

***The Pilgrim's Progress* in the History of American Public Discourse**

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Abstract

After rehearsing the general history of Bunyan's readership in America, this essay will unfold the little recognized story of the long and lingering influence of *The Pilgrim's Progress* on American public discourse, specifically the use of Bunyan's characters and scenes in various expressions, including political cartoons, satire, civic speeches, and state funerals, running from the early nineteenth century to the beginning of the twenty-first.

Keywords

John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, American public discourse

The former popularity of John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* in America has left phrases and images that retain currency long after their source has been largely forgotten. The magazine titles *Vanity Fair* and *House Beautiful*, each named after Bunyan locales, face consumers at the checkout counter. Being in a slough of despond, as was Bunyan's protagonist Christian, has become a dictionary description of depression. And Bunyan's title itself can reappear almost anywhere and seem familiar. Sometimes its invocation, like the original book, is religious in nature, as in a *Newsweek* article on the Rev. Billy Graham that was titled "Pilgrim's Progress" though it did not mention Bunyan.¹ At other times the allusion is secularized, as in another article titled "Pilgrim's Progress" in a university's alumni magazine, which hailed a past president who led

¹ John Meacham, "Pilgrim's Progress," *Newsweek* (24 August 2006): 36-43.

the school to relocate to a new campus.² What scholarship that exists on this infiltration of *The Pilgrim's Progress* into American culture usually focuses on its devotional usage in the colonial period or parodies and children's editions in nineteenth-century literature. Yet such treatments have thus far still underestimated precisely how thoroughly Bunyan's book—awareness of which was once the very "mark of a good American," in one author's opinion³—has seeped into the American social fabric. Since David E. Smith complained nearly a half-century ago, "Too little attention has been paid to Bunyan's impact on American culture,"⁴ no one has yet taken on his implied challenge. After rehearsing the general history of Bunyan's readership in America, this essay will unfold the little recognized story of the long and lingering influence of *The Pilgrim's Progress* on American public discourse, specifically the use of Bunyan's characters and scenes in various expressions, including political cartoons, satire, civic speeches, and state funerals, running from the early nineteenth century to the beginning of the twenty-first.

The Pilgrim's Progress in America

Only three years after its initial 1678 publication in London, *The Pilgrim's Progress* attained enough cachet in New England that a colonial printing became necessary to keep up with a demand that exceeded the availability of imported copies. And then, only another three years after Samuel Green published *The Pilgrim's Progress* in Boston in 1681, Bunyan himself assessed the trans-Atlantic success of his allegory in the preface to its second part:

"Tis in New-England under such advance,
Receives there so much loving Countenance,

² David Fyten, "Pilgrim's Progress," *Wake Forest Magazine* 54:1 (September 2006): 12-31.

³ Ruth K. MacDonald, *Christian's Children: The Influence of John Bunyan's The Pilgrim's Progress on American Children's Literature* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 35.

⁴ David E. Smith, "Publication of John Bunyan's Works in America," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 66 (1962): 639.

As to be Trim'd, new Cloth'd & Deckt with Gems,
That it might shew its Features, and its Limbs,
Yet more; so comely doth my Pilgrim walk,
That of him thousands daily Sing and talk.⁵

Indeed, *The Pilgrim's Progress* was a staple of early Americans' literary diet. It was one of only seven books excepting the Bible, almanacs, and reference manuals to sell more than 1,000 copies in America by the year 1690.⁶ As early as 1715, with Joseph Morgan's *The Kingdom of Basaruah*, it began to inspire Americanized imitations of its journey from worldly wilderness to heavenly reward.⁷ Even when the winds of the Enlightenment began to blow away the older Puritan sensitivities in the Northeast that had once received Bunyan's Calvinist theology so amicably, the popularity of *The Pilgrim's Progress* survived. For the rationalist Benjamin Franklin, for instance, this popularity was because Bunyan's theology constituted the dross that Bunyan said one could throw away so long as one preserved his gold,⁸ and this richness for Franklin was the moral emphasis on persistence through trial that Bunyan conveyed by mixing narrative and dialogue.⁹ Thirty new American editions of *The Pilgrim's Progress* appeared from the inauguration of the United States' first President, George Washington, in 1789, to the election of its third, Thomas Jefferson, in 1800.¹⁰

⁵ John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, ed. James Blanton Wharey and Roger Sharrock (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), 169.

⁶ Frank Luther Mott, *Golden Multitudes: The Story of Best Sellers in the United States* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947), 303.

⁷ David E. Smith, *John Bunyan in America* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1966), 6.

⁸ Bunyan 164.

⁹ Benjamin Franklin, *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. John Bigelow (Garden City, NY: Dolphin Books, n.d.), 83-84; Charles L. Sanford, *The Quest for Paradise: Europe and the American Moral Imagination* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1961), 122-123.

¹⁰ Smith, "Publication" 632.

Neither did the reputation of *The Pilgrim's Progress* wane through the early decades of the nineteenth century, when the number of reprints in America was "literally countless."¹¹ David E. Smith has shown in fact that perhaps the apex of Bunyan readership in America occurred during the first two decades of the nineteenth century:

From 1800 to 1810 there were more printings of works by Bunyan that at any other comparable period either earlier or later. After 1820, publishing interest in Bunyan declined appreciably, and even considering the second peak decade 1840-1850, when there were at least twenty-two editions of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, there was never again such a profusion of American editions of Bunyan's works as appeared between 1800-1820.¹²

The waning of interest in *The Pilgrim's Progress* after 1820 reflected the priorities of a changing nation, whose common focus by then had become the very earthly business of populist politics, which swept Andrew Jackson into office and stamped an era with his name. *The Pilgrim's Progress* was an otherworldly book whose message, though originally meant for a common audience, no longer seemed as pertinent to the concerns of the modern world. Franklin had augured this change of attitude when he first secularized Christian's quest for the Celestial City, valuing Christian's pilgrimage as the pursuit of upward mobility by a self-made man.¹³ Hence, although Franklin remembered "Honest

¹¹ Smith, "Publication" 630.

¹² Smith, "Publication" 632.

¹³ See James Turner, *Without God, Without Creed: The Origins of Unbelief in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 48; Robert G. Gunderson, "Making It: The Rhetoric of Upward Mobility from Poor

John" Bunyan with approving nostalgia, he did not later regret his decision to sell his Bunyan library in order to purchase R. Burton's *Historical Collections*, especially since Franklin knew he would not become a clergyman.¹⁴ Likewise, many Americans appeared ready to trade *The Pilgrim's Progress* for something newer, for its readership then began the steady decline that Smith documents. But once again, Bunyan was able to perform the particularly difficult task of posthumous adaptation in order to survive.

