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ART. I.—The Doctrine of Perception, as held by Doctor Arnauld, Doctor Reid, and Sir William Hamilton.

It is our purpose in this article to offer a monograph upon one of the most limited questions in psychology. But inasmuch as the interest of the discussion must turn very much upon a particular controversy, and even on the opinions of an individual, we think it advisable to place at the beginning all that we have to say of a historical nature, in order that no details of fact may be left to embarrass us in recording the series of philosophical determinations. Working in a somewhat unfrequented field, we hope to be able to show, that in regard to the true doctrine of Immediate Perception, the great Jansenist was not only a successful co-worker, but that he approached singularly near a solution of the problem.

It is not quite ten years since we asked the attention of our readers to a special article on the Family of Arnauld.* Our purpose at that time was not so much philosophical as theological and religious. But the good and ascetic recluses of Port-Royal des Champs also entertained themselves in spare moments with questions of metaphysic; and one of these now concerns us.

Let memory be refreshed by the statement, that Descartes was born in 1596, and died in 1650; that Arnauld was born in

^{*} Princeton Review, 1849, pp. 467-502.

at its own free will; and yet they are all impelled by a touch unseen, which lights upon them as softly as the breath of persuasion. A formative influence some must and will exert to the creation of public sentiment, and direction of public action. None possess a means so powerful or benign to that end as the Christian. It certainly is no light matter to hide such a talent in the earth, and sin against the well-being of a nation.

ART. III.—The Pilgrim's Progress. By John Bunyan. Edited for the Hanserd Knollys Society by George Offor. 1847.

The Works of John Bunyan, with an Introduction to each Treatise, Notes, &c. Edited by George Offor, Esq. Edinburgh, 1856.

PERHAPS no book, with the exception of the Bible, has been so universally read and admired as Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress; and especially has it been the treasure of the humbler classes, for, as Baron Macaulay remarks, "it had been during near a century the delight of pious cottagers and artisans, before it was publicly commended by any man of high literary eminence. At length critics condescended to inquire where the secret of so wide and so durable a popularity lay. They were compelled to own that the ignorant multitude had judged more correctly than the learned, and that the despised little book was really a master-piece. Bunyan is indeed the first of allegorists, as Demosthenes is the first of orators, or Shakspeare the first of dramatists. Others have shown great ingenuity, but no other allegorist has ever been able to touch the heart, and to make abstractions objects of terror, of pity, and of love."

Mr. Offor, a great authority on editions of the English Bible, is also a great authority on the various editions of Bunyan. In this reprint of the Pilgrim's Progress, which he edited for the Hanserd Knollys Society, he has given us an exact reprint of the first edition; and not the least valuable part of this

work is the Introduction, in which he shows where the Pilgrim's Progress was written; the school in which the author was trained to compose his immortal allegory; an account of the various editions that have appeared; analyses of the many allegories which have preceded this in all the European languages; the various versions and commentaries upon it, and the opinions of the learned upon its merits, and the causes of its popularity.

In the third volume of the "Works of Bunyan," edited by Mr. Offor, and published nine years later, he has given us the

substance of this Introduction, and some additions.

Mr. Offor has accomplished his work well, and the public and the Hanserd Knollys Society are under obligations to him. We suppose that it is because the Hanserd Knollys Society is a Baptist Society that Mr. Offor, in a single sentence, speaks disrespectfully of those who are not Baptists. We might contrast his sneers about "baby-baptism" with Bunyan's account of the reception of Christian at the House Beautiful. If Mr. Offer had been the author of the Pilgrim's Progress, he might have made Christian take a bath before he permitted him to sit down to supper; or he would have made the Porter and Christian take the bath together. Scott says, in his note on the passage, "Mr. Bunyan was an anti-pædobaptist, or one who deemed adult professors of repentance and faith the only proper subjects of baptism, and immersion the only proper mode of administering that ordinance; yet he has expressed himself so candidly and cautiously, that his representations may suit the admission of members into the society of professed Christians in every communion where a scrious regard to spiritual religion is in this respect maintained."

There are very few of our readers who are not familiar with the life of John Bunyan, and therefore we do not propose in this article to speak of the school of affliction and persecution in which he was trained to write "the progress of a Christian from this world to that which is to come;" but in Mr. Offor's Introduction we shall find many facts connected with the Pilgrim's Progress and its publication both new and curious, and a statement of these facts will fully occupy the space allotted to us in this article.

On the 12th of November, 1660, the year of Charles the Second's return to England, John Bunyan, who had been preaching about five years, was seized and thrust into Bedford jail, where he remained for six years, until 1666, the year of the great fire in London, when he was released; but returning immediately to his old employment, of preaching the gospel, he was again thrown into prison, where he lay for six years more. After his second release returning to preaching again, he was for the third time imprisoned, but this proved but a short confinement of six months. During this imprisonment of twelve years and a half he wrote many of his works, and among these his Pilgrim's Progress. The fact that this wonderful allegory was written in Bedford jail, is proved by certain statements in the work itself, the date of its publication, the evidence of one of his personal friends, and the tradition handed down in the family of one of his fellow-prisoners.

As to his own testimony, he says: "As I walked through the wilderness of this world, I lighted on a certain place where was a Den; and laid me down in that place to sleep; and as I slept I dreamed a Dream." In the margin of the fourth edition he tells us that the word "Den" means the "Gaol"; thus indicating the place where the First Part of the Pilgrim's Progress was conceived. Had this work been printed when it was first written, the author, as in other of his books, would have dated his introduction from the jail, in which case there would have been no need of any note to connect the words "Den" and "Gaol." Nor did we feel the necessity of such a reference until after the second edition, when he inserted a plain indication that he wrote it while he was a prisoner, as may be seen in some verses added to the third edition.

Another proof that he wrote this book in prison is in the first edition of the book itself. This bears strong internal evidence of its having been written long before it was published. It must be remembered that the second edition issued from the same press, by the same publisher, also in the same year; and there will be found, in comparing the two editions, a very striking difference in the spelling of many words; such as "drowned," corrected to "drowned"; "slow" to "slough"; "chaulk" to "chalk"; "travailer" to "traveller"; "brast" to

"burst," &c. &c. This may readily be accounted for by the author's having kept the manuscript for some years before it was printed, and having taken the advice of many friends who had read the manuscript, upon the propriety of publishing it, he either had no inclination or leisure to revise it when he had decided upon sending it forth to the public. There is an apparent difference of twenty years between the spelling used in these two volumes which were published in the same year, and issued from the same press; besides which there were very considerable additions of new characters, and also to the text, in this second edition.

