A changing hero: the relevance of Bunyan’s Pilgrim and The Pilgrim’s Progress through three centuries of children’s literature

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A CHANGING HERO: THE RELEVANCE OF BUNYAN'S PILGRIM AND THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS THROUGH THREE CENTURIES OF CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

by

MARY TRIM

A DOCTORAL THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy of the Loughborough University of Technology

February, 1998

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The Pilgrim's Progress is accepted in the canon of children's literature due to its early adoption by child readers and because of its outstanding qualities. This thesis explores some possible reasons for the work's popularity and longevity.

A New Historian approach suggests the relevance of Bunyan's pilgrim hero and his narrative to each of the three centuries since the work's first publication. It focuses particularly on the interaction between society, child and text, considering the societal and psychic dimensions. History and Developmental Theory, including that of Faith Development, are drawn on as particular resources. A propositional model provides visual explanation for the interactionary role of the components and suggests a scientific basis for the relevance factors.

A broad sample of copies of The Pilgrim's Progress, published from 1678 until 1994, is surveyed in order to test the hypothesis that the hero is a changing one, affected by society's changing norms and ethos. Bunyan's influence on writers for children over the three centuries is also considered, leading to recognition of The Pilgrim's Progress as a prototype for children's literature.
My interest in *The Pilgrim's Progress* began soon after I started learning phonics. I then discovered, in the bookcase in my bedroom, an embellished-covered book with a word that I could sound out: B-u-n-y-a-n.

Its illustrations fascinated me. Many of them were exciting, such as a soldier in armour whacking a great giant; another was of dragons and ghosts. One picture I really liked was of smiling children who made daisy chains, as was my own habit.

On the same shelf were other books that caught my attention, especially ancient volumes of D'Aubigne's *History of the Reformation* and a novel, *Cherry Square*. Respectfully I placed my own books, *Our Little Dots* and Hans Christian Andersen's fairy stories, beside them.

In retrospect I see that, in the bookcase of my childhood lay the inspiration of my tertiary education and professional career. There was *The Pilgrim's Progress* and by it stood works of religious history and adult and children's literature, disciplines which come together in this thesis, along with an understanding of child-developmental theory which I acquired at Master's level much later on.

In any case, at five years of age, I looked at the pictures of *The Pilgrim's Progress* and sensed, though dimly, that this book was special. -- Mary Trim.
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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used.

GA  Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners, by John Bunyan. 1666
MLA  The Modern Language Association
OED  Oxford English Dictionary
PP  The Pilgrim's Progress, by John Bunyan
RTS  The Religious Tract Society
SPCK  The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge
SSU  The Sunday School Union
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Finally, words are inadequate to express my deepest thanks to my husband -- a true pilgrim hero -- who has stood by me throughout and who always encouraged me to pursue my dream.

-- Mary Trim
"L'histoire, qu'est-ce autre chose qu'une analyse du présent, puisque c'est dans le passé que l'on trouve les éléments dont est formé le présent?"  
-- Émile Durkheim

But where is he, the Pilgrim of my song, 
The being who upheld it through the past? 
Methinks he cometh late and tarries long.  
-- Byron
INTRODUCTION

Background

The Pilgrim's Progress, written in prison by John Bunyan, was licensed for publication and entered in the Term Catalogue for the following Hilary Term, February 18th, 1678 (Wharey and Sharrock xxi). An unconventional, chameleon-like work (Sadler 53), it was neither the completely religious writing of Calvinist tract (Sadler 54), religious allegory or sermon, nor was it secular folk story or romance (Sharrock "Studies", 123). In narrative and dialogue form, with a mix of righteous and picaresque characters, it told the story of an unlikely hero who dedicated his life to a quest that ended in triumph, yet without return to his own sphere.

The work had the potential to attract different types of readers: sober Puritans who relied on the Bible alone (Sadler 15), well-versed in doctrine and looking forward to the second coming of Christ and the Kingdom of God on earth (Ball, English Connection, 9); or the chapbook readers, as Bunyan himself had been when young (Sighs from Hell 147-148), with an imagination coloured by chivalric and romantic heroes (Mullet 192), such as Bevis Of Southampton and St George. Had a scholar come across the work and deigned to read it, he might have identified a likeness to allegorical works such as The
Faerie Queene, Book I, or the medieval morality plays (Sharrock, John Bunyan 11).

The work was a considerable publishing success, reaching an enormous readership, even if marginal, initially, which extended over the next two hundred years (Bath 271). It sold three editions within the first year, eleven editions in ten years, thirteen editions before Bunyan’s death and one hundred thousand copies by 1688 (Brown 458). By 1688 also, five Dutch editions and a French and Welsh edition had been published (Cirket 79). Brown wrote in 1885 that the "cheap editions of the entire 'Pilgrim's Progress' issued of recent years have been simply numberless" (465).

By his reference to the entire work, Brown also includes Part II, published in 1684, which was Bunyan's response to spurious versions that had been written to satisfy a reading public's demand. Part II tells the story of Christian's wife and four sons as they travel the same route as Christian had done earlier -- really a family story (Sadler 92). It is generally recognized as being more compassionate and nurturing than Part I, being a feminine analogue of the action-based, maleoriented perspective (Sharrock, "Women and Children", 175; Swaim, "Females", 387); more a reworking than a sequel (Wharey 165-311; Offor. Vol III, 168-224; Mullet 243).
The addition of Part II is considered important because the two together -- dramatic Part I with heavy Nonconformist emphasis, plus the gentle, romantic Part II that still has masculine overtones -- can be seen as the central opus of Bunyan's writing and a way into understanding his corpus of sixty works (Swaim, *Pilgrim's Progress*, 14).

In the twentieth century, by 1938, there had been published at least thirteen hundred editions (Swaim, *Pilgrim's Progress*, 2), while from 1920-1984 over sixty editions were published in English (Carpenter and Prichard 413), reaching over two hundred different languages and dialects by 1991 (Cirket 79). As Collmer points out in 1989, in *Bunyan In Our Time*, the work has more editions and has been published in more foreign languages than any other book written in English (1). Swaimes says that it

belongs among the most formative and beloved books England has contributed to the Western tradition, second only in popularity and influence to the English Bible and with it providing 'the staple diet of all literate Englishmen.' (*Pilgrim's Progress*, 1).

Certainly, by the mid-nineteenth century the name of John Bunyan was "as much identified with British literature as that of Milton or of Shakespeare" (Offor, 1853, vi), while the Romantics praised Bunyan as an
"unnurtured genius" (Sadler 133), and Brown (1887) gave extensive discussion to Bunyan's place in literature (282-300).

There is also considerable evidence to show that Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* influenced many English authors in the past whose work has contributed to Britain's literary greatness, including: Swift, Johnson, Southey, Macaulay, Coleridge and Browning (Bacon 180-181; Brittain 405-407; Sadler 133). Coleridge said:

This wonderful work is one of the 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... once with devotional feelings -- and once as a poet (475).

**The Pilgrim's Progress for Children**

*The Pilgrim's Progress* can be read in another dimension -- through the eyes of childhood. This is confirmed by many over three centuries who acknowledge the impact of Bunyan's work on them when they were young. Ruskin, one example, referred to his Sunday reading which contained "all the imaginative teaching of... Bunyan" (Tibbutt 10).

Bunyan himself recognized child readers among his readership when he said in the introduction to Part 2:
The very Children that do walk the street,
If they do but my holy pilgrim meet,
Salute him well, wish him well, and say,
He is the only Stripling of the day.

Children quickly made the book their own, as historians of children's literature recognize. Their views help to build a picture of the work's standing in children's literature. Field, in the late nineteenth century, said that of course the work was not written for children but "successive generations of children have so fastened upon it and made it their own that we cannot exclude the book from their literature" (202).

In 1932, Darton pointed out in his comprehensive survey of children's books in England that *The Pilgrim's Progress* could not be ignored: "a children's book, however you frame definitions" (63). He also admitted to having read it "rapturously" when he was a boy (63).

Muir, writing in 1954, agreed that although it was not written for children it had long been "annexed" by them (28). Similarly, Townsend said, in 1974, that it was "children's literature by adoption" (12).

Agreement continues from different quarters. For example, Quayle, in 1983, saw it as "a work young people quickly discovered and took to their hearts" (22), applying a "surety of instinct" (23). The Pierpont Morgan Library catalogue lists it as one of the great "adopted" children's books (Gottlieb 84), and Norton, a
modern educationalist, includes it on her chart of "Historic Milestones in Children's Literature" (inside cover).

Since the mid-twentieth century, The Pilgrim's Progress has declined in interest as a book for children, for reasons which will be discussed later, and Hunt considers it now more a cultural symbol than a live text (Introduction 39). Nevertheless, the work continues to be published in editions especially for child readers, as this thesis recognizes and evaluates. On the other hand, there is a shifting focus from living story and child reader to include student reader, literary criticism and interdisciplinary text (Sadler 53-54).

Focal Theory

A number of questions initiated this thesis:
(1) Can The Pilgrim's Progress, product of the seventeenth century, complex as far as range of genres is concerned, be regarded as a prototype for the children's literature of subsequent centuries? (2) When and Why was it "written in words of one syllable, adapted, edited, shortened, cut into scenes, made into little moral plays and had the Scripture references eliminated"? (Darton 63). (3) What is the secret of its appeal to children? (4) Why did it become "a children's classic" (Mullet 191), included in the historical canon
of children's literature? (MacDonald, *Christian's Children*, 30). (5) Why does it continue to be published for children, though in modified forms, and is, assumedly, read by them? Another question developed with the reading of children's versions: Why does the hero appear to change, especially in the twentieth century?

These questions are problematical in that they suggest a wide time span, from the seventeenth to twentieth centuries. Having accepted that a fair picture, albeit a panoramic one, could only be reached by a three centuries time-construct, another question rose: what was the common denominator between all these questions and their answers, over time?

The last question was the most difficult because personal, instinctive responses can be unreliable and over-subjective. Was there an answer at all? And in any case, was literature, *per se*, the true focus, or was a book that children read over three centuries also a medium whereby to discover more about children and their relationship to story? The answer to this final, deeply-layered question came in the affirmative, a fact that was unrecognized at the beginning of the process.

Then came a consideration of possible modes of approach: the traditional author-centred method, or the intrinsic regard for text of "New Criticism", or a reader-centred approach with its possible routes of feminism, Marxism or psycho-analysis. Deconstruction was
another option, or perhaps a critical method based on
theism, such as Duriez applies to C. S. Lewis (116). As the various theoretical issues received
consideration, it was impossible to get away from the facts that The Pilgrim's Progress comes from a
particular culture: late seventeenth-century, Nonconformist society; and that Bunyan's work features a
distinct psycho-sociological relationship. Yet it stands alone as literature. How could the "extraliterary
cultural formations" (Myers 42) relate to the literature in an analytical study? From several sources, answers to
the temporary dilemma of approach now started to converge.

Firstly, at a personal level, the repudiation of moral and aesthetic evaluation in contemporary literary
theory (Freadman and Miller Introduction) gave the writer concern that had to be acknowledged for the sake of intellectual honesty when taking on a work of magnitude.

Secondly, in January, 1995, Meek said, "a reader inscribes the text of a book into the text of his (and
for me, her) life" ("Constructedness" 17). Meek's succinct statement concerning the relationship between reader and text was in full accord with the still valid, Reader-Response theory of which so many have written (Applebee, Appleyard, Britton, Chambers, Hunt, Richards, Rosenblatt; Wolfgang-Iser).
Thirdly, from Myers, writing a little earlier, in 1988, came a prediction of a possible new, non-conservative critical approach to children's literature: "A New Historicism of children's literature would integrate text and socio-historic context" (41). With further enlightenment from other writers (Ferguson; Hunt, Montrose, Newton, Selden, Vallone, Veeser, Watkins, Zammito) a relevant and viable way forward now emerged: the combination of literature and the possibility of "a range of related theoretical approaches" (Watkins 180): the New Historicist approach. The strengths of the New Historicist method are its interdisciplinary nature and that by the mid 1990s it is widely accepted (Vallone 102, 103) and "present in much current scholarship" (Zammito 785).

As Veezer says:

The New Historicism has given scholars new opportunities to cross the boundaries separating history, anthropology, politics, literature and economics. It has struck down the doctrine of non-interference that forbade humanists to intrude on questions of politics, power, indeed on all matters that deeply affect people's practical lives (ix).

An important difference between the New Historicist method and the older Historicist approach has to be noted. For example, anecdote is acceptable in the new
method's procedure (Montrose 19). This is in keeping with the same shift in educational and social-psychological research, as used by Graves and Kitwood. Moreover, also important to note of the New Historicism method is the emphasis on the more personal, yet still objective, viewpoint:

> a realization and acknowledgement that our analyses and our understandings necessarily proceed from our own historically, socially and institutionally shaped vantage points

(Montrose 23).

In the New Historicism route of this thesis, the inter-related theories rise from both the reader-centred and traditional approaches. Therefore the psychosociological viewpoints of the seventeenth to twentieth centuries are applied to Bunyan's literary text. The former, the socio-historic content, shows changing philosophies, ideologies and values over time, while the latter, the literary text, indicates a changing hero. These emphases are indicated in the title of the thesis: **A Changing Hero: The Relevance of Bunyan's Pilgrim and The Pilgrim's Progress through Three Centuries of Children's Literature.**

The thesis is a demonstration of the dialectical interaction between society and children's literature which renders "a fascinating and fruitful area of study" (Reynolds ix). The tension mirrors, as Avery has
said, "a moral pattern that is constantly shifting" (Pattern 9).

Previous Studies

It is surprising to find that *The Pilgrim's Progress* as literature for children appears to have received little research attention, although scholars and historians of children's literature recognize its acceptance by juvenile readers (Avery, *Children and Books*, 107; Darton 63; Demers 115; Meigs xi; Townsend 6; Wooden 73). Perhaps this is because the work was not intended for children, but "annexed" (Muir 28) by them. Child characters in the text are also generally overlooked. In his essay, "Women and Children", Sharrock suggests that they represent the group experience of the church rather than being individuals (174-186). Firth gives the children brief consideration, failing to see their diversity of natures, their individual faith and their lively characters. He considers the child characters lifeless: "interchangeable indistinguishable, and unimportant" (99).

Ezell looks critically at mother and children in the context of her doctoral thesis (73-80). Meigs briefly looks at *The Pilgrim's Progress* Parts I and II (42-44) where she speaks of Christian as "a character full of great purpose" (42). She mentions "Mercy's
"blushing shyness" (43), the boys and some of the other characters, drawing attention to the fact that "one can never read it" (The Pilgrim's Progress) "without recognizing one's self among the myriad characters, even if it is only Mr. By-Ends or Mr. Short-Wind" (42).

MacDonald appears to be the only person who has given any depth of attention to the field. Her book, Christian's Children (1989) shows the influence of The Pilgrim's Progress Part I as devotional guide, as leisure reading, and as a legacy to American children's works (a prototype). She has also written an article, "The Case for The Pilgrim's Progress" (Children's Literature Association Quarterly (CLAQ) 1985, 10/1, 29-30) where she justifies the place of Bunyan's work in the children's canon of literature. Her argument concerns America only, commencing with the eighteenth-century colonies when copies of The Pilgrim's Progress came from England or were printed in America (29).

MacDonald claims that "The preponderance of evidence for a juvenile audience . . . lies on this side of the Atlantic, rather than in England" (CLAQ 29). This claim can now be challenged. The basis of her research is eighty-seven American versions of The Pilgrim's Progress, Parts I and/or II, including forty-three versions designated for children. This number contrasts with the English sample of this thesis, of over three hundred versions which children would probably have
read, which includes one-hundred and ninety-five versions especially written for children in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

There is some similarity between the findings of MacDonald's study and those of this thesis. As in England, religious organizations played a part in distributing Bunyan's work but, as in England, secular publishers far outnumber the religious sponsors, according to the indications of MacDonald's bibliography. She also identifies a number of children's authors whose work either refers to *The Pilgrim's Progress* or indicates echoes of its structure, showing the wide extent of the work's influence in America. The considerable influence agrees with the findings of this thesis in its focus on England, which, however, show greater evidence for the claim through a wider range of authors, as will be shown.

Although MacDonald mentions that toy book versions were issued, there is no listing of such in her bibliography, whereas the research of this thesis located one (u.d.), plus two jigsaw versions (1790; u.d.) and two board games (1810; u.d.) which are not mentioned by MacDonald. She also points out that "There is no Classics comic version. There is no coloring book Progress" (ix). The research for this study located both (1992; 1958).
No attempt appears to have ever been made to look at the story in versions published over any length of time for children in England, or to ascertain how children may have responded in light of what we now know of history and child development. It also appears that consideration may never have been given to detailed analysis of the child characters themselves in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, nor at all to the notion of a changing hero, considering both text and children. Furthermore, although *The Pilgrim's Progress* is recognized as important in the history of children's literature, there appears to be no attempt to trace the work to show why it can be regarded as a prototype, which appears to be indicated through the writings of other authors (e.g. Jackson 3, 66).

Thus it can be seen that, in terms of research, this thesis goes far beyond MacDonald's findings and breaks new ground as a contribution to scholarship. It also appears to be the first in-depth study to look at *The Pilgrim's Progress* for children in England, the lengthy bibliography of which will prove valuable to future scholars.

**Aims of this Research**

There are several inter-related aims which are assessed in the Conclusion of this thesis. The specific
aims are as follows. First, concerning the hero figure: to determine who is the hero of The Pilgrim's Progress, and why; to show that the hero can be interpreted in more than one way, even from the work's initial publication, and that focus on the child as hero gains momentum over the centuries.

Second, concerning child readers: to show that The Pilgrim's Progress is indeed a book for children and that children have responded positively to it over three centuries.

Third, concerning the work's relevance to children in the seventeenth to twentieth centuries: (i) to identify the historical-sociological events and/or ethos of each century, influences to which children would probably have been exposed and to show that these have resonances in the story-content of The Pilgrim's Progress; (ii) to show that psychology and twentieth-century theories of child development indicate some possible ways in which children and the text of The Pilgrim's Progress match together, demonstrating further relevance to children's lives.

Finally, a general aim of this thesis is to show that, over three centuries, The Pilgrim's Progress can be regarded as a prototype for children's literature; that its influence, directly or indirectly, continues in England of the late twentieth century.
Selection of Texts

In contrast with MacDonald's American research which dwells on Part I only, this thesis uses both Parts I and II of The Pilgrim's Progress because the two parts together make the total story; the second being a remaking of Part I (Keeble, "Christiana's Key", 9). In any case, study of the entire work, Parts I and II, is not unusual (Hill 200; Swaim, (Pilgrim's Progress 2, 14).

In the British Library alone there are nearly one thousand editions of The Pilgrim's Progress, which offers wide scope for any researcher. The version edited by Wharey (1928) and Sharrock (1967), which covers Parts I and II, is used throughout this thesis for reference purposes unless otherwise indicated. This is the customary text for Bunyan scholars, being regarded as sound and authentic. It includes Bunyan's full cast of characters for Part I, settled by the third edition (1679). It also takes into account the variants in text over editions 1-11, Part I (Wharey and Sharrock cii), and bases Part II on the first edition, plus marginalia added in the second (Wharey and Sharrock ciii).

Reasons for selection of forms of The Pilgrim's Progress for children were primarily based on the following: (1) that the version was designated in the title as being for children, or was part of a
children's series. (2) There was evidence to show that a child owned a copy or it had been in a school library. (3) It was published in a form designed for naive readers and included frequent use of illustration and words of one syllable. (4) It was in a children's collection, such as at the National Museum of Childhood at Bethnal Green, or in the Parker Collection of the Birmingham City Reference Library. These criteria seemed straightforward at first, however the children's book industry did not greatly expand until at least 1740, whereas The Pilgrim's Progress was published sixty-two years earlier. Thus it had to be assumed that, prior to this period, children experienced the story through copies not designed exclusively for them. This prompted the question of what to look at prior to 1740.

Clearly the study needed to begin with the original, seventeenth-century versions of Parts I and II, upon which later editions were based; especially the third edition which by 1679 was complete (Wharey and Sharrock xlvi). Facsimiles and other editions, and information about the seventeenth-century editions, were accessible.

Eighteenth-century texts posed a problem at first. Inasmuch as the children's book industry did not reach a significant number of children until the nineteenth century (Avery, Illustrated History, 1), it is not surprising that this research located only one
eighteenth-century version of *The Pilgrim's Progress* exclusively for children. This is not to say that there were none, only that no copies appear to have survived, though some forms may yet be located. This consideration made it necessary to consider what form children of the eighteenth century would have enjoyed. This led me to include use of illustrations, keeping in mind that the tradition of the book's suitability for children may have begun because the book contained pictures (MacDonald, *Christian's Children*, 1).

Finding versions of *The Pilgrim's Progress* for children in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was not difficult because the children's book trade had then become established. The period is also closer in time to today, making preservation more likely.

The study applies to a large sample whereby to endeavour to gain a true picture. From the seventeenth century: ten early editions. From the eighteenth century: one hundred illustrated editions. From the nineteenth century: one hundred and twenty-two editions. From the twentieth century: eighty editions. These total three hundred and twelve versions of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, either in a combined format of Parts I and II, or in separate parts, or in other forms for children. The listing is not proposed as a definitive one but, in light of the thorough search applied to the study, and
its analysis of all those versions designated for children, it can be claimed to be representative.

Coverage of texts extends beyond Darton's list of modified forms to include improvised classroom drama, stage drama, musicals, the comic and colouring book, jigsaw puzzle and board game, all designed for a juvenile market. This selection is in sympathy with Meek's discussion regarding departure from the primacy of text in books alone ("What Counts as Evidence?" 172) and Chamber's concern that children's drama (plays) be considered in discussions of children's literature (Hunt, Literature for Children, 15-16).

Some minor difficulties arose regarding textual material. For example, some editions in the catalogue at the British Library were found to be unobtainable due to their destruction during World War II, and not all the editions of the Renier Collection at the National Museum of Childhood at Bethnal Green were available. Early works were frequently undated and some did not have page numbers. The undated versions could, to a great extent, be approximated within a century by inference from book labels. These suggested possible times of publication as the labels showed the owner's name and the date that the edition was received as a gift or prize. This information could then be placed with some degree of accuracy beside similar editions of which the dates were certain.
To determine if it is possible to claim *The Pilgrim's Progress* as a significant antecedent to the children's literature of the eighteenth to twentieth centuries, Bunyanesque redactions and imitations over the period were located and studied. In addition, the works of about a dozen twentieth-century writers were compared with genres in Bunyan's pilgrim story.

**Method**

This thesis uses content analysis of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, texts being chosen according to the criteria set out in "Selection of Texts". In the unabridged editions, the characters are the central focus, especially Christian, the initially envisaged hero-figure. In readings of the abridged format, retellings, adaptations and other, more divergent forms, the hero comes again under scrutiny but in comparison with Bunyan's original presentation.

Language is also scrutinised to see how it supports or detracts from the depiction of an heroic character. Similarly, the language of chapter headings and retellings is analysed.

The content of illustrations, where applicable, is also discussed in order to identify an artist's portrayal of the hero, in response to the question of
whether the art supports or detracts from the text. No attempt is made to identify the artistic techniques used, as they are not within the parameters of the thesis.

As well as content analysis, use of critical analysis is also necessary. This is because the interactional nature of the New Historicist approach necessitates selection of works outside of the basic text. Therefore the bibliography is extended to include reliable historical analyses of society, especially concerning religion, over three centuries. Attempt was made at primary historical evidence but this was not the main thrust of the research, so some assumptions have been made regarding the cause-and-effect nature of relevancy, using probability as the guide (Barzun and Graff 129). This was generally done in light of twentieth-century theories of child development.

Chapter 1 surveys the literature which concerns the topic. It is in three sections, focusing on text, hero and the psycho-sociological background.

For ease of organization, Chapters 2-8 are structured to relate *The Pilgrim's Progress* chronologically from the seventeenth to twentieth centuries. The first consideration, in each century under discussion, is to identify the outstanding events and ethos of society.
Secondly, the text is critically assessed to see if there is congruence between it and the societal factors. This discussion leads to identification of the environmental and/or psychic "relevance factors"\(^1\) for each particular century, a pivotal issue of this thesis.

The third aspect is to show, where evidence applies, the relevance of *The Pilgrim's Progress* to the lives of children who lived in each century. In some cases the record comes from adults who wrote about their own childhoods; in others it comes from adult observers. Not all the records are favourable towards Bunyan's narrative and his hero, and these views are also presented to provide balance.

Fourthly, those writers for children who can be described as "Bunyan's heirs" are discussed in light of their Bunyanesque redactions or imitations. Other authors who echo some dimensions of Bunyan's work and his portrayal of a hero are also given consideration. This is in order to ascertain the extent of Bunyan's influence on the children's literature of England, to support the claim that *The Pilgrim's Progress* became a prototype for children's literature. The works of the children's authors were studied as primary sources.

Finally, the portrayal of the hero is shown from an analysis of the various forms of *The Pilgrim's Progress* read by children in each century, all primary sources.

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\(^1\) These are presented in depth in Chapters 2, 4, 5 and 7.
material. This is the section that, in particular, provides completely new data to scholarship.

Chapters 2-3 cover these issues concerning the seventeenth century. Chapter 4 relates to the eighteenth century, as due to there being no changes in text there are only illustrations to consider, so the content is limited. Chapters 5-6 concern the nineteenth century; chapters 6-7 concentrate on the twentieth century. The same organizational structure as used in Chapters 2-3 is therefore spread across two chapters per century, in order to cover the material, except for chapter 4, for the reason given. The bulk of children’s versions of The Pilgrim’s Progress available are from 1801-1995.

The method of referencing used is that of the Modern Language Association (MLA), using parenthetical references within the text. This shows author’s name followed by page number, without punctuation. Where the author referred to is listed in the bibliography as writer of more than one book, the parenthetical reference has been modified to show author’s name, key words of reference and page number, as in (Hunt, Illustrated History, 10). Where there is more than one author by the same name, initials are provided for clarity. When the names of editors or retellers of The Pilgrim’s Progress are known, these are supplied in parenthetical references, otherwise the publisher’s name
is given. It should also be noted that the MLA method is also applied in the format of the bibliography whereby:

If the book title you are citing contains
a title normally underlined . . . the shorter title is . . . not underlined (101).

The general bibliography includes works that have provided a framework of understanding for the thesis, even though they may not be directly quoted or used as a source of argument. The full listing of the over one hundred illustrated, eighteenth-century editions of *The Pilgrim's Progress* surveyed is not given in the bibliography, only those works cited.

Some illustrations (Figures MLA) are used to show different manifestations of the hero figure; also Tables are supplied to demonstrate points of the text.

Important to the study is the consideration of *The Pilgrim's Progress* within a societal setting, as the interaction of society with the child and literature is used as a measure of relevance. The specific, three-pronged model portrayal may be new in some details, but the principle is commonly recognized -- that children's books are affected by society (Avery, "Puritans and Heirs", 95; Lesnik-Oberstein 26). "Sarah Trimmer's Warring Worlds" (Ferguson 105-106), is one example that shows the relationship between text and societal events.

Relevant to the consideration of both child and book, this thesis is neither from the "child people" nor
"book people" stance (Hollindale 5) but from a perspective of both in their interactive relationship.
At the times that reasonable assumptions have to be made regarding past child readers' responses, Hunt's reminder is put into practice: that children read differently from adults and so the critic should consider the use of the words "possible" and "probable" ("Questions of Method" 180-200).

In addition to the versions of The Pilgrim's Progress for children, the life, times and work of John Bunyan have been explored in order to provide a sound background of understanding -- this despite the views of some contemporary literary theorists who reject substantive accounts of the author. Similarly, the works of Bunyan's major critics have been studied -- Bunyan scholars such as Greaves, Hill, Keeble, Knott, Mullett, Newey, Sharrock and Talon. For the greater part, the critics referred to are those of children's literature and Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress in particular. When sociological and other insights are pertinent, reference is made to them.

**Definitions**

"Children's Literature". There are several definitions which one must consider. Sloane suggests "Books written for children" (114) which is more
flexible than Darton's "printed works produced ostensibly to give children spontaneous pleasure" (1), echoed by Arnold (1).

Crouch found himself coming more and more to "the view that there are no children's books. They are a concept invented for commercial reasons" (7). Chambers acknowledges the existence of this point of view but prefers not to be partisan or dogmatic (34-58).

Hunt begins a discussion of the genre with a simple definition "books written for children, books read by children" (Introduction 4). However, as he proceeds he makes it clear that "in theory and practice it is vastly more complicated than that" (4).

Wooden's view echoes the delight that children over three centuries have found in The Pilgrim's Progress, that: "In the true sense, a children's book is simply one in which a child finds pleasure" (xi). This is the view that this thesis supports. It also keeps in mind that "all children's books are about ideals" (Carpenter, Secret Gardens, 12), and "children's literature is more concerned with shaping its readers' attitudes than most" (Reynolds ix).

The term "childhood" is taken to mean the stage of development that precedes adulthood. This includes infancy, early childhood, middle childhood and adolescence (Papalia and Olds vii-x; Yussen and Santrock vii-viii); a period from birth through to the years of
high school (Papalia and Olds 328-331; Santrock 513-514)). Seiffert and Hoffnung include the high school senior (youth), usually about seventeen years of age, in the adolescent grouping of childhood. Childhood is today, as earlier, considered a time of dependence, though for how long is debateable (Tucker, *What is a Child?*, 31).

Puritans also included youth with childhood, (Sommerville 15) and regarded it as an important time of learning upon which later life could build (Pollock, *Lasting Relationship*, 247). Ben-Amos agrees that adolescence and youth held special regard and adds that:

Adolescence -- the blossoming or lustful age as it was more frequently referred to -- could begin at the age of 9 but also at 14; youth could span the years between 14, or 18, and up to 25, 28, or simply until marriage (11).

While youth was often portrayed somewhat negatively as a time of passion, the child was also depicted as "a pure soul" and the youth as "full of piety," a contrast to old age; an "antidote to inevitable death and a hope ... for a long and healthy life" (Ben-Amos 14, 20). From the behaviour of the children in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Part II, the several dimensions of these definitions of childhood can be identified.

"Myth" is from the Greek *mythos*, which means word, speech, talk, tale (OED). In the setting of this thesis,
myth is seen in agreement with Aristotle in his *Poetics* where mythos was simultaneously philosophy and history (Butcher 404). It also embraces the traditional view that myth embodies the truths of a particular culture; "the golden link which bound together the generations" (Butcher 406), and it is, generally, a framework of meaning rather than falsehood. It agrees with what Swaim has said of Bunyan and *The Pilgrim's Progress*: "he describes a work mythic . . . in the sense of deriving from particular depths of his own psyche as that psyche was furnished by the Reformation Protestant and Puritan ethos of his time" (*Pilgrim's Progress* 42).

In the context of Bunyan studies, "Puritan" and "Puritanism" are used "more sparingly and cautiously than would have been the case just a few years ago" (Laurence, Owens and Sim xiv). Haller says the Puritan movement was "old, deep-seated and English, with roots reaching far back into mediaeval life" (*Ball, English Connection*, 5). Downing and Millman agree, saying that puritanism with a small "p" gave little emphasis to ritual but much to preaching. They define Puritanism as "A blanket term for more extreme Protestants" (12).

In this thesis, Puritan is used loosely as a term to denote all those who "aimed at supplementing the Reformation by abolishing all unscriptural and corrupt ceremonies" (*OED*). They were people of high principles, of "strictness in religion or morals" (*OED*). They possessed a
common vigour and ardour in their faith, whether Presbyterian, Independent, Baptist, Quaker or other. At times Dissenter will be used rather than Puritan in order to identify those who chose not to conform to the state church and were "thrown out after 1662" (Sommerville 23). Nonconformist applies to those recusants who actively spoke against lack of purity in the church but were not necessarily of the Dissenters. Bunyan's own religious position is considered a complicated one (Laurence, Owens and Sim xiii), not strictly Puritan, according to Greaves who regarded him as "a sectary and not a Puritan" (John Bunyan 23) though Pooley defends the use of Puritan when applied to the setting of Bunyan's literary works (290-299). Sadler's intensive study, John Bunyan, concludes that he was a mild and liberal man.

The concept of "hero" is important to this thesis. The definition, "man admired for great deeds and noble qualities," is extended to include female, child and other characters (OED).

In conclusion, it is relevant to point out that a project of this magnitude that uses the New Historicist method is one where a vast command of resources and ideas is mandatory. Despite some trepidation, the writer believes the time has come to synthesize and validate the knowledge and expertise acquired through many years of education, teaching and discovering the relevancy of life-experience to literature.
Introduction

The literature related to this thesis is divisible into three main sections. Firstly, there is that which concerns the popularity of *The Pilgrim's Progress* with children. The second is about perceptions of the hero. Finally, there is the literature which is used to provide the psycho-sociological setting. It particularly concerns religion and attitudes to child development. This thesis builds on, and expands, the insights of much of the literature, while also relating it to the notion of *The Pilgrim's Progress* as a prototype for later children's literature.

First of all, however, we must recognize that probably one-third of seventeenth-century children, both boys and girls, could read (Davies and Malcomson in Cunningham 33; Pollock, *Forgotten Children*, 242-244; Schofield, 319; Stone, *Family*, 107, 205-206). Stone's studies also note that Puritans, and later, Nonconformists and Dissenters, displayed high rates of adult literacy ("Educational Revolution", 71-75; "Literacy and Education", 77, 79, 101); one-third of the adult population. Their homes produced child readers with skills produced through religious motivation (Weaver 1). Others learnt in village schools of the
seventeenth century (Spufford, "Schooling," 131-134). The "petty" school, usually dependent on bequests, fees and donations, taught reading and writing; it is said to have proved vital in education (Clark 106).

Children probably took up Bunyan's multi-faceted narrative almost at once because, partly at least, they had been prepared beforehand by other literature (Sommerville 123). This may have included allegories such as Keach's War with the Devil (1673) and The Glorious Lover (1679). Some would have known dramatic readings around a circle, using such texts as Sherman's Youth's Tragedy (1671) and Youth's Comedy (1680). Perhaps the playfulness of the very popular Apples of Gold for Young Men and Women by Brookes (1657) was a good forerunner for the humour in The Pilgrim's Progress; this, according to Sommerville, being another reason for the popularity of Bunyan's pilgrim story (123). Children also knew riddle-books aimed at young readers, as with A Booke of Meery Riddles (sic) 1629), while twenty-three riddles featured in Jole's The Father's Blessing (1674). Folk-lore, via Aesop, was already familiar to some child readers. For those at grammar school from early in the century, it was a Latin reader compiled especially for children (Brinsley 1617; 1624) which provided a "healthy dose of imagination" (Weaver 26). By 1692 they received an edition in English by Sir Robert L'Estrange. Some children may have known chapbooks -- romance, ballads --
but many of the middle to upper class would have been protected from these cheap publications for they were the reading of the lower class and had a "scandalous reputation" (Jackson 66).

Children were already familiar with instruction from the Bible through sermon and books of advice, although Bible stories for children do not appear to have been published in England until 1691 when Crouch published in verse, *Youth's Divine Pastime* (Bottingheimer, Seminar). Child readers, especially from Puritan homes, would also have known other godly literature such as Janeway's *Token* (1671) and Jessey's *A Looking Glass for Children* (1672) -- reissued to an unsectarian market in 1708 -- (Darton 59), in which he used poems by Chear. Regarding Janeway's popular work, Weaver comments that "He gave little children little heroes" (38). No-one, however, comments on the heroism of Bunyan's child characters.

Literacy among children reflected the significant rise in skills of reading and writing in society generally (Schofield, 319; Stone, "Educational Revolution"; "Literacy and Education"). Its impetus grew from Reformation philosophy in which the individual should know and read the Holy Scriptures for himself (Sloane, 47; Weaver 1).
POPULARITY WITH CHILDREN

Many statements testify to the work's immense popularity with children in the past. It is described as "the joy and delight of English-speaking children for more than 300 years" (Haviland 46) and believed to have been almost universally read (Bridges 113-130). Although Bunyan did not initially intend The Pilgrim's Progress for juvenile readers, "children took to it with a surety of instinct that led each succeeding generation to endorse their choice . . . In various shortened forms it has been in the hands of children ever since" (Quayle 23). Goldthwaite adds that, while it was a most orthodox work, it was also one of the seventeenth-century's "great wonder tales" (171). From the seventeenth century on, there are many memoirs, reminiscences and eulogies (Brittain 405-408; Leeson 41; MacDonald, Christian's Children 1-2; Sadler, 133; Tibbutt 1-19).

For children before the twentieth century the work was one of an "improving character" (Coats 304), read especially on Sundays. Today, however, according to MacDonald's study in America, "it is mostly a book for . . . Sunday School classes in certain evangelical Protestant denominations" (ix). Regarding Britain, Fisher asks, "Does anyone read The Pilgrim's Progress nowadays or is it an extinct classic?" (12). She suggests that if the Puritan ethic of perfectability
still belongs in the national consciousness, then there must be a way to reach today's children:

. . . perhaps through reading aloud at school assemblies or through dramatizing, *The Pilgrim's Progress* could still carry its associations, its Biblical echoes and its sincere, plain morality to young ears (13).

**Likeness to Fairy-tale**

The likeness of *The Pilgrim's Progress* to fairy-tale is perhaps its "greatest lure," as MacDonald says (*Christian's Children* 120). The simple plot with lively diversions along the way, told without narrative subtleties such as sub-plots or flash-backs, are some of the devices used, so that, altogether, Bunyan "portrays the world as children understand it" (MacDonald, *Christian's Children* 5, 15-21). However, it lacks the structural inevitability of the folktale (Keeble, "Way", 222). Reeves agrees with the "once-upon-a-time" nature of the story (67).

*The Pilgrim's Progress* is the "most perfect and complex of fairy-tales" according to Hallam (Muir 28), agreed with by Lynd (151). Yet while the work was written "in the shadow of fairy story" as Tucker states ("How Children Respond" 178), he also recognizes its
relationship to the Bible, with which children in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries were familiar.

Additionally, it can be described as a multi-faceted hybrid which is, simultaneously, a fairy-tale, a realistic novel plus a book of confessions (Lynd 151) which includes folk-story and romance (Sadler 54; Firth 156-161; Golder, 323-32; Benamos 27); with likeness to Celtic legends and tales, including the Arthurian legend (Meigs xi) and containing affinities with the novel (Damrosch 171). This mixture of genres may perhaps be upsetting to adult readers (Sharrock, John Bunyan, 10) who read at a different level of cognition and can identify several layers of abstraction, as Moffett describes in Teaching the Universe of Discourse.¹ To children who just "get on with it" when pleasure results from reading, the smooth mix of genres in Bunyan's story may even account partly for their fascination. Furthermore, the work's relationship to fairy-tale indicates a dimension of allegory -- which Bunyan intended his total narrative to be -- important "because it (allegory) brings us close to the real world of ideas" (Avery, Nineteenth-Century Children, 63).

¹ Moffett's statement is quoted in full in The Cool Web (8).
Illustrations

The presence of pictures is considered another reason for the book's early popularity with, and suitability for, children, even if they did not read the work for themselves (MacDonald, Christian's Children, 10; Lynd 151). In the twentieth century:

If you had seen our "Pilgrim's Progress" with its thumbed, towsled and tattered pages, you would have sworn that it had been read by generations of children, but all those torn pages and creases meant that we were never tired of looking at the pictures. As a picture book "The Pilgrim's Progress" is the rival of any volume of fairy-tales (Lynd 151).

Seventeenth-century children may have had prior familiarity with illustrations through Orbus Sensualum Pictus, translated into English by Hoole in 1658, and through little woodcuts in battledores used to teach reading (Eaton 10). In any case, Protestant children of the Early Modern period were probably used to poring over the explicit illustrations in Foxe's Book of Martyrs, (Avery, "Puritans" 107; Gottlieb 74), and here was another graphic collection of religious woodcuts to enjoy.

Harrison's article describes in detail the work of the many artists involved in illustrating The Pilgrim's Progress over the centuries. The overall style has "in
general, inclined towards a literal rather than a symbolical delineation" (245). This resemblance to reality would make the pictures not only believable but also relevant to children's experience. Harrison also refers to the artist, Harold Copping, whose work was used throughout a number of editions published by the Religious Tract Society, some of which are now in children's collections.¹ Copping, according to Harrison, "captivated the popular taste" and used "scrupulous care to reproduce the atmosphere of the story" (256). His very literal interpretations may account for the prolonged success of the editions that used his work in the early twentieth century. That every generation of artists re-interprets Bunyan's story (Whalley and Chester 15) indicates the need of every generation for change; to make illustrations relevant to the perspective of their own century, yet affirming the quest of the outer and inner world, imperative to the human psyche (Harding 1). Hofer comments in 1961 that it is a pity that children have "never received a well-illustrated edition" (189). This point is now probably a debateable one because thirty-six years have passed and brought new illustrations, yet whatever the quality of illustrations, they did not apparently detract from the

¹ These are referred to in Chapter 5 and 7 of this thesis. Various editions of The Pilgrim's Progress, published by the Religious Tract Society, were located and are listed in the bibliography.
work's popularity with children. The fact that early editions used no illustrations suggests that the publisher "regarded Bunyan's phraseology as sufficiently graphic" (Harrison 242). This view agrees with Pullman's philosophy in "Invisible Pictures" where he analyses the relationship of word and image from Caxton to the twentieth century, reaching the conclusion that there is a hierarchical relationship between the two and that print takes precedence over picture (160-186). However, according to an advertisement in the fifth edition, "Many persons desired to have it illustrated with Pictures" and thus a number of "Copper Cutts" began to be included. Whether children's interest in the past was captured by close looking at illustrations (Doonan 11) or by Bunyan's vivid narrative, they knew The Pilgrim's Progress.

An Adventurous Journey

Adventure in The Pilgrim's Progress is suggested as a further likely reason for the work's popularity with child readers, an aspect that is generally commented on (Darton 63; Huck 57; Jackson 29; Lynd 152; Meigs 44; Quayle 23; Swaim, Pilgrim's Progress, 48). George Crabbe, who described his eight-year-old daughter, Caroline, in a letter of 1826,¹ mentioned different

¹ This letter is quoted in full in Chapter 4.
aspects that he appeared to believe accounted for Caroline's interest in *The Pilgrim's Progress*. One of these concerned "the outward and visible adventures" (Tibbutt 8). Darton, identified adventure as being the cause of his own rapturous reading of the work as a boy (63).

The word "adventure" is modified by a variety of adjectives. Sloane described it as "high adventure" (15) and "an exciting story of adventure" (26), while Quayle not only regards it as an adventure story but also as "a romance, bristling with dangerous escapades" (23). It is also called a "thrilling adventure" (Jackson 29; Swaim 48). Tucker lists it as an English classic, along with *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver's Travels*, from which readers would have extracted "the bare bones of a child's adventure" ("How Children Respond" 178). The adventure was not only characterized by excitement and danger but by "new dangers" and included "action and more action" (Meigs 43), an aspect echoed by Norton in "bold action" (48). As John Brown recognized, this made for "dramatic unity" (294).

It has to be recognized that the adventures are frequently followed by instructive dialogue or a long speech of sermon-like utterance. How can these didactic aspects coexist with the exciting adventure? One reason may be that, as Tolkien suggests -- according to an anecdote from Tucker in "How Children Respond" (183) --
events are important to a story that concerns crisis and man testing himself against evil. And events are what Bunyan uses in multiplicity, providing purpose for, and balance to, the didacticism. Fisher asks a related question: "Why read a book that is just a collection of sermons?" She then answers her own enquiry, emphasizing that the journey "through dangerous places . . . includes exciting encounters with giants, lions and dragons" (12). Sloane's conclusion agrees that the journey is of paramount importance to the child reader, superseding the theological intent.

Children then as now did not read Pilgrim's Progress as the popular guide to rebirth and the controversial pamphlet that it was; they read it as an exciting story of adventure (Sloane 26-27).

The journey of the great adventure is not so simple in design as it may at first appear. It can be read as a linear, one-way quest from departure point to destination (Collmer 186), or as circular journey where characters retrace their steps (Hill 221-2), or as "Y shaped" where "there is a choice to be made between the right way and the wrong way" (Frye 216). While it is called "progress", Fish argues that the work is really anti-progressive, not in a linear sense but in that a reader's expectation is often confounded (229). Keeble regards the "progress" differently ("Way" 224), that it
is a shift away from the original sense of journey to the meaning of "improvement" or "movement towards" (OED; Edwards, "Journey" 112-113). No-one comments on these aspects of the journey in light of the child reader, but that does not mean that some children do not recognize the maze-like effect and appreciate the complexity for themselves.

Some critics stress the dangerous and exciting elements of the journey (Fisher 12; Quayle 23; Jackson 29). Others refer to the spatial element, "here to there" (Frye, Myth and Metaphor, 215); and the detailed topography of the journey from the City of Destruction to Mount Zion (Demers 115; Meigs 43). These contribute to the fascinating "panorama" (Harrison 250).

The journey motif is an ancient one which Hunt says is often used in an allegorical way; for younger children as "generally a metaphor for exploration and education," (Introduction 179). Tucker sees in the journey motif the opportunity for children to be independent travellers, testing themselves. He also sees some value in the child having to cope with the fear that reading generates ("How Children Respond" 183).

The examples of the psychological components that are recognized in Bunyan's work (Harding 11; Newey 21; Sadler 54; Talon, John Bunyan, 23), may account to a great extent for the work's continuing relevance and readership. Harding suggests that concern for the inner
journey was a characteristic of the seventeenth century that decreased in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as materialism increased, but this probably applies more to the adult, grown cynical, than to the child who has his/her own internal world (Rustin 8). However, with the coming of the psychological novel and the introversion of the twentieth century, the psychological emphases of Bunyan's work again become relevant to both adult and child. Perhaps, just as each generation of illustrators finds the need for an expression of its artistic vision of *The Pilgrim's Progress* (Whalley and Chester 15), each generation -- or century -- needs the focus -- or relevance -- that applies to its own times. The chameleon nature of the many genres involved (Sadler 53) offers scope whereby the reader can find a connection with his/her own needs and interests.

Characterization

Characterization is regarded as another of the strengths of *The Pilgrim's Progress* whether the critics are favourably disposed or otherwise (MacDonald, *Christian's Children*, 4). Characters reveal by their names an easy distinction between the good and evil, being called such as Worldly Wiseman, Simple, Talkative and Despair, yet this does not make them two-
dimensional, stock figures (MacDonald, Christian's Children, 4). Bunyan's method of characterization is likened to Dickens' (Dawson 574), for both are considered masters in revealing the small details that define a character, then allowing the characteristics to be demonstrated in real-life situations. Bunyan's characterization is marked by succinctness: the rapidity and power with which its characters are drawn. By a few strokes only, sometimes by the mere giving of a name, an abstraction rises up clothed in flesh and blood (Brown 295-6).

Perhaps the characters of The Pilgrim's Progress are indeed real people with nick names given by their neighbours (Coleridge 475), but one must disagree with Damrosch's view that "Bunyan's characters tend to describe themselves adjectivally rather than to embody noun-concepts" (181), for their appearance, actions and speech constantly confirm their names, all of which makes them real and believable (Sadler 54).

Characterization is also coupled with adventure: Huck says that child readers "found adventure by travelling with the clearly defined characters" (57). Sharrock, however, sees Bunyan's use of character as more than adventure or entertainment, rather as a teaching dimension ("Life and Story" 56-57), which takes one back, full circle, to the didactic nature of the
work which is always present. The skill with which Bunyan blends narrative and precept is "rendered interesting by incident, or dialogue, or general vivacity of composition" (Summerfield 49).

**Narrative Style**

The narrative style of *The Pilgrim's Progress* must have held early appeal for children. It was distinctive, and one of the few permissible books with a story-line (Avery, "Puritans" 107). It was delivered with "momentum" (Meigs 42) and it was a renaissance masterpiece (Wooden xii). It was direct (Field 202; Muir 202), particularly marked by intense earnestness (Muir 202) and simplicity (Field 202; Meigs 42; MacDonald, Christian's Children, 5; Offor vi). It used rhetorical strategies of repetition, comparison, organization and tone (Wooden xx) which are characteristic of later children's books and techniques of a good story-teller. It used the happy ending that children like (MacDonald Christian's Children 17). Colour and imagination (Meigs 44; Offor vi) also contributed to a strong narrative line, an aspect of story which twentieth-century storytellers, such as Bawden, consider important (7). For these reasons of narration alone, it is not surprising that children took to the work and soon made it their own. As Wooden says, it possessed a "riveting
narrative" that children of the past found "irresistible" (xii).

All these descriptions identify aspects of the primacy of narrative in children's reading (Meek, Cool Web, 8). From Meek, also, comes another important perspective of narrative which can be applied to The Pilgrim's Progress across the centuries:

> From stories we hear as children we inherit the feeling mode, the truth values, the codes, the rhetoric, the transmission techniques that tell us who we are ("What Counts . . ." 174).

The language of Bunyan's narration is simple and colloquial, the language of seventeenth-century village life (Sadler 60). Its prose "flows as clear and as melodious as a stream over a bed of stones" (Lynd 152). Its "simplicity of diction" is commented on by Field (202), while Offor agrees and includes Bunyan's use of old Saxonisms (vi). It is the latter, unfamiliar vocabulary that retellings for children in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries omit. Sadler suggests that the use of ordinary speech and idiom undermine the distancing of formal allegory (60). For the child reader, it can also be seen to stress the story thus literalizing the biblical metaphor (Swaim 80) rather than drawing allegory closer.

A further aspect of the narrative style that no doubt appeals to child readers, though as yet it is
generally without comment by children's literature specialists, is Bunyan's use of dialogue. Seed considers it surprising that it has not received more critical attention, for Bunyan's dialogue shows an "extremely sophisticated awareness of different levels of discourse and considerable skill at characterization" (69), while Sharrock calls the entire work "dramatised theology" (Casebook 16). Child readers were already familiar with dialogue used as "vehicles for instruction" (Field 33), from even before the Norman conquest. What they were not used to was Bunyan's vigorous and inimitable style that included proverbs (Sadler 61, 104; Collmer 9, 14, 27), humour (noted by Charles Lamb; Tibbutt 7), puns (Sadler 61, 104), satire (Hill 223) and riddles (Sadler 61-62). Bunyan himself recognized the value of his pilgrim's "pretty riddles" to "young ladies and young gentlewomen, too" (Part II, Introduction).