In 1884, Mark Twain's Huckleberry Finn declared that he had "read considerable" in *The Pilgrim's Progress* "now and then," and he found that its "statements was interesting, but tough."¹⁵ Similarly, although nineteenth-century readers like Huck increasingly found the theology of *The Pilgrim's Progress* too tough for smooth absorption and so were less and less interested in reading it all the way through, also like Huck they nonetheless still found its characters and their plights pretty interesting. That they did so is evident in the variety of adaptations of the book that proliferated even as sales of the book itself began to wane. Indeed, claims Holland Cotter, *The Pilgrim's Progress* veritably "generated an entertainment industry,"¹⁶ no doubt facilitated by the congruence of its travelogue format with American fascination over the western frontier. One example of this adaptation of *The Pilgrim's Progress* was the "uniquely American" medium known as a metamorphosis, a sheet of paper printed on both sides that, when folded over in successive layers, presented different scenes from

Richard to Punk Rock," *Vital Speeches of the Day* 53:2 (1 November 1986): 51-52; and Sanford 124-125.

¹⁴ Franklin 83, 73.

¹⁵ Mark Twain, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, ed. Robert O'Meally (New York: Barnes and Noble Classics, 2003), 103.

¹⁶ Holland Cotter, "A Pilgrim's Perils in an Ancestor of B-Movies," *The New York Times* (4 April 1999): 2.37.

the book.¹⁷ In the 1819 version designed by J. W. Barber, for instance, the first scene depicts Christian leaving the City of Destruction, but once the metamorphosis is folded at the prescribed point, Christian's head becomes attached to a body sinking in the Slough of Despond. Edward Harrison May's panorama of *The Pilgrim's Progress*—a series of large illustrations mechanically turned around a paying audience—began exhibition in Manhattan in the 1850s and ended up touring much of the eastern seaboard.¹⁸ Mark Twain even considered manufacturing his own *Pilgrim's Progress* panorama.¹⁹ There were also many illustrated and children's editions of *The Pilgrim's Progress* in the nineteenth century, dating back to Isaiah Thomas's *The Christian Pilgrim* (1798) and an American printing of George Burder's *Pilgrim's Progress Versified* (1807),²⁰ which indicates not only the entertainment value but often the didactic purpose to which the book was applied. Ruth K. MacDonald speculates that Bunyan's fairy tale conventions of searching for a valuable treasure, moving from adventure to adventure, and using stark moral opposites accounted for the fact that children and young people were attracted to the work.²¹

Of course, Bunyan himself had taken pleasure in the young readership of *The Pilgrim's Progress*:

The very Children that do walk the street,
If they do but my holy Pilgrim meet,
Salute him will, will wish him well and say,

¹⁷ David E. Smith, "Illustrations of American Editions of *The Pilgrim's Progress* to 1870," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 26 (1964): 26.

¹⁸ Smith, "Illustrations" 21; Cotter 2.37. Cotter reports that the Bunyan panorama was found in storage in Saco, Maine, in 1995.

¹⁹ Alfred Bendixen, "Huck Finn and Pilgrim's Progress," *Mark Twain Journal* 18:3 (1976): 21.

²⁰ MacDonald 137, 142.

²¹ MacDonald 1-20.

He is the only Stripling of the Day.²²

During the nineteenth century, however, as MacDonald writes, "It is likely that children either looked at the pictures [of illustrated editions], or that they studied the text as part of acquiring a sound, well rounded education. But the text itself was not presented [. . .] as religious instruction."²³ The civil religion of the nineteenth century followed Franklin in holding that American prosperity depended on moral rectitude,²⁴ and *The Pilgrim's Progress* unquestionably helped to sustain this conviction in at least some small way. The use of *The Pilgrim's Progress* in the moral tutoring of young people was most famously performed by Louisa May Alcott in *Little Women* (1868), in which the March sisters live out such Bunyanesque chapter titles as "Beth finds the Palace Beautiful," "Amy's Valley of Humiliation," "Jo Meets Apollyon," and "Meg goes to Vanity Fair," all the while domesticating the eternal city sought by Christian into a happy, fashionable Victorian home.²⁵ But a number of other writings now obscure also once thrived on their ability to revamp Bunyan's allegory for a young, predominantly female readership—books like Martha Finley's *Elsie Dinsmore* (1867), Susan Warner's *The Wide, Wide World* (1878), Susan Coolidge's *What Katy Did* (1887), and Frances Hodgson Burnett's *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress* (1895).²⁶ The pursuit of the 1893 Chicago fair by a twin brother and sister in *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress*, concludes Francis J. Molson, "deliberately employed whatever remained of the great moral and religious authority of *The Pilgrim's Progress*," but its replacement of the Celestial City with the

²² Bunyan 170.

²³ MacDonald 138.

²⁴ Turner 83.

²⁵ Jean Bethke Elshtain, "Little Modern Women," *The Weekly Standard* 7:44 (29 July 2002): 31-33.

²⁶ MacDonald, *passim*.

Columbian Exposition simultaneously "undermined the orthodoxy and rigor of Bunyan's work."²⁷

For a while, the many popular adaptations and literary uses of *The Pilgrim's Progress*—combined with the *Lectures* by George Cheever which commemorated the 1828 bicentennial of Bunyan's birth and the new spiritual fervor of the Second Great Awakening—directed renewed attention to the original. Bunyan's version of *The Pilgrim's Progress* experienced a brief resurgence of sales, highlighted by twenty-two new American printings in the 1840s.²⁸ But there is no doubt that Bunyan's legacy by the end of the nineteenth century was often filtered through a variety of media and other tales that abbreviated, illustrated, borrowed from or otherwise adapted *The Pilgrim's Progress* for a new audience. Some of these derivations, as seen in *Little Women*, L. Frank Baum's *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (1900), and Kate Douglas Wiggin's *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* (1903), are still known even though their readership has diminished like that of their inspiration.²⁹ Others that were germane in their time, like George Wood's *Modern Pilgrims* (1817), William R. Weeks' *The Pilgrim's Progress in the Nineteenth Century* (1848), Alonzo Delano's *The Miner's Progress* (1853), and Joseph A. Benton's *The California Pilgrim* (1853), are now long forgotten. "When the American wilderness had vanished," Smith

²⁷ Francis J. Molson, "Two Little Pilgrims' Progress: The 1893 Chicago Columbian Exposition as Celestial City," *Markham Review* 7 (1978): 58.

²⁸ Smith, "Publication" 634.

