ad-di-tions never made before,’

Oh! ‘tis so moving, I can read no more!””

This farce was first acted in 1715, and proves that the “Pilgrim” was then a most popular religious book. The late Mr. Hebert, and Mr. Wilson, supposed that this referred, not to the eighth by Ponder, but to the *eighteenth* edition, which was printed for N. Boddington; but might it not more probably refer to the *eighth edition* of the “Pilgrim,” Part II, which was printed by that celebrated publisher, a fine copy of which is in the Editor’s collection?

There are two ninth editions, both bearing the imprint of N. Ponder; the first of these is dated 1683, 212 pages. A copy of this is in the Editor’s library, and another in possession of L. Pocock, Esq., Montague Street. It has a different portrait, but the same woodcuts as the eighth, with the addition of Doubting Castle on page 145, numbered 135.

Another and *distinct* edition is called the ninth, also by N. Ponder, with the same cuts as the last, on 212 pages, but with a different type; this bears the date of 1684. A copy is in the extensive library of Joshua Wilson, Esq., Highbury. On the back of the portrait there is the advertisement of the thirteen copper plates, in addition to those “ordinarily printed to the eighth impression.”

The tenth edition, by Ponder, 1685, on 200 pages, is in the Editor’s collection. In the title the name is spelt *Bunian*, but he signs the Apology as usual, *Bunyan*. This has the frontispiece, and two woodcuts only; that of Doubting Castle is omitted. On the reverse of the title is this *Advertisement*:

“The Pilgrims Progress from this World to that which is to come; The Second Part: delivered under the similitude of a *Dream*, wherein is set forth the Manner of the setting out of Christian’s Wife and Children, their Dangerous Journey, And Safe Arrival at the desired Country, by *John Bunian*. *I have used*

Similitudes. Hos.12. 10. Price One Shilling."

The eleventh edition was in 1688, as advertised at the end of "The Water of Life." Twelfth, in the Editor's collection, dated 1689, also by Ponder.

The thirteenth edition has fourteen woodcuts, with the verses under each; the last of which affords a curious proof of the extreme carelessness with which this popular work was published. This cut, in the former copies, represented the pilgrims triumphantly rising on the clouds to the Celestial City, attended by angels, with a crown over Christian, and under this was a suitable verse. Imagine this cut exchanged for one in which you see the two pilgrims in distress, wading through the river of death; one sinking in despair, the other standing firm, and holding his companion's chin above water; and you read, under this picture, the same verse that was placed under that of their triumphal ascent:

"Now, now, look how the holy Pilgrims rise;
Clouds are their Chariots. Angels are their
Guide."

A more complete travesty could hardly have been devised.

Bunyan gives a hint, in the verses with which the First Part is concluded, of his intention to continue the allegory. This was not done until 1684, and the great popularity of his work induced unworthy men to publish continuations, intended to cheat the public into a belief that they came from the pen of Bunyan. He thus warns the public, in the verses prefixed to the Second Part:

"Tis true, some have, of late, to Counterfeit
My Pilgrim, to their own, my Title set;
Yea, others, half my name and Title too;
Have stitched to their Books, to make them do;
But yet they, by their *Features*, do declare
Themselves not mine to be, whose ere they are."

No trace has been found of the book or books which appeared before 1684, under Bunyan's initials or half his name. The only counterfeit which has been discovered is in the library of the Baptist Mission House, wanting the frontispiece.^[165] It was published under the following title — "The SECOND PART of the PILGRIM'S PROGRESS, from this present World of Wickedness and Misery to an eternity of Holiness and Felicity, exactly described under the

similitude of a Dream, &c. *They were Strangers and Pilgrims on Earth*, (Heb. 11:13-16). *Let us lay aside every weight and the sin that doth so easily beset us*, (Heb. 12:7). London, for Thomas Malthus at the Sun in the Poultry 1683.” The frontispiece has two whole-length portraits, one sleeping with his head resting on his hand — both in clerical garb.

The author dedicates, with some pomp, his little work to Jehovah, and signs it T. S. There are two poems at the end of the volume by R. B., and the author’s Apology for his Book. It is very probable, from this Apology, that the author was one of those who, when consulted about publishing Bunyan’s First Part, said, “No.” He calls Bunyan’s volume a necessary and useful tract, which hath deservedly obtained such an universal esteem and commendation”; and he then destroys all his commendation by discovering a four-fold defect in that discourse: First, nothing is said of man in his first creation; second, nor of his misery in his lapsed state, before conversion; third, briefly passing over Divine goodness in reconciling sinners; and, fourthly, the reading of it occasioned, in vain and frothy minds, lightness and laughter.

Such carping criticism is utterly unworthy of comment. Bunyan finds his pilgrim fallen from his first creation into a state of misery, and under a sense of his danger, crying, “What shall I do to be saved?” He unfolds, in multitudinous variety, instances of Divine goodness in reconciling sinners, and almost irresistibly leads his reader to accompany the poor pilgrim in his way to the celestial city, full of the solemnity of his heavenly calling.

Who the author of this *Pilgrim’s Progress* is, it may be difficult to ascertain. He dreams that multitudes are dancing in the broad way to misery, and only two or three toiling on the narrow up-hill path to happiness. He accounts for this, first, from infant baptism leading them to imagine that they are in the right path, and that no profaneness can prevent them attaining that eternal inheritance which they vainly imagine to be a right conferred upon them in their christening; secondly, they delight in sin; thirdly, preferring to go to hell with a multitude, rather than to Heaven with a few; fourthly, because their reward is of merit, and not of gift; fifthly, “many refuse the narrow way because of its simplicity: they must have their glorious colleges and splendid ministers, their beautiful quires, and raised altars, with hangings of arras and tapestry, furnished with the finest silver and gold of Ophir, a gaudy and pompous worship and musick to delight their spirits,” &c. He found these

people dancing with mirth and jollity round a bottomless pit to the outcries and screeches of the damned, and playing with the flames of hell. One of these madmen becomes alarmed at the preaching of Boanerges, and Conscience and Judgment do their utmost to terrify him. Then comes Affection, and promises the poor penitent wings to fly above the clouds. Will huffs and hectors, and must have him leave off canting and whining; but after a long dialogue, Will consents to go on pilgrimage. They meet with Apollyon, and have other adventures: a poor, spiritless copy of the inimitable First Part by Bunyan. After passing more than half his pilgrimage, his old heart is taken out, and a new one given to him. Under the idea of a feast, where the guests are fed on dishes of Gospel mysteries, sauced with eternity, the author states his peculiar notions. He at length arrives at the River; Faith and Hope support him; he is received by the Shining Ones, and enters the city. In all probability, this book never reached a second edition, being totally eclipsed by the real Second Part, in 1684.

The author of this forgery, in his Apology, refers to a custom among the Puritans of giving the mourners at a funeral a book instead of rings, gloves, wine, or biscuit. "This," he says, "would prevent trifling discourse, as is too commonly used on such occasions. Among those few who have practised this, abundance of good hath been done by that means; and who knows, were it more generally used at our burials, what good might be effected thereby?"
[\[166\]](#)

At length, in 1684, Bunyan published the Second Part of his "Pilgrim's Progress," in a similar volume to his first. It has 224 pages. For the use of a fine copy of this rare book, we are indebted to the kindness of the executors of the late Lea Wilson, Esq. In this volume seven pages are in a larger type than the rest, from page 100 to 106 inclusive; page 106 is numbered 120. It has only one cut — the dance round the head of Giant Despair. The next edition which we have been fortunate enough to obtain has a similar title to the first; it has no indication of what edition it is, but bears the date of 1687. These two editions were published by N. Ponder in the Poultry. The sixth edition appeared in 1693, by Ponder and Boddington, in Duck Lane; the seventh in 1696, by Ponder; the eighth by Boddington, in 1702; the ninth is by N. Boddington, at the Golden Ball, in Duck Lane, 1708.
[\[167\]](#)

Since that time, innumerable editions have issued from the press; but before

giving a short account of the most prominent of these, we must not forget an impudent forgery, called the Third Part of this popular allegory.

It was probably the intention of Bunyan to write a Third Part. Christian's four boys, with their wives and children, are represented as remaining to be a blessing to the church. He closes his Second Part with these words: "Should it be my lot to go that way again, I may give those that desire it, an account of what I here am silent about; meantime I bid my reader, *Adieu*." His design might have been to display the difficulties of maintaining a course according to godliness in the busy scenes of life, among mechanics, tradesmen, and others. His death, in 1688, cut short his labours.

The extensive circulation of Bunyan's Works, and his extraordinary fame as an author, excited the cupidity of contemptible scribblers to forge his name to productions quite unworthy of his great natural and acquired talent. He had scarcely entered into rest, before a tract appeared, which might, from its title, have imposed upon those not well acquainted with his style of writing. It is a quarto tract, entitled, "The Saint's Triumph, or The Glory of the Saints with Jesus Christ. Describing the joys and comforts a believer reaps in Heaven, after his painful pilgrimage and sufferings on earth. With weighty encouragements to draw poor doubting Christians to Christ. Laying open the main lets and hindrances which keep them from Him. With helps to recover God's favour. To which is added; The Glorious Resurrection in the last day, for them that sleep in Jesus Christ. Discoursed in a Divine ejaculation, by J.B. With a bold woodcut portrait of John Bunyan on the title-page. London Bridge, printed for J. Blare, at the Looking Glass, 1688." Neither the style, nor sentiments, nor the use of Latin quotations, have the slightest similarity to our great author's works.

In a very few years there was published: —

The Pilgrim's Progress, &c., the Third Part — to which is added, The Life and Death of John Bunyan, Author of the First and Second Part: this compleating the whole Progress.

This Third Part made its appearance in 1692 and although the title does not directly say that it was written by Bunyan, yet it was at first generally received as such. In 1695,^[168] it reached a second edition, and a sixth in 1705. In 1708, it was denounced in the title to the seventh edition of the Second

Part, by a “Note, *the Third Part, suggested to be J. Bunyan’s*, is an imposture.” It is surprising that so contemptible a production could for one moment have been received by the public as written by Bunyan. The late Rev. John Newton, in very happy language, asserts that “a common hedge-stake deserves as much to be compared with Aaron’s rod, which yielded blossoms and almonds, as this poor performance to be obtruded upon the world as the production of Bunyan.”^[169] Dr. Ryland justly observes, that “when the anonymous scribbler of the Third Part of the Pilgrim’s Progress tried to obtrude his stuff on the world as the production of Mr. Bunyan, the cheat was soon discovered; every Christian of taste could see the difference as easily as we can discern the superior excellence of a Raphael or a Titian from the productions of a common dauber: and we can as easily distinguish Bunyan from all other writers, as we can discern the difference between the finest cambric and a piece of hop-sacking.”^[170] The author of this forgery is as yet unknown.

A much more respectable attempt was recently made towards a Third Part, under the title of “Pilgrims of the nineteenth century; a continuation of the ‘Pilgrim’s Progress,’ upon the plan projected by Mr. Bunyan. Containing a history of a visit to the town of Toleration; with an account of its charter, and a description of the principles and customs of its inhabitants. Under the similitude of a DREAM. By Joseph Ivimey. 1827.” The object of this volume is to show the advantages which resulted from the Act of Toleration, by the adventures of Christian’s children; but what they had to do with the nineteenth century, may be difficult to ascertain. It is full of political allusions, and proclaims the author’s peculiar sentiments. Bunyan’s object was to win souls to Christ, under the influence of whose presence the most highly-liberal principles, both political and religious, will be fostered. Intolerance, fanaticism, and bigotry fly from the presence of the Saviour as naturally as the shades of night vanish before the rising sun. There is much valuable and interesting information in Mr. Ivimey’s volume to Protestant dissenters, but even that is much encumbered. He is so delighted with Toleration as almost to forget that it is only one step towards liberty. When Christianity shall have spread its genial influences over our rulers, all sects will be equally cherished in running the race of benevolence and charity; then the burning of Christians for their obedience to God, or tolerating them to love and worship their Maker, according to the dictates of their consciences,

but still compelling them to support what is in their conviction anti-Christian, will be equally wondered at as gigantic grievances, and an intolerant abuse of governing powers.

For many years the “Pilgrim’s Progress” was continually printed on very ordinary paper, and innumerable were the copies that issued from the press; the woodcuts, when worn out, were replaced by an inferior set. Each Part was published separately, in the ordinary shilling chap-book form; these are sometimes met with bound together, and forming a stout volume. Thus Part First, twenty-second edition, with new cuts, 1727, with Part Second, the thirteenth edition, with five cuts and a note, stating that the Third Part is an imposture; and then Part Third, thirteenth edition, 1743. Another copy has Part First, the twenty-third edition, 1731; Part Second, the fourteenth edition, 1728; and Part Third, the twelfth edition, not dated. The first edition of the *Three Parts*, uniformly printed, which has fallen under our notice, is by J. Clarke, 1743; a MS. memorandum gives the price of the volume, 1s. 6d. The most wretched set of cuts are to an edition printed for D. Bunyan, in Fleet Street; another, with similar cuts, is sold by J. Bunyan above the Monument, meaning higher up Fish Street Hill than where the Monument stands. In 1728, there appeared a handsome edition of the Two Parts, “Adorned with curious sculptures by J. Sturt.” The editor of that edition states, that the former were printed for the poorer sort at a cheap rate in a small type, so that many worthy Christians by age and infirmities were deprived of the benefit of it. This was duly weighed by persons of distinction and piety, who determined to have it handsomely printed, and they generously contributed, by large subscriptions, to secure its being a correct edition. In comparison with all that had preceded it, this shone forth an elegant 8vo volume, fit, at that period, to ornament any library or drawing-room. The engravings are from the old designs, and well executed. This was for many years considered to be the standard edition, and was frequently reprinted; in 1775, two editions of this volume were published, after which that with Mason’s *Notes* superseded it. Who the editor was is not known; but this book very sadly abounds with gross errors. When Faithful joined Christian, in the conversation about the old man who offered Faithful his three daughters, the editor has altered it to “one of them.” In Part II, page 63, “lines” is put for “lions”; another and very serious error occurs in the catechising of James by Prudence; she asks him, “How doth God the Son save thee?” the answer and

the next question is left out; and it appears thus: “By his *illumination*, by his *renovation*, and by his *preservation*.” The lines that were omitted are: “*James. By his Righteousness, Death, and Blood, and Life. Prud.* And how doth God the Holy Ghost save thee?” Mr. Mason, in his edition with notes, took as his standard this erroneous copy, and put a note at the bottom of the page 69:

(f) I cannot prevail on myself to let this part pass by, without making an observation. Mr. Bunyan expresses himself very clear, and sound in the faith; but here it is not so: for what is here ascribed to the Son, is rather the work of the Spirit; and indeed the work of salvation effected by the Son of God is entirely left out. I am, therefore, inclined to think that here is a chasm, though not, perhaps, in the author’s original work, but by its passing through later editions. It really seems defective here in the explanation of salvation by the distinct offices of the Holy Trinity.