The dramatic potential of Bunyan's dialogue makes the scenes memorable (Baird 67). This gives authenticity to the various characters whether they be "picaresque" (Summerfield 48) or honourable. The "mimetic principle" (Baird 66-75) is accountable for distinctive cadences, such as in Talkative's speech and in the practical man behind Mr By-ends' use of short incisive sentences (Baird 47, 48). Lewis speaks of Bunyan's "perfect natural ear, a great sensibility for the idiom and cadence of popular speech, a long experience in
addressing unlettered audiences and a freedom from bad models" ("Vision" 199). Yet at the same time it was language that was "steeped in the Bible" (Gottlieb 107).

The presence of humour (Sadler 55-56; Sommerville 123) is considered another cause of the work's appeal to children, that audience for whom it was not meant yet by whom it was taken up "almost at once" (Sommerville 123). In his chapter, "Puritan Humor and Entertainment", Sommerville elaborates on, and gives examples of, Bunyan's use of the comic element. For example he identifies instances that young readers would enjoy: "the juxtaposition of antagonistic outlooks and the resulted misunderstandings," as shown by the "comedy team" (123) of Obstinate and Pliable. Again, as Sadler points out, Bunyan's frank portrayal of his characters cannot help but "evoke a sense of the comic as they reveal their frailties" (55) such as when Talkative, a character easily recognized by children (some of whom can be great talkers) is "out-talked" by Christian and Faithful. To perceptive children of the past, the satire and social comment, described by Brean Hammond ("Pilgrim's Progress" 118), may have been discernible.

There is no doubt that children of past centuries read and enjoyed The Pilgrim's Progress. What they understood of its allegory and theology is not so clear. Twentieth-century critics suggest that they may have
skipped over the didacticism (Tucker, "Children Respond", 178; Meigs 30, 43-44). However, as MacDonald points out, it is very possible that young readers prior to the twentieth century did indeed understand the references to the Bible through their regular attendance at church and family Bible reading (4), and in the case of Dissenters, through the tone of family life.

There is also circumstantial evidence which suggests that some children of the seventeenth century did respond to the spiritual experiences in which they were immersed. Sarah Davey wrote of her own conversion when she was a child and her intense spirituality; of her practice of the catechism's principles (168); how, after her mother's death when she was eleven years old, the ten commandments were "much upon my heart, making that my only rule to walk by" (168). Jessey tells of Mary Warren who bore illness bravely through faith in God (16-17). Sloane refers to young Sarah Howley, widely read in the Bible and other books, religiously sensitive and responsive (44) and to Adam Martindale, who devoured the Bible as he did the ABCs, the primer and other books (7). Charles Bridgeman saw the martyrs as heroic role models (Janeway 47). In addition there are the other, unnamed pious children of A Token for Children. There is too much evidence to discount the spiritual awareness of some seventeenth-century girls and boys.
PERCEPTION OF THE HERO

In accordance with the definition of the hero as the chief man in poem, play or story (OED), Christian is the protagonist of The Pilgrim's Progress. He is a Puritan of Christian faith, (Firth; Greaves John Bunyan; Sadler; Seed; Sharrock "Life and Story"; Talon "Space and Hero"), a typical hero of the Puritan, biblical pattern of story (Keeble, "Way", 210-210).

Very much a masculine hero (Swaim, "Mercy and the Feminine", 389), Christian fulfils Bamber's conclusion about the nature of the masculine hero, based on her study of gender and genres in Shakespeare (6,8), as one who "explains and justifies himself, he finds fault with himself, he insists on himself, he struggles to be true to himself" (6,7). Greaves agrees with the masculine emphasis of Part 1, seeing it as a "testing ground for masculine heroism with little use for women and children" (Saints and Rebels, 177).

Viewed in another light, Christian is the hero of Bunyan's use of the military metaphor (Shrimpton 205, 211). He also has likenesses to the chivalric hero (Hill 202), portrayed as such through the influence of Bunyan's reading of chapbook heroes (Avery, "Books", 201-202; Spufford 6) who, like Bevis and St George, were Christian and patriotic. As MacDonald (Christian's Children 12) and other critics point out, the
correspondence between Bunyan's childhood reading in chapbooks and *The Pilgrim's Progress* is demonstrable (Firth 156-61; Golder 323-32; Shrimpton 211; Spufford 6-8), and one can recognize some resemblances in the adventures, although Bunyan's are confined to his own topography and are not designated abroad, as are Bevis's. Bunyan's usage may not have been conscious, but stories from the chivalric past with battles, giants and dragons, signs and wonders, where Christian knights ventured forth to overcome pagans (as in Richard Johnson's *Seven Heroes of Christendom*) had fed his boyhood imagination (Bunyan, *A Few Sighs from Hell*, 147-148); MacDonald, *Christian's Children*, 13; Spufford, *Small Books*, 249). Swaim thinks that the hero combines two facets as he "enacts both traditional and Puritan myth, both the common character, wisdom and goals of Western culture and Puritanism's re-presentation of it" (*Pilgrim's Progress* 47).

Despite Christian's preeminence in Part I, he is not cast in the traditional heroic mould (Keeble, *Literary Culture*, 235), as an unflawed, superhero. Rather, he reveals a dual nature: purpose and courage beset by doubts and timidity (Meigs 42). Yet in Part II, when his example guides the party of women, children and some physically or psychologically frail male travellers, he can be likened to Hercules (Keeble, *Literary Culture*, 235).
Christian and his companion pilgrims resemble the heroes in fairy-tales: "average" people (MacDonald, Christian's Children, 16). MacDonald particularly likens Christian to the adolescent hero in fairy-tales and refers to Max Luthi's analysis of the behaviour of adolescents. She adds that, as adolescent figures, they "move on to a new stage of life" (MacDonald, Christian's Children, 15-16). Such a view allows room for fears, weakness and support from supernatural or other outside sources. These are characteristics which make Christian an excellent emblem figure for the Puritan model of faith and pilgrimage (Sadler 100).

Other Heroes

The feminine heroic figure is identified by some Bunyan scholars: (Keeble, "Christiana's Key", 1-20; Swaim, "Mercy", 387; Talon, Bunyan, 23). Sadler discusses "Christian Fellowship and the Portrait of Women," reaching the conclusion that although Bunyan praises womanhood he does so rarely and is no advocate of women's liberation (109-111). Swaim points out Christiana's role as a feminine analogue of her husband, but her main focus is on Mercy, the young virgin, whom she regards as the secondary female protagonist, saying that Mercy echoes, subsumes, and elevates elements of Christian's
heroism from Part I on the way to becoming a full realization or embodiment of the practice and the principle of Christian Charity inscribed in her name ("Mercy" 388).

The literature conveys no recognition of a hero who changes in presentation over the centuries, whether he be Christian or any other character of Bunyan's text. Swaim, however, introduces the notion of the reader as hero (PP 47). She also recognizes the "changing times" of Part II (PP 312) and Bunyan, as author, progressing from "the persecuted convert of the 1660s to the industrious and thriving minister of the 1680s" (PP 17).

PSYCHO-SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS

Psychological insights pervade The Pilgrim's Progress (Keeble, Nonconformity, 235; Newey 21; Sharrock, "Character", 179; Talon, John Bunyan, 23); not surprising, given that Bunyan knew the psychomachy of his century (Zinck, "Doctrine", 44), as well as human behaviour through his roles as country-man, infidel, soldier, parent and Christian pastor. Bunyan wrote from the depths of his own psyche (Swaim, John Bunyan 42) describing his emblematic self (Damrosch 157).

This thesis draws on two models of twentieth-century developmental psychology (Lefrançois 51-53). The first of these, the Organismic, uses the metaphor of a
biological organism, and perceives the individual as active and self-directed with innate powers. Piaget's cognitive theory is based on this model. His approach stimulated the research of Kohlberg: moral judgement; Fowler: faith development, and Katz: racial attitudes (Seiffert and Hoffnung 62-63). Tucker and Applebee draw on this cognitive model (Hunt, <i>Development of Criticism</i>, 10).

The second model is the Ecological which stresses the interaction of an individual in an adaptive, resilient, open system, particularly of a social, historical or personal context (Lefrançois 51). Vygotsky and Bronfenbrenner are the principal theorists who insist on the interactionary relationship of culture and the individual (Berndt 36; Lefrançois 90-95; Shaffer 90). Work by the Rustins is an example of an examination of social and cultural conditions (<i>Love and Loss</i>).

Freud is the first developmentalist to recognize the importance of interaction (Vasta, Haith and Miller 19). His psychoanalytic theory that concerns the unconscious is augmented here by insights from Jung (Fordham; O'Connor), Bettelheim and Lacan. The interactionist view is agreed to by most modern child psychologists today (Vasta, Haith and Miller 19). Tucker shows how the inner world of a child's experience interacts with the Organismic model, while the Rustins apply the psychoanalytical and Ecological modes (8).
In addition there is a Humanistic view, represented by Maslow, which emphasizes the all-importance of the unique individual and his/her full development of potential (Lefrançois 100). An Eclectic view, applied in this thesis (Santrock 51), is an all-embracing one.

The interactional relationships that this thesis sets out in a propositional model are not new, only applied in visible combination. Critics already apply the psychological principles (Appleyard; Tucker); others define or discuss the underlying essence: the relationship between society (and hence the writer) and children's literature (Avery, Pattern, 9; Chambers, "Changing Story", 36-52; Hollindale 10; Lesnik-Oberstein 26; Myers 11; Reynolds ix). Of these, Chambers uses Einstein's term, "relativity", which implies relationship and relevance, but he applies it to the twentieth century only. Leeson's statement, "You match story to audience as far as you can" (161) recognizes the principle from a writer's stance.

The issue extends, of course, to a philosophical perspective which cannot be divorced from any writing, or even from a critical viewpoint, for it will show in some way. As Reynolds says, children's literature is not neutral ground and it does have a concern with shaping the attitudes of readers (ix), while Hollindale insists, in discussion of ideology, that its presence is
"conscious, deliberate and in some measure 'pointed' " (11).

From Paton Walsh comes a writer's insight concerning the transient nature of life itself:

That is why it is necessary in children's books to mirror death, to show a projected end, to teach that nothing is forever, so that the child may know the nature of the game he is playing and may take a direction, make purposeful moves (Paterson 38).

Puritan writers, including Bunyan and those who follow in later centuries as "Bunyan's heirs", reveal their own particular ideological stance. Leeson says of the Puritan-Dissenters that they wrote to teach truth, Godliness and morality to young readers (39). This included introduction of the "touching death-bed/conversion scene, the climax of many a children's (and adults') story for two centuries to come" (Leeson 39). Leeson goes on to discuss the age in which Bunyan, Janeway and others lived, pointing out the relevance of theme and content to their own societal conditions (40).

Relevance lies at the heart of the Reader-Response theory of literary criticism which emphasizes the role a reader takes in creating meaning from a literary text, an area that usually applies Freudian theory, as by Singer, Winnicott and Bettelheim (Hunt, Development of Criticism, 10).
Care is taken here to be cautious of the term "identification," recognizing Meek's reservation about the false transference of "outmoded terms of psychology to literary criticism" ("Constructedness" 15) and Lesnik-Oberstein's "problematic concept" (113).

Underlying Principles of Relevance

This thesis proposes that there are principles underlying the relevance theory that link with twentieth-century views of child development. It does not attempt to prove its claims in a strictly traditional scientific manner, nor by the preferable "new paradigm" approach (Van Leeuwen, The Person, 248) which resembles Piaget's methode clinique model. This method uses naturalistic observation, individual case-study and a more flexible approach than systematic, controlled psychological experiments (Seiffert and Hoffnung 57).

Firstly, there is the principle of the innate ability of an individual which underlies the Piagetian (and neo-Piagetian) theory of cognition in the Organismic model. Despite some weaknesses of Piaget's theory, it still has much to offer and it has been a basis for more recent research (Seiffert and Hoffnung 62). It concerns how children increasingly organize
their perceptions and conceptions of their environment, using two opposing functions -- assimilation and accommodation. These are biological terms that are applied to behaviour and thought (Cowan 22) and which operate closely together (Vasta, Haith and Miller 34).

Putting it simply, in assimilation the child takes in a new experience and interprets it according to what he/she already knows. In the accommodation process, existing structures are transformed to accommodate the new dimensions. The term "equilibrium" is used to describe both the process and the outcome (Cowan 24).

Another theory, and a more recent one (Newell and Simon), is also of the cognitive-developmental approach to child development (Vasta, Haith and Miller 303) and affirms the same principle of innateness. It is the Information Processing approach which theorizes small computer-like steps (Berndt 34-35; Clarke-Stewart and Friedman 243; Lefrançois 460-465; Santrock 245-259), but is not confined to stages of development. It uses components of memory: from sensory memory to short-term memory to long-term memory. Rehearsal, organization and meaningfulness (i.e. relevance) are vital factors that contribute to information moving through the three dimensions.

Various developmental psychologists recognize identical components of Information-Processing but show them in their individualized versions of flowcharts
(Clarke-Stewart and Friedman 210; Seiffert and Hoffnung 63; Vasta, Haith and Miller 301). The latter two teams include a response output as an endpoint. In a child's literature experience this response can be made visible through art, verbalization and selection of future books.

From Edwards (1992) comes a survey of the scientific research on how the human brain works, "research that has greatly expanded existing theories about the nature of human consciousness" (Edwards 26). This gives insights concerning the different functions of the left and right hemispheres of the brain and emphasizes the role of the intuitive, holistic, subjective, relational, time-free mode of the right hemisphere (Edwards 36). This reflects a Biological model, such as espoused by Bowlby in his attachment theory (Lefrançois 100).

The second principle concerns the interactive relationship between emotions (the affective) and experience which is the psychoanalytical approach of Bettelheim, Freud, Jung and Lacan. From Freud come useful working terms by which to label the personality: "id", largely biological impulses from which the "ego" develops (Lefrançois 53); that "rational, reality-oriented, problem-solving part of the personality" (Seiffert and Hoffnung 39). The third part of personality structure, in Freudian terms, is the
"superego", a moral and ethical dimension which develops at the end of early childhood and concerns perceptions of right and wrong (Seiffert and Hoffnung 39). It transmits signals like red or green traffic lights that indicate "Caution", "Stop!" or "Go!" It is important to note that Freud emphasizes an interactive relationship between a child's inner emotional life and conflict, both within, and between, society and the individual (Seiffert and Hoffnung 44).

Jungian and Lacanian theory both focus on inner feelings, related to the unconscious memory. Jung also sets out the importance of the "religious function", a powerful drive within the psyche (Fordham 70) and the ongoing quest of "individuation" for the "self" -- another term Jung uses to identify the individual. This comes through recognition of the unconscious aspects of one's being (O'Connor 89), a theme which Bettelheim elaborates in relation to the appeal of fairy tales for young children. From this inner world also comes the perception of heroes, product of the inter-relationship between reader and text (Appleyard 57).

From Jung, furthermore, we get the notion of a "collective unconscious" -- inherited, genetic knowledge -- and the "archetypes", the "hero/saviour" figure being one of the archetypal images (O'Connor 16, 29) that may apply to Bunyan's hero. "Individuation" is Jung's central concept, which stresses bringing into
consciousness an awareness of the unrecognized aspects of the psyche, leading to the goal of the "self" (O'Connor 89). It is a process in which a religious function has a powerful influence (Fordham 70) and Harding applies this aspect of Jungian theory to the relationship between dream, dreamer's psyche and the pilgrim's inner experience in The Pilgrim's Progress (11-19).

The third principle concerns the importance of interaction of the individual with society at a combination of both the cognitive and affective levels, thus linking the Organismic and Ecological models. Freud was the first to recognize the interactionalist perspective of the innate and the environmental (Vasta, Haith and Miller, 19).

That the reader can find her/himself among the myriad characters in The Pilgrim's Progress is recognized by Meigs, along with the "vivid sense of individuality in the principal persons" (42). To this she attributes one reason for the work's appeal to children as "the mind follows them in sympathy and suspense" (42). In a psychological sense the reader needs to "go on a pilgrimage oneself and so to make real in one's own life the universal myth of the hero quest" (Harding 9).
Societal Focus: Religion

Inasmuch as the children of Dissenters were probably the first children to read *The Pilgrim's Progress*, it is important to perceive their home influences. Societal events and the literary text must also be seen to integrate and balance in order to support the probability of relevance factors. Children's literature, as Field observed late in the nineteenth century, is indeed "shaped in its broader outlines by the history of the English people" (5). Bunyan's pilgrim story begins in the seventeenth century, the time of Puritanism which is best understood through Haller's *Rise of Puritanism*.

Haller takes the view that Puritanism was nothing new or totally unrelated to the past but something old, deep-seated and English, with roots reaching far back into mediaeval life (Ball, *English Connection*, 5).

This perspective makes Bunyan's work essentially part of a continuing ethos of the English nation. It helps in an understanding of Puritanism in its "purest essence" (Ball, *English Connection*, 5).

The suffering of Puritans receives documentation in Cragg's *Puritanism in the Age of the Great Persecution, 1660-1688*, considered "still the best treatment of the
period of the persecution from the point of view of the persecuted groups" (White 51). The period 1660-1680, which immediately preceded and followed the publication of The Pilgrim's Progress, is discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

Those persons who moved beyond wanting to purify the Church of England (Sommerville 9), who took a stand against the state church and became Dissenters were, surprisingly, not a large group, despite their emphasis in history. According to Greaves, it was not until 1718 that reasonably accurate figures were compiled, when they numbered 338,000 in England and 18,000 in Wales -- about six per cent of the population ("Found Faithful" 37). They were, nevertheless, a group to be noticed as they constituted many of the nation's merchants, shopkeepers and clothiers. They were also active in public debate and operated a thriving underground press (Greaves, "Found Faithful", 38,48).

A number of studies discuss Puritanism in light of Bunyan's work: Campbell, Knott, Q. D. Leavis, Marcus, Stachniewski, White. Of these, all recognize the biblical theology that shaped thought and the desire for purity of life. Only Marcus and Stachniewski portray a picture of gloom and despair, one which Stachniewski attributes to "a variety of non-puritan, often medical sources" (27). He also disputes the stance of Eliot, Gardner, Lewis and Martz who stress "continuity of faith through the Christian millenia" (2). His hypothesis is
an interesting one, and not completely disregarded in this study. The focus on despair is not new as, according to Greaves, historians have traditionally portrayed Restoration Nonconformity in a limited light:

largely in terms of persecution, defeatism, the death of 'militant Puritanism' and the espousal of a detached pietism freed from the shackles of political entanglement and preoccupied with otherworldly pursuits ("Found Faithful" 37).

Greaves considers this view a warped one, based on "faulty historical methodology that neglects the rich archival sources for the period ("Found Faithful" 37). Some historians of children's literature appear to have been swayed, to at least some extent, by the traditional bias when they describe Puritan literature and its authors. For example, Muir says of early authors that they were frequently Calvinists and speaks of "morbidness of approach" (30), and though he admits that "Bunyan was the best of them by a very long way," he also appears to be included in the "grisley band" (28-30). Townsend's comments seem tinged with cynicism as he speaks of "young souls to be saved, or, more probably, damned" (20). It would not be surprising if Field had exhibited some sympathy for the Puritan stance, as she lived in Evangelical times, but she, too, speaks of "most morbid and unchildlike ideas" (189). Jackson speaks of "most harrowing" literature (23).
Sloane is more balanced, recognizing that the seventeenth century had its own particular idiom and philosophy and that religion was "the driving impulse of human life" (11). He also recognizes the Puritan desire for children to receive pleasure from their reading (15) to which Darton agrees (53). Others who appear able to accept the Puritan mind and to more easily identify with their ways are, notably, Demers, Leeson, Weaver and Wooden.

A New History of Christianity (Green, 1996) provides church history in England and around the world in the context of two thousand years. It is a very balanced work of which the Rt Revd Lord Runcie says its outstanding quality is honesty (Foreword). Similarly, The Oxford History of Christianity (McManners, 1993) and Religion in the Modern World: from Cathedrals to Cults (Bruce 1996), place Christianity in a world context while giving attention to its place in Great Britain. McManners' work includes contributions from eighteen scholars, who not only consider Christianity of the past but of the present and future. In the contemporary setting, they recognize the reactive nature of Christian life (644) together with the persistent and continuous nature of change within the Christian community (587). These views support the likelihood of a changing hero in The Pilgrim's Progress over three centuries. They also suggest the possibility of future
change as a reactive Christian hero responds to his environmental emphases.

Other works on Christian faith provide different perspectives. Sangster's two works emphasize the history of the Free Churches, concerning the faith and societal presence of those of the non-conformist tradition that Bunyan espoused. The first of these, *Pity my Simplicity: The Evangelical Revival and the Religious Education of Children 1738-1800* (1963) focuses on the child. The second, *A History of the Free Churches* (1983) shows by statistics a gradually decreasing membership. It also discusses *The Pilgrim's Progress* (91) and describes Bunyan as a "pastor of surpassing kindness . . . not bigoted in doctrine" (92). Ball is another who not only explores Puritan theology and its counterpart today, but also does exhaustive searches into archival material and County records for evidence (*English Connection*, 1981; *The Seventh-day Men*, 1994). He maintains there is a continuity of Christian faith, especially in such doctrines as the sufficiency of Scripture; Jesus, centre of faith; believer's baptism; the return of Christ and judgement. *Missionaries*, (Pettifer and Bradley, 1990) looks at the lives and faith in action of modern Christian witnesses.

The involvement of children in religious life is important to this thesis. Cutt's *Ministering Angels: A Study of Nineteenth Century Evangelical Writing for*
Children (1979) and Newby's The Story of Sunday Schools (1930) provide insights. Davies' chapter on Britain in Informationes Theologiae Europae (1994) is a study supported by statistics which shows that Levels of church adherence . . . rose in the last half of the nineteenth century, peaked in 1904-5, went into irregular decline with periods of marked recovery until 1960 and after that fell steadily and continued to fall in the 1970s and 1980s (82).

Davies, a sociologist, then states that the pattern of enrolment in the Sunday Schools over time is similar to that for church attendance ("and thus also inversely related to criminality" (83), but it involved a greater proportion of the British people. He claims that over half the population under fifteen years of age, at least some 53 per cent, would have been enrolled in Sunday School in 1901, whereas in 1989 the figure was 14 per cent. He also suggests that religious life led to respectability and self-control which were part of "the civilizing process", a reference to Elias's work by the same name (1982). Davies' work gives an up-to-date picture of the rise and fall in the moral influence of the churches in the twentieth century. He claims that an opinion poll of 1986 reveals "a further attenuation of what remains of the old ethic" (85). This supports the view of today's secular society, yet one wherein The Pilgrim's Progress survives in new forms, as will be
shown, notably in the declining religious sector, demonstrated in Gray's work (1990) and by others.


Thomson's study of the twentieth century, (London in the Twentieth Century; 2nd edition edited by Warner) refers to the erosion of religious faith (119) as it portrays the century from the Great War (1914-29), through the years of the Great Depression to World War II (1930-45); thence from welfare state to affluent society and thereafter from affluence to uncertainty. The conditions he describes have to be held in mind as the changing hero of *The Pilgrim's Progress* is kept in view.
History of Childhood

The picture of childhood over the early modern period, and centuries preceding it, has progressed and clarified over the past thirty-five years of research (Aries, 1962; Pinchbeck and Hewitt, 1972; De Mause, 1976; Stone, 1977; Houlbrooke, 1984; Pollock, 1983, 1987; Cunningham, 1991; Jenks, 1996).

Aries shows that in the seventeenth century the idea of childhood was linked with the idea of dependence rather than specific ages (26). He points out that "A little boy" was not necessarily a little child but might be a young servant (26) which offers an insight concerning Mercy, who became a sort of travelling companion-maid to Christiana.

From Pinchbeck and Hewitt comes information about the paternalistic nature of society in the Early-Modern period (1-2); the importance to a seventeenth-century family of Bible reading and prayer for the entire household (263, 265), of "instuction from the cradle" (264) and the "twin disciplines of work and worship" (Chapter IX title, 223-275).

Stone's focus on the home and educational values informs us that "early seventeenth-century England was at all levels the most literate society the world had ever known ("Educational Revolution", 68) which he attributes partly to Protestantism's strong link between
literacy and spirituality (Weaver 2). From Stone, also, we gain insights regarding marriage ages and customs (The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800), while Houlbrooke helps in an understanding of the significant place of death and death-bed scenes in seventeenth-century families and their literature. He concludes from his background study that "the qualitative range of parent-child relationships was probably as great during those centuries as it is today" (216).

Opening up the topic further, Pollock's two works provide new insights into family behaviour and values of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. For the middle and upper classes of society, where perhaps belonged some of the original child readers of The Pilgrim's Progress, she points out, with inference to de Mause's "The Evolution of Childhood" and Stone's use of "Family Evolution", that "the main thrust of the most influential works in the field has been to argue that good parental care has evolved through the centuries" (Lasting Relationship, 11). From her own extensive reading of primary sources she presents evidence to show that, rather than evolving, care and concern for their children were always evident with most parents (Loving Relationship 13). Sommerville comments that Pollock demonstrates "continuity in the treatment of children despite changes in expressed attitudes and advice" (8).
Thomas stresses that "the parent-child relationship was one which today would be thought of as natural and normal"; that the difference lay in methods rather than in affection and concern ("Early Modern England" 46-47).

Josselin's Diary, 1616-1683, is one work that demonstrates a seventeenth-century parent's interest in his children's education (183: Nov. 1; 191, March 1), and the deep concern he felt as children suffered various illnesses and diseases, or befell accidents, such as falling into the fire (113: Feb. 20). In turn he experienced thankfulness for children's recoveries or continuing good health (152:7; 141:15), and anguish when they died: "Thes 2 dayes were such as I never knewe before; the former for the death, and this for the burial of my deare sonne . . ." (114:22). This was one of several of his children's deaths.

Slater's Family Life in the Seventeenth Century is a demonstration of the active part a mother, Lady Verney, took in managing her family, and of both parents' "incessant concern with their children's training and socialization" (141).

The history of the working-class child may be still unwritten, said Pollock in 1987 (A Lasting Relationship 14), but this has since been addressed by Davin (1996), and by Cunningham (1991) who quotes Davies: "two-thirds of the children of the poor receive not the slightest degree of schooling" (33). Yet some children had the
opportunity to learn to read and write, at Dames' or "Petty" schools for at least a limited time before they went to work (Spufford, "Schooling" 131-134).

Studies of specific periods and themes enveloping the sixteenth to twentieth centuries provide particular emphases, all of which help to bring children of the past and present into view. Among these are theses by Ezell, (1981)\(^1\) and Fearn (1984), and books by Thomas, (1989), and Sommerville (1992); or articles, as by Benton (1996). Fearn's study of children's literature between 1760 and 1830 gives incontrovertible evidence of "growing awareness of the special needs of children" (337). Jenks' work synthesizes historical and current attitudes to childhood from a late twentieth-century stance which includes reference to the James Bulger murder by ten-year-olds in 1993. Jenks agrees with Cunningham that 'childhood' is never a fixed and constant state (7).

Puritan family life, which concerns this thesis, was strong and entertaining (Sloane 15). It used plays, dramatic readings (Sommerville 121), reading for happiness (Darton 16) and music (Scholes 4-5, 117; Sadler 104-105). Homes were hospitable (Stachniewski 194), reflecting "the religion of a healthy mind" (Talon, John Bunyan, 23). However, . . . what was once so straightforward and logical

\(^1\) Permission is not given to quote Ezell's Cambridge University thesis.
is now for us embroiling, coercive and uniformly unsatisfying. Fundamental differences in outlook separating Puritan and Evangelical eras from our own post-Christian, post-modern times afford some reasons for the shift (Demers 2).

Bunyan, himself, showed great compassion toward his children. In 1672, six years before *The Pilgrim's Progress*, he had four children aged twelve years and under. This helps to explain why the reader can "hear" the distinct voices of his characters and distinguish their personalities, for Bunyan knew and understood children. Of his eldest child, Mary, he wrote:

... my poor blind child who lay nearer my heart than all beside; Oh! the thoughts of the hardships I thought my poor blind one might go under, would break my heart to pieces (GA 327).

In conclusion, a literature survey of the topic under enquiry covers three principal areas: the popularity of *The Pilgrim's Progress* with children (some of whom, from the seventeenth century onwards, could read); perceptions of the hero; and the psychosociological underpinnings. Moreover, from Bratton (68, 74), Jackson (3, 66), MacDonald, *Christian's Children*, 101-135, and Reeves (67) comes the notion of *The Pilgrim's Progress* as prototype.
The work was "adopted" by children and was immensely popular with them during the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is now frequently considered to be a book for Sunday School use or academic study.

Various critics identify the strengths of The Pilgrim's Progress: elements of fairy story, pictorial illustration, adventure, strong characterization, and a narrative style that includes dialogue, picaresque elements and humour. These factors, it is assumed, have contributed to the work's popularity and longevity and should be kept in mind as its influence as prototype is considered. Another reason for the work's success with children is probably its psychosociological dimension.

The hero figure is paramount, continuing a literary tradition that dates back to the biblical model and folk-lore, offering a role model and providing for psychic needs. The original hero is male and Puritan, though some scholars glimpse a feminine heroic figure.

Relevance concerns the external societal factors of prevailing ideology/philosophy, especially religious events and ethos, in interaction with the child and literature. Relevance also concerns the internal landscape of the mind, so that twentieth-century models of child development, including faith-development and Information Processing Theory, suggest why Bunyan's work suits children at a psychological level.
CHAPTER TWO
RELEVANCE OF THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS TO THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Introduction

Who were the child readers of The Pilgrim's Progress in the seventeenth century? No names or records survive to identify them but it can be reasonably assumed that the first of them were children in Nonconformist and Dissenting homes, sons and daughters of merchants, shopkeepers and clothiers, "a chief part" of whom were Dissenters (Penn, quoted by Greaves, "Found Faithful" 38). These young readers probably included Bunyan's own grandchildren and the children of his immediate friends and parishioners, before widening to a greater readership of children of pious parents, such families being scattered throughout society (Houlbrooke 148). Religious education was of much importance to seventeenth-century parents (Pollock, Lasting Relationship, 203) and associated with this were reading skills (Keeble, Literary Culture, 135), especially of pious books (Pinchbeck and Hewitt 265). To the most extreme Puritans, godly literature was linked with the catechism to promote a godly conscience (Smith 79).

Several possible reasons account for Bunyan's pilgrim story being significant to the first audience of children. Exciting reading was rare (Sommerville 23;
Sloane 131-232), except in the chapman's traditional ware from which Puritan children were protected, for it was condemned as ungodly (Sloane 8). Those readers used to books of good advice and religious works may have found Bunyan's vigorous writing style shocking at times, because of its cast of unfamiliar, smooth-tongued, vacillating or evil characters, yet this fascinating array may have impelled them to read further. For any readers who already knew popular romances, ballads, folk and fairy tales, here was a book with much in common. It came, however, from the pen of a Dissenting preacher for whom Christian families may have prayed while he was imprisoned, so, being a religious book, despite Bunyan's own anxieties about its propriety (PP "Author's Apology"), it must have taken on respectability and thus become "extolled" (Sloane 8).

Inside the covers of what adults read as religious allegory flourished an amazing tale. In the complete narrative of Parts I and II, it told of a family who, like the Hebrews of old in Bible stories, felt deeply impressed to leave their familiar surroundings and set out on what became an adventure. They were ordinary people, with probable character resemblances to family, to friends in the community of believers and to neighbours. Sometimes they behaved wisely and in an heroic manner; at other times they did stupid things.

Like the plot itself, the people and creatures the
family met along the journey were unpredictable. They might make a child laugh, shiver with fear, or wonder whatever would happen next. The narrative transferred biblical metaphors into realities, showed "bodily sin and pain" (Darton 55) for abstract spiritual remorse. It translated biblical symbols and patterns of the Puritan story (Keeble, "Way", 210) into real events with larger-than-life people. In all, it had the feel of a book for its day, written by a man of his age who had "lived through and learnt from, the most turbulent, seditious and factious years of recorded English history" (Hill, Turbulent People, 4).

Because The Pilgrim's Progress was not all goodness and grace, it therefore appealed to a wider audience than Puritans alone. Not only did subversive characters play a part, but some of them, perhaps not "wholly evil", were quite entertaining in their speech and behaviour (Keeble, "Introduction", xviii). The form also had a subversive quality in that allegory was safe from the censor (Hill 201). Some older children, perhaps teenagers who were growing more wise in the ways of human behaviour, may even have recognized this fact and secretly smiled. This suggestion is out-of-keeping with the traditional picture of the innocent-faced, serious Puritan child who was interested in sermons and a knowledge of God, such as Lucy Hutchinson (Houlbrooke 271-272), Mary Warren (Sloane 169), the young and pious
Richard Evelyn (Houlbrooke 271; Stone 169) or Sarah Davey (168) and Joan Vokins (214). It more resembles the descriptions of other children, depicted as lively and difficult who, it was believed, needed a rod to crush rebellion (Houlbrooke 144): volatile John and Mary, Tom and William, John and Richard, and the children who slipped out of church at sermon time, preferring to play in the churchyard (Russell, Second Part).

While the literature of the period tends to paint the child in two-dimensional terms, children, being by years generally immature and in a process of development, may well have vacillated between several types of behaviour, sometimes behaving in a "godly" mode and at other times exhibiting an "unregenerate" nature (Avery, "Voice of the Child", 1). The records, however, appear to have often focused on predominant aspects or what was of special interest to the writers, depending on their authorial focus.

From the evidence of Avery ("Voice of the Child") and Thomas (51), it seems that children's mercurial natures have changed little over the centuries. In Russell's A Companion for Children and Youth (1698) he speaks of both good and wicked children, and Thomas says that children "tended to behave in a way which was inconsistent with the values of adult society" (51). This young audience would have found interest in
The Pilgrim's Progress because their sometimes rebellious behaviours are reflected in its pages.

Relevance of Late Seventeenth-Century Events

As so many have pointed out, Bunyan's story, as story alone with its diverse literary facets, drew child readers. From a critical perspective, however, one should recognize that, external to the narrative, societal events and ethos can be identified that have echoes within Bunyan's text, both before and after publication. Whether children recognized some, or none, of the resemblances is not the issue. The point is that these outward happenings affected and related to the literature. Told within the idiom and value-frame of the day, Bunyan portrayed scenes and characters sufficiently real that children would be able to relate to them according to the readiness of their own experience. Analysed by Piaget's theory, familiar representations of the child's external world would "accommodate" with already established "schemas" (Cowan 44).

Where the situation was especially relevant to a child's experience it is likely that, at a subconscious level at least (Bettelheim 6), the child "connected" through feelings with the work. For example, if a child's male relative had been imprisoned or penalized in any way for his Nonconformist commitment, the trial
and persecution scene at Vanity Fair held personal relevance. When it became necessary for a family of Puritan faith to pack up and go on a journey to a new, welcoming destination, the story of The Pilgrim's Progress, Part II was meaningful. If a child lost a mother of deep Christian belief through death -- and in a time of frequent child-births this was not uncommon -- the portrayal of Christiana's blessing and departure would have held recognition and meaning, especially as death-bed scenes were part of seventeenth-century home-life:

The dying, central figures . . . often played their part by making declarations of faith and by giving parental blessings and godly exhortations to their children to live in love and accord (Houlbrooke 203).

The major events of the late seventeenth century that show a relationship to the text of The Pilgrim's Progress and his pilgrim hero can be synthesized under six headings.

1. Persecution

It neither appears to be commonly recognized nor understood in its implications that for twenty years, 1660-1688, a period that preceded and followed the publication of The Pilgrim's Progress, children lived
through times of tremendous societal unrest.¹ There were changes in monarchy and parliaments, regicides, ejections, purges, Declarations, numerous unsettling Acts, the plague, the fire of London, and more (Laurence, Owens and Sim xi; Hill xx-xxi).

Of all these unsettling events, the child in Nonconformist and Dissenting families must have been much affected by those related to religion. Difficulties began in 1660 when Charles II was accepted as King of England and he restored the episcopacy. Ensuing persecution of those who would not conform and worship as required by law covered the period 1660-1688. These Christians were prepared to take a stand against the state-prescribed religious form, choosing "purity of and holiness of life" (Ball, English Connection, 5; Greaves, Saints and Rebels, 179-182). Seventh-day Baptists were prepared to be quite out of step even with fellow Puritans and to observe a seventh-day Sabbath (Saturday), Sabbatarianism being an issue well into the eighteenth century (Ball, English Connection, 138; Seventh-day Men). White recognizes the difficult time that all such Protestants experienced during 1660-1688:

   to a greater or less degree, in different places
   at different times and for different people, a

¹ Langham stresses the importance of 1688 when the revolution changed English history. He says "It has fared particularly badly at the hands of the twentieth century, and threatens to disappear altogether under the demands of modern historical scholarship" (352).
time of sharp suffering for those who would not
conform to the national church, whether they
were Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Independents,
Baptists, Quakers or those who belonged to one
of the smaller groups who have only left a smudge
in the margins of later history (51).

Particular events of persecution which must have
cased disruption and distress in family life, no matter
how parents tried to protect their children from
knowledge of it, began in the years 1660-1662. At this
time occurred the ejection of about seventeen hundred
and sixty ministers who would not conform to the
episcopal church, restored after the years of civil war
and commonwealth (Hill, Turbulent People, xx). Because
vicarages came with church and parish, eviction may have
meant over seventeen hundred families seeking new homes
and livelihoods. At the same time came the Corporation
Act which excluded Non-Conformists from national or
local public office (Ball, English Connection, 12). This
was followed by the first Conventicle Act (1664) with
its restrictions on all private meetings for worship
(Clark 21). There was also the Five Mile Act (1665)
which disrupted the settled home life of any
Nonconformist minister by disallowing him from living
in, or visiting, any corporate town or place where he
had religious contacts (Ball, English Connection, 12).
In outlying places the Five Mile Act encouraged the
Dissenters' influence rather than dispelling it (Clark 21), giving reason for an involved family to praise God for his mercies even in persecution.

Another event of the period primarily affected the Huguenot Christians in France. Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, by which religious toleration was withdrawn, prompted Huguenot families to go into exile, and many came to Britain (Clark 104-105). The question must have been whispered in their newly established homes at Canterbury and other places, "How long will we be safe here?" sending out a ripple effect to English Nonconformists. For Roman Catholics, too, a law of about the same time prohibited ownership of land within ten miles of London. This caused families disruption if they had to move, as the Alexander Pope family did from London to Binfield in rural Berkshire.

The events have resonance in The Pilgrim's Progress. Evangelist emphasizes to Christian that "you must through many tribulations enter into the Kingdom of Heaven" (PP 87). Troubles come to the pilgrim hero, Christian, through mockery, disbelief and attempts to frighten and persuade him to turn back to the City of Destruction. The gibes of people like Mr Worldly Wiseman, Formalist and Hypocrisy, Timorous, Mistrust and Atheist, are nothing, however, compared to the scorn, denial and abuse at Vanity Fair. Here Christian and his
friend, Faithful, have no-one on their side and each of the jury who makes the final judgement is a nasty character: such as Mr No-good, Mr Malice, Mr Enmity, Mr Cruelty and Mr Hate-Light. At Vanity Fair, Christian and his friend are dragged along the thoroughfare in chains, then locked into a cage where anyone can come to scorn them in their misery; and it is here that Faithful dies, burnt to ashes at the stake. Yet there is the assurance that he ascends directly to the gate of the Celestial City.

Persecution comes through forms other than men. Beelzebub (Satan, as Bunyan's note tells the reader) fires arrows from his castle at passing pilgrims. The monster, Apollyon, "a foul fiend" (PP 56) is a hideous creature with scales like a fish, wings like a dragon, feet like a bear, a belly that gives out fire and smoke and a mouth like a lion. He challenges, disputes, taunts and warns Christian "Prepare thyself to die" (PP 59) before throwing a flaming dart at his heart. Then follows the exciting scene of their fight. Christian uses his shield in protection and draws his sword; the fiend throws darts as thick as hail. Christian is wounded but tries to resist. They wrestle and Christian fears he is finished.

Battles against a visible and invisible foe link with Puritan belief in psychomachy, meaning holy warfare whereby "individuals are spiritually edified and
strengthened by undergoing a series of trials" (Zinck, "Doctrine", 45). This concept would be nothing new to seventeenth-century children, for the Biblical associations with Revelation 9:11, Matthew 10:25 and Revelation 12:3 would be evident in a Puritan community where the Bible was studied as a sufficient authority by which to live, the sole basis of faith and practice (Greaves, "Found Faithful", 39). Persecution was expected, from both natural and also from supernatural powers, according to Ephesians 6:20 and Evangelist's advice to Christian.

Bunyan's marginal glosses explain his allegory making it explicit (Honig 115; MacDonald, Christian's Children, 4). These may have been passed over by child readers who were caught up with the "momentum" of story (Meigs 153). Perhaps some children wanted the exciting narrative to move along rather than be delayed by looking up texts, in the same way that perhaps they left out the lengthy didactic passages which obstructed the narrative, as some have suggested (MacDonald, Christian's Children, 10; Meigs 43). When parents read the work with their children, glosses would no doubt be used. Hancock says that the known scriptures "would probably be 'heard' and responded to on the cue of the references in the margins" (150), a sort of antiphonal reading.
2. Imprisonment

Bunyan's first term of imprisonment, from 1661-1672, would have prompted many prayers for him and other prisoners of conscience. Children would have joined in these prayers at family worship which was an integral part of Christian life (Pinchbeck and Hewitt 265). Quaker children may have been especially affected by the imprisonment of family members, as in 1662 there were about 1,300 Quakers in prison, while in 1672 there were about 500 (Clark 21).

In Bunyan's story, Giant Despair throws Christian and Hopeful, (the hero's second travelling companion), into a dungeon in Doubting Castle where he berates and beats them, advises them to kill themselves and threatens to pull them into pieces. From Wednesday morning to Saturday night they lie there without food or water, and Christian, crushed by the experience, sinks into feelings of dejection (according to Bunyan's glosses, 115-116). Certainly this scene is intended as an allegory about the threat of despair in the life of a Christian; of how faith in the promise of salvation provides escape. At a literal level, which may have been the way many children read the text (MacDonald 5), despite their familiarity with the allegoric form, the imprisonment is in a real dungeon, by a living, menacing giant and the key in Christian's bosom is a tangible
key. Further on, after their escape, the hero and his friend are lured into another type of imprisonment -- into a net by a black man.

No dramatic persecution or imprisonment takes place on the children's pilgrimage (Part II) which must have been reassuring to child readers.

3. Fellowship with Christian Friends

Families probably rejoiced in their homes and congregations when King Charles II made his Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, whereby some freedom of worship was granted and they could enjoy fellowship with other believers in their Christian community again.

Christian friends are also important in The Pilgrim's Progress. On both journeys the pilgrims call in at the house called Beautiful where they rest and recover. Here live the sisters, Discretion, Prudence, Piety and Charity who are beautiful in appearance and are of virtuous characters. They are kind and welcoming, offering a drink on a guest's arrival, and excellent food and wine. Christian rests in the chamber called Peace where he wakes up in the morning, wanting to sing! This is not surprising because Puritans enjoyed music (Scholes 3-6) and verse-making was regarded, by Baptists and Quakers at least, as a charismatic gift (Sommerville 127). Sharing the music of songs and instruments is an
important custom with friends at the House Beautiful, as Christiana and Mercy discover.

The fellow-believers talk freely together, the four sisters asking about Christian's journey, why he set out and what befell him on the way. Especially they want to talk of, and praise, the Lord of the hill, so much so that they stay up very late in the evening. They equip Christian with armour, which their Lord had provided; they point out a view of the Delectable Mountains in Immanuel's land, his destination.

When the second party arrives (Part II) the sisters kiss each one as if they are part of their own family. They say, "Welcome to us, your friends." (PP 221). The hospitality and friendship is so pleasurable that the family group stay over a month. Bunyan portrays the closeness and warmth of the Christian community as the believers in it become like brothers and sisters through Christ, sharing what they have and praising God together.

Similar closeness and support is depicted in Josselin's diary (141, Oct. 19; 317, Jan. 28). Josselin's experience could resemble Bunyan's own for he was a vicar "on the borderline of nonconformity," a fully convinced millenarian for some years and "particularly interested in the promised Second Coming of Christ" (xxiv).
In Part II, Christian's family meet twenty-three other believers while on their journey (Table 1), including Mr Gaius who offers hospitality and friendship at his inn. Indeed, it is here that Mercy and Matthew marry, which adds a romantic high point yet makes the point that Christian believer should marry a fellow Christian.

4. Seesaw Days.

A year after the Declaration of Indulgence, parliament withdrew it and passed the Test Act (1673). This reaffirmed that only those who received the sacrament according to the Anglican form were eligible for public office (Ball, English Connection, 12) and penalties were imposed on those who worshiped in any form except the Anglican (Clark 21). It meant that Nonconformist families were again uneasy. Children in many such households would likely have heard agitated whispers about the further imprisonment of Bunyan, 1676-1677, and the arrest of male members of their own and other Puritan communities. They probably joined in family prayers for all of these prisoners.

Just as the years 1660-1688 were uncertain times, so there is an up and down quality in the events of The Pilgrim's Progress, depicting a life of faith; sometimes danger, as in at least fourteen places of testing (Table
### Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OTHER BELIEVERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART II</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Sagacity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valiant-for-truth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Ready-to-halt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Holy-man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Penitent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Feeble-mind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Love-saint</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOME PLACES OF TESTING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Slough of Despond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left Road Called Danger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right Road called Destruction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valley of Humiliation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cave of Pope and Pagan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Plain called Ease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Old Monument</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2); sometimes relief and support as at the places of renewal (Table 3). This variability is part of the attraction of the narrative, for the sequence is not predictable, nor can a reader be sure who or what will appear next. The effect is that Part I, in particular, moves with vivid portrayal somewhat like a modern cartoon or comic strip. As he travels, Christian meets seventeen people whose names denote that they are followers of the Lord of the way: names like Goodwill, Sincere, Help, Watchful and Great-grace. (Table 4). On the other hand, the good are completely outnumbered by at least eighty-six "baddies" in Parts I and II. (Table 5). In all there appear to be thirty-seven distinct scenes (Appendix 1). By Tables 1-5 and Appendix 1, one can see the diverse and fascinating range of characters and places that keep coming into view via Bunyan's text.

The pilgrim hero is up-and-downish as a character. His feet get sore; he smiles with pleasure when he can run faster than Faithful (Sadler 55). Sometimes he is easily seduced into error, so that the journey is not always "progress" (Fish 229), but as Campbell says, his name does not define him as perfect but as one who follows Christ (257). He does his best to persuade other travellers to go to Mount Zion by the narrow path, in this way reflecting the Puritan belief expressed by Richard Sibbes "to work and pray for others" (Ball, English Connection, 190), behaviour which Nonconformist
Table 3

**PLACES OF RENEWAL**

---

**Parts I and II**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House of the Interpreter</th>
<th>An arbour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The palace Beautiful</td>
<td>A chamber called Peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The river of God</td>
<td>Delectable Mountains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A hill called Clear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Table 4

**FOLLOWERS OF THE LORD OF THE WAY**

---

**Part I**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Christian</th>
<th>Help</th>
<th>Evangelist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goodwill</td>
<td>Interpreter</td>
<td>Patience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watchful</td>
<td>Discretion</td>
<td>Prudence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopeful</td>
<td>Piety</td>
<td>Charity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge</td>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>Watchful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sincere</td>
<td>Faithful</td>
<td>Great-grace</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### Table 5

**SOME ANTI-HEROES IN THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS I**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mr High-mind</th>
<th>Mr Enmity</th>
<th>Mr Liar</th>
<th>By-ends</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr Love-Lust</td>
<td>Legality</td>
<td>Civility</td>
<td>Passion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple</td>
<td>Sloth</td>
<td>Presumption</td>
<td>Formalist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypocrisy</td>
<td>Timorous</td>
<td>Mistrust</td>
<td>Wanton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talkative</td>
<td>Saywell</td>
<td>Lord Hategood</td>
<td>Envy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superstition</td>
<td>Pickthank</td>
<td>Lord Old Man</td>
<td>Mr No-good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Hate-light</td>
<td>Mr Implacable</td>
<td>Mr Hold-the World</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discontent</td>
<td>Shame</td>
<td>Turnback</td>
<td>Save-self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Cruelty</td>
<td>Lord Turn-about</td>
<td>Lord Time-server</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord Fair-speech</td>
<td>Mr Smooth-man</td>
<td>Mr Live-Loose</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Facing Both-ways</td>
<td>Mr Anything</td>
<td>Mr Two Tongues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Money-Love</td>
<td>Mr Save-all</td>
<td>Mr Gripe-man</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Having Greedy</td>
<td>Vain Confidence</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diffidence</td>
<td>Ignorance</td>
<td>Turnaway</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little-faith</td>
<td>Faint-heart</td>
<td>Mistrust</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord Carnal Delight</td>
<td>Mr Heady</td>
<td>Lord Luxurious</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord Lechery</td>
<td>Mr Malice</td>
<td>Lord Desire of Vain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Glory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PART TWO**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mrs Timorous</th>
<th>Mrs Bat's-eyes</th>
<th>Mrs Inconsiderate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Light-mind</td>
<td>Madam Wanton</td>
<td>Mrs Love-the-flesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Lechery</td>
<td>Mrs Filth</td>
<td>Ill-favoured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Not-right</td>
<td>Turnaway</td>
<td>Little-faith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heedless</td>
<td>Too-bold</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
children would recognize. Sometimes, however, Christian's sermonizing grows lengthy, so that he even out-talks Talkative (Sadler 55). And when he tells Faithful about Talkative, "I told you how it would happen . . . he would have been but a blot in our Company" (PP 85), there sounds a critical, judgmental tone that is only tempered by him adding, "besides the Apostle says, From such withdraw thyself."¹

5. Fear of the AntiChrist.

The Nonconformist view of the Antichrist of Revelation, chapter seventeen, is another relevant factor and it would have been impossible for children growing up in Nonconformist homes not to have known of it. Most of them would have read Foxe's Book of Martyrs, recommended for children by Thomas White (Carpenter and Prichard 190) and known of the fate of Protestant believers before, and during, the reign of Catholic Queen Mary. Other books, such as Harris's The Protestant Tutor (1679; also one later edition) instructed children against the "Errors and Deceits of Papists", as did Lane's Protestant School (1682).