²⁹ For the use of Bunyan by Alcott and Wiggin, see MacDonald 70-80, 110-123; for the use of Bunyan by Baum, see Carol McGuirk, "SF Intertextuality: Echoes of *The Pilgrim's Progress* in Baum's *The Wizard of Oz* and Burroughs's First 'Mars' Trilogy," *Science Fiction Studies* 30:3 (November 2003): 544-551, and J. Karl Franson, "From Vanity Fair to Emerald City: Baum's Debt to Bunyan," *Children's Literature* 23, ed. Francelia Butler, R. H. W. Dillard, and Elizabeth Lennox Keyser (Storrs: Yale University Press, 1995), 91-114.

contends, "the conventional figure of Bunyan's Christian vanished also."³⁰

Christian had once been simultaneously the archetype of the westward pioneer and the teacher of domestic virtue, but neither role suited the industrialized, urbanized landscape of the twentieth century. The allure of exploration had faded, and the millennial hopes that *The Pilgrim's Progress* had helped to foster had dissipated too. So while *The Pilgrim's Progress* did not disappear completely—for instance, it was made available to Native American tribes³¹ and Ellis Island immigrants,³² and in 1923 was even assigned by a Philadelphia judge as the penalty for drunken driving³³—its social relevance seemed gradually to decline. Even its sheer entertainment value, once perpetuated by illustrations, panoramas, and parade floats,³⁴ "could not survive the decay of cultural literacy and the entertainment agenda of the Hollywood dream factory."³⁵ So at last today, says MacDonald, "Bunyan's popular reputation is dead and not likely to be resurrected."³⁶ *The Pilgrim's Progress* remains familiar only to some of Bunyan's evangelical heirs, though even them not in very great numbers by one estimate,³⁷ and the literary scholars who have made it their domain since the critical works of Jack Lindsay and William York Tindall in the 1930s.

³⁰ Smith, *John Bunyan in America* 12.

³¹ John Hunt Peacock, Jr., "Lamenting Language Loss at the Modern Language Association," *American Indian Quarterly* 30:1/2 (Winter 2006): 139.

³² MacDonald 153.

³³ "Must Read Bunyan in Jail for Driving Car While Drunk," *The New York Times* (28 April 1923): 1.

³⁴ "Bryan Sees Harding Famous as Lincoln: Compares His Words in Hoboken Over Soldier Dead with Gettysburg Address," *The New York Times* (10 July 1921): 19.

³⁵ Elshtain, "Little" 34.

³⁶ MacDonald 144.

³⁷ John R. Muether, "Why Evangelicals Don't Read Pilgrim's Progress (and Why They Should)," *RTS Reformed Quarterly* 22.3-4(2003): 6-7, 11.

Yet there is still one type of modification of *The Pilgrim's Progress* that, while it is almost completely unacknowledged in published research, has not only a long history in America but also a surprisingly modern utility. This is the use of Bunyan's characters and expressions in various expressions of public discourse, including political cartoons and satire, civic speeches, and state funerals. The present essay will now delve into this little recognized aspect of Bunyan's long influence on American culture, running from the early nineteenth century to the end of the twentieth.

Political Cartoons and Satire

The Pilgrim's Progress itself is of course rife not only with critique of social elitism but also with occasionally biting satire against the political machinery of Bunyan's day. Nowhere is this more evident, Brean Hammond argues, than in the trial of Christian and Faithful in Vanity Fair, where Bunyan assigns names like "Hategood," "Blind-man," and "Lyar" to the judge and jury who represent the presiders over his own hearing and imprisonment.³⁸ It is in this scene above all, Hammond believes, that Bunyan's unusual skills of observation produced a "developed satire of a caliber previously undiscovered in satiric prose—characters and scenes that have a lively precision and yet a general application, that are flexible and yet wide-ranging."³⁹ In the first half of the nineteenth century, the familiarity of *The Pilgrim's Progress* in America provided such general applicability for some of the nation's oldest political cartoons. Smith maintains that it was not until after the Civil War of the 1860s that Bunyan became "fit subject for parody and travesty,"⁴⁰

³⁸Brean Hammond, "The Pilgrim's Progress: Satire and Social Comment," in *The Pilgrim's Progress: Critical and Historical Views*, ed. Vincent Newey (Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble Books, 1980), 119.

³⁹ Hammond 130-131.

⁴⁰ Smith, *John Bunyan in America* 16.

but examples from the campaigns of James Knox Polk, the country's eleventh President, show that such a perspective on Bunyan began at least two decades earlier.

Polk became the Democratic candidate for President in the 1844 election after nine polls of the party's convention delegates in Baltimore. He was the Governor and former U. S. Representative of Tennessee, and he rose to prominence largely through the support of former President Andrew Jackson, who supported Polk's wish to annex Texas, Oregon, and California. Polk won the election over the Whig Henry Clay, but in spite of that he took sharp criticism in a *Harper's Weekly* cartoon titled "Pilgrims' Progress." In this cartoon, Jackson leads a donkey that is carrying Polk and his Vice-Presidential running mate George Dallas toward "Salt River," a common term at the time that denoted political disaster. Being dragged by the donkey is Martin Van Buren in the form of a fox with a human head, Jackson's Presidential successor who had lost his party's nomination for a new term because of his opposition to national expansion. In the cartoon, Jackson chastens Van Buren to remain quiet and to be content with the fact that he is in Jackson's retinue at all. Realizing that Van Buren had once been Jackson's protégé too but had now come to an ignominious political end, Polk confides to Dallas, "I feel like the baby in the primer 'only born to weep and die.'" Dallas replies, not so upliftingly as does Hopeful to Christian in *Doubling Castle* and the *River of Death*, "This is not quite so bad as if we were riding to the gallows."⁴¹ It is clear that the illustrator expects readers not only to recognize the title "Pilgrims' Progress" but also to understand the ironic application of the term to a political team presumably headed toward catastrophe. This twist perhaps borrowed its

⁴¹ "Pilgrims' Progress," in *HarpWeek: American Political Prints, 1776-1876* (accessed 20 November 2006); available from <http://loc.harpweek.com/LCPoliticalCartoons/DisplayCartoonMedium.asp?SearchText=&UniqueID=29&Year=1844>

strategy from Nathaniel Hawthorne's "The Celestial Railroad," published only one year before the election in 1843, which ends with Mr. Smooth-it-away laughing at the pilgrims Apollyon brought to his ferry as they begin to sink toward their doom.⁴²

Polk did not run for reelection in 1848, but as the new leader of his party (Jackson had died in 1845), he certainly could not escape the satirist's pen. Once again, one of the political cartoons that lampooned Polk, titled "A Correct Chart of Salt River," appeared in *Harper's Weekly* and invoked *The Pilgrim's Progress* as a backdrop. In this case, appearing as a tributary of the Ohio River, Salt River symbolizes Ohio's strong Democratic leanings at the time. Attempting to navigate Salt River is the steamboat *Free Trade*, which represents Polk's support of the 1846 Tariff and its promotion of free trade over American economic protectionism. In the cartoon, *Free Trade* is bogged down in the Slough of Despond, which runs from bank to bank of Salt River. But even should the steamer be able to escape and proceed, the map shows that the river empties into Lake Oblivion, and the only port of call on the island in the lake's center is called the Mansion of Despair.⁴³ By borrowing names directly from *The Pilgrim's Progress*, such as the Slough of Despond, and inventing new names obviously inspired by it, like Lake Oblivion and Mansion of Despair, the cartoonist shows the degree to which Bunyan's language was both familiar and amenable to political dilettantes in the mid-nineteenth century. Perhaps this is no great surprise when one recalls that in the 1840s, according to

⁴² Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Celestial Railroad and Other Stories* (New York: Signet Classic, 1963), 202.