In the next edition with Mason’s *Notes*, he, having discovered his error, very properly inserted the missing lines, but as improperly continued his note reflecting upon Bunyan;^[171] and it was continued in many subsequent editions in which the text was correctly printed.

A line is omitted in Sturt’s edition, Part II, page 185, and in many subsequent ones. “How were their eyes now filled with celestial visions,” should be, “How were their ears now filled with heavenly noises and their eyes delighted with celestial visions.” But a more unaccountable error occurs in the First Part, page 95, where Bunyan says “the Brute”^[172] in his kind serves God far better than he” Talkative. The printer has strangely altered the word “Brute” for “Brewer.” It is easier to account for an error in printing a missal in Paris, in the rubric of which should be, “*Ici le pretre otera sa calotte*” (here the priest shall take off his cap); but in printing, the *a* was exchanged for *u* in *calotte*: the printer was ruined and the books burnt. It is quite impossible to notice all the errors; they abound in almost every page of all these interesting editions. Some of these errors have been continued through nearly all the modern editions, with other serious alterations. Thus, when the pilgrims, in the Second Part, leave the Delectable Mountains, they in a song record the goodness of God in giving them, at proper distances, places of rest, “Behold, how *fitly* are the stages set!” the word “stages” is altered in many to “tables”;^[173] and in other editions to “stables.”^[174]

When the pilgrims escape from Doubting Castle, they sing, “Out of the way

we went,” &c. — one line of these verses is left out in all the modern editions — an omission which ought to have been seen and supplied, because all these songs throughout the volume are uniformly in stanzas of six lines. In Hopeful’s account of his conversion, Bunyan says, “I have committed sin enough in one duty to send me to hell”; this is altered to “one day.”^[175] In the conversation with Ignorance, Christian observes, “When OUR thoughts of our hearts and ways agree with the Word”; meaning when we sit in judgment upon our thoughts, and our opinion of our thoughts agrees with the Word: but the strength and meaning of this serious passage is lost by altering the words to “when THE thoughts of our hearts,” &c. This alteration has been very generally, if not universally, made. Another very extraordinary error has crept into many editions, and among them into the elegant copies printed by Southey, and that by the Art Union with the prints in oblong folio. It is in the conversation between Christian and Hopeful, about the robbery of Little Faith. Bunyan refers to four characters in Scripture who were notable champions, but who were very roughly handled by Faint-heart, Mistrust, and Guilt; they made David (Psa. 38) groan, mourn, and roar. Heman and Hezekiah too, though champions in their day, had their coats soundly brushed by them. *Peter* would go try what he could do — they made him at last afraid of a sorry girl. Some editor not acquainted with Heman (*see* Psa. 88), and not troubling himself to find who he was, changed the name to one much more common and familiar, and called him “Haman.”^[176] More recent editors, including Mr. Southey and the Art-Union, probably conceiving that Haman, however exalted he was as a sinner, was not one of the Lord’s champions in his day, changed the name to that of Mordecai.^[177] A most unwarrantable and foolish alteration. In the Second Part,^[178] “This Vision” is put for “This Visitor.” The marginal note, “The Light of the Word” is changed to “The Light of the World.”^[179] This error is perpetuated by Southey and others. A copy of Sturt’s edition, with *every* error marked in the text, appears to be more covered with spots than a leopard’s skin.

This wondrous Dream has been translated into nearly all the languages of the world. To Mr. Doe’s enumeration of one hundred thousand copies in English having been circulated in the life of the author, must be added all the editions in North America. There were then also translations into French, Flemish, Dutch, Welsh, Gaelic, and Irish; and, since then, it has been read by the Christian Hebrews in the holy city, Jerusalem, in their own language, without

points; and probably beside the waters of Jordan and Tiberias; and far may it spread! [180] It has also been translated into Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Danish, German, Estonian, Armenian, Burmese, Singhalese, Orissa, Hindoostanee; Bengalee, by Dr. Carey, 8vo, Serampore, 1821; Tamil, Marathi, Canarese, Gujaratti, Malay, Arabic, in a handsome 8vo volume, with woodcuts, printed at Malta; Romaic, [181] Samoan, Tahitian, Pichuana, Bechuana, Malagasy, New Zealand. [182] And in Dr. Adam Clarke's library was a copy in Latin, entitled *Peregrinatis Progressus*, a J. Bunyan Lat. edit. a Gul. Massey, 4to. A copy of the Welsh translation, published before Bunyan's decease, but which had not come to his knowledge, is in the library of Miss Atherton of Kersell Cell, near Manchester. That lady, not understanding the Welsh language, most readily and kindly furnished me with some particulars of this rare volume, extracted in Welsh; and it appears that the title page exactly follows the English editions. The preface is signed S. H. It has the marginal notes and references. Licensed by R. Midgley, 23rd of November 1687. Printed in London by J. Richardson, 12mo, 1688, the 10th of January. "The translator advises such as desire to learn to read Welsh, to buy the *Primer* and *Almanack* of Mr. Thomas Jones, because the letters and syllables are in them." The late Mr. Thomas Rodd informed me that he possessed a copy in Welsh, translated by Thomas Jones, published in 1699, small 8yo. The Dutch edition was very neatly printed, with superior cuts, t'Utrecht, by Jan van Paddenburgh, 1684.

The French translation is a neat pocket volume, with copper-plates, very superior to any embellishments in the early English copies, Amsterdam, chez Boekholt, 1685. The frontispiece represents our pilgrim with his burden on his shoulders, knocking at the wicket-gate. The title is, *Voyage d'un Chrestien vers l'Etenitie*, par Monsieur Bunjan F.M. En Bedford. The "Lecteur ami" comprises fourteen pages. In it he describes

"The author of this book, Mr. John Bunyan, is, at this time, an upright and faithful minister at Bedford, in England — a man of unexampled piety and devotion; such an one as Demetrius, of whom John speaks in his 3rd Epistle and 12th verse. Everyone bears witness that, in this little volume, and in his other works, appear a manifest and peculiar wisdom, very great experience, and a penetrating sight into spiritual things. The design of our author is simply to present a *penitent soul seeking God on his journey towards Eternity*. How he turns from his former state of perdition, leaves his home, and sets his steps towards the Jerusalem on high; his adventures by the way; his view of those

that choose for themselves bypaths that lead to hell; we doubt not but that some, in turning over these leaves, will read their own experience ingeniously drawn out, and their own portrait placed before their eyes, as if they saw themselves in a glass. The Christian traveler, the true citizen of Zion, is skillfully portrayed to the life. If a hypocritical professor should have his eyes illuminated, he will here see himself under another name than that of Christian — his foolish imaginations overthrown — his hopes perish, and all his expectations swept away like a cobweb. If anyone judge that this mode of writing is not sufficiently solemn for such spiritual matters, and doubt the propriety of representing them as a dream and under such images, they should recollect that our author was unintentionally led to this manner of writing, and found himself very much embarrassed as to the propriety of publishing it to the world; and did not venture to print it until persuaded by many learned and pious men. Our Bunyan wrote allegorically, in the hopes that Divine truth might reach the very depths of the heart. Many great theologians have treated the most important truths in the same figurative manner, following the footsteps of our great and sovereign Rabbi Jesus Christ, who taught by similitudes, as also the Prophets were constrained by the Holy Spirit to speak. Oh that our readers may find themselves to be true citizens of Zion, with their feet in the Royal Highway, that they may be fortified, consoled, and instructed; and, if convinced of backsliding, may return to the paths of peace, to love King Jesus, the Lord of the Hill. And may many take our Christian by the skirt of his robe, and say, we will go with thee. May it arrest the attention of the Flemings as it has that of the English, among whom, in a very few years, it has been printed many times.”

This interesting preface, which we have somewhat abridged, ends with a quotation from Acts 20:32.

Bunyan’s language is so purely English, his style so colloquial, his names and titles so full of meaning, that it must have been a most difficult book to translate. This is seen on turning to the fifth question put by Prudence, on the Pilgrim’s arrival as the Palace Beautiful.

“*Pru.* Et qui est ce, je te prie, que te rend si désireux de la montagne de Sion?

“*Chres.* Quoy, demandes tu cela? O mon Dieu! Comme le cerf brâme après le déccours des eaus fraisches, ainsi mon cœur^[183] désire après tou les Dieu, le Grand Dieu vivant. C'est là où j'attends de voir en vie celuy que je vis autrefois mort, et pendu sur la croix; c'est là où j'espère d'être unefois déchargé de toutes ces choses, qui me causent tant de peine, tant de douleur, tant de dommage, & m'en ont causé jusques a ce jour icy; c'est là, a ce qu'on ma dit, qu'il n'y aura plus de mort; d'est là où je jouiray d'une compagnie, a

laquelle je prendray le plus grand plaisir. Car, pout te dire la vérité, je l'aime; voire.

‘Je t’aimeray en toute obeisance.

Tante que vivray, O mon Dieu, ma puissance.

Je dis, je l'aime, à cause qu'il a illuminé les yeus obscurcis de mon entendement par une lumiere divine, procedee des rayons du soleil de sa grace, lumiere qui m'a servi de guide pour me conduire en ce chemin; mais aussi je l'aime, pource qu'il ma déchargé de mon fardeau: & je me trouve las a cause de mon mal intérieur; ah que mon cœur soupirer après ce lieu, où je serai deliveré de mourir; après cette compagnie, où l'on chantera à jamais, saint, saint, saint, est l'Eternal des armées.”

The answer in English is one hundred and two words — in French, extending to two hundred and twenty!

The Slough of Despond is called *Le Bourbier Mésfiance*; Worldly-Wiseman, *Sage Mondain*; Faithful, *Loyal*; Talkative, *Grand Jaseur*; Pickthank, *Flatteur*; My Old Lord Letchery, *Mon vieux Seigneur Assez Bon*; No-good, *Vautrien*; Live-loose, *Vivan Mort*; Hate-light, *Grand Haineux*; By-ends, *Autrefin*. The poetry would have seriously puzzled the worthy translator; but instead of attempting it, he supplies its place from French psalms or hymns. The copper-plates are rather fine specimens of drawing and engraving. Sweeping the room at the Interpreter's house, and Attempting to awake the Sleepers on the Enchanted Ground, are new designs.[\[184\]](#)

There is a copy in the British Museum somewhat modernized, Rotterdam, 1722;[\[185\]](#) and a very handsome edition, with plates by an eminent Dutch engraver, printed at Rotterdam, 1757;[\[186\]](#) and one with woodcuts, 12mo, Basle, 1728,[\[187\]](#) &c. &c. These are French Protestant translations; besides which, there have been many editions of a Roman Catholic translation into French. This is greatly abridged, and, of course, Giant Pope is omitted; and so is the remark about Peter being afraid of a sorry girl. They are very neat pocket volumes, printed in Paris, 1783; at Rouen, 1821, &c. &c., entitled, *Le Pelerinage d'un Nomme Chrelien Traduit de L'Anglois*. In the preface, the Roman Catholic translator calls the English nation *judicieuse et eclairée*. The Editor bought a copy of this book in a convent in France. The lady-abbess assured him that it was a most excellent work to promote piety and virtue! — a sentence which first led him to the discovery that the old lady had a

remarkably sweet voice.

Dr. Cheever accounts thus for the extensive popularity of our “Pilgrim”: —

“It is a piece of rich tapestry, in which, with the Word of God before him as his original and guide, and with all these heavenly materials tinged in the deep feelings of his own converted heart, he wove into one beautiful picture the spiritual scenery and thrilling events of his own journey as a Christian pilgrim. It is all fresh and graphic from his own experience, vivid with real life, freshly portrayed from the Word of God; nor can you tell that Bunyan was of any sect, save that he was a living member of the church of Christ!”

This work has afforded the deepest interest to the painter; and it has also excited the poet to sing our Pilgrim’s adventures, both in rhyme and blank verse. The ornamental embellishments were at first good woodcuts for a chap-book,[188] faithful copies of which will be found in this edition; these dwindled down, in succeeding editions, to the cheapest and most contemptible cuts that can be conceived. The worst of these is in an edition of the “Pilgrim’s Progress,” by a namesake of the author, Mr. D. Bunyan. The next series were the copper plates to Sturt’s edition; fine impressions of these designs are found, four on a page, in the first complete edition of Bunyan’s Works, 1737. Since then, many beautiful set of engravings have been published in the editions by Heptinstall and Scott, between 1788 and 1793, the most beautiful being a series of sixteen elegant designs by Stothard, engraved by Strut.[189] These were reduced, and published in 4to, with Sonnets by George Townsend, *Prebendary of Durham*. Thus, at length, we find that Bishop Bunyan keeps company with other dignitaries. Twenty-four original outlines were published by Mrs. Mackenzie; and a set of very beautiful engravings, with a valuable letterpress accompaniment by J. Conder. The edition by Southey is elegantly illustrated. The Art-Union has favoured the public with a series of illustrations in oblong folio, some of which, however elegantly designed, would probably puzzle even the keen, penetrating eye of Bunyan to discover what work they were intended to illustrate.[190] A more serious defect is observable in this oblong edition. Bunyan’s terms are considered as too vulgar, and two of his words are exchanged for the more polite term of “harlot,”[191] while, on the corner of page 36, an indecent cut is exhibited! The *Introduction and Life of Bunyan*, by Godwin and Pocock, are well written and handsomely illustrated. A similar series of outline engravings to the “Pilgrim’s Progress,” by the daughter of a British Admiral,

were given to the subscribers to the Sailor's Home in Well Street, London. They were on tinted paper, the same size as those by the Art-Union, but very inferior both in design and engraving. A large sheet of beautiful woodcuts was lately published by that eminent artist, Thomas Gilks. The most elegant edition for a drawing-room or library that has been published is one just finished, by Mr. Bogue. It is not only a correct text, but is rich in illustrative woodcuts and borders, and has a deeply-interesting Memoir of Bunyan, from the pen of Dr. Cheever.

In 1844, a very handsome edition of the "Pilgrim's Progress" was published in folio, on fine paper, for purposes of illustration. It has a Memoir of the Author, by the Rev. Thomas Scott.

CHAPTER VII.

VERSIONS, COMMENTS, AND IMITATIONS OF THE “PILGRIM.”

The earliest poetical attempts to promote the circulation of the “Pilgrim” is of the First Part, done into verse by Francis Hoffman, printed by R. Tookey, 1706. Not only is the prose versified, but he has, according to his taste, versified Bunyan’s verse. Thus, the long controversy as to the propriety of publishing the work, in Hoffman’s verses, is: —

“One Part said, Print it; others it decry’d;
Some said, it would do good, which some denied:
I, seeing them divided to Extreams,
Could from them hope no Favour but the
Flames;
Resolving, since Two Parties could not do’t,
Being Third myself, to give the casting Vote,
And have it printed!