Nothing new in the late seventeenth century, "Anti-Catholicism had . . . been a fundamental part of the Protestant tradition . . . since Tudor times (Greaves,

¹ Italics are in the text.
"Changing Face of Popery", 15). This was a period of historicist interpretation of the Bible which identified the papacy as Antichrist and the Church of Rome as the whore of Babyloun (Haughton 3; White 78). The Church of England was regarded as having an "irreducible connection" between Rome and Antichrist (Ball, English Connection, 100). Hatred of the Roman Catholic religion was intense during the period of the mid-1670s when Charles II reigned and Dissenters were increasingly prosecuted (Greaves, "Changing Face of Popery", 17). So great was the feeling generally that it became "one of the ruling passions of the community" (Macaulay, History I 181).

During this period, Bunyan wrote a millenarian treatise The Holy City: or, the New Jerusalem (1665) which denounced the Roman Antichrist; Marvell wrote his Account of the Growth of Popery ... (1677) which is said to have incited much anti-Catholic rhetoric in the late 1670s and early 1680s (Greaves, "Changing Face of Popery", 17). In sonnet form, Milton wrote of the Piedmontese Protestant martyrs who had died April 24, 1655 (Sonnet xviii).

The Popish Plot of 1678 with its "ensuing hysteria" (Greaves, "Changing Face of Popery", 18), while mainly London-centred, sent out "fierce and obstinate" waves of contention all over the whole country (Macaulay, History I 186). Papists (who were also Nonconformists) filled
the gaols and it was a time of tremendous fear and uncertainty for some families when justices searched houses and seized papers. Rumour abounded; no Dissenting household could have been untouched. "London had the aspect of a city in a state of siege" (Macaulay, History I, 184). Bunyan said of it:

we began to fear cutting of throats, of
being burned in our beds, and of seeing our
children dashed in pieces before our faces

(Israel's Hope Encouraged).

The children of Nonconformist families must have been affected to some extent by these fears and joined in prayers for God's protection, while recognizing that the godly would indeed suffer persecution (Greaves, "Amid the Holy War", 63).

In The Pilgrim's Progress, the voice of the narrator tells that at the end of the Valley of the Shadow of Death he saw the awful sight of "blood, bones, ashes and mangled bodies of men, even pilgrims that had gone this way formerly" (PP 65). This, like the lions, is a fearful sight, but safe to a reader through its temporary nature. Then he sees the cave where two giants, Pope and Pagan, used to live, "by whose power and tyranny the men whose bones, ashes &c. lay there, were cruelly put to death" (PP 65). He is assured that Pagan is quite dead and that Pope is now no threat,
being old and stiff. He apparently is somewhat senile, too, for

he can now do little more than sit in his
cave's mouth, grinning at pilgrims as they
go by, and biting his nails because he cannot
come at them (PP 65).

The decrepit old giant can still threaten, however, as he does to Christian, saying "You will never mend, till more of you be burned" (PP 66).

Denunciation of the Antichrist leads into Christian's affirmation of Christ's power in his life, the "saving grace" (Keeble, "Way", 210), which he sings about on passing Pope. The grace of Christ, source of true, personal salvation -- as opposed to an intercessionary priest or papal system -- is emphasized throughout the story: for example, there is only one way into the narrow path that leads to Salvation. At the house of the Interpreter, Christian sees the immortal one who is guide and saviour. Only at the cross can he lose his burden; then it rolls away and is buried out of sight within the sepulchre. All these references to the New Testament story of Christ as the source of salvation, stress what was important to Puritan parents: that their children be ready for Heaven if death should take them (Pollock, Lasting Relationship, 203). Parents wanted their children to
come to appreciate fully and personally believe in the Christian faith, on which belief individual salvation was held exclusively to depend (Pinchbeck and Hewitt 262).

No child reader would have been surprised by Bunyan's references to the Bible for it was considered an infallible guide (Sadler 51) and its emphases colour many books of advice and instruction written in the seventeenth century, as Sloane shows in his checklist of children's books (131-231) and The Young Christian's Library. Children were used to its presence in their lives. Mothers, like Roger North's, used Bible stories in religious education (Houlbrooke 148); Lady Anne Halkett, recalling her childhood, paid tribute to her mother for religious training in twice-daily prayers, daily Bible reading and church attendance (Autobiography 80).¹

6. **Ultimate Triumph in the Present and Beyond Death**

Significant societal events occurred with seesaw regularity. However, the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679 acknowledged the personal liberty of Englishmen (Clark 94-95; Jones 61; Macaulay 1, 195) while the Declarations of Indulgence in 1672, 1687 and 1688 offered toleration

¹ It is inferred that she carried on the same tradition in her own household as her faith was important to her life.
of Dissenters (Jones 59).\footnote{Reputable historians from both past and present are drawn on for a fair appraisal of the period.} James II's succession to the throne, in 1685, began with much public goodwill after the vacillating years of Charles II. His Catholicism, nevertheless, caused distrust in most of his subjects (Jones 64), while he united against himself both the Whigs and Tories (Jones 64).

"The roll-call of James' iniquities is well known" (Sharpe 335), whereby he alienated many quarters of society. Reinforced by his favouring of the Catholic liturgy, of Catholics and one group of Dissenters -- the Quakers -- "by the summer of 1688 much of the political nation was united in opposition to James' policies" (Sharpe 335; see also Macaulay, History I, 367, 387, 391; Churchill 270). The Protestant nation was "quite sure" that "once he wielded the sword their choice would be the mass or the stake" (Churchill 271), knowing the cruelty with which he had persecuted Scottish Covenanters while living in Scotland as vice-roy and his persecution of seven English bishops in June, 1688, including the archbishop of Canterbury (Sharpe 335; Hill Turbulent People xxii). Furthermore, it was commonly believed that James would annul the Habeas Corpus Act, that "rampart of liberty" (Macaulay, History I, 401). Finally, the birth of a male heir in June 1688 promised the continuation of "absolutist and Catholicizing policies" (Jones 64).
From this background came about the bloodless, "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 and William and Mary, both Protestant defenders, being crowned King and Queen. The Toleration Act, one year later in 1689, formally recognized religious pluralism. It was a "turning point" (Morrill 351), the beginning of a new era (Langford 352).

Although children would probably not have known political details during the years of persecution, many in Puritan homes must have sensed their parents' relief when victory for Nonconformity came at last. They would have heard family prayers of gratitude to God and have sung psalms of praise.

As they read The Pilgrim's Progress, surely they would also have rejoiced that in both Parts I and II there comes a time of "climactic celebration" (Knott 241) when the Celestial City is attained -- relief from persecution, imprisonment, insecurity and fear. Triumph at last!

Child readers would no doubt have noticed that children who begin the journey do not actually enter the city. Although the excitement of the story would cancel the consciousness, young readers must have known that death was its closure, as the book's full title suggested. Puritan parents would have drawn this fact to their children's attention as, in a society where death was a "constant companion of life" (Houlbrooke 202;
Pollock, *Forgotten Children*, 116, 126-128), they regarded it a solemn duty to prepare their offspring for future salvation. Spiritually aware children -- perhaps readers of Janeway's *Token for Children* -- or those whose own siblings had died, would have sensed the topic's relevance to their own lives.

Why do the children not cross the river and reach the city in triumph with the adults? Although married by the end of the story, they are still young, with much to offer "the increase of the Church" before they were "gone over" (PP 311). This indicates that they each continue to mature in personal allegiance to the King of the way and will join their parents and other pilgrims later. Even the babies born during the journey, after the four sons marry, are recognized. Child readers would notice this fact in a society where infant mortality was common and of great concern to parents (Josselin 56, March,1 24; Stone 105; Pollock, *Forgotten Children*, 126-127). That the babies of the young pilgrim mothers were fostered out, to live in a special home under compassionate care: "an hospital for young children and orphans" (PP 256) would be understood in light of contemporary practice, as shown in the Verney family (Slater 108-9).

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1 March refers to the month that Josselin wrote in his diary.
Even Bunyan's references to brightness reinforce the triumphant tone. Children would no doubt have enjoyed the positive note of references to sunshine, for the pilgrimage begins on a "sunshine morning" (PP 183) and the children leave the house of the Interpreter after rising, "with the sun" (PP 207), while in the Land of Beulah "the Sun shineth Night and Day." (PP 303).

Although there are dark places, sunshine always returns, anticipating a joyful outcome. In addition, loving friends, special gifts, lambs and birds, and gardens of fragrant herbs and flowers which children may pick, all add a positive dimension.

Support for Pilgrims

The pilgrims' triumphant arrival would not be possible without the support system throughout the adventure, typical of Puritan belief in "the operation of Providence" (Keeble, "Way", 210). This comes primarily from the Man, whose picture the Interpreter shows, the one who is Lord of the Way and their guide through difficult places.

Support comes first to much-distressed Christian in Evangelist's timely arrival to instruct him; he feels it physically when Goodwill pulls him through the wicket gate to ensure that he sets out safely. Unfortunately,
he misses the steps in the Slough of Despond, placed there expressly at the direction of the law-giver.

The support system in Christian's new life is reiterated when he loses his burden; when three shining ones give him fresh clothing to replace his rags, a mark on his forehead and a sealed roll that assures entry into the Celestial City. Further on, Christian begins to look like a hero. He puts on the provided armour and fights and defeats Apollyon with the two-edged sword, and he receives medicinal leaves from the Tree of Life to heal his wounds. Christiana, in her turn, receives immunity against disease with the universal pill that protects pilgrims.

These gifts of healing fit in with the Puritan belief in miracles (Mozley 163). Another amazing gift provides escape from prison like that which the apostle Peter experienced, for the key called Promise, kept in Christian's bosom, frees Christian and Hopeful from Doubting Castle. For Christiana there is the amazing golden anchor that will safeguard against turbulent weather, and for all, the gifts at Mount Charity where the poor receive free clothes and the tailor's cloth never runs out. Here Christiana and the girls receive anything they desire -- bracelets, earrings, jewels. These miraculous aspects must have seemed wonderful to children.
Places for pause and rest during the arduous journey, such as the House Beautiful, built by the Lord of the Hill for the relief of pilgrims, and the meadow by the river of God, are further examples of the support provided. But perhaps more important than marvellous things and places are the friends who walk in company, or who provide provisions for the journey, given as gifts from their Lord: bread, a bottle of wine, parched corn, raisins, figs and pomegranates. When Christian reaches the river, how much he depends on Hopeful to buoy him up and get him safely though!

A Propositional Model

The matching of seventeenth-century societal events with the content of The Pilgrim's Progress demonstrates how relevance factors inter-relate. Seen in a model (Figure 1), the child and literature are shown together between the external and internal components.

The process begins with either Piaget's Assimilation/Accommodation sequence or the steps of the more recent Information Processing Theory (Lefrançois 460; Seiffert and Hoffnung 63). In Figure 1, the latter is shown in its detailed progression. It begins with environmental stimuli that goes into the sensory register from which attention and recognition move the information into short-term memory. Where there is
A PROPOSITIONAL MODEL

EXTERNAL
Environmental Stimuli from SOCIETY
*People
*Behaviour
HEROES

INTERNAL
Cognitive Affective PSYCHE
*Superego
*Self
HEROES

CHILD LITERATURE

Philosophies Ideologies Events Faith Development
Gestalt Perception
"meaningfulness" (the term used by Seiffert and Hoffnung 63), that is, relevance, plus rehearsal and organization by the cognitive mind, the information then moves into long-term memory and becomes a permanent part of the child.

In the seventeenth century, persecution, imprisonment, the deprivation and recovery of Christian friends, a sequence of seesaw political-religious events and a state of ultimate triumph for individualists are the operative environmental stimuli. Moving through the Information Process approach, many of the foregoing, if not all, would provide "meaningfulness" (Seiffert and Hoffnung 63) to a child. This is because the literature -- The Pilgrim's Progress -- gives resonances of the same experiences, recognized by the conscious, pre-conscious or unconscious mind (Bettelheim 6).

The model then elaborates, further, the relationship of the external world and its stimuli to the child and literature. To one side is the external world of society with its people who demonstrate various behaviours and problems, with two-way interaction between philosophies and events. All of these work together in the formation of visibly acclaimed heroes. All affect both child and literature between whom, again, there is interaction when interpreted by Reader-Response theory.

In contrast to the child's external world is the interior landscape of the mind which constitutes the
psychic personality of the child; which gives "an internal dimension of children's experience" (Rustin 8). Here the left and right brain are operative in verbal and nonverbal thought (Edwards 26-28), working at both cognitive and affective levels. The ego and the superego (Freud) can interact with the Piagetian model of assimilation and accommodation, or with the Information Processing Theory, both of which fall within the cognitive-developmental approach to child development (Vasta, Haith and Miller 303), of the Organismic Model (Lefrançois 51); of logical, left-brain thought. At the affective level where intuition and feelings are operant, (Bettelheim 6-7; Edwards 28;) there is much for the unconscious to respond to (Jung 89; Lacan 17-28) as text, child and the societal input inter-relate.

Conclusion

Events of the late seventeenth century when *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Parts I and II, were published, are seen to echo in the narrative. These may be grouped according to the categories of Persecution, Imprisonment, Fellowship of Christian Friends, Seesaw Days, Fear of the AntiChrist and Triumph at last. Children readers would have had cause to identify with the text according to their own perceptive readiness, be it conscious, preconscious or unconscious. This
societal connection with both literary text and the child's own experience of life at psychic and total levels of mind and body, is proposed as one reason for the work's "adoption." It is also proposed that as children relate to heroes of a literary text, meaningfulness of the story in a reader's life is strengthened.

How did seventeenth-century children perceive The Pilgrim's Progress? One can assume that for all children, whatever their background, the adventure — new, exciting, real, yet told with earnestness and simplicity — was of primary interest (Darton 63; Field 202; Sloane 15); of appeal to the psyche as children felt the vicarious thrill of being a hero. For chapbook readers, the style was to some extent already familiar. In any case, as Weaver points out, readers were "not solely interested in godly literature" for perhaps as many as two-thirds of late-seventeenth century chapbooks were unrelated to hellfire and damnation (11). For those children whose parents provided only godly reading in the home — and Sloane's checklist shows that religious works predominated in the market (131-231) — the didactic inclusions and Scriptural references provided a relevant familiarity.

One must also remember the Puritan environment where religious awareness was aroused not only through books designed to guide children to holiness, but by the
frequently reinforced "Thus saith the Lord" of the Bible and sermon. It is therefore reasonable to assume that some children would indeed have read and discerned, to a large degree, allegorical meanings within The Pilgrim's Progress.

This is not a fashionable view and it is opposed to Townsend's who says it can be read only as story (13). Few twentieth-century critics seem to want to admit that children of the seventeenth century possessed spiritual discernment and religious diligence. This may be due to the influence of Piaget's cognitive theory and his assigned ages to development, yet neo-Piagetians point out that there are variations in the ages ascribed to the stages; that individual differences make considerable difference (Cowan 86).

When one considers how children of the twentieth century adapt to, and use, various forms of modern technology which is their particular environmental influence, it is not at all unreasonable to suggest that seventeenth-century children used the common transactional language and thought of their own era, even if not at an adult level. Critics suggest that children skipped over the dialogues (Meigs 43-44; MacDonald 10; Tucker 178), or failed to see the didacticism and theology (F. R. Leavis 284; Sloane 26-27) but this was not necessarily so in the case of the conscientious, spiritually-minded child, to whom Janeway
and others refer (Demers 7; Sloane: 175, 178, 194, 200, 201, 216, 218, 223; Weaver 36). Some children, like "Mary A" (Janeway 33), found great delight in Scripture.

To understand the period to at least some extent, one must imaginatively assume the mantle of that culture and this will be difficult for many:

What was once so straightforward and logical
is now for us embroiling, coercive and
uniformly unsatisfying (Demers 2).

However, for those whose religious faith has largely maintained Puritan tradition, even in the late twentieth century, such as those described by Ball (The English Connection), it will not be so inaccessible.

John Bunyan encouraged others to write for children in such a way that they would not "drown" (Sloane 25). He, himself, used two seventeenth-century authorial conceptions of childhood: "one based on the child's mental and spiritual nature, and one based upon the child's active nature (Weaver iii). The first would grasp at the assurances of support, assured that fearsome giants could be conquered, while the second would delight in the thrills of sword-play. MacDonald suggests that Bunyan really presents only two points of view, showing a resemblance to children's thinking:

either one is a professor of Bunyan's brand
of religious faith . . . or one is not a professor
... As children reduce issues to simple opposites, so Bunyan does in his book (Christian's Children 3).

In light of the Information Processing Theory we can understand that, as well as a psychic response, there is an interactive relationship between what children's senses respond to and long term memory. The acceptance of what is relevant to the life's experience is also understood according to the principles of Piaget's Assimilation-Accommodation Theory of the Organismic model. There is, therefore, a theoretical basis for the propositional model of relevance factors.

Sloane's summing up of the appeal of The Pilgrim's Progress to children is true, yet it does not go far enough, giving only part of the equation:

The popular reception accorded Pilgrim's Progress and Robinson Crusoe was due largely to the fact that their authors contrived to exploit nearly all the kinds of writing that had won the applause of earlier youthful audiences (5).

Another aspect, one which should not be overlooked, is that of the relevance factors in society which parallel content in The Pilgrim's Progress.
Portrayals of a Hero

Who would seventeenth-century children identify as the hero of *The Pilgrim's Progress*? The text intends Christian to be the chief focus throughout the story. Even when he is not physically present, as in Part II, his inspiring example encourages the family on and they are keen to be a united family again. Silent reading makes this apparent, but oral reading, or reading in dialogue, makes him even greater through a voice presence.

Bunyan's dialogue is very suitable for dramatic family reading, with children and adults taking different parts (Sommerville 27, 121). The episodic nature lends itself to this, as well as the way Bunyan sets out his text. Voice portrayals add to the picture that imagination builds, enriching the text, but one of its values is that it helps to confirm the characters' natures and intentions.

Christian's "lamentable cry" of the opening paragraph says at once that he is starting off as a flawed character when compared with chivalric heroes, yet according to the biblical pattern he has potential to become a hero. By his speech in the opening scenes he
shows he is a caring, considerate husband and father, fulfilling the Puritan model (Houlbrooke 96), and this is another favourable pointer to his character, as is his ability to speak Scripture in lucid -- though sometimes long -- argument. His real strength lies not in self-centredness but in Christ-focus which he assumes when he starts the journey, and it is through Christ that he triumphs in the end. By speech and action, he is a male, Christian hero.

Illustrations support this portrayal. Editions I-IV show only a portrait of a sleeping Bunyan, centred; above him is a pilgrim who sets out from a city named "Vanity" (1678) or "Destruction" (1679). In the lower third is a lion within a cave. In this way both author and pilgrim receive honour while the lion depicts the power of Satan (Revelation 13:2) against which the hero (and author) must contend.

In the fifth edition of 1681, Christian's role as hero is depicted as he sits nobly on the Hill Difficulty, having ascended it while others, below, veer to left and right (Figure 2).1 In the 1682 version, eleven out of thirteen copper plates emphasize Christian as the central, heroic figure, strong in various situations of his adventure. In the eighth

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Fig. 2.

edition, 1682, wearing the armour which has protected him throughout his journey, as recommended in Ephesians 6:13, he is welcomed at the Celestial City where he will never need to fight again (Figure 3).¹

Christian's brother-in-the-faith, Faithful, is the chief focus in two woodcuts (facsimile, 1st edition, 1875). In the first, Faithful's hair-style and cape make him resemble a friar as he stands before Lord Hategood (159). In the second, he is amid a swirling fire, while chariot and horses wait for him overhead. These depictions do not detract from Christian, for they show only another type of heroic believer. Faithful achieves the ultimate sacrifice early in his pilgrimage and is then ready to go to Heaven, but Christian needs the "progress" that prepares him -- the "many tribulations" (PP 87) of which Evangelist spoke. The picture of Faithful's early ascension is supported by words that would reassure a seventeenth-century child viewer and that stress every hero's reward: "When thou art dead, thou'lt live from Age to Age" (Facsimile, 168).

The twelfth impression (1689) introduces minor changes which enhance the perspective of both Bunyan and the male Christian hero as victors. For example: a skull and crossbones are now present in the cave of the

Fig. 3.

"Enter ye into the joy of your Lord."
"Dreamer" while Christian's sword pierces Apollyon's belly. By 1695, the fourteenth edition has the addition of new cuts and verses, showing some editorial intrusion, yet they are sympathetic additions, indicating the imaginative involvement of engraver with text. Details include Apollyon's bag, full of darts and arrows, while Christian has a cross on his shield which suggests he is a Christian knight of past crusades. This confirms that he is, indeed, a religious hero. Children were already used to illustrations through cuts in such works as Foxe's story of Christian martyrs, in *Aesop's Fables* (1659) and in Edward Clark's *The Protestant School-master* (1680).

Some readers' names are recorded: "Lucy Lockhart -- September 1685", owner of the fourth edition, 1680; "Anne Lawford", owner of the sixth edition, 1681, and "Thomas Hayward" who received the seventh edition as a gift from his brother (British Library copies). To each of these young seventeenth-century readers there could be no doubting of who was the hero, because text and woodcut saluted Christian.

**The Child as Hero**

While the text clearly intends the pilgrim hero to be the central protagonist, child readers may have glimpsed children as heroes. There is no case for this
in Part I where the children, Passion and Patience, at the House of the Interpreter, are only emblems. Again, the "very brisk lad", Ignorance, who comes out of the country of Conceit (PP 123) appears to be a self-willed, impetuous youth, sure of his destination, yet without the necessary parchment roll to show at the Celestial Gate, for he is dependent on his good works alone. One cannot wonder, however, if some children might rather like this confident young chap and miss the point that he will never enter the Celestial City (but be tied up and taken to hell), being bemused by the "little crooked lane" and "he came hobbling after" that have a fairy-tale and nursery-rhyme ring.

Part II is rich in child focus through its young characters. The fact that four boys and only one girl travel the entire journey reflects the importance of males in patriarchal seventeenth-century society; one where males were considered stronger and wiser than females, important for dispensing financial support and maintaining family names and estates (Slater 7; Houlbrooke 97; 229).

These children behave very much like typical children today. The four brothers see plums hanging over a wall and, regardless of their mother's warnings of the likely consequences, and not applying their knowledge of what the catechism teaches about obedience, they pick and eat the fruit. They have children's needs and fears:
they enjoy food, especially the juicy pomegranate and honeycomb they eat while resting, hot and sweating after their climb uphill. James, the youngest, has to have a bath; he grows tired from climbing the Hill Difficulty in darkness. Each of the boys cries at the encounter with Giant Maul.

The boys are full of questions: what, wherefore, why, where, may we? It is interesting to note, however, that their questions decrease and that they start to speak in positive statements as the journey develops, an indication of their increasing confidence as they progress in faith, as well as physically and in knowledge. As this occurs they grow into more well-rounded figures, sure of purpose and destination; brave in battle, with occupational goals to achieve that fit in with the Puritan work ethic. In characterization the hero's sons are therefore real and distinct people. So true-to-life are they that one wonders if Bunyan did not model them on children he knew well, either his own children or perhaps his grandchildren, whose behaviour and ways of speaking he used. Each boy makes his own special contribution to the story, choosing to go on the pilgrim journey, then ultimately assuming the personal faith in Christ that a Puritan parent would expect. All four travel to the borders of Heaven, and each in his own way shows characteristics of a hero.
Matthew, the eldest, appears a confident child, ready to speak and to act. He is the ring-leader at picking plums which cause vomiting and diarrhea: "pulled as 'twere both ends together" (PP 228). Some children would probably smirk at this part of the story in light of their own scatological interests, which Avery applies to children in the following century ("Voice of the Child" 3). Child readers would probably notice that the next time Matthew sees fruit, he asks for permission to eat it! He is outspoken, telling Dr Skill, "I shall vomit it (the pill) up again" (PP 229).

As the eldest child he reaches spiritual insights and belief at a pace faster than his three brothers. He is very willing to answer questions about the catechism, put to him at the House Beautiful by Prudence. She asks him challenging questions that concern the nature of God, the Bible, the resurrection of the dead and difficulties in understanding Scripture. To the latter his answer appears to go beyond mere memorization, as he answers frankly that there is "Yes, a great deal" (PP 226) that he cannot understand, a response to which a child audience would relate. Given the opportunity to ask Prudence what he will, he asks many questions that indicate thoughtfulness and reading that may have included Comenius's *Orbis Pictus* (which concerns natural
history, in part): about physic and its effect, about
the action of fire, sun and candle, of the origin of
water and mountain-top springs, of the pelican and
crowing rooster. As Sadler says, Matthew's questions
suggest that he is used to books which use similar
emblems (130). He is the first of the boys to express
certainty in God, doing so after the defeat of the
giant Maul:

When you all have thought what you please I
think that God has been wonderfully good to
us, both in bringing us out of this valley and
in delivering us out of the hand of this enemy
(PP 246).

As Matthew goes on speaking, he makes an even more
explicit statement which indicates that he has
progressed beyond dependence on his parents' faith and
is moving through the unceasing process that Jung calls
"individuation," meaning wholeness and reconciliation of
the opposites within the psyche (O'Connor 89);
recognizing the "natural religious function" (Fordham
69). By Fowler's measure he is at least into Stage Two
-- Mythic Literal Faith, in which the person begins to
take on for himself the stories, beliefs and observances
of his community (184). We can identify this as Matthew
says:

For my part. I see no reason why we should distrust
our God any more, since he has, now, and in such a
place as this, given us such testimony of his love as this (PP 246).

At the attack on Giant Despair and his castle, Matthew is named first among the "young men and strong" (PP 256). By this time he knows that fear is not out-of-place in a good man's life and believes that salvation is possible for himself (PP 254). In summary, then, Matthew develops through the narrative into a strong eldest son, a Christian believer who is able to take on the role of surrogate family head in his father's absence, as was not uncommon in seventeenth century England (Slater 10). In young adulthood he has probably reached Fowler's Stage Four of Individuating-Reflexive Faith -- where he takes seriously "the burden of responsibility for his own commitments, life-style, beliefs and attitudes" (184). It is a stage that is seen to develop under "the tutelage of ideologically powerful religions" (184).

The Second Sibling

Joseph, younger than Matthew, seems to move more anonymously through the early experiences of the pilgrimage, within the shadow of his mother and Great-heart, their guide. He is, nevertheless, willing to answer Prudence's questions when she says, "Come, Joseph . . . will you let me catechise you?" (PP 224). The way
this request is phrased suggests that Joseph may have hung back in some shyness, yet he agrees. The answers he then gives are expressed in a parrot-like way, indicating that he has memorized well and has been frequently drilled. This was in accord with the formal method of catechetical instruction, for which Puritan writers wrote numerous catechisms during the seventeenth century. He is nervous of the unknown and of dark, difficult places, as would be many children, yet he also needs information and seeks it from his mother. As the fiend approaches them in the Valley of the Shadow of Death one can hear his voice ask, "Mother, what is it?" Christiana replies, using repetition for emphasis, "An ugly thing, child, an ugly thing." Joseph insists, "But, Mother, what is it like?" (PP 241).

Continuing on in the dark valley, his trembling voice pipes up again, "Cannot we see to the end of this valley as yet?" Great-heart's answer gives Joseph something to concentrate on; something active he can do to survive and which takes away the focus on his fear. Great-heart says to him, "Look to your feet, for you shall presently be among the snares" (PP 243).

Joseph trembles, sighs and cries along with his brothers throughout the ensuing encounter with Maul, but when the head of the giant, Slaygood, is cut off by Great-heart and placed above a warning pillar, he rejoices. By the third time a giant threatens the
pilgrims, Joseph is willing to assist, though unsure at first, suggested by the way Bunyan places his name last in the order of defenders, despite his being the second eldest.

In these little details, Bunyan portrays Joseph as a second son who is overshadowed to some extent by a dominant, extrovert eldest brother, a situation which children in the same position would recognize. Joseph is not without courage nor religious faith but is generally more of an introvert, perhaps preferring mental activity rather than physical, for he is interested in solving riddles, as the session at Gaius' inn suggests. This was an attribute of which Puritan families approved (Coats 305) and books of riddles were available for children, such as *The booke of meery riddles* (sic; Sloane 141) and *Youth's pleasant recreation or merry pastime* ... (Sloane 223). Like Matthew he can be seen to develop during the story, moving in a process of Individuation (Jung), through Fowler's Stage Two and into at least Stage Three. This is identifiable as a person's experience of the world expands, which the journey did for Joseph.

Like his older brother, he eventually grows up and marries. His bride is Martha Mnason, sister to Grace, the wife of Samuel. His faith has matured and become personalized. As a "late adolescent or adult" (Fowler, Stage Four, 184), he now takes seriously the burden of
his own commitments, which includes caring for the
church (PP 311).

**Samuel, the Encourager**

The third son, Samuel, appears to shrink behind his
other brothers for he says little, yet he is watchful of
his family and sensitive to their feelings. He may not
be as willing as Mathew and Joseph to be catechised for
he answers Prudence, "Yes, forsooth, if you please" (PP
225), the "forsooth" indicating an ironic parenthesis
(O.E.D.) of accepting the inevitable. She therefore asks
him only three straightforward questions, contrasted
with the five with which she poses the others -- or is
this lesser number because he is clearly knowledgeable?
In any case, she affirms his need for reinforcement by
saying not only that he is a good boy, but also that he
has learned well, which she does not tell the others.

Samuel shows the interest of a younger sibling in
his eldest brother and becomes involved in the
discussion when Dr Brisk comes to cure Matthew of the
gripes. Christiana, as always when addressing her
children, acknowledges his contribution warmly, "True,
my child," (PP 229) before taking opportunity to teach
from the situation.

Quiet though Samuel may often be in the company of
the others, he is not without courage or insight as his
positive encouragement to the others in the Valley of the Shadow of Death shows:

It is not so bad to go through here as it is to abide here always. And, for ought I know, one reason why we must go this way to the house prepared for us is that our home might be made the sweeter to us (PP 243).

Great-heart recognizes and reinforces Samuel's worth when he replies, "Thou hast now spoke like a man." Samuel's answer indicates his maturing insight: "I think I shall prize light and good way better than I did in all my life" (PP 243), speaking in the way of aphorism that was prized by the Puritans (Coats 305). It is therefore not surprising that, even though he is the third son, his name is listed second among the stalwarts who overcome Despair and his castle.

James -- From Hesitator to Hero

James is a recognizable youngest sibling who starts off as a fearful little boy who depends on adult figures. He tries to persuade Great-heart, the guide, to stay on with the group all the time because he is afraid, pleading in the way that a youngest child tries to coax an older person. On the Hill Difficulty, in intense heat, he starts to cry so Great-heart takes him by the hand to rest in the Prince's "arbour". There,
Great-heart asks all the boys -- when the others join them in the sheltered place -- what they think now about going on a pilgrimage. Here James again shows his willingness to speak up, saying in an innocent way,

Sir, I was almost beat out of my heart, but I thank you for lending me a hand at my need. And I remember now what my mother has told me, namely that the way to Heaven is as up a ladder, and the way to hell is as down a hill. But I had rather go up the ladder to life than down the hill to death (PP 216).

James' statement reflects the way a seventeenth-century mother would teach her child and it is a lesson that James remembers. He adds, after Mercy has commented, that he thinks the day is coming when going down hill will be the hardest of all. "'Tis a good boy," responds Great-heart, and one can hear the warmth in his tone, which James would probably appreciate.

Thus the reader gains the picture of a little boy who mouths what he has heard, wanting to be involved in a family where he is the youngest. He grows sick with fright at the borders of the Shadow of Death when he hears the groans of dead men. He blushes easily. As the journey proceeds, James is ready to answer questions from the catechism put to him by Prudence who treats him as very young. She does not even ask him if he wants to be catechised, but leads him into it and then encourages
him to continue by telling him he is a good boy. He is also willing to read the Scriptures and to take part in religious discussion, admitting that he cries out to Christ because he is scared. As he admits to Greatheart, he grows to recognize that "No fears, no Grace . . . there is no Grace where there is no fear of God" (254).

With the passing of time and increasing confidence and maturity, James is able go with Mr Great-heart to fight Giant Despair. Even although it takes seven days to demolish Doubting Castle, James carries resolutely on, reflecting his father's perseverance. A character who develops within the narrative, James is explorative, motivated by curiosity and rewarded for his effort, for he is the one who finds the pillar with a warning sign set up by his father. Despite his early fears, he learns to trust in the giver of grace and his name is ultimately listed along with the names of Christian stalwarts, Stephen, Paul, Peter, Ignatius, Romanus and Polycarp from religious history. Thus he appears as an inspirational child model, a hero.

Each of the boys has, therefore, an important role in the story as they depict different character types -- assertive extrovert, thoughtful and quiet introverts, courageous activist -- all of whom are commended; all of whom reflect the parental expectations of a seventeenth-century child as they grow in knowledge of catechism, doctrine, aphorism, puzzles and scripture riddles (Coats
305), and, above all, in personal salvation that will make them ready for death when it comes (Pollock, *Lasting Relationship*, 203).

Gaius says to Christiana:

Nor can I, but be glad, to see that thy Husband has left behind him four such Boys as these. I hope they will bear up their Father's Name, and tread in their Father's Steps, and come to their Father's End (PP 260).

Great-heart, who knows the boys well, agrees:

Indeed Sir, they are likely Lads, they seem to chuse heartily their Father's Ways (PP 260).

**Blessed are the Merciful** (Matthew 5:7).

The inclusion, in Part Two, of a female character, probably an adolescent, and one unrelated to Christian's family, adds interest and offers another perspective. She is called "young Mercy (for she was but young)" (PP 185), although she is old enough to be employed by Christiana as her travelling companion and servant. It is therefore reasonable to assume that she is in the transition years between childhood and adulthood, a view that is not usually considered by scholars, yet one for which there is justification.

Mercy's willingness to venture as far as the wicket gate before she finally decides whether to accompany the
family or not, shows teenage enthusiasm, yet also wisdom. Her song, "Let the most blessed be my guide . . . " (187), is reminiscent of the "Magnificat" of young Mary in St Luke 2: 47-55 because of similarity of praise to the Lord, and it suggests they are a similar age. She lives close-by, used to calling in to visit Christiana and the boys, for on this occasion she came in "accidentally" (PP 206) with Mrs Timorous.

One wonders if Mercy was not, as a young female friend of the family, already considered a possible bride for Matthew whom she subsequently marries after some years of pilgrimage. Seventeenth-century marriages may, or may not, have been conducted at youthful ages: Stone's studies suggests an age of twenty-two to twenty-three years for daughters to be married (46), while Pinchbeck and Hewitt state, with supporting evidence, that it was legal for a boy from the age of fourteen and a girl from the age of twelve (44-46). Stone, moreover, also refers to marriage at a younger age by the "labouring poor" (297, whom Christian's household represents. Whatever age they married, the years of travel gave them both time to reach a suitable age, and it is fair to assume that, if Mercy is in her teen-age years at the beginning of the story, the difference between her and Matthew is not great.
In a time when life centred about the village and few travelled far from home, it is interesting to notice, as children would, that Mercy shows concern for her own family she leaves behind:

And let him gather them of mine
That I have left behind.
Lord, make them pray they may be thine,
With all their heart and mind (PP 187).

As Mercy confides later, she found it very hard to leave her relatives, as would any young person who is dependent on a family's physical and emotional support. Her concern for her relatives' conversion is also in accord with an illustration from Janeway's *A Token for Children* where a child prays for his parents as did the dying, eleven-year-old Joseph Briggsins who had attended Quaker meetings for three years before his death (Sloane 175). It also reflects the faith of other impressionable, pious children in Puritan society, like Janeway's devout Sarah Howley who prayed with her own brother and sister.

Although Mercy frequently speaks up unabashed, when the Interpreter asks her "And what moved thee to come hither, sweetheart?" (PP 205), she blushes and trembles, for she has no testimony of dreams or visions to share, only a report of her spontaneous decision to accompany Christiana. When the Interpreter concludes, "Thou art a Ruth" (PP 206), this emphasizes both her willingness to
go into an unknown country and her practical nature; and for child listeners there would be immediate recognition of a popular biblical heroine.

Mercy, on departure from Destruction, (ostensibly at first to go just a little way to help Christiana), has some recognizable teenage characteristics: imagination, a tendency to be depressed, assertion of individuality, imitation, and a dramatic stance that produces a lavish flow of language (Spacks 228). Having decided to set out, she wants to move forward, as she shows at the Slough of Despond when Christiana and the boys stand motionless. "Come," she says, encouraging them despite the difficult conditions of dirt and dung instead of stepping stones, "Let us venture; only let us be wary" (24).

She is impetuous, yet easily frightened, so that when she is refused admittance at the Gate Beautiful she grows impatient and knocks emphatically, but she faints when afraid the door will not be opened. When the five children notice the dog at the gate, in the way that children notice animals, it is the outspoken side of Mercy that asks the gate-keeper why he keeps such a filthy cur in his yard. After she has spoken, the boys quickly join in, saying they are scared they will be bitten. It is a scene that can be pictured: the children gazing up at the gatekeeper, anxious to be informed and to have wrongs righted, especially as Mercy presses on,
asking why he keeps "so cruel a dog in thy yard, at the sight of which such women and children as we are ready to fly from the gate for fear" (PP 192).

Mercy continues to reveal her enquiring, open personality, admitting her inability to locate the spider that the Interpreter points out. When she sees where Simple, Sloth and Presumption were hanged up in irons, she asks Greatheart to explain why; when Mr Brisk seeks her friendship, she makes enquiries about his character before rejecting him, and with curiosity she asks to see the hole in the hill called By-way to Hell. Ready to speak, at another time she states clearly that it is a looking-glass she wants.

Mercy is multi-talented. She plays the lute in celebration when the males destroy Giant Despair and his castle. When she discovers that the poor need coats and other clothing, she sews for them; when the boys are tired she puts them to bed. Her willingness to work would be recognized as part of the Puritan ethos where practical skills, along with moral and spiritual development, were valued (Pinchbeck and Hewitt 259).

There is also the "progress" of a growing spirituality in Mercy, evidenced by recognition and acceptance of her special dream at the House Beautiful when she laughed with joy in her sleep. This was when she believed that a celestial being pronounced peace in her life, wiped away her tears, clad her in silver and
gold and put earrings in her ears and a crown on her head. Such attire, some of which she receives later from the shepherds, plus bracelet and necklace, made her appear like a princess and would make her attractive in any child's imagination. At a psychological level, she portrays the "exuberant psychic faculties" of youth (Spacks 229).

As Mercy draws nearer their destination she admits to deepening insights, saying, after they had passed the Valley of Humiliation and reached a pastoral setting, that she responds to this place where "there is no rattling with coaches nor rumbling with wheels," adding,

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Methinks here one may without much molestation
be thinking what he is, whence he came, what he
has done, and to what the King has called him. Here
one may think, and break at heart, and melt in one's
spirit . . . (PP 239).
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There is eloquence and perception in this speech that indicate development of character and support her princess image. If children's literature is, in a broad sense, about growing up, as Leeson states (16), Mercy's experience portrays it.

It is possible that some child readers would be reminded of Christian himself in Mercy's courage. This agrees with the view that she

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not only fulfills the expected feminine role
but also echoes, subsumes, and elevates
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elements of Christian's heroism from Part I on
the way to becoming a full . . . embodiment of
the practice and the principle of Christian
charity inscribed in her name (Swaim, "Mercy", 388).

This resemblance to Christian makes Mercy more than
one aged in the years between childhood and adulthood,
for she is also a transitional cross-over figure between
Part I and Part II. Thus she is an important hero figure
to older child readers, especially as she shows that a
girl can be just as brave and necessary in Christian
pilgrimage as are boys. Bunyan says of her, drawing
attention to her youthfulness:

"Yea, let young Damsels learn of her to prize
The World which is to come, in any wise;
When little Tripping Maidens follow God
And leave old doting Sinners to his Rod;
'Tis like those Days wherein the young ones cri'd
Hosanah to whom old ones did deride
("Author's Way of Sending forth", 172).

Christiana, Christian's Equal

Children who basked in, or longed for, a loving
relationship with their mothers would have liked
Christiana. She is the stereotypical mother figure who
gives love, encouragement, care and sustenance to her
children and others. So central is she to Part II that she can be seen to provide unity to the entire Pilgrim's Progress (Keeble, "Christiana's Key", 1). After she repents of the heartless way she treated her husband, she demonstrates the expected role of a married woman, according to Pauline writing and seventeenth-century society where the husband was the superior partner (Houlbrooke 96; Stone 195). She sets out without any male support at first which, in a seventeenth-century setting, would be unusual, an act of courage and heroism in itself (Keeble, "Feminine", 137). Called first to cross the river (Part II), the placement indicates her worth. Her last words, "I come Lord, to be with thee and bless thee," (PP 306) show her faithful and heroic to the end.

In an illustrated frontispiece to the first edition of Part I in 1684, Christiana, Mercy and the four boys are above and behind a picture of the dreamer, Christian, who has set out for the heavenly country. Placing them all together like this indicates their common purpose. In the second editions of 1686 and 1687 and in the third edition of 1694, the same illustration is used again. It continues to convey the message that a mother and boys and girls can be heroes too (PP 303).

Beyond the central figures, the story includes other characters that children would probably have liked: if they had loved grandfathers they would respond
to old Mr Honest, a grandparent figure who pronounces a blessing on each of the boys and Mercy, aware of their distinct individuality. In Great-heart, the family's guide and a Christ-like figure who is constantly with them, they have a strong character on whom they can depend, whose valour is impressive, especially against giants. He overcomes Giant Grim, cuts off the heads of giants Maul, Slaygood and Despair; he is a superman.

Other heroes, rich in faith and faithfulness, appear on Bunyan's stage. Some are men, like Faithful, Hopeful, Mr Valiant-for-truth and Mr Standfast. There are also the beautiful maidens of the palace and, not to be overlooked, is Mr Despondency's daughter, Much-Afraid. Brave at her final hour, she crosses the river to Mount Zion singing as she goes.

Quietly present, yet to be noticed for her worth and special selection, is Phoebe, a suitable bride for James, the extrovert youngest son, daughter of generous Gaius. There are also the equally quiet Grace and Martha Mnason who marry the other sons.

One other character deserves attention -- the shepherd boy who feeds his father's sheep. He makes only a brief appearance, but Bunyan wants him and his song to be noticed. Though dressed in "very mean Cloaths" (PP 238), he is of good appearance, is happy and his words epitomize the philosophy of a true pilgrim hero, such as the four brothers will become. On the other hand there
are those of mixed intentions who fail as pilgrims and others of frightening, super-human powers. There is no telling to whom child readers may have responded with admiration.

Conclusion

The central hero in the seventeenth-century editions is Christian: male, religious, flawed in his natural personality yet Heaven-bound and ultimately triumphant. This is portrayed in both text and illustration. Analysis of Christian's heroic characteristics shows him as persevering, loyal to the one who took away his burden and remorseful for his mistakes. He is not perfect, rather he trusts in the Lord of the Way who is perfect, and whose grace takes away Christian's rags. The Lord of the Way, perhaps the real hero (Sadler 57) is the gate-keeper who says "Suffer the little children to come unto me" (PP 189); his is the cross and empty sepulchre. He is the one who said, "I am the way, the truth and the light; no man cometh unto the Father but by me" (John 14:6). He is the enabler behind Christian's courage.

These are issues that come out in the long discussions about grace, between Faithful, Christian and Talkative; and in Hopeful's and Christian's dialogue that concerns cowards who are the antithesis of heroes.
Cowards, they decide, run away; cowards like Little-Faith do not have a "great heart" (PP 129), which means, according to the gloss, there is "no great heart for God where there is but little faith" (PP 129).

From this we know Bunyan's criteria for a hero, the important elements being faith and faithfulness. To an extent these were characteristics of the seven champions of Christendom and of Bevis -- heroes of Bunyan's youthful reading (SH 147-148) -- but the settings and actions of those romantic characters are fantastic rather than dealing with the serious issue of man's soul; entertaining rather than elevating. Bunyan was influenced by them (Spufford 6), however the overall seriousness of his own theme in The Pilgrim's Progress outweighs the often titillating flavour of his inherited writing techniques.

When the child characters of the text are examined by Bunyan's criteria, they, too, are heroic. They are different from children of the twentieth century in that they have religious knowledge and awarenesses that characterize their own century and culture. This view agrees with Q. D. Leavis's who regards Puritan culture as "antithetical to that of the twentieth century" (99). This does not mean in any way that, because it is removed from twentieth-century practice and understanding, it cannot be "the religion of a healthy mind" (Talon, John Bunyan, 23).
Four of the child heroes are male, religious, immature initially, but who grow up to young manhood during the course of the narrative. In their faith, faithfulness and courage, they, too, are heroic and Heaven-bound. There is every reason to expect that Matthew, Joseph, Samuel, James and their wives and children will reunite with Christian and Christiana in a climactic welcome at the Celestial City when they receive their calls to enter. Their portrayals of their growth in faith is in keeping with aspects of Fowler's Stages One to Four.

Bunyan’s female characters exhibit a seventeenth-century portrayal of weak, dependent womanhood, yet Mercy, a type of outsider like Ruth the Moabite, chooses to travel the pilgrim path and does so with honesty and growing dignity. She believes in the authority of the Lord of the way and is received by him as a daughter. It is likely that girls who read about Mercy would admire her, identifying with her as a possible role model of commitment and courage, as Bunyan intended. Much-afraid sets the example of yielding up her fear to faith in the end, and she provides the example of a girl's easy crossing to the Celestial City.

Christiana is the constantly caring mother, first of her travelling group to receive the call to cross the river, to enter the city and receive reward. This emphasis on being the first shows her rank, making her a
unifying figure, along with Christian, of whom she is the feminine analogue.

It can therefore be seen that, while Christian is usually acknowledged as the hero of The Pilgrim's Progress, there is a case for considering Christiana and the children, whom child readers might find pertinent to themselves.
CHAPTER FOUR

RELEVANCE OF THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS AND ITS HERO

IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Introduction

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, it was still only twenty-two years since the first edition of The Pilgrim's Progress Part I and sixteen years since publication of Part II. By this time the work had already reached fifteen editions and had been translated into Dutch (1682). Indeed, Swift hoped for a similar response from the public to his work as that which Progress had received: ". . . Gulliver's Travels, which I believe, will have as great a run as John Bunyan" (Tibbutt 6).

For about fifty years, Parts I and II continued to be published separately, on the "worst quality" paper with the "rudest cuts," yet it was "singularly popular," especially with the the poor who were its greatest readership (Offor, iii).

The one hundred illustrated copies of The Pilgrim's Progress which were surveyed for this thesis extended through editions fifteen (1702) to 190 (1791) and other unspecified editions to 1800.1 They are the full text as abridgements did not commence until the next century.

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1 Located at the British Library, the National Museum of Childhood at Bethnal Green, the Bodleian, Bedford, Parker and Wandsworth collections.
The assumption is that illustrations attracted children (MacDonald, Christian's Children, 1-2), for "pictures belong to childhood" (Whalley and Chester 11), while Comenius is reported to have said, "Pictures are the most intelligible books that children can look upon" (Whalley and Chester 19). This notion had been applied by emblemists and others in the seventeenth century; also in about 1704 with Emblems for the Entertainment and Improvement of Youth, which contained the remarkable number of sixty-two copper-plate engravings (Whalley and Chester 15).

Illustrations in eighteenth-century editions of The Pilgrim's Progress vary in number from one, as frontispiece, to twenty-two throughout the work, as in 1728, 1770 and 1775. Woodcuts are used consistently during the period but copper-plate engravings appear from 1728 on, with increasing frequency from 1778-1800. In addition to wood and copper, "curious sculptures" (publishers' descriptions) are used in 1741, 1749, 1751, 1757 and 1775. Each form added a visual dimension to the text.

Over the century, there is a rise in illustrated versions of The Pilgrim's Progress, from an average of five per decade, 1701-1750, to twelve per decade 1751-1800.¹ The lower number in the first half-century may

¹ These figures are based on the research of this thesis.
be due to the elapse of time, so that early illustrated versions were lost or fell apart from usage; or it may mean that there were fewer of them. The latter seems probable, given that there is a comparable pattern of rise and fall over the three centuries, as will be shown later. There is a leap from eight editions (1771-1780) to seventeen (1781-1790) to twenty-three (1791-1800). The rise in publication figures indicates Bunyan's growing popularity, which may also be associated with an increase in society's reading skills.

Pickering considers that the "middle classes in the eighteenth century generally held that a religiosity like that of Bunyan's inhibited a child's educational progress" (52). This was probably because education was traditionally classical. The Pilgrim's Progress, however, was written by a common man, out of a common man's experience and faith, and as such, being in English rather than Greek or Latin, held appeal for ordinary people and their children. Copies were "so devoured and worn out, as to have become rare in proportion to their age" (Offor iii).

Eighteenth-Century Society

There are several interpretations of eighteenth-century society. In 1967, Coveney interpreted it as a "materialist, rationalist, perfectionist" society (40).
In 1990, however, Porter describes it as being an age of "wise traditionalism" to some historians, and to others as a "stable church-and-kind order with affinities to the ancien regimes of the Continent" (1). Probably the truth lies somewhere within an amalgam of the perspectives.

Certainly, it was a century of religious significance for this was the time of preachers Whitefield and Wesley, the age of evangelical revival, as church historian Sangster points out in 1983, saying:

Puritanism won its spiritual victory in the Wesleyan movement, after the failure in the previous century of its military and political struggles (Free Churches 135).

It was also the era of missionary expansion with the founding of the Baptist Missionary Society (1792), the London Missionary Society (1795), the Church Missionary Society (1795) and the British and Foreign Bible Society (1798). The need to witness to others, as do the heroes of The Pilgrim's Progress, would be quite understood and accepted by a child growing up in a missionary era.

Yet "all the while, the secularizing process was under way" (McManners 296). This is important to note in light of the threat of secularization made to Bunyan's hero, even though it was not immediately evident. Plumb suggests that after Locke, the education of children
became more social than religious, although morality was still of uppermost concern (69).

Emphasis on religious instruction for the young continued to be important (Pollock, *Lasting Relationship*, 215). A Church of England organization, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K), founded in 1699, promoted charity schools and distributed religious books and tracts (Carpenter and Prichard 490), so *The Pilgrim's Progress*, already discovered by children, was a possible book for the Society to supply. It may have found favour with some of the Society's members for, in the mid-nineteenth century, Neale says, "More than one English priest has, before now, honoured this, his (Bunyan's) great work" (Preface). However, of the more than one hundred eighteenth-century versions located for this study, none were published by the S.P.C.K. The probable reason lies in objections to Bunyan's omission of reference to baptism, confirmation and holy communion (Neale Preface) and the work's sympathy with Dissenters or Low Church Anglicanism (Phillips 28-29). Certainly, the publication of Neale's version for children in the next century (1853) prompted spirited discussion in *The English Churchman*, 11 (3 March, 1853), a paper with an Anglo-Catholic readership. Therefore it can be assumed that in the eighteenth century the attitude was similarly opposed and the Society could not chose Bunyan's narrative on an official basis. Despite lack of
sponsorship by the S.P.C.K. many children read The Pilgrim's Progress. Alexander Pope, for example, was brought up as a Roman Catholic Nonconformist and was apparently not repelled by brief references to the Papacy nor omission of the church's sacraments.