A third evidence of his having written it in prison, is the testimony of a pious gentleman, who was one of Bunyan's personal and "true friends," and who enjoyed the happiness of a long acquaintance with him. It is in the continuation to the "Grace Abounding," published in 1692, from which time it was very extensively circulated along with that deeply interesting narrative. This author says, that, "during Bunyan's confinement in prison he wrote the following books, namely, Of Prayer by the Spirit; The Holy Citie; Resurrection; Grace Abounding; Pilgrim's Progress, First Part." Nothing can be more conclusive than such evidence by an eye witness, one of Bunyan's intimate friends; for one hundred and fifty years it was never doubted, nor ought, it ever to have been doubted.

Another proof that this book was written in prison is derived from the tradition handed down in the family of his fellow-prisoner, Mr. Marsom, an estimable and pious preacher, who with Bunyan was confined in Bedford jail for conscience sake. Thomas Marsom was an ironmonger, and pastor of a Baptist church at Luton; he died in January, 1726, at a very advanced age. This Thomas Marsom was in the habit of relating to his family many interesting facts connected with his imprisonment. One of these is, that Bunyan read the manuscript of the Pilgrim's Progress to his fellow prisoners, requesting their opinion upon it. The descriptions naturally excited a little pleasantry, and Marsom, who was of a sedate turn, gave his opinion against the publication; but on reflection requested permission to take the manuscript to his own cell, that he might read it alone. Having done so, he returned it with an earnest recommenda-

tion that it should be published. The reason why it was not published for several years after the author's release, appears to have arisen from the difference of opinion expressed by his friends as to the propriety of printing a book which so familiarly treated the most solemn subjects; and in addition to this opposition of friends, his own personal affairs after so long an imprisonment, added to his parochial duties, demanded all his time and attention. Indeed so great was his popularity at this time, that an eye witness testified, that when he preached in London, twelve hundred assembled on a week day in winter, at seven o'clock in the morning, to hear his lecture. At length he made up his mind:

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

How far Bunyan was assisted in the composition of his allegory has been a question much debated. He answers himself in some lines appended to the "Holy War;" and in the preface to "Solomon's Temple Spiritualized," he says: "I dare not presume to say, that I know I have hit right in every thing: but this I can say, I have endeavoured so to do. True, I have not for these things fished in other men's waters; my Bible and my Concordance are my only library in my writings."

The great store of ancient allegories and poems has been ransacked to find the original of Bunyan's Pilgrim without success. Dr. Dibdin in his "Typographical Antiquities," describing Caxton's "Pilgrimage of the Soul," says: "This extraordinary production, rather than Bernard's 'Isle of Man,' laid the foundation of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress." Dr. Adam Clarke in a postscript to a life of Bunyan observes, that "his whole plan being so very similar to 'Bernard's Isle of Man, or Proceedings in Manshire;' and also to that most beautiful allegorical poem, by Mr. Edmund Spenser, oddly called the 'Faery Queen,' there is much reason to believe, that one or the other, if not both, gave birth to the Pilgrim's Progress."

Mr. Montgomery, a devoted admirer of Bunyan's genius, considers that the print and the verses in "Whitney's Emblems," published in 1585, might perhaps have inspired the

first idea of this extraordinary work. Southey, who investigated this subject with great ability, came to a very pointed conclusion: "It would indeed be as impossible for me to believe that Bunyan did not write the Pilgrim's Progress, as that Porson did write a certain copy of verses, entitled the 'The Devil's Thoughts.'" Now as these verses were doubtless written by Southey himself, he had arrived at a conviction that Bunyan was entitled to all the honour of conceiving and writing his great allegory. Still he says, "the same allegory has often been treated before him. Some of these may have fallen in Bunyan's way, and modified his own conceptions, when he was not aware of any such influence."

But there is a strong argument against this from the fact that Bunyan was an unlearned man, and indeed knew no language but his own. When he used five common Latin words in Dr. Skill's prescription, "Ex carne et sanguine Christi," he tells the readers in a marginal note, "The Latine I borrow." And we cannot conceive that learned men read to him old monkish manuscripts, or the allegories of a previous age; for his design was unknown, he had formed no plan, nor had he any intention to write such a book until it came upon him suddenly while composing one of his other works.

Mr. Offor, who is high authority in this matter, says that he has investigated every assertion and suggestion of this kind which has come to his knowledge, and analyzed all the works referred to; and beyond this, every allegorical work that could be found previous to the eighteenth century has been examined in all the European languages; and the result is a perfect demonstration of the complete originality of Bunyan. "It came from his own heart." The plot, the characters, the faithful dealings are all his own. And what is more, there has not been found a single phrase or sentence borrowed from any other book, except the quotations from the Bible, and the use of common proverbs. To arrive at this conclusion, Mr. Offor has occupied much time and labour, at intervals, during fifty years; he is competent therefore to give, as he has done, a sketch of more than fifty of these works, beginning with the monkish manuscripts, and continuing through the printed books published prior to the Reformation; and from that time to

1678, when the first part of the Pilgrim's Progress ap-

peared.

It may be interesting to the reader if we notice a few of the most prominent of these, and the reasons of Mr. Offor why they could not have been used by Bunyan. The first we shall notice is a little volume entitled "The Abbey of the Holy Ghost," written by John Alcocke, the founder of Jesus College, Cambridge, a learned and abstemious bishop in the reign of Henry VII. From this curious and very rare little volume, Mr. Offer conceives that Mr. Bunvan could not have gained any idea; but in it are some translations of passages of Scripture made fifty years before any version of the Bible was published in English, which prove the great liberties the Church took with the Scriptures, and the extent to which they misled the people when the holy oracles were locked up in a foreign tongue. Matt. iii. 2: "Shrive ye and do penance, and be ye of good belief; the kingdom of heaven nigheth fast." John viii. 6: "He stooped down and wrote on the ground with his finger all their sins, so that each of them might se how sinfull other was." Matt. xxvi. 38: "I have, he said, full much dread against that I shall die. Sit ye down, he said, and wake ye, and bid your beads till I come again to you."