It has a smart hit at occasional conformity, Thus Apollyon says: —

“T is with professors, now in Fashion grown,
T’ espouse his cause a while to serve their own;
Come, with me go occasionally back,
Rather than a preferment lose, or lack.”^[192]

Judging from these and other specimens, it is not surprising that the work was never republished. It has some woodcuts, and is very rare.^[193] Many attempts have been made to render Bunyan’s “Pilgrim” a popular work in poetry, but all have failed. The most respectable is by J. S. Dodd, M.D., 8vo, Dublin, 1795. This is in blank verse, and with good engravings; it has also an index, and all the passages of Scripture given at length; not only those that are directly referred to, but also a number of others which might have suggested ideas to the author that he embodied in his work. The notes are well written, and short. They were reprinted, without acknowledgment, in an edition of the “Pilgrim,” in three parts, published by Macgowan; London, 1822.

George Burder, the well-known author of the *Village Sermons*, published, in 1804, Bunyan’s “Pilgrim’s Progress,” Part the First, versified, which passed through several large editions, and was much used in Sunday-schools; it has

woodcuts. A very handsome edition of this has been lately published, with the Second Part, by the author of *Scripture Truths in Verse*, and is profusely ornamented with woodcuts. T. Dibdin also published Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," metrically condensed, in six cantos. This embraces only the First Part. The author claims having kept the simplicity of the original, and a rigid observance of every doctrine enforcing the certainty of the one only road to safety and salvation.[\[194\]](#) The late Isaac Taylor, of Ongar, published *Bunyan Explained to a Child*, being pictures and Poems founded upon the "Pilgrim's Progress"; two very neat and interesting little volumes, each containing fifty cuts.[\[195\]](#)

Dr. Adam Clarke considered that our Pilgrim might be more read by a certain class if published as an epic poem.

"The whole body of the dialogue and description might be preserved perfect and entire; and the task would not be difficult, as the work has the complete form of an epic poem, the versification alone excepted. But a poet, and a poet only, can do this work, and such a poet, too, as is experimentally acquainted with the work of God on his own soul. I subscribe to the opinion of Mr. Addison, that, had J. Bunyan lived in the time of the primitive fathers, he would have been as great a father as any of them."[\[196\]](#)

A lady who wrote under the initials, C. C. V. G., has recently made the attempt, and she does not appear to have been aware that Dr. Dodd had gone over the same ground. It is a highly respectable production, divided into six cantos, but includes only the First Part.

The Pilgrim's Progress Versified.
By the Rev. W. E. Hume,
B.A. 2 vols. fcp. 8vo. 1844-5.

In this poetic attempt, each part is divided into six cantos. At the first glance, it appeared more like a parody than a serious effort to convey the sense; but the author seems to be in earnest. A very few lines will show the poetic talent which is displayed. The pilgrim about to start:

"Trembling he was, and tears I well could track,
Till broke he forth, and cried, 'What shall I do,
alack!'"

On Ignorance arriving at the gates of the Celestial City,

“They told the King, but down he would not run.”

The first part ends thus:

“The way to hell, from gate of Heaven, was there,
E’en as from Ruin’s town. I woke — had dream’d,
declare.”

A Free Poetic Version of the First Part of the Pilgrim’s Progress.

In Ten Books. By J. B. Drayton. With a Memoir, and Notes selected and abridged from the Rev. T. Scott. 12mo, Cheltenham. No date.

This first appeared under the title of *Poetic Sketches from Bunyan*, fcp. 8vo, 1821. “To tempt those who slight the original as a coarse and illiterate production to give it a perusal, and they will find that its merits are of the highest order — conceived in the true spirit of poetry — like a rude but luxuriant wilderness.” The Christian’s burden is called “a sordid pest.” His description of the Interpreter will give an idea of Mr. Drayton’s style:

“Meek was His mein,
Yet fiery keen,
The ordeal inquest of His eye,
And blent with hoary majesty,
A stately wand He bore;
But, ere He taught His mystic lore,
He asked the Pilgrim’s late abode,
His errand, and his destined road.”

When Christian met the men running from the Valley of the Shadow of Death, his inquiry is anything but poetic —

“Hold! What’s the Damage?”

Little interest has been excited by these endeavours to versify the “Pilgrim.” All the attempts to improve Bunyan are miserable failures; it is like holding up a rushlight to increase the beauty of the moon when in its full radiance.

His fine old vernacular colloquial English may be modernized and spoiled, but cannot be improved. The expression used to denote how hard the last lock in Doubting Castle “went,” may grate upon a polite ear, but it has a deep meaning that should warn us of entering by-path meadows.

Bunyan’s poetry, interspersed throughout the “Pilgrim’s Progress,” displays the perpetual bent of the writer’s mind. No show, no attempt at parade, all his object is to fix truth upon the conscience; and some of his homely rhymes ought never to be forgotten. The impression made in childhood “sticks like burs.” Who that has once read the lay of the Shepherd’s boy, will ever forget the useful lesson?

“He that is down need fear no fall,
He that is low no pride;
He that is humble ever shall
Have God to be his guide.”

Mr. Burder of Coventry divided the “Pilgrim’s Progress,” Part I, into twenty, and Part II, into fifteen chapters, with short notes at the end of each;[197] it has been several times republished; but this innovation was not well received.

Numerous have been the editions with notes, to illustrate the author’s meaning, by men of some eminence; but Montgomery’s beautiful description at once shows that, doctrinally or experimentally considered, they are not needed.

“Bunyan’s allegory is so perfect, that, like the light, whilst revealing through its colourless and undistorting medium every object, yet is itself concealed.”

A Key to the Pilgrim’s Progress;

designed to assist the admirers of that excellent book to read it with understanding and profit, as well as pleasing entertainment. By Andronicus.

This contains some useful information; it passed through two editions in 1797.

*A Course of Lectures Illustrative of the
Pilgrim's Progress,*

delivered at the Tabernacle, Haverford West. By Daniel Warr. 8vo, 1825.

These lectures, twenty in number, embrace only the First Part. They proved acceptable to those who heard them, and were published by subscription. Nine hundred and twenty-eight copies were subscribed for at 8s. each.

*Lectures on the Pilgrim's Progress, and on the
Life and Times of Bunyan.*

By Rev. George B. Cheever, D.D., of New York.

This is the work of one of Bunyan's kindred spirits. If there were any foundation for the Chinese theory of the transmigration of souls, one might imagine that Bunyan had been again permitted to visit the church on earth, in the person of Dr. Cheever. The numerous editions of these lectures which have been sold on both sides of the Atlantic has proved how acceptable a work it is; to give its beauties would be to copy the whole; they that have read it will read it again and again with renewed pleasure. They who have not read it may safely anticipate a choice literary treat.

Attempts to explain the spiritual meaning of such a writer have sometimes deserved the reproof contained in the following anecdote: "A late eminent and venerated clergyman,^[198] published an edition of Bunyan's Pilgrim^[199] which he accompanied with expository notes. A copy of this work he benevolently presented to one of his poor parishioners. Some time afterwards the poor man was met by the clergyman, who inquired, 'Well, have you read the Pilgrim's Progress?' the reply was, 'Yes, sir.' It was further asked, 'Do you think you understand it?' 'O, yes, sir,' was the answer, with this somewhat unexpected addition, 'And I hope before long I shall understand the notes!'"^[200] Still there can be no doubt but that notes from other of Bunyan's treatises, and from eminent authors, must be highly illustrative and interesting.

The "Pilgrim's Progress" has also been abridged. One of the early publica-

tions of the Tract Society was the “Pilgrim’s Progress, Part the First,” divided upon Mr. Burder’s plan, into twenty chapters. It is in eight Parts, at 1 1/4*d.* each, with a recommendation that the children should find the texts referred to, and repeat them when convenient; it has a woodcut to each Part.

An Extract of the Pilgrim’s Progress,

Two Parts, divided into chapters, 12mo, Dublin. For the Methodist Book-room, 1810. Price 3*s.* 3*d.*

This contains nearly the whole; Giants Pagan and Pope are excluded, so also are the fiend’s whispering evil thoughts into the Pilgrim’s ears. Christiana speaks of her old husband instead of her good husband. The narrative is injured by the omissions and alterations.

The Pilgrim’s Progress. By John Bunyan;

abridged for the use of schools. By J. Townsend. With a Sketch of the Author’s Life.

This little book was extensively circulated, especially in Sunday Schools.

The Pilgrim’s Progress. By John Bunyan.

A miniature abridgment, with cuts, title printed in gold on a blue-glazed paper, the edges gilt, has been lately selling in the streets of London for 1*d.* each!

A stranger attempt was made by Joshua Gilpin, rector of Wrockwardine, Shropshire, in 1811, to fit Bunyan with a modern and fashionable suit of clothes, and under the tuition of a *petit maitre*, train him for elegant drawing-room company. How odd an idea to dress Bunyan a-la-mode, place him in an elegant party, chill him with ices, and torment his soul with the badinage of a *Mrs. Perkin’s Ball*. It was entitled, “Bunyan’s Pilgrim’s Progress; in which the phraseology of the author is *somewhat improved*, some of his obscurities elucidated, and some of his redundancies done away.” A handsome 8vo volume, 1811. Mr. Gilpin complains that the Pilgrim’s defects are

conspicuous and offensive, but gives no specimens of them. Instead of Faithful telling Christian the common feeling against Pliable, in plain English, “O, they say, Hang him, he is a turn-coat; he was not true to his profession”; Mr. Gilpin prefers, “They tauntingly say, that he was not true to his profession.” And as to the unfashionably pointed remarks by the Interpreter, that a Christian profession, without regeneration, is like a tree whose leaves are fair, but their heart good for nothing but to be *tinder* for the devil’s *tinder-box*,^[201] this is too bad to be mended, and is, therefore, struck out altogether. The public did not encourage Mr. Gilpin’s metamorphoses, and the book is forgotten. In the following year Mr. Gilpin published, anonymously, *The Pilgrimage of Theophilus to the City of God*. It was intended for the instruction of his children. It is free from sectarianism and slander; being the adventures of two young Pilgrims, who become ministers. The whole of the plot is taken from Bunyan; is a pious imitation, but, like many others, it is even now forgotten.

It would be impossible to enumerate all the attempts which have been made to copy Bunyan’s allegory. A few of them deserve notice. One of these was an impudent forgery. It was under the title of

The Progress of the Pilgrim, in Two Parts.

Written by way of a Dream. Adorned with several new pictures. Hosea 12:10, *I have used similitudes*. London, by J. Blare, at the Looking Glass, on London Bridge, 1705.

In this, which is published as an original work, Evangelist is called Good-news; Worldly-wiseman, Mr. Politic Worldly; Legality, Mr. Law-do; The Interpreter, Director; The Palace Beautiful, Grace’s Hall; Giant Desperation of Diffident Castle; Mr. Despondency and his daughter Much-afraid are called, One Much-cast-down, and his kinsman, Almost Overcome. Whoever was employed in stealing this literary property, and disguising the stolen goods, appears to have been a Roman Catholic; he omits Giant Pope; and Faithful, called Fidelius, is hanged, drawn, and quartered, that being the punishment inflicted on the Roman Catholics by Elizabeth and James I.

Bugg's Pilgrim's Progress from Quakerism to Christianity. 4to, and 8vo, 1698.

The author had been a Quaker, but conformed, and attacked his old friends with great vituperation. It is not allegorical.

Desiderius; or, the Original Pilgrim. By L. Howell, M. A.

This was written in Spanish, and has been published in Latin, Italian, French, Dutch, and German. Mr. Howell says in the preface, "I am assured that Mr. Royston, the bookseller, very well knew that Dr. Patrick took his pilgrim from it." It is the mode by which a gentleman curbed his passions, and became a good church-going man, and qualified himself (p. 124) to trust in God. It was not published in English until 1717.

The Young Man's Guide through the wilderness of this world to the heavenly Canaan:

showing him how to carry himself Christian-like, the whole course of his life. By Thomas Gouge. 1719 small 8vo.

This is a valuable work, but not allegorical.

The Statesman's Progress, or a Pilgrimage to Greatness;

delivered under the similitude of a dream, wherein are discovered, The manner of his setting out, his dangerous journey, and safe arrival at the desired country; with the manner of his acting when he came there. By JOHN BUNYAN. With a Latin quotation from Horace. London, printed, and Dublin reprinted in the year 1741. 8vo.

This is a shrewd attack upon Sir Robert Walpole, one of the most corrupt of English statesmen, just before his final fall. It was he that said "every man

had his price," and who attacked Mr. Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, on his youth; exciting a reply which must be admired to the latest age. This Pilgrimage represents Walpole under the name of BADMAN, on his course to Greatness Hall, where grew the golden pippins. He is introduced to Queen Vice, behind whose throne stood Death with ropes, axes, and daggers in his hand. Badman attains his object, has possession of the golden fruit, and by its aid exercises absolute sway. The allegory is kept up with great spirit.

Our readers need not be reminded that Bunyan's name was used because he was the prince of allegorists, in the same way that Homer's name would have been used if it had been a poem, or Juvenal, had it been a satire in verse. It is of great rarity; the account is taken from a copy in the Editor's library.

The celebrity of Bunyan led to another impudent forgery, in a pamphlet entitled, *The advantages and disadvantages of the Marriage State, as entered into with religious or irreligious persons, delivered under the similitude of a DREAM*. With notes explanatory and improving. By J. B * * * * N, Minister of the Gospel. The sixth edition, with addition of new cuts. Bosworth; Printed by Robert Grinley, for the author, 1775. The frontispiece is the Sleeping Portrait on the Lion's Den, with skull and cross bones; above are the Pilgrim with his burden, and the Wicket-gate; under this is inscribed John Bunyan of Bedford. It was impudent enough to publish this for the author in 1775, Bunyan having died in 1688.

***The Spanish Pilgrim; or an admirable discovery
of a Romish Catholic.***[\[202\]](#)

A tract to show the easiest way to invade Spain.

***The Pilgrim; or, a Picture of Life. By a Chinese
Philosopher, 2 vols. by Johnston.***[\[203\]](#)

A caricature, exhibiting English manners, in the reign of George III, through a distorted medium.

The New Pilgrims;

or, the Pious Indian Convert, containing a faithful account of Flattain Gelashenin, a heathen who was baptized into the Christian Faith by the name of George James, and by that means brought from the darkness of Paganism to the light of the Gospel, of which he afterwards became an able and worthy minister; and the wonderful things which he saw in a vision. London, 12mo, 1748.

*A Voyage through Hell, by the Invincible Man
of War, Captain Single-Eye. 8vo, 1770.*

This is a very curious allegory; part of the crew demur to signing the articles because they are Unitarian. The mob who see the ship sail, abuse the Captain. After many adventures, she arrives in hell, and the crew and officers are tried; all the Unitarians are acquitted, and sail on to Heaven, but all the Trinitarians enter into eternal torment. This volume is very rare. It is the only book that I have seen in which Unitarians avow such diabolical sentiments.

*Shrubsole's Christian Memoirs; or, New
Pilgrimage to the Heavenly Jerusalem. 1777;
republished 1799, and in 1807.*

This was supposed to contain allusions to certain persons of some note, and was for a time a popular book.