The issue of Roman Catholicism persisted. In 1780 a number of riots against Popery caused "volcanic eruption of the London slum population" (Morton 317). Thousands of people signed a petition, demanding that minor concessions granted Roman Catholics be repealed. They subsequently burned and pillaged the West End, doing ten times more damage to London than was done to the city of Paris during the entire French Revolution. Damages amounted to more than £100,000. Two hundred and ninety citizens died and twenty-five looters were executed (Morton 317). It is believed that out of this situation began Sarah Trimmer's agitation for Sunday Schools (Ferguson 105-110). Again, as in the seventeenth century, the external, societal attitude of anti-Catholicism found an echo in Bunyan's text.

The Sunday School movement began early in the century in various parts of England, although intermittently (Newby 7). Eventually, with the inspiration of Raikes' successful Gloucester Sunday School (1783), it became a fire that "set the nation in a blaze" (Newby 7). That the children of The Pilgrim's Progress were required to memorize and be tested on
their catechism was a recognizable experience to children who learnt their memory verses for Sunday School and received instruction in the Church Catechism (Newby 6, 10).

Sunday Schools also contributed to literacy and reinforced the weekday charity schools' programmes (Jackson 9; Cliff; Sangster). By the time the Religious Tract Society was formed in 1799 the market for Bunyan's work, which they would perpetuate in the nineteenth century, was already established.

Many eighteenth-century children must have known the pain of separation from loved siblings and friends due to childhood diseases and accidents at home or outdoors (Pollock, Lasting Relationship, 93-95, 127). Child death was common, and according to the London Bills of Mortality, 1,178,346 children died between the years 1730 and 1779 (Pinchbeck and Hewitt 300). Pollock states less dramatically that the death rate of infants under one year was its highest in the first half of the eighteenth century (Lasting Relationship 94). The Pilgrim's Progress's portrayal of death and the traveller's royal welcome in the Celestial City could therefore have provided explanation and reassurance to young readers.

The century was marked by rapid growth in educational opportunities so that more children learnt to read (Kinnell, 30-31; Plumb 71), an opportunity that
was not limited to the privileged (Jackson 9; Pollock, Forgotten Children, 244-245; Q. D. Leavis 106). Schools included dame schools, charity schools, private schools, academies for boys, boarding schools for girls and institutions for the children of Dissenters and Non-Conformists (Stone 348; Plumb 71; Porter 163). The Pilgrim's Progress, it is assumed, would have found favour, by the nature of its content, especially with these latter institutions. Even if children did not own individual copies, teachers and tutors may have used the work as an interesting source of writing copy and for a story a day, a method that had been advocated by an anonymous writer in 1678 (Sloane 20).

A few eighteenth-century chapbook copies of The Pilgrim's Progress remain in existence despite much early handling: (Part I, 1727, Clarke; 1792, Deighton; Part II: 1726, Clarke). They are in the 15 x 10 cms mode of the eighteenth century (Whalley and Chester 93-94), on dingy grey or yellow paper with rough woodcuts that, nevertheless, have a vitality about them. They are true to Offor's description in 1853 which refers to "that singularly popular book", printed in the cheapest form, on paper of the worst quality, "with the rudest cuts" (6). Yet to many children they were the lifeline to an imaginative world of story.

In 1690 Locke wrote An Essay Concerning Human Understanding, followed by Some Thoughts Concerning
Education (1693). These were publications which greatly influenced educational thought and practice in the eighteenth century as many writers have shown, defining the "child" and setting out moral claims (Lesnik-Oberstein 82); also influencing writers for children (Darton 111) and children's literature. Locke became involved with recommendations for children's reading, but Aesop and Reynard the Fox seemed all he could find "out of the ordinary road of the Horn-Book, Primer, Psalter, Testament, and Bible" (Thoughts 185-186). It is said that Locke anticipated the play-way in education (Rusk 130), when he stated:

Were matters ordered right, learning anything 
they should be taught might be made as much 
a recreation to their play as their play is to 
their learning (Thoughts, Para. 74).

With this new notion of a relationship between recreation, play and learning, enlightened parents, concerned for their children's education (Pollock, Forgotten Children, 244 ; Stone 348) could feel pride and satisfaction as they saw the pleasure and knowledge that leisure-time reading brought their offspring, especially as, since the late seventeenth century, "a new social attitude towards children began to strengthen" (Plumb 65). In response, the child could bask in parental pleasure, as did the pilgrim children when they gave clever answers to riddles, asked
intelligent questions and recited their Catechism. The *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), both books "adopted" by children, are said to have been favourites of eighteenth-century young readers (Sloane 5).

A comment of the historian, McManners, places the work of both Bunyan and Defoe in a context of pending change:

> the transition from *Pilgrim's Progress* to *Robinson Crusoe* does not take the reader outside the great tradition. It was an illustration of the way the world was moving: religion more intense for more people than ever before, yet the framework of life for everyone being remorselessly secularized (296).

The work's success with juveniles may have been accounted for by aspects other than a profitable use of recreational time, factors such as the riveting characterization of its heroes, or, as Summerfield suggests, its echelon of rogues, and its resemblances to the drama and excitement of old romance (48), told in the inexpensive chapbook form (Darton 81; Whalley and Chester 96).

Locke's real focus, according to Lesnik-Oberstein, who disputes Norton's interpretation of the pleasure aspect of children's reading (85), concerned the inappropriateness of giving books to children to read which demanded a knowledge
of the concepts and facts, which he argued, need to be acquired because they are not innate (92).

Because of the religious concerns of eighteenth century society, the theological content of The Pilgrim's Progress was nothing new. Indeed, its presence would seem related to the environment, even if a child did not understand the fine doctrinal detail.

"Indescribable Pleasure"¹

Many writers held positive memories of their childhood reading of The Pilgrim's Progress: for example, Burns, Johnson, Lamb, Pope, Richardson and Swift (Tibbutt 5-8; Sadler 133). Johnson said that Bunyan's pilgrim story had great merit and praised it for its use of imagination and its narration. He also asked whether there was

"ever anything written by mere man that was wished longer by its readers, excepting Don Quixote, Robinson Crusoe, and Pilgrim's Progress?" (Brittain 405).

Pope applied a key expression to his own experience: "Walking thro' the Wilderness of this world" (Tibbutt 6). Swift said that "he had been better entertained and more informed by a few pages in The Pilgrim's Progress than by a long discussion upon the will and the intellect" (Brittain 405).

¹ "Indescribable pleasure" (sic) refers to Q. D Leavis (110).
Samuel Bamford, author of fourteen books, was another. He says that the very first book that attracted his attention was *The Pilgrim's Progress* with rude cuts. He says:

> It excited my curiosity in an extraordinary degree. There was "Christian knocking at the strait gate"; his "fight with Apollyon"; his "passing near the lions"; his "escape from Giant Dispair" (sic) his perils . . .; his arrival . . . and his final passage to the "Eternal Rest." All these were matters for the exercise of my feeling and my imagination (40).

Not only was Bamford excited by the narrative, but he also recalled the explanation of the story from his mother and sister. Thus, as a little boy, he recognized that "Christian was a godly man . . . The whole story was to me a story mournfully soothing --something like that of a light coming from an eclipsed sun" (40).

Thomas Holcroft, born 1745, was a stable-boy who educated himself through reading which included the Bible and Bunyan (*Memoirs*). Born ten years later, William Hone tells of his own discovery of *The Pilgrim's Progress*:

> With any other book I was wholly unacquainted, and the addition of . . . *The Pilgrim's Progress* . . . was an event. All the cuts were rude, yet they all pleased, but the pleasure I derived from the work
itself is indescribable. I read in it continually and
read through it repeatedly (Q. D. Leavis 110).

Relevance Model

From the conditions of eighteenth-century society
and the testimonies of Bamford, Holcroft, Hone, Johnson
and Pope, it is possible to identify the workings of the
propositional model in this period.

There is now, generally, a shift away from external
events that affected religious life and made relevant
such aspects as persecution, imprisonment and dependence
of Christian community, although distrust of Catholicism
continued, as the London riots of 1780 showed. On the
external side of the model, the relevance factors
concern, firstly, the perpetuation of religious faith
with its missionary witness and the place of Scripture
in Sunday School life. The second aspect of relevance
relates to the constant presence of death, often through
disease or disaster. The third factor links with the
fact that more children now could read, and The
Pilgrim's Progress was both acclaimed and accessible.
The fourth external factor concerns the reinforcement of
parental pleasure at a child's success, such as Bunyan's
pilgrim children received as they, too, succeeded in
pressing on, ultimately to helping slay giants.
The internal factors can be evaluated according to what the child readers of the century experienced. From them we learn eight aspects: that the story and the central character gripped their attention, that the plot kept moving on; that it brought a sense of excitement, aroused curiosity, feeling and imagination, as did the illustrations; suggested meaningful depths beyond action and narration; and above all, brought pleasure beyond description.

Here is no recognition at all of external factors, rather the children's emphasis is on the psychic pleasure of reading, finding their heroes in the process. Yet the two sides of the equation appear to balance because of the input from the external factors, even though none of these were consciously recognized.

It seems reasonable to assume that if the child starts to read that which is entirely unrecognizable in the external world, the possibility is that reading of that particular work will cease or be meaningless, so the inner world will not be given the chance to relate to the story. There is a proviso, however, which is that with growing facility in reading experience, the child may learn the value of perseverance in order to find new discoveries. To children in the eighteenth century, Bunyan's work may have been an unexplored route into the marvels of narrative, not because of absence of external factors but because, at
least early in the century, there was little else that compared.

Bunyan's Heirs in the Eighteenth Century

Each century has its own events, emphases and heroes, so it is not possible to apply the relevance factors of one century unilaterally, though with the passing of time we may identify some common denominators. For the eighteenth century, however, we can reasonably apply the measures already established as criteria to evaluate other authors.

The first contender for Bunyan's mantle in the eighteenth century is Watts, a writer of verse, and, like Bunyan, a Dissenter. He is regarded as being seriously in Bunyan's image (de Sola Pinto 105; Escott 302; Woodfield 533-68), but this is in light of Bunyan's Book for Boys and Girls. It must be remembered, however, that Bunyan also wrote songs and verse in The Pilgrim's Progress. Many of these are in simple couplets, doggerel-like, highly suitable for a child to recite. A few have the qualities of true poetry, particularly Mercy's Song (PP 187), the Song of the Shepherd in the Valley of Humiliation, (PP 238) and the Pilgrim Song (PP 295). The latter two are included in de Sola Pinto's collection,
Poetry of the Restoration (105, 128) and also in The Oxford Book of Seventeenth-Century English Verse, 1934.

Watts writes as a "A psalmist for the young" (Demers 94) and his hymns were used regularly in Sunday Schools (Newby 13). There is the sense of allegory in that the subject -- the "I" and "me" -- is a metaphor, or emblem, for the reader. Watts focuses on the child in a positive, gentle way and this, along with the illustrative cuts, may account for the work's popularity over a long period. Yet while the songs have an affirmative note that may gently arouse the imagination, the counter side is always shown, and death is never far away:

How fair is the rose! What a beautiful flower!

The glory of April and May;

But the leaves are beginning to fade in an hour,

And they wither and die in a day (Moral Songs, III)

Watts' concern for death, and the ultimate destination of holy children, colours most of his songs. In Divine Songs XI, he is direct about it.

There is beyond the sky

A Heaven of Joy and Love,

And holy children, when they die,

Go to that World above.

He uses neither personifications nor genuine journeys though he takes the reader on little walks:
How many poor I see! . . .

How many children in the street

Half naked I behold . . . (Divine Songs IV)

He also uses many references to nature which children might enjoy: for example, Song II of Divine Songs, which endures as a hymn today:

I sing the Almighty power of God
That made the mountains rise,
That spread the flowing seas abroad,
And built the lofty skies.

In the verses that follow he speaks of the sun, moon and stars, living creatures, plants and flowers, drawing a conclusion, in his Christ-centred way:

His hand is my perpetual guard;
He keeps me with his eye:
Why should I then forget the Lord.
Who is for ever nigh?

Watts appears to have a passion similar to Bunyan's for he states his wish: "to give the Minds of Children a Relish of Vertue and Religion" (Songs 144-5). "Relish" is the key word, whereby he is in agreement with Locke, wanting to give children pleasure along with instruction. Summerfield's view that Watts' writing for children is essentially pernicious (81) seems unfair, for Watts' religious emphases were relevant to his own century, and children were used to its portrayal.

According to the criteria of relevance which we
have established, it seems that Watts' work scores on all levels in its relationship to external and internal factors. His work is especially strong in its capacity to stir feeling, imagination, to provide answers about life and death in a recognizable, yet new form, supplemented by illustration.

Other verse writers, such as Foxton and Smart, show pale similarities to Watts and do not measure near Bunyan. It would be difficult to arouse even eighteenth century children's interest in their Moral Songs (Foxton) and Hymns for the Amusement of Children (Smart).

Barbauld, on the other hand, obviously understood children, and her work indicates her belief in enjoyment along with instruction, as her Hymns in Prose for Children (1781) demonstrates. She intended some of her hymns for memorization and recitation (iv), in liturgical and semi-liturgical use. They suit the declamatory style of elocution, beginning, "Come" (I, II, IV, VII, IX); "See," or "Behold," or "Look." Some lines might sound old-fashioned to a twentieth-century reader, but there is no doubt that they respect the child as an observant person who knows the names and characteristics of heavenly bodies, animals and fruits -- even the nectarine (13); who loved to explore outdoors: "Come, let us go forth into the fields . . ." (Hymn II 12).
Her special intention was to "impress devotional feelings as early as possible on the infant mind" (v), which is a reflection of Locke's tabula rasa view (Rusk 117). She probably succeeded as her prose-poems are evocative and full of pictures: "I saw the moon rising behind the trees: it was like a lamp of gold" (46). She makes many gentle suggestions of Scriptural texts and story, as in the references to David the shepherd boy and Psalm 23 in Hymn III (19).

Barbauld also recognized child developmental stages when she wrote,

A few years ago, and I was a little infant,
and my tongue was dumb within my mouth:
And I did not know the great name of God, for
my reason was not come unto me.
But now I can speak and my tongue shall praise
him: I can think of all his kindness, and
my heart shall love him . . .
When I am older, I will praise him better; and
I will never forget God, so long as my life
remaineth in me (9-11).

There is an almost mesmeric quality in these eloquent yet restrained lines that could arouse a child's feeling and imaginative response. This is her remarkable "aesthetic sensibility" that Summerfield notices, describing her work as "one of the glories of eighteenth-century English children's books" (168). Her
language is simple, yet has a grandeur about it, perhaps only rivalled by Sherwood (Darton 153). Her overall emphases are on praise to God, beauty and life lived to the full in present time, plus respect for the child: "the mind of a child is like the acorn; its powers are folded up, they do not yet appear" (86-87). "Respect in the infant the future man. Destroy not in the man the rudiments of an angel" (Hymn 10, 95).

Her little book of Hymns needs no pictures to attract a child because the words alone make blissful pictures. Even her portrayal of beyond death, Hymn XV, is a rhapsody of pictorial beauty, eminently soothing. So Barbauld scores highly in all the criteria.¹ The numinous quality that pervades her perspective is akin to Bunyan's own.

There is an interesting correlation between Barbauld's Hymns and Blake's Songs (Summerfield 216-7), as between Bunyan's verse and Watts's and Blake's (de Sola Pinto 128). Songs of Innocence is seen as culmination to a tradition that runs from Bunyan (Davie 34). Yet, "even more than Bunyan, Blake was a poet of the Bible" (Frye XX). As a type of heir to Bunyan, Blake wrote another song, one that fosters patriotism, an attribute that Bunyan shows in The Pilgrim's Progress (89) and a goal that Watts advised in his essay of 1728.

¹ In twentieth century liturgy these readings would still work for children and adults.
Like Bunyan's pilgrim's song, it captures the imagination of old and young and endures into the twentieth century: "And did those feet in ancient time/Walk upon England's mountain green?"

All of these poets expressed themselves with a seriousness of purpose that characterizes the eighteenth century. Each in his/her own way is a link with Bunyan in the chain of children's literature.

Prose Writers as Bunyan's Heirs?

Some prose writers of the century attempted to emulate Progress. Newbery's Adventures of Master Headstrong and Miss Patient . . . has some similarities in structure: the quest, test of the hero and the reward motif of folk tales (Leeson 41). It also has names loaded with implication: Master Headstrong who sets out from the Land of Disappointment for the Land of Happiness; other travellers such as Mrs Patient, Mrs Reason, Hope and Fancy, and a young man called Passion. Similarly, choice must be made of left and right-hand paths and assistance comes -- not through a serious "Evangelist" -- but through Caution, a fairy, until ultimately Headstrong drinks the bitter water of repentance and reaches the Temple of Virtue and Happiness with its "sweet and wholesome air", so there
is also an element of the topography that Demers identifies in The Pilgrim's Progress (Demers 115). Newbery's end result, however, lacks deeper qualities. Real conviction and persuasive Christian faith are lacking, so that the potion is blandly secular and forgettable. While he did indeed extend the book market for children and tried to provide them with pleasure, Newbery is remembered for "little books about little things" (Darton 128). These have their place, of course, but in this context his work is compared with high adventure by a writer whom many regard as a genius. Newbery's score on our eighteenth century children's criteria is perhaps "barely, or just a pass."

Another writer made a blatant attempt to be recognized as Bunyan's heir by calling himself "Don Stephano Bunyano." His Prettiest Book for Children; being the history of the enchanted castle; situated in one of the Fortunate isles, and governed by giant Instruction, written for the entertainment of little masters and misses, has some echoes of Swift in that it is supposed to be written by "an under-secretary to the virtuous governor of the Enchanted Castle", one who lived several years in the service of Giant Instruction" (5). It also tries to echo the romance and adventure of Defoe, for the story is located in a distant, "large cluster of small islands . . . called the Fortunate or Happy Isles" (17). Didactic in tone, it has long, wordy
paragraphs that are full of asides and sermonizing, somewhat similar in that respect to *The Pilgrim's Progress*, but without the action and vitality to carry the story along. The child characters are inconsistent and one wonders how children would have regarded Miss Harriot who decides to give up tea for a week because of a "naughty crime", then cries for over an hour when the maid will not pour her a cup. Would child readers respond with sympathy, scorn, pity or self-recognition? -- that is if they got beyond the didacticism which is excessive.

For the reasons given, even before any attempt is made to fulfil the criteria of relevance, "Bunyano" is discounted as a literary heir to Bunyan, nor can his work be taken seriously for it is clearly too derivative. Children would have had the good sense, even if only at the gut level of perception that Bettelheim describes (6), to recognize *The Prettiest Book's* futility and especially the sense of being talked down to. It fails to stir excitement, curiosity, imagination or any of the other elements that the eighteenth century children enjoyed.

Were there any successors in the prose medium? Children also "adopted" the work of Defoe, another earnest Dissenter, who used the travel-adventure cum religious faith motif, while Swift's vision of the topsy-turveyism and fantasy elements that Bunyan
introduced through his comic and fairy-tale characters, and even sometimes through his heroes, was also popular with children. Trimmer worked at the moral tale but probably her only writing even to start to excite children was her *Fabulous Histories* with its cute robins. The Kilner sisters' books were more popular, and Dorothy's *Perambulations of a Mouse* was innovative with its mouse narrator. No-one, however, fulfilled all the relevancy criteria at any level of comparison with Bunyan. No-one could excite, arouse curiosity, feeling and imagination, giving pleasure that drew a reader back time after time, as did Bunyan. No-one had the gift to convey the intangible numinous quality that set Bunyan's work apart. Nevertheless, their emulation suggests that *The Pilgrim's Progress* had indeed become a prototype. This was not surprising, in that emulators had appeared soon after the work's initial success, creating spurious second and third sequels, while Robert Russell wrote two imitations of Bunyan in 1694 and 1695 (Sloane 206).

**The Male Hero**

Because the text of *The Pilgrim's Progress* remained unchanged, it is by illustrations that the focus on a male hero in this century can be identified. Detailed descriptions of some sets of eighteenth century illustrations suggests their significance to child
viewers of the period and illustrates the effect of the
woodcuts medium. 1

1. Christian meets Evangelist. The halo about
Evangelist's head was a symbol of holiness, familiar
from church windows and godly literature. The
Evangelist's stiff figure -- result of the woodcut
method -- makes him appear an autocratic figure to be
heeded like any clergyman or authority figure. His
presence affirms that Christian has a special journey.

to him in a friendly manner, common to the countryman,
making himself a genial hero. Christian's feet are on
the narrow path, but another path that leads to fire
infers Mr Wiseman's destination. Therefore, by contrast,
Christian is exalted.

3. Christian is at the wicket gate. His entry here,
to some child viewers at least, would denote overtones
of predestination and God's favour, according to
Calvinist doctrine that was still prevalent following
the establishment of Protestantism. However, according
to Sangster,

the dour Calvinism of previous centuries, one of the
hall-marks of the earlier Puritans, was fast waning,"
and "most Evangelicals ... were talking of
'moderate' Calvinism (Free Churches 139).

1 The first set of illustrations are from the second edition, Part I, 1727.
Whether from a Calvinist, exclusive perspective or not, Christian's entry through the gate depicted his personal acceptance of salvation. This was an important doctrine in the evangelical revival of the eighteenth century, a resurgence of Puritanism that affected the whole church. It was preached with eloquence, especially by George Whitefield and John Wesley, and within the Sunday School movement and London Missionary Society. To the child who knew Christian influence through the home, education or Church and Sunday School, this was the way to Jesus who said "Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not . . . (Mark 10:14), spoken by the keeper of the gate to Christiana and her children (PP Part 2, 189). From religious instruction children would be familiar with the narrow way, depicted winding above the gate.

4. Christian loses his burden and wears new clothes. Again, this scene affirms the result of personal conversion and, to a child reader, especially a poor one, the new, fine clothes would be attractive. Clothing can signify who and what the person is; they have a "concrete" nature. This aspect fits in with what we now understand through Piaget as the Preoperational and Concrete operational stages of child development, perhaps 2-7 and 7-11 years (Seiffert and Hoffnung 59), so that young readers would notice the new attire though without any stress on its symbolic meaning.
5. Christian rests in the "arbour". This would have several possible connotations, one being a link with Trimmer and other moralists who "believed in . . . a world-garden arranged by God" (Darton 159). It also shows that the hero is a very human one who grows tired after his early adventures and needs to rest at the half-way point while toiling up the hill. Not only does it stress his humanity but also it tells that the Lord of the Way is kind and provides a resting place for pilgrims -- or for young eighteenth-century chimney sweeps or factory workers who attended Sunday Schools and learnt Scripture (Cunningham 57; Newell 3-7). To children of the period, used to memorizing Scripture and catechism, this notion could unconsciously echo not only Watts's songs but such Bible verses as

\begin{quote}
Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden
and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; . . . and ye shall find rest unto your souls (Matthew 11:28, 29).
\end{quote}

6. Christian clambers up rocks, which shows the strength and courage of the hero. It is a new cut and the focus is entirely on Christian. A child who looked only at the illustration, without knowing the story, would not infer any religious dimension as there is none implied in the picture. It does show, however, a strong hero who faces challenge.
7. Here is the battle between Christian and Apollyon. It does not show Christian with his sword piercing Apollyon's abdomen, as in the 1689 impression, but repeats the 1695 cut of the adversaries who stand back and eye the other: "A more unequal match can hardly be . . . " as Bunyan's verse says to complement the illustration. Here the hero is not victor but a Christian knight (depicted by the cross on his shield) who must fight an ugly, dragon-like foe that has many darts and arrows which spill out of his bag; an emphasis on battle which would arouse excitement in child viewers. The focus also links with the child's interest in fantastic creatures and chivalric tales where heroes, like Sir Bevis and St George, encounter a dragon. In those Protestant homes where the books of Daniel and Revelation were still studied to expose the Papacy (Ball, *English Connection*, 197, 209-210), there would also be reference to the Anti-Christ.

8. The duel over, Christian kneels in prayer in the Valley of the Shadow of Death; the same cut and verse as in the fifth edition, which confirms the hero's religious nature.

9. The trial scene at Vanity Fair, as used initially, reiterates the place of prayer in times of hardship. Faithful prays; Christian is chained to a wall. "Even so it was, our Lord past here, And on Mount Calvary dy'd" (155), says the verse, linking Christ with
The persecution of dissenters in the previous century and the stories of Foxe's martyrs would still be sufficiently known to underline this possible aspect of the Christian life. It also would remind child readers of the place of prayers in their lives: at meals, at family prayer, at bed-time, at school, church and in times of trouble.

10. Faithful stands before the judge, the woodcut used in early editions. The verse addresses him: "Speak boldly man, the truth is on thy side . . . " (159). It is a scene that supports the notion of Christian witness in the community, a teaching that prompted the missionary movement of the eighteenth century.

11. Faithful is in the fire, praying. A chariot awaits above to take him to the Celestial City. Again there is a stress on the trials, and reward, of a Christian hero, linking with the notion of virtue and reward which Trimmer and others extolled. At the same time the scene has an element of the fantastic, enjoyable to children.

12. The Giant at Doubting Castle is watched by Christian and Hopeful who look tiny and of no consequence; it is the same cut and verse as used in earlier editions. The verse may have seemed strange to children if they read it without knowing the story of the heroes' foolishness:

The pilgrims now, to gratify the flesh
Will seek its ease ...  
Who seeks to please the flesh themselves

13. Here are five shepherds and their sheep, as pictured in early editions, with the same verse: "Pilgrims are steddy kept by Faith and Fear" (187). This scene contrasts with the previous one as it is pastoral and restful. It reiterates the notion of a support system for Christians; links with Psalm 23 ("The Lord is my shepherd"), a common memory passage in Sunday Schools, yet the cut has a romanticized perspective.

14. Hopeful holds Christian in the water, as used in the 1689 version. The presence of angels supports the verse "Angels are their guide." An observant child would notice that they are only watching, however, while the hero's friend does the work to save him.

Further Portrayals of the Christian Male Hero

In Part II, 13th edition, 1726, there are two more woodcuts than in the original 1684 edition, while Bunyan's portrait (the "Dreamer") precedes the spurious Part 3, included with Parts 1 and 2. The first illustration shows Greatheart in front, bearing fruit and flowers, followed by diminutive Christiana, Mercy and the four boys. It is a cut that stresses the beneficent male leader in an idealized setting, probably
acceptable in a society where men led in church and society.

The second cut recalls Christian's challenging climb up rocks -- the hero-father whom the children follow after to the Celestial City, while the third shows the diverse people and market stalls of Vanity Fair with the verse of religious emphasis: "... our Lord pass'd here, And on Mount Calvary dy'd." It is also a reminder of the "ware of Rome... greatly promoted in this fair" (PP Part 1, 89) which in a strongly Protestant society was much abhorred, as the London riots in 1780 indicated. The scene might be looked upon with curiosity by children.

The fourth woodcut is a new one of the defeat of Giant Despair, included in the 1684 edition. It contains much fine detail that would encourage close looking. Exciting, yet reassuring, it shows the giant's head on a pole while his castle, at rear, lies in ruins. Women and children stare up at the defeated giant. The verse, however, is a reminder that "Sin can rebuild the castle, make't remain, And make Despair the giant live again" (140). Thus threat and fear are intertwined within the assurance of the illustration. Giants would be of interest as they came from Bible stories, fairy-tale and also echoed Gulliver's adventures.

In contrast to the early woodcut of Christian on the Hill Difficulty is the copperplate illustration by
Bunyan and Other Heroes

The 1735 edition of The Pilgrim's Progress Part I, is typical of editions in the later part of the century. Published by Alex Miller, James and John Brown in Company, it has no picture of the "Dreamer" so that text, again, is more important than author. Of ninety editions, twenty-one used pictures of Bunyan as a frontispiece, less than one-third.

In this edition, Faithful receives honour as he is shown on trial, yet he also could appear linked with Bunyan's own life, trial and imprisonment. This type of faith was important within the religious ethos of the missionary age:

Now Faithful, play the man, speak for thy God,
"fear not the wicked's malice, nor their rod:
Speak boldly man, the truth is on thy side,
Die for it and to life in triumph ride" (148).

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John Wesley's Abridgement and a Diminished Hero

Any discussion of The Pilgrim's Progress for children would not be complete without reference to John Wesley's abridged version of 1743. Because of Wesley's tremendous evangelistic impact on England, many families bought this work and read it in their homes, thus children would have been exposed to the narrative.

Wesley neither used Bunyan's marginal glosses and Bible texts, nor transferred the Scripture references to within the actual text, as do some twentieth-century versions (e.g. Signet, 1964), nor were there any illustrations -- not necessarily a weakness because personal imaginations can illuminate the action-packed story. The end result, however, is a fairly lean product of forty-nine pages of small type with much of the imaginative fat removed as Wesley tried to cut down on text: for example, "Christian and Pliable went on talking together" (3). In the original this reads:

Now I saw in my dream that when Obstinate was gone back, Christian and Pliable went talking over the plain, and thus they began their discourse (10).

In Wesley's abridgement, the hero's journey remains true to the original but much of the imaginative, textual embellishment that fills out a picture in the mind of the reader is gone: the hero now becomes a
Samson deprived of his mane of hair. This effect is noticeable in the final scenes where, in the original, "the city was pure gold" and "there met them two men in raiment that shone like gold, also their faces shone as the light" (156). From here on, Bunyan emphasizes "gold" and "shining" whenever he can. It makes a dazzling, cumulative effect that builds to:

Now I saw in my dream that these two men went in at the gate; and lo, as they entered, they were transfigured, and they had raiment put on that shone like gold (161-162).

In comparison, Wesley's version begins the last sentence in the same way but ends, "and their raiment was glittering and as white as snow " (49). This changes meaning and fails to reach the epiphany of the hero, towards which Bunyan consistently builds. Perhaps these are criticisms of a purist, nevertheless they show how even the most dedicated Christian who tampers with Bunyan's text from a time difference of over fifty years, can distort -- or at the least, diminish, while trying to simplify.

Changing Emphases

Slight but subtle changes in emphasis appear as The Pilgrim's Progress becomes larger and as old cuts wear
out and new illustrations come into use: New woodcuts, as for example by W.P. 1702, Clarke 1727, Clarke 1734, Johnston 1748-51, 1760; Griffin 1792; new copperplates: Clarke 1728; Booksellers 1758, Robertson 1779, Hogg 1780, 1785, Stothard 1792, Luckman 1797; "superb engravings" by Cooke, 1796, 1800; and "curious sculptures", by Clarke 1741, Johnston 1749, 1766, Oriel 1775, Axtell 1775, Rivington 1775.

A comparison between the content of illustrations, early and late in the century, indicates certain changes of attitude toward the hero and Christian life. Common to both the early and later illustrations is a general stress on the character and trials of the Christian hero, which would be of interest to an eighteenth-century believer and still fit with the chivalric hero model. These are shown in Christian contrasted with Worldly Wiseman; Christian at the wicket-gate; Christian having lost his burden; Christian fights Apollyon; the trial at Vanity Fair.

Those illustrations that emphasize call and instruction, however, are deleted from editions of the second half of the century (e.g. 1772). These were formerly depicted through scenes of the hero reading Scripture, resting where the Lord of the Way has provided and the witness and persecution of Christian life. Overall, these contributed a more true and
balanced portrayal of Puritan faith in grace, demonstrated by works.

Those cuts that are new in the later editions provide pictorial stress on the issues of: personal choice, exciting challenge as in the chivalric tales (for Sir Bevis and others also encountered lions), moving to an idealized, pastoral note of consolation and a romanticized view as the hero ascends, all of which fit the romantic mood of the later part of the eighteenth century. Specific scenes which depict this are through two paths to choose between and this choice is indicated by the accompanying verse; lions that block the way; shepherds at the Delectable Mountains; Christian, not struggling through the river (as in the original narrative), but ascending in clouds.

It can therefore be claimed that while the eighteenth-century text of *The Pilgrim's Progress* does not change and it is still a religious allegory, there is a subtle shift toward secularization through the editorial selection of incidents for illustration. The male hero, however, is the consistent hero.

Another change in the eighteenth century comes in the form of publication, showing a move from simplicity to ostentation, due to new developments and expansion in printing. The 1743 edition (Clarke) demonstrates the trend toward ornamentation on cover and internal pages, though the size is still small (14.9 x 9 cms), little
larger than a chapbook. The 1789 publication of the third edition (Wilkins) continues elaborate ornamentation and larger format (17.5 x 10.8 cms).

From John Brown, renowned minister and historian of the Bedford Meeting in the nineteenth century, we learn that *The Pilgrim's Progress*, according to Samuel Wilson in about 1736, was translated "almost into every language"; that editions multiplied to meet public demand although "the illustrations became coarser and more smirchy until 1786 and 1792 when new engravings and a series of illustrations of high quality appeared" (458-9). However, Brown considered that they were marked by the matter-of-fact spirit so characteristic of the 18th century, not imaginative, very realistic and which reproduce the dress of the George III period" (Brown 461).

**Child Focus in View**

On June 7th, 1790, a jigsaw version of *The Pilgrim's Progress* provided wooden pieces that a child could handle easily. In colours of blue, grey, brown and green, fitting into a wooden box, 10 x 15 cms it depicts the journey: "The Pilgrim's Progress Dissected or a Complete View of Christian's Travels from the City of Destruction to the Holy Land." It was "Designed as Rational Amusement for Youth of Both Sexes." This
hands-on experience gave the child opportunity to structure the landscape and particular events of Bunyan's pilgrim-story, making the self a pseudo-hero as the journey grew before her/his eyes. To the child who knew the narrative well, the jigsaw form offered a challenge to remember and to identify the parts of the story that fitted together, and the puzzle, when completed, encapsulated the text. For any child unfamiliar with the text, the metatextual level may have stirred language and psychic responses related to imagination: excitement, dismay and hope.

Conclusion

The eighteenth century began with closeness to the spirit of the seventeenth century and to Bunyan's text. The Pilgrim's Progress also possessed relevance to the external events of the century. The first of these was the continuance of a religious society which distrusted Roman Catholicism, began Sunday Schools and missionary organizations.

The second relevance factor related to the subject of death which was still one of concern in a society with high mortality rates. Bunyan stressed that his story concerned "God, Death and Judgement to come" (PP 153); that the river crossing was difficult but inevitable (PP 156); that Heaven was the goal, where the
King's trumpeters salute pilgrims who receive clothing of immortality. This would be in readiness to escort the King of Glory on his second coming and to sit by him at the time of judgment of iniquity (PP, Part I, 160; Part II 311). To a poor child, the opportunity to be treated like a fairy prince or princess could have held great desirability.

Thirdly, the growth of educational opportunities brought about a greater audience of juvenile readers. Through reading they discovered The Pilgrim's Progress, a book that was both available and unique.

The fourth aspect related directly to parents and thus, indirectly to children. Adult society felt the influence of the new ideas of Locke and, largely because of him, books for children began (Bator 46). By the 1740s it is suggested that a more lenient attitude to children began to spread among the middle to upper classes (Plumb 70).

Children enjoyed The Pilgrim's Progress, and it is from memories of childhood reading of the text that we discover that children found the work most relevant to their inner world, despite the obvious relationship of events and ethos in the external world to the events of the narrative.

Important to eighteenth-century children were the feelings of excitement, curiosity, and imagination that Bunyan's narrative provided. Additionally, they
identified glimpses of hidden depths of meaning, sheer pleasure from reading and interest through supportive illustrations.

The century produced writers who followed, to some extent, in Bunyan's image. Watts and Barbauld are the strongest contenders as they, above all else, reveal that special numinous quality that makes their work, and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, a memorable reading experience. The work of eighteenth-century emulators also shows that *The Pilgrim's Progress* was becoming established as a prototype.

The eighteenth-century hero of Bunyan's text is a Christian, named Christian. He is masculine in a male-dominated society. There is a slender prediction, however, that the child may someday become a hero, in such things as a jigsaw version for the young, designed for them towards the end of the century. Yet this is only a shadowy forecast, as the hero depicted within the jigsaw is still the man.

Bunyan, himself, receives recognition in one third of the copies which have survived, but this is no basis on which to claim that he had become a cult hero.

Use of illustrations increases noticeably toward the end of the century, while covers become more embellished and ornate, so the pilgrim figure, via association, is moving from simplicity to sophistication.
So it can be seen that what began with crude woodcuts in chapbook proportions at the beginning of the century, evolved into larger-sized books with ornate embellishments and fine copper cuts and thence to a recreational form by the end of the period. The pilgrim himself, via the subtlety of the visual media, was starting to change from a living expression of Puritan faith to depict both the romanticism and realism of the late eighteenth century.
CHAPTER FIVE
RELEVANCE OF THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS TO THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY

Introduction

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, children continued to read The Pilgrim's Progress, for, (until 1830 at least), it was part of a sparse supply of religious fiction (Avery, Nineteenth Century, 97). In The Quarterly Review of 1844, an anonymous reviewer, listing recommended books, says of The Pilgrim's Progress, "The sooner read the better" (Haviland 17). The great number of editions from the century available today in library collections, as at the National Museum of Childhood at Bethnal Green, attests to its popularity. Their frequently worn condition shows that they were much handled.  

The editions that children read in the early years of the century were unabridged, as the research of this thesis shows, which agrees with Green (12). Moreover, through about fifty unabridged editions, from 1802-1898, children read Part 1 only. This means that not every child reader travelled imaginatively with Christiana and her children in Part II, but journeyed exclusively with Christian, the hero of Part I. The two parts together

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1 For a chronological list of nineteenth-century versions of The Pilgrim's Progress for children, see Bibliography (376-390).
give the full, balanced picture of Bunyan's vision, for while the pilgrims of both parts travel the same route, there are different emphases and values (Talon, John Bunyan, 22; Hill 199-200; Sharrock, "Women and Children", 175). It was unfortunate for children to miss the second part with its cheerful, teeming picture of the life of a seventeenth-century godly family and of the small separatist community made up of a few such families. It treats family affection and personal relations in a way that was impossible in the story of the isolated, epic individual (Sharrock, "Women and Children", 175).

An analysis of the research of this thesis shows a total of one hundred and twenty-two extant versions read by children from 1801-1900. Of this number, ninety-five are dated, so they can be be considered from the point of view of chronological development. Twenty-eight are undated but clearly belong to the century.²

Versions for Children

Along with circulation of the unabridged form came a move toward versions for children. It began in 1804 with a versified format (Burder) and continued four

¹ Table 6 analyses 118 versions. More were discovered later.
² The criteria is as follows: labels give a relevant date; general style of presentation, including number of illustrations and their style; dated advertisements; library collections have designated them to the nineteenth century.
years later with the first adaptation, written as a dialogue between a mother and child by an unnamed "Lady". Four more versions, especially for children, followed from 1801-1835. There was also a chapbook form of twenty-nine pages, published in 1837, which included nineteen detailed woodcuts which were vigorous portrayals of Bunyan's text. These would probably have attracted child readers, especially because four young boys are shown at the wicket gate, apparently the first time their presence in the story is visually emphasized. Also small in size and therefore easy for a child to handle (just a little larger than Newbery's *Little Pretty Pocket Book*), the Bagster edition of 1845 features vignettes within embellished frames and shows Christian's children at play.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, simple versions accelerated in publication across several formats. Compared with the total of six such versions in the first fifty years, now came twenty-five designated for child readers, published in the years 1860 and onwards. An average number of five were published per decade, 1801-1850, but rose to fourteen from 1850-1900 (Table 6). In the second half-century came use of colour (1857, Nisbet; 1860, RTS cards - 2 sets; 1869, Godolphin; 1872, Phillips Day; 1875, *Sunday Playmate*; 1889, Warne; 1880, *Pictorial Pilgrim's Progress*; 1887, Phillips Day, 4th edition; 1889,
TABLE 6: Nineteenth-Century Versions of *The Pilgrim's Progress*
Groombridge; 1890, Warne; 1891, Nister; 1896, Routledge), all of which made the work attractive to children.

An outstanding characteristic of the nineteenth century was that of Christian faith and practice, with mothers, like Mary Elizabeth Lucy, who told "oft-repeated Bible stories" and taught their children to pray (59); whose households held regular morning and evening family prayers (74,157). The emphasis was now on evangelicalism which emphasized moral conduct and crossed all religious barriers between denominations and sects (Thomson, Nineteenth Century, 107). At the heart of this philosophy was the Bible -- "Bible-reading in the home was as popular as sermonizing in church" (Thomson, Nineteenth Century, 107). Prayer, family worship in the home, and a zeal for self-improvement were important inclusions (Thomson, Nineteenth Century, 107).

The Pilgrim's Progress was relevant to the spiritual life of the nineteenth century, not only through the pervasive religious faith but also through the influence of the Romantic movement which honoured childhood, nature, imagination and the literature of the people (Carpenter and Prichard 412). It is also

\^ Especially by Wordsworth in his dozen or so poems that refer to childhood (Selected 12-29) and in The Prelude. By Byron in "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage," Poetical Works, 179-252).
interesting to note that the Victorians were fascinated by seventeenth-century lives and conduct and were "obsessed with the Civil War" (Downing and Millman 180), an interest which probably, for some, linked with Bunyan and his writing. Moreover a famous nineteenth-century painting by W. F. Yeames, "And when did you last see your father?" shows a boy and girl (albeit Royalists) in a heroic court-room portrayal.

More and more, The Pilgrim's Progress took a place with the 'classics' (Carpenter and Prichard 412). Bunyan's wide acceptance -- in at least one county of England -- comes in Browning's words as he ends his ballad about the ill-fated "Ned Bratts" (258-275). He makes Bedford the place of "Destruction" and incorporates much of Bunyan's emblematic language. The judge concludes his summing up of Ned Bratts' case, demanding,

Stop tears, or I'll indite
All weeping Bedfordshire for turning Bunyanite (275).

In this wide setting of acceptance of Bunyan as a national figure, several factors contributed to the rise of versions designated especially for children. The first factor was strong family life and parental interest in their children's instruction in moral and religious education. This continued to prevail, though in a somewhat different way from that in the seventeenth century (Thomson 229; Pollock, Forgotten Children,
The second factor concerned awareness of children's particular needs and their differences from the adults'. These were made more apparent as the Sunday School Union, with its focus on the child, got under way in 1803 and Sunday Schools spread like wild-fire through the land (Newby 21). So wide-spread was the Sunday School movement during the century that by 1880, three Lord Chancellors had been Sunday School teachers (Newby 13). One of the goals of the Union was "To supply books ... at reduced rates" (Newby 16), thus it provided an environment in which The Pilgrim's Progress could thrive.

Added to this reaffirmed awareness of the child was the fact that even more children were learning to read as, in 1811, the National Society promoted its "Bell" or Church of England schools and the British and Foreign School Society, founded in 1814, promoted the "Lancaster", non-sectarian schools. By the Act of 1870, educational opportunities widened further as compulsory attendance was required at free schools (Newby 23; 29).

Sunday Sacredness and The Pilgrim's Progress

The third factor was Sunday sacredness (Thomson 107), the day being set apart for rest from work and for church and Sunday School attendance. These factors
linked with a need for Sunday reading and made a background in which The Pilgrim's Progress fitted comfortably.

Regarding Sunday and the child, Isaac Taylor wrote in 1824:

Pious parents, who do not choose that dolls and balls should be brought out on the Lord's day, are often greatly at a loss . . . to furnish amusement for the young brood (Preface).

Taylor concluded his Preface by emphasizing that children need "a distinct set of picture books" for "the sacred hours of the Sabbath." He also stressed that "children have an insatiable desire for pictures" (Preface). To fill this need, he wrote Bunyan Explained to a Child; being Pictures and Poems Founded Upon The Pilgrim's Progress (1824; 2nd edition 1835) and Part 2 (1825). Of the latter he spoke of its suitability for nursery and parlour because "the travellers now are a mother and her children" (Intro.).

A serious work, one of his emphases in verse was not the death of a young child as may have been stressed in previous centuries, but a child's conversion in relation to her mother's decease:

Oh if my dear Mama should die
Before I seek the Lord
And leave me full of vanity
Regardless of his word!
Taylor's unique black and white maps had the potential to fascinate a child for they show details of the pilgrim journey, but the vocabulary and perception of the poems is suited more to adults. Could even a nineteenth-century child really understand "communion of the Holy Ghost"; "saints ripening for glory"; "no dull clog their spirits know"; "gold effulgent Zion's hill"?¹

Nevertheless, Taylor's desire to provide The Pilgrim's Progress in a form that children would enjoy was not unusual (Pollock Forgotten Children 255). It was in harmony with contemporary child awareness, accentuated through the concern of caring parents, typical of the period, of whom Pollock gives a number of examples, citing Locke as a continuing influence upon the home (Forgotten Children 122). Barnard also notes the continuing philosophical contribution of Locke², as well as Rousseau³ and Pestalozzi. He refers to the latter's deduction that "education must be religious" (38), a view that was relevant to the Evangelical stance that made lessons "simple and concrete" (Cutt xii).

By about 1840 the Evangelicals had established strict Sunday observance and, "in literate homes, the

¹ Random selection from Taylor's text. The last two quotations are from his final poem.
² H. G. Barnard comments: "Educational thinkers like Comenius and John Locke ... had already realised that the child himself should be the determining factor in the educational process"(33).
³ Barnard admits that at first Rousseau's views were more influential on the Continent than in England but that his theories "excited much interest here also" (40).
habit of specialised Sunday reading” which was uncompromisingly Protestant (Cutt xi). The Pilgrim’s Progress was part of such Sunday reading (Avery, Nineteenth Century, 97; MacDonald, “Case”, 29), for, as Slater notes,

During the 1840’s when the evangelical movement was at its height, Bunyan again emerged as an outstanding religious figure (133).

The Religious Tract Society, which had previously adapted tracts as rewards for Sunday School children (Avery Childhood’s Pattern 67), encouraged the promulgation of The Pilgrim’s Progress to meet the child’s need for instruction. They did not promote abridgement, however, for they continued to publish the full version in 1826, 1863, 1875 and 1898, thus indicating their emphasis on the religious tenor of Bunyan’s original work. From a prize label on an 1898 edition,¹ the name of “York Road Sunday School Brighton” shows one Sunday School’s involvement in using The Pilgrim’s Progress as a reward book. Mary Godolphin, who wrote The Pilgrim’s Progress in Words of One Syllable, (1869) refers in her Preface to her books being used as prizes in village schools.

The Religious Tract Society’s edition of 1826 which they “circulated by tens of thousands”² contained this

¹ Now in the National Museum of Childhood at Bethnal Green.
² In the Preface of an undated edition that features Harold Copping’s illustrations, c.1903.
prefatory note that indicates their seriousness of purpose:

Great pains have been taken in collating this edition with other copies, in order to render a correct reprint of the original work. The original side-notes, which often throw much light on the text, have been preserved. A very few expressions that from lapse of time have become obsolete or offensive have been altered or omitted.

The Sunday School Union likewise promoted *The Pilgrim's Progress* for the child. In 1860 (reissued 1873) they contributed an innovative "Service of Song", called "Christiana and her Children", based on Part II. In 1900 they published two unabridged editions with illustrations by different artists.

Nineteenth-century Sunday School reward books, encouraged by the Sunday School Union, still exist. They are the kind that Avery describes, with "gilt and pictorial covers" (*Childhood's Pattern* 72). These show the names of their young recipients: Sarah Ann Stevens, awarded by the Devonshire Road Sunday School, February 1890; Edith Quick for first prize at the St Andrews Sunday School in 1897.¹

What may be a typical scene, of children engrossed in *The Pilgrim's Progress* on a Sunday, is described by Catherine Tait, wife of Archbishop Tait, in *Catharine*

¹ In the National Museum of Childhood at Bethnal Green.
and Craufurd (sic) Tait, a Memoir (1879). Here she refers to her five little daughters who sat in the Deanery garden on summer Sundays, looking at their Sunday School picture-cards and reading The Pilgrim's Progress (Avery, Childhood's Pattern, 121).

The picture cards that the Tait children collected may well have included those published in 1860 by the Religious Tract Society in two series, each of twelve cards. One set was called The Pilgrim's Progress, while the other was Christiana and her Children. Each set features colourful scenes and characters from the story, painted with aesthetic interpretation and fine details such as a child appreciates in "close looking" (Doonan 11), yet, overall they are serious in tone and purpose. Very collectable to a child, they show the "baddies" as well as the "goodies": Giant Despair; the man with the muck-rake; Pilgrim taking a bath of sanctification; Greatheart guiding the women and children. Measuring about 7 x 10 cms, with a colourful scene taking two-thirds of the scene and the remaining third in descriptive text, they fitted into a nineteenth-century child's hand easily and were well suited for scrapbooks -- another interest of Victorian England. It is reasonable to assume that the sets may have been used as reward cards, either for memory verses known, or for church and Sunday School attendance.

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1 A complete set pasted in can be seen at the British Library.
One publication extant, The Sunday Playmate (c. 1875) included The Pilgrim's Progress along with Bible stories of Moses, Ruth, Daniel, the prodigal son, plus Watt's hymns -- all selected as suitable for children's Sunday reading. The Illustrated Family Bunyan (1884) provided the story and its hero with pictures that all the family could enjoy.

Mid-Century Onward

Many abridged versions or retellings for children became available from mid-century on. These acknowledged the child as a person distinct from the adult, having different needs. For example, in his Preface to The Children's Pilgrim's Progress (Bell and Daldy, 1869) J.C. shows his concern for repetition, doctrine, and a child's attention span:

The allegory contained in John Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" is certainly one of the most beautiful ever written. It is, however, overlaid with repetition and conversations about questions of doctrine which children cannot possibly understand, and I am constrained to believe that no young people can ever read the whole book through without being wearied.

Later, two editions of the work were designated especially for "little ones": (1899, 1900) and Helen

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1 In the British Library.
Taylor's retelling of the pilgrim story (1899) focused on Little Christian's Pilgrimage. Four versions clearly entitled themselves as designed "for children": 1853, 1860, 1866, 1891, while three versions were identified as for the "young": 1858, 1890, 1899. Others were designated for "young people": 1858, 1890, 1899. Use of one syllable words, for ease of reading, accounted for publications in 1869, 1872, 1884, and 1895. In addition, Dean and Son published a large "Toy Book", a popular format in the mid-century (Carpenter and Prichard 537). It cost one shilling for eight colour plates and minimal text; an "indestructible" book on linen.