⁴³ "A Correct Chart of Salt River," in *HarpWeek: American Political Prints, 1776-1876* (accessed 20 November 2006); available from <http://loc.harpweek.com/LCPoliticalCartoons/DisplayCartoonMedium.asp?MaxID= &UniqueID=29&Year=1848&YearMark+>.

Smith's investigations, "*The Pilgrim's Progress* was issued more frequently in America than at any other time."⁴⁴

But even though readership of *The Pilgrim's Progress* itself began to drop in the second half of the nineteenth century, prominent national figures from that time would often have retained familiarity with Bunyan's book from their youth. For instance, Abraham Lincoln, President from 1861-1865, was born in 1809 and read *The Pilgrim's Progress* as a boy in Indiana.⁴⁵ Benjamin Harrison, born in 1833 and President from 1889-1893, also read *The Pilgrim's Progress* as a young man,⁴⁶ and there remains an 1848 edition of Bunyan's book in the library of his Indianapolis home.⁴⁷ And the usefulness of *The Pilgrim's Progress* as a source of political satire lingered as well. A particularly favorite image of political pundits from the mid-nineteenth century well into the twentieth was Mr. Facing-both-ways, who in Bunyan's original story receives but scant mention as a relative of Mr. By-ends, from the wealthy town of Fair-speech. The earliest such usage dates to October 1855 in *The New York Times* and addresses the decision of President Franklin Pierce to appoint a Naval Efficiency Board, whose purpose was to expose the promotion of unqualified persons in the Navy's ranks and allow for the advancement of skilled younger officers. This was a particularly sensitive issue in New York City, for cronyism was also well ensconced in the revenue office that oversaw tariff collection from the city's ports, and some who benefited from that arrangement feared that the federal

⁴⁴ Smith, "Publication" 634.

⁴⁵ Henry J. Raymond, *The Life and Public Services of Abraham Lincoln, Sixteenth President of the United States* (New York: Derby and Miller, 1865), 22; William Osborn Stoddard, *Abraham Lincoln: The True Story of a Great Life* (New York: Fords, Howard, and Hulbert, 1884), 33.

⁴⁶ Charles W. Calhoun, *Benjamin Harrison* (New York: Times Books, 2005), 9.

⁴⁷ Jennifer E. Capps, curator of the President Benjamin Harrison home, email to author, 4 October 2006.

government might investigate them next. The anonymous editorialist, however, charged that the spoils system alleged in the Navy and the port authority "recalls the simple autobiography of Mr. Bye-ends, who had for his kindred Mr. Smoothman, Mr. Facing-both-ways, Mr. Anything, and Mr. Two-tongues, who was the parson of the parish, whose grandfather was a waterman, looking one way and rowing another, by which means he got a very handsome estate. The politics of New York have been greatly infested of late years by these Bye Ends, Turn-about, and Time-servers [. . .]."⁴⁸ The writer did not mention either *The Pilgrim's Progress* or John Bunyan by name, apparently presuming that the reader would pick up on his allusion without any explicit attribution.

The topic of civil service reform, anticipated before but interrupted by the Civil War, came to the forefront of the 1876 and 1880 Presidential elections, and once again *The Pilgrim's Progress* provided part of the landscape for the campaigns. Republican candidate Rutherford B. Hayes, who eventually won the 1876 election, promised to clean up the New York political machine. In an August edition of *Harper's Weekly*, less than three months before the election, a political cartoon lampooned Hayes' Democrat opponent Samuel J. Tilden for not clearly stating his own approach to the New York question. Drawn by A. B. Frost, "S. J. T. as Mr. Facing-both-ways" depicts Tilden as a two-faced actor.⁴⁹ The forward face of Tilden looks out toward an audience while his left hand rises to emphasize a campaign poster that reads, "Reform is

⁴⁸ "From Washington: General Wool and the Presidency—Bearing of the California Election—The Navy Department and the Retired List—Gen. Scott's Extra Pay—The Albany Atlas and the Union, &c.," *The New York Times* (19 October 1855): 4.

⁴⁹ "S. J. T. as Mr. Facing-both-ways," in *HarpWeek: The Presidential Elections, 1860-1912* (accessed 27 November 2006); available from <http://elections.harpweek.com/1876/cartoon-1876Medium.asp?UniqueID=18&Year=1876>

necessary in the civil service." However, the backward face of Tilden looks down upon a list of ex-Confederates whom he had helped elect to Congress in order to curry favors with Southern voters. In other words, Tilden supposedly condemned pork barrel politics in the north while employing it in the south, and thus he was facing both ways.

Hayes decided not to run for reelection in 1880, and one of the persons who sought the Republican nomination for President in his stead was Ulysses S. Grant, who had already served two terms in the office from 1869-1877. When one Charleston editorialist learned of Grant's intention, he wrote that any Democratic candidate would be able to defeat such a washed-up politician so long as his platform was clear, for "Mr. Facing-both-ways will not be chosen President in 1880."⁵⁰ The actual Republican candidate in 1880 became James A. Garfield, who promised to further Hayes' civil service reforms. Yet Garfield's advocacy of reform seemed ironic to one cartoonist for *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*. Appearing on 16 October 1880, less than one month before the election, "Christian and the Slough of Despond" depicts Garfield stuck in a trench and unable to emerge to complete his road to the White House.⁵¹ There is a great burden on Garfield's back with the number 329, referring to the \$329 bribe that Garfield had allegedly received from the Crédit Mobiler of America corporation, a giant in the railroad industry. In the cartoon there is a woman standing on the high ground above Garfield, who, unlike the character Help in Bunyan's story, offers no assistance to the pilgrim and actually turns her hands and head away from him. Garfield won office nonetheless, and his single major achievement

⁵⁰ "Grant and Mr. Facing-Both-Ways," *The New York Times* (21 April 1879): 2.

⁵¹ "Christian and the Slough of Despond," in *Picture History LLC* (accessed 27 November 2006); available from <http://www.picturehistory.com/find/p/14258/mcms.html>

before his 1881 assassination was the further strengthening of federal control over the New York Customs House.

Scrutiny of *The New York Times* archives reveals regular if infrequent invocations of Mr. Facing-both-ways over the next half-century after Garfield's election, and they were almost invariably in the context of Presidential politics. In 1891, the *Times* assessed President Grover Cleveland's indecision on the unlimited free coinage of silver: "Cleveland will soon become the personification of the Mr. Facing-both-ways of Bunyan."⁵² In 1920, Republican Presidential candidate Warren G. Harding's waffling support for the League of Nations prompted the tart declaration, "Mr. Harding is not successful as Mr. Facing-both-Ways."⁵³ In 1928, Yale Divinity School Professor Halford Lucock chose the occasion of Armistice Day to call for recently-re-elected President Calvin Coolidge to pursue disarmament, explaining: "Mr. Coolidge is too much like Bunyan's character Mr. Facing-Both-Ways. The philosophy of Bunyan's character rested on the great truth that there is much to be said on both sides. The President has straddled the whole issue by endorsing positions which are not compatible with each other."⁵⁴ Before the 1930 midterm elections, commenting on Republican irresolution on prohibition throughout the Northeast, one writer observed, "Mr. Facing-Both-Ways, tutelary genius of the Republican party, is threatened with unemployment not in New York alone."⁵⁵ In 1932, a former secretary to ex-President Woodrow Wilson, Joseph P. Tumulty,

⁵² "Our Friends the Enemy," *The New York Times* (16 February 1891): 4.