Allusion has already been made to the "Pylgremage of the Sowle," printed by William Caxton, 1483. Mr. Offor gives an

Sowle," printed by William Caxton, 1483. Mr. Offor gives an analysis of this book drawn from a careful perusal of the original edition, compared with the manuscript written in 1413, and the result is to establish conclusively Bunyan's originality. notwithstanding the laborious effort of Dr. Clarke to prove that this book was the original of the Pilgrim's Progress. There is in the British Museum a very fine and curious MS. copy of this book, illustrated with rude illuminated drawings. It closes with "Here endith the dreem of the pilgrimage of the soule, translated owt of the Frensch into Englysche, the yere of our Lord MCCCCXIII." The translator craves indulgence, if "in som places ther it be ouer fantastyk nought grounded nor foundable in Holy Scripture, ne in doctoers wordes, for I myght not go fro myn auctor." The original work was written by Guillonville, prior of Chaalis, about 1330. This old poem was beautifully reprinted in London in 1858, 4to, by

Basil Montegu Pickering, with notes by Nathaniel Hill, com-

paring it with the Pilgrim's Progress.

It is a matter of great regret, says Mr. Offor, that those who write and publish for the millions, too frequently circulate opinions and supposed facts, without personal investigation. Mr. Chambers, the popular publisher at Edinburgh, whose works find readers as far as the English language is known, has joined those who dctract from Bunyan, by charging him with plagiarism. In his Encyclopædia of Literature, speaking of Gawin Douglas, the bishop of Dunkeld, a celebrated Scottish poet, he observes: "The principal original composition of Douglas is a long poem, entitled 'The Palace of Honour.' * * * The well known Pilgrim's Progress bears so strong a resemblance to this poem, that Bunyan could scarcely have been ignorant of it." Mr. Offor, with some trouble, found a copy of this rare tract of Douglas, written in the ancient Scottish dialect, and with the aid of a good modern glossary, was enabled to read it through, but was surprised to find that it had not, either in the plot or detail, the slightest similarity whatever to the Pilgrim's Progress; and that it is written in terms that a poor unlettered minister could not have understood.

Passing by many works of this time, we come to a poem, entitled "The Vision of Pierce Plowman." "I am inclined to think," says Mr. D'Israeli, in his Amenities of Literature, "that we owe to Pierce Plowman an allegorical work of the same wild invention from that other creative mind, the author of Pilgrim's Progress. How can we think of the one without being reminded of the other? Some distant relationship seems to exist between the Plowman's Dowell and Dobet, and Dobest, Friar Flatterer, Grace, the Portress of the magnificent Tower of Truth, viewed at a distance, and by its side the dungeon of Care, Natural Understanding, and his lean and stern wife Study, and all the rest of this numerous company, and the shadowy pilgrimage of the 'Immortal Dreamer' to the 'Celestial City." Such a notice by so popular a writer, led Mr. Offor to examine closely this severe satire, and he found it written in a language that to Bunyan would have been almost as impenetrable as Hebrew or Greek. It is a very curious poem, composed about the time of Wicliff, by one of the Lollards, said to

be by Robert Langland. The printer (R. Crowley, 1550) states that it was written in the time of Edward III., "when it pleased God to open the eyes of many to see his truth, giving them boldness of heart to open their mouths, and ery out against the works of darkness." There is nothing in this very interesting book that could in the slightest degree have aided Bunyan, if he had been able to read it.

Another curious book in this series is "The Plaine Man's Pathway to Heaven," by Arth. Dent, 1601. This little volume made a considerable part of the worldly goods which Bunyan's first wife brought as her portion; and it became one of the means by which he was awakened from the dreary sleep of sin, and therefore an invaluable portion. It is singular, says Mr. Offor, that no one has charged him with taking any hints from this book, which is one of the very few which he is known to have read prior to his public profession of faith. The author in his epistle calls it "A Controversie with Satan and Sinne." It is a dialogue between a Divine, an Honest Man, an Ignorant Man, and a Caviller. This book must have been exactly suited to the warm imagination of Bunyan. It had proved invaluable to him as a means of conversion; but after a careful and diligent perusal by Mr. Offor, he could find no trace of any phrase or sentence having been introduced into the Pilgrim's Progress. The copy in Mr. Offor's possession is the nineteenth impression, 1625, and has the name of "Mr. Bunyoun" written on the bottom of the title; probably the very volume which his wife brought him as her dowry.

The book that has been most noticed as likely to have been seen by Bunyan, is Bolswert's "Pilgrimage of Duyfkens and Willeynkens. Antwerp, 1627." A copy of this rare edition is in the possession of James Lenox, Esq., of New York; it contains twenty-seven engravings, and was printed by Hieronymus Verdussen. This book was translated into French, and became somewhat popular. Mr. Offor relates that this volume was noticed by two gentlemen from Yorkshire, who had called to see his extensive collection of early English Bibles and books. Among other books they noticed a very fine copy of this rare volume of Bolswert's, the prints in which reminded

them of Bunyan's Pilgrim, and on their return to the north, a paragraph was inserted in a provincial paper stating that our Pilgrim's Progress was a translation. The falsehood of such a statement has been fully proved by Mr. Southey, to whom the identical volume was lent for the purpose of fully entering into the question, and there appears not to be the slightest similarity in the two storics. The cuts which attracted the attention of the visitors of Mr. Offor were-A man sleeping, and a pilgrim leaning over the bed; through the open door two pilgrims are seen walking; they stoop on the bank of a river, at the head of which, in the distance, the sun is setting. Another cut represents the pilgrims with foolscaps on their heads, driven by a mob, and one of them before a man sitting with his secretary at a table; a third shows the alarmed pilgrims in a circle of lighted candles, while a necromancer produces goblins, and sprites from an overhanging hill; a fourth shows the pilgrims going up a steep mountain, when one of them falls over the brink. Southey, after giving an analysis of the book, says, "and this is the book from which Bunyan is said to have stolen the Pilgrim's Progress! If ever there was a work which carried with it the stamp of originality in all its parts, it is that of John Bunyan's."