Bunyan's pilgrim story was now published so voluminously that it reached large numbers of children, either through text, or even through illustrations alone as MacDonald suggests ("Case" 29). Many children owned their own copies, some of whom received it for presents and school prizes, as inscriptions on copies in various children's collections show. Names inscribed in history, not for great deeds but for owning a copy of The Pilgrim's Progress are: Thomas Taylor Griffith, 1802; Robert Washington Oates, 1805; Fanny Elizabeth Ward, "A present from my dear father, Christmas 1889\(^2\);

\(^1\) The Children's Pilgrim's Progress, for example (1860, 1866) or The Pilgrim's Progress for Children 1891).

\(^2\) It is interesting to note that Fanny Elizabeth's copy was later passed on to the County Technical School for Girls, Tonbridge, thus reaching a wider readership, where it stayed until acquired by the National Museum of Childhood at Bethnal Green in 1958.
Louisa Smith, "for attendance and good conduct", 1894; "Walter Grogan" who owned an undated, unabridged copy with coloured plates by A. F. Lydon. The work was popular not only in Nonconformist society but also with members of the Church of England. Some high-church Anglicans were critical, however, as *The English Churchman* indicated in 1853, writing with grudgingly given recognition of Bunyan's narrative (Phillips 26).¹ In the same year, the Rev. J. M. Neale, a high-church Anglican himself, wrote in the preface to his modified abridgement, *The Pilgrim's Progress of John Bunyan. For the Use of Children in the English Church*, of "an affectionate and almost superstitious veneration" which people held toward it, adding:

> It was their favourite book when they were children; it was the favourite book of their parents before them. It is a sort of religious classic . . .

Some four paragraphs further on, Neale speaks of those who have "seen the fascination which it exercises over the minds of children."

As well as reading the story on a Sunday or at other times, children could be involved in improvised drama. Not only did American children dramatize *The Pilgrim's Progress* (MacDonald 81), as the characters did in Alcott's *Little Women* and Coolidge's *What Katy Did Next*, but in Britain we have the example of George

¹ This is discussed later.
MacDonald's family who are said to have become famous for their performance of a play based on *The Pilgrim's Progress*. (Carpenter and Prichard 413). In 1877 Mrs George MacDonald published a script based on Part II. It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that in many gardens, classrooms and nurseries in England, Christian, his friends and enemies reappeared, wearing improvised costumes and attempting speeches with "thee", "thy" and "thou" -- not so unfamiliar language since these pronouns were commonly used to address God at church and Sunday School. Some children, like boisterous Jo March, would probably have found a lion, Apollyon or a hobgoblin relevant to their personalities; others may have resembled Beth March who chose more gentle parts and settings of arbours where pilgrims rested.

As well as taking part in home improvisation of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, children had opportunity to become characters in formalized plays. Examples are in dialogue form: "Dialogue on Mr Talkative for a Sabbath School anniversary" (Parker, 1865). In "The Straight Gate" (1868), arranged for Sunday School Anniversaries, eight characters appear: the pilgrim, his neighbour, Evangelist, Obstinate, Pliable, Help, Worldly Wiseman, and Goodwill, giving a number of children opportunity to take part, when one includes the off-stage extras. The

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1 A reprint (Oxford University Press, 1925), can be seen in the Frank Mott Harrison Collection at the Borough of Bedford Public Library.
dialogue is true to the spirit of Bunyan's text and close to his own words as the following sample shows:

   
   Neighbour. Where art thou going in such a hurry today, with thy burden upon thy back, and thy face cast down, looking miserable, and thine eyes streaming with tears? And what book hast thou in thy hands?
   
   Pilgrim. Oh Sir, what shall I do to be saved! for I am certainly informed that this our city will be burnt with fire from Heaven. (1)

Seventeenth-century influence continues in the dialogue, with echoes of Puritan faith and Janeway's perspective. This is especially identifiable when Pilgrim (in the play) uses Bunyan's identical words (PP 10) stating to Evangelist, "I fear that this burden that is upon my back will sink me lower than the grave and I shall fall into Tophet".

The dialogue would not have been difficult for children to memorize or to perform. Its nuances remind the reader of modern Christmas plays, often written by adults. In any case, it is easy to "see" and to "hear" children's voices in the following:

   (Pilgrim knocks).

   Goodwill. Who comes here?

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1 Tophet implies fire.
Pilgrim. Here is a poor burdened sinner. . . from the City of Destruction. . . to Mount Zion. . . are you willing to let me in?

Goodwill. I am willing with all my heart. Who directed thee hither?

Pilgrim. Evangelist bid me come hither and knock as I did and he said that you, Sir, would tell me what I must do.

Goodwill. An open door is set before thee, and no man can shut it: but how is it that you came alone?

Come in! Come in!

Eternal glory thou shalt win!

Not only could children be reached through dramatic improvisation or stage performance, but "A Service of Song", Christiana and her Children (1860), published by the Sunday School Union, gave children opportunity to relive the experiences of child heroes in a musical form. The story was Bunyan's as were many of the verses, expressed in his inimitable style, as in Mercy's song:

Let the most blessed be my guide,
If't be his blessed will,
Unto his gate, into his fold,
Up to his holy hill (172).

Although there is no evidence in support, it is also reasonable to infer that some children who were influenced by the book in the nineteenth century played
board games in their homes (Demers 115). One undated game is called *The Game of Pilgrim's Progress* and is based on Bunyan's work. Another is "The Mansion of Bliss, a new Game for the Amusement of Youth" (1810) which appears to have been inspired by Christian's journey. Another game, "The Cottage of Content" (1848), also an allegorical board game, "designed to instil some moral principles" (Opie Collection, Bodleian), features routes like Turnabout Lane, Bad Boys' Road and Help Row, all denotive of places along the journey of life to the ideal home. However, "Cottage" is a secularized game of chance and the child hero-player is not dependent on knowledge or decision. In contrast was the game "Definitions", from *Games and Sports for Young Boys* (1875), in which players had to describe a character from literature. It is highly possible that Christian or other characters from *The Pilgrim's Progress* would have been selected on account of their vivid personalities. Children could also assemble the durable, wooden jigsaw based on Christian's journey (1790) or use it as a board game.

Another novelty form was published in about 1860, a coloured panorama in a very long pictorial cylinder, approximately 430 x 6 cms. There was also a series of twenty engravings of vital scenes from Bunyan's story.

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1 In the Frank Mott Harrison Collection at the Borough of Bedford Public Library.
2 The character, Robinson Crusoe, is given as the example on p.89. Like *Pilgrim's Progress*, Defoe's work was made an exception from the Evangelical ban on fiction for children (Bratton 105).
that could be unfolded and laid out or erected on a table or floor. Both these novelty forms would have kept children occupied on a Sunday.

At school, The Pilgrim's Progress would have been referred to not infrequently. Evidence for this is attested to by a large folio (dated 1880), approximately 61 x 91 cms, retained from an English schoolroom and now housed in the British Library. This depicts on the cover a grotesque Apollyon and a pilgrim figure in armour, while inside is the "Pictorial Pilgrim's Progress" apparently painted in water-colours by a teacher or class. Two pages in size, it features fifteen scenes from the hero's journey and would have been an excellent visual aid for story-telling and recall in the classroom.¹

At Sunday School, children were taught The Pilgrim's Progress as subject matter, and the work, in eight parts, was promoted by the Religious Tract Society.² An accompanying note to each of the eight parts in the series reads:

> It is recommended to the Teachers in Sunday Schools to direct the children to find the texts referred to in this work and to repeat them when convenient.

¹ The Pictorial Pilgrim's Progress was published in New York by H. H. lloyd and Co., nevertheless it was used in England. It is interesting to note that Ruth MacDonald's study of The Pilgrim's Progress for children in USA does not include this work in her bibliography. One wonders if this is the only copy extant.

² The National Museum of Childhood at Bethnal Green has a full set, undated.
Popular with Children

Macaulay, in his Preface to The Shilling Entertaining Library (edited by J. S. Laurie, 1864) tells that *The Pilgrim's Progress* is read by thousands with tears; that "In every nursery, the *Pilgrim's Progress* is a greater favourite than Jack the giant killer." One little girl's delight in *The Pilgrim's Progress* is recorded in a letter of 1826, written by her father. He underlines three aspects: the compelling nature of Bunyan's hero, the religious perspective of the story and the adventures, stating,

> Caroline, now six years old, reads incessantly and insatiably. She has been travelling with John Bunyan's pilgrim, and enjoying a pleasure never, perhaps to be repeated. The veil of religious mystery, that so beautifully covers the outward and visible adventures is quite enchanting. The dear child was caught reading by her sleeping maid at five o'clock this morning, impatient, 'tis our nature, to end her pleasure (Crabbe).

Another child, Fanny Keats, sister to the poet John Keats, appears to have known the work. This can be inferred by a letter from John when she was at Miss Caley's school at Walthamstowe. He refers to four books and assumes their popularity with his sister:
We have been so little together since you have been able to reflect on things, that I know not whether you prefer *The History of King Pepin* to Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, or Cinderella and her glass slipper to Moor's *Almanack* (*Letters* 1935; Tibbutt 8).

The influence of childhood reading of *The Pilgrim's Progress* is attested to by Shaw who attributes his success as a writer to his boyhood immersion in three literary sources, one of which is *The Pilgrim's Progress*:

That I can write as I do without having to think about my style is due to having been as a child steeped in the Bible, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and Cassell's Illustrated Shakespeare. (*Everybody's Political What's What*, Tibbutt, 9).

John Ruskin read the pilgrim story as a child, especially on Sundays, "and the end of the matter was that I got all the noble imaginative teaching of . . . Bunyan" (*Praeterita*; Tibbutt 10). Southey and Coleridge also shared high opinions of the work (Sadler 133); Stevenson especially liked the little pictures and the passion of the story (169-174), while Flora Thompson, an avid reader of the late nineteenth century, remembered it along with the Bible, Grimms' *Fairy Tales*, *Gulliver's Travels*, *The Daisy Chain* and Mrs Molesworth's *Cuckoo Clock* and *Carrots* (43). Writing in 1927, Lynd told that he had never tired of looking at the pictures
(151), while R. Ellis Roberts recalled his childhood in Victorian England and the "Sunday Reading" rule:

But I remember with special vividness -- I was a little under six years of age -- the Sunday afternoon when my father gave me a large volume, bound in green half-morocco and containing "The Pilgrim's Progress" ... I had an inclination to regard the people and incidents in great books as timeless, and of adjusting the daily ordinary life to meet their demands rather than finding them any more appropriate setting than the London of jingling tram-bells and busy horse-omnibuses (152).

Roberts' statement of his fitting in the past to his own time suggests that he made the text relevant to what he knew and understood.

Relevance to Nineteenth Century Children

The principal external factor is, again, a strong religious environment. The Pilgrim's Progress was compatible with society's emphases on the Bible, moral development and Sunday observance; plus "the evangelical outcry for the establishment of Indian missions, the great temperance movement and the growth of the social conscience" (Cutt 183). There is no evidence for the anti-Catholicism of previous centuries, though it may have lingered on with small fundamentalist groups. In
fact, Neale, with his children's version of 1853, was anxious for his readers "to respect Catholicism and be saved from all practices and teaching savouring of Dissent or Low Church Anglicanism" (Phillips 28-29).

Child illness and death were still common, as in the life of Mary Elizabeth Lucy who could afford the best doctors in the land, and parents who were dying called for their children to be around them to be blessed (Lucy 75). Thus the subject of death and Christiana's last scene of benediction in The Pilgrim's Progress still related to society. The Factory Act of 1833 and the Ten-Hours Bill of 1847, helped to lessen the vulnerability of working-class children, although, from a modern perspective, the demands on them were cruel and abusive. To child factory-workers, school attendance was required for at least two hours a day (Thomson, Nineteenth Century, 47) and to these readers, the promise of a golden city, rich in materialistic reward for children -- new clothes, crowns, jewels -- must have been inviting.

Other than the Victorians' special interest in the seventeenth century and the Civil War (Downing and Millman 180), there appear to be no outstanding external influences that relate to The Pilgrim's Progress. Certainly the beginning of the century saw warfare, which in the battles of Bunyan's narrative may hold slight echoes. The defeat of Napoleon produced English
heroes like Nelson and Wellington, but these were naval and military men, not altogether Christian pilgrims. Thereafter, the century was marked by change brought about by constitutional and political, economic and social reforms, with a drift toward what has been called "decadence", 1875-1914 (Thomson 234).

From the witness of nineteenth-century readers comes an emphasis on pleasure through reading the adventures, the arousal of imagination, interest in the hero figure and a suggestion of the influence of biblical values. These clearly relate to the inner landscape of the mind. Therefore, while there is a definite flow-on effect from the relevance of an external, religious society with its several, major preoccupations, the main impact on the child is, again, through the psyche. As with readers of the previous century, the child would process the information, and as he/she found "meaningfulness" would form perceptions and heroic images throughout the reading experience.
The Influence of Bunyan's Pilgrim Hero on Nineteenth Century Writers

Not only did parents and children favour *The Pilgrim's Progress*, finding it relevant to their perspectives of life, but so did nineteenth-century writers for children. They received from it:

- inspiration, justification, model, and source of perpetually-recurring motifs. The strictest opponent of triviality must needs accept the inspirational value of this fiction (Bratton 69).

Nineteenth-century authors, concerned with the development of Christian goodness (Avery Nineteenth Century 57), were enthusiastic wielders of the allegory genre that Bunyan used. This was especially so of the writers of tract fiction, such as Mary Sherwood and her sister Lucy Cameron; "Charlotte Elizabeth" (Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna); Charlotte Tucker (A.L.O.E), Mrs O.F. Walton and Hesba Stretton. The latter, according to Cutt, used Bunyan's warning against Vanity Fair as a starting point (161). Evangelical writing has its place in the sociology of children's literature and links up with Bunyan, Watts and Barbauld; with theories of education derived from Locke as well as the Wesleys, Trimmer and More (Cutt 183).

Religion was the favourite subject of the allegoric story, accessible to children through familiarity of
form and reference (Avery Nineteenth Century 57). However, upright behaviour of "honesty, industry, cleanliness and respectability" (Cutt 183); of industriousness, self-reliance, piety, fidelity to the pledged word, these and other virtues (Thomson, Nineteenth Century, 229) now seemed to be stressed more than Evangelist's answer of pilgrimage to Christian's question "What must I do to be saved?"

Favourite books, such as The Adventures of Master Headstrong and Miss Patient in their Journey Towards the Land of Happiness continued to be published and read.¹ The pilgrim figure continued, as in The Lilliputian Auction (1802) where Master Paul Pilgrim makes a pilgrimage, not toward the Celestial City but "making his progress toward becoming an adult learned to live both morally and intelligently" (Pickering 2).

Some writers appear to have patterned their work closely on The Pilgrim's Progress, creating new allegorical journeys for young readers. As Demers comments, "Bunyan's dream sequence of the soul's journey from depravity to salvation set the standards for many allegorists" (115). It was a difficult standard to meet, however, for "allegory is a tricky form to handle" (Avery, Nineteenth Century, 61). Authors tended to overstress naughtiness, forgetting to show the positive

¹ J. Harris (London) published an edition in 1802. The Bodleian copy is inscribed, "M. E. Haskoll 1819."
side as well as the negative in moral behaviour, as with Alice Corkran's Down the Snow Stairs of 1887 (Avery Nineteenth Century 61).

Key features that Bunyan used were his embodiment of both weakness and strength in Christian, his use of diverse personified abstractions and his effective settings of symbolic typography (Demers 115). Bunyan also recognized that his allegory held both cognitive and affective dimensions, for he counselled the reader: "lay my book, thy head and heart together" ("Apology" 7; Demers 115).

Nineteenth century writers attempted to imitate Bunyan's key features with varying success. Yet the fact that they strove to do so testifies to their regard of his skill and the place of his work as prototype.

Mary Anne Burgess' motive in The Progress of Pilgrim Good Intent in Jacobean Times (1800) is clearly to rekindle the relevance of a Christian hero and Christian pilgrimage a hundred years after Bunyan, for she laments that The pilgrim CHRISTIAN was the companion of our childhood, till the refinements of modern education banished him from our nurseries (viii).

Burgess therefore makes obvious effort to link with Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, also assuming Bunyan's format of a dream. Her hero is Good Intent, which name forewarns the possibility of intrinsic human weakness, whereas
Bunyan's "Christian", flawed as he is, has the positive ring of biblical allusions to characters who, linked with Christ, became overcomers. Good Intent goes through the motions of pilgrimage but the effect is not a dynamic one.

Burgess uses other denotative character names, such as Light Mind, Ostentation, the Shepherds and Discontent, but they are mere puppets of her pen and only shadows of reality. She also uses some of the Bunyan's emblematic place-names, such as Britain Row, the Enchanted Ground and the Celestial City, relating the latter to Bunyan's hero by saying that Christian had seen it. Merely using similar names does not bring her topography to life, however, for there needs to be dynamic interaction between characters, plot and place to make it fuse into reality for the reader.

A small work, The Progress of the Pilgrim Good-Intent is obviously derivative and, as such, only a faint counterpart of its model. Its pious attempts to evangelize are so blatant that neither the work, nor its hero, can capture the imagination and memory as does The Pilgrim's Progress. Nevertheless, Good-Intent as a hero received enthusiastic response, for by 1814 publication had reached the ninth edition. Perhaps the fact that Good-Intent clung to Christian's coat-tails contributed to success, and, as Avery points out, there was, in any case, very little religious fiction available for children before 1830 (Nineteenth Century Children 97).
Such was the ethos of the period that many readers may have been swept along, simply because the story was available.

Mary Sherwood was another contender for Bunyan's mantle and she attempted it twice in tales of allegorical journeys which Demers describes as "sobering and momentous" (115). Sherwood states her serious intentions in the Introduction of The Infant's Progress, from the Valley of Destruction to Everlasting Glory (1821):

> My little children, The intention of this book is to make you acquainted in an agreeable manner with many of the awful mysteries of our holy religion, the knowledge of which is necessary to your salvation.

The story of a dream -- as with The Pilgrim's Progress -- Infant's Progress concerns a boy hero called Humble Mind, nearly ten years old, and his younger sisters, Playful and Peace, the latter of a "very tender age" (3). They live in the village of Family Love in the plain of Destruction. The structure of Sherwood's work echoes Bunyan's in the aspects of parental warning, departure and leaving children behind, for instruction has come in this case to both parents, by Evangelist, to "flee from the wrath to come" (3). These are similar words to those on the parchment roll that Evangelist gave Christian (PP 10)¹ and in response "the young man

¹ Bunyan says "fly" rather than "flee."
and his wife" (3) have left their family behind, assured of their care. The children themselves, however, set out on a journey to the gates of Heaven, making "substantially the same journey as Christian's" (Field 207).

A comparison of Infant's Progress with the key features of Bunyan's work (according to Demer's three criteria 115) shows, firstly, there is no one outstanding hero figure, unless it is pious Peace whose death removes her from the story.

Secondly, concerning characterization, Sherwood does use many denotative names, close echoes of Bunyan: Conviction-of-Sin (13), Mr Worldly-Prudence (17), Mr Lover-of-Novelty and his sons (35, a schoolmaster "Law" (95)) and another traveller, an urchin who,

never slept... neither observing any Sabbath-day.

His grand work was that of contriving mischief and setting others to execute it(6).

Sherwood uses the reappearance of "Evangelist" who helps the children toward the shining light. She also introduces a shepherd figure, as did Bunyan, although he uses several and they are unnamed which makes them forceful, mythic beings. Hers is named Sincerity, one who guides the children into memorizing the Scriptures so that Peace learns "certain portions" while Humble Mind learns to read "in the original language"(52). These skills were, without doubt, important to
nineteenth-century Christians, but the children, apart from some recalcitrance from Playful, are too near the Victorian, literary "ideal child" (Avery, Nineteenth Century, 133). They do not show the recognizable, believable qualities of Bunyan's original child characters who can blush when praised, rob a fruit tree, disobey and grow frightened, while all the time knowing their catechisms by theory and rote, but not always by action and nature.

The third aspect of Bunyan's strength, topography, which resembles a familiar world yet has features of a fairy dominion, so making it special to a child, is "deliberately abstract" in Sherwood's story (Demers 116). It lacks the cohesiveness and believability of Bunyan's recognizably rural scenes which provide dramatic backdrops for character and action.

Sherwood certainly tries to imitate The Pilgrim's Progress for there is an orchard (63) and a bog, where Playful falls in (65), and the River of Death which Humble-Mind and his wife cross. The child characters grow up and marry en route, as do Bunyan's children in Part II. Like Christian and Christiana, they also leave children behind on the side of the world, young pilgrims who may, or may not, get across at another time, for they are named Truth and Little Grace (235).

Infant's Progress is, indeed, a Bunyanesque redaction which takes on some force of its own as three
children become the chief focus. A further resemblance is its didacticism, plus a suffusion of Bible texts, "through paraphrase, allusion, and, most often, direct quotation" (Demers 116). Yet despite the several resemblances, in total it falls short, lacking the distance yet believability of fairy-tale and the balanced view of the range of human nature and behaviours that Bunyan's characters and scenes provide; lacking its sparkling, down-to-earth wit and the contrast of both Christian weakness and strength. Instead, it stresses the severe. Thus the end-effect is a sobering, frightening one, whereby six, eight and ten year-olds are required by authorial voice to "take up their cross; to crucify the flesh with its affections and lusts" (47) and are reminded of readiness for death by the demise of young Peace and a lecture about mystical union with Christ -- rather than compassion -- at her funeral by Mr Orthodox.

One must agree with Avery's summing up that it is a "grim little manual . . . a book written from the head, not the heart" (Pattern 96). The grimness is especially apparent in the passage about the River-of-Death:

> But, no sooner had the soles of their feet touched the cold stream than Inbred-Sin shrieked aloud, and pulled them back. I saw then that they turned deadly white, while the cold sweat stood upon their
brows... Then did the gasping pilgrims appear
sinking under the agonies of temporal death (235).

This is not Bunyan's picture in *The Pilgrim's Progress*
Part I, of friend supporting friend across the bridgeless
river, and, though having been briefly troubled by
apparitions of hobgoblins and evil spirits, reaching the
other side where an escort of shining ones wait to lead
them to the city. Nor is it the portrayal of the river-
crossing in Bunyan's Part II, where each of the pilgrim
party, even Mr Ready-to-Halt, make a joyous and successful
crossing, so much so that Mr Despondency is full of hope
and his daughter "went through the river singing" (280).
Bunyan's climax is celebratory whereas Sherwood's --
despite three happy paragraphs at the end -- is dour and
foreboding, like a Gothic novel.¹ Yet we must notice Mrs
Field's comment of 1892 when she compares it with Bunyan's
work: "But the fact that some five hundred of Mrs
Sherwood's version are still annually sold certainly points
to a considerable and fairly lasting popularity" (207).

Sherwood's second pilgrim story would have
interested some readers in Britain because of the
nation's involvement in the establishment of Indian
missions (Cutt 183), begun in the previous century by
the Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge
(Ayling 11). Titled, *The Indian Pilgrim or The Progress*

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¹ An explanation may lie in her Calvinism at the time of writing (Darton
169) when her own children were dying (Avery 96).
of the Pilgrim Nazarene (1825), it has a central character, Goonah Purist, "Slave of Sin", whose name immediately gives a negative connotation. He does, however, travel the distance to the City of Mount Zion having sought salvation from Hindu, Mohammedan and, finally Christian guides. Perhaps the strength of the work lies in the very believable and recognizable description of Indian cities and countryside, to which Demers refers (116), rather than the unmemorable and over-pious hero through whom an evangelical, authorial stance projects. Again, British consolidation in India and Queen Victoria pronounced its Empress in 1875 (Churchill 540), may have added to an audience's interest in this new angle of "progress.".

Sherwood was "a magnificent story-teller" (Darton 173) and a successful writer of the Moral Tale, her work lasting in popularity until Victoria's succession and even later (Darton 212). Much of her popularity probably rose from The Fairchild Family, known to most English children until about 1887 (Darton 169), yet her allegorical journeys, along with her other early, missionary-minded works had "an immense vogue in evangelical circles both in India, where they were translated into Hindustani, and in England" (Darton 169), thus they perpetuated a shadow of The Pilgrim's Progress, thematically more-so than by persuasive characterization of the hero figure.
Sherwood is also remembered for picking up a point that Bunyan stresses but not at length: the state of the Papacy. In The Infant’s Progress she took the same course as Bunyan, seeing Pagan and Pope together but enfeebled. After the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, however, she wrote The Nun, Victoria and The Flowers of the Forest, all evangelical, child-centred exposes of the power of the papacy. These may be viewed loosely as “journeys”, designed to warn and perhaps to proselytize -- a departure from Bunyan’s model that fundamentally emphasizes salvation through Christ.

In the second half of the century, as fiction became more acceptable, allegoric journeys grew more imaginative, being less confined to topography and a set journey from A to Z. Overall, they were “both better handled and more popular” (Demers 117). The Reverend William Arnot’s The Voyage of Life: An Address to Children (1856) shows expansion of the pilgrimage topography, for although he uses the allegory of life as a journey it is based on a knowledge of ships, as well as including the still important catechetical, religious stance.

In 1857, A.L.O.E. (Charlotte Tucker), who wrote as “A Lady of England” and was “obviously well acquainted . . . with Mrs Sherwood’s books” (Cutt 81), published The Young Pilgrim which clearly indicates its link with Bunyan for the sub-title work is A Tale Illustrative of
The Pilgrim's Progress. Here, close reference to The Pilgrim's Progress combines with romance, an individual style Tucker derived consciously from two sources, The Pilgrim's Progress and the Bible:

which she regarded as the source of both the message and the method Bunyan used, but almost too sacred for her to approach directly for artistic purposes (Bratton 74).

In The Young Pilgrim, the denotative, personified abstractions reappear: Apollyon in the guise of the young pilgrim's father; Faithful, his brother of noble character; his tutor, Mr Ewart, who counterparts Evangelist, giving directions and guidance. The hero figure, a young pilgrim, son of a drunken father, is responsible for the conversion of others through his sacrificial death, whereby he enters the Celestial City. The aspects of a drunken father and the conversion of others, fit in well with the nineteenth-century emphases on temperance and missions described by Cutt (183).

The Young Pilgrim was not Tucker's only work to resemble Bunyan's in "pattern and episodes", as Bratton points out (74). Her On the Way; or Places Passed by Pilgrims (1868) and Twelve Tales Illustrating The Pilgrim's Progress (1869), and The City of Nocross (1873) "avowedly reproduce or extend the original in modern dress" (Bratton 74). Other works that show Tucker's affinity with Progress are The Giant-Killer; or
the Battle which All Must Fight (1856); The Christian's Mirror; or Words in Season (1859); House Beautiful; or the Bible Museum (1868); The Two Pilgrims of Kashi and Other Stories (1901). The hero figures in all of these are the Christian individual of the Evangelical era whose duty appears to be to warn against vices that emanate from Bunyan's Vanity Fair (Cutt 161).

Another journey, The Glorious City: An Allegory for Children (1858) by the anonymous Sunday School teacher, M. A. O. focuses on seven orphan children who set out on a pilgrimage. The structural sequence of chapters parallels the progression of The Pilgrim's Progress as the following outline shows:

- **Bunyan (Content)**
  - Distress
  - Directions for journey
  - Hindrances
  - Pleasant places
  - Tribulation
  - Rest
  - Difficulties again
  - Cries for strength
  - Approaching the goal
  - River of Death

- **Glorious City (Chapters)**
  1. "Distress"
  2. "Directions for journey"
  3. "Halty Plain"
  4. "Flowery Meadows"
  5. "Broad Roads"
  6. "Hut on the Heath"
  7. "Sandy Plains"
  8. "Little Penitent"
  9. "Sunset"
  10. "Thunderstorm"

1 Honoured in They Shall be Mine Saith the Lord: a Simple Memorial of M. A. O. by her parish priest, Henry Smith, 1870. I am indebted to Sylvia Gardner of the Bodleian Library for this information.
The story has some appeal due to the boy and girl characters, though their names carry portent which is fulfilled in their behaviour: Stolz, Ernest and Wilfred, Constance, Frivola, Debola and Grace. They are allegoric personifications to teach -- as the author states -- "the state of salvation" to which children have been called through Jesus Christ our Saviour." They are one-dimensional flat characters: Stolz, (stubborn), Wilfred (self-willed) and Debola (of the Devil) portraying the unconverted, unregenerate heart such as in Bunyan's Obstinate, Mr Worldly Wiseman and Apollyon. On the other hand, Ernest, Constance and Grace are similar to Christian and Christiana, Mr Stand-fast and Faithful, showing desirable Christian behaviour. The work also shows that change is possible through penitence, confirming what the nineteenth-century child already knew theoretically through Sunday-School instruction and in story.

Norman MacLeod's The Gold Thread (1861) is another journey, moving imaginatively closer to fairy-tale, this being a time when fairy stories were becoming fashionable and acceptable, even to opponents of triviality as well as to the liberal-minded Christian (Bratton 69). MacLeod's allegory of a child's need to trust and obey his Heavenly Father is one that, according to Avery, even the stupidest child could not miss (Nineteenth Century 58). The hero is a prince whose
journey takes him through a dark forest which he can successful traverse as long as he holds the golden thread. Like Bunyan's Christian, and the child characters of The Pilgrim's Progress Part II, the prince makes mistakes and goes off on his own path -- to chase butterflies or to pick berries -- but he always realizes his mistake and returns to the thread. Thus it is also a theme of election, repentance and acceptance, though without Bunyan's long didactic dialogues.

The encounter of Carroll's Alice (1865) with the Cheshire Cat seems, to Knott (224), to echo the ambiguous question and answer scene in The Pilgrim's Progress when Christian and Hopeful meet the shepherds.

Christian. Is this the way to the Celestial City?
Shepherd. You are just in your way.
Christian. How far is it thither?
Shepherd. Too far for any, but those that shall get thither indeed
Christian. Is the way safe, or dangerous?
Shepherd. Safe for those for whom it is to be safe, but transgressors shall fall therein.

(PP119).

Within the setting of the nineteenth century, the Cheshire Cat's answers to Alice cannot be seen as a "parody" (Knott 224-225). Carroll is not trying to make Bunyan look foolish; rather, because he is writing a book for the Liddell children, then why not gently
remind them of the whimsical ways of a cat and of another book they have read and enjoyed, and thereby enjoy together shared smiles of unspoken recognition?

Hesba Stretton (Sarah Smith), a prolific writer of tract tales, wrote Cassy (1874). This "pilgrimage" is interesting because it moves away from precise topography to a focus on social deprivation. It is from the home of Cassy’s cruel, drunken father that her journey begins, moving through exploitation by an employer, to meeting spiritual guidance through The Pilgrim’s Progress. Cassy eventually dies from tuberculosis, due to overwork and lack of nourishment. Thus the tale is really a social document, predictable in outcome, with a heroine who is one dimensional.

Mrs O. F. Walton also espoused the pilgrimage theme with an emphasis upon death. In her A Peep Behind the Scenes (1877) she uses the analogy of the sea -- storm, shipwreck, hope through the lighthouse and lifeboat, a topic that was also put into sacred songs. Many children sang in Sunday Schools of the nineteenth century:

Brightly beams our Father's mercy
From his lighthouse evermore . . .
Let the lower lights be burning,
Send a gleam across the waves.
Some poor fainting, struggling sea man,
You may rescue, you may save.¹

¹ Believed to be written by Phillip Bliss, 1838 -1876, evangelical song writer.
Another version of the same, fashionable sentiments is found in F. E. Belden's "Let every lamp be burning bright, the darkest hour is nearing" of 1886. Cutt comments favourably of Walton's symbolism, pointing out that its timeliness had greater immediate allegorical reference in an industrial society than either the Pilgrim's Progress which demanded awareness of rural life and occupations, or Bishop Wilberforce's Agathos which assumed a knowledge of chivalry (169).

In 1882, Ballantyne wrote from a new heroic perspective, making two kittens, Dick and Flimsy, experience adventures that are based on The Pilgrim's Progress. He called this story, The Kitten Pilgrims, and its audience was probably already guaranteed for he had previously written and illustrated his own version of The Three Little Kittens (1856). Probably a book before its time, it is entertaining and novel as it uses child and animal focus.

Corkran's Down the Snow Stairs (1887) has a fairy-tale element but lacks the hint of magic that MacLeod or George MacDonald produced.¹ This is because she over-emphasises wrong-doing and punishment (Avery Nineteenth Century 61), lacking the balance of Bunyan's model.

¹ As in MacDonald's The Golden Key.
Later in the century, L. T. Meade (Elizabeth Thomasina) wrote *Beyond the Blue Mountains* (1893), an allegoric journey in which four children receive the king's map that can guide them to their parents who have gone before to the country beyond the Blue Mountains. Meade sets up clear contrast between obedience and disobedience as two children follow the map closely, stay at inns appointed for them, meet Faith, Hope and Charity and safely reach their destination. The other boy and girl demonstrate laziness and greed, weakness, over-fussiness and failure. The idea and structure are clearly derivative from *The Pilgrim's Progress*, though they also show an influence of Charlotte Tucker, according to Bratton (203) while there are also thematic likenesses to M.A.O.'s *The Glorious City*.

Meade uses fairies and hags, as does Bunyan, but one must agree that "little of the imagery not taken from *The Pilgrim's Progress* enforces any moral or Scriptural point" (Bratton 203). It is ludicrous, for example, that an old brown hat assumes the role of Christian's talisman, the scroll that assures protection and safe arrival. The images are chosen to appeal to children, but the effect is to demean a serious spiritual theme which children would have accepted, being used to that inclusion as the norm. Avery comments about Victorian religious allegories that
it is perhaps surprising to find no writer embarrassed by the supernatural. . . Most of these writers were wise enough to see that it was the fundamental, not the literal, truth that mattered, and they expected children to perceive this too. Their books are serious works of the imagination, like The Faerie Queen and The Pilgrim's Progress, not just tales of a fantastic or whimsical kind; and intended to introduce children to profound and important concepts in the most attractive way (Nineteenth Century 63).

Meade also changes the force for goodness, making it mother-love rather than that of "the Saviour for his flock." (Bratton 203). As far as the criteria of characterization and topography are concerned, the work falls short, using one-dimensional, sentimentalized characters and landscape that do little for the reader's imagination. The story therefore becomes a faint shadow of Bunyan's prototype.

Two years after Beyond the Blue Mountains came Francis Hodgson Burnett's Two Little Pilgrims' Progress: A Story of the City Beautiful (1895) which in title at least, reflects Bunyan, although the story is secularized and with child focus; of two children, a brother and sister, who visit the World's Fair in Chicago.
Conclusion

The Pilgrim's Progress was eminently relevant in a society characterized by biblical faith, high moral tone and by national observance of Sunday as a sacred day. Certainly it was an ethos that transcended barriers of denominations, sects and social class, being the code of persons in public life, like Gladstone, Shaftesbury, Livingstone and W. T. Stead the great philanthropist, and even colouring the outlook of the Jewish Disraeli and the agnostic T. H. Huxley (Thomson 107).

Yet its significance goes deeper, in that the high moral view was woven into the fibre of family life and conscience, and children generally grew up in environments where Biblical texts or principles were quoted, where Christian faith was exemplified to some degree and its standard was accepted as the norm. Along with the Bible went The Pilgrim's Progress (Chesterton "Preface") and in the way that television is a visible, influential presence in the twentieth century home, so were these books in the nineteenth century.

Bunyan's pilgrim story in many forms was relevant to the interests of children. Through story, play, songs, reward cards and other devices, they could enjoy and use it as their own resource. This could be done in free time, but it was also acceptable for children to use on Sundays, as did the Tait children. So it was
used, enjoyed and remembered long afterwards, as the testimonies show.

Not only as a resource did *The Pilgrim's Progress* apply to children. Its very structure and content had the power to grasp and hold their imaginations. This was because, at its core, was a procession of marvellous characters: the bold hero and courageous children who followed in his footsteps. More than these, however, there were other fascinating people and creatures that the pilgrims met along the way. All these were of the fabric of fairy-tale, and they included giants and other monsters that could make a child safely tremble. For some, like young Robert Bridges, Giant Despair may even have been the real hero (120; MacDonald 10) but, overall, it was a fairy-tale realm that fits Tolkien's description of the genre:

> wide and deep and high and filled with many things
> . . . And while he is there, it is dangerous for him to ask too many questions, lest the gates should be shut and the keys be lost (Tolkien 11).

Bettleheim quotes the German poet Schiller, making a similar point: that the child finds meanings to life though fairy tales but it is a fragile world, spoilt by adult answers and emphases. "Deeper meaning resides in the fairy tales told to me in my childhood than in the truth that is taught by life" (*Uses* 5; The Piccolomini III, 4). Bunyan's story may have been a more effective
teacher about decision-making and values than any sermon or didactic tract.

Did Bunyan's Christian have heirs in the nineteenth century? There is ample evidence to show that he did, but just as sons or daughters cannot be complete clones of their father, neither did moral writers of this period reproduce a seventeenth-century, universal hero; nor were they, themselves, replicas of Bunyan who could write *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Nevertheless their work must be acknowledged as linking within the historical chain of children's literature; tracing back to Barbauld, Watts and Bunyan by their earnestness and their desire for holiness of life. There is also the common aspect of experimentation, which Demers recognizes in the second half of the nineteenth century, especially seen in Yonge, MacDonald and Stretton (152). These authors in particular, with their gentle touch and new, yet old, emphases, while following the prototype were pre-emptors of future innovation.

By the end of the century, change was already in the wings. As Victorianism faded, so also diminished the so-called "nonconformist conscience" (Thomson 107) that had permeated English life and manners. New entrances on the societal stage came with the growth of free-thinking, scientific development and the new interest in, and opportunities for, luxury and pleasure (Thomson 107). Similarly, Darwin's *Origin of the Species* (1859)
not only was a "powerful adjunct to mid-Victorian optimism" according to Churchill (434), but it detracted from faith in a creator-God of seven days of creation. If asked, however, probably few nineteenth century children would have ever envisaged any decline of interest in The Pilgrim's Progress for it was always present as part of their lives. Thus far it had retained relevance.
Perceptions of the Hero

Through toys, games and other materials we can glimpse the likely heroes of juveniles in the early nineteenth century. Children wore sailor suits and played with toy boats, a reflection of Britain's naval power and Nelson’s victory at Trafalgar (1805). They dressed up as soldiers, collected toy soldiers and played toy drums, reminiscent of Wellington and the 30,000 British men who fought and won the Battle of Waterloo (1815). Schoolboys showed their handwriting skills to their parents on writing pages engraved with "Marquis Wellington's glorious victory at Salamanca July 22nd, 1812." Such a page, written by a schoolboy, Thomas Brookes, is inscribed "Jan. 16th. 1813." This spirit of patriotism, reflected in children's attire and playthings, is even present in The Pilgrim's Progress where the narrator places Britain first in a list of European nations (PP 89).

Heroes would have been predominantly male in an age when men dominated on every scene, and it can be assumed that when children played with the popular dolls houses of

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1 Seen at the National Museum of Childhood at Bethnal Green and in the Toy Museum at Sudbury, Derbyshire.
2 At the Bodleian Library.
the period, "Papa" would be among the cast, if only recognized by slippers beside the fire and by carving-chair at the head of a dining table.

In these attributes of secular heroes is the composite nature of Christian, the Puritan hero of armour and quest in Part I and Christian, the loving father and provider who is a constant influence of Part II. As Sadler points out (100), despite his physical absence in Part II, Christian is nevertheless a dominant figure. He is constantly remembered for his exploits (e.g. PP 187; 198; 199; 205; 212; 221; 236; 239; 242; 293) and is extolled to Christiana and family by Gaius for his illustrious ancestry (PP 260).

The Male Hero

Above all, Christian, the male hero, demonstrated religious faith at the centre of his life in a time when "religion . . . cast a soothing and uplifting influence on men's minds" (Churchill 434). He was therefore relevant to the nineteenth century, especially in the early and mid-Victorian period.

Male focus was acceptable and normal in a society where men dominated on every front, including the religious scene. The same emphasis also pervaded the unabridged *Pilgrim's Progress*, and it can be found in the
emphasis on Christian, through text or art focus, in the retellings, such as in 1858, 1860, 1864, 1866, 1868.

Neale's edition, *The Pilgrim's Progress of John Bunyan: For the Use of Children in the English Church* (1853) which retells the pilgrim story of both Parts I and II, is one example of a subtle, probably unconscious exaltation of the male hero. Here Bunyan's figure moves beyond the range of Nonconformist Christian worship where women might, on occasion, testify or pray,\(^1\) to be advocated within the male hierarchy of high-church Anglicanism which, earlier, had spurned its author and sectarian worship (Phillips 30). Neale admits,

> More than one English priest has, before now, honoured this, his (Bunyan's) great work, with a commentary, and it has often been made the subject matter of cottage lectures, if not of Thursday evening sermons (Preface).

So the humble pilgrim of simple faith now takes accepted place among male priests in the Church of England, those to whom were entrusted the rites of baptism, confirmation and holy communion. It was because *The Pilgrim's Progress* omitted any reference to these rituals, and thereby its Anglican hierarchy, that some within the church objected to Bunyan's story, so much so that they "never allowed it in their houses; regarding its

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\(^1\) Quakers in particular.
theology as utterly false" (Neale Preface). Neale, himself, attacks Bunyan for both heresy and possible denigration of the church's sacraments (Neale Preface; Phillips 28) yet recognizes that the pilgrim story has much worth.

Now the pilgrim gained wider acceptance and respectability, even to the work being recommended by the Archdeacon of Salop in the Diocese of Lichfield (Unabridged, undated edition) and by the Lord Bishop of Durham (Unabridged, undated edition). This might be compared to the status that Tractarians, by scholarship, brought to books for the young (Cutt 172, Newby 28). Neale sought to overcome the objections, knowing "the fascination which it exercises over the minds of children" (Preface). He saw in The Pilgrim's Progress "exquisite delineations of character . . . beauty of particular passages . . . inimitable excellence" (Preface). He considered that any person who appreciated such things "may well be thankful that such a book exists" (Preface).

Neale's aims were "to alter as little as possible" (Preface), therefore his text is close to the language and spirit of Bunyan's original with the same evenness of attention to all characters. He does, however, make Bunyan's theology compatible with that of the English Church through various notes. The first note identifies the vision of "a man clothed with rags" at the start of
Chapter 1, as "the miserable state of man before baptism when . . . he is still the child of wrath". Neale notes also that the wicket gate "signifies entrance into the church by baptism" (3); while the "House Beautiful is a type of Confirmation and First Communion" (36). That Faithful passes by, and does not enter the House Beautiful, he accounts for as "part of the story, not of the allegory " (68), which suggests his acceptance of both primary and secondary levels of meaning for child readers.

Christian, a male hero of Christian principles, throughout Neale's Parts I and II is the focal, inspirational figure by whose example Christiana and the children make the journey. This is evident in the way that he associates Christian with the sacraments of the church, for example, baptism (3) and knowledge of the Catechism before Confirmation (16). The black and white illustrations also suggest that Christian is the focal figure, in combat with Apollyon, at Vanity Fair and as an unlikely contender, yet a victorious one, against Giant Despair at Doubting Castle.

Neale's attempt to reach the understanding of a child, while considered the "most conspicuous" of such efforts (Field 203), was not without critics. In 1854 an anonymous writer published The Pilgrim; or John Bunyan's Apparition, in the Bed-room of the Rev. J. M. Neale, Warden of Sackville College, East Grinstead. A Waking
Dream. In this, the author told of a dream in which the ghost of Bunyan appears at Neale's bedside to present his mistaken beliefs and crimes, such as stressing the sacraments, tolerance of Popery and deleting doctrinal conversations (Owens, "Inimitable Bunyan", 31-32). Field quotes an eminent critic, Gilfillan, who stigmatised it in 1857 as "unquestionably the most impudent book he ever read" (203). This is no doubt because of the imposition upon Bunyan's text of what Field refers to as an "Anglo-Catholic mental attitude" (203), not seeing its significant relationship to the concept of a male hero, now visible in twentieth-century hindsight.

The portrayal of Christian as hero figure of the text generally was supported by, and made attractive through, the added dimension of illustrations in many editions. Charles Lamb, however, was one who foresaw how illustrations could change the image of the original hero and he did not want the familiar hero to be transformed into nineteenth-century man. He indicates this in the following letter of 1828 to Bernard Barton, regarding a projected new edition:

A splendid edition of Bunyan's pilgrim -- why the thought is enough to turn one's moral stomach.

His cockle hat and staff transformed to a smart cocked beaver and a jemmy cane, his amice gray to
the last Regent Street cut, and his painful Palmer's pace to the modern swagger. Stop thy friend's sacreligious hand. Nothing can be done for Bunyan but to reprint the old cuts in as homely but good a style as possible (Tibbutt 7).

Lamb's protest did not affect the progress of illustrations which increased in number and changed across the century in sophistication of mode: 1801, 17 copper plates; 1837, 19 woodcuts; 1845, 270 engravings; 1862/63, introduction of coloured plates; 1890, 100 illustrations. The dazzling ostentation of bindings and cover illustrations begun the previous century continued, as for example with the gold embossed The Story of The Pilgrim's Progress Told for Young People (1858). The effect glorified and romanticised the pilgrim, changing him from a plain man to gentleman.

In some versions, (e.g. Walker 1900) also 1860 (Bell and Daldy), the hero's seventeenth-century, Civil War type of setting is emphasized in illustration by his attire, although a cross on the helmet he receives with his set of armour designates him more as a Christian crusader. Walker's version also introduces a romantic mood, as on p. 147 where the pilgrims, Christian and Hopeful, sleep in the king's arbour. Foliage lies thickly in the immediate

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1 Probably a reference to the pace of the Palmerin romances to which his work has been likened and which he apparently knew (MacDonald 14; Shrimpton 211; Spufford 233).
foreground, presenting a shelter for the sleeping pilgrims, and framing them, to left and right overhead, are grape vines with clusters of grapes. Rays of light beam down on the scene, extending beyond the sleepers to two plump doves of benign appearance. It is an idyllic portrayal of safety within the king's arbour, echoing the symbolism of Solomon's "Song of Songs" -- bower, doves, vines, grapes, loving relationship.

This mood of Christian romanticism extends to other illustrations. In the same, 1860 version, Evangelist is a noticeably tall and impressive authority figure who has an encircling moon about his head, as seen in pictures of saints. He holds a large book under the right arm while the left arm is raised, fingers positioned with possible religious denotation. Waves of light, suggesting fire, blaze between Evangelist and the humble pilgrim figure with staff and large bag on his back. Christian, now commissioned for the journey that will make him immortal, hides his face from the blaze. Thereafter, the visual focus is on the hero's progress: at the wicket gate (27); at the cross (44); receiving armour (63) etc. In the latter scene, Piety, Charity and Prudence are pictured as young, sweet and innocent-looking maidens in long dresses with wide, loose sleeves. One attends to Christian's breast-plate; two others fasten his special gloves;

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1 Thumb, first and second fingers are up; fingers four and five are curled downwards; possibly high-church Anglican or Roman Catholic gestures.
another holds his plumed helmet. Central to the picture, already attired with leg-armour and sword, Christian's heroic nature is emphasized, for he is now becoming the brave warrior about to set forth to battle, while the women fulfil their roles at home. He is the tall, robust hero; the women are slender, shorter and frail in comparison. Greek pillars placed at rear of the scene suggest a romantic, classical past. This attention to fine detail has the effect of distancing and romanticizing Bunyan's hero.

Overall, the art of Walker's 1860 version has its own agenda, for it portrays Christian as youthful, and the females as attentive adolescents. These features could make the hero one for children to adulate, if it is accepted that children of the nineteenth century had similar tendencies to modern children. Hero worship is characteristic of Erikson's fifth psychological stage (Organismic Model) where self identity is being developed (Lefrançois 61) through modelling and interaction, especially in moral development (Vasta, Haith and Miller, 534).

An exclusively male hero at the points of decision, dependence and triumph is exemplified in Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress in Words of One Syllable by Samuel Phillips Day (1872), Part 1 only. Central in every depiction of the work's eight coloured plates is
Christian: 1. Drawn out of the Slough of Despond by Help; 2. At the wicket-gate; 3. Viewing the cross; 4. Meeting the lions; 5. Putting on armour; 6. Caught in a net but rescued by angels; 7. Crossing the river; 8. Safe arrival after the river of God, eating the fruit of the Tree of Life which signifies the hero's immortality.

Focus on the Child

Admission that children had indeed appropriated the story of The Pilgrim's Progress and its hero in the previous century can be inferred from the fact that abridgements and adaptations for children's ease in reading began as early as, or even before, 1804.\(^1\) At this time Burder, a clergyman associated with the Religious Tract Society, conceived the idea that the pilgrim, in verse, would be peculiarly acceptable to young persons, and that it would entertain them more than in prose and make a more durable impression on their memory (2).

Verse was not a new method for children's instruction, having already been used in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Sloane 25), but it was innovative in application to The Pilgrim's Progress. In addition to the verse, Burder added explanatory notes,

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\(^1\) The version cited is a 2nd edition so it is reasonable to infer an earlier date for the 1st edition.
"intended as a key to the author's spiritual design" (2). This type of editorial instruction fitted with the view that childhood was a period of profound importance for the formation of a sound character and that children could be "moulded into the right way while young and malleable" (Pollock, *Lasting Relationship*, 203). Froebel's philosophic influence that regarded the child's potential as "development from within outward" (68) was yet in the future, his important work *The Education of Man* being written in 1826.

In seventy-nine pages, Burder's verse embraces the principal characters and events of *The Pilgrim's Progress* Parts I and II, through twelve chapters or "Books": Christian is instructed by Evangelist, he meets Obstinate, Pliable and Mr Worldy Wiseman; he reaches the entry point, the wicket gate, and so begins "the way". Victorious over the great enemy, Giant Despair (54), he eventually goes toward the final trial, the river. There his flawed nature as a traditional hero shows up for he is afraid, lacking boldness, calling himself "wretched", even losing faith that he will reach "the glorious city"; having to depend on his friend (75). At the same time, nevertheless, he is demonstrating characteristics of a Christian hero, for he is not proud of his own strength. He calls for help, knowing the support he has experienced previously in his
"progress", and plunges right "into the chilling flood."
His heroic nature is affirmed when

The golden gates their ready leaves unfold.
The pilgrims enter in, with joys untold (79).