The Female Pilgrim;

or the travels of Hephzibah, a description of her Native Country, with the State of the Inhabitants thereof. By John Mitchell.

This contains some account of the religious state of this country in the latter end of the reign of George III; it has plates, and passed through several editions. The author states, that he has not been influenced by malice to those persons whose characters he has drawn as odious!

*A second Pilgrim's Progress from the town of
Deceit to the kingdom of Glory. By
Philalethes. 8vo, 1790.*

This is an allegory, but not a dream. It is the adventures of Wake-heart, who gets to glory.

*The Progress of the Pilgrim, Good Intent, in
Jacobinical Times. By Miss Anne Burgess, of
the Vale of Homton.*

This was, for a time, very popular, and went through as many as seven editions at least, in the years 1800 and 1801: it arose out of the French Revolution, and was intended to counteract republican principles, and free inquiries into practices called religious. It has some witty passages, and a tender attachment to the crown and mitre. It represents philosophy as having for its father Lucifer; and its mother Nonsense! [\[204\]](#) That the mitre assumes no control. Lawful government and church establishments are venerable, and to be admired and supported; that the rights of man teach plunder and robbery; that those who oppose the church, as by law established, seek to promote atheism. The authoress invents a she-devil, called Mental Energy, who invites men to destruction, by thinking for themselves.

It must have required the aid of some church wealth and influence to have pushed this book into circulation; it is now nearly forgotten. [\[205\]](#)

*The Sailor Pilgrim; in Two Parts. By R.
Hawker, D.D. 1806.*

This passed through several editions, and was a valuable means of awakening seafaring men to the importance of religion. It abounds with interesting anecdotes.

Zion's Pilgrim. 1808.

This, and *Zion's Warrior*, by the same author, are full of anecdotes, useful in their day. They are not allegorical.

The Travels of Humanias in search of the Temple of Happiness. An allegory. By William Lucas. 12mo, 1809.

The Prodigal's Pilgrimage into a far Country, and back to his Father's House; in fourteen stages. By Thomas Jones, Curate of Creaton. 1825.

This is the adventures and return of the prodigal, founded on the parable in Luke 15, but is not allegorical.[\[206\]](#)

The Sojourn of the Sceptic in the Land of Darkness, to the City of Strongholds, in the Similitude of a Dream. Edinburgh, 1847.

The prose and poetry in this volume are equally contemptible

“Who follow lies they love (that walk or crawl),
A lie, at last, to ruin may pursue;
Who swallow greasy *camels*, hump and all,
A *gnat* may scandalize, and strangle too.”[\[207\]](#)

This is one of those books which, in the words of Porson, “will be read when Homer and Virgil are forgotten, but — not till then.”

*The Great Journey, a Pilgrimage through the
Valley of Tears to Mount Zion, the City of
the living God.*

This is an unassuming little book, which the author calls, a borrowed ray from the “Pilgrim’s Progress.” It is neatly ornamented with cuts. A desirable present to the young.

The most beautiful ray from the “Pilgrim’s Progress,” which has reached us, is from the pen of that elegant writer, Dr. Cheever of New York. It is *The Hill Difficulty*, or *The Jewish Pilgrim’s Progress, The Plains of Ease*, and other allegories. It has, in addition, some extremely interesting papers. Unfortunately it has not been reprinted in England, but what is worse is, that parts of the volume leaving out the most beautiful, and selecting those that suited a certain purpose, have been printed under the title of Dr. Cheever’s *Hill Difficulty* — a forgery exceedingly vexatious to an author of such high repute. It is hoped that some honest publisher will favour us with an accurate and cheap reprint of this instructive allegory. A part left out in the first chapter of the London edition refers to a controversy which has for some time agitated this country, even to the calling forth of a decision in the House of Lords. It is an attempt to get over the Hill Difficulty without trouble; it is thus narrated:

“There has been constructed there a great balloon, to avoid climbing, named Baptismal Regeneration, in which, by an ingenious chemical use of a little font of water, a very subtle light gas was manufactured to fill the balloon; and then the adventurers, having been made to inhale the same gas, stepped into a ear to which the balloon was attached, and were carried along quite swiftly. These adventurers all lost their lives in the end, unless they got out of the ear, and took to the real pilgrimage. Still the patentees insisted upon this being the only way to salvation.”

He goes on with great humour to show that the Pope was the original patentee.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE OPINIONS OF THE GREAT AND LEARNED, UPON THE MERITS OF THE “PILGRIM’S PROGRESS,” AND THE CAUSES OF ITS POPULARITY.

To venerate the memory of Bunyan, is the duty of every British Christian; quite as much as it is the pride of Englishmen universally to admire the genius of Shakespeare or of Milton, the philosophy of Locke, or the philanthropy of Howard. He ought ever to be placed in that constellation which is composed of the brightest luminaries that shed a lustre upon our national literature. His allegory seizes our imagination in childhood, and leaves an indelible impression — it excited our wonder then, and our admiration and esteem in riper age.

Thus one of our best poets describes it as:

“Pleasure derived in childhood approved in age.”

There is a degree of publicity to which we should not like to have seen John Bunyan exposed, and from which his “Pilgrim” had a narrow escape. The amazing popularity of the “Pilgrim’s Progress” very nearly led to the accomplishment of a strange design, which would have shocked all our puritan feelings. It was a curious attempt of Mr. Gilpin to dress Bunyan *a-la-mode*, but how much more singular to have introduced him upon the stage in a Royal Metropolitan Theatre!! This was most seriously contemplated. The whole story was turned into an Oratorio, and every preliminary arrangement was made to have brought it out in Lent 1834.

The manuscript oratorio, with the correspondence of George Colman the licenser, Mr. Bunn the Manager and Proprietor, and Mr. Mash of the Lord Chamberlain’s Office, are in the Editor’s possession. But the fear of my Lord Bishop of London, whose power could have stopped the license, prevented the attempt to bring into the tainted atmosphere of a theatre, as a dramatic entertainment, the poor burdened pilgrim, his penitence, his spiritual combats, his journey, and his ascent to the Celestial City. It was to have been introduced with splendid scenery, and with all the fascinating accompaniments of music and painting, as a sacred oratorio, to amuse Christians in the sorrowful, fasting, hypocritical season of Lent.

COWPER'S apostrophe to Bunyan —

“Oh thou, whom, borne on fancy’s eager wing
Back to the season of life’s happy spring,
I pleased remember, and, while memory yet
Holds fast her office here, can ne’er forget.
Ingenious Dreamer! in whose well-told tale
Sweet fiction and sweet truth alike prevail;
Whose humorous vein, strong sense, and simple
style,
May teach the gayest, make the gravest smile;
Witty, and well employed, and like thy Lord,
Speaking in parables his slighted Word.
I name thee not, lest so despised a name
Should move a sneer at thy deserved fame.
Yet e’en in transitory life’s late day,
That mingles all my brown with sober gray,
Revere the man, whose PILGRIM marks the
road,
And guides the PROGRESS of the soul to God.
’Twere well with most, if books that could
engage
Their childhood, pleased them at a riper age;
The man, approving what had charmed the boy,
Would die at last in comfort, peace, and joy.”

How rapid has been the change in public opinion since Cowper’s line was written —

“Lest so despised a name!”

One of the most magnificent American steamers now bears the alluring name of *The John Bunyan*; and in 1849 an advertisement appeared in the London Papers: “For HONG KONG and SHANGHAE, will be despatched positively on the 20th of June, the splendid fast sailing-ship *John Bunyan*.”

The influence that the “Pilgrim’s Progress” had upon a late learned and zealous divine, is well described in the autobiography of the celebrated DR. ADAM CLARKE.

A child’s view of the “Pilgrim’s Progress” —

At this early age he read the “Pilgrim’s Progress,” as he would read a book of

chivalry. Christian was a great hero, by whom the most appalling difficulties were surmounted, the most incredible labours performed, powerful enchantments dissolved, giants conquered, and devils quelled. It was not likely that he would see it as a spiritual allegory, and, therefore, it was no wonder that he could not comprehend how Christian and Hopeful could submit to live several days and nights in the dungeon of Doubting Castle, under the torture of Giant Despair, while the former “had a key in his bosom which could open every lock in that castle.”

LORD KAIMES, who did not in the slightest degree partake with Bunyan in his feelings of veneration for Christianity, admires the “Pilgrim’s Progress,” as being composed in a style enlivened like that of Homer, by a proper mixture of the dramatic and narrative.

MR. GRAINGER, who was of the high church party, in his *Biographical History of England*, calls it “Bunyan’s masterpiece; one of the most popular, and, I will add, one of the most ingenious books in the English language.”

DR. S. JOHNSON, that unwieldy and uncouth leviathan of English literature, who was so thorough bred a churchman as to starve himself on a crossed bun on Good Friday, and to revel in roast beef and good cheer on the day dedicated to Christ’s mass; who was so well taught in the established church as to pray for his wife “Tetty” thirty years after her decease; yet, even he, with his deep-rooted prejudices against dissenters, cannot withhold his meed of praise — he describes the “Pilgrim’s Progress” as “a work of original genius, and one of the very few books which every reader wishes had been longer.”^[208]

Johnson praised John Bunyan highly:

“His ‘Pilgrim’s Progress’ has great merit, both for invention, imagination, and the conduct of the story; and it has had the best evidence of its merit, the general and continued approbation of mankind. Few books, I believe, have had a more extensive sale. It is remarkable, that it begins very much like Dante; yet there was no translation of Dante when he wrote. There is reason to think that he had read Spenser.”^[209]

It was by no common merit that the illiterate sectary extracted praise like this from the most pedantic of critics, and the most bigoted of Churchmen and Tories.^[210]

A deeply read, learned, and highly esteemed clergyman told me that when he

was young, placed under peculiar circumstances,[\[211\]](#) he read the “Pilgrim’s Progress” many times; for when he arrived at the “Conclusion,” he never thought of changing his book, but turning to the first page, started again with poor Christian, and never felt weary of his company. Well might Dr. Johnson say, it is one of the few books in which one can never possibly arrive at the last page.

DR. FRANKLIN, whose sound judgment renders his opinion peculiarly gratifying, in his praise of the “Pilgrim’s Progress,” comes home to the feelings of all who have read this universally admired book:

“Honest John Bunyan is the first I know of who has mingled narrative and dialogue together — a mode of writing very engaging to the reader, who, in the most interesting passages, finds himself admitted, as it were, into the company, and present at the conversation.[\[212\]](#)

TOPLADY speaks with the warmth of a Christian, who not only *admired*, but *understood* and felt its important truths:

“The “Pilgrim’s Progress” is the finest allegorical work extant describing every stage of a Christian’s experience, from conversion to glorification, in the most artless simplicity of language; yet peculiarly rich with spiritual unction, and glowing with the most vivid, just, and well-conducted machinery throughout. It is, in short, a masterpiece of piety and genius; and will, we doubt not, be of standing use to the people of God, so long as the sun and moon endure.”

And in his diary, Sunday, Feb. 7, 1768:

“In the evening, read Bunyan’s ‘Pilgrim.’ What a stiff, sapless, tedious piece of work is that written by Bishop Patrick! How does the unlearned tinker of Bedford outshine the Bishop of Ely! I have heard that his lordship wrote his *Pilgrim* by way of antidote against what he deemed the fanaticism of John Bunyan’s ‘Pilgrim.’ But what a rich fund of heavenly experience, life, and sweetness, does the latter contain! How heavy, lifeless, and unevangelical, is the former! Such is the difference between writing from a worldly spirit and under the influence of the Spirit of God.”[\[213\]](#)

DR. RYLAND’S opinion was that

“As a popular practical writer, on a great variety of important subjects, for the use of the bulk of common Christians, I will dare to affirm that he has few equals in the Christian world. I am persuaded there never has been a writer in

the English language whose works have spread so wide, and have been read by so many millions of people, as Mr. Bunyan's."

The Great French Biography (Roman Catholic), having alluded to his employment in prison, adds.

'Mais il y eerivit aussi son *fameux Voyage du Pelerin*, allegorie religieuse parfaitement soutenue, qui a eu cinquante editions, et a ete traduite en plusieurs langues.' 8vo. Paris, 1810, tom. iii. p. 412.

JAMES MONTGOMERY:

"It has been the lot of John Bunyan, an unlettered artisan, to do more than one in a hundred millions of human beings, even in civilized society, is usually able to do. He has produced a work of imagination, of such decided originality, as not only to have commanded public admiration on its first appearance, but amidst all changes of time and style, and modes of thinking, to have maintained its place in the popular literature of every succeeding age; with the probability that, so long as the language in which it is written endures, it will not cease to be read by a great number of the youth of all future generations, at that period of life when their minds, their imaginations, and their hearts are most impressible with moral excellence, splendid picture, and religious sentiment. The happy idea of representing his story under the similitude of a dream, enabled him to portray, with all the liveliness of reality, the scenes which passed before him. It makes the reader himself, like the author, a spectator of all that occurs; thus giving him a personal interest in the events, an individual sympathy for the actors and sufferers. It would be difficult to name another work of any kind in our native tongue of which so many editions have been printed, of which so many readers have lived and died; the character of whose lives and deaths must have been more or less affected by its lessons and examples, its fictions and realities."

DR. CHEEVER:

"Perhaps no other work could be named which, admired by cultivated minds, has had, at the same time, such ameliorating effect on the working classes in society as the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' It is a work so full of native good sense, that no mind can read it without gaining in wisdom and vigour of judgment. It is one of the books that, by being connected with the dearest associations of childhood, always retain their hold on the heart; and it exerts a double influence when, at a graver age, and less under the despotism given to imagination in childhood, we read it with a serene and thoughtful perception of its meaning. How many children have become better citizens of the world through life, by the perusal of this book in infancy! How many pilgrims, in

hours when perseverance was almost exhausted, and patience was yielding, and clouds and darkness were gathering, have felt a sudden return of animation and courage from the remembrance of Christian's severe conflicts, and his glorious entrance at last through the gates into the city!"

ROBERT SOUTHEY:

"Bunyan's fame may be literally said to have risen; beginning among the people, it made its way up to those who are called the public. In most instances, the many receive gradually and slowly the opinions of the few respecting literary merit; and sometimes, in assentation to such authority, profess with their lips an admiration of they know not what. But here the opinion of the multitude has been ratified by the judicious. The people knew what they admired. It is a book which makes its way through the fancy to the understanding and the heart. The child peruses it with wonder and delight; in youth we discover the genius which it displays; its worth is apprehended as we advance in years; and we perceive its merits feelingly in declining age. If it is not a well of English undefiled, to which the poet as well as the philologist must repair, if they would drink of the living waters, it is a clear stream of current English — the vernacular speech of his age — sometimes, indeed, in its rusticity and coarseness, but always in its plainness and its strength."

COLERIDGE the Poet:

"The 'Pilgrim's Progress' is composed in the lowest style of English, without slang or false grammar. If you were to polish it, you would at once destroy the reality of the vision.