Bernard's "Isle of Man; or the Legal Proceedings in Manshire against Sin," is another book often referred to as having been used by Bunyan in the preparation of the Pilgrim's Progress. This little volume was very popular in its day. The author was a Puritan member of the Church of England, and profiting by the personal respect felt for him by his bishop, escaped punishment, and was permitted to enjoy his living at Balcomb. Dr. Adam Clarke considered that there was much reason to believe that the "Isle of Man," or Spencer's "Faery Queen," gave birth to the Pilgrim's Progress and Holy War. Dr. Southey imagines that Bunyan had seen this book, because his verses introductory to the Second Part have some similarity to Bernard's "Apology for his Allegory," which closes this volume. Mr. Offor, on account of the high authority of those holding this opinion, made a careful reperusal of the book, and was convinced that there is not the slightest similarity between it and the Pilgrim's Progress; and the only resemblance it has

to the Holy War, is making the senses the means of communication with the heart or soul—an idea usual and universal in every age, the use of which cannot subject the writer to the

charge of plagiarism.

The last book we shall notice is Bishop Patrick's "Parable of the Pilgrim." This was written about the same time that Bunyan was writing his Pilgrim's Progress; and in comparing the two books, we think that all will agree with Mr. Offor when he says, "Whoever has patience to wade through the pages of Bishop Patrick's 'Parable,' must be fully convinced that his lordship's limping and unwieldy Pilgrim will never be able, with all his hobbling, to overtake or even get within sight of John Bunyan by many a thousand miles; a striking proof that exquisite natural ability casts a brighter and more captivating lustre than the deepest acquired parts."

We are compelled to pass by many works which Mr. Offor has examined, which are exceedingly interesting and curious, giving only the titles of a few of them. "The Pilgrimage of Perfection," supposed to be written by William Bond; printed by Pynson, 1526. "The Pype or Tonne of the lyfe of Perfection," 1532, an allegorical work for the instruction of nuns. "Le Voyage du Chevalier Errant," Par F. J. Cartheny, written about the year 1311; printed at Anvers, 1557. Translated into English about 1611. "Whitney's Emblems," Leyden, 1586. "The Pilgrim of Loretto Performing his Vow made to the

Glorious Virgin Mary, Mother of God," Paris, 1630.

The editions of the First Part of the Pilgrim's Progress have been very numerous. Eleven editions were published during the author's lifetime, and four, perhaps five, editions of the Second Part. There were fourteen editions of the First Part, and seven of the Second Part, printed before the end of the seventeenth century; and there were at least thirty-six editions of the First Part, and twenty-one of the Second Part printed before 1800, and several others without any indication of the number of the edition.*

The first edition was published in a small 12mo. in 1678. Printed for Nath. Ponder. This volume is of extraordinary

^{*} A brief notice of those published while Bunyan was alive is all that we can give.

rarity; only two copies being known to exist. One of them in the most beautiful preservation, in the original binding, clean and perfect, was discovered in a nobleman's library, and judging from its appearance it has never been read. It is now in the cabinet of H. S. Holford, Esq., of Weston Birt House, Tetbury, Gloucestershire. It was this copy which Mr. Offor used in preparing his edition for the Hanserd Knollys Society. It contains 233 pages, which does not include the title page and the apology, comprising five leaves; this would make the whole number 243 pages. The title is in a blackletter headline. It has no portrait or cuts. The edition of the Hanserd Knollys Society, of which only fifty copies were printed, is a most accurate reprint, not merely verbal, but literal, including the punctuation, and use of capitals and italics.

The only other copy of this edition known to exist is in the possession of Mr. Lenox. This copy has the title-page, the first two leaves of the apology, and the last page containing the conclusion, in fac-simile. The second edition was published also in the year 1678, for Nath. Ponder. The title is nearly similar to the first, with the words, "The second edition, with additions." A fine copy of this edition is in the library of Mr. Lenox. The text of this copy fills 276 pages, and the conclusion another page at the end, besides the title and four and a half leaves in the apology. It contains no portrait nor cuts. It has many more typographical errors than the first edition, but the spelling is greatly modernized and improved, an explanation of which has already been given.

The third edition appeared in the following year, 1679, by the same publisher. It contains 287 pages, with a portrait of the author, but no other cut or illustration. Mr. Offor, and a clergyman in Somersetshire have copies, but these do not agree. There must have been two third editions, or errors were corrected as the sheets passed through the press.* From this time every edition presents some little additions of side notes or references.

The fourth edition is by the same publisher in 1680; it contains 288 pages, and has a portrait. The copy in the library

^{*} In this a considerable addition was made, and this completed the allegory.

of Mr. Lenox has upon the back of the portrait an "Advertisement from the Bookseller." It is worthy of notice:

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

N. PONDER.

"This is Brevier and the true copy."

"This is Long Primer Letter."

The additions alluded to above are quotations from Scripture and side notes. No copy of this pirated edition of Bradyll is known to exist. Mr. Offor has a copy of the fourth edition, containing the portrait and the above advertisement upon the back, and on the back of the title an advertisement of "Owen on the Hebrews." The text contains 287 pages, the apology

four leaves, and the conclusion one page.

The fifth edition is also by Ponder, and was published in 1680. The copy in the library of Mr. Lenox has the portrait, title, and apology, on six leaves; the text from 1 to 220; the conclusion on an additional page, and five pages of books published by Ponder; and on the back of the portrait this advertisement: "The Pilgrim's Progress having found good Acceptation among the People, to the carrying off the Fourth Impression, which had many additions, more than any preceding; and the Publisher observing, that many persons

desired to have it illustrated with Pictures, hath endeavoured to Gratifie them therein: and besides those that are ordinarily printed to this Fifth Impression, hath provided Thirteen Copper Cutts curiously engraven for such as desire them." These copper cuts were advertised to be sold separately, and they afford the only proof of the authorship of the verses found under each of them. These verses took their place in the text after Bunyan's death. Mr. Offor has three different fifth editions: one, corresponding with the copy in Mr. Lenox's collection; a second, with portrait and the "thirteen copper cutts," as announced in the advertisement, with a cut of the Martyrdom of Faithful printed in the text on page 128; but though the date is 1680, every page shows that the whole book has been re-composed: a third copy, but without the title-page. It is supposed to be the fifth edition, and has the copper cuts; but they are rather copies than fac-similes of the originals, and there are proofs throughout the work of a different printer's composition. A very fine impression of the above mentioned plates is found in a German version published in London, 1766, with the English verses below. If these are not Sturt's plates, they are certainly copied from them. A copy of this version is in the possession of Mr. Lenox.