Burder's verse version was novel. A child could memorize it easily because of its simple language and iambic pentameter. It was, therefore, something children could perform in the nursery, before Mama's and Papa's friends, or at the Sunday School anniversary programme. The hero was a familiar one to the "Sunday Scholar" (Avery's term in Pattern 52), like the Biblical heroes of Sunday School and Sunday stories, Moses and David, who also were flawed but who achieved great victories because of their dependence on their "Saviour-God", as Burder expressed the deity (75).

To a twentieth-century critic, Burder's epic poem may seem tedious, locked in rhyme, losing the impact of the original story, over-emphasizing the good people as models; having a view of the child which stressed concern for external influences on the formation of a child's character. Yet this was in keeping with the century (Pollock Forgotten Children 121-122). There is, also, no doubt of Burder's sincerity and his honest attempt to show the child reader a new perspective of Christian and his fellow travellers on the journey from earth to heaven. Indeed it might be claimed that as children grew close to the hero, through
involvement with, and performance of, the verse text, they, to an extent, became the hero, especially if costume and actions were incorporated.

Other verse versions designated for children were published in 1824, 1825, 1835, 1854, 1869 and 1871. The latter (1871) features, as its title suggests, the pilgrim children which indicates a clear move toward a focus on the child.

After Burder's edition of *The Pilgrim's Progress* came prose versions addressed to children. The first of these was *The Pilgrim's Progress Abridged and Adapted to the Capacities of Children in Dialogue between a Child and his Mother, by a Lady*, London, 1808, wherein a mother, with intimate knowledge of a child's understanding, simplifies the story without omission of the key events or its spiritual nature.

Also worth noting is the 1837 chapbook version of *The Pilgrim's Progress* with 19 woodcuts, which no doubt reached many children as chapbooks had done earlier. At times it uses Bunyan's words, but not consistently, and as an abridgement it seems to lack the vitality of the original text. In one place Mercy is called Mary (17), an error that children, quick to pick up discrepancies, would notice. The woodcuts add interest, however, for they include details over which a child might spend time and imagination. The figures look

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*The story is told and illustrated effectively in 29 pages.*
distanced from the nineteenth century, like seventeenth-century figures, wearing large hats, Puritan collars, hose, and buckled shoes, so that there is an interesting historical shift. The woodcuts of the chained lions, the detailed Vanity Fair with two clowns in the centre who leer at the caged prisoners, an oriental-looking Mr Worldly Wiseman with a hat like the Pope's tiara, Beelzebub's castle and the protective demons about it, all make exciting viewing. Another artistic introduction is skull and bones at the foot of the cross as well as angels, while the upward path is precariously narrow. It seems that the artist entered into the spirit of the text, producing dramatic support for the story. Another picture, of Faithful ascending to Heaven in a chariot while below his body smoulders on a burning pyre, attended by soldiers who do not understand that he has won the conflict, is an exciting graphic portrayal.

Yet the real heroes of this chapbook version emerge as the children who victoriously travel the route, sit closely around the Interpreter's circular table, romp in the shade and after their assistance in the defeat of Giant Despair, play musical instruments in celebration and dance. These children are involved! The boys, in particular, fulfil the image of the "manly boy" (Avery Childhood's Pattern (167) who puts his trust in God, fights bravely and is loyal to his sovereign.
Children knew this type of child hero from their reading of Marryat's *Children of the New Forest*, (1847). That Bunyan's child heroes were on the Puritan side, rather than the Royalist, may not have detracted from the interest of their story, two hundred years on.

Another version of chapbook size is the Bagster Edition of 1845. (Figure 5). This is interesting because, while it shows the male hero as central focus in each of the three "thumb-nail sketches" (Harrison 249), the presence of the four sons and their mother is also recognized. (Potential heroic figures?) Harrison comments on the sketches' "Blake-like simplicity" and that "the drawings appeal both to imagination and common sense" (249). In 1882, Robert Louis Stevenson wrote about them with praise, claiming that Bagster was the best illustrator of Bunyan; that "text and pictures make two sides of the same homespun yet impassioned story" (169-74).

**Child Focus Increases Mid-Century**

The increase in children's versions began with twelve versions between 1851-1860, a remarkable increase from the four editions published between 1841-1850. This period included the innovative "Service of Song" (SSU 1860) and the picture cards (RTS 1860). These were designed to
appeal to a child through colour and attention to detail. The set, "Christiana and her Children", features Mercy and the younger boys, and it would help girls and boys to see children like themselves as heroes.

A child perspective appears again in illustrations of the 1868 edition, (London: Frederick Warne and Co), even though it is not an abridgement designed for children. Unusually, the frontspiece is of Christian and his family. However, only three children are present, which could prompt the question, "Where is the other boy?" Thirty coloured illustrations include details to which a child would relate: a bag of spilt toys in the scene of the children, Passion and Patience; robbers with knives and sticks; Christiana and her four sons, older now -- yes, they are all there on the journey and their names are Matthew, Samuel, Joseph and James -- facts a child would want to know. When the family set out to join Christian, the youngest boy, James, holds his mother's hand, while the three older boys carry stout sticks. The king's trumpeter would, no doubt, also appeal visually to child viewers for he is an impressive sight, garbed in resplendent red and gold; with a trumpet draped in gold.

Along the way the boys are shown in active involvement. At the plum branches, Matthew, the oldest, picks the fruit; Joseph is stuffing a plum into his mouth;
Samuel is picking up fruit fallen to the ground while young James watches Matthew closely, awaiting instructions, perhaps. These are, of course, only some of the illustrations, but it can be claimed that all of them show a child focus because of the constant emphasis on child activity. There is also the appeal of impressive people: Mr Greatheart, tall and confident of face, holding sword and shield; Giant Grim of full beard, armour and spear and Valiant-for-truth who, in an action-packed scene holds his sword defensively to ward off three possible attackers.

The final picture shows the Land of Beulah in an idyllic light, for children in a rural scene present posies to Christiana and Mercy, while another pats a lamb. In pastel tones of white, pink, lemon and green the end of the journey conveys the mood of "green pastures" and "still waters" from the twenty-third Psalm which many children would have memorized; part of the scriptural knowledge fostered at home (Pollock, Lasting Relationship, 203) or at Sunday School.

A similar romanticizing of the child appears in the gentle water colours of A. F. Lydon (c.1889). It is especially evident in portrayal of the child shepherd ("A little child shall lead them" -- Isaiah 11:6) who is plump-cheeked with curls; innocent-faced like Reynold's "Age of Innocence" (1788); reminiscent of a Little-Lord Fauntleroy image. The art work is aesthetically fine and beautifully
executed, full of detail of plants, trees, sky, buildings, characters and clothes, so that Fanny Elizabeth Ward, who received this edition from her father as a Christmas gift, received a volume that must have been especially chosen for its artistic appeal. This could have been affirmation that Fanny was her father's young heroine for whom he wished the best.

Another edition (1889) makes a conscious shift from a romantic perspective to an attempt to focus on the active, very young. Helen Taylor knew exactly what she was doing, and why, when she wrote *Little Christian's Pilgrimage: The Story of the Pilgrim's Progress Simply Told*. First referring to the work's great popularity with hundreds of children of her day, she then states her reasons:

> few of them probably, are able to grasp more than a faint idea of its meaning ... and to the young mind, the record of Christian's pilgrimage is attractive simply as a story of adventure, and its perusal affords infinite pleasure but not much profit ... If John Bunyan were alive at the present time, I think he would forgive me for the liberty I have taken in attempting to unlock his treasury (Preface).

The "liberty" that Taylor takes is to transform, with some freedom, an adult hero into a child version of Christian. She begins in a generalized way, over-stressing setting, without close attention to the hero until page 7.
She uses the authorial voice of an adult who is trying to calm a child and gain his attention, not moving quickly into character, action and a strong story-line. She tells of Little Christian, brother of disbelieving Christiana, who hears of the Celestial City. He is found by Evangelist and proceeds on his way to the wicket gate, and so on, keeping to Bunyan's plot progression until the ending where Little Christian meets his mother again in a somewhat melodramatic manner:

"Is it my little Christian?" she asked, and the Shining Ones made way for her; but little Christian knew her in a moment, and he ran into her arms. "I have come to you, Mother, I have come," he cried. "The king has taken care of me, and some day he will bring my father too" (214).

While acknowledging the effort and sincerity of Taylor's portrayal, at the same time one wonders about her sometimes condescending tone and her behaviourist perspective (echoes of Janeway and Trimmer). Again, by changing the hero from adult to child, does she achieve more than other abridgers and illustrators did as they projected either a valiant adult male hero, or brave boys whose faith took them to journey's end? It is doubtful that she did; and in any case, the voice and slightly saccharine spirit are really not Bunyan's.
In contrast to Taylor's version is *The Pilgrim's Progress for Children* (Nister 1891) which is a condensed form of Bunyan's tale that tells the basic story, deleting excess verbiage and sermonizing. In a book sized 20 x 33 cms the important aspects of the progress from earth to heaven are all present: John Bunyan's dream; Christian at the cross; the palace beautiful; the brave fight; Vanity Fair; the giant's castle; Christiana and children. It is told in seven well organized chapters through ten pages, largely in Bunyan's own words, presented in easy-to-read type, using large size, coloured pictures. It would be a good picture story book for a child to read her/himself, or for an adult to use to read to a child.

All the abridgers of *The Pilgrim's Progress* endeavoured to meet children at their level of interest and understanding. They did this by applying criteria which Demers considers important in the moral tradition (154): "concentrating on mundane objects and events which are at the same time charged with a profound spiritual significance", plus the "calculated appeal of meeting children on their own ground".

However, the inner world is extremely complex, probably differing in focus from one individual to another and difficult to assess or measure, being indescribable, impenetrable, and invisible. We try to
grapple with it, and all we meet is one provisional dream after another (Hughes, 85).

As the century passed, so did the range of abridgements, each reteller trying to improve on the original and to redefine the dream. The 1891 version is probably the best of the abridgements because it tells Bunyan's tale in a non-selfconscious way and maintains the integrity of the original.

What is most interesting about the 1891 version is that no specific hero is flaunted through invasive artwork or text, yet Christian emerges as a strong, persevering figure who, in weakness and strength, reaches the golden gates of the heavenly city. His safe arrival has motivated his wife and children, and their friend, Mercy, to follow; he has met and dealt with Apollyon and Despair, and other personified abstractions; he has journeyed through terrain that is real and recognizable yet with a light touch of fantasy. These are three qualities that make Bunyan's work great, as already discussed, and this version for children (1891) uses them effectively. Perhaps its greatest strength is that the reader can identify whom s/he will as hero.

The Female Hero

Christiana as a supporting, female adult heroine, receives little emphasis through text or art in the
nineteenth century, although Bunyan's original portrayal in Part II sees her in a positive light as she responds to Secret and sets out to meet her husband. Her increased years are respected in an illustration of an aged Christiana at the river crossing (Strahan 1890), and a mother's concern is shown as she blesses her family (Warne 1890).

Like Christiana, Mercy receives little emphasis, except in Bunyan's original text where his portrayal of her behaviour makes her shine as an heroic female adolescent, notably a "doer" (Swaim, "Mercy", 398).

Bunyan as Hero

Bunyan, himself, receives a swell of adulation through the century, being praised by poets Southey and Coleridge, by Shaw as "better than Shakespeare" (Brittain 408), and classified by Macaulay as the great creative mind of the latter half of the seventeenth century, along with Milton. (Brittain 406-7; PP, Preface, 1890). When in 1880 J. A. Froude's Bunyan was published, "John was at last included among English Men of Letters" (Brittain 407), not an honour he would have sought, as Froude appreciated:

It was not a dignity that he ever desired, and he probably would have classed most of his associates
with Talkative the son of Saywell, who dwelt in Prating Row (Brittain 407).

Bunyan is also increasingly depicted in frontispieces, as in 1897 (Routledge), in affluent-looking portraiture, more polished than in portraits used in the previous century. This elevation was in accord with a memorial at his Bunhill Fields tomb (1861) a statue at Bedford (1874), bronze doors at the Bedford Meeting (1876) inspired by Ghiberti’s doors in Florence, and memorial windows at the Elstow Church (1880) and at the Southwark Cathedral (1900). Bunyan’s popularity was at a peak.

Overseas, by 1887 The Pilgrim’s Progress had been translated into nearly eighty languages and dialects. Quite apart from its religious influence, the book became a classic in the general literature of other countries (Brown 470-471). All this elevated Bunyan as hero. It would not have been his desire as, for him, the true hero was always another:

The Lord is only my support,
And he that doth me feed:
How can I then want anything
Whereof I stand in need? (PP 204).
Conclusion

Several major facts emerge regarding Bunyan's pilgrim hero in the nineteenth century. Firstly, because the popularity of the book continued to surge, he was a popular hero, a composite of British strengths of character, then associated with Sunday reading, the Evangelical movement and a corps of writers who attempted to emulate Bunyan. His popularity led him to a wider audience, to include readers of low and high church Anglicanism, as well as Nonconformists. Probably, as in America where the Giant Pope was deleted (MacDonald x), The Pilgrim's Progress was by now also read by Roman Catholics. Indeed, ugly illustrations of the Pope were deleted from English versions from at least 1866 on, as in The Children's Pilgrim's Progress, while in abridgements and retellings he disappears.

Secondly, he was still the traditional male hero, maintained especially through unabridged versions and by illustrations. Within the context of soaring popularity and divergent formats, however, even the traditional hero figure is seen to change over the period, a fact lamented as early as 1800 by Mary Burgess, and by Charles Lamb in 1828. For them he had already lost his spiritual and historical emphasis and degenerated into modern, secular man.
Romantic versions of the text may also have had the effect of distancing the hero from reader and from religious relevance, thereby contributing to secularization. In America, this trend began earlier than in England, for MacDonald says of the eighteenth century that *The Pilgrim's Progress* was "less a religious tract and more an accoutrement of a well-appointed parlour" ("Case" 29). In England, however, at the end of the nineteenth century, the Sunday School Union, Helen Taylor and others continued to maintain the spiritual dimension of text and hero, so that Christ, the supreme hero, was not lost sight of.

Thirdly, the hero came closer to children's interests in settings, characterization and language. Proliferation of formats designed especially for children, plus the increased use of illustrations, including colour, prompted further change. Abridgements, retellings in words of one syllable or in simple language, songs, verse and reward cards suited this audience.

The emphasis on the child was inevitable because it was in harmony with a nineteenth-century expanding market of literature for children in which didacticism lessened and imaginative writing that entertained was on the increase. Even *The Pilgrim's Progress* was affected by the desire to entertain children, seen especially in Ballantyne's adaptation where kittens were the heroes.
The typical child hero of the nineteenth century probably attended school and Sunday School and had some reading skills. Retellings in words of one syllable or in simple language, songs, verses and rewards suited this juvenile audience.

Fourthly, the feminine heroic is glimpsed, though as a stereotyped character, plus there is an increased adulation for Bunyan himself.

In light of some movement toward secularization of the hero by the late nineteenth century, we might ask Demers' question from her study of moral and religious literature up to 1850: "Did the image of Heaven and of a Heavenly earth change?" (154). We must agree with her answer, but extend it further, perhaps, than mid-century:

The promise of heaven, conveyed either in the baptismal commitment or without sacramental ceremony, remained a fundamental tenet (154).

What was in a state of process/progress, however, was dilution of society's previous norms, with England and Wales being only partly church-going even by 1851 (Matthew 465). This was probably due to the factors that Thomson describes in detail in *England in the Nineteenth Century*: expanded industrialization, British political prestige and expansion, scientific development and educational opportunities for everyone. In addition to these came the theories of child development, influenced by Darwin and
Hall, that opened up new insights and appeared to undermine the authority of God.

Finally, despite influences for change in the late nineteenth century, many projections of the hero figure in children's literature still linked back to Bunyan's seventeenth-century prototype. This pattern had been secured through Watts and Barbauld in the eighteenth century, was developed by a strong chain of emulators or reflectors from 1800 to 1900, and it was reaffirmed in portrayals of the hero in versions of *The Pilgrim's Progress* during the nineteenth century.
TABLE 7: Peak Century of The Pilgrim's Progress, 1850-1950
CHAPTER SEVEN

RELEVANCE OF THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS
TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Introduction

The twentieth century began with continuing interest in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, by both children and adults, in Britain and abroad. The Religious Tract Society claimed that it had by then aided in printing the work in one hundred and one languages (1903).

An analysis of the figures of this research shows a total of eighty versions for children from 1901-1995. In the first decade, children in England read eighteen of this number, one more than in 1891-1900 of the previous century. This makes 1891-1910 the peak decades that the research of this thesis identifies, a period which follows the start of the "golden age" (Carpenter ix; Hunt, *Introduction*, 30, 33) and coincides with the expansion of children's literature. With fourteen versions published on average each decade from 1850-1900, and ten versions on average from 1901-1950, the zenith period of popularity for *The Pilgrim's Progress* is 1850-1950 (Table 7). However, the most outstanding years were 1850-1930.

Children apparently continued to read unabridged and abridged formats, retellings and other forms. Copies were
in school libraries until at least mid-century, as is denoted on several copies at the National Museum of Childhood at Bethnal Green. Analysis of the facts and figures indicates the decline. For example, a total of seventeen unabridged copies reached possible child readers from 1901-1995. In the first fifty years these were published at an average of three per decade. In the second forty-five years (to 1995), there is a total of two only. Abridgements total fourteen, averaging two copies per decade until 1950; after 1961 they cease to appear.

Retellings are the most popular form, reaching twenty-eight, 1901-1995. These average three per decade, the same as the unabridgements, 1901-1950, and an average of two per decade until 1995. Thus it appears that retellings have taken over from abridgements.


From this summary it appears that the unabridged and abridged versions for children have about disappeared but retellings and divergent forms continue.

The decline from 1930 to 1940 (Table 8) can be understood by the years of depression and war, while the
rise in the years 1951-1960 correlates with a short-term increase in church attendance (Davies 82-83; Sangster 171). In the fifty years on either side of the peak period, five versions was the average of each decade, showing a decline before and after the stage of acceleration. Table 8 demonstrates the lower rate of publication from 1960 onwards, indicating a decline in interest. Nevertheless The Pilgrim's Progress continues to be published for children. Moreover, by 1991, translations into other languages and dialects, for all readers, had reached over two hundred, more than any other book except for the Bible (Cirket 79).

Diminishing Relevance

As has already been established, the external factors that were relevant to The Pilgrim's Progress in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries concerned continuing Christian faith and practice. In the twentieth century the picture changes:

Levels of church attendance in relation to population rose in the last half of the nineteenth century, peaked in 1904-5, went into an irregular decline with periods of marked recovery until 1960 and after that fell steadily and continued to fall in the 1970s and 1980s (Davies 82).
The Free Church, inheritor of the Dissenters' tradition, and therefore amenable to *The Pilgrim's Progress*, flourished 1900-1914, the period when Bunyan's pilgrim story reached its publishing peak, but it accelerated in loss of members in the 1960s (Sangster, *History*, 171). There is correlation, again, between these latter figures and the decline to an average of four versions per decade from 1961 to 1995.

Over the same period, the pattern of Sunday Schools enrolment parallels that of church adherence: "... (and this also inversely related to criminality), but it involved a much greater proportion of the British people" (Davies 83).

Thus it can be seen that until 1960 at least, there would be relevance of the religious nature of society to *The Pilgrim's Progress* for those children who read it -- and the number was decreasing, although large numbers may have been exposed to the story and its values through performance versions.

Children are always affected by trends in society which reach them, particularly, through the influence of family and school life. Until at least 1960, the church would have been included with home and school as a third source of influence. This claim is in accord with studies that show that Christian Church attendance fell steadily from then on, and Sunday School attendance by children under fifteen fell from 53 per cent of the
population to 14 per cent in 1989 (Longley 23). In place of the Church, from about the 1960s, television could probably be claimed as the third influential source of many children's ideas and values.

The decline may well be associated with the creeping disillusionment in adult society that had begun as early as the last decade of the nineteenth century (Briggs 306), although, as Bott says, "the nineteenth-century stayed strong enough, right through the Edwardian twilight of its gods, to keep for the young the Victorian code" (1).

Other contributing factors were, no doubt, the increase in educational opportunities from 1900 on (Thomson 21), so that more adult readers now had access to philosophies and ideologies that could replace Christianity, while their increased education instigated new life styles and mobility. Chadwick lists four possible reasons for the decline in Christian faith: the improvement of medical science so that child death grew less common; increased mobility; the effect of toleration of anticlerical and anti-Christian ideas; increasing disbelief in the Bible (352-353). Again, many adults who had been child readers of *The Pilgrim's Progress* and now had families of their own, may have asked where Bunyan's God and his support were during troublesome times -- the Great War, Great Depression (1914-1929) and World War II (1930-1945).
The decline over the later period, 1961-1995, relates to a decline in the relevance of *The Pilgrim's Progress* to the external events and ethos of modern society. With the rise of a new generation of parents who had known war and deprivation, society was fast becoming one characterized by doubts, questioning and the insecurity of the exploration of self, all characteristics of the twentieth century. Also to be taken into account is the fact that 1957-1964, the years of the post World-War II generations, are considered the years of the affluent society (Thomson 258), followed by years of uncertainty, then boom years, recession and a slow recovery. Morgan identifies in the Nineteen-Eighties "a new passion for traditional standards and values", though years of turmoil; even renewed vitality in religious life (587).

The seesaw years of the seventeenth century only affirmed Puritan faith in God. In contrast, the seesaw years of the twentieth century are characterized by a widespread abandonment of the certainties of Christian faith which had been a stabilizing effect in earlier centuries. This had contributed to respectability and self-control as part of the civilizing process, according to Elias in *The Civilizing Process* (1982). It had been the churches and Sunday Schools that had used Bunyan's work frequently for book prizes, so it can be claimed that there are grounds on which reasonably to
infer some relationship between stability in society, 
even in uncertain times, with The Pilgrim's Progress. 
Further evidence of correlation between Sunday School 
prizes and Bunyan's work shows on the label of a version 
by Morris, 1965, now housed at the Bethnal Green Museum 
of Childhood, which affirms that its child owner was 
"David Shanrian, St Augustines, Stepney. Epiphany, 
1967."

Another likely reason for decreasing relevance is 
the increasing influence of technology, ascendant in the 
late twentieth century. This logical science does not 
generally accommodate spiritual insights, traditional 
worship and a hero of dependence on a power outside of 
one's self. Exploration into the air-waves, previously 
God's exclusive dominion, is the common property of 
technology, the media and also householders -- including 
children -- who competently use computer technology. In 
The Pilgrim's Progress, and during the centuries of its 
popularity, humankind was strictly earth-bound; other 
realms were entered only via dreams or death, not by 
increased knowledge and technical skill.

Yet another reason for the decline of interest in 
The Pilgrim's Progress, in society and thus with 
children, is attributed to agnosticism (Thomson 119) and 
the ascension of other "prophets".

The new thought of the time -- whether its 
prophet was Marx, Freud or Einstein -- seemed to
erode religious faith as the churches had always preached it (Thomson 119).

Twentieth-century parents have increasingly found themselves in a maze of different theories. Which way should they follow? As a result of so many theories clamouring for attention, it becomes easy for many to disregard the irrelevant, the "old-fashioned" which they fail to understand. This attitude undoubtedly affects their children and the selection of books in a home.

**Developmental Theory and The Pilgrim's Progress**

Developmental theories of the twentieth century which we can now, in hindsight, categorise into the *Organismic, Mechanistic* and *Ecological* models (Fischer and Silvern 613-648; Kleinginna and Kleinginna 369-392; Lefrançois 51, Papalia and Olds 27-33) all tend to be influences leading towards the agnosticism identified by Thomson. This is because the perceptions of these theories do not rise from Bunyan's strictly biblical concept of a creator-God, but from Darwinian theory:

> the belief that the child is related to the evolution of the species gave birth to the science of developmental psychology (Vasta, Haith and Miller 13).

In the twentieth century family, Freud's psychoanalytic concepts have been one notable source of
"upset" and they still remain "subversive" (Tucker, "Good Friends", 161). These references may relate to the sexual, or strictly biological emphasis of Freud's work, although his model was not purely biological (Vasta, Haith and Miller 18). The visible, external world, that parents can to some extent control, is set topsy-turvy by Freud's stress on the child's inner life with its fantasies and emotions. However, Freud's view of the three-part structure of personality, the id, ego and superego (Lefrançois 52-54; Seiffert and Hoffnung 39) do offer a useful reference model, despite its alleged Darwinian basis. The "superego", that moral and ethical part of personality, is applied to the Propositional Model of this thesis. Freud's theory, although it has limitations, is considered one of the "most comprehensive and influential of all human psychological theories;" one that has had tremendous impact on attitudes to children" (Lefrançois 57). As Hunt points out, studies in reader reponse settings usually use a Freudian account of affective growth (Development of Criticism 10).

Developmental theory has effects on family life. The Organismic's theory of self-determination operates commonly in the home and in clinics of child therapy (Axline 19). In education, one example of its wide-spread presence comes through the open-plan classroom, inherited from the beliefs and practice of A. S. Neill.
He also set the example of rejecting moralising (Hearts Ch. 9) and religious training for children (Summerhill 373), influenced by the stern Calvinism of his own upbringing (Bowen and Hobson 311). He caused waves by his writings on child self-regulation, child sexual habits, parenting and teaching techniques, religion and psychology (Talking of Summerhill 1967). His was a pervasive influence, leading to freedom of the child and a denial that morality has any absolute character (Summerhill 8; 247-254). Freedom was not a new concept, having been highlighted by Rousseau and endorsed by the innate emphases of Piaget which opposes the "explicit instruction of adults" (Bowen and Hobson 387), but it came with the impact of visible demonstration through Neill's own school and the readiness of a society for change. Neill's open views negate the didacticism of the unabridged version of The Pilgrim's Progress, rarely published for children since mid-century.

The freedom of the individual is also inherent in Reader Response theory, from which may have sprung some of the twentieth-century retellings and adaptations of The Pilgrim's Progress that emphasize the hero models in which children may recognize themselves.¹ When Christian draws his sword to meet Apollyon who has threatened, "I swear by my infernal den that thou shalt go no further.

¹ These are discussed in Chapter 8.
Here will I spill thy soul" (PP 59), he is "every man's ideal self, whatever may be his creed" (Lynd 152).

Nevertheless, there is still concern for moral values in society. Among the new "prophets" are those who endeavour to theorize the development of moral values: notably, Rest, Havighurst and Kohlberg, while Fowler is eminent in a study of faith development which affects moral behaviour. It is Fowler's theory which has relevance to the demonstration of faith portrayed by Bunyan's pilgrim characters, as this chapter shows later. "Is the morality still relevant?" asks Fisher of The Pilgrim's Progress. She answers her own question saying:

Yes, if warnings against the temptations of covetousness, lust, vanity, hypocrisy, deceit and intolerance are still relevant. Descriptive names used to help the unlettered (the Slough of Despond, Giant Despair, the Hill Difficulty) can still be matched in modern fiction (13).

From Tom Kitwood, a Christian social psychologist, comes empirical evidence, via the "new paradigm" approach1 of twentieth-century adolescent values and their development. Van Leeuwen and others, though not always of main-stream psychology, support the application of this method as a way into considerations

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of psychology in a Christian perspective (Sorcerer's Apprentice 12). Kitwood's English urban study shows that interaction with role models and with peers is especially significant for boys in the development of values and a self-image (245). He shows that modern adolescents do not discount religion in their lives, although "It was mainly a way of living and relating to persons, rather than fundamental issues of truth, that apparently attracted them" (114). These findings point to the relevance of interaction, through reading, with the heroes of classics: heroes like Christian, or Great Heart, father-figure and inspirational guide to Christian's children who grow into adolescent pilgrims.

It may be that the format needs renewal, as Marvel comics (Nelson 1992) offer in a vivid way (Figure 6), but relevance is always important. The child must find himself in the book as player, hero, heroine or thinker (Appleyard 21-111) and with the scene (Rustin 4) in a two-way relationship (Rosenblatt Preface) as educators and others recognize (Huck, Norton, Haviland). Feelings are important in this partnership (Appleyard 35, 68; Rustin 8) despite Lesnik-Oberstein's reservations (112).

Regardless of the twentieth-century "isms" which are influences against it -- secularism, materialism, humanism -- Bunyan's work survives, especially in new

2 As the Propositional Model of this thesis shows.
versions for children which are in keeping with the thrust of children's literature as it has expanded: larger sized books, picture-books, new heroes, new formats.¹ These give the story a contemporary appearance that fits in with what is familiar and relevant to the child's experience.

**Popularity: "So Stirring a Presence in Our Imaginative Life"**

Despite the down-turn in publication, expressions of appreciation exist for *The Pilgrim's Progress* in the twentieth century. There are still those to whom it was important when they were children, although recent praise is sparse.

Writers, Bridges and Shaw, and literary critics held Bunyan worthy of esteem, as shown in Sharrock's *Casebook* (1976), despite Bridges' statement that, at least at some stage of childhood, Giant Despair was the hero in his family (120), an example of a subversive hero. Arthur Mee gave Bunyan lavish praise, placing him in a romantic past:

> We must believe that the Bible and Shakespeare and the *Pilgrim's Progress* had their inspiration in the Heavens (Children's John Bunyan 7-8).

¹ These are discussed in Chapter 8.
Both eloquent praise and lament for change come from G. K. Chesterton who described Bunyan as a dramatist:

A hundred years ago, and much earlier, the Pilgrim's Progress . . . held an honoured place . . . in the chimney-corner of the farm and cottage in Wales. In the little grey stone manor houses of Anglesey, the Bible, Bunyan and Virgil were the fireside companions of the old squire and magistrate; but the floods of cheap literature in which so many treasures have been submerged, seem to have swept "Taith y Pererin" out of the people's homes (Preface: Christiana 1914).

The illustrator and author of children's books, Edward Ardizzone, skilfully illustrated The Pilgrim's Progress in 1947 in his own nostalgic, child-like style, one that disguises years of craftsmanship (Carpenter and Prichard 28), creating small black and white ink pictures for most openings of the book. He refers to The Pilgrim's Progress, as "by the author of some of the greatest prose ever written in the English language" (355). From the viewpoint of an illustrator, he especially selects the opening paragraph:

This is noble language, but to me the genius of Bunyan is shown in the phrase 'with his face from his own
house'. This phrase instantly visualizes the scene for us.

Ardizzone goes further, saying that for at least twenty years it had been his ambition to illustrate the work; that when he was a boy he was given a tiny pocket edition with thumbnail engravings (perhaps the Bagster edition) which caused him much pleasure. He adds:

I think it was this book, and particularly these little engravings, which started me off on my career. In a way, it crystallized in me the desire to become an illustrator and a painter.

Less sympathetic statements come from William James and Alfred Noyes, recorded by Tibbut (14, 15). James (1902) describes Bunyan as a "typical case of psychopathic temperament." Noyes somewhat cynically considers Ignorance, who enters pilgrimage the wrong way, as one of the few "modest and true Christians" and includes him with Talkative and Atheist as almost the only "decent" characters (13-17; Sadler 143;). He clearly does not recognize the "divine grace" which is the Christian premise of Bunyan's work. Again revealing his own bias and lack of spiritual insight (for spiritual things are spiritually discerned (1 Corinthians 2:14), Noyes goes beyond rational criticism, saying:

one of those piously repulsive books, which in former generations, were used by well-meaning but foolish adults, to fill the minds of little children with
hideous ideas of hell-fire and with still more hideous ideas of a treacherous, trap-laying revengeful old Deity whom any decent man would take by the scruff of the neck, and shove head-first through that smoky hole in the Celestial regions which Bunyan so charmingly depicts as the Deity's own side entrance to the place of torment . . . Bunyan stares at us with those pitiful insane eyes, burning with little hatreds . . . (The Bookman 74).

Communists have been more favourable (Tibbutt 16), while Christopher Hill, an historian who takes a Marxist stance, has written at length, showing Bunyan's relevance to the Early Modern era of social and political upheaval during the interregnum and the post-restoration years of developing dissent and individualism (Turbulent People Ch 1-3).

However, Bunyan has now extended his circle of readers, even to The Pilgrim's Progress becoming a university text (Gay 7), both within the literature of the seventeenth century and other disciplines, including children's literature:

This book, which is equally a favourite in the nursery and in the study, has received the commendation of men of the highest order of intellect (PP; RTS, 1903).

As Sangster says:
it was a book initially read only by and to
the poor and simple, which worked its way up
to the most learned, and was finally accepted by them
as a work of literary genius (History 92).

One academic reports on the response of an
undergraduate philosophy and religion major who said of
The Pilgrim's Progress, Part I, that it was the most
pleasant encounter with death he had ever read. She
adds, raising the issue of relevance:

But one of the problems the teacher faces is
that today's students are apt to read the work
without realizing it is about death, for they
tend to associate Christian with the heroes of
folk and fairy tradition and with chivalric
romance (Sadler 53-54).

The same author reports that that she finds many
students have known the work since childhood and so they
tend to dismiss it along with other "childish things"
(Sadler, 53-4).

Twentieth-century adults, who work with The
Pilgrim's Progress as abridgers or retellers, recognize
its impact, audience and strengths: "... one of the
most widely read books in the world (Wonderful Journey
1908); "... for children who are ... old enough to
be fascinated by the story" (Children's Edition 1911);
"the beauty of the phrasing" (Children's Progress 1951).
Where, however, are the eulogies, or other, from or about the children who were, or are, the readers of seventy-seven versions of Progress in the twentieth century? Perhaps children just get on with their reading, as they will, leaving out the discourse of the unabridged versions (MacDonald, Christian's Children 7; Meigs 43-44; Tucker, "Children Respond", 178); enjoying the journey and its dimension of fantasy; recognizing the heroic and perhaps sensing that the story holds a key into some significant feeling of truth. Meek's comment on the primacy of narrative is applicable:

> From the stories we hear as children we inherit the feeling code, the truth values, the codes, rhetoric, the transmission techniques that tell us who we are ("What Counts . . . " 174).

The recognition to children of "who we are", the deep self-identity which developmentalists endeavour to classify, at whatever level of consciousness (Bettelheim 5, 6; Lacan 24) may be the true account for the work's greatness.

As F. R. Leavis makes clear, it is possible to read The Pilgrim's Progress without any recognition of its theology:

> When I read it in childhood, as everyone did (at least we assumed so, and there seemed to be plenty of evidence for the assumption), I had not heard of Calvin or Predestination, Imputed Righteousness, and
Justification by Faith, and even if they had been explained to me I should not have seen any point in trying to relate what I could grasp of those doctrines to the book that was so stirring a presence in our imaginative life (284).

The Propositional Model in the Twentieth Century

The connection between the external influence of a Christian society and the child is now a fading one, just visibly present until about the 1960s, but tenuous thereafter.

On the other side of the model is the inner world of the child and, inasmuch as Bunyan's work continues to be published and is going forward in new forms, it is inferred that, particularly at the level of the psyche, text and child match together. The fact that a potential dramatist (Chesterton), an artist (Ardizzone) and several writers (Bridges, Mee, Shaw) recognized the birth of their fulfilled selves in Bunyan's work is illuminating, especially in light of insights about psychic-hunger and the developing child. This inner world may again be also seen in need of myth, symbol, ritual and a religious dimension (Jung, Payne 119-120, 125).

From Appleyard we gain elaboration on how the child reads in various stages: as player in early
childhood, as hero and heroine in the middle and later
childhood and as thinker at the stage of adolescence
(21-120). Ray informs us that in contemporary fiction
the influence of traditional stories still appears. She
cites fantasy and the hero genres in particular (133),
both of which are encompassed in The Pilgrim's Progress.
It may also be that an historical reading of the pilgrim
story makes it an aspect of time-travel, which, as
Locherbie-Cameron suggests, constructs reading both as
adventure and as a paradigm of self-discovery (45).
Seen in these ways, there is twentieth-century agreement
with the appeal Bunyan's pilgrim story had for children
in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, despite the
paucity of relevance between external factors, text and
child in modern times. Thus it is becoming more and more
apparent that it is at the psychic level, in the
individual reader's reception and response, because of
his/her own unique personality and experience, that true
relevance lies.

Echoes of The Pilgrim's Progress in the Work of
Twentieth Century Writers

In a "post-Christian society" (Duriez 121), it is
not surprising to find few look-alike authors. Early in
the century, some writers of moralistic bent continued
to write in Sabbath and Sunday School publications, for
"Sunday reading lingered on. It took the destructive effects of the first world war to alter the whole climate of belief" (Cutt 181). It can also be claimed that the moralistic tradition survived in publishing backwaters well into the 1970s and may even yet be discernible in some denominational magazines for children and young people. Avery comments, regarding the vast field of secular publishing: "After 1910 or so the moralists and educationalists lost interest in juvenile reading" (Childhood's Pattern 10).

Twentieth-century children's literature in Britain and America still uses isolated elements that Bunyan used in combination. The fantasy journey is common, but it is rarely a journey through topography that takes a young hero to immortality. Rather, writers use a journey that leads into discovery of the relationship of past to present, as, for example, with Lucy Boston's The Children of Green Knowe, Alison Uttley's Traveller in Time and Philippa Pearce's Tom's Midnight Garden. Or the journey leads into the future as with science fiction and into space, as in A Wrinkle in Time by the American author, Madeleine L'Engle, a writer who is sensitive to Christian issues, as her A Wrinkle ... and its sequel, A Wind in the Door and Meet the Austens show. Again, the journeys may "straddle the line between ordinary life and high adventure" (Blurb: Cooper's The Grey King), or, as with Tolkien's The Hobbit, high
adventure that uses a pure fantasy setting. Similarly, the journey may be an exploration into understanding the self, as in Cormier's *I am the Cheese*, Peyton's *Midsummer Night's Death* or Storr's *Marianne Dreams*; or to recognition of potential good or evil from within, as in Cooney's *Night School*, of the Point Horror series; or encompassed in new settings for the struggle between good and evil: in Jacques' recent *Redwall*, the mouse hero's name, "I-am that is", echoes goodness through its reflection of the name of the eternal Hebraic God (Exodus 3:14).

Parallel with the quest for the perpetuity of goodness, the quest for empowerment continues. Although Bunyan's hero has support available to him throughout the journey, his ultimate quest fulfilment and empowerment come through arrival at the Celestial City when he receives princely attire and a crown of gold (PP 162). In comparison, the mouse hero of *Redwall*, Matthew, is continually inspired by thoughts of, and from, Martin, the famous, former hero of the monastic order whose sword he seeks for victory over evil rats. This has been stolen by the snake, an archetype of evil that Bunyan also uses. In contrast, Tolkien's hero, Bilbo of *The Hobbit*, is motivated by the quest for dragon-guarded gold.

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1 See Reynolds, 77.
In Susan Cooper's series, *The Dark is Rising*, the quest for empowerment lies in a buried grail,¹ a golden harp² and a crystal sword,³ symbols of, and links with, past goodness. In *The Grey King*, her hero character, Will, forcefully tells a power of darkness, "I am of the light. You cannot destroy me" (126). Bunyan's motifs from folk-lore -- map, quest, guardian figure, forces of darkness, inspired words, battles and monsters -- are all used by Susan Cooper in her series, showing, as did Bunyan, that the hero can eventually overcome evil. There the similarities end, for Cooper's work lacks Bunyan's biblical layering and Christian premise, being replaced by Celtic-type mysticism; also, Cooper's child heroes, and with them the readers, always return to the safety of their own homes, probably a psychological reassurance, as Hunt comments re the journey metaphor, even for "readers ten and over" (*Introduction* 179).

One might argue that these isolated elements have nothing to do with Bunyan as prototype, yet it can also be argued that, stirred by readers' innate sensitivities to the need for myth, symbol and imagery to live by (Jung, Payne 119-120, 125), they may be of value as readers work through the maze of modern theory to find their own "salvation".

¹ In *Over Sea, Over Stone*.
² In *The Grey King*.
³ In *Silver On the Tree*. 
"A kind of new Pilgrim's Progress" (Blyton Introduction), *The Land of Far-Beyond* (1970) is inspired by Bunyan's story which Enid Blyton refers to as a "grand old book" (Introduction). However, her version is a new story that takes three children from the City of Turmoil to the City of Happiness in the Land of Far Beyond. It is derivative in that names usually denote character and some of the names and features are the same as those used by Bunyan: for example, Talkative; giants, dragons, castles, palaces. It follows a pattern of frequent episodes of temptation, submission to evil and repentance, with a gradual falling out of the journey by seven of its ten initial pilgrims. Whereas Bunyan not only narrates, but also makes ongoing effort to explain his allegory while incorporating images from the Bible, Folk-lore and Romance, Blyton's version clings only to a fairy-tale setting. It is only at the end that she identifies the Christian association when appears the king's son, "Prince of Peace . . . Jesus" (126), the children's reliever of their burdens. Thus there are two weaknesses in Blyton's retelling: firstly, she overdoes the ritualistic pattern she has imposed, for it happens too frequently without Bunyan's pauses between; also, the transition from the world of fairy to Christian model is made abruptly and is not part of a cohesive whole,
despite Blyton's planting of several honest characters along the way.

Closer to Bunyan's model, yet still a deconstruction, is Geoffrey Kilner's *Joe Burkinshaw's Progress* (1979), the title suggesting a Bunyanesque redaction. As a twentieth-century writer, Kilner makes the pit of the coal mine the burden that oppresses Joe so much so that he wants to get away to the Celestial City, of which he hears at church. Having run away, he is assured of forgiveness, and Mr Lamb, "a good man" (15), becomes his mentor. For a time he hides and suffers in the Dark Wood, but he eventually reaches Sheffield, his sought-after city that glows golden in sunset; yet from close-at-hand it is covered with smoke and is a place of evil. There, a giant of a man imprisons him and Joe despairs of escape.

Kilner's dependence on Bunyan shows in the similarity in structure and place/people names throughout: meeting the "Fox"; difficulties in a Valley of the Shadow of Death; in mortal danger on a precipice. In times of need, Joe is supported by his guardian angel and messenger from Heaven -- his deceased brother, and ultimately, after some reverse progress, he acquires his salvation -- on earth. A book, and books, change his life, but not because of theology or Bible story, but because he learns to read and can, thereby, rise above his working class.
There are distinct resemblances between Bunyan and Lewis and between *The Pilgrim's Progress* and the *Chronicles of Narnia*, despite the fact that nearly three hundred years separate them and that one author was from lowly origins and of minimum education while the other came from an educated, middle-class background and became a renowned classical and mediaeval scholar. The resemblance is not surprising for both men experienced conversions that changed the emphases of their lives and led them to become famous as advocates of Christianity. Lewis knew Bunyan's autobiographical writing well and indexed it in his personal study (*Stand Together* 319-320). *The Pilgrim's Progress* was, in fact, the first religious book he ever read (*Letters* 248), re-read by him in 1916 (*Stand Together* 150). In 1933, he wrote *The Pilgrim's Regress*, an early twentieth-century adaptation of Bunyan's allegoric pilgrim story in which the protagonist regresses rather than progresses until "Mother Kirk" (the church) enlightens him. In 1951 he likened himself to Bunyan's pilgrim (*Letters* 232), and later he called the work "first-class" especially if one disregarded the "Calvinist theology" and "straw-splitting dialogues" (*Letters* 299).

Lewis is regarded as 'almost the only twentieth-century English-language children's writer who used
fiction as a vehicle for the Christian message" say Carpenter and Prichard in 1984 (447). The genre of Scripture gives the two writers their common base. This genre uses varied material loosely unified:

it is a blend of mythography and realism, and its structure is that of the "grand design" -- Creation and Fall, Redemption and Eschatology (Huttar 121).

The works are dissimilar in that Bunyan describes his as allegory (PP, Author's Apology, 9), while Lewis reiterates that his story of Narnia functions differently from *The Pilgrim's Progress*:

I did not say to myself "Let us represent Jesus as He really is in our world by a Lion in Narnia": I said "Let us suppose that there were a land like Narnia and that the Son of God, as He became a Man in our world, became lion there, and then imagine what would happen." (Letters to Children 45).

There are, however, many similarities between the work of the two Christian writers. Some of them are: 1. The journey structure, although Bunyan develops the metaphor of the one-way quest while Lewis develops the two-way quest, according to Kaufmann (Collmer, 186); in a linear and simultaneous pattern of time-travel (Locherbie-Cameron 48). 2. Hero figures who manifest both strength and weakness. 3. Themes of testing and redemption (Fisher 30; Huttar 123). 4. Use of the humble common things of life; willingness to speak out against
materialism. Simplicity was all Bunyan knew, but Lewis gained his awareness that this was the basis of spirituality through George MacDonald, another mentor (Duriez 144). 5. Inclusion of fantasy figures and settings reminiscent of fairy-tale, although Lewis provides more descriptive details than Bunyan and the traditional tale. 6. A support system for those who align themselves on the side of the good. 7. Didactic purpose conveyed with sincere spirituality and seriousness. 8. Centering story about an allegorical core, as in the Spenserian method. In The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe, the Stone Table, symbol of the cross that Bunyan uses, is central (Myers 131). Both also use Spencer's exemplary mode of demonstration. 9. Use of Syncretism. 10. Common psychological bases from the Eclectic viewpoint which we understand through twentieth-century developmental psychology. The first eight of these shared aspects are easy to recognize and

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1 See Crouch, Treasure Seekers and Borrowers, 116, re Lewis. Bunyan makes his attitude clear at Vanity Fair and pertaining to Mr Worldly Wiseman and other materialistic characters.

2 I agree partially with Carpenter that Lewis was "governed by didactic purpose" (214). I prefer Myers' enlargement, that "the didacticism of the Chronicles consists in the education of moral and aesthetic feelings rather than a cognitive presentation of doctrine" (126). I believe his writing is also a celebration of his own joy in Christ combined with his love of the form of fairy-stories.

3 There was no doubt of Bunyan's overall seriousness, despite his country wit showing through. Lewis had a light touch but "it is fair to say that Lewis gave back to children's literature some of the 'high seriousness' that ... it had been without since the work of George MacDonald" (Manlove 120), his other spiritual mentor.
are discussed regarding Bunyan in other places in this thesis, but the ninth and tenth merit elaboration.

**Syncretism**

Northrop Frye calls the syncretic method *Bricolage* (21) and Carpenter likens it to pastiche (244). By this device, both Bunyan and Lewis marry together unlikely combinations of characters and ideas from different philosophies; a reflection of their own reading backgrounds.¹ Bunyan uses giants, monsters, hobgoblins, satyrs, dragons, fiends and a witch, as well as Pope and Pagan, Adam the first, Moses and Demas and the Shining Ones. Furthermore, he uses a mix of tableaux and artifacts, as can be seen at the house of the Interpreter. Lewis uses ogres, anthropomorphic animals, hags, queens, witches, Father Christmas and magician; also new forms of creatures such as the Dufflepuds, and the Marches of Underland, giants, dwarfs and gnomes along with references to centaurs and unicorns, to Plato and Bacchus. All these exist within a story-line that has strong biblical echoes, despite the fact that he wrote the first two books with little forethought, throwing in "any incident or colouring that struck his

fancy" (Carpenter 227). Manlove says aptly, of The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe, in particular,

It is as if Lewis delights in the juxtaposition of as many different things as he can . . . The book is almost a cornucopia, or, in other terms, rather like a Christmas stocking, full of various and mysterious objects all held together by the one container (127).

Nevertheless, it works in unity, "giving a panoramic survey of a world's entire existence, centering on the themes of creation" as Huttar points out, even to being "a sort of Bible for a Bibleless age" (123).

There is relationship between syncretism and the imagination that applies what it will, even if, as Duriez says about Lewis:

meaning was intimately tied up both with the imagination, and with the fact that the entire universe is a dependent creation of God (124).

The imaginative method challenges a reader to suspend disbelief and to enter with acceptance into a new world of ideas that compose the total story, submitting utterly to the sum of the heterogeneous parts. Such assent belongs not to the logical left brain but to the intuitive, affective mode of the right lateralization of the brain. Edwards, in Drawing on the Right Side of the Brain (1992), draws attention to the
fact that the mute, minor hemisphere (the right) is
"specialized for Gestalt perception, being primarily a
synthesist in dealing with information input" (29),
whereby one perceives a wholeness which cannot be
completely deduced from a knowledge of the properties of
its parts. Edwards gives further insights:

> In the right-hemisphere mode of information
processing, we use intuition and have leaps of insight
intuitive, subjective, relational, holistic, time-free
mode. This is also the disdained, weak, left-handed
mode which in our culture has been generally ignored"
(35-36).

Right-brain thought that combines imagination and
syncretism leads into creativity which, in turn,
produces unique and novel solutions to the same question
(Santrock 289). It is reminiscent of the way young
children draw and play, uninhibited by adult logic. Such
naïveté (sic, OED, 196) is exhibited in the simplicity
of both Bunyan and Lewis' work for children. It
explains, at least partially, why children respond so
well.
Both Bunyan and Lewis can be seen to demonstrate in story several aspects of what developmental theory attempts to categorise and measure. Thus both authors are very relevant and up-to-date in awareness of human behaviour, even if the mythic shape and emphases of their portrayals are irrelevant to some readers, as Houlbrook argues (3-5). Keeble says of Bunyan that he had a "sure grasp of the psychology of human fallibility (235); Manlove refers to Lewis's satire of Freudian psychology in The Pilgrim's Regress (17).

The notion of "Child or Naive Travellers toward Bliss/bliss" is useful when attempting to identify the developmental theories that both writers embrace. The state of bliss is defined as "perfect joy; supreme delight; the perfect joy of Heaven; paradise" (OED). It is a notion associated with Foxe's Book of Martyrs, (a book that Bunyan read while in prison, possibly before or while writing The Pilgrim's Progress): "every man in this earth is a pilgrim toward bliss or toward pain" (75). It is also associated with Lewis's own quest for "joy", described in Surprised by Joy, whereby he discovered that "It was only valuable as a pointer to something other and outer" (Surprised 190), a statement which echoes Fowler's theory of the bi-polar nature of
faith: the "binding of the self and the transcendent" (175).

Bliss is therefore associated with a state of spirituality (Keeble, Literary Culture, 261) that also manifests itself in daily living. This is what young readers are advised of in The Wonderful Journey: Talks with Young People on The Pilgrim's Progress: "it is blissful and the happiest thing in the world to be a Christian." (RTS 1908). At a primary level, however, it is a synonym for both Bunyan's Celestial City and Lewis's "Aslan's Land". Bunyan's use of dancing for joy after the defeat of Despair, and at other times, is echoed in Lewis's use of celebratory dance in Prince Caspian and The Silver Chair, a device he also used in Perelandra.