* * * * *

"This wonderful work is one of the very few books which may be read over repeatedly at different times, and each time with a new and different pleasure. I read it once as a theologian, and let me assure you, that there is great theological acumen in the work; once with devotional feelings; and once as a poet; I could not have believed beforehand that Calvinism could be painted in such exquisitely delightful colours.

"I know of no book, the Bible excepted, as above all comparison, which I, according to my judgment and experience, could so safely recommend, as teaching and enforcing the whole saving truth according to the mind that was in Christ Jesus, as the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' It is, in my conviction, incomparably the best *summa theologiae evangelicae* ever produced by a writer not miraculously inspired" — (May and June, 1830. *Table Talk*, vol. 1, pp. 160, 161).

DR. ARNOLD of Rugby:

“I have left off reading our divines, because, as Pascal said of the Jesuits, if I had spent my time in reading them fully, I should have read a great many indifferent books. But if I could find a great man among them, I would read him thankfully and earnestly. As it is, I hold John Bunyan to have been a man of incomparably greater genius than any of them, and to have given a far truer and more edifying picture of Christianity. His ‘Pilgrim’s Progress’ seems to be a complete reflection of Scripture, with none of the rubbish of the theologians mixed up with it” — (*Dr. Arnold to Justice Coleridge*, Nov. 30, 1836. *Life*, vol. 2, p 65).

And, “I have always been struck by its piety; I am now (having read it through again, after a long interval) struck equally, or even more, by its profound wisdom” — (*Ibid. vol. 2, p. 65*).

MR. MACAULAY, from his Review of Southey’s *Life of Bunyan*:

“The characteristic peculiarity of the ‘Pilgrim’s Progress’ is, that it is the only work of its kind which possesses a strong human interest. Other allegories only amuse the fancy. It is not so with the ‘Pilgrim’s Progress.’ That wonderful book, while it obtains admiration from the most fastidious critics, is loved by those who are too simple to admire it. In the wildest parts of Scotland, it is the delight of the peasantry. In every nursery, the ‘Pilgrim’s Progress’ is a greater favourite than *Jack the Giant-killer*.

“Every reader knows the straight and narrow path as well as he knows a road in which he has gone backward and forward a hundred times. This is the biggest miracle of genius — that things which are not should be as though they were — that the imaginations of one mind should become the personal recollections of another. And this miracle the tinker has wrought. There is no ascent, no declivity, no resting-place, no turn-stile, with which we are not perfectly acquainted. The wicket-gate, and the desolate swamp which separates it from the City of Destruction — the long line of road, as straight as a rule can make it — the Interpreter’s house, and all its fairshows — the prisoner in the iron cage — the palace, at the doors of which armed men kept guard, and on the battlements of which walked persons clothed all in gold — the Cross and the sepulchre — the steep hill and the pleasant arbour — the stately front of the House Beautiful by the wayside — the low green Valley of Humiliation, rich with grass and covered with flocks — are all as well known to us as the sights of our own street.

“Then we come to the narrow place, where Apollyon strode right across the whole breadth of the way, to stop the journey of Christian; and where,

afterwards, the pillar was set up, to testify how bravely the Pilgrim had fought the good fight. As we advance, the valley becomes deeper and deeper. The shade of the precipices on both sides falls blacker and blacker. The clouds gather over-head. Doleful voices, the clanking of chains, and the rushing of many feet to and fro, are heard through the darkness. The way hardly discernible in gloom, and close by the mouth of the burning pit, which sends forth its flames, its noisome smoke, and its hideous shapes, to terrify the adventurer. Thence he goes on, amidst the snares and pitfalls, with the mangled bodies of those who have perished lying in the ditch by his side. At the end of the long dark valley, he passes the dens in which the old giants dwelt, amidst the bones and ashes of those whom they had slain. Then the road passes straight on through a waste moor, till at length the towers of a distant city appear before the traveler; and soon he is in the midst of the innumerable multitudes of Vanity Fair. There are the jugglers and the apes, the shops and the puppet shows. There are Italian Row, and French Row, and Spanish Row, and Britain Row — with their crowds of buyers, sellers, and loungers, jabbering all the languages of the earth. Thence we go on by the little hill of the silver mine, and through the meadow of lilies, along the bank of that pleasant river, which is bordered on both sides by fruit-trees. On the left side, branches off the path to that horrible castle, the court-yard of which is paved with the skulls of pilgrims; and right onward are the sheepfolds and orchards of the Delectable Mountains. From the Delectable Mountains the way lies through the fogs and briars of the Enchanted Ground, with here and there a bed of soft cushions spread under a green arbour. And beyond is the land of Beulah; where the flowers, the grapes, and the songs of birds never cease, and where the sun shines night and day. Thence are plainly seen the golden pavements and streets of pearls, on the other side of that black and cold river over which there is no bridge.

“All the stages of the journey — all the forms which cross or overtake the pilgrims — the giants and hobgoblins, ill-favoured ones and shining ones — the tall, comely, swarthy Madam Bubble, with her great purse by her side, and her fingers playing with the money — the black man in the bright vesture Mr. Worldly-wiseman and my Lord Hate-good — Mr. Talkative and Mrs. Timorous — all are actually existing beings to us. We follow the travelers through their allegorical progress, with interest not inferior to that with which we follow Elizabeth from Siberia to Moscow, or Jeanie Deans from Edinburgh to London. Bunyan is almost the only writer that ever gave to the abstract the interest of the concrete. Religion has scarcely ever worn a form so calm and soothing as in his allegory. The feeling which predominates through the whole book is a feeling of tenderness for weak, timid, and harassed minds. The character of Mr. Fearing — of Mr. Feeble-mind — of Mr. Despondency, and

his daughter Miss Much-afraid — the account of poor Little-faith, who was robbed by the three thieves of his spending money — the description of Christian's terror in the dungeons of Giant Despair, and in his passage through the river — all clearly show how strong a sympathy Bunyan felt, after his own mind had become clear and cheerful, for persons afflicted with religious melancholy.

“The style of Bunyan is delightful to every reader; and invaluable as a study to every person who wishes to obtain a wide command over the English language. The vocabulary is the vocabulary of the common people. There is not an expression, if we except a few technical terms of theology, which would puzzle the rudest peasant. We have observed several pages which do not contain a single word of more than two syllables. Yet no writer has said more exactly what he meant to say. For magnificence, for pathos, for vehement exhortation, for subtle disquisition, for every purpose of the poet, the orator, and the divine, this homely dialect — the dialect of plain working men — was perfectly sufficient. There is no book in our literature on which we would so readily stake the fame of the old, unpolluted English law gauge; no book which shows so well how rich that language is in its own proper wealth, and how little it has been improved by all that it has borrowed. Though there were many clever men in England during the latter half of the seventeenth century, there were only two great creative minds; one of those minds produced the *Paradise Lost*, the other the ‘Pilgrim’s Progress.’”

“There are, we think, some characters and scenes in the ‘Pilgrim’s Progress,’ which can be fully comprehended and enjoyed only by persons familiar with the history of the times through which Bunyan lived. The character of Mr. Great-heart, the guide, is an example. We have not the least doubt that Bunyan had in view some stout old Greatheart of Naseby and Worcester; who prayed with his men before he drilled them; who knew the spiritual state of every dragoon in his troop; and who, with the praises of God in his mouth, and a two-edged sword in his hand, had turned to fight, in many fields of battle, the swearing drunken bravoes of Rupert and Lansford. Every age produces such men as Bye ends — he might have found all his kindred among the public men of that time; among the Peers — my Lord Turn-about, my Lord Time-server, and Lord Fair-speech. In the House of Commons — Mr. Smooth-man, Mr. Anything, and Mr. Facing-both-ways; nor would the parson of the parish, Mr. Two tongues, have been wanting.”

MR. MACAULAY’S character of John Bunyan, from his invaluable *History of England*:

“To the names of Baxter and Howe must be added the name of a man far

below them in station and in acquired knowledge, but in virtue their equal, and in genius their superior, JOHN BUNYAN. Bunyan had been bred a tinker, and had served as a private soldier. Early in life he had been fearfully tortured by remorse for his youthful sins, the worst of which seem, however, to have been such as the world thinks venial. His keen sensibility, and his powerful imagination, made his internal conflicts singularly terrible. At length the clouds broke. From the depths of despair, the penitent passed to a state of serene felicity. An irresistible impulse now urged him to impart to others the blessing of which he was himself possessed. He joined the Baptists, and became a preacher and writer. His education had been that of a mechanic. He knew no language but the English as it was spoken by the common people. He had studied no great model of composition, with the exception — an important exception undoubtedly — of our noble translation of the Bible. His native force of genius, and his experimental knowledge of all the religious passions, from despair to ecstasy, amply supplied in him the want of learning. His rude oratory roused and melted hearers, who listened, without interest, to the laboured discourses of great logicians and Hebraists. His works are widely circulated among the humbler classes.

“One of them, the *PILGRIM’S PROGRESS*, was, in his own lifetime, translated into several foreign languages. It was, however, scarcely known to the learned and polite; and had been, during near a century, the delight of pious cottagers and artizans, before it was publicly commended by any man of high literary eminence. At length critics condescended to inquire where the secret of so wide and so durable a popularity lay. They were compelled to own that the ignorant multitude had judged more correctly than the learned, and that the despised little book was really a masterpiece. Bunyan, indeed, is as decidedly the first of allegorists, as Demosthenes is the first of orators, or Shakespeare the first of dramatists. Other allegorists have shown great ingenuity, but no other allegorist has ever been able to touch the heart, and to make abstractions objects of terror, of pity, and of love!”

LORD CAMPBELL — It is one of the extraordinary signs of the times in which we live, to witness the highest judicial functionary in the kingdom speaking, without sectarian partiality, and in the highest terms of praise, of a preaching mechanic. It is in Lord John Campbell’s *Life of Chief Justice Hale*, when the judges, before whom Mrs. Bunyan had so powerfully pleaded for her husband’s liberty, were trumpeted out of Bedford, she burst into tears, saying, “Not so much because they are so hard-hearted against me and my husband, but to think what a sad account such poor creatures will have to give at the coming of the Lord”: —

“Little do we know what is for our permanent good,” says Lord John Campbell. “Had Bunyan then been discharged, and allowed to enjoy liberty, he no doubt would have returned to his trade, filling up his intervals of leisure with field-preaching; his name would not have survived his own generation, and he could have done little for the religious improvement of mankind. The prison doors were shut upon him for twelve years. Being cut off from the external world, he communed with his own soul; and inspired by Him who touched Elijah’s hallowed lips with fire, he composed the noblest of allegories, the merit of which was first discovered by the lowly, but which is now lauded by the most refined critics; and which has done more to awaken piety, and to enforce the precepts of Christian morality, than all the sermons which have been published by all the prelates of the Anglican church.”[\[214\]](#)

The *Penny Encyclopedia* is the only work which has treated the “Pilgrim’s” with disrespect. Under the article *John Bunyan*, it says:

“Among his works, the ‘Pilgrim’s Progress’ has attained the greatest notoriety. If a judgment is to be formed of the merits of a book by the number of times it has been reprinted, and the many languages into which it has been translated, no production in English literature is superior to this coarse allegory. On a composition which has been extolled by Dr. Johnson, and which, in our own times, has received a very high critical opinion in its favour, it is hazardous to venture a disapproval; and we, perhaps, speak the opinion of a small minority when we confess that to us it appears to be mean, jejune, and wearisome.”

Probably this is the glorious minority of *one*. Such an opinion may excite pity and indignation, but needs no comment.

The “Pilgrim’s Progress” has proved an invaluable aid to the Sunday-school Teacher, and to the Missionary. One of the latter wrote home with joy to inform his Christian friends, that a Malay sat up three nights to read it, never having before seen so beautiful a book, and praying that the Holy Spirit may influence his countrymen to read, and also enlighten their hearts to understand the wondrous dream. The pundit who was engaged to translate it into Singhalese, was so deeply affected by the story, that, at times, he could not proceed; when he had passed the wicket-gate, and Christian’s burden fell from his shoulders, at the sight of Christ crucified, he was overcome with joy — he laughed, wept, clapped his hands, danced, and shouted, “delightful, delightful!” It was especially blessed to the persecuted Christian natives in Ceylon; in their distress when driven from home, in places of danger, they encouraged each other by repeating portions of Scripture, and the vivid

delineations of perseverance and triumph from the “Pilgrim’s Progress.”

No book, the result of human labour and ingenuity, has been so eminently useful. Let Homer have the credit of his lofty poem, Plato of his Philosophy, Cicero of his elegancies, and Aquinas of his subtleties; but for real value, as connected with human happiness, our unlettered mechanic rises infinitely their superior.

CHAPTER IX.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE MOST PROMINENT PARTS OF THE “PILGRIM’S PROGRESS.”

Before taking a walk with the pilgrims, to point out a few peculiarities not noticed by commentators, it may be well to answer the inquiry so often made — Is the narrative that of the author’s and his wife’s own experience? My humble opinion is that he did not so intend it. His first wife had been for years an inhabitant of the Celestial City, and his second was a decided Christian long before his “Pilgrim” was written. At the pillar to commemorate Lot’s wife, Hopeful calls to Christian, “for he was learned,” — a title, so far as lettered lore was concerned, Bunyan could not have given to himself, nor would *he* have applied it as to his own spiritual knowledge. It appears not to be intended to portray the experience of any one man or woman, but the feelings, doubts, conflicts, and enjoyments of the Christian character. The whole household of faith embodied and described in the sacred pages, enlarged by his own experience, and that which he discovered in his Christian intercourse; from the first fearful cry, “What shall I do to be saved?” until the crown of glory and immortality is put upon his head with the anthem, “It is finished.” “Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.”

Among some very singular discoveries made from the pages of this eminently non-sectarian book, is, that it sanctions the old and curious custom of christening infants. The mind capable of making such a discovery, must be familiar with very jesuitic and far-fetched arguments in defence of a custom which, Bunyan thought, set the Bible, and reason too, at defiance, and could only be defended by tradition, handed down to us by the Papists from the dark and gloomy ages of superstition. It is in an edition with notes by Mr. St. John, and a key by H. Wood.^[215] In the index there appears the following sentiments under the word —

“BAPTISM — The ordinance of, to be observed, and the advantage that children are thereby made partakers, who are thus early admitted into the visible church of Christ. Christian’s sons have been married, and their olive branches were springing up, when Christiana and her troop of children and grandchildren had passed the hill Lucre, and arrived at the green meadows. Here they find a house is built for the nourishing and bringing up those *lambs*, the babes of those women that go on pilgrimage.”

The annotator seizes an opportunity from this parental anxiety to “train up a child in the way he should go,” to introduce Bunyan as an authority for the christening of infants.