The sixth edition has not been found. The seventh, in very beautiful preservation, is in the library of R. B. Sherring, Esq., Bristol, England. It was printed by Ponder, 1681, containing 286 pages, handsomely printed, with the portrait, and the cut of the Martyrdom of Faithful, on a separate leaf, between the pages 164 and 165. It was a copy of this edition which Bunyan used in writing his Second Part, all the references in which

to the First Part, are correctly made to this edition.

There were two eighth editions in 1682; they have 211 pages, and two leaves of a list of "Books" published for Ponder. On the back of the frontispiece is an advertisement similar to that in the fifth edition, with the change of one word. In the copy of Mr. Lenox there are three cuts; on page 121, the Martyrdom of Faithful; on page 145, misprinted 135, Doubting Castle; and on page 204, Christian and Hopeful received by angels into the clouds. The portrait, title, and apology, occupy six leaves; the text from 1 to 211, the con-

clusion on an additional page, and four pages of books printed for Ponder. The pages run from 1 to 144, then 135 to 211; the signatures are correct. It is on this second page 135, that the print of Doubting Castle is found.

The other issue, which is probably the first of the two, has the same error in the paging, but there is no cut of Doubting Castle. Mr. Offor thinks that the printer, wishing to insert this cut in the second issue, reprinted one whole sheet, using a sharper type on a thin body, and by thus adding a line to each page, managed to pack the 24 pages into 23, thus making room for the cut. The following signature seems also to have been re-composed.

There are two ninth editions, both bearing the imprint of N. Ponder: the first of these is dated 1683, comprised in 212 pages. It has a different portrait, but the same woodcuts as the eighth, with the addition of Doubting Castle on page 145, numbered 135. Another distinct edition is called the ninth, also by N. Ponder, with the same woodcuts as the last, but with a different type. This bears the date of 1684. On the back of the frontispiece is the advertisement of the thirteen copper-plates, in addition to those ordinarily printed to the eighth edition. Both of these editions are in the collection of Mr. Lenox; that of 1683 has the portrait with the advertisement, a copy of that in the fifth edition, with a few changes. It has the portrait, slightly varying from the previous one, and three cuts, on pages 121, 135, misprint for 145, and 204. The portrait, title, and apology, fill six leaves; the text pages from 1 to 211, and the conclusion on an additional page, and four leaves of books printed for Ponder: pages 135 to 144 are double, and 159 to 168 are omitted in the paging.

The tenth edition appeared in 1685, on two hundred pages. In the title the name of the author is spelt Bunian, but he signs the apology as usual Bunyan. This has the frontispiece and two woodcuts only, that of Doubting Castle being omitted. The copy in Mr. Lenox's library wants the portrait; there is an advertisement of the Second Part, by "John Bunian," price one shilling. The head line from page 73 to the end is in much smaller type than from page 1 to 72.

The eleventh edition appeared in 1688, the year in which

Bunyan died. Mr. Lenox has in his collection a copy of the twelfth edition, printed by Robert Ponder, in 1689. The portrait is in some respects altered, although it has the name of Nath. Ponder at the bottom. The advertisement on the back refers to the "carrying off of the 11th edition and this 12th Impression." There are twenty-four wood cuts with the verses below, printed in the text. The portrait, title page, and apology occupy six leaves; the text pages 1 to 204 including the conclusion; pages 196 to the end in much smaller type than the rest of the volume.

We refer while passing to a superb copy of the first edition of the Holy War, which is in the possession of Mr. Lenox. It is a 12mo., printed in London, 1682. From its clean and perfect condition it appears never to have been read. It has the portrait engraved by R. White, which is considered the most correct of all the representations of Bunyan; and the folding plate of the siege of the "Towne of Mansoul," with a full length likeness of Bunyan in the centre, and at the end of the volume the verses beginning,

"Some say the Pilgrim's Progress is not mine."

We are not surprised to learn that one hundred thousand copies of the Pilgrim's Progress in English were circulated during the life-time of the author. There were then also translations into French, Flemish, Dutch, Welsh, Gælic and Irish; and since then it has been translated into Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Danish and German, into the various languages of Asia and into Hebrew; indeed it has appeared in nearly all the languages of the world. There is a Latin copy entitled Peregrinantis Progressus. And what is not generally known, there was an early American edition, "published in Boston by Samuel Green, upon assignment of Samuel Small, and are to be sold by John Vysor, of Boston, 1681," 12mo. But one copy of this edition is known, and that is imperfect. Bunyan probably refers to this edition, in the first edition of Part Second, 1684, in speaking of the circulation of Part First.

"'Tis in New England under such advance,
Receives there so much loving countenance,
As to be trimmed, new cloth'd, and decked with gems,
That it may show its features and its limbs."

He may perhaps speak of a later edition not now known, for this is a very plain and common production, and does not at all correspond with the third line quoted. There was an edition of Part First published at New York, in 1794, by Benjamin Gomez, a Jewish bookseller, probably a converted Jew, for he printed a New Testament in 1801.

The French translation, published in Amsterdam, 1685, is entitled Voyage d'un Chrestien vers l'Eternité, par Monsieur Bunjan, F. M., en Bedtford. No doubt Bunyan's colloquial English was a difficult task for the translator. The Slough of Despond is called, Le Bourbier Mésfiance; Worldly Wiseman, Sage Mondain; Faithful, Loyal; Talkative, Grand Jaseur; Pickthank, Flatteur; My Old Lord Letchery, Mon vieux Seigneur Assez Bon; No Good, Vautrien; Live-loose, Vivant Mort; Hate-light, Grand Haineux; Bye-ends, Autrefin. Instead of translating the poetry, it is supplied from French psalms or hymns. The only copy of this edition known to exist is in the collection of Mr. Lenox, and is in very fine condition. There is in the British Museum a copy somewhat modernized, printed in Rotterdam, 1722: another in 1757; another in Basle, 1728. These are French Protestant versions; besides which there have been many editions of a Roman Catholic translation into French, greatly abridged, and of course Giant Pope is omitted, and so is the remark about Peter being afraid of a sorry girl.