Arrival at Bliss/bliss is not without pain or trauma, either for Bunyan's or Lewis's characters. When Bunyan's shepherd boy sings he reminds the pilgrims:

Fulness to such a burden is
That go on Pilgrimage:
Here little, and hereafter Bliss,
Is best from Age to Age (PP 238).

This is in accord with the Ecological model: that of the Dialectical view which sees human development as a process of change where "upheaval and disequilibrium are utterly necessary" (Clarke-Stewart and Friedman 22). Horror of lions and the pathway to Destruction, the
anguish of Aslan's death and fear of being sent back, again, to their own world, as expressed by Lucy,\(^1\) are demonstrations in literature of the angst which children experience as they move through the stresses of emotional development (Lefrançois 303-6; Clarke-Stewart and Friedman 389). Change is triggered by separation from parents or parent (in both Bunyan and Lewis), while Jill Pole and Eustace Scrubb at Experiment House are caught up in changing philosophies of education (The Silver Chair). These are examples that fit the Ecological Model within the continuum of social or historical change (Clarke-Stewart and Friedman 22-23).

Not only are Bunyan's characters undergoing change, but the author's own backdrop is England in a state of political and social upheaval. For Lewis, it is the time of adjustment, settlement and educational change\(^2\) following the second world war.

Another psychological likeness concerns the way both authors portray active decision makers as they journey. They are in the progressive state of attaining decision-making competence, part of the Organismic framework. Nevertheless, they also respond to, and interact with forces about them which shows the validity of the Ecological model.

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\(^1\) In The Last Battle, 165.
\(^2\) Lewis shows knowledge of educational change by his references to Experiment House in The Silver Chair. Perhaps it is mimicry of Summerhill School.
As Bunyan's pilgrim children memorize and endeavour to live out the catechism, they are in harmony with the rule-oriented perspective of juveniles (Tucker, *Child and His Book*, 53); characteristic of Fowler's Stage Two -- Mythic Literal Faith (184), which he suggests applies to the ages of six and half year-olds to eleven years (193). It is the stage where "the person begins to take on for himself/herself the stories, and beliefs and observances that symbolize belonging to his/her community" (184). This identifies the behaviour of the younger boys in *The Pilgrim's Progress* as they cooperate with their mother, take on the journey and its rituals and learn their catechism and Bible verses.

The experience of Mercy and the older boys resembles Fowler's Stage Three, Synthetic Conventional Faith, which Fowler suggests goes with an average age of about twelve years on to young adulthood (195). In this stage "the person's experience of the world is now extended beyond the family and primary social groups"; faith, coherence and meaning become important (184).

Fowler's Stage Four, Individuating-Reflexive Faith, average age being eighteen years to adulthood, is what Mercy, Matthew and Samuel grow into during their pilgrimage (their "progress"). This is a transitional stage where the person "must begin to take seriously the . . . responsibility for his/her own commitments . . ."
which often develops under the tutelage of ideologically powerful religions" (184).

There appears to be little movement by any of Bunyan's heroes into Fowler's Stage Five, Paradoxical-Consolidative Faith, which recognizes "integrity and truth in positions other than its own" (185). Certainly they cling to the "normativity of . . . scriptures" which Fowler proposes that by this stage is a factor no longer "solely determinative for the person" (199).

It might be argued that Bunyan's Christian is approaching the final stage, Universalizing faith, where the Kingdom of God is a "live, felt reality", yet he is not a completely "transforming presence . . . not of the world" (185). Bunyan's hero is too beset by doubts, even to the final river crossing, for true fulfillment of the stage's criteria. In any case, as Fowler recognizes, this level, Stage Six, is rare.

Applied to Lewis's characters, there is behavioural evidence for Fowler's Stage One, Intuitive-Projective Faith, average ages four to seven years (191), which is marked by egocentricism, little concern to separate fantasy from fact and "notions of effectance in the world" that tend toward "magical explanations" (192). Moreover, "the child is not yet able to construct and interpret the inner feelings, intentions or reasoning of other persons" and interaction is chiefly through "moment-to moment parallel behaviour" (192). The child
is also aware of death. Here we see a fair description of the behaviour of Lucy and Edmund in *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*, and Eustace in *The Voyage of the Dawn Treader*.

As these young children grow, they move into Stage Two, *Mythic Literal Faith*, at which Susan and Peter already were at the beginning of *The Chronicles*. This stage is marked by attention to teachers (Fowler 193), like the Professor (*The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*) and Diggory's Uncle Andrew (*The Magician's Nephew*). Children now extend their circle to others who they regard as like themselves, which is demonstrated when the Pevensie children accept Prince Caspian and the anthropomorphic animals who become their friends, colleagues and subjects in several of the books. This is also the stage where "heroic figures can provide . . . important vehicles of identification and affiliation" (Fowler 195).

Like Bunyan, Lewis shows the darkness coming "again and again and again" (*Letters to Children* 82). This is to deter young travellers from reaching Bliss, which can be read as preventing them from attaining self-affirmation (Erikson in Psychoanalytical Theory; Maslow in the Humanistic model; Jung, through Individuation), though in the Christian context the affirmation belongs to Bunyan's King of the Way, or to Lewis's Aslan, who provide supernatural support. In the latter, Aslan --
echo of the lion of the Tribe of Judah and of Christ (Letters to Children 93) -- dies to save Edmund; heals and reclothes Eustace; provides protective gifts of shield, sword, arrows, horn and little bottle of medicine.

These gifts to the children are reminiscent of the enabling gifts that Bunyan's characters receive at the House Beautiful: armour, golden anchor, wine, corn, pomegranates, figs and raisens (PP 55, 233), as well as of Paul's "gifts of the Spirit" (Ephesians 6:11-17). They are demonstrations of the sources of "joy" (bliss) that run like a shining thread through the Narnian Chronicles, despite Goldthwaite's criticism (244).

Although Bunyan's heroes and Lewis's child characters must always bear the consequences of their own decisions and actions, support is never far away. This is seen, for example, when the children are lost in Prince Caspian and a lion escorts the young riders. Again, Jill and Eustace think they have called to Aslan for help but he tells them, "You would not have called to me unless I had been calling to you" (Silver Chair 28); while safe houses, arbours and recuperation await Bunyan's pilgrims.

This support system might be read as coming from human interaction, as in the Humanistic model, or find explanation in Fowler's bi-polar relationship of the "Interactive stage" of faith development.
Not only does Fowler recognize an outer and inner structure of faith, but he also asserts that faith is always relational, being "one's sense of relatedness to the ultimate conditions and depths of existence" (175). He describes it as bi-polar, extending to "the binding of the self and the transcendent" and even as tri-polar, signifying interaction with community (175). It is the bi-polar relationship of Christian faith that fits the Biblical views of Bunyan and C. S. Lewis, manifest in their various writings: "For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God" (Ephesians 2:8). It is a faith that "cometh by hearing and hearing by the word of God" (Romans 10:17).

The tri-polar nature of faith is best demonstrated within Part II of The Pilgrim's Progress where the family and their travelling companions depend on strength that comes from a transcendent force beyond themselves, which helps them as they integrate together.

The heroic characters of the Narnian Chronicles, while almost exclusively child, animal, or fairy-tale beings, also reveal a bi-polar and tri-polar relationship: with each other, as a community, and through individual trust in Aslan. Their faith in Aslan increases as they go through the various experiences that confirm his omniscient, omnipotent nature, so that Eustace and Jill reach at least Fowler's Stage Two of
Faith Development. Three of the Pevensies, who are older children, reach Fowler's Stage Four of Individuating Faith in Aslan and what he represents.

The non-linear nature of both Bunyan's and Lewis's journey to Bliss will be sensed by some child readers at a deep level of knowing to concern the nature of life, as well as perception of the relationship of the self and others. Applying the psychoanalytic theory of the Organismic model, as Bettelheim shows, young children have deep awarenesses at a conscious, preconscious and unconscious level of the mind (6, 12, 17), especially through fairy-tales. Jung also deals with deep unconscious material that "produces the so-called big dream and voices itself in myths and fairy tales . . . at times reached by . . . active imagination" (Harding 4). There is scholarly concensus that Bunyan's narrative has resemblances to myth, dream, fairy-tale and romance: Carpenter and Prichard 412; Hill 119; MacDonald 12; Sadler 54; Sharrock 123; Spufford 7.

Like The Pilgrim's Progress, which can be read without any thought of psychological, theological or allegorical meaning, so can the Narnian Chronicles, although many children glimpse beyond the level of narrative. In 1963, Lewis wrote to a child named Ruth: "I'm so thankful that you realized (the) 'hidden story' in the Narnian books. It is odd, children nearly always do, grown-ups hardly ever" (Letters to Children 111).
Beyond 2000?

The issue of "goodness", sought in 1500-1900 by writers and by caring parents, is not lost. It is transcribed into settings, characters, language and focuses that are relevant to the twentieth-century.

Can anything be learnt from Bunyan and Lewis whose work survives? Yes: the power of a flawed hero who demonstrates the bi-polar and tri-polar nature of faith within the relevancy of the Christian mythic framework; the use of fictional, fairy-tale-like settings, related with simplicity and humour, plus a believable topography, all of which make a narrative live.

Philip Pullman is a current author who uses these techniques with skill; one who, like Bunyan and Lewis, has read widely and thought deeply. He is "unashamedly interested in people being good, though not in the moralistic fashion of C. S. Lewis" (Fox, Books for Keeps 12). Pullman's Northern Lights (1995) paves the way for new narrations of the millennia-old controversy between good and evil. These still unwritten stories may, in new and divergent forms yet relevant to the twenty-first century, contribute to the age-old series, of which the biblical apocalypse, Bunyan's dream and

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1 The controversy between good and evil is portrayed in the myths of every culture, for example in the Sumerian Gilgamesh of 2000 B.C. (Bryson; Huck 224), India's Ramayana (Seeger) and the Hebraic Old Testament; also in Frazer's The Golden Bough (68).
works by his eighteenth and nineteenth century heirs are significant milestones.

*Northern Lights* is fiction, for as Duriez says of Lewis, "parable, allegory and fiction is the closest we can come to speaking of Heaven" (81). A serious work, it is layered with intensity of meaning and purpose so interwoven that the result is not didactic, but is intensely exciting and persuasively real. Imaginatively, and with some licence, it draws on the Genesis story of the fall of humankind into sin and Milton's portrayal in *Paradise Lost*, Book II. Thus the story is narrated from the perspective opposite to goodness, from "His dark materials". A child whose coming and destiny were prophesied (310) is the hero figure -- echoing "A little child shall lead them" (Isaiah 11:6). Although she is a liar (282), Lyra is the only one who crosses over from a sophisticated world of future time that resembles, yet does not resemble, present Planet Earth. Her destination appears similar to Bunyan's portrayal of the Celestial City, being a brilliant city that lies beyond the *Northern Lights*; "a different universe entirely" (187):

> And as she gazed, the image of a city seemed to form itself behind the veils and streams of translucent colour: towers and domes, honey-coloured temples and colonades, broad boulevards and sunlit parkland.
Looking at it gave her a sense of vertigo, as if:
looking not up but down, and across a gulf so wide
that nothing could ever pass over it. It was a whole
universe away (183-4).

The recurring view, like that of the city in The Pilgrim's Progress, attracts Lyra throughout her journey. It is one of many resemblances between Bunyan's and Pullman's visions. Other similarities are: the journey archetype; a talisman motif which, with Pullman, is a "symbol reader" rather than a Bible (206); calls to God for help (298); concern with sin, the Church and biblical concepts (370-71); a father who is Lord; the importance of free-will (310); the ultimate crossing that takes the hero beyond "pain, death and fear" (398) so that Lyra turns away from the world she was born in, "looked towards the sun, and walked into the sky" (399).

She is also an unlikely hero; a female redeemer figure. Inasmuch, however, that Pullman is yet to publish the other two books of what will be a trilogy, it should be noted that "ahead . . . lay doubt, and danger, and fathomless mysteries" (399).

The work is syncretic in approach using astrology, astronomy, the Christian myth, Greek mythology, hints of esoteric mysticism as with the Rosacrucians, fairy-tale and the fantasy components and technology of science

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1 The second book was published during the revision process, too late for inclusion in this thesis.
fiction. It draws on the current interest in the anthropromorphic nature of other creatures while using daemons as alter egos or souls, which provides a fascinating Freudian/Jungian/Lacanian conceptualization. In all, *Northern Lights* is so vivid in portrayal that its flashing scenes remind one of the brightness of arcade computer games, having the added appeal of subversive qualities that juveniles enjoy, according to Lurie in her *Don't Tell the Grown-Ups: Subversive Children's Literature*. All this means it is relevant to the late twentieth century and, as such, must attract adolescent readers.

Pullman can be likened to Lewis in that both invent new ways of approaching the Christian story which includes the fall of man in Genesis II and III and his need of redemption, while adding and subtracting to the mythic framework. Lewis wrote of Malacandra, a completely unfallen world, and Perelandra, also unfallen but where temptation arises, although unsuccessfully. Pullman writes from the viewpoint of fallen beings and their quest for the great beyond.

**Conclusion**

*The Pilgrim's Progress* continues to reach children throughout the twentieth century but has moved, within the period, from a time of high publication in the first
half-century to a lower level in the second. The children who read at least fifty-two editions prior to 1950 have grown into an aging population. Those who experienced the story through at least twenty-five versions since 1951 are, no doubt, only a small proportion of today's society, so it is not surprising if many people have never heard of Bunyan's pilgrim story or know little about it. This is attributable to a changed, and changing, society wherein religion has been largely superseded by technology and secular interests. Therefore the relevance of Bunyan's Christian emphasis diminishes in relationship to the external world.

Modern theories of development help one to understand Bunyan's continuing relevance at a psychic level. This especially relates to the discernment of the "Superego" (Freud) which is concerned with moral and ethical issues and the search for the true "Other" (Lacan) or "Self" (Jung) as the Propositional Model suggests.

Because Bunyan writes across the genres, it is possible to apply developmental theory across the theories. So, using the Eclectic Model, we can apply Freud's Psychoanalytical Theory, Fowler's Faith Development Theory and Gestalt Perception, in combination with the Information Processing Theory. All of these, and others, have their limitations but do offer some useful insights.
Although the Information Processing Theory attempts to explain the precise, detailed steps involved in mental activities and is useful in a diagram of the role of the sensory register and how short-term and long-term memory build relevance, it nevertheless has limitations. One is that it appears over computer-like and, importantly, another is that it does not explain how cognitive development is related to social and emotional contexts. Neither does it account for the role of the unconscious, while its breadth of focus is narrow. On the other hand, it is not limited to Piagetian stages, unlike Piagetian Theory which is criticised as a reading model (Appleyard 10), and it does recognize the place of individual maturation (Seifert and Hoffnung 67).

Fowler's theory of Faith Development best describes, the "progress" of Bunyan's and Lewis's characters. The issue of left and right brain lateralization and the Gestalt Theory help to explain intuitive psychic responses.

Just as the popularity of The Pilgrim's Progress has dwindled over the century, so too have the number of eulogies. More than the reading of a minority religious group or the poor, as initially, it now belongs principally to academia, children, the language of common sayings and in commemoratives.¹

¹ A magazine, House Beautiful, echoes The Pilgrim's Progress. Common sayings include "The Valley of the Shadow of Death" (also in Psalm 23); "the hill Difficulty" and "the Slough of Despond".
It still retains recognition in society, even where unread, something like the gentle influence of a retired older statesman. A window to commemorate its author was placed in Westminster Abbey in about 1911; it inspired Ralph Vaughan Williams to write a chamber opera, "The Pilgrim's Progress",¹ also a cantata and morality play (MacDonald x). His stage version was first produced as part of the Festival of Britain at the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden in 1951 (Manning 70). The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge celebrated its two hundred and fiftieth birthday in 1948 by the performance of The Pilgrim's Progress using the Covent Garden Choir and Ballet (Brittain 415).

At the Bedford Bunyan Museum are seven large needlework collages depicting scenes from the pilgrim story, made by Bedfordshire women during the Bunyan festival year, 1978. There is also a sculpture, depicting the fight between Christian and Apollyon. In the adjacent Bunyan Meeting Free Church bronze entrance doors and five brilliantly stained glass windows that depict scenes from The Pilgrim's Progress (Cirket 79, 82-83) can be viewed.

Hewitt refers to the postcard that shows one of the Bedford stained glass windows, of Bunyan in jail (218), sent to cheer Terry Waite while in imprisonment. The

¹ The chamber opera was performed at the International John Bunyan Society Conference at the University of Alberta, September 28, 1995.
story was the theme for an animated Christmas and New Year display, filling several windows of Fortnum and Mason, London, December, 1995-January 1996. It was read at VE day remembrance services in France when British readers presented Bunyan's portrayal of Mr Valiant-for Truth's passing over to the other side. A garden depiction of the story's events won the only gold medal at the 1997 "Gardener's Live programme" (BBC) at the New Exhibition Centre, Birmingham, 25-28, June, 1997. It is used in questions in quiz shows like University Challenge and referred to in popular television programmes, as in "Inspector Morse", or in novels, as by Rosamund Pilcher (236) and others. The pilgrim's hymn (PP 295) is frequently sung at school assemblies and by choirs.

These instances show the way that Bunyan's pilgrim story and its hero are part of the web and weft of modern English society, associated with survival of the human spirit. Thus the influence of the pilgrim and his progress continues, although twentieth-century writers for children generally pick up only particular aspects of Bunyan's work. These are associated with the themes of journey, the quest and the battle of good versus evil, issues which relate to the nature of humanity and psychoanalytical theory and are of relevance in this century.
Only C. S. Lewis emerges as the truly Bunyanesque heir of the period, not surprising, given his religious faith and that he was a Bunyan scholar. For other authors, *The Pilgrim's Progress* may have been an unconscious prototype.

What of beyond the year 2000? *Northern Lights* (1995), by Philip Pullman, is a work that must be regarded seriously; that perhaps pre-empts a way into future narratives. Built on Milton's seventeenth-century vision, he writes a late twentieth century view of goodness and of the Celestial City. This shows that Bunyan's or Lewis's routes are not the only possible forms to denote humankind's pursuance of the good.

Place the works of Bunyan, Watts, Barbauld, the nineteenth-century allegorists, and Lewis and Pullman side by side, and they make a library about an eternal, spiritual quest, expressed within the societal constraints of each author's time period. As far as the present research shows, although Christian is a changing hero, there are still believers for whom he may continue to be an important inspiration. Part of the fibre of English society, he is still every man's ideal self:

> You may call your hero Ulysses or Christian or Scott, but whatever you call him, the great reason why you go on reading about him is that in the essential part of his story he is living a life as you yourself would be living . . . (Lynd 152).
What is probably the most important conclusion of a discussion of the relevance of Bunyan in the twentieth century relates to the insights of Fowler's Theory of Faith Development. This shows that Bunyan's characters generally appear to measure to only Stages One to Four out of six possible levels, although there are partial glimpses of the maturity of Stages Five and Six. These early stages match with the average age-range from six and a half years to young adulthood, rather than to full maturity of faith and experience in older years. An acceptance of this thesis explains why the child or naive reader relates so well to The Pilgrim's Progress, and, similarly, to the world of Narnia.

The continuing "adoption" of Bunyan's pilgrim story by at least a minority of children, albeit in new forms¹, indicates its continuing relevance to their journeys of personhood.

¹ The new forms are elaborated on in Chapter 8.
CHAPTER EIGHT
THE HERO IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Perceptions of The Hero

Society has changed in outward appearance over three centuries but children's psychological need of hero figures has not diminished, as the present-day adulation of sporting figures and pop-stars shows. Harding, in *Journey into Self*, stresses the view that after the religious struggles of the seventeenth century and the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,

> It remained for the twentieth to discover once more the importance of the inner subjective world. . . . it is necessary "to go on pilgrimage one's-self and so to make real in one's own life the universal myth of the hero quest" (9).

This inner experience, wherein a child reader identifies himself and his world with a story's hero (Appleyard 14), is possible for children at preconscious, conscious or unconscious levels of awareness (Bettelheim, "Role", 27; *Uses* 6). Bettelheim also suggests that identification with a hero, "our mirror-image", helps one to gain the "ability to live a richer and more meaningful life" ("Role" 27). It is a journey into self-discovery and an understanding
that probably differs from that of adults' only in degree rather than kind, and although young children think in a qualitatively different way from adults, the story allows the child to be independent and to see himself in an heroic way (Tucker, 179, 183, 185); at both a cognitive and affective level (Appleyard 64, 68). Fisher says that there is no minimum age for heroes (59).

Developmental theory, too, affirms in its own terms, that children still need heroes, described as "models ... whose behaviour serves as a guide, a blueprint, an inspiration for somebody else" (Lefrançois 78). Adolescents also, according to Spacks, quoting Hall's traits of puberty (1904), depend heavily on "reliance on imitation; a dramatic stance toward life" (229). Hoban transfers this principle to children's literature: "Heroes who can do something well are still considered necessary for children" (99). Heroes demonstrate "desperate courage, self-sacrifice, high endeavour" (Fisher 5); in folk tale they are often young (Leeson 22).

A hero figure, according to Hoban "has got to have some antiheroism about him in order to be complete" (99). It is into this mould that Bunyan's flawed Christian still fits comfortably, as do other twentieth century heroes of children's literature: Tolkien's unlikely hero, Bilbo Baggins, the fourteenth man (The Hobbit 29); or Lewis's Eustace who becomes a dragon
before transformation (Voyage of the Dawn Treader 81); or Jacques' Matthias Mouse (Redwall) who can be a clumsy buffoon; or Pullman's Lyra, a barbarian (Northern Lights 35). All are linked by weakness and a spirit that is zealous to be on the side of right in the conflict between good and evil.

The Male Hero

In twentieth century-versions of The Pilgrim's Progress, there are many projections of a male hero. Early in the century, the Religious Tract Society, without any doubts about the hero's identity, tells the reader that The Pilgrim's Progress is a book full of pictures about "the hero and the strange and wonderful experiences that happened to him on his pilgrimage." (1908 1).

Christian continues to be honoured as hero via two devices, especially noticeable in the fourteen abridgements and twenty-seven retellings of the period. The first method is the emphatic focus through language on particular scenes in which the hero features. Walker, for example, does this in 1907 when her chapter headings of the First Part of The Pilgrim's Progress highlight Christian's experiences: The Slough; The Gate; The Cross; The Hill; The Lions etc. until finally, The River and The City. The 1908 version by the Religious Tract
Society also draws attention to Christian, making its first chapter "The Hero of the Story." Elias (1910) does much the same by calling him "Christian the Conqueror".

Mid to late-century, the focus is still on Christian as hero, but his obscurity and fraility at setting out (Figure 7), as well as while under siege, is made more apparent. Martin (1954) emphasizes Christian's concern and weakness when, in the opening scene before setting out on pilgrimage, "He puckers his forehead . . . 'What shall I do? What shall I do?'" Here the focus is on the unlikely hero, as depicted by Bunyan in 1678 in his own opening paragraph. Martin also draws attention to Christian's willingness to submit to the supreme authority, rather than making his own rules, quoting "Blessed are they that do his commandments . . . And may enter in through the gates into the city" (Revelation 22:14; PP 161). This version ends with the pilgrim song (PP 295) as epilogue, a final reminder of the hero's victory. Similarly, the 1978 version by Watson, a retelling with a modern look because of the caricatures used, makes no attempt to dilute Christian's vulnerability nor his faith that make him a hero. Watson puts words into Christian's mouth, condensing Bunyan's own (PP 48), making the hero say to Ignorance: "It isn't our imperfect obedience that's acceptable to God; it's

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Fig. 7.
Christ's perfect obedience. His goodness, accepted by faith, covers all our sins" (121). Again, in Christian's Journey (Coulbridge 1979), he is a hero who rejoices after losing his burden (21); who recognizes his source of support saying, "Glory, Glory to the One who sits upon the throne." For him the bells ring as he enters the Heavenly city (61). Versions of 1980 (Fuller), 1983 (SSU) and 1990 (Gray) are also true to the model of the male hero.

In the drama improvisation that embraced daily teaching and class participation for a week at Highfield Comprehensive School in 1971,¹ by improvised speech and through reading passages from Bunyan's unabridged text, students focused on Christian and Faithful as the central characters. They agreed that the Vanity Fair trial was a watershed at the centre of the book and that here the heroes shone, one to be immediately translated, the other to journey on, like Everyman. In class discussion they agreed that Bunyan could not write at length about Heaven because he had not been there and only knew of its description in the Bible. The children began to apply Christian's experience to themselves, wondering if they had faith at all, and if they did, could they stand trial for it? This finding agrees with Appleyard's, regarding students wanting to discover

¹ This class was led by Dorothy Heathcote of the University of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne.
messages in literature that concern themselves and to find characters (heroes) with whom they can identify (1).

Illustrations are the second, effective device that, supporting text, make the male hero prominent. In Davies' version (1901), illustrations depict him as the unlikely hero, up to his waist in the slough and, as sinner, facing Sinai where jagged lightening accosts him. He is also shown as the doomed prisoner in chains and the one who sinks in the river of death. Yet he is also courageous Christian who faces lions; who defeats Apollyon; who escapes Doubting Castle and is welcomed as conqueror by the Heavenly host. Davies must have felt so compelled by Bunyan's hero that he also initiated *The Sunday Scholars' Service of Sacred Song, Illustrative of The Pilgrim's Progress.*

In MacDonald's version also (1901), both the flawed and victorious dimensions of the hero are shown in art form. The 1903 edition of the Religious Tract Society, which points out that it is more fully illustrated than any previous issue, uses Copping's illustrations in black and white. These endorse the dual nature of the male hero through facial expression, movement and his presence in every picture. Each scene is portrayed with fine detail that helps to emphasize the hero, as at the frightening pool in the Valley of the Shadow. Copping portrays the same scene again in the colour version of...
1909, showing in gloomy colours the presence of bones, skeleton, dragon and satyrs. In the absence of Christian, in Part II, Great-Heart assumes the role of the strong male hero, one on whom depends the band of women, children and others whose names denote frailty (RTS 1903). In a later version (Matthew 1926), colour and size help to define the immensity of Christian's challenges, shown in the dark threat of the Valley of Shadow of Death and by an enormous Giant Despair, while Christian's arrival in Heaven heralds him, and his companion, Hopeful, as victors.

Colourful, large illustrations on every opening, some extending across two pages, also exalt the hero throughout Fuller and Marriott's version (1980). Even before a reader opens to the text, the hero's success is made important by a skull and rocks in the foreground of the illustrated cover of the unusually large, very colourful hard-backed book (28 x 34 cms). Behind them are mountains, then a castle and rainbow hues beyond the castle, while pilgrim figures in the foreground gaze out. Paraphrase and parts of Bunyan's text work together here with arresting illustration, as is shown at the end:

Thus Christian and Hopeful, now themselves
Shining Ones, putting off the garments of earth
and wearing immortality, came to their home; and
from the turrets of the City looked back . . .
over the road by which they had come. (48)

The Celestial City, which the companions enter in triumph, is ablaze with shades of yellow and gold, making a glorious sight. The brilliance serves to emphasize the fulfillment of the hero's quest. Certainly a fellow pilgrim accompanies Christian into the city, but the now conquering male hero is not Hopeful who joined the narrative at about half-way point, but he who has been at the centre of the narrative throughout.

The Family Pilgrim's Progress (SSU 1983) similarly projects the hero, through pictures on every opening, bright colour and even via quality paper that is pleasing to touch.

A publication of the present decade, A Children's Pilgrim's Progress (Gray 1990) maintains the traditional hero, as does the musical, "Pilgrim" (1993). This is because both were church-related programmes. The book form originated for a festival on the first Sunday and Monday in May, 1988, in the village of Cropthorne in Worcestershire, while the musical was under the auspices of the Kirkintilloch Baptist Church of Scotland, performed at Kirkintilloch Town Hall, near Glasgow, in November, 1993.

Innovative illustrations which are of white paper sculptures with black or shaded backgrounds may help to account for Gray's success. These offer an aesthetic
experience, this being a "contribution the picture book can make to . . . aesthetic development" (Doonan 7). At the same time the new form tells the subtle message that this hero is special. Designed to reach children, the story is divided into thirty-three sections and, with illustrations, covers forty pages. Each section focuses on one aspect of the hero's journey in fifteen or twenty lines -- about one hundred and sixty words of paraphrase to a section. The result is simple narration in current vocabulary without any dilution of character, setting or ethos. Its one concession to difference is that it acknowledges Part II when, at the end, the hero reveals his love for his family: "Christian took one look back and saw his wife and children beginning their journey. "That makes my joy complete," he said (33).

Child Focus for the Child as Hero

The focus on a male hero in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, strong until the nineteenth century and continuing in the twentieth, is no longer an exclusive view. Now the child is a growing contender for the heroic role. That the child is recognized as important in this century is emphasized by the number of retellings and divergent forms especially designated for the young, all in keeping with the twentieth-century emphasis on the child in educational practice and developmental theory.
The principle is not new, however, for it is also inherent in the teachings of Jesus, by the examples of some child characters of the Bible, and it is manifest in English literary works for children from at least the seventeenth century. Now it is the child who is presented as an unlikely, naive hero, yet also a decision-making figure, capable of high achievement.

Early in the century this depiction is not reflected in illustrations, however, as Copping's idealized shepherd boy shows (Figure 8), reflecting a continuance of Victorian perceptions of the child.

In text, the now important child audience becomes prominent, particularly through retellings, of which there are twenty-seven in number. Other forms of the century are less in number: divergent, 18; unabridged, 17; abridged 14, with the latter two categories almost dying out from mid-century on. Retellings and divergent forms, however, both of which give some emphasis to child heroes, have a steady publishing pattern and have not disappeared.

The very first versions of the new century were: "Retold for the Young" (Davies 1901) and a nursery volume (MacDonald 1901). This meant that even the youngest were included, as the 1908 version (RTS)  

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1 The Pilgrim's Progress. Illustrations by Copping. RTS, 1909. An enlargement.
THE SHEPHERD BOY'S SONG

"And as he sat by himself he sung."
reminds its readers about the wicket gate: "Anybody may go in. Nobody is too young" (25).

Language and content are simplified to suit child readers, even in the fourteen abridged editions where Bunyan's own language is used, as published by Hodder Williams (1911), Fitzgerald (1915), Caunter (1951), McCulloch (1956) and Reeves (1976).

Abridgers and retellers simplify, but only where necessary to meet children's understanding. Tunnicliff (1915) takes away "some of the rather hard words, and some long talks about things in which little people are not a bit interested" (cover; Part 1 1915), referring to biblical texts and theological argument. Caunter, in the mid-century, says in his Introduction that

The story has been kept as near as possible to the original: adapting, simplifying and condensing but keeping to the beauty of the phrasing wherever practicable.

McCulloch echoes the same principle when he says in 1956:

... I have kept strictly to John Bunyan's original story, retaining his style as far as is humanly possible in such a complicated narrative. Any modifications, or slight expansions have been made with the intention of helping young readers to understand points that might otherwise be obscure and difficult (Author's Note).
Very young children are included in the audience envisaged by E. A. MacDonald (1901), for she wants them to experience Bunyan's "marvellous imaginative sense" (Preface). She also leaves out the theological arguments and Scripture texts.

The story is also retold in words of one syllable (1900, 1907); while Mee (1929) includes an explanation of archaic words: such as beck, conventicle, congee and tinderbox.

Presentation changed over the period, from use of small fonts to larger, clearer and bolder fonts which make reading easier for children (1907; 1951; 1979). It was again published as picture cards (Nelson n.d), also published with questions for home and school recall (1911). When adapted to a school reader (Balwin 1913), it included the addition of seventeen pages of class exercises, designed to help readers understand the text and how literature works through allegory and personification. (Dent 1939). Other innovations came in Christian's Journey by Coulbridge (1979), which includes a summary of the story so far at the top of every page; while in The Family Pilgrim's Progress (1983) each of the principal characters has his/her picture in a box-frame with a brief description which is helpful to the reader.

An increase in illustrations is noticeable from mid-century on when they appear at every opening (1961;
1978; 1979; 1980; 1983; 1994). Clarity of layout and colour-printing also improves, while book sizes increase, as shown in the following examples: twenty-eight centimetres by seventeen (Davies 1901); thirteen centimetres by twenty-three (Mee 1929); thirty-three centimetres by twenty-seven (Fuller and Marriott 1980) and twenty-one centimetres by twenty-eight (Parry 1994). All these aspects of presentation contribute to accessibility of text for the child reader. They also offer familiarity to the child through resemblance to other, large-size picture-books for children.

Child focus no doubt accounts for the increase of versions with fairy-tale likeness, as in use of "once upon a time" or similar (Tunnicliff, Part 1, 1915; Caunter 1951; McCulloch 1956; Howles 1993) or, "There lived once in a certain large city" (Morris 1965) and "they lived for ever after in the utmost contentment and delight" (Elias 1910); "lived happily ever after" (Howles 1993); "Over the hills and far away" (Martin 1954). There is also Giant Despair, of awesome size through Bunyan's text and artists' vivid illustration (Matthew 1926; Fuller and Marriott, 1980; Wessels 1993). The giant is a recognizable folk-tale figure, along with the dragon, Apollyon, who, with crimson body and green wings breathes out smoke (Nelson 1961).

Children are also reminded of an historical past and place in story, as by Elias who begins:
It was the year 1675, and the faint dawn of a day in late autumn was breaking across the land. Grey mists hung over the flat, wide-reaching country which stretched around the little town of Bedford, and for a time streets and houses alike were half-hidden. Through the middle of the town ran the Ouse
... Upon one side of the bridge rose... toll-house and jail in one. And here, within one of the small, evil-smelling rooms lay a prisoner, asleep (1).

Seventy years after Elias's version, Fuller and Marriot (1980) point out the time factor: "This is the story of a dream which came to John Bunyan three hundred years ago in Bedford Gaol." The past is also made apparent through the general use of illustrations that portray past costumes (Figure 9): demure Puritan dress, male collars and cuffs, hats, hose and buckled shoes, the armoury of seventeenth-century military uniform and other garb, such as worn by some at Vanity Fair, that contrast with the heroes' circumspect attire. Depictions of thatched houses, indoor decor of the past, the character of town and market-place three hundred or more years ago, are also used in twentieth-century versions (1901, 1906, 1909, 1910, 1914, 1954, 1958, 1980).

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"So she cried out to her visitor, Sir, will you carry me and my children with you, that we also may go and worship this King?"

(See page 187)
Research of reading habits and preferences by the Roehampton Institute (1994) indicates the history genre's popularity, with boys, ages 4-7: 43.48%; ages 7-11: 42.65%; ages 11-16: 18.97%, preferring it more than girl readers.¹ The lessening appeal of the historical novel as boys grow older shows an interesting correlation with the stage of faith development in the pilgrim children, discussed in Chapter 7. Measurement of Fowler's criteria against behaviour in Bunyan's text indicates that the young boys of The Pilgrim's Progress attain Stage Two, taking on the beliefs that belong to their community. Fowler applies the suggestive ages of six and a half to eleven years for this stage, which agrees with the ages of the readers at the high point of the Roehampton study of interest in historical works. This indicates the likely relevance of The Pilgrim's Progress to readers within this age group, especially boys, though girls in the 7-11 years range showed 32.69% interest in the history genre. The diminishing interest in adolescence agrees with the teenage values of Tom Kitwood's research where adolescents indicated value in religion, only from the aspect of community interaction, rather than from issues of truth.

Eighteen divergent forms of The Pilgrim's Progress, designed for children and adolescents appear

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¹ See Contemporary Juvenile Reading Habits by the Children's Literature Research Centre, 10.
in the twentieth century, in addition to the abridgements and retellings begun earlier. These are in the form of drama (8); as pictures and portraits only (2); as picture cards, brief daily reading plan for every day of the year, painting book, comic, musical, video and tape forms, and using animal characters rather than human (1 of each, totalling 8). These new forms fit with the expansion of the media formats of the century with which children are familiar. Of these the comic, no longer regarded as para or "sub-literature", is one popular form of reading and was recognized as such by its inclusion in the questionnaire of the Roehampton Institute's survey of children's reading habits (150). Pullman sees the comic form's use of counterpoint as the twentieth-century's greatest storytelling discovery ("Invisible Pictures" 160-186).

The Marvel comic form of The Pilgrim's Progress (1992) uses counterpoint to dramatic effect in contrasting emphases of content and in use of size and colour. It is interesting because of its modern appearance, interpretations and inclusions. For example, Christian is disturbed because

"OPPRESSIVE MONOLITHS LOOM HIGH ... AS HELL
ERUPTS FROM COUNTLESS SMOLDERING SMOKE
STACKS ... CHOKE THE SKY. NOTHING GREEN GROWS IN
THIS CITY ... AND NOT A SINGLE BIRD FLIES THROUGH
ITS FILTHY BROWN SKIES, CRIME AND POVERTY,
DISEASE AND APATHY ARE EVERYWHERE ... PERVERSE
ADDICTIONS ARE COMMON WARES SOLD ON EVERY
STREET CORNER ... IN EVERY NEIGHBOURHOOD.¹

In this description, issues of ecology that are relevant to modern young people in society, apply at the start of the comic, while a tidal wave, drug peddling and street beggars feature further on, all contributing to the hero's "burden". Another departure from Bunyan's details is the current use of the word "professor", which originally implied one who professed Christ. In the comic format, however, the professor is an academic, a prisoner in his library. Even if a naive reader cannot decode all the words, the graphic comic form tells an arresting story.

In the retellings, emphasis on childhood is often given via text. "Little Lords are sometimes wiser than big brothers," says the Interpreter about the younger emblematic figure, Wisdom (Davies 33). Little girls can be wise, too.

A girl might say: That is not the way to sweep a room. But some little girl may say -- 'I should have known that without reading the

*Pilgrim's Progress*.'

Very likely (Davies 32).

Through text, the child portrayal of Christian in Part I (Taylor 1889) is continued in the 1910, Part II

¹ The comic uses upper-case so it is reproduced in the same way according to MLA method.
version by the same author, now with coloured illustrations. The adult Christian's exploits are again achieved through "Little Christian" acting as observer throughout the second part. To do this, the author manipulates the text to an extent. Another reteller (Tunnicliff 1915), draws attention to the child:

One of the children was looking out of the window and he called to his mother, Christiana, that his father was running away (13).

Although the child is here a passive observer of pilgrimage, in Tunnicliff's Part II that follows (1915), the child wants to be, and becomes, the pilgrim hero himself. Dialogue shows not only active involvement but a developing spiritual discernment:

(Joseph in response to Gaius). He that bestows his goods upon the poor, Shall have as much again and ten times more.

(Samuel). Mother, this is a very good man's house; let us stay here for a long time (100).

The second device is the use of illustrations for emphasis. Several versions portray Christian as a youth (Davies 1901; Nelson 1961). In the dungeon of Giant Despair, Hopeful looks like a boy of about twelve years; similarly when he is shown in other scenes, as when crossing the river and giving support to the sinking adult (RTS 1903). Later (RTS 1903), one of the boys resolutely holds Great Heart's hand and presses forward
up the Hill Difficulty, although crying as he climbs (Also in RTS 1909). His courage is accentuated by the fact that one child has fallen and two are lagging behind.

Crayons provide contemporary illustrations in the Couldridge edition of 1979, Christian's Journey. Rich in colour, and by primitive simplicity, they resemble infant and primary school drawings, which is probably the illustrator's intention, thus making a subtle statement about its intended child audience. Christian has a beard, yet he looks small and childlike, as do all the characters. This version would be excellent to use in an infant school and would motivate role play, re-enactment, storytelling, drawing, painting and modelling, all active ways into confirming the story; creating a classroom of giants, dragons, and superheroes as children took upon themselves the roles of heroes of the text.

The Fuller and Marriot edition, Pilgrim, (1980) has a similar appeal. Its sense of fun makes it dedicated to: "Shame and Mrs Batseyes. From Wanton and Mr Highmind" yet the large picture book (approx. 33 x 23 cms) is true to the spirit of Bunyan's original work, in text and illustration. The final scene features a small child hero, about to enter the Celestial City which blazes in colour.
The Pilgrim's Progress Painting Book (1958) also places children within Christian's story as important persons. When "Christian Pleads With His Family", the children look from about three to nine years. They have their own appeal, being children from another age, all dressed in simple Puritan style with peaked collars, in a home that has simple furniture, a straight-backed bench for them to sit on and pewter plates (so they appear), for their food.

The Animal as Hero

In 1994 there is a shift from male and child hero to the animal as hero, achieved in an adaptation by Alan and Linda Parry, The Evergreen Wood (Figure 10). The folklore structure of their illustrated story duplicates Bunyan's own: 1. Problem. 2. Quest. 3. Tests. 4. Happy Resolution. The character of the one-dimensional characters is easily recognizable, whether on the side of good (like the white mouse) or evil (the fox). Even when the authors make a black rat a hero figure -- Heathley, the animal equivalent of Hopeful -- his speech and picture define what he is.

The problem of the Dark Wood (City of Destruction) totally concerns ecology, a late-twentieth century issue which is commonly recognized by most infant school children. It is a single focus, more fitting to young
ALAN & LINDA PARRY

The Evergreen Wood

An adaptation of The Pilgrim's Progress for children
children than the multi-problem focus of the comic format for adolescents. The Evergreen Wood where Christopher Mouse lives is "in poor shape" (6). As he looks around him he observes that:

The stream that used to sparkle with freshness had turned muddy brown, and bubbles foamed up on its banks. Most of the trees had been cut down, and nobody had bothered to plant any more. Strong winds now blew straight through the once dense wood. Much of the soft, loamy earth, which the mice made their homes in, had blown away, leaving the ground hard and barren. Christopher sighed. "And what's more," he mused, "owls and hawks are on the increase, and it's not so easy to hide from them these days" (6).

This leads into his reading of a public notice that invites the creatures of the Dark Wood to make the long journey to the Evergreen Wood. Christopher Mouse accepts the invitation, and so begins the quest. His sadness at seeming the only creature to set out, and having to leave his family and friends behind, becomes a heavy burden on his back. Despite his frailties, he is a mouse of integrity so he resolutely presses on, as does Bunyan's hero, through the mire and the narrow gate, up the steep hill, via the Black Valley, the Rat Fair and Fox Territory where conflict and testing await.
Central to the story is Christopher's meeting of the white lamb at the top of a hill when:

the burden on his back slipped off and rolled away.

"Welcome," said the Lamb. He presented the mouse with a book, a key, and a new suit of clothes.

Christopher's own clothes were very dirty from the mire. "Read the book," said the Lamb. "It will help you on your journey. And take care of the key," he added, "for with it you will be able to unlock the gates of The Evergreen Wood" (21).

At this point Christopher is transformed into a Christian hero who journeys on, reading the "book" as advised and singing. His song is not that of Bunyan's famous pilgrim's but a doggeral version in rhyming couplets that suits a simple mouse: "My burdens gone, now I'm free, New life has been given me . . . " (22).

The animal characters aptly parallel those of The Pilgrim's Progress as shown by a partial comparative listing (Table 9). The child can cope comfortably with animals, for

fables are ideal reading for small children,
whose solemn anthropomorphism meets the talking animals half-way -- a point of view that is no less obvious in the modern child than it was in the eighteenth century, in Caxton's day or in . . . the pre-Christian era (Muir 24).
Table 9
Parallel Characters in *The Pilgrim's Progress* and *The Evergreen Wood*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pilgrim's Progress</th>
<th>The Evergreen Wood</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>Christopher Mouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelist</td>
<td>White Mouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obstinate/Pliable</td>
<td>Rabbits: Stickle/Fickle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help</td>
<td>Old Vole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Worldy Wiseman</td>
<td>Mr Townley Toad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Legality</td>
<td>Beak, the Tawny Owl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodwill</td>
<td>Holgate Hedgehog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Interpreter</td>
<td>Brockley Badger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple, Sloth, Presumption</td>
<td>Hares: Loafer, Lounger, Lazy-Bones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formality and Hypocrisy</td>
<td>Weasels: Fiddle and Diddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mistrust and Timorous</td>
<td>Mice: Quiver and Quake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lions</td>
<td>Hawks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watchful</td>
<td>Mervin Mole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faithful</td>
<td>Woodley Woodmouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christiana</td>
<td>Christina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is easy for a child not only to "meet the talking animals half-way" but to become the hero as reader (Appleyard 14, 57; Swaim, The Pilgrim's Progress, 47). Moreover, talking animals continue to be popular with young readers, according to "Pick of the Summer Hardbacks" (Books for Keeps, July, 1995).

The narrative gives glimpses of the important events of The Pilgrim's Progress in sequential order. Vanity Fair becomes Rat Fair; the Enchanted Ground does not change its name. The story ends joyously:

The gates swung open. Bright sunlight beamed down upon them and glowed through the tall, green trees. The Stream of Living Waters sparkled wide and fresh through the wood, and golden flowers grew along its banks. Christopher breathed in the clean, sweet air and felt the peace and security all around him (63).

A great company of animals stood waiting to greet them. They cried:

"Welcome to the Evergreen Wood!" and "Well done, you faithful creatures! Come and share our happiness!"

They crowded round the heroes . . . (63)

Children listen spell-bound to this adaptation, deriving from it "sheer enjoyment", in Godden's terms (111).1 Perhaps they recognize the familiarity of Beatrix Potter's woodland creatures or those of Wind in the Willows. The Parrys' portrayal of Shady, the water-shrew

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1 The writer has read it to children and knows its success.
in his boat, is especially reminiscent of Grahame and Shepard's Water Rat, so that there is relevance to an already established experience in story. Perhaps children may even notice a likeness to Carroll's Alice, for when Christopher and his companion, Heathley, follow the grey rabbit, suddenly the ground gives way and they fall down and down into the bottom of an enormous rabbit hole. In Piagetian terms, the images of the adaptation may "accommodate" with an established "schema" (Cowan 200).

The appeal of the book cannot be because the mouse is always obedient or sensible, because he is not. Sometimes the subversive behaviour of a huge wild cat, rats, foxes and others is dominant, so that the overall flavour of the story is neither sickly sweet nor a sort of "Good Bunnies always Obey" (Epstein 70). Certainly it has the ingredients that Wooden describes: "an exciting narrative with villains, victims and victors and a suspenseful ending" (xx).

The Evergreen Wood is, yet at the same time it certainly is not, The Pilgrim's Progress. It is the progress of a small creature that belongs to a long tradition of the mouse in literature.¹ He is a brave but unlikely hero who goes out in armour provided by others;

who says at the last, believing that his wife and children will soon join him in the Evergreen Wood: "My happiness . . . is almost complete." It is a type of deconstruction, though it is more of a reduction whereby locus and personae have different names though similar attributes. To a large degree it fulfills Demer's criteria for the success of Bunyan's allegory (115): weakness and strength in the hero; use of personified abstractions (e.g. Stickle, Fickle, Loafer, Lounger and Lazybones); and symbolic topography. The geographic features enter into the illustrations on every opening of the text and are also in a map of the entire terrain of the story, showing starting point, main route, divergent paths and destination (4-5), with heroes and antiheroes pictured where they relate to story.

Where is the sovereignty of a Saviour figure? It is present in the Lamb. Where is the support throughout the journey? It is present in the physical intervention of the Lamb himself in the form of the White Mouse, and in the encouragement of friends like Ginger, Flame and Honey Squirrel who give the mouse a helmet, shield and sword -- like those Christian received from the maidens at the House Beautiful. It is present in the Stream of Living Waters that sustains several times; that heals after the little mouse encounters a huge wild cat -- equivalent of a giant in Bunyan's story; present in a
letter from his wife and children, telling of their
decision to set out on the same journey.

The authors could have made Christopher Mouse a
flawed character though of upright inclinations, who,
through right choices and interaction within his
environment, reaches a state of equilibrium in
personality and steadiness of character which bring
materialistic rewards. This would have depicted a
Humanist society, within the Ecological Model of
Developmental Theory. Alan and Linda Parry choose not to
do so, but clearly stay with Bunyan's Christian model
where the hero submits to the sovereignty of the Lamb
and the instruction of his book, thereby substituting
more relevant symbols (in their view) than Bunyan's. It
is interesting to note, however, that it is the White
Mouse who welcomes Christopher to the Evergreen Wood
with good news. Like the depiction of Nelson's version
of Evangelist (1961), which is a strong resemblance to
traditional pictures of Jesus Christ, so also the Parrys
convey their perception of the Lamb, the omniscient,
omnipresent guide who can appear in different guises.

The Female Hero

The heroic feminine character, analogue of the
masculine first part (Swaim, "Feminine Heroic", 387) is
glimpsed through both narrative and illustrative
emphasis in some versions of Part II. Bunyan's text is not greatly supportive, generally presenting females as weak, fearful beings (*PP*, Timorous, 182; Christiana and Mercy, 195), despite the strength of character in the knowledgable young women of the House Beautiful who can handle armoury. Another exception, described by Sadler as a "purple passage" (110) is where Bunyan praises women for their ministry to Christ after the crucifixion (*PP* 261). However, given that Bunyan's model of a hero is flawed, then Mercy swooning at the gate, as in Bunyan's text, and Christiana looking tired at the hill of Difficulty (illustration; *RTS* 1903) project them as very unlikely heroic material (especially in a century when women can be astronauts) yet they, too, can be candidates for heroic roles, according to Bunyan's own criteria of faith and faithfulness.

When Christiana blesses the children before her final departure, text and illustration agree as they show her as a victorious person, worthy of emulation (*RTS*, 1903, no. 31). She is ranked first to be called over the river, hailed in words similar to those used to Mary at the annunciation, "Hail, good woman" (*PP* 304). She is now the strong mother figure (also in Matthew 1926), soon to be the bride of Christ (Thickstun 450). Mercy, on the other hand, of equal courage and endurance, is pictured in the sterotyped way that Dixon decries (1977), for she is the industrious female at her
sewing (Illustration 30; RTS 1903). Other authors, Walker (1907) and Elias (1910) use chapter headings, rather than illustrations to stress the valour of "Christiana the Faithful-Hearted."

Great Heart is not a man, but a woman with flowing locks and enormous breasts (Figure 11) in the comic form (Marvel 1992). In six pages of exaggerated comic-style illustration, her role as guide and heroic protector is clearly shown.

Also in the comic form, the femininist perspective is shown in the bond between Mercy and Christiana as they embrace before Christiana crosses the dark river and Mercy promises to care for the children who are left behind:

Mercy: I'LL LOVE THEM AND CARE FOR THEM, LIKE THEY WERE MY OWN.