But to return to our “Pilgrim.” A charge has been made against the arrangement of the story, because the converts in the town of Vanity are not described as having entered the way by the wicket-gate. They witness the patient endurance of sufferings in Faithful, and are led to feel that there must be some solemn realities in religion to which they were strangers; we have no account of their convictions nor misery; their Slough of Despond, or entering the wicket-gate, or relief on the sight of Christ crucified, for all this has been already told in Christian’s experience. The lovely inmates in the Palace Beautiful, descriptive of the temper which every member of a Christian church ought to cultivate, are left there as if they went no further towards Zion. Christian’s journey does not appear to occupy the time taken to perform the same distance by Christiana. These, and many other apparent discrepancies, are essential to the author’s design, because he represents it all under the similitude of a DREAM. The following quotations clearly indicate some changes of importance, interfering with Christian liberty between the writing of the First Part in prison before 1673, and the publication of the Second Part in 1684. When Christiana came to the Slough of Despond,

“She perceived also, that notwithstanding the command of the King, to make this place for pilgrim good, yet it was rather worse than formerly. For that many there be that pretend to be the King’s labourers; and that say they are for mending the King’s highway, that bring *dirt and dung* instead of stones, and so mar instead of mending.”

Before the pilgrims attempted to ascend the Hill Difficulty, they sought for some refreshment, and Great-heart said:

“This is the spring that Christian drank of before he went up this hill; and *then* ’twas clear and good; but *now* ’tis dirty with the feet of some that were not desirous that pilgrims here should quench their thirst.”

The two lions in the way to frighten the young inquirer from making a public profession at the Palace Beautiful, may represent the civil and ecclesiastical powers when assuming the throne of God, to judge and compel men as to forms of Divine worship. Their effort was to prevent further inquiries, and thus turn the pilgrims back to the City of Destruction; they are chained, to

show that these devils are under Divine control, and can only hurt such as they *may* devour. A cessation, or temporary relief from persecution, puts them to sleep as Faithful passes; and a recollection of the misery and cruelties they had so recently perpetrated, raises Giant Grim to back them, and terrify Christiana, Mercy, and the children. The effects of this cruel persecution of the saints thinned the number of professors.

“Now, to say the truth, this way had of late lain much unoccupied, and was almost all grown over with grass.”

Their fears are at that time dissipated by Great-heart the guide, who slays the Giant.

While Christiana and her company rest at the town of Vanity,

“There came a *monster* out of the woods, and slew many of the people of the town. It would also carry away their children, and teach them to suck its whelps. Now no man in the town durst so much as face this *monster*; but all men fled when they heard the noise of his coming. This monster propounded conditions to men; and such men as loved their lives more than their souls, accepted those conditions. So they came under.”

From all this it is obvious, that between the time when Bunyan wrote the First Part, and the publication of the Second, some painful events had taken place, interfering with a Christian profession. Those iniquitous laws, called the Five Mile and the Conventicle Acts, were passed in the 16, 17, and 22 Charles II; the first of these imposed ruinous fines, imprisonment, and death, upon all persons above sixteen years of age, who attended Divine service where the Liturgy, the compulsive use of which had proved an awful curse and scourge to the kingdom, was not read. The second ordained that no non conformist minister should live within five miles of any town. Bunyan did *inhabit* and *live* in Bedford by compulsion, but he was not proceeded against, although it would have been as just as was the conduct of the Recorder of London on the trial of Penn, for holding a conventicle; for he ordered an officer of the court to put Penn’s hat on his head, and then fined Penn for having it on!! The third of these Acts was to suppress all meetings for worship among the nonconformists; these were passed in 1665, 1666, and 1671, and in a short time made the frightful desolations to which we have before referred; so that it appears as if the First Part was written before 1666 or 1667, when these abominable laws were enforced, and the Second Part

after their effects had been seen and felt. That these horrid laws were obtained and put in force by the clergy, urged on by the bishops, we have melancholy proof. Even all publicans attending any conventicle, had their licenses taken from them.^[216] In the diocese of Salisbury, not one dissenting meeting was left. On October 11, 1666, an order was issued, that in Scotland all leases and rents should be void as to those who did not attend the parish church. Any person holding a conventicle was fined five thousand marks; and at length the King ordered military execution in that kingdom upon all non-conformists, without process or conviction.^[217] The result of the severe sufferings of our Scottish forefathers in the faith, was the exemption of their posterity from the use of the detested book. The saints of those days comforted one another with a proverb: "It is better that the body should die to this world by the lions without, than that body and soul should die eternally by our lusts within." Interference with the education of the children of dissenters was under the 14 Charles II, which enacts, "That no person shall teach any children, whether in a private family or in a school, unless licensed by his diocesan, and all were to be taught according to the *Book of Common Prayer*," or ruinous fines and imprisonments were enforced. Thus the Slough of Despond became more foul; the spring of water became muddy; the lions so thinned the number of pilgrims that the grass grew upon the road, and the monster was very rampant. He who feels no indignation when listening to such enormous crimes perpetrated by wicked laws, has the despicable spirit of a slave. Nothing but the voice of the Saviour commanding us to forgive His and our enemies, could prevent us leading our children to the altar of our God to swear eternal enmity against a system founded on tyranny, and producing as its effects all the abominations of desolation.

There is great reason to suppose that the man in the iron cage, at the Interpreter's house, alludes to an apostate, one John Child. He had been a Baptist minister, and was born at Bedford in 1638. It may have been to him that Burroughs refers in his account of a disputation which he and some Quakers had in Bedford Church with John Bunion, and one Fen, and J. Child, Nov. 23, 1656. They, as Burroughs says, laid down, "That very God and the everlasting Father died on the cross as man. That the Word that was in the beginning was crucified. That justification is without respect to obedience. That there is a light which convinceth of sin, besides the light of Christ. That there is no saving knowledge, but comes from without from Heaven."^[218]

John Child was then only eighteen years of age, and he appears to have been an intimate friend of Bunyan's, so that when his "Vindication of Gospel Truths" was published, John Child united in a recommendatory preface — this was in 1657. From a dread of persecution he conformed to the Church of England, and he may be the person referred to in Bunyan's "Defence of Justification," who said, "If the devil should preach, I would hear him, before I would suffer persecution; as a brave fellow which I could name, in his rant, was pleased to declare." This poor wretch afterwards became terrified with awful compunctions of conscience. He was visited by Mr. Keach, Mr. Collins, and a Mr. B. (probably Bunyan). When pressed to return to the fold of Christ, he said, "If ever I am taken at a meeting, they will have no mercy on me, and triumph, *This is the man that made his recantation*; and then ruin me to all intents and purposes, and I cannot bear the thought of a cross nor a prison. I had a fancy, the other morning, that the sheriff's officers were coming to seize all that I had." His cries were awful. "*I shall go to hell; I am broken in judgment: when I think to pray, either I have a flushing in my face, as if were in a flame, or I am dumb and cannot speak.*" In a fit of desperation he destroyed himself on the 15th October 1684. This was one of the innumerable unholy triumphs of the state in its interference with religion.[\[219\]](#)

Christian's sleeping in the arbour, as well as the emblem of the muck-rake seen in the Interpreter's house, is illustrated by Quarles in his *Emblems* —

"Well, sleep thy fill, and take thy soft reposes;
But know, withal, sweet tastes have sour closes;
And he repents in thorns, that sleeps in beds of roses."[\[220\]](#)

And on an avaricious muck-rake —

"The vulture of insatiate minds
Still wants, and wanting seeks, and seeking finds
New fuel to increase her rav'ous fire."[\[221\]](#)

The warning giving by Evangelist to the pilgrims, that persecution awaited them, might have been drawn from the affectionately faithful conduct of Mr. Gifford, Bunyan's pastor, in encouraging him to preach in the villages at the risk of imprisonment, and even of death.

The trial at Vanity Fair is an almost unconscious operation of quiet but keen satire upon the trials which took place at the time, sanctioned by all the

formalities of law: “they brought them forth to their trial *in order* to their condemnation.” “The imaginary trial of Faithful, before a jury composed of personified vices, was just and merciful, when compared with the real trial of Lady Alice Lisle before that tribunal where all the vices sat in the person of Jefferies.”^[222]

This is one of the most remarkable passages in the “Pilgrim’s Progress.” It is impossible to doubt that Bunyan intended to satirize the mode in which state trials were conducted under Charles II. The license given to witnesses for the prosecution, the shameless partiality and ferocious insolence of the judge, the precipitancy and the blind rancour of the jury, remind us of those odious mummeries which, from the Restoration to the Revolution, were merely forms preliminary to hanging, drawing, and quartering. Lord Hate-good performs the office of counsel for the prisoners, as well as Scroggs himself could have performed it. No one who knows the state trials can be at a loss for parallel cases. Indeed, write what Bunyan would, the baseness and cruelty of the lawyers of those times “sinned up to it still,” and even went beyond it.

“*Judge*. Thou runagate, heretic, and traitor, hast thou heard what these honest gentlemen have witnessed against thee?

“*Faithful*. May I speak a few words in my own defence?

“*Judge*. Sirrah, sirrah! thou deservest to live no longer, but to be slain immediately upon the place; yet, that all men may see our gentleness to thee, let us hear what thou, vile runagate, hast to say.”

Had Bunyan possessed lands, or wealth, to have excited the cupidity of the lawyers or informers, he would not have escaped hanging for so faithful a picture of Judge Jefferies.

Every dissenter should read the trial of William Penn and William Mead, which took place in August 1670.^[223] They were indicted for preaching in Grace-church Street, the police and military having taken possession of the Friends’ Meeting-house there. The jury refused to find Mead guilty, when the judge addressed them — “Gentlemen, you shall not be dismissed till we have a verdict that the court will accept; and you shall be locked up without meat, drink, fire, and tobacco. You shall not thus think to abuse the court; we will

have a verdict, by the help of God, or you shall starve for it.” They requested an essential accommodation, but it was peremptorily denied. Having been locked up all night, on the following morning, when the court was opened, the jury again persisted in finding Mead not guilty; and the foreman said, “We have agreed according to our consciences.” The Lord-mayor replied, “That conscience of yours would cut my throat”; he answered, “No, my Lord, it never shall”; when the Lord-mayor said, “But I will cut yours so soon as I can.”

Again they were locked up until the evening; they then kept to their verdict, when the Lord-mayor threatened to cut the foreman’s nose, Penn said, “It is intolerable that my jury should be thus menaced,” when the Mayor cried out, “Stop his mouth; jailer, bring fetters, and stake him to the ground.” Penn replied calmly, “Do your pleasure; I matter not your fetters”: and the recorder thus addressed the jury, “I say you shall go together, and bring in another verdict, or you shall starve.” A second night they were locked up without food or accommodation. On the third morning these true-born Englishmen again brought in their verdict NOT GUILTY, and for this the jury were sent as prisoners to Newgate!!! Their names were, Thomas Veer, Edward Bushell, John Hammond, Henry Henley, Henry Michel, John Brightman, Charles Milson, Gregory Walklet, John Baily, William Lover, James Damask, and Wil Plumsted — names that ought to be printed in gold, and exhibited in the house of every non-conformist, and sculptured in marble to ornament our new House of Commons. The effects of persecution for refusing to obey man when he usurped the throne of God, hastened an approaching era. England shuddered; dissenters increased; and eventually the King saved his contemptible head by the quickness of his heels. Toleration succeeded persecution, and it is now time that freedom should take the place of toleration, and the liberties of Englishmen be freed from the polluted touch of any hierarchy.

The difference between the time when the First Part of the “Pilgrim’s Progress” was written, and the Second printed, appears very strikingly in the state of the town of Vanity. “In those days we were afraid to walk the streets, but *now* we can show our heads. *Then* the name of a professor was odious, *now*, specially in some parts of our town, religion is counted honourable.”

The surprising difference between *then* and now can only be accounted for by

the Declaration for liberty Of Conscience made in 1672, while the author was in prison, proving by strong circumstantial evidence that the First Part was written before 1672, the Second having been written before 1684, and even then the non-conformist ministers were called “kidnappers”;^[224] and very soon after this, persecution again lifted up her accursed head.

How keenly does Christian unravel the subtleties of By-ends and his company! Bunyan was awfully but justly severe against hypocrisy upon such as named the name of Christ, and did not depart from iniquity. In his “Holy Life, the Beauty of Christianity,” he thus addresses such characters: “Christ calls them hypocrites, whitened walls, painted sepulchres, fools, and blind. This is the man that hath the breath of a dragon; he poisons the air round about him. This is the man that slays his children, his kinsmen, his friend, and himself; that offends his little ones. Oh! the millstone that God will shortly hang about your neck, when the time is come that you must be drowned in the sea and deluge of God’s wrath.”^[225]

When By-ends would have joined the Pilgrim’s company, Christian was decided: “Not a step further, unless you will own religion in his rags as well as when in his silver slippers, and stand by him, too, when bound in irons.” A writer in the *Edinburgh Review*^[226] very justly says —

“The town of Bedford probably contained more than one politician, who, after contriving to raise an estate by seeking the Lord during the reign of the saints, contrived to keep what he had got by persecuting the saints during the reign of the strumpets.”

Christian having admirably triumphed over these enemies and over Demas, becomes confident, and not only involves himself, but leads his companion into great trouble, by leaving the strait but rough road, and thus falling into the hands of a fearful giant. While in the dungeon, and suffering under awful doubts, Bunyan aptly introduces the subject of suicide. This dialogue upon self-murder, between Christian and Hopeful in Doubting Castle, might have been intended as an antidote to Dr. Donne’s singular treatise to prove “that self-homicide is not so naturally sin, that it may never be otherwise.” So singular a thesis by a learned man and a dignitary of the Church, must have made a deep impression upon the public. It was published by authority in 1644. In his preface, the learned Doctor says, “Whether it be because I had my first breeding and conversation with men of a suppressed and afflicted

religion, accustomed to the despite of death, or from other causes; whosoever any affliction assails me, methinks I have *the keys of the prison* in my own hand, and no remedy presents itself so soon to my heart as mine own sword. Often meditation of this hath won me to a charitable interpretation of their action who die so"; and his conclusion is,^[227] "that self-homicide may be free, not only from enormous degrees of sin, but from all."

The whole work displays great learning and extreme subtlety; I doubt much whether St. Thomas Aquinas could have argued so absurdly wicked a proposition better; and against such an adversary Bunyan appears in the person of Hopeful, and in a few words dissipates all the mist of his subtleties, and exposes the utter peril and destruction that must follow so awful a sin as self-murder. The dignitary of the Church was taught by schoolmen a difference between sins which a simple Christian could not have conceived. Dr. Donne quotes the penitential canons which inflict a greater penance upon one who kills his wife, than upon one who kills his mother; "not that the fault is greater, but that, otherwise, *more* would commit it."^[228] Our pious Pilgrim, taught by the Holy Spirit, abhors *all* sin as bringing the curse of the law upon the sinner, and requiring the blood of atonement to cleanse its stain.