Bunyan gives a hint in the verses with which the First Part is concluded, of his intention to continue his allegory; but this was not done until 1684. But in the meantime a forgery appeared with this title—"The Second Part of the Pilgrim's Progress, from this present World of Wickedness and Misery to an eternity of Holiness and Felicity exactly described under the similitude of a Dream, &c. Printed in London, 1683, for Thomas Malthus, at the Sun in the Poultry." Mr. Lenox has a copy of this forged edition. It has a frontispiece representing two men (one sleeping) in clerical garb; and one plate of persons dancing round the edge of a pit. This is the only counterfeit that has been discovered, although Bunyan thus warns the public in the verses prefixed to the Second Part:

"'Tis true some have of late to counterfeit
My Pilgrim, to their own, my Title set;

Yea, others, half my name and Title too, Have stitched to their Books to make them do; And yet they by their features do declare Themselves, not mine to be, whose ere they are."

It is probable that this book never reached a second edition, being eclipsed by the real Second Part, which appeared in 1684. There is in the library of Mr. Lenox a small 12mo. volume, which must be distinguished from the above, entitled "The Progress of the Christian Pilgrim from this world to the world to come. In two parts"—with the motto, "Joel xi. 23: Your old men shall dream dreams. The second edition: London and Westminster. Printed for the author, and sold by the booksellers. 1702."

Mr. Offor has a later edition, printed in 1705. This appears to be an imitation rather than a forgery, as it does not profess to be by Bunyan. Mr. Offor supposes it to be a Roman Catholic production, as Giant Pope is omitted, and Faithful, called *Fidelius*, is hanged, drawn, and quartered; that being the punishment inflicted on the Roman Catholics by Elizabeth and James I.

The real Second Part is a similar volume to the First Part, and appeared in 1684. A fine copy of this rare volume is in the possession of Mr. Lenox. In this, seven pages are in larger type than the rest, from page 100 to 106 inclusive. Page 106 is numbered 120. It was printed by Nathaniel Ponder, and has a frontispiece engraved by Sturt, representing Bunyan asleep below, and Christiana and her family above, setting out on their journey, with verses below. It has two plates, one representing Great Heart leading on the Pilgrims; the other the dance round the head of Giant Despair. On the back of the title is the following notice: "I appoint Mr. Nathaniel Ponder, But no other to Print this book, Jan. 1, 1684. John Bunyan." The text fills 224 pages, 106 to 109 being omitted in the paging; the title and verses, six leaves, are not counted in the paging.

The next edition known has a similar title to the first, but has no indication of what edition it is (perhaps the third or fourth,) but bears the date of 1687. A copy of this edition is

in the collection of Mr. Lenox. There is an advertisement of books upon the back of the title, but not the notice quoted above. It has an engraved frontispiece and two plates, as in the first edition. The paging is correct, but there are variations throughout from the first edition. The sixth edition appeared in 1693, "Printed for Robert Ponder, and sold by Nicholas Boddington, in Dutch Lane." On the back of the title, after an advertisement of books, is the following notice: "The Third Part of Pilgrim's Progress that's now abroad, was not done by John Bunyan, as is suggested. But the true Copy left by him, will be published by Nath. Ponder." This notice refers to "Grace Abounding," which is advertised by Ponder on the back of the title of Part First, 13th edition. 1692, as "John Bunyan's life, writ by his own hand in a book entitled Grace Abounding, &c.; to which is added, The remainder of his life to his death by the hand of a friend, and reprinted this year." Below is a caution against the Third Part, "printed by an impostor," &c. The engraved frontispiece in this sixth edition is very much worn, and two wood-cuts printed in the text. The title and verses occupy six pages; the text pages 1 to 180, of which 167 to 180 are in smaller type than the rest. There is a copy of this edition in the library of Mr. Lenox.

The seventh edition appeared in 1696. The eighth in 1702. In the copy of Mr. Lenox, it is called on the title "the eighth edition, with addition of four cuts. Note—the 3d Part, suggested to be J. Bunyan's is an Impostor—and printed for W. P., and to be sold by Nicholas Boddington, 1702." The two additional cuts refer to Christian, and are copied from Part First.

The copy of the ninth edition in Mr. Lenox's collection, bears the imprint of N. and M. Boddington, 1712. Mr. Offor has a ninth edition dated 1708. It would be endless to continue this examination.

In 1692 a Third Part made its appearance, and although the title does not directly say that it was written by Bunyan, it was at first received as his. It is this Third Part of which notice is taken on the back of the title of the sixth edition of of the Second Part, and denounced as an "Impostor" on the back of the title of the eighth edition.*

A copy of the first edition of this counterfeit is in the library of Mr. Lenox. The date on the title page is 1693, the life which is appended has the date 1692. The second edition appeared in 1694. In the first and second editions an indelicate paragraph was inserted respecting the "Revels of the Ranters." It is not known whether this was continued in the third, but in the fourth edition of 1700, the life is rewritten, and the objectionable paragraph omitted. The life thus altered was continued in almost all the editions, but the paragraph was reproduced in editions published in Glasgow as late as 1792. We find it in a Glasgow edition called the second, 1717, and in another of 1773.

John Newton asserts of this forgery, that "a common hedge-stake deserves as much to be compared with Aaron's rod, which yielded blossoms and almonds, as this poor performance to be obtruded upon the world as the production of Bunyan." Dr. Ryland observes, that "when the anonymous scribbler of the 'Third Part' of the Pilgrim's Progress, tried to obtrude his stuff on the world as the production of Mr. Bunyan, the cheat was soon discovered; every Christian of taste could see the difference as easily as we can discern the superior excellence of a Raphael or a Titian from the productions of a common dauber; and we can as easily distinguish Bunyan from all other writers, as we can discern the difference between the finest cambric and a piece of hop-sacking." The author of this forgery is as yet unknown.

A much more respectable attempt has since been made towards a Third Part, under the title of the "Pilgrims of the Nineteenth Century; a continuation of the Pilgrim's Progress, upon the plan projected by Mr. Bunyan, containing a history

^{*} The same denunciation appears on the title pages of two editions of the Holy War, in the library of Mr. Lenox, printed in 1738, and 1759. Thus, "By John Bunyan, Author of the Pilgrim's Progress, 1st and 2d Parts. Note. The Third Part suggested to be his is an Imposter (1738) Impostor (1759): and on the back of the woodcut frontispiece the verses beginning

^{&#}x27;Some say the Pilgrim's Progress is not mine.'"

of a visit to the town of Toleration; with an account of its charter, and a description of the principles and customs of its inhabitants, under the similitude of a DREAM. By Joseph Ivimey, 1827." The object of this volume is to show the advantages which resulted from the Act of Toleration, by the adventures of Christian children; but it is hard to conceive what this had to do with the nineteenth century.

For many years the Pilgrim's Progress was printed on very poor paper; the wood-cuts, when worn out, were replaced by an inferior set; each Part was published separately in a cheap form. The first edition which made any pretension to elegance was published in 1728, "adorned and embellished with curious sculptures by J. Sturt." In comparison with its predecessors, this was a truly beautiful edition. The engravings were from old designs, and well executed. For many years this was considered the standard edition, and was reprinted many times. It is not known who was the editor; it was superseded by an edition with Mason's notes. This was considered good, but it abounds in errors. There is a very curious omission in this edition brought down from the eighth edition of the Second Part, where it first occurs.* In the catechizing of James by Prudence, she asks him, "How doth God the Son save thee?" The answer and the next question are left out, and it appears thus: "By his illumination, by his renovation, and by his preservation." The lines that are omitted are: "James. By his righteousness, death, and blood, and life. Prudence. And how doth God the Holy Ghost save thee?" Mr. Mason, in one of his notes, calls attention to the error, and seems to think that Bunyan was at fault in his theology; but in the next edition, having discovered his error, very properly inserted the missing lines, but as improperly continued his note reflecting

^{*} We find this error in the following 12mo. editions in the possession of Mr. Lenox. In the 9th, 12th, 13th, and so on to the 28th inclusive; also in the following London 8vo. editions—22d, 23d, 28th, 30th, (two of that number, but different), and 32d. In the edition with Mason's notes, 1778, and an edition in 8vo. with notes by Bradford, 1792. It occurs also in an edition called the 17th, printed in Boston in 1744. It is corrected in the 31st ed. 12mo. London, 1770—8vo. edition, London, 1763, called the 54th; and Edinburgh 12mo. called the 56 ed. 1777; London 58 ed. 12mo. 1782; Cook's edition, London, 1792; T. Wilkins, Boston, 1806, 8vo.

upon Bunyan; and it was continued in every successive edition

in which the text was printed correctly.

There is another extraordinary error which is found in many editions, and among others those of Southey and the London Art Union. It is in the conversation between Christian and Hopeful about the robbery of Little Faith. Bunyan refers to four characters in Scripture, who were notable champions, but who were very roughly handled by Faint-heart, Mistrust, and Guilt. "They made David (Psal. xxxviii.) groan, mourn, and roar. Heman and Hezekiah too, though champions in their day, had their coats soundly brushed by them. Peter would go try what he could do-they made him at last afraid of a sorry girl." Some editor, not acquainted with Heman (Psal. lxxxviii), and not troubling himself to find who he was, changed the name to one much more common and familiar, and called him Haman. More recent editions, including Southey and the Art Union, conceiving that Haman, however exalted he was as a sinner, was not one of the Lord's champions in his day, changed his name to that of Mordecai!

So great was the popularity of the Pilgrim's Progress, that it led some to attempt its improvement by turning it into verse. The first attempt of this kind was by Francis Hoffman, printed by R. Tookey, 1706. There were two issues of Hoffman's version, both in the possession of Mr. Lenox; they differ only in the title-page; the one has, the other has not, the name of the versifier. Both have a portrait and four cuts. We give a specimen from page 60: Apollyon says—

"'Tis with professors now in fashion grown
T' espouse his cause awhile to serve their own;
Come, with me go occasionally back
Rather than a preferment lose or lack."

Many attempts were made afterwards to versify the Pilgrim's Progress; the most respectable of which was by J. S. Dodd, M. D., Dublin, 1795: it is in blank verse, with good engravings. George Burder, the author of "Village Sermons," published, in 1804, "Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, Part First, versified," which passed through several large editions, and was much used in Sunday-schools. A very handsome edition of this, with the Second Part, has lately been published in Eng-

land, by the author of "Scripture Truth in Verse." T. Dibdin also published "Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress metrically condensed, in six cantos." This embraces only the First Part. The author claims to have kept the simplicity of the original. and a rigid observance of every doctrine enforcing the certainty of the one only road to safety and salvation. Dr. Adam Clarke considered that our Pilgrim might be more read by a certain class, if published as an epic poem. He observes: "The whole body of the dialogue and description might be preserved perfect and entire; and the task would not be difficult, as the work has the complete form of an epic poem, the versification alone excepted. But a poet, and a poet only, can do this work; and such a poet, too, as is experimentally acquainted with the work of God in his own soul. I subscribe to the opinion of Mr. Addison, that, had J. Bunyan lived in the time of the primitive fathers, he would have been as great a father as any of them."

A lady who uses the initials C. C. V. G., has recently made the attempt, and she does not appear to be aware that Dr. Dodd has gone over the same ground. It is, says Mr. Offor, a highly respectable production, divided into six cantos, but includes only the First Part. Mr. Offor remarks, that "little interest has been excited by these endeavours to versify the Pilgrim. All the attempts to improve Bunyan are miserable failures; it is like holding up a rushlight to increase the beauty of the moon when in its full radiance. His fine old colloquial English may be modernized and spoiled, but cannot be improved. The expression used to denote how hard the last lock in Doubting Castle 'went,' may grate upon a polite ear, but it has a deep meaning, that should warn us of entering by-path meadows."