Christiana: THANK YOU, MERCY. IF THEIR FAITH WEAKENS, SPEAK WORDS OF COMFORT TO THEM. I LOVE YOU MERCY, AND I'LL NEVER FORGET YOU!¹

An indication of equality of the sexes, the heroic role is shared between a sister and brother (Christian and Faith) in The King's Highway: A Modern Adaptation of Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" (Howles 1993). In the final scene the narrator extols them both, telling how they

¹ Upper-case is shown here as in the comic form.
YOUR HUSBAND, CHRISTIAN, WAS A VERY BRAVE KNIGHT HIMSELF!

HE SUFFERED MANY SORROWS, AND MUCH ABONY TO SAVE HIS FAMILY!

YOU SHOULD BE VERY PROUD.

I AM GREAT-HEART, YOUR KNIGHT AND PROTECTOR.

YOU ARE SAFE NOW.

I-I DON'T KNOW HOW TO THANK YOU...

IT IS MY DUTY, M'LADY.

BEHOLD! THIS IS THE PLACE WHERE CHRISTIAN WAS RELEASED FROM HIS BURDEN.

THE CROSS OF OUR SAVIOR...

-- I NOW UNDERSTAND, CHRISTIAN.

OH-- CHRIS... I'M SO SORRY...

I SHOULDN'T HAVE DOUBTED YOU...
plunged into the freezing cold water and began to swim. It was difficult as the current was quite strong, but eventually they... made it to the other side... And so Christian, Faith and all the others lived happily ever after (30).

**The Black Hero**

A black-skinned person of heroic qualities is introduced in both the Marvel comic form and in *The Evergreen Wood*. The comic version, which shows late twentieth-century awareness of society and its issues, depicts a swarthy Hopeful who appears to have dreadlocks and dyed hair (Figure 12). He, however, is a wise pilgrim, knows and loves the Scriptures and testifies eloquently to Christ's grace (PP 143). Christian depends on his strength several times and they reach the Celestial City together, as brothers, as equals.

This depiction is a subtle statement about the equality of races and that the Kingdom of Heaven is not limited to "All things White and Beautiful", to adopt Dixon's phrase (1977). It is, nevertheless, not true to Bunyan's seventeenth-century depiction. Certainly he saw Christian and Hopeful as brothers, but not as black brothers. Bunyan's archetypal black character is Flatterer, a deceiver and false apostle who led

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WELCOME, PILGRIMS!

WELCOME TO THE DELECTABLE MOUNTAINS.

YOUR LONG JOURNEY IS NEARLY OVER!

SEE THERE! YOU CAN FINALLY GLIMPSE THE CELESTIAL CITY!

YOU HAVEN'T MUCH FARTHER TO GO! JUST DOWN THAT HILL!

WE ARE IN A NEW COUNTRY, WHERE THE AIR IS SWEET AGAIN...

A LAND WHERE THE SUN NEVER SETS...

AND WHERE COMMON MEN WALK WITH ANGELS.

WE CAN HARDLY BELIEVE ITS BEAUTY.

I PRAY MY FAMILY CAN SEE THIS SOMEDAY.
Christian and Hopeful into a net (PP 133). Because equality of races is an issue of relevance in the twentieth century, Hopeful, in The Evergreen Wood, is both animal and black.

**Bunyan and Christ as Heroes**

Whereas Bunyan himself received adulation in former centuries through the inclusion of his photograph as frontspiece, this aspect of the author as hero decreases and almost disappears in twentieth-century versions for children. Some versions, however, do provide biographical details but they are not prominent.

In contrast, the support figure of the narrative, source of salvation, Jesus Christ, is still a pervasive background figure who emerges at crucial stages of the story as in Bunyan's original. The cross, symbol of Christ's crucifixion, remains central across the century. Here the pilgrim's burden rolls away and it is a joyous scene (MacDonald, 1901, illustration 7; Davies, 1901, illustration 15; RTS, 1903, illustration 6; MacGregor 1906; Walker 1907; Caunter 1951; Nelson 1961; Coulbridge, 1979, 21; SU, 1983; Gray, 1990). By 1994, Jesus is depicted through a pure white lamb symbol of sacrifice. He is also the compassionate one who cares for young children (Herbertson 1909).
Other examples of Christ's care are shown through illustrations. Unseen, yet present and wearing his crown, he watches over the man with the muck-rake (RTS, 1903, 23). In the Valley of the Shadow of Death he is a visible fellow traveller in several versions (e.g. Tunnicliff 1915). Obedience to his commandments is stressed at times, as in Martin, 1954, where Revelation 22:14 is highlighted within a box frame.

Christ also receives praise and recognition throughout the century, as, for example by Davies (1901) who concludes:

May the Lord bless you all and teach you to trust only in Jesus for your salvation and trusting Him, to follow His footsteps faithfully all through life until at last He will welcome you into His presence with exceeding joy (188).

In Morris's first edition of 1954, repeated in the fifth impression (1965), he tells in the concluding paragraph that when Christian and Hopeful reached the "realm of joy" that they were "nevermore sad":

nor did they cry, for the Lord wiped away all tears from their eyes. They served him continually and the song that was ever on their lips was: Unto Him who has loved us and washed us from sin, Unto Him be the glory forever, Amen.

In 1979, similarly: "Glory Glory to the One who sits Upon the throne" (Coulbridge 61); pictured in
majesty overlooking the Celestial City (Fuller and Marriot, (1980, 47). By 1990 (Gray), the reference is more subdued: heroes are greeted by a crowd of citizens from Heaven, dressed in glowing robes and wearing golden crowns. They say, "Enter in the joy of the Lord."

Continuing Religious Nature of Text and Hero

The emphasis on Christ has to be recognized as part of the continuing religious nature of the text. Out of the total of eighteen versions in the first decade, the Religious Tract Society accounted for five and the Sunday School Union for one (i.e. one-third). Thus we can identify the involvement of these organisations in religious education in the first decade of the new century and beyond, as with the Religious Tract Society again in 1913 and 1978. Promotion by other Christian organisations continued during the years 1901-1996: the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1921, 1925, 1926; the religious Drama Society, 1949; the Scripture Union in 1978, 1983; the Epworth Press in 1956; the Lutterworth Press in 1979 and the Bunyan and Moorley's Presses in 1993.

Despite the proliferation of new versions for children in the early part of the century, child readers still had access to the unabridged version, of which the Religious Tract Society published three editions prior
to the 1914-18 war (1903, 1905, 1913) using full-page coloured illustrations.

Sixty-five years elapsed before the Religious Tract Society published it again as a tercentenary edition in 1978. The most recent unabridged format, however, is by the Bunyan Press (1993). It is not in large print, but is clearly laid out in two columns of print per page and has large colourful pictures on every opening. These are in oil by a much acclaimed, contemporary Dutch artist, Albert Wessels, who uses seventeenth century settings and costume. It is claimed that so much detail is contained within his illustrations that they demand more than casual attention (Foreword). Because of its full text, the work is out-of-step with current children's literature, but the illustrations may fascinate thoughtful readers, not only because the pictures reflect a distant past, but also because of primitive quaintness and sometimes subversive focus, as shown with huge Giant Despair (Figure 13). The edition makes no pretence of diluting Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, and thus maintains "the great tradition" which Epstein laments is lost to most children, being "merely old fadshioned" (85).

The Christian basis and tone of Bunyan's text, even in abridgements and retellings, is not confined to those editions published by religious publishers. With them

Fig. 13. Giant Despair
all it is the rule, rather than the exception. Morris's retelling (1965) concludes, for example, with a doxology-type prayer:

    Unto Him who has loved us
    And washed us from sin,
    Unto Him be the glory for ever.
    Amen.

The same emphasis on the saving power of Christ appears over and over again, true to the spirit of Bunyan's original. In Christian's Journey (Coulbridge 1979), Hopeful reminds Christian: "Remember what Jesus said, 'Do not be afraid. Trust in me.'" (61). The importance of the "Book" is also retained.

The work's devotional nature and use is stressed in the Hodder and Stoughton version for children (Ed., Hodder Williams 1911). He makes it clear that The Children's Edition of The Pilgrim's Progress is "intended to form a companion to the New Peep of Day and the New Line Upon Line", these being works which replaced nineteenth-century books of religious instruction by the same names. The former was originally written by evangelical writer, Mrs F. L. Mortimer in 1836 (Oxford Companion 399).

Some compilers/retellers make an effort to stress their religious bias, for example the Reverend David Davies who wrote in 1901, long before the ecumenical movement changed relationships between Christian
denominations. Davies wishes to see his "first part of The Pilgrim's Progress receive a wider reading by the young of this generation, amid all the desultory and scrappy literature now available" (Preface) and he warns his readers against Roman Catholicism as Bunyan and others had done two hundred years earlier:

I suppose that Bunyan's description of Popery in his day as being as evil as ever, but helpless to do much mischief in this country, is equally true of the present time . . . Whenever you hear about the Pope, the priest and the confessional . . . remember it is your high privilege to go straight to God alone, and in the name of Jesus Christ confess your sins to him" (86).

Davies' strongly Protestant view, yet true to the spirit of Bunyan's text, is again stressed in his closure which reads like a doxology:

May the Lord bless you all and teach you to trust only in Jesus for your salvation . . . until at last He will welcome you into His presence with exceeding joy" (188).

Children's familiarity with Christian clichés, premises of faith and the place of the supernatural in one's life is assumed in a number of versions,¹ especially in the first half-century where compilers

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¹ Avery notes much the same in her description of Victorian times. (Nineteenth Century Children). 63.
address their readers directly without embarrassment or apology, as for example:

What I would say very lovingly to all girls and boys who read the Pilgrim's Progress is: Do not wait for the burden. If you have it, do not wait till it is gone... It is not a question of whether you are happy or wretched, but whether you are willing to go to the Wicket Gate, to become a pilgrim, to yield up your life to the Lord Jesus (RTS, 1908, 5).

The Reverend Charles Brown (1909) goes further, including his own little homilies amid the retelling. He identifies the picture of the man with the muck-rake as "the picture of a very foolish person. It shows what you must not be" (21). At the same time he extols the virtue of "Looking Up: 1. With thankfulness to God for all his great gifts, and especially for his greatest gift of all. II. Look up with earnest desire" (22).¹

Secular publishers continued to publish unabridged editions during the century: 1903, 1909, 1926, 1927, 1935, 1947. This ceased at about mid-century when post-war disillusionment became pronounced.

¹ Italics are used as in Brown's text.
Conclusion

Heroes are not superseded in the twentieth century and children need them as inspirational figures. More than that, heroes pass on the ethos of a culture and its history, and they are part of a chain of goodness that links the literature of centuries.

The antiheroes of literature are probably safe because they remain within the pages of a book while offering the vicarious thrill and warning of experience. They contribute to the tension that makes a book exciting; to the conflict which is important in any plot (Sudbery 31). Psychic responses and interaction with society will determine relevance and a child's choice.

The Pilgrim's Progress offers both types of characters: heroes and antiheroes. In the versions of the twentieth century they appear as the traditional male, as child, female, black-skinned or animal. Black is no longer confined to denoting evil, and a person flawed by weakness and mistakes can still be a hero.

Child focus is the notable aspect of publications of The Pilgrim's Progress in the twentieth century, a focus which has led to a surge in simple retellings of Bunyan's story. This affects simplicity of language as well as an elimination of theology and heavy didacticism. Inasmuch, however, that all children's literature is inescapably didactic because of the
author's unexamined assumptions (Hollindale 12), the bias remains toward goodness and Christian symbols (e.g. book, cross, lamb) although Christ's name is not mentioned. It is, therefore, still possible to read the story at a basic level of plot without any thought of symbolism or allegory. As animal story or fairy tale it embodies the charm of those genres.

Child focus and the general popularity of the picture book/picture story is also reflected in large sized editions of The Pilgrim's Progress with pictures on every opening.

Some versions try to make Bunyan's story more up-to-date by including current societal issues, but these are mere cosmetic changes, and are probably appropriate and relevant in a society which is different from Bunyan's. Reeves suggests that (1976):

It would be vain to try to improve on a story which has been read with such profound affection by people in many lands for three hundred years. The secret of its appeal lies in Bunyan's passion, sincerity and originality, and in his love of that greatest of all English classics, the King James Bible (10).

The unabridged and abridged versions are superseded by retellings and divergent forms, the latter being more prevalent in, and relevant to, the second half of the century. These include stage versions that span the
century, where the hero appears visibly in living flesh, speaking, singing and affirming his quest in the manner of modern musicals which children know from television and theatre.

Five divergent forms in the years between 1990-1995, give a fresh appraisal of the hero in modern, relevant settings. The number is equal to the average quantity published in forty years, from 1950-1990. This could be interpreted as a new rise of interest in *The Pilgrim's Progress* and its hero. Will divergence be the way into the new millennium? Or will the story of "every man's ideal self, whatever may be his creed" continue to be read in Bunyan's own prose even while the English Language endures? (Lynd 152).

Has the time come for mythic portrayals by new symbols that are more relevant to the modern psyche, as Joseph Campbell suggests? (390). Will dramatic and musical versions dominate instead of printed story? Certainly the "passion, sincerity and originality" to which Reeves refers (10), are suited to the divergency of the comic, video and stage format.

The folk-lore pattern continues: "quest, test for the hero and eventual reward" (Leeson 41), told with excitement and action, emphasized as early as 1915 in Tunnicliff's versions. Through illustration, the Celestial City now resembles the glamour, pinnacles and
towers of Disney's Magic Kingdom with colours like disco lights.

One thing is uncertain, however: is there a continuing heart-cry, "What must I do to be saved?", whether from a burden of sin, according to biblically prescribed ancient commandments; or from an impoverished and ecologically dying planet; or from a society where drugs and crime are everyday events that degrade humanity. If there is, does it arise from only the parents of children -- those who may actually purchase The Pilgrim's Progress, or do children themselves feel a sense of need?

Because of the popularity of the musical, "Jesus Christ, Superstar," and the increase in divergent forms of The Pilgrim's Progress -- especially stage forms which children participate in, as either actors and/or audience -- one could suspect a continuing vulnerability of the human spirit and a still-present recognition and relevance of the pilgrim hero who presses on to ultimate goodness.
CONCLUSION

In Chapters 2-7 this thesis has addressed inter-related issues pertaining to *The Pilgrim’s Progress* and its place in children's literature. The first of these concerns the hero figure; the second relates to the responses of its audience of child readers over three centuries. The third issue is also about children but concerns the relevance to their lives of (i) historical-sociological events and/or ethos of the seventeenth to twentieth centuries; (ii) twentieth-century theories of child development. Finally, those writers who followed Bunyan's pattern -- Bunyan's heirs -- are presented, so that we see *The Pilgrim's Progress* emerging as a prototype in three centuries of children's literature.¹

The Hero

Across the centuries the super hero -- albeit a flawed one in his natural personality -- is Christian, the male, seventeenth-century religious pilgrim, heroic through his "outer-dependence", as opposed to inner, humanistic strength. This view emerges from Bunyan's text but is supported and influenced by the focus of illustrations, beginning from the fifth edition of 1682.

¹ See Introduction (15) for the four aims of the thesis.
Bunyan's seventeenth-century portrayal of a male hero is in keeping with the popular stories of traditional romance, read in chapbook form. It also reflects the dominant role that men assumed in society, by children's fathers, brothers, clergy and other authority figures, while the Christian persona is in keeping with Puritan faith. This same view continues in the eighteenth century through the unabridged text and also through woodcuts. John Wesley's abridgement (1743) shows the first sign of any diminishment of the hero. This is due to Wesley's cutting of the text and somewhat inadequate attempts at precis.

Slight but subtle changes come in the second half of the eighteenth century through the emphases of illustrations. Refinement of printing techniques, as copper engraving and woodcut methods developed simultaneously (Gentry 164), make the hero appear less homespun and more sophisticated, though still in seventeenth-century attire. There also appears to be a move away from a stress on religious calling and instruction to personal choice and a romanticized viewpoint which are in harmony with the late eighteenth century Romantic movement. This suggests a move toward secularization, not by text but by the influence of illustrators. As Whalley and Chester say of The Pilgrim's Progress, it is a work that "each generation of artists reinterprets" (15).
In the nineteenth century, the pendulum swings back to a strong religious emphasis so the masculine hero fits with a Victorian, male-dominated society. This emphasis is seen in the text of both the unabridged versions and the retellings for children. Illustrations also support this projection, but change is foreseen by Charles Lamb who did not want his seventeenth-century hero to be dressed like nineteenth-century man (Tibbutt 7). Embossed bindings and ornate cover illustrations also contribute to changing Christian from a plain man to middle-class gentleman or romantic, idealized hero, depending on the artists' depiction.

The twentieth century maintains the religious male hero in all the unabridged editions. Via the language of some abridgements and retellings, the same focus continues. Nevertheless, from mid-century onwards, Christian's undistinguished start to pilgrimage and his fraility are stressed more than before, through the language of retellers. This may be seen as a reflection of an age when the psychological novel is popular and has moved into children's literature; when people in society are open about feelings and inadequacies. Illustrations of this period also support texts that project the traditional male hero.
Other Heroes -- Mother and Children

It is rightly claimed that Christiana is a key figure in unifying Parts I and II (Keeble, "Christiana's Key", 1-20); and that Mercy is important for her cross-over role (Swaim, Mercy, 388). There is, however, even before Part II, a case for the presence and importance of a child's nature -- an aspect of the hero as a child. In Part I it is denoted by Christian's ready acceptance of the Book, of Evangelist's guidance and the trusting way he submits his burden, fear and dependence to the Lord of the hill and way, who is also the Man of the cross and sepulchre and the King of the Celestial City, three-in-one. Christian's characteristics of faith and submission are child-like qualities that effectively depict Isaiah's words: "A little child shall lead them" (11:6) and the instruction of Christ, "Except ye be converted and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of Heaven" (Matthew 18:3. These portrayals in Part I are confirmed in Part II by its intimate portrayals of four children.

The children behave in a recognizable way, even by twentieth-century standards. They chatter, play and laugh. They disobey, grizzle and get tired. They try to please adults and they are frequently active. Each one is different, however, despite the commonality of a childish nature. Matthew is a strong eldest son who
quickly personalizes his parents' faith and personifies his father's boldness. Joseph, the second sibling, is inclined to be timid, more inward-looking than his older brother. He reflects his father's fearfulness. Samuel, the third son, is thoughtful, observant and an encourager, demonstrating other dimensions of his father's complex nature. James is just a little boy who, at the beginning of Part II, scares easily, needs his mother and the protection of Great-heart. As he grows, so does his confidence and faith. Thus they each portray a character type, each of which can reach the borders of, and ultimately cross into, the promised land.

Mercy is a character for teenage girls to look at with admiration for she is so much like an impetuous teenager -- at one minute loudly saying what she thinks, then becoming faint and sick, before switching to assist others wherever she can, and doing so with competence. She takes on pilgrimage without special invitation but she is welcomed at the wicket gate and, as Swaim says, "fulfills the expected feminine role, but also echoes, subsumes and elevates elements of Christian's heroism" ("Mercy" 388). At a psychological level she demonstrates the "exuberant psychic faculties of which this (adolescence) is the nascent period" (Sparks 229). The text of the unabridged editions and abridged versions across the centuries extol Mercy, though she receives little attention from illustrators.
Thus it can be seen that, while Christian is the central protagonist, there is an arguable case for the feminine heroic form, and especially for the child hero.

**Bunyan as Hero**

Bunyan, himself, receives recognition in the seventeenth century by the inclusion of his portrait, set within a frame that also shows the pilgrim figure, thus associating the two. In the eighteenth century, a bust portrait appears in eighteen of the ninety editions studied for this thesis, not a significant proportion. In the nineteenth century, however, Bunyan receives much adulation and is "at last included among English Men of Letters" (Brittain 407). There appears to be more frequent use of his portrait as a frontispiece, and the picture shows him smartened-up in appearance. In the twentieth century, the adulation and use of portrait have greatly diminished.

**The Animal Hero**

In the nineteenth century a variation on the hero emerges briefly from *The Pilgrim's Progress*. This is anticipated in Ballantyne's adaptation, *The Kitten Pilgrims* (1882). No-one else portrays an animal hero in Bunyan's story until over a hundred years later when, in
accordance with the profusion of animal stories and animal heroes for children, Alan and Linda Parry present a new hero -- not a rabbit,¹ a lion,² a bear,³ or a pig⁴ -- but Christopher Mouse, supported by Old Vole, Holegate Hedgehog, Woodley Woodmouse and others of the countryside. In an adaptation, *The Evergreen Wood*, Bunyan's "evergreen" story is retold using animal characters. The setting has a ring of fairy-tale but nevertheless the new format has spiritual qualities and extols the Lamb who makes the pilgrim journey possible. Originally published in 1992, its reprints in 1992 and 1994, suggest success with children.

**A Changing Hero**

Over three centuries, Christian is projected as the all-heroic character, through the grace freely given him. From the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries this image of the hero persists. In the twentieth century, also, the unabridged text, now infrequently published for children, plus the religiously focused abridgements and retellings that are presented with sympathetic illustrations, still convey the same image. Very

¹ As with Beatrix Potter.
² As with C. S. Lewis.
³ Used by A. A. Milne, and a twentieth-century favourite in books for young children.
⁴ Made popular by E. B. White and Dick King-Smith.
gradually, however, through some retellings, he is becoming secularized.

Christian may have been an anachronistic hero even when he first emerged, yet he does have a timelessness and possible universality about him (Swaim 48). To some modern child readers, if only a few, the original hero may continue to stand firmly in his armour, sword in hand. The search, the dream, the battle motifs, the identification of self in society, the questions of morality and the "entire question of destiny" which the hero encapsulates, still preoccupy American readers (MacDonald, Christian's Children x). It may be the same for some English children in light of the various versions of The Pilgrim's Progress available.

Other characters are also hero figures, gently present from the beginning, whose natures are subsumed within Christian's own. He is the hero in his own right, yet there is also a composite hero present if women, children and animal symbols are considered.

Additionally, both internal to the text as narrator's voice and external to the text as a Christian hero is Bunyan himself, whose star of veneration rose through three centuries, evidenced, for example, by the crowds who attended his services from 1672 on (Maguire xxxviii) and the inclusion of his portrait and biography in many editions of The Pilgrim's Progress. Recognition
of the author in the composite hero is an important assertion of this thesis.

The Pilgrim's Progress, a Book for Children

Over three centuries there are numerous testimonies that indicate children's positive responses. The first indication that children were readers of the story came from Bunyan himself in "The Author's Way of Sending Forth His Second Part of The Pilgrim" (sic) and by attempts of other seventeenth-century authors to write books for children that emulated The Pilgrim's Progress.

In the eighteenth century are the tributes of the writers Bamford, Burns, Johnson, Lamb, Pope, Richardson and Swift who recalled Bunyan's influence on their own work. From the less illustrious, one a former stable-boy, come other testimonies which focus on the elements that appealed to them: the way their curiosity, excitement and imagination were aroused; the impact of the woodcuts, causing pleasure that was "indescribable", (sic) so that the work was read continually and repeatedly (Q. D. Leavis 110).

Nineteenth-century children frequently received The Pilgrim's Progress as a reward book and also had access to cards that depicted colourful and exciting scenes from Bunyan's story. Not only did they receive the unabridged form, but also, particularly from mid-
Plays, dialogues, retellings and simple editions proliferated; the jigsaw and coloured panorama each offered another medium; it was also part of Sunday School and day-school curriculum.

It is no wonder, then, that Macaulay praised the work profusely: "In every nursery, the Pilgrim's Progress is a greater favourite than Jack the Giant Killer" (Preface to 1864 edition; J. S. Laurie, ed.). Others, such as Coleridge, Crabbe, Keats, Roberts, Ruskin, Shaw, Southey, Stevenson and Thompson, also told of the work's impact on their young lives. Again, their reading had been incessant and insatiable and had stirred imagination; the story was remembered with "special vividness" (Roberts 152).

Twentieth-century praise comes from Ardizzone, Bridges, Chesterton, Hill, Mee, and from several abridgers and retellers (Charles Brown 1908; Hodder Williams 1911; Caunter 1951). Ardizzone's tribute is especially memorable as he attributes his life work to the vividness of The Pilgrim's Progress, and to its thumbnail engravings that gave him immense pleasure as a child (355).
Relevance to Children: An Historical-Sociological Perspective

In the late seventeenth century, the years 1660-1685 were marked by societal unrest which probably affected the children of Dissenting and Nonconformist households to some extent as the State attempted to enforce conformity. The persecution, imprisonment and the importance of Christian community with its Biblical faith all resonate within *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

The societal ethos of eighteenth-century England can be interpreted several ways, yet it was still a time of religious significance (Coveney 40; Porter 1). This made Bunyan's emphases relevant to established Protestantism and to the rise of Sunday Schools and missionary societies. Death was topical and common in a century of high child mortality, while a spirit of anti-Roman Catholicism continued (Morton 317), thus there continued to be resonances in Bunyan's text. The work was also relevant to an expanding child readership as educational opportunities increased, although two-thirds of the poor were not yet reached by education (Malcomson in Davies 96; Cunningham 33).

Similarly, in the nineteenth century *The Pilgrim's Progress* fitted perfectly with the spirit of evangelicalism, the establishment of Indian missions and parental desire for their children's moral and religious
instruction. Moreover, children's reading skills continued to expand, via the Sunday School movement and increased provision of schools, whereby at least two hours school attendance a day was required of child factory workers (Thomson 47). Resonances between text and society lessened, however, although child illness and death were still common, and parents who were dying called for their children to be around them to be blessed (Lucy 75).

The twentieth century began with continuing interest in The Pilgrim's Progress and, one assumes, children continued to read the unabridged and abridged formats as well as retellings. The latter, along with divergent forms, such as comic, painting book and stage versions, are the most popular form of the century. Unabridged and abridged versions largely disappear from 1961 onwards, this being understood in light of a modern, secular society.

Until 1960, with the continuance of Sunday Schools and church adherance (Christie Davies 83; Sangster, History, 171), The Pilgrim's Progress would have maintained echoes for those children exposed to a Christian religious experience. The memorization of Scriptural memory verses, collect and creed, would still have been familiar, as was the need for a Christian to witness to others of the place of grace in his life. That Christians may be persecuted for their beliefs may
have been emphasized by the sacrificial deaths of missionaries. These zealous Christians were often supported by local churches and Sunday Schools. Thus there were some resonances between society and Bunyan's text, but now they reached a decreasing audience.

Relevance to Children: A Psychological Appraisal

The recorded responses of child readers of *The Pilgrim's Progress* from the eighteenth to mid-twentieth centuries makes it clear that the psychic response was always important. Feelings were stirred, especially those of excitement and wonder, while imagination made the text and its hero real and relevant.

To the twentieth century child, living in an age of diminishing societal relevance to Bunyan's text, it is probably at the psychic level that the story retains validity. Macdonald has identified the internal factors, however, which "still preoccupy readers" (x):

the search for Utopia, question, dream and battle motifs, the locating of self in relationship to society, the problems of morality in one's individual life, and the entire question of one's destiny, both in this life and after . . . (x).

Writing in 1986 from an English perspective, Fisher applies the same principles:
If the Puritan ethic of perfectibility still belongs in our national consciousness (and a random sample of today's junior fiction will show this clearly enough), then in some way, perhaps through reading aloud . . . or through dramatizing, *The Pilgrim's Progress* could still carry its associations, its Biblical echoes and its sincere, plain morality to young ears (13).

If, as Van Dyke suggests, readers carry a kind of template in their heads which accounts for an ability to respond to *The Pilgrim's Progress*, whether they have read it or not (156), the work's implications across the genres should still be accessible to future generations. Her suggestion is not unreasonable in light of the innate potentials of the Organismic developmental model, of which Chomsky and McNeill's proposition that "every child is born with the universals of linguistic structure wired in" (Lindfors 105), is but one example. This is in harmony with Jung's insistence on the powerful drive of the human psyche toward individuation, that includes acceptance of the "religious function" (O'Connor 70). These inner perspectives are conveyed in the Propositional Model of this thesis.

It should be noted that, in the late twentieth century, adult perceptions of childhood have undergone change, influenced by child protectionists and feminists, according to Jenks (97). At the same time,
"childhood has gradually sequestered adult experience", claiming more time in total life experience while it demands more of adults. Yet children today are capable of rape, muggings, and even murder, as Jenks points out (127). Can _The Pilgrim's Progress_ speak to them? Perhaps the answer is hinted at in the statement of Campolo, a sociologist, who, referring to children's heroes, and psychic hunger, says:

> Spiritual hunger is everywhere. ET is such a religious film. Look at what ET does. He dies and is resurrected. And why is he resurrected? Because of a power from beyond. Where have you heard that story before? Rudolph the Red-nosed Reindeer: the despised, the rejected, the scorned becomes our saviour. We need a saviour (Pettifer and Bradley 242).

The retellers of _The Pilgrim's Progress_ in the second half of the twentieth century (Watson, Coulbridge, Fuller and Marriot, Gray) and the creators of stage dramas and musicals, draw on psychic need and fulfilment as they portray the inner journey. Even the Parrys' adaptation for very young children shows the human need to choose good rather than evil, to follow the way of the Lamb to the Stream of Living Waters; to be a true hero, despite a flawed nature, and to gain a hero's reward.

The developmental model that is most valuable to this study is Fowler's Theory of Faith Development,
showing, as it does, the progression of personal faith in the lives of the child characters of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and also in the experience of the hero. The children progress through the first, preoperational stage of Intuitive-Projective Faith where the child becomes aware that "those on whom one is vulnerably dependent can be removed by death" ("Stages in Faith" 193). They then move into Stage Two: Mythic Literal Faith, where the individual takes on the community's beliefs, stories and observances, and on to Stage Three: Synthetic-Conventional Faith, where the child's experience extends beyond the family and primary social groups. At Stage Four, suggested at perhaps late adolescence, comes the Individuating-Reflexive Faith in which the individual takes seriously the "burden of responsibility for his/her own commitments" ("Stages in Faith" 184).

Because neither the children's nor hero's behaviour match with Fowler's Stages Five and Six, it appears that faith, in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, develops only to the level of adolescent experience. Here is an important reason why Bunyan's characters are relevant to the child reader, but not to those individuals who have progressed on to assume recognition of the integrity and truth in positions other than their own (Fowler 185), which allows for plurality in a multicultural society.
The Pilgrim's Progress as Prototype

Various critics appear to recognize the prototypical aspect of *The Pilgrim's Progress* in children's literature: Bratton, 68, 74; Jackson 3, 66; MacDonald, *Christian's Children*, 101-135 and Reeves, 67. This study shows that a chain of accomplished writers, whose work for children reflects Bunyan's, spans the seventeenth century to the present day.

The trend was first evident when spurious versions of Parts II and III appeared, from at least 1693, by would-be emulators, including "J. Blare" of the Looking Glass on London Bridge (*Catalogue* 24). It is also indicated in Stephens' *A New Year's Gift. Or, the Youth's Instructor through the Wilderness of this World to, to the Mansions of Eternal Glory*, 1698 (Sloane 218).

Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, also tremendously popular with children over the centuries, pick up certain elements of Bunyan's style: religious faith, travel, wit and fantasy.

Watts (1674-1748) is particularly regarded as Bunyan's heir (de Sola Pinto 105). Their commonality can be seen in their sympathy for children and the desire to win children's allegiance to God; that they may live happy lives on earth and be prepared for an acceptance of death that leads to further joyful living in Heaven.
Like Bunyan, Watts experienced great publishing success in his lifetime, with about twenty editions of *Divine Songs*, which was still being regularly reissued until 1901.

Barbauld can be considered the next serious contender for Bunyan's mantle. She, too, understood children and believed in pleasure combined with instruction, as one example of her work shows, *Hymns in Prose for Children*. She is remembered for her facility with expressive language, and some of her semi-liturgical readings can be effectively used in the late twentieth century, so, like Bunyan, her work has a timeless quality while it embraces the same concerns.

The nineteenth century was a period when allegory flourished -- one aspect of *The Pilgrim's Progress* -- so that a number of Christian writers are remembered for their contributions to children's reading: Mary Sherwood and her sister, Lucy Cameron; a certain "Charlotte Elizabeth" (Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna); Charlotte Tucker; Mrs O. F. Walton and Hesba Stretton. Others patterned their work closely on the structure of *The Pilgrim's Progress* with varying degrees of success. Mary Anne Burgess, in particular, tried to rekindle interest in Bunyan's work by her Bunyanesque redaction, *The Progress of Pilgrim Good Intent in Jacobean Times*. A derivative work, perhaps it received an enthusiastic reception by some child readers for, in fourteen years,
nine editions were published. Her lament of 1800, referring to Bunyan's work, is a notable landmark in the notion of a changing pilgrim:

The pilgrim CHRISTIAN was the companion of our childhood, till the refinements of modern education banished him from our nurseries (viii)

The second half of the nineteenth century saw fewer Bunyanesque redactions, but writers used particular aspects of Bunyan's style, such as the allegoric journey, in a more imaginative way (Arnot 1856; M.A.O. 1858; Meade 1893; Hodgson Burnett 1895). Of these writers "M.A.O.", who wrote The Glorious City, exemplifies the work of gentle Christian ladies who preferred to be anonymous in their redactions, such as A.L.O.E. (A Lady of England -- Charlotte Tucker), or "A Lady", 1808), assuming a humble role for themselves as they felt fitted a Christian; or perhaps they emulated the "humble-minded heroism" (Meigs 44) of the gentle women of The Pilgrim's Progress, such as Grace, Martha, Phoebe and Christiana (after her conversion), leaving the praise for Bunyan. The move toward fairy-tale in retellings becomes apparent, also, as was happening with other authors whose work reflected Bunyan's influence: Macleod 1861; Corkran 1887; MacDonald, various.

There are no identical "look alike" authors in the twentieth century. There had been none before either, only those who used similar structure, themes,
denotative character names and other elements such as fantasy and fairy-tale, based on Christian faith. Now the use of isolated elements that Bunyan used so effectively figures in many writers, but without the Christian basis.¹

The journey motif is still common, although using varied topography. The struggle between good and evil continues, in which Jacques' Redwall is noteworthy, especially as the hero's name, "I-am that is", reflects the name of the omnipresent God (Exodus 3:14; John 8:58). The quest for empowerment goes on with Tolkien and Cooper. Blyton attempts a "kind of new Pilgrim's Progress" (Introduction) as does Kilner with Joe Burkinshaw's Progress (1979).

The closest to Bunyan is C. S. Lewis who portrays the Christian message through his Narnian Chronicles, and many likenesses between the authors and their work for children are identifiable. The exceptional resemblance is their intense desire for the distant land, Heaven, and the strong sense of the numinous which Manlove comments on in relationship to Lewis (8-9). These are not only seen in text and Christian basis but in the psychological underpinnings that Fowler's Theory of Faith Development elaborates. Even in the late twentieth century, C. S. Lewis's work continues to be popular with children, not only in the written form but

¹ See Chapter Seven of this thesis for elaboration.
through audio-tapes, film and video. Perhaps his work, too, will last over centuries.

From each of Bunyan's true heirs comes recognition of a flawed hero who demonstrates the bi-polar and tri-polar nature of faith within the relevancy of a Christian mythic framework. From Lewis, in particular, comes the use of fantastical, fairy-tale-like settings, portrayed with simplicity and humour and a believable topography that makes narrative live.

One late twentieth-century writer is using these techniques in a fresh, imaginative way. This is Philip Pullman, author of *Northern Lights*. Completely innovative, he draws on the Genesis story of the fall of humankind into sin and Milton's portrayal of the same in *Paradise Lost* Book II. Hence the story is told from the other side, from "his dark materials". This indicates a writer who senses new symbols and perspectives; who sees a new way forward, relevant to a secular society where children still grapple with good and evil -- as their reading choices indicate -- to find their way to self-fulfilment.

To summarize, there is a chain of writers which extends from the late seventeenth century to the present day, each link revealing resemblances to Bunyan's pattern. The different writers, whether consciously or not, pick up diverse aspects of Bunyan's work, but this is because he writes across several genres, yet all of
them, in Saxby's terms, are "on the side of the angels" (88). Although there is no exact redaction to The Pilgrim's Progress over three centuries, Bunyan's work can rightfully be claimed as a prototype and he should receive more recognition in the field of children's literature.

**Future Study**

Several propositions for future study arise from the work of this thesis. The first one concerns further work on The Pilgrim's Progress as prototype, especially from a thematic stance.¹

The continuance of religious literature for children in the twentieth century should also be thoroughly researched. When Bunyan wrote his pilgrim story there may have been only perhaps four per cent of the population who were Dissenters (Greaves, "Found Faithful", 37), yet the work has had a profound impact on many lives and on children's literature. There are still publishers who carry on the tradition begun by the Religious Tract Society (now the Lutterworth Press), and others. One such useful starting-point would be Moorley's Print and Publishing, Derbyshire.

The Emergence of Quaker Writing (eds: Corns and Loewenstein, 1995) looks in a scholarly way at Quaker

¹ This is a project that the writer intends to undertake.
writing for adults. The same application should be shown to Quaker writing for children. There appears to be evidence from Sloane which makes a good starting point, with primary resources probably available in several collections.

Finally, it would not be at all surprising if Bunyan's hero continues to change as society diversifies. Will he become animal, space-man or other? Will the terrain that he and all the characters of The Pilgrim's Progress travel be a barren, depleted countryside, high-rise city, renewed earth, outer space, or other? Or will the observation that "the real hero of this work is Christ" (Sadler 57) occur to anyone of future generations and influence his triumphant revival? Will the Celestial City be portrayed, as does the Marvel comic format in sympathy with Bunyan, as a place of brilliance and joyous fulfilment for all humankind and living creatures? (Fig. 14)?\(^1\) Inasmuch as the history of The Pilgrim's Progress parallels that of children's literature, any new developments in its characters and settings may also be seen in other children's literature of the future.

When, and if, further change in the hero continues, it will no doubt be in order to fit with

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Before we lived by belief and faith...

...now we shall live in the sight of Christ who suffered for our sake and has saved us!

Forever, Tianna...

We will live with Him forever!
relevance to the psychological needs and societal experience of future children. These young readers, of children's literature that perpetuates aspects of Bunyan's prototype, may then seek for themselves a celestial city, "head and heart together."¹

¹ *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Author's Apology, 7.
The bibliography is divided into seven sections:

1. **The Pilgrim's Progress, Seventeenth-Eighteenth Centuries**

2. **The Pilgrim's Progress, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries**

3. Bunyanesque Redactions

4. General Bibliography

5. Journal and Newspaper Articles

6. Unpublished Theses

7. Useful Library Sources


1. **THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS, SEVENTEENTH-EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES**

Following the full bibliography of Parts I and II in their first editions, the entries are simplified to indicate Part, Edition, Publisher and Year of Publication. This section of the bibliography is shown in chronological order, in order to demonstrate the rise in publication over the centuries.

Bunyan, John. *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 Countrey*. London: Nath. Ponder, 1678.


Bunyan, John. The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come. Delivered under the Similitude of a Dream Wherein is Set Forth the Manner of the Setting Out of Christiana's Wife and Children, their Dangerous Journey and Safe Arrival at the Desired Country. Part II. London: Nathaniel Ponder, 1684.


Parts I and II. Entire new and complete edition embellished with copper-plates. London: Alex Hogg, (1785?).


Parts I and II. With plates. Coventry: M. Luckman, 1797.


2. THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS FOR CHILDREN. NINETEENTH CENTURY

Shown in chronological order in order to demonstrate the rise in publications over the century.

Bunyan, John. The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come: Delivered under the Similitude of a Dream. In Three Parts wherein is set forth the Manner of his Setting out, the Several Dangers and Difficulties he met with in his Journey and the Many Victories he Obtained over the World, the Flesh, and the Devil; together with his Happy arrival at the Celestial City. To which is added the Life and Death of the Author. Glasgow: J. and M. Robertson, 1801.

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Burder, George.  

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The Pilgrim's Progress, from this World to that which is to Come . . . Four plates. Gainsborough: H. Mozley, 1805.

Explanation of The Pilgrim's Progress Abridged and Adapted to the Capacities of Children in Dialogue between a Child and his Mother, by a Lady. London: 1808.

Bunyan, John.  
The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come Delivered Under the Similitude of a Dream. Part 1. "A new edition, illustrated by the author's own references and embellished with seven beautiful engravings." Bungay: C. Brightly and T. Kinnersley, 1808; 1809.

The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come . . . In 3 parts. 5 plates. Gainsborough: H. Mozley, 1813; also at Derby, 1816.


James, Isaac.  
The Pilgrim's Progress from this World
to that which is to Come. Part I.

"Rendered into familiar verse, with a
close adherance to the original."

London: 1815.

Bunyan, John. The Pilgrim's Progress from this World
to that which is to Come; Delivered under
the Similitude of a Dream... Containing
the Pilgrimage of his Wife and Children
and also their Safe Arrival. London:
Thomas Kelly, 1816, also 1817.

Taylor, Isaac. Bunyan Explained to a Child: being
Pictures and Poems Founded Upon The
Pilgrim's Progress. London: Francis
Westley, 1824.

Bunyan Explained to a Child: being
Pictures and Poems Founded upon The
Pilgrim's Progress. Part II; or,
Christiana's Journey... London: Francis
Westley, 1825. Two vols, each with 52
illustrations engraved on eighteen
plates.

Bunyan, John. The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to
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Sheppard, (1825?).
Scenes from Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress in Easy Verse for the Instruction of Children. Imprinted by B. Blake, (1825?).

Bunyan, John

The Pilgrim's Progress, from this World to that which is to come. . . Parts I and II. London: Religious Tract Society, (1826?)


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The Pilgrim's Progress, A Chapbook with Woodcuts. London: Orr and Sons, 1837.

The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come. London: Joseph Rickerby, 1839.

The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to come, Delivered under the Similitude of a Dream. Glasgow: Orr and Sons, 1839.
The Pilgrim's Progress. Parts I and II

The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come ... London: M. M. Holloway, 1844.

The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come. Parts I and II.
With two hundred and seventy engravings, from entirely new designs. London:
Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1845.

The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come ... London:
George Routledge, 1846.

The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come ... London:
Houlston and Stoneman, 1850.

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Burder, George.
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Parker, T. Dialogue on Mr. Talkative for a Sabbath School Anniversary: Arranged for Three Boys. Lincoln: Chas. Akrill, 1865.


The Straight Gate. A Dialogue for Sunday School Anniversaries. Adapted from Bunyan's
Pilgrim's Progress and Arranged for Eight Boys. Lincoln: C. Akrill, 1868.


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<th>Author</th>
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<td>Bunyan, John.</td>
<td>The Pilgrim's Progress, from this World to that which is to Come.</td>
<td>London: Cassell, Petter and Galpin, (1873?).</td>
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<td>The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come.</td>
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<td>The Pilgrim's Progress. With Notes and Memoir.</td>
<td>London: Gall and Inglis, 1876.</td>
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*The Young Folk's Pilgrim's Progress*. "Being an edition of John Bunyan's immortal allegory, with all the theological Discussion left out in order to adapt the work to the youthful mind. With over 100 illustrations by Fred Barnard and others." London: Hutchinson and Company, 1890.


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———. The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come. In two Parts. Illustrated with plates after T. Stothard. Hull: Brumby and Clarke Ltd, 1896.
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Taylor, Helen L. Little Christian's Pilgrimage: The Story of The Pilgrim's Progress Simply Told.
With illustrations by H. F. A. Miles.

The Young Folks Pilgrim's Progress. "Being an edition of John
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Theological Discussions left out, so as
to adapt the Work to the Youthful Mind."
With over 100 Illustrations by Fred
Barnard and others. London: Hutchinson,
1899.

Walker, Mrs Edward Ashley. The Pilgrim's Progress for the Little
Ones. London: Samuel Bagster and
Sons, 1900.

School Union. With frontispiece by
Charles Robinson and other
illustrations. c.1900.

The Pilgrim's Progress. With
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Undated Editions. Believed to be of the Nineteenth Century

The catalogue of the Frank Mott Harrison Collection (Bedford
Public Library) shows 43 undated versions. The Renier collection
holds at least 80. The study of this thesis found 28 undated
editions.

Criteria for selection: 1. Full title
2. Ornate presentation
3. Published by a contemporary publisher
5. Preface etc. by contemporary people
6. Use of the spurious third part

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The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come... In eight Parts. London: The Religious Tract Society.

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The Pilgrim's Progress, comprising the Commencement of his Pilgrimage, the Foes, Dangers, and Conflicts of the Way, and His Safe Arrival at the Celestial City. London: W. Nicholson and Sons.

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The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to come. Illustrated with coloured plates by A. F. Lydon. London: Groombridge and Sons.

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The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come. With Illustrations by J. D. Watson. A New Edition with a Memoir... by John Allen, M.A., Archdeacon of Salop in the

The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come. Eight coloured plates. London: Frederick Warne and Co.

The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come. 12 coloured plates. London: Frederick Warne and Co.

The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come delivered under the Similitude of a Dream. London: The Religious Tract Society.

The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come: delivered under the Similitude of a Dream. With 24 coloured plates. London: The Religious Tract Society.

The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come under the Similitude of a Dream. London: Gall and Inglis.

The Pilgrim's Progress, in Three Parts Wherein are Discovered the Manner of his Setting Out. His Dangerous Journey: and Safe Arrival at the Desired Country. To which is added a Life of the Author and explanatory notes by Rev. William Mason. London: Milner and Co.
The Pilgrim's Progress in Two Parts: wherein are discovered the Manner of his Setting out; his Dangerous Journey; and Safe Arrival at the Desired Country. To which are added explanatory notes by Rev. W. Mason, embellished with upwards of one hundred engravings. London: Milner and Co.

The Pilgrim's Progress, in Three Parts, comprising the Commencement of his Pilgrimage, the Foes, Dangers, and Conflicts of the Way, and his Safe Arrival at the Celestial City. To which is affixed a Life of the Author and explanatory Notes embellished with coloured illustrations. Wakefield: William Nicholson and Sons.

The Pilgrim's Progress. Glasgow: James Lumsden and Son.


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<td>The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come.</td>
<td>Glasgow: Orr and Sons.</td>
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<td>The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come.</td>
<td>London: The Religious Tract Society.</td>
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<td>&quot;John Bunyan in Prison.&quot;</td>
<td>Jigsaw puzzle.</td>
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<td>Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress in Words of One Syllable.</td>
<td>8 colour plates. 4th edition.</td>
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The Pilgrim's Progress for the Young. London: Dean and Son. Oil Colour Picture Toy Books.

"Picture Cards Illustrating the Pilgrim's Progress." London: The Religious tract Society.


THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS FOR CHILDREN. TWENTIETH CENTURY.

CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER FROM 1901


The Pilgrim's Progress. Illustrated with twenty-five drawings on wood. London:
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<th>Author</th>
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<tr>
<td>Henry Frowde</td>
<td>Oxford University Press Warehouse, 1903.</td>
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<td>Bunyan, John</td>
<td><em>The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come Delivered under the Similitude of a Dream.</em> London: The Religious Tract Society, 1905. With eight coloured and other full page illustrations by Harold Copping.</td>
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<td>Walker, Mrs Edward Ashley</td>
<td><em>The Pilgrim's Progress for the Little Ones in Words of One Syllable.</em> London: Samuel Bagster and Sons Ltd., 1907.</td>
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<td><em>The Children on the King's Highway.</em> Talks with Young People on the Second Part of The Pilgrim's Progress. With full-page illustrations by Harold</td>
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The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come; and The Holy War. London: William Collins, Sons and Co. Ltd., (1911?).

Rudd, Emily. Dramatized Scenes from The Pilgrim's Progress with occasional music by Dr Joseph Bridge of Chester Cathedral. London: George Allen and Co. Ltd, 1912.


Bunyan, John. The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come delivered under the Similitude of a Dream. With eight coloured and other page illustrations by Harold Copping. Tenth Impression. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1913.

Christiana and her Children. A Mystery Play. Adapted by Mrs Duncan Pearce from Bunyan's Pilgrim's
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<td>The Pilgrim's Progress told to Children as Nearly as Possible in John Bunyan's Own Words. Manchester: Marks and Spencer, 1915.</td>
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<td>Gilliland, Margaret A.</td>
<td>Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress. London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1921.</td>
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<td>and several other illustrations by H. J. Ford.</td>
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<td>Matthew, Jean Marian.</td>
<td>The Pilgrim's Progress. With four coloured and many other illustrations</td>
<td>London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1926.</td>
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<td>Bunyan, John.</td>
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<td>Heathcote, Dorothy.</td>
<td><strong>Making Progress.</strong> Videocassette. Audio Visual Centre, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 159 minutes, monochrome, 1971.</td>
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<td>The Mansion of Bliss, a new Game for the Amusement of Youth.</td>
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6. **UNPUBLISHED THESSES**


7. SOURCES

Collections of The Pilgrim's Progress which have been useful to this study are in the following Copyright libraries: British Library, London; the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the Library of Cambridge University, Cambridge.

The Renier Collection of the Bethnal Green Museum of Childhood, Bethnal Green, London, has a large number of copies of The Pilgrim's Progress. Other libraries have small collections, such as at the Wandsworth Library, London, in its Collection of Early Children's Books; and at the Birmingham Reference Library, in the Parker Collection of Early Children's Books.

The Borough of Bedford Public Library houses the Frank Mott Harrison Collection of Bunyan's works and provided the writer of this thesis with a printed catalogue.
Appendix 1

THIRTY-SEVEN SCENES IN THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS PART I

Christiana's Party travel the same route but with some different experiences

i City of Destruction.
ii Slough of Despond.
iii Mr Legality's house in Morality.
iv The wicket gate.
v House of the Interpreter.
vi Highway with the wall of salvation.
vii/viii The cross and sepulchre.
ix Along the way, three sleeping men, later hanged.
x The wall where two men come tumbling over.
xi The foot of the hill where the road divides in three directions.
xii The Hill of Difficulty.
xiii At the top of the hill.
ixv View of the Palace Beautiful.
xv/xvi Arrival and experiences at The House Beautiful.
xvii Apollyon's Territory
xviii Valley of the Shadow of Death.
ixx Valley of Humiliation.
xx Renewal of the journey.
xxi Vanity Fair: the fair, court, prison.
Faithful's martyrdom and ascension.

xxii/xxiii Journey renewed. Christian meets Hopeful and By-ends.

xxiv The delicate plain called Ease that leads to Lucre.

xxv The river of God.

xxvi By-path meadow.

xxvii Doubting Castle.

xxviii The Delectable Mountains.

xxix Passing the Country of Deceit.

xxx The dark lane.

xxxi The net trap.

xxxii Meeting with Atheist.

xxxiii The Enchanted Ground.

xxxiv Country of Beulah.

xxxv At Beulah shore.

xxxvi At the gates of the Celestial City.

xxxvii Entry through the gates. Transfiguration.