The view of those who fell under despair, as seen from the Delectable Mountains, is exactly in accordance with the experience narrated in the "Grace Abounding," No. 186. "O the unthought-of imaginations, frights, fears, and terrors, that are affected by a thorough application of guilt, yielded to desperation! this is the man that hath his dwelling among the tombs with the dead." Compare this with the Pilgrim's feelings in Doubting Castle, and their view from the Delectable Mountains.

Bunyan was by nature a philosopher; he knew the devices of Satan, and warns the professor of his danger of backsliding. The conversation upon this subject between the pilgrims, opens the depths of the human heart, and the subtleties of Satan. One Temporary represents those professors who return to the world; he had wept under a sense of sin; had set out on pilgrimage, but was perverted by Save-self. Christian had a narrow escape from Worldly-wiseman, but Temporary was lost. He warns the pilgrim of one great device of the enemy in his treatise of "A Holy Life." "Take heed, professor, of those sins which Satan finds most suitable to your temper and constitution"; these, as the little end of the wedge, enter with ease, and so make way for those that

come after, with which Satan knows he can rend the soul in pieces.

In the conversation with Ignorance, Bunyan speaks the sentiments, but not in the language of Arthur Dent, when, in the *Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven*, he says —

“You measure yourselves by yourselves, and by others; which is a false mete-wand. For you seem to lie straight, so long as you are measured by yourselves and by others; but lay the rule of God's Word unto you, and then you lie altogether crooked.”

At length Christian and Hopeful arrive at the river which has no bridge; they cross in safety, and ascend to blessedness, which “eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive.” We see them enter, and are ready to exclaim —

“Celestial visions — Then the wondrous story,
Of *Bunyan's Pilgrims* seem'd a tide most true;
How he beheld their entrance into glory,
And saw them pass the pearly portal through;
Catching, meanwhile, a beatific view
Of that bright city, shining like the sun
Whose glittering streets appear'd of golden hue,
Where spirits of the just their conflicts done,
Walk'd in white robes, with palms, and crowned
every one.”^[229]

After having accompanied the Pilgrim and his friend Hopeful to the gates of the Celestial City, and longed to enter with him into the realms of bliss, we naturally revert to his widow and orphans, and with renewed delight do we find the truth of the promise: “Thy Maker is thy husband,” “a father to the fatherless.” We unite heart and soul with the amiable family at the Interpreter's house, who “leaped for joy” when they arrived. And on reaching the Palace Beautiful, “O what a noise for gladness was there within, when the Damsel did but drop that word out of her mouth — Christiana and her boys have come on pilgrimage!” Having been the road before, we feel renewed pleasure at every step, and richly enjoy our new companions; for the inexhaustible treasures of Bunyan's mind furnishes us with new pleasures every step of the way.

Bunyan's views of church-fellowship show his heavenly-mindedness, and

happy would it be for the church if all its members were deeply imbued with these peaceful, lovely principles; he thus expresses them:

“Christians are like the several FLOWERS in a garden, that have upon each of them the Dew of Heaven, which being shaken with the wind, they let fall their dew at each other’s roots, whereby they are jointly nourished, and become nourishers of one another. Also where the Gardiner has set them, there they stand, and quarrel not with one another. For Christians to commune savourly of God’s matters one with another, it is as if they opened to each other’s nostrils Boxes of Perfumes.^[230] Saith Paul to the Church at Rome: *I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift, to the end you may be established; that is, that I may be comforted together with you, by the mutual faith both of you and me*” (Rom. 1:11, 12).

The character of Mercy is lovely throughout the whole journey; but there is a circumstance in her courtship which may not be generally understood. It is where she refers to the conduct of her brother in-law to her sister Bountiful — a method of separating man and wife at all times perfectly illegal, and happily at present unknown: “Because my sister was resolved to do as she begun, that is, to show kindness to the poor, therefore her husband first cried her down at the cross, and then turned her out of his doors.” This is a summary mode of divorce, not mentioned in any work on vulgar customs or popular antiquities. My kind friend, the Rev. J. Jukes, the pastor of the church at Bedford, informs me, “That the practice of crying a wife at the market-cross seems to have prevailed in Bedfordshire almost to the present time, and to have been merely a mode of advertisement to the public, that the husband would not pay the debts of his wife, contracted subsequent to the time when it occurred.”

The character of Mr. Brisk is wittily drawn in Bunyan’s Emblems: —

“Candles that do blink within the socket,
And saints whose eyes are always in their pocket,
Are much alike; such candies make us fumble;
And at such saints, good men and had do
tumble.”

Bunyan enjoyed the beauties of nature, especially the singing of birds; thus when Christiana leaves the Palace Beautiful, the songs of the birds are reduced to poetry, to comfort the pilgrims. A bird furnished him with one of the Divine Emblems. It is upon the lark:

“This pretty bird, oh! how she flies and sings
But could she do so if she had not wings?
Her wings bespeak my faith, her songs my peace;
When I believe and sing, my doubtings cease.”

Mercy longs for that mirror which flatters not, and the shepherds give her a Bible. Modern Christians may wonder that she had not previously furnished herself with one; doubtless she had the use of one, and all her pocket-money went to relieve the distresses of the poor of Christ’s flock. Think of the thousands of pious men and women incarcerated in dungeons, because they loved Christ, and dared not violate conscience. What a charge upon those saints who possessed the means of rendering them assistance! The revenues of the Church by law established were never used for the distribution of Bibles. The Church had obtained a most enormous and injurious privilege, for the sole printing of Bibles in all languages, to withhold altogether, or give a supply as they chose. The natural consequence of this was, a high price for books printed on had paper, and miserably incorrect. Of late years, part of the wealth she derived from her monopoly in printing incorrect Bibles has been wrung from her, and the Word of life now flows all pure as a mighty river, to refresh the earth. All honour be paid to those who fought that battle, and obtained that important victory. In Bunyan’s time, the Church allowed it only “in a niggard stream, and that polluted.” Herbert has well expressed the value of the mirror which Mercy longed for:

“The Bible is the looking-glass of souls, wherein
All men may see
Whether they be
Still as by nature they are, deformed with sin;
Or in a better case,
As new adorned with grace.”^[231]

And he has thus shown the value of its sacred pages, to guide the benighted travelers: “Great-heart struck a light, and took a view of his book or map.

“The Bible! That’s the book. The book indeed,
The book of books!
On which who looks,
As he should do aright, shall never need
Wish for a better light
To guide him in the night

The Christian reader can scarcely know, after having read the whole volume, which gave the greatest enjoyment — whether travelling in company with Christian and his bosom friend, or the delightful feelings excited by witnessing the matronly conduct of Christiana; seeing her modest friend, Mercy, a lovely companion, or the excellent picture of child-like behaviour in the four boys: retracing the road, every step becomes delightfully interesting, and the Valley of Humiliation the most lovely picture of the whole. The courtship of Mr. Brisk — the additions to their company — the weddings, and the happy close[232] — this, with the final perseverance of the whole party, leads every reader earnestly to wish for a Third Part, more adventures, more of the Divine goodness, more proofs that in this world, with all its bitterness, the Gospel of Jesus Christ makes its possessors happy; yes, “we have the promise of the life that now is, as well as of that which is to come.”

But death, probably from the latent effects of his imprisonment, cut short the valuable life of the pilgrim’s friend. And now, after long neglect, his country is teeming with his name as a national honour, and scarcely knows how sufficiently to show respect and admiration to his memory. Magnificent merchant-ships bear that name to oriental and transatlantic countries. Several thousand pounds have been subscribed to adorn the scene of his labours at Bedford, with a BUNYAN CHAPEL, capable of seating about twelve hundred worshippers — a more appropriate monument to his memory than a statue or a splendid tomb. The pens of our greatest literary men have been employed to exhibit his singular piety, his extraordinary talent, and his extensive usefulness, and his image is to be placed with those of Milton, Shakespeare, Hampden, and the giant men who have shed glory upon this nation, in the splendid new house in which the Commons of England are to hold their sittings.

HACKNEY, *Sept.* 1850. GEO. OFFOR.

FOOTNOTES:

[1] Bunyan's own account of his imprisonment, volume 1, pages 56, 57.

[2] From a poem by Stephen Colledge, a preaching mechanic, written a few days before he suffered death, August 1681.

[3] He was called, in Bedford, the grand informer. Such were the indignant feelings of his neighbours, that his widow was unable to hire a hearse, but took his body in a cart to the grave. See *Narrative of Proceedings against the Nonconformists at Bedford*, 4to, 1670, in the Editor's possession.

[4] A fine perfect copy is in the Editor's library.

[5] On an ancient painting of Tyndale, the martyr, in possession of the Editor. Under an emblematical device, on one side of the portrait, is the poetical description. The representation is of a book tied to a stake, burning, while a number of similar books are flying out of the fire.

[6] See Preface to his "Confession of Faith," volume 1, page 593.

[7] The bank of this river, Ouse, had been famous for the magnificent mausoleum of Offa, king of the Mercians, one of the illustrious murderers and robbers of his time, from whom the Editor's family, in their foolish vanity, claim descent; but this, as Camden says, "a more violent and swifter stream than ordinary in a flood swooped clean away." Upon the bridge being erected, a pier was raised from the river to support the two centre arches; and in this pier was Bunyan's gloomy prison. This dark place, a fit habitation for cruelty, has also been swept away. The eye of John Howard, in 1788, penetrated into this den, and he thus described it — "The men and women felons associate together; their night rooms are two dungeons—only one court for debtors and felons — no infirmary — no bath." — Howard's *Lazarettoes and Prisons*, 4to, 1789, page 150. Well might Bunyan call it "a den"! The gate-house was pulled down in 1765, and the prison was demolished very soon after Howard had unveiled its gloomy wretchedness. The bridge was only fourteen feet wide; the dungeons must have been small indeed. How strange an apartment did God select for His servant, in which to write this important book!

[8] A deeply-interesting paper usually appended to Bunyan's Works, folio, 1692.

[9] Upon his first release from prison, in 1666, he published “Grace Abounding,” and in the title-page states “also what he hath met with in prison. All which was written by his own hand there.” The Preface to “A Defence of Justification” is dated from prison, 1671. So his “Confession”: — “Thine in bonds for the Gospel.”

[10] The Margent.

[11] By Thomas Collins, written on the blank leaf of the fourth edition, 1680, presented to the Editor by — Bullar, Esq., Southampton.

[12] Charles Doe, in the *Struggler*.

[13] This controversy was, whether or not water baptism is a prerequisite to receiving the Lord’s Supper, and who is to be the judge as to the mode of its administration. Some of the churches agreed with the Church of England as to their power to decree rites and ceremonies. Not so John Bunyan. He considered that this question should be left to the personal decision of every candidate. The fruits of the new birth, the baptism of the Holy Ghost, which alone is the door of admission to the Saviour’s family, was, in his opinion, the only question to be decided by the church, as a prerequisite to admission to the table of his Lord. See Matthew 3:12; Mark 1:8; Luke 3:16; John 1:26-33; compared with Hebrews 6:2, and Ephesians 4:5.

[14] Southey’s *Life of Bunyan*, 32.

[15] *North American Review*, volume 79.

[16] Bunyan’s *Works*, 8vo. Preface by Ryland.

[17] John Gifford had been a major in the King’s army; was convicted for raising an insurrection in Kent, and sentenced to die, but made his escape from prison, and settled in Bedford as a medical practitioner. He was a great persecutor, but became, after his conversion, a Baptist minister, and formed his fellow-converts into a church at Bedford, about 1650, over which he was the minister. Bunyan joined this church in 1653, and eventually became its pastor in 1671; and it continues to this day a flourishing Christian church. His pastoral letter, written a short time before his death, is one of the finest specimens of a pious shepherd’s anxiety for the happiness of his flock that has ever been published. It was printed for the first time in 1849, in *Brief History of Bunyan’s Church, by its present minister, John Jukes*. *Vide* also

Brooke's *Lives of the Puritans*, volume 3, page 257.

[18] "Gospel Truths Vindicated," (vol. 2, p. 201).

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] The public were indebted to Mr. S.J. Button for a new and handsome edition of this work in 1824.

[21] From February 13 to March 27, 1671.

[22] (Vol. 2, p. 278).

[23] (P. 283).

[24] (Vol. 2, p. 293).

[25] *Designs of Christianity*, (8vo, 1671, p. 239).

[26] *Ibid.* (p. 242).

[27] "Defence of the Doctrine of Justification," (vol. 2, p. 322).

[28] *Dirt wipt off*, (4to, 1672, title).

[29] *Ibid.* (preface).

[30] *Ibid.* (p. 2).

[31] *Ibid.* (p. 3). This exactly agrees with the opinion of Justice Chester, expressed at the assizes when Bunyan's wife so nobly pressed Judge Hale to release him: "My lord," said Justice Chester, "he is a pestilent fellow, there is not such a fellow in the country again." — *Relation of Bunyan's Imprisonment*, (vol. 1. P. 57).

[32] *Dirt wipt off*, (p. 70).

[33] "Pilgrim's Progress," Part II, Vanity Fair.

[34] Hat-bands were gay bunches of ribbons and rosettes fastened round the hat or cap. Room for the noble gladiator! See His coat and hat-band show his quality.

[35] *Biog. Hist. of England.*

[36] "Vindication of Gospel Truths," (query 8, vol. 1, p. 209).

[37] See Burroughs' *Works*, (p. 30).

[38] That thorough courtier, Lord Halifax, apologizes for him thus: “If he dissembled, let us remember that he was a king; and that dissimulation is a jewel in the royal crown” — (Harris' *Charles II*, vol. 2, p. 16).

[39] Declaration from Breda.

[40] Meaning the restoration of the Stuart dynasty.

[41] Mr. Roger Cook. Kenuet's *History of England*, (vol. 3, p. 265).

[42] “Grace Abounding,” No. 335.

[43] Crosby's *History*, (vol. 2, p. 184).

[44] Dr. Cheever's *Lectures*.

[45] This book, with “M. Bunyan” on the title-page, is in the Editor's possession.

[46] Paris, 1809, (tom. 10 p. 71): “Huit mille *dissenters* de toutes les croyances pirirent en prison.”

[47] Hooke's *address to both Houses of Parliament*, (4to, 1674).

[48] *Ibid.*

[49] Besse's *Sufferings*.

[50] *Ibid.* (vol. 1, p. 191).

[51] Devonshire House, in a volume of tracts (4to, No. 57).

[52] Evidently written by an eye-witness.

[53] *Christian Examiner*, (vol. 1, p. 211).

[54] Spelt “Roughed” in the Indulgence, 1672.

[55] In the library of the Editor.

[56] *Narrative*, (p. 9).

[57] *Narrative*, (p. 4).

[58] See “Saints' Knowledge of Christ's Love,” (vol. 2, p. 38).

[59] Southey's *Life of Bunyan* (p. 66).

[60] Dr. Cheever (p. 95).

[61] *England's Present Interest*, (4to, 1676) by William Penn.

[62] *England's Present Interest*, Preface.

[63] *Ibid.* (p. 39).

[64] *Ibid.* (p. 57).