⁵³ "The Republican Predicament," *The New York Times* (15 October 1920): 12.

⁵⁴ "Coolidge Attacked at Church Meeting: Methodists Applaud Dr. Lucock for Likening the President to Mr. Facing-Both-Ways," *The New York Times* (21 November 1928): 3.

⁵⁵ "Troubles of Other Republicans," *The New York Times* (13 March 1930): 20.

criticized the front-runners for the Democratic party nomination "as candidates who have surrendered to the 'devil of expediency' and become 'Mr. Facing-Both-Ways' in their recent statements on the League of Nations."⁵⁶ The man who won both the Democratic nod and the White House in 1932 was Franklin D. Roosevelt, and four years later, former Republican President Herbert Hoover spoke about Roosevelt at a party rally in Philadelphia, criticizing his "New Deal" policy and adding, "Yet it must not be forgotten that Mr. Facing-Both-Ways has often been quite a success, temporarily, in politics."⁵⁷

Back in 1896, an article in *The New York Times*, commenting on the origins of American political satire, had observed that the imagery of *The Pilgrim's Progress* was an important inspiration because it was once "considered not only meat for babes, but strong drink for men."⁵⁸ Finally by the 1930s, however, characters like Mr. Facing-both-ways were no longer current enough in the American consciousness to warrant continued use as a political barb in the country's most widely circulated newspaper. Its ability to draw familiar scenery for political cartoons had by then long since passed as well. But Bunyan had still not proven all his usefulness in the political arena, as his story continued to provide material for speeches by prominent figures of both major parties.

Civic Speeches

While the adventuresome perseverance depicted in *The Pilgrim's Progress* made it amenable both to the instruction of children and the entertainment of adults in the nineteenth century, and some of its characters and locations lent themselves to political commentary and satire, its militaristic images were also used in rallying cries during the Civil War. Various adaptations of *The Pilgrim's Progress*,

⁵⁶ "Tumulty Assails League Deserters: Holds Roosevelt and Baker Yield to 'Devil of Expediency' in Their Stands," *The New York Times* (18 February 1932): 2.

⁵⁷ "Platform Difficulties," *The New York Times* (16 May 1936): 14.

⁵⁸ "Some Early American Caricatures," *The New York Times* (8 March 1896): 32.

placed in an American setting, had already commented on the social injustice of slavery for some time before the war even began.⁵⁹ Perhaps most prominent of these was *Pilgrim's Progress in the Last Days*, published anonymously in 1843. In this tale, the protagonist Christian learns of one Christian Abolition, who is despised by another figure named Conformity, and also of No-love, who refuses to fight the Giant Slavery simply because Slavery has never before bothered him.⁶⁰ When Christian comes to the heavenly gates in this tale, he is greeted by Heart-white, who declares that there is "no slave master there, and death and imprisonment for those christians who take pity on the slave;" in heaven's revelatory light, the narrator wonders, "Where shall guilt hide her millions of slaves?"⁶¹ As war approached in large measure over the slavery issue, "the aspect of *The Pilgrim's Progress* that sets forth life as a kind of battle—especially in the mortal combat of Christian and Apollyon, and in the skirmish of the Giant Despair with the crabtree cudgel against Christian and Hopeful, with the glorious ending of the book in a land of peace and plenty where enemies have been vanquished—was particularly appealing, especially in the North."⁶² Interestingly, however, the surviving references to *The Pilgrim's Progress* from actual Civil War participants—and this despite Smith's admission that he could find little evidence of southern interest in *The Pilgrim's Progress*⁶³—come mostly from the seceding states, culminating in one very fiery and defiant address from a Confederate state governor.

In May 1862, a soldier from Georgia's 51st Regiment, Milo Grow, wrote to his wife Sarah Catherine from his Charleston encampment, "You say you are very much interested in [. . .] Bunyan's Holy War. It has great reputation but I have never read it. The Pilgrim's Progress is very interesting. The two books have

⁵⁹ Smith, *John Bunyan in America* 132-133.

⁶⁰ *Pilgrim's Progress in the Last Days* (New England: published for the author, 1843), 53, 109.

⁶¹ *Pilgrim's Progress in the Last Days* 179, 186.

⁶² MacDonald 39.

⁶³ Smith, "Illustrations" note 23 on p. 23.

a very peculiar history and Bunyan has established for himself a very high reputation by them."⁶⁴ In October of the same year, *The New York Times* also mentioned *The Pilgrim's Progress* when reporting on Confederate reaction to President Lincoln's anticipated Emancipation Proclamation:

There were those who fancied that it would be utterly without effect upon the rebels; that they would feel themselves so secure behind the bayonets of their armies, so confident of the willing obedience of their slaves and of their power to enforce obedience among them, if necessary, that they would only laugh at the Proclamation as an impotent menace, and at the President for thus sitting as Giant Pope in Pilgrim's Progress sat, "grinning and biting his nails" at the pilgrims who went safely by.⁶⁵

Lincoln formally issued the Proclamation in January 1863. Exactly two years later, a state commander-in-chief urged his fellow citizens to resist Lincoln and keep on fighting by fashioning his verbal ammunition from *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Henry Watkins Allen, the Governor of Louisiana, called on his state legislature to persevere to the end:

John Bunyan has portrayed, in language that will never die, the troubles, trials and tribulations of "Christian," while journeying to the New Jerusalem. This soldier of the Cross passed the Slough of Despond, through the valley of Humiliation, up the Hill of Difficulty, and fought the Dragon Apollyon, shouting with a loud voice and saying: "Rejoice not against me, oh! mine enemy; when I fall I

⁶⁴ "Milo Grow's Letters from the Battle of Charleston," in *Milo Grow: Letters from the Civil War* (accessed 29 November 2006); available from <http://www.longleaf.net/milo/charleston.html>

⁶⁵ "How the Rebels Receive the Proclamation," *The New York Times* (7 October 1862): 4.

shall rise!" By incessant toil and hard fighting he gained the victory at last, and crossing the River, entered into the gates of the Celestial City. Citizen soldiers of Louisiana! emulate the example of this heroic warrior. Halt not at the Slough of Despond. With quick time, march straight on. Listen not to the delusive promises of the enemy—they are as hollow and as false as hell. Oh! remember the widow and the orphan, whose cries daily ascend to heaven. Think of the women of Louisiana who have suffered crucifixion of the soul. Think of the torrents of Southern blood shed by Yankee hands—think of the acres of bleaching bones—think of the thousand of mutilated forms—think of the burning cities, of the devastated lands, of the broken hearts. Think of all these, and let the memory nerve your hearts to do or die.⁶⁶

Of course, the southern war effort did die, and Louisiana's military at last surrendered to Union forces in May 1865, one month after the Confederacy's formal surrender at Appomattox, Virginia.