It would be a culpable omission, in mentioning editions of Bunyan's Pilgrim, if we should not speak of one by the Rev. J. M. Neale, M. A., Warden of Sackville College, "for the use of children of the English Church;" (Oxford, J. H. Parker, 1853.) This is an alteration, at once arrogant and treacherous; being a jesuitical endeavour to make the glorious old Nonconformist utter the cant, not merely of the Anglican, but of the Puseyitc. It is just in harmony with later proceedings of this ridiculous

pricstling, in the well known case of a perverted lady, whose burial was profaned by the pertinacious interruptions of this Neale. The preface expounds the sapient plan of mutilation and forgery; but the counterfeiter's tools are so clumsy as to result only in the ludicrous. The poor Editor finds neither Baptism nor Confirmation mentioned by Bunyan, and is of course scandalized by "the whole story of Worldly Wiseman and Legality, the adventure with Faithful, with Adam the First, and Moses; much of the conversation with Talkative, and more of that with Ignorance." Accordingly, after the Slough of Despond, Christian has a threefold dipping into a baptismal spring, furnished by Mr. Neale. He receives a roll by which "we are to understand a state of gracc." Although "his original sin was at once and for ever put away by Baptism," there is yet another burden on his back when he reaches the Interpreter's House. Our grim old enemies, "Pope and Pagan," are exchanged for "Mahometan and Pagan," (pages 14, 16, 54, 60.) The trick was too barefaced, even for Tractarianism, and we believe the edition has attained condign contempt.

We learn that a Poetical Pamphlet of Minor Poems, written by Bunyan, and published by him while in prison, has lately been discovered. An edition was to have been published in the beginning of this year. Mr. Offor, who superintends its publication, says in a private note, that there can be no doubt of its genuineness. It is supposed to have been written by Bunyan for the purpose of gaining a pittance with which to support his family during his confinement. It contains an

autograph of John Bunyan.

It is an interesting fact, that during the revolution in Italy, in 1849, Italian versions of the New Testament and the Pilgrim's Progress, were circulated freely in sheets throughout

Italy.

We close this article by enumerating the translations of the Pilgrim's Progress in the library of Mr. Lenox, which probably comprises the most complete collection of the editions of the English Bible and of the Pilgrim's Progress, in the world. Dutch—Amsterdam, 1682, probably the 1st ed. Do. 1684, 4to. Do. 1687, 5th ed. Utrecht, 1699. Amsterdam, 1718.

Groningen, 1718, with annotations. Part First, New York, American Tract Society, no date, probably 1851. French-Amsterdam, 1685, 12mo., 1st ed. Part First, Rotterdam, 1764, 12mo., 6th ed. Part First, Paris, 2 copies, 1831 and 1834, 12mo., Protestant versions. Paris, 1821, 16mo., Roman Catholic version. Part First, London Tract Society, 1850. 12mo. Part First, Paris and Lyons, no date, Roman Catholic version-very much abridged. The figures in the plates are all dressed in modern costume. Part First, New York, American Tract Society, no date but about 1853, 12mo. Part First, Valence, 1845, small 12mo. Part Second, Paris, 1855, 12mo. Part First, Brussells, Paris and Geneva, 1855, 12mo. Part First, Toulouse, 1852, 12mo. German-London, 1766, small 8vo., with portrait, and 15 plates noticed above in the text. Part First, Hamburg, 1837, 16mo. Parts First and Second, Hamburg, 1842, 12mo. Parts First and Second, New York American Tract Society, no date, about 1850. Part First, Hamburg, 1853, 12mo. Bengali and English—Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press, 1835, 12mo. Bengali-Lodiana, American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1835, 12mo. Orissa Language— Part First, Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press, 1838, 12mo. Modern Greek-Part First, Malta, 1824, small 8vo. Welsh-Parts First, Second, and Third, London, 1836-7, printed in parts, 8vo. Parts First and Second, New York, no plates nor date, but American Tract Society, about 1845. Parts First, Second, and Third, Cacrnarvon, 1848, 32mo. Hebrew-Parts First and Second, London, 1851, 1852, small 8vo. Danish-Parts First and Second, New York, American Tract Society, no date but about 1851. Spanish-Part First, New York, American Tract Society, no date, about 1851. Part First, London, no date but about 1849, 12mo. Honolulu-Sandwich Islands, Parts First and Second, for American Tract Society, 1842, 12mo. Swedish-Part First, New York, American Tract Society, no date but about 1854, 12mo. Italian-Part First, Firenze, 1853, 12mo., printed surreptitiously without any title page, place, or date. The verses are translated into prose. Genova, (Genoa) 1855, Parts First and Second; a second edition of Part First, the poetry rendered in verse, 12mo. Parts First and Second, New York, American Tract

Society, no date, but 1858, 12mo. These three Italian editions are the same. The translation was made at Florence, by an Italian priest, under the superintendence of the Rev. Robert Maxwell Hanna, of the Scotch Free Church. The first edition was small and is rare; the second was larger, and printed at Genoa, and has been stereotyped by the American Tract Society. Almost all the volumes enumerated have plates or wood cuts.

ART. IV.—On the authorized Version of the New Testament in connection with some recent proposals for its revision. By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, D. D., Dean of Westminster, Author of "Synonymes of the New Testament"—"the Study of Words"—"the English Language, Past and Present"—"the Lessons in Proverbs"—"Sermons"—"Poems"—"Calderon," etc. London: 1858. pp. 146. 8vo.

In closing our review of Mr. Sawyer's new "New Testament," we quoted him as claiming to have forestalled nearly all the new suggestions of Dean Trench, and undertook to show, at some convenient season, the extraordinary difference between their methods of improving on the common version. Who and what Trench is, and how entitled to be heard as an authority in this case, if it were not known already to the great mass of our readers, might be gathered from the title of the book before us. His position at the head of the chapter of Westminster Abbey implies not only the esteem in which he was held by the appointing power, but a reputation previously acquired and established in the Church of England, and still further back, a finished academical training in one of the great universities. The fruits of this training, and the causes of this reputation, are unambiguously indicated by the subjects of his previous works, including those upon the Parables and Miracles, though not here specified, except by an etcetera. The very titles of these publications will sufficiently define the field of his successful labours, as including scriptural interpretation, general religious teaching,