[65] Extracted from the Register of the Privy Council.

[66] "Relation of the Imprisonment of John Bunyan," (vol. 1, pp. 40, 41); and judge Hale's observation (p. 42).

[67] See a similar form of registration in Wilson's *History of Dissenting Churches*, (vol. 3, p. 87) — The house of Thos. Doolittle, dated April 2, 1672. CHARLES &c. To all Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables.

[68] Whitehead's *Christian Progress*, (8vo, 1725, p. 358).

[69] Charles II's notion of being pious must have arisen from the flattery bestowed upon his father, it being impossible to have arisen from any other source. "The conceptions of kings are as far above the vulgar as their condition is; for, being higher elevated, and walking upon the battlements of sovereignty, they sooner receive the inspirations of Heaven" — Howell's *Dodona's Grove* (p. 61). Why not conduct Divine service over the dome of St. Paul's?

[70] Print-room, British Museum.

[71] See volume 2, page 74.

[72] *The Struggler*.

[73] *Life*, (18mo, 1692); republished by Ivimey, 1832, (p. 31).

[74] The "Holy War," in which these lines were inserted.

[75] Preface to "Solomon's Temple Spiritualized."

[76] (Vol. 1, p. 153).

[77] *Bunyan's Pilgrim*: an Epic Poem by C.C.V.G., 1884 (p. 44).

[78] Montgomery's *Christian Poet*.

[79] Southey's *Life of Bunyan* (p. 10).

[80] Introductory Essay to the "Pilgrim's Progress," (p. 25) Collins.

[81] Dr. Cheever.

[82] "A lye"; water impregnated with alkaline salt.

[83] Hence "the descent into hell" in a Popish creed, falsely called "the Apostles' Creed."

[84] From a copy in the Editor's library, printed by Wynkin de Worde.

[85] British Museum, (21, d).

[86] The pilgrim's staff.

[87] "Rather fylthe"; early pollution, original sin.

[88] Reader, this is *undisguised* Popery, published to the world before the Reformation, by the Church of Rome. Judge for yourself. Do papists pray to the Virgin? Is she their intercessor and saviour?

[89] Synderesys.

[90] His staff or vows.

[91] "Bone" in the poem. The French word not translated.

[92] "A forset"; a bundle.

[93] Strange perversion of the words, "Ye must be born again"!

[94] Brothels.

[95] "Heryed"; praised — from which is derived *hurrah*.

[96] "Mote"; must.

[97] "Pegal"; equal.

[98] Addit. MSS., Bibl. Eg. 1615. It was bought of Mr. Rodd, 1836, but appears to want the first leaf of the text.

[99] This rare book is in the library of Queen's College, Oxford. I am indebted to my friend, Mr. Underhill, for the above analysis.

[100] Guillaume de Guilleville, moine de chaliz. It was printed in Paris by Allerard; not dated, but about the year 1500. Mr. Greswell, in his notice of this book, says, “Not only in early ages, but in later also, mankind have been found less willing to be instructed by abstract reasoning, than by fables or similitudes. Hence the popularity of these old religious fictions. The “PILGRIM’S PROGRESS” of our day confessedly excels all others of its kind. And though some have endeavoured to trace its prototype in earlier works, it was a perfectly spontaneous and original effort of the genius of its unlettered author.” See *Annals of Parisian Typography*, (p. 245).

[101] *Retrospective Review* (vol. 2, p. 327).

[102] “Placarde”; a stomacher or breastplate, frequently ornamental with jewels.

[103] “Larges”; a bounty bestowed, a large gift — *Imperial Dictionary*.

[104] “Consuetude”; custom, common law or equity, as distinguished from statute law or justice.

[105] *Hist. des Hommes illustres*, 44 tom. Paris, 1725.

[106] Volume 1, page 44.

[107] *Ibid.*

[108] Brit. Mus. Bib. Egert. 846. B.

[109] Brit. Mus. Eg. 657.

[110] Brit. Mus. Roy. Lib. 17, 100, 8.

[111] Copied from a fine and perfect MS. In the Editor’s library, chapter 44.

[112] *Ibid.*

[113] *Typographical Antiquities*, (vol. 2, p. 37).

[114] Melody from “streuen,” or strain.

[115] Cap. 44, part 2.

[116] It is very surprising that so little appears to be known of this good man; he was a Carthusian monk of Sion, or Shene, and author of about twelve different works.

[117] “Halsed”; bowed the head, embraced, saluted.

[118] Richard Whytforde, a monk in the monastery of Syon, near Richmond, on the banks of the Thames.

[119] “Nawfrage”; shipwreck.

[120] In the Editor’s library. See *Renouard Annales, de l’Imprimarie des Alde*, (vol. 1, p. 397).

[121] Stockings.

[122] Armour for the arms.

[123] Mr. Lowndes, in his *Bibliographical Manual*, says that Bunyan, in his “Pilgrim’s Progress,” was much indebted to this Wandering Knight!!

[124] Adieu.

[125] Edit. Rouen, 1609, 8vo, p.97.

[126] (P. 160).

[127] (P. 48).

[128] (P. 170.)

[129] (P. 221.)

[130] (Pp. 371, 372, Edit 1625.)

[131] In the Editor’s library.

[132] “Gage”; a pledge or challenge to combat.

[133] “Palmer”: a pilgrim, from their carrying a branch of palm, especially on return.

[134] “Angels”; gold coins, one-third of a sovereign, afterwards raised to ten shillings; or the spirits of Heaven.

[135] “Foyling”; pressing, creasing, rumpling.

[136] Southey.

[137] *Report*, May 1836, (p. 392).

[138] See *Library of Learning*, (8vo, p. 465).

[139] (Pp. 356, 357). This volume is of extreme rarity; it is in the Editor's library.

[140] "Host"; the consecrated wafer.

[141] This also struck Mr. Southey. See his Letter to Sir E. Brydges in his *Autobiography*, (Vol. 2, p. 285).

[142] Lucian's *Works*, translated by Tooke, with Wieland's Notes, 4to, 1820 (vol. 2, p. 268).

[143] Postscript to Wetherall's *Life of Bunyan*, prefixed to *The Pilgrim, and Epic Poem*, by C.C.V.G., Parson's Town, 1844.

[144] *Life of Bunyan*, (p. 91).

[145] Acts 28:22. This slander was thus published in 1683. In the face of the Baptist Confession of Faith, printed in 1646, presented to Parliament, and many times reprinted, the eleventh Article in which is — "In the beginning God made all things very good; created man after His own image; full with all meet perfection of nature, and free from all sin; but long he abode not in this honour, Satan using the subtlety of the serpent to seduce, first Eve, then by her, seducing Adam, who, without any compulsion, in eating the forbidden fruit, transgressed the command of God and fell, whereby *death came upon all his posterity, who now are conceived in sin, and, by nature, the children of wrath, the servants of sin, the subjects of death, and other miseries in this world, and forever, unless the Lord Jesus Christ set them free.*" How marvellous, that a pious clergyman, while presenting to the world the Trial of Sin, should be guilty of so great a piece of iniquity, as this gross and uncalled-for misrepresentation!

[146] January 1844, p. 32.

[147] Bolswert was an engraver of great eminence. He illustrated Suequet's *Via Vitae Eternae*; the plates to this book are beautifully engraved, and are remarkable for his prolific imagination in drawing devils.

[148] "Kermes"; a Flemish fair.

[149] "Anfractuous"; winding about.

[150] "Grying"; full of turnings.

[151] “Closely”; slyly, secretly.

[152] “Clipping”; swift flying.

[153] An original copy, in possession of the Editor, (pp. 5-7).

[154] “Vindication of Gospel Truths” (vol. 2, p. 178).

[155] Southey’s *Life of Bunyan* (p. 92).

[156] A most intelligent bookseller, and a great admirer of Bunyan, lent me two volumes, observing that it was universally admitted that the triers had aided our Author; but if he had ever read the triers, it must have tried his patience, and satisfied him that there was not the slightest ground for such an admission.

[157] Eleventh edition (pp. 135, 136).

[158] “Angel”; a gold coin, in value one-third of the ancient sovereign.

[159] In the Editor’s library.

[160] A copy of this book is preserved in Dunton’s *Works*, (No. 700. A 3), in the British Museum.

[161] London, 1687.

[162] The same book was lent to Thos. Scott by Mrs. Gurney, Holborn. See Preface to the “Pilgrim’s Progress, with Notes, by the Rev. Thomas Scott.”

[163] Lent to me by my worthy friend, Mr. Leslie, Bookseller, Great Queen Street.

[164] Life and Errors of John Dunton.

[165] A perfect copy is also in the Editor’s library.

[166] One of these books is the memorial of a most valuable Seventh-day Baptist: *The Last Legacy of Mr. Joseph Davis*, who departed this Life, Feb. 16, 1706, being a Brief Account of the most Material Circumstances of his Life and Profession. Written by himself, and given at his Funeral to his Friends and Acquaintances, &c. Within a black border. Another book used for this purpose was Dr. Bates’s *Everlasting Rest of the Saints in Heaven*. My copy has, within a black border, “In remembrance of Mrs. Mary Cross, the

late wife of Mr. John Cross, &c. &c. This book she had a particular respect for; and therefore it is hoped it will by her Friends be more acceptable than Gloves." It is bound in black, with a gilt skull and cross-bones on the cover. Another of these volumes was Dr. Bates' *Four Last Things*, with his Portrait. On the title is printed, "Recommended as proper to be given at Funerals." Second edition, 1691. It is dedicated to Rachel Lady Russel. See the bookseller's advertisement, as to custom of giving a book at funerals.

[167] All these editions are in the Editor's library.

[168] The first edition is in the British Museum, but it has no title. The *Life* which is appended to it has the date 1692.

[169] Preface to the first edition of the "Pilgrim's Progress," with Mr. Newton's *Notes*. 12Mo, London, 1776. Many times reprinted.

[170] Preface to Bunyan's Works. 8vo, 1792.

[171] In possession of S. J. Button, Esq., Racquet Court; of Mr. Gammon, Bethnal Green; and of the Editor. This singular note, by Mr. Mason, is reprinted in an edition of which many thousand copies were sold, published by Plummer and Brewis, Love Lane, Eastcheap. 12mo, 1813.

[172] It is correct in the edition of 1728, of which Lord Ashburnham and the Editor have very fine copies.

[173] With Scott's *Notes* and Montgomery's *Essay*. Glasgow, by Collins.

[174] Editions with Mason's *Notes*, and in the first with Sturt's *Plates*, 1728.

[175] Sturt's edition (p. 167).

[176] Editions by Birds and Co., Edinburgh, 8vo; Mosley, Gainsborough, 1792, &c.; London, with Newton's *Notes*, 1776; and by D. Bunyan, 1768.

[177] It occurs also in an edition by Hodson and Deighton, London, 1792.

[178] Sturt's edition (p. 9).

[179] (P. 178).

[180] *Gentleman's Magazine*, April 1844. It is in a small 12mo, the price of which is 6s.!

[181] Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," Romaic, by S.J. Bilson. 8vo Melitae, 1824. Brit. Mus. Addl. Books.

[182] See *Lists by Tract Society*, in *Report*, 1847; and in *The Pilgrim*, a tract. Also, copies in possession of the Editor.

[183] Uniformly spelt, in this book, *ceur*.

[184] A fine copy is in the library of S.J. Button, Esq., Racquet Court, Fleet Street.

[185] British Museum, 1113, b.

[186] In possession of Mr. Thornton, the Cottage, Clapham Common.

[187] A fine copy in possession of the Editor.

[188] Books sold by hawkers.

[189] Sturt and Strut were men of a different era.

[190] The meeting of Christian and Faithful, one of them with a crucifix; the destruction of By-ends, &c.

[191] See page 47.

[192] (P. 60).

[193] A perfect copy in the library of W. B. Gurney, Esq.; and another in the library of Lord Ashburnham. Mr. Pickering has one without the translator's name; this is merely a new title, probably to make the rhyme pass as Bunyan's. It is referred to by Mr. Southey in his *Life of Bunyan*, (p. 98).

[194] Post 8vo, Harding and king, 1834.

[195] Post 8vo, London, 1835.

[196] Postscript to a *Life of Bunyan*, 1844.

[197] Brit. Mus. 113, b.; Editor's library.

[198] Thomas Scott, author of the *Commentary on the Bible*, and other valuable works. Sir James Stephen, in his *Ecclesiastical Biography*, says of Thomas Scott — "He died neglected, if not despised, by the hierarchy of the Church of England; although in him she lost a teacher, weighed against

whom the most reverend, right reverend, very reverend, and venerable personages, if all thrown together into the opposing scale, would at once have kicked the beam" — (Vol. 2, p. 123).

[199] 12mo, with Plates. Coventry, 1797.

[200] Pritchard's *Life of Ivimey* (p. 139).

[201] (P. 245).

[202] British Museum, 1103, e.

[203] King's Library, British Museum, 245 f. 7.

[204] (P. 63.)

[205] In the Editor's Library. First Edition. 1800 and Seventh Edition, 1801.

[206] British Museum.

[207] (P. 13).

[208] Mrs. Piozzi's *Ancedotes*.

[209] Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, 8vo. (vol. 2, p. 219).

[210] Macauley, *Edinburgh Review*, 1831.

[211] At church, obliged to sit still, while a dull parson read equally dull sermons.

[212] *Private Life of Franklin*.

[213] *Life and Writings of Toplady*. Works, (vol. 1, p. 40). 8vo, 1825. It may be true that Patrick's Pilgrim was intended as an antidote to what he considered the fanaticism of Bunyan's other writings, but the Bishop's *Pilgrim* was published prior to that of John Bunyan.

[214] Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Chief Justices* (vol. 1, p. 561).

[215] Published by Rickerby, Sherborne Lane, 1838.

[216] See Harris' *Life of Charles II* (vol. 2, p. 106, &c.).

[217] *Ibid.* (p. 120).

[218] Burrough's *Works*, folio (p. 305).

[219] *Relation of the Life and Death of John Child*, 1734.

[220] Book 1—7.

[221] Book 2—2.

[222] *Edinburgh Review*, December 1831.

[223] *State Trials*; and also published at the time, price 2d.

[224] Marginal notes to the Second Part of “Pilgrim.”

[225] See Volume 2, page 530.

[226] December, 1831.

[227] Donne’s *Thesis* (p. 26).

[228] (P. 28).

[229] Barton’s *Minor Poems*, (p. 75). 1824, fep. 8vo.

[230] Volume 2, page 570; Treatise on “Christian Behaviour”; see also the “Pilgrim,” Part 2, of the garden in the Interpreter’s house.

[231] Herbert’s *Synagogue*, (p. 1).

[232] The last words of Christiana were — “I come, Lord, to lie with Thee, and bless Thee.”

— “How my heart
Longs, JESUS, for Thy coming! to set free,
Th’ imprison’d pilgrim from frail flesh and sin,
From evil and from death, to wing her way,
Her joyful way, to liberty and Thee!”