The Pilgrim's Progress, however, did not die. True, its readership fell off, perhaps even below that of those children's versions and various adaptations of it by Alcott and others that relied on its prior fame to build their own. Yet Bunyan's British biographer John Brown optimistically claimed after an 1882 visit to America, "Everywhere through the States, Bunyan's name is found as a household word and his 'Dream' among the household treasures."⁶⁷ One remaining admirer was Jane Addams, who founded Chicago's Hull House in 1889 to receive immigrants to their new country as Bunyan's "shining ones" welcome Christian to

⁶⁶ "Annual Message of Governor Henry Watkins Allen, to the Legislature of the State of Louisiana" (*Cado Gazette*, 1865), made accessible by the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (accessed 29 November 2006); available from <http://docsouth.unc.edu/ims/algov/allen.html>

⁶⁷ John Brown, *John Bunyan (1628-1688): His Life, Times, and Work*, ed. Frank Mott Harrison (London: Hulbert, 1928), 452.

his.⁶⁸ News reports from London in January 1912 attributed the installation of a Bunyan Memorial Window in Westminster Abbey largely to the lobbying efforts of Baptists in America.⁶⁹ And in April of the same year, mere weeks after the H.M.S. *Titanic* failed to cross the Atlantic safely, the steel magnate J. P. Morgan helped bring to a Los Angeles exhibition the recently rediscovered tinker's anvil that Bunyan himself allegedly used.⁷⁰ Yet there was no more prominent devotee of *The Pilgrim's Progress* in the early years of the twentieth century than Theodore Roosevelt, the twenty-sixth President of the United States, whose most famous speech drew its central theme from his favorite fiction writer.

Roosevelt was born in New York in 1858, about the time when Edward May's panorama of *The Pilgrim's Progress* would have concluded its exhibition there. He became President after the assassination of William McKinley in 1901, making him the youngest person to assume the nation's highest office. Roosevelt was particularly fond of the courageous conductor Greatheart in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Part Two; he had often compared his father Theodore to that character, and while Governor of New York in the late 1890s, he addressed a Bible Society with the words, "If we read the book aright, we read a book that teaches us to go forth and do the work of the Lord in the world as we find it. [. . .] That kind of work cannot be done except by a man who is neither a weakling nor a coward, by a man who, in the fullest sense of the word, is a true Christian, like Greatheart, Bunyan's hero."⁷¹ Roosevelt moreover believed that Greatheart modeled not only the

⁶⁸ Jean Bethke Elshtain, "Jane Addams: A Pilgrim's Progress," *The Journal of Religion* 78.3 (July 1998): 344.

⁶⁹ "Bunyan Memorial Window: Unveiled in Westminster Abbey—Result of Americans' Criticisms," *The New York Times* (26 January 1912): 3.

⁷⁰ "Bunyan's Anvil in America: Sold as Junk in England, the Relic Will Go to Los Angeles," *The New York Times* (22 July 1912): 3.

⁷¹ John B. Judis, *The Folly of Empire: What George W. Bush Could Learn from Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Scribner, 2004), 55-56.

individual Christian but also the divine commission of the whole American nation:

We gird up our loins as a nation with the stern purpose to play our part manfully in winning the ultimate triumph; and therefore we turn scornfully aside from the paths of mere ease and idleness, and with unfaltering steps tread the rough road of endeavor, smiting down the wrong and battling for the right, as Greatheart smote and battled in Bunyan's immortal story.⁷²

So strong was Roosevelt's conviction of America's divine destiny that, in 1904, Lincoln Steffens' *Shame of the Cities* reported how the President received sneers across the country for preaching moral conduct as the remedy for all societal ills.⁷³ But Roosevelt did not cease to mingle the sacred and the secular in his approach to government, as evidenced in a letter to the Rev. Duncan C. Milner, a retired Presbyterian minister, in November 1908: "Great Heart is my favorite character in allegory, [. . .] just as Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress' is to my mind one of the greatest books that ever was written; and I think that Abraham Lincoln is the ideal Great Heart of public life."⁷⁴

For his famous speech "The Man with the Muck Rake," delivered on 14 April 1906, Roosevelt took *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Part Two, with him into the bully pulpit as his inspirational text. His purpose was to call for the amelioration of a new style of journalism whose investigative zeal criticized not only certain industry practices but, to Roosevelt's mind, the American economic system itself. Although Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* (1906), for instance, helped bring about the Pure Food and Drug Act for its exposé on the Chicago meatpacking business, Roosevelt

⁷² Judis 56.

⁷³ Herbert Shapiro, ed., *The Muckrakers and American Society* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1968), 63.

⁷⁴ "Calls Lincoln Great Heart: That Character in Pilgrim's Progress is His Favorite, President Writes," *The New York Times* (23 December 1908): 2.

was concerned that Sinclair was using his reputation and proceeds to rally socialist detractors of capitalism.⁷⁵ Roosevelt's speech begins with recognition that while the size of the nation, and the number of buildings needed to house all its industry, have grown greatly since the time of President Washington, the most unique feature of the American experiment remains its people's commitment to exalt the common good over personal agendas. Surely those whom Roosevelt considered "muckrakers" believed that they were performing a public service in their investigations of big businesses like food, oil and medicine companies, but Roosevelt believed that their relentless negativity was injurious to the enterprising American spirit. And so he declared:

Under altered external form we war with the same tendencies toward evil that were evident in Washington's time, and are helped by the same tendencies for good. It is about some of these that I wish to say a word today. In Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress' you may recall the description of the Man with the Muck Rake, the man who could look no way but downward, with the muck rake in his hand; who was offered a celestial crown for his muck rake, but who would neither look up nor regard the crown he was offered, but continued to rake to himself the filth of the floor. In 'Pilgrim's Progress' the Man with the Muck Rake is set forth as the example of him whose vision is fixed on carnal instead of spiritual things. Yet he also typifies the man who in this life consistently refuses to see aught that is lofty, and fixes his eyes with solemn intentness only on that which is vile and debasing. Now, it is very debasing that we should not flinch from seeing what is vile and debasing. There is filth on the floor, and it must be scraped up with the muck rake; and there are times and places where this service is the most needed of

⁷⁵ Brian M. Thompson, "'The Man with the Muckrake': A Critical Analysis of Theodore Roosevelt's Rhetorical Masterpiece," senior project, Speech Communication Department, California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo, California (June 2003), 15-16.

all the services that can be performed. But the man who never does anything else, who never thinks or speaks or writes, save of his feats with the muck rake, speedily becomes, not a help but one of the most potent forces for evil. [. . .] The foundation stone of national life is, and ever must be, the high individual character of the average citizen.⁷⁶

Roosevelt's use of Bunyan's man with the muck rake was entirely out of its original context in the House of Interpreter, where the man with the muck rake will not look up and receive a heavenly crown, yet it was entirely within the milieu of the many American variations on *The Pilgrim's Progress* introduced in the nineteenth century.

One person who took a cue from Roosevelt's use of *The Pilgrim's Progress* to make policy points was his son, also named Theodore, who went on to a very successful military and political career of his own. In February 1927, the younger Roosevelt addressed a New York Republicans' Meeting in which he accused the Democratic Governor, Alfred E. Smith, of "imitating the well-known character in Pilgrim's Progress, 'Mr. Facing-both-ways,'" on the development of public transit.⁷⁷ The following year, 1928, saw several observations in the United States of the tercentenary of Bunyan's birth. That May, the Bunyan Committee of the American Tract Society sponsored a celebratory dinner at New York's Hotel Astor,⁷⁸ and the Tract Society also encouraged a "Bunyan Sunday" throughout the churches of New York City on November 25.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ A. Craig Baird, ed., *American Public Addresses 1740-1952* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956), 212-213, 219.

⁷⁷ "Roosevelt Queries Smith on Transit: Declares the Problem Has Been Manhandled and Demands a Solution," *The New York Times* (18 February 1927): 3.

⁷⁸ "\$50,000 Fund Sought by Bunyan Committee: Members Hold a Tercentenary Dinner on Eve of Drive—Tract Society Meets," *The New York Times* (3 May 1928): 18.

⁷⁹ "Today's Programs in City's Churches: John Bunyan Tercentenary Will Be Widely Observed in the Pulpits," *The New York Times* (25 November 1928): N4.

The New York Public Library even opened an exhibit of all but three of the first thirty-four editions of *The Pilgrim's Progress*.⁸⁰ And in 1929, a fund drive commenced at the Hotel Roosevelt to raise money for *The Pilgrim's Progress* reprints.⁸¹ With J. P. Morgan's help, the fund doubled its original goal and surpassed \$50,000.⁸² The President at the time was Herbert Hoover, who himself was familiar enough with Christian's pilgrimage that he later invoked it as a portent of the American pursuit of opportunity when he spoke at the installation of Dr. Arthur S. Flemming as president of Ohio Wesleyan University.⁸³ Future President John F. Kennedy was not quite a teenager during the 1928 tercentenary of Bunyan's birth, and, according to the internet site for his Presidential library, he recalled *The Pilgrim's Progress* as one of his favorite books from childhood.⁸⁴

Also in 1928, George B. Harrison feared that Bunyan's religious meaning might become lost in the modern world.⁸⁵ As if in confirmation, a survey of American's favorite books in 1939 reported that younger persons did not mention *The Pilgrim's Progress* nearly as often as older ones did.⁸⁶ And by 1947, despite his own praise of the book's greatness, Frank Luther Mott lamented that *The Pilgrim's Progress* remained available mostly in "abridged editions

⁸⁰ "Bunyan Exhibition to Mark Anniversary: Public Library to Open its Collection to the Public—Warrant From Morgan Group," *The New York Times* (15 November 1928): 60.

⁸¹ "Would Re-Publish Bunyan: Admirers of 'Pilgrim's Progress' Meet Here to Raise \$25,000," *The New York Times* (19 November 1929): 14.

⁸² "Adds to Bunyan Fund: H. R. Monro of Montclair Gives \$500 More to Memorial Plan," *The New York Times* (29 December 1929): N3.

⁸³ "Hoover Talk Urging Self-Reliance as Key to Progress," *The New York Times* (12 June 1949): 31.

⁸⁴ "President Kennedy's Favorite Books as a Child," John F. Kennedy Presidential Library & Museum: Historical Resources" (accessed 1 December 2006); available from <http://www.jfklibrary.org/Historical+Resources/Archives/Reference+Desk/President+Kennedys+favorite+books+as+a+child.htm>

⁸⁵ Gunderson 51.

⁸⁶ George Gallup, "The Favorite Books of Americans," *The New York Times* (15 January 1939): BR16.

[. . .] for sale in the ten-cent stores."⁸⁷ In 1950, a survey of literary critics by Columbia University named *The Pilgrim's Progress* the most boring classic.⁸⁸ So, as new generations of Americans grew up without the exposure to *The Pilgrim's Progress* that was prevalent in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and as modern society became less and less like Bunyan's agrarian one, political allusions to the book became unsurprisingly very sparse after World War II. Yet even then there were a few.

In March 1965, Francis B. Sayre, Jr., Dean of the Washington National Cathedral, proclaimed that the peaceful protests against segregation led by Martin Luther King, Jr., were part of America's "Pilgrim's progress in the world."⁸⁹ President Ronald Reagan was born in 1911, six years before President Kennedy, and so was old enough probably to remember when the language of *The Pilgrim's Progress* was still somewhat in common parlance. At least he alluded to it in one of his first public events after surviving an assassination attempt, when he welcomed Australian Prime Minister J. Malcolm Fraser on 30 June 1981: "Robert Louis Stevenson wrote, 'We are all travelers in what John Bunyan calls the wilderness of this world. And the best that we find in our travels is an honest friend—they keep us worthy of ourselves. The people of Australia are honest and loyal friends, independent of mind and will, who bring strength of character and courage to the international community.'"⁹⁰

The twentieth century's final President, Bill Clinton, invoked Bunyan twice on formal occasions. The first was on 30 September

⁸⁷ Mott 20.

⁸⁸ "10 'Boring Classics' Voted by Readers: Editors, Authors, Librarians in Poll—Bunyan Wins First Place, 'Moby Dick' Second," *The New York Times* (3 July 1950): 23.

⁸⁹ "In the Capital, Sermons on Courage in Selma," *The New York Times* (15 March 1965): 22.

⁹⁰ Ronald Reagan, "Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for Prime Minister J. Malcolm Fraser of Australia: June 30th, 1981," in John Woolley and Gerhard Peters, eds., *The American Presidency Project* [book online] (Santa Barbara: University of California, 1999-2007, accessed 1 December 2006); available from <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=44019>

1993, upon the retirement of General Colin Powell as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Clinton concluded,

General Powell, I am reminded of the words of another young valiant warrior, spoken when, like you, he was finishing one journey and beginning a second. John Bunyan wrote in *Pilgrim's Progress* of the warrior valiant at the end of his life, as he prepared to present himself to the Almighty, "My sword I give to him that shall succeed me in my pilgrimage and my courage and skill to him that can get them. My marks and scars I carry with me to be a witness for me, to Him who shall be my rewarder." General Powell, your reward is a grateful Nation and a bright future. Your reward is a stronger Nation, safer and better today for your sword, your courage, and your skill.⁹¹

The second use of Bunyan by Clinton was at a diplomatic dinner for British Prime Minister Tony Blair on 5 February 1998: "Mr. Prime Minister, you are breathing new life into politics and restoring faith in ancient principles of liberty so dear to every citizen of your realm. Throughout our history, our peoples have reinforced each other in the living classroom of democracy. It is difficult to imagine Jefferson, for example, without John Locke before him, difficult to imagine Lincoln without knowing that he read Shakespeare and Bunyan on the frontier."⁹² Based on past history, it is also difficult to imagine that Bunyan's name or most

⁹¹ William J. Clinton, "Remarks on the Retirement of General Colin Powell in Arlington, Virginia: September 30th, 1993," in John Woolley and Gerhard Peters, eds., *The American Presidency Project* [book online] (Santa Barbara: University of California, 1999-2007, accessed 1 December 2006); available from <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=47138>

⁹² William J. Clinton, "Remarks at a State Dinner Honoring Prime Minister Blair: February 5th, 1998," in John Woolley and Gerhard Peters, eds., *The American Presidency Project* [book online] (Santa Barbara: University of California, 1999-2007, accessed 1 December 2006); available from <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=55226>

famous book will not appear yet again to punctuate the oratory of some future head of state.

State Funerals

An unusual but recurrent usage of *The Pilgrim's Progress* in the twentieth century was in state funerals for prominent figures, completing the story's transformation from a spiritual guide to a rhetorician's handbook. One scene from Part Two in particular became standard in these elegies—the departure for and entrance of Valiant-for-Truth into the Celestial City, the key line being, "And all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side." Given his great personal regard for Bunyan, it was certainly appropriate that Theodore Roosevelt should be posthumously honored with this epitaph, and in fact he was, twice. The first occasion came at Roosevelt's official state funeral in the United States House of Representatives chamber on 9 February 1919, where Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts delivered this tribute:

This is not the place to speak of his private life, but within that sacred circle no man was ever more fortunate in the utter devotion of a noble wife and the passionate love of his children. The absolute purity and beauty of his family life tell us why the pride and interest which his fellow-countrymen felt in him were always touched with the warm light of love. In the home, so dear to him, in his sleep, death came, and—"So Valiant-for-Truth passed over, and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side."⁹³

This was actually not the first time that Lodge—Harvard's first Ph.D. graduate in History—had honored a deceased President with the words of Bunyan. On 12 February 1909, he gave an address titled "Lincoln" to the Massachusetts state legislature, in which he implored, "That nation has not lived in vain which has given the

⁹³ "Lodge and Congress Honor Roosevelt: Senator Who Was His Intimate Friend Eulogizes ex-President at Memorial," *The New York Times* (10 February 1919): 6.

world Washington and Lincoln, the best great men and the greatest good men whom history can show [. . .]. You cry out in the words of Bunyan, 'So Valiant-for-Truth passed over, and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side.'"⁹⁴

The second homage to Roosevelt that employed *The Pilgrim's Progress* came from his fifth cousin, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, at the dedication of the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial outside the American Museum of Natural History. The Democratic Roosevelt explicitly mentioned the older Republican one's "Muck Rake" speech, and, after further celebrating the deceased as "a great patriot and a great soul," the sitting President concluded by reading the entire lengthy scene of Valiant-for-Truth's departure, which mentions his sword, courage, and skill, and he also announced that Theodore's class secretary at Harvard had included the same quotation in a death announcement that was sent out to his classmates.⁹⁵ Franklin Roosevelt's widow Eleanor also had occasion to cite Bunyan at a Presidential memorial, the re-interment of former President Woodrow Wilson. Wilson, who once appointed Franklin Roosevelt to be the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, had originally been buried in the Bethlehem Chapel of the National Cathedral on 6 February 1924, but his remains were removed to the new Wilson Bay of the cathedral on 11 November 1956. After an invocation and a responsive scripture reading, Mrs. Roosevelt read the same Valiant-for-truth passage that her husband had read at the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial dedication, ending with, "So he passed over, and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side."⁹⁶

⁹⁴ "Henry Cabot Lodge: American Senator, Statesman, Orator and Historian (1850-1924)," GIGA Quotes, ed. John C. Shepard (accessed 1 December 2006); available from <http://www.gigausa.com/gigaweb1/quotes2/quautlodgohenrycx001.htm>

⁹⁵ Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Address at the Dedication of the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial: January 19th, 1936," in John Woolley and Gerhard Peters, eds., *The American Presidency Project* [book online] (Santa Barbara: University of California, 1999-2007, accessed 1 December 2006); available from <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=15311>

⁹⁶ "Service of Dedication of Memorial Bay and Tomb of Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States," Cathedral Church of Saint Peter

After walking only a few steps away from the Wilson Bay, Mrs. Roosevelt could have seen in one of the cathedral's tall stained glass windows those same words that she had read annealed in a particularly curious testimonial. On 10 November 1953, the United Daughters of the Confederacy unveiled at the total cost of \$130,000 the National Cathedral's new Lee-Jackson Bay, featuring windows dedicated to Confederate Generals Robert E. Lee and Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson. Lee and Jackson are both buried in Lexington, Virginia, but the donors of the windows, among whom were several northerners, claimed that a reunited nation was finally ready to honor in its capital the personal virtues of these two prominent rebels. The Jackson window features panels that depict him teaching at Virginia Military Institute, doing battle in Mexico, reading the Bible outside a Confederate camp, and, arrayed not in his service uniform but the armor of a soldier of God, standing before heavenly trumpets while receiving the encomium, "So he passed over and all the trumpets sounded for him." These words were chosen for their similarity to Jackson's own final ones, "Let us cross over the river, and rest under the shade of the trees."⁹⁷

The first U. S. President to be interred in the twenty-first century, Ronald Reagan, was also feted with the Valiant-for-Truth epitaph, on 11 June 2004: "And as the last journey of this faithful pilgrim took him beyond the sunset, and as heaven's morning broke, I like to think—in the words of Bunyan—that 'all the trumpets sounded on the other side.'"⁹⁸ The eulogist was not the countryperson of Reagan but of Bunyan, former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Her homage to someone whose early movie career and lifelong temperament were greatly indebted to the American West indeed seemed appropriate, given that the romance of the western frontier had once sustained interest in the

and Saint Paul in the City and Diocese of Washington (11 November 1956): 3.

⁹⁷ "Lee-Jackson Windows Ready for Dedication of Memorial Bay at Nov. 10 Service," *Cathedral Age* 3 (1953): 2.

⁹⁸ "Full Text: Thatcher's Eulogy to Reagan," BBC News (accessed 1 December 2006); available from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/3797947.stm>

long migration depicted by Bunyan's fiction. And it is but the most recent evidence of the lingering truth of Holland Cotter's assessment that *The Pilgrim's Progress* "embodies a cultural history worth remembering. Its narrative of a religious journey through the wilderness to stake a claim on a piece of Paradise was part of the American foundation myth, one of struggle and entitlement, in which ideas of divine mission, national destiny and nostalgia for the past merged."⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Cotter 2